CROSS-MEDIA NEWS WORK

Sensemaking of the Mobile Media (R)evolution

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Doctoral dissertation
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PREFACE

Since my childhood I have had a curiosity about people, technology and writing. I have been fortunate to have opportunities to explore these issues through a professional academic career. Numerous people have encouraged, supported and inspired me over the years. After completing my Master's degree I became involved with the Newspaper Research Programme at the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication at the University of Gothenburg in 2005. The personal and professional support of the leaders of the programme, Lennart Weibull and Ingela Wadbring, helped me substantially to develop as a researcher. I learnt a great deal from them about accessing news in printed newspapers and online news sites. I became interested in the intersection of journalism and mobile media, and therefore I also got involved in various projects and networks on mobile media with researchers around the world. Among those who inspired and/or guided me were Naomi Baron, Erik Bohlin, Leopoldina Fortunati, Göran Bolin, Rich Ling, Claudio Feijoo, José Luis Gómez Barroso, Anders Hentén and Ralph Schroeder.

In August 2008 I enrolled on a PhD scholarship based on my dissertation proposal for a study focusing on the intersection between newspapers and mobile media. The dissertation presents a study of sensemaking processes among media workers at Göteborgs-Posten, which is a large and quality newspaper in Sweden. 26 media workers from all departments and hierarchical levels have all helped me enormously by agreeing to be interviewed (typically on several occasions). The importance of their welcoming approach was crucial to the realisation of this dissertation; hence I am deeply grateful for all of their support. The dissertation would not have progressed without the support of a dynamic, knowledgeable and friendly research environment at the University of Gothenburg. Jonas Ohlsson, Johannes Bjerling, Magnus Fredriksson, Kent Asp, Jenny Wiik, Mathias Färdigh and Jakob Bjur have all given insightful comments throughout the process at internal seminars. In 2010 and 2011 I presented the research in progress at several other universities. At these I received particularly valuable feedback from François Nel, Patrik Wikström, Robert Picard and Gunnar Nygren. Some scholars have contributed more extensively. As an invited opponent for the final

PART I

STUDY RATIONALE:
TENSIONS AT PLAY IN THE
SENSEMAKING OF MOBILE MEDIA

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation comprises a longitudinal study of sensemaking and the transforming tensions relating to innovation in a newspaper organisation. It explores change processes in an industry that, in recent times, has become involved in disruptive innovation, after centuries of incremental innovation. As such, it investigates the encounter between old and new. It focuses on the thoughts and actions concerning innovation in the field of mobile media, in the interplay between media workers from editorial, business and IT departments,[1] in an organisation which is still heavily connected to the old newspaper medium.

This study examines how these media workers change continuously with regard to the transformation of technology as well as the expectations and usage patterns of users. It tells the story of a large regional newspaper organisation which, to paraphrase its own words, has sought to acquire the role of "the locomotive" for the "mobile media train" as it departs on its journey. This dissertation comprises an in-depth study of the organisation's thoughts and actions during that train ride, focusing in particular on the period from 2008 to 2010. This was a formative phase for the new and relatively alien area of mobile media, in an industry which is traditionally unaccustomed to change.

The aim is to study the sensemaking of mobile media over time among creatives, suits and techies in a relatively typical newspaper organisation (Göteborgs-Posten (GP), Sweden). One the one hand, this involved studying the organisation, use and interpretation of mobile media; on the other, it involved studying how tensions come into play. Sensemaking can be interpreted and applied in various ways, considering its pronounced presence in the everyday activities of people and organisations. The interpretation and application of the sensemaking approach used here departs primarily from the scholarship of Karl E. Weick. It pays attention

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[1] IT is an abbreviation for information technology, which here refers to media workers involved in web design, web development, system programming etc.

to the thoughts and actions of media workers from the editorial, business and IT departments, and how social sensemaking comes into play through their innovation processes. This involves the study of how thoughts and actions evolve through circular interplay, e.g. by studying how actions are shaped by previous visions, expectations and actions. This dissertation shows how the formative and social sensemaking processes of different professional groups, during uncertain and challenging times, have a bearing on the construction of the new. This dissertation is formed of a case study that makes a cross-disciplinary contribution to our understanding of the transformation of cross-media news work, bringing mobile media under particularly close scrutiny. This tradition often involves exceptionally thorough and in-depth analyses of micro events, such as the sensemaking which takes place at a meeting. Here, sensemaking has instead been studied with regard to how these various media workers engage in the social sensemaking of mobile media over time in an organisational context. By taking into consideration suggestions for studying processes over time, the narrative of this dissertation aims to convey various patterns of sensemaking.

While the approach to studying the sensemaking of mobile media has been mostly inductive, four tensions in particular have been studied in order to grasp specific dynamics. These tensions have been extracted predominantly through an understanding of previous research findings. Tensions here imply two or more balancing forces with different interests or expectations. Mobile media are assumed to form an object around which previously latent states of opposition between individuals or groups are transformed over time, meaning that boundaries are redefined. The transformation of tensions can normatively be interpreted to be either/or for the better and for the worse, depending on the interpreter. The four tensions, which embrace different dimensions, were expected to come into play as old media incorporate mobile media into their cross-media news work. The next section presents these four tensions more thoroughly. The subsequent section introduces the challenging situation facing newspapers, followed by a section on the research proposition. Afterwards, the key terminology is introduced. A brief outline of the dissertation closes the introduction.

1.1. Four tensions which come into play in the sensemaking of mobile media

The first tension involves investigating how media workers from the editorial, business and IT departments, as internal actors, make sense of and negotiate their inherent and previously constructed boundaries. Newspapers have typically been portrayed as applying duality management (e.g. Küng, 2007; Achtenhagen and Raviola, 2009), in which editorial and business interests are at the forefront. In this dissertation, it is assumed that media workers from the IT department play an important role because of the growing uptake of digital media technologies by newspaper organisations. These changing conditions have presumably resulted in changing relations between these groups. This dissertation looks into the ways in which their social sensemaking processes include or exclude one another, and whether they emphasise different matters. It addresses questions such as: do they strive towards collaboration with one another? If so, how do they motivate and organise such collaboration? What happens when they do not manage to collaborate? From these enquiries, one can draw conclusions regarding whether or not contemporary digital development work, as implied by previous research, transforms old boundaries into new ones.

Two other tensions, which address the transformative role of media workers in their traditionally established role as media producers, focus on the tensions between media workers as producers in relation to *users* (i.e. produsage and participation) and *machines* (technology). With regard to the tension between producers and users, it is worth acknowledging that printed newspapers by definition have functioned almost exclusively as a method of distributing information in one direction, from producer to user. There has always been a tension between media producers and their publics and users. As the possibilities and practices in the digital habitat are substantially different from those of the old analogue world, the tension between these opposites has transformed. The ease of participating in various digital ways far exceeds that of writing letters to editors and other limited means of participation in the analogue world. The disruptive dynamics that have come into play through the Internet

have opened up practical opportunities for individuals to adopt a more interactive and participatory role. This includes the vast array of different functionalities employed in facilitating participation, such as enabling comments, uploading pictures, sharing via social media and so on. As will be discussed, previous research suggests that this change has not been welcomed by all media workers. This study has therefore paid attention to how media workers have made sense of, and to what extent they have allowed, users to encroach on turf they had previously championed. The questions that are addressed include: do particular groups of media workers interpret and encourage a need to address users with a more participatory approach? Are there other groups that do not welcome such approaches, and if so, why? What is the result of their socially-negotiated sensemaking? This study shows how media workers have embraced new practices in relation to their old ones.

In a similar vein, this dissertation has investigated how media workers have made sense of machines as possible means of managing their utility services and journalistic content flows in an era characterised by an ever-increasing plethora of channels for distribution and participation. The tension between humans and machines relates to changes in the authority and power of journalists. After 400 years of editing articles to fit into printed newspapers, journalists have been accustomed to editing journalistic content. However, editing is one of many activities formerly carried out by journalists that nowadays can be managed by machines, through web content management systems (CMS). How does the interplay of humans and machines affect the shaping of journalism for a new channel? Does a new kind of journalism evolve, or do journalists and CMS simply reproduce content from the web and print? Such practices would infer the creation of new material based on the old.

These three tensions all connect to the fourth and more general tension between *old* and *new*, which focuses on how an old newspaper organisation makes sense of new mobile media. This tension has been discussed thoroughly in the past (e.g. Fidler, 1997; Bolter and Grusin, 2000; Jenkins, 2006). "New" is a relative label that classifies objects and practices conceived of as new (i.e. mobile media), and how they are internalised into the old (i.e. newspaper organisations). As this dissertation studies how old media cope with new media, the reader must be critically aware of the normative use and powerful connotations of these labels.

1.2. Old newspapers meet new mobile media

> Much news ink has dried up for good under the bridge of technological change, and economic, regulatory and cultural forces have all played their part in the radical (often professionally traumatic), reconfiguration of news corporations, news production and journalist practices (Cottle, 2007: 4).

Contemporary changes bear witness to the fact that the press is under pressure. Newspapers have, for centuries, catered to different people's needs for news and information. The high willingness of readers to pay for newspapers, accompanied by advertisers' interest in paying for access to them, has secured their existence, function and practices for decade after decade, but these conditions have worsened. Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a cry for the imminent death of newspapers in print. While there are reports on print newspapers that have ceased to exist (Downie and Schudson, 2009; Thurman and Myllylahti, 2009; Curran, 2010), most newspapers are still in operation, although with a smaller readership and advertisement revenues than before.

In this context, it is worthwhile considering that even though the newspaper industry in the Western world has lost some of its profits and turf, its profit margins are still considerably higher than many other industries (Picard, 2011). News sites and so-called apps (applications) for mobile devices and tablets have formed a countermeasure to compensate for losses in print both usage levels and revenues. Emergent digital and convergent media have contributed to an expansive, diverse and fragmented media landscape, which has paved the way for labels such as "the information age." Media are ever-present in everyday life. To paraphrase Deuze, the experiences people gain in life are framed by, made immediate by and mitigated through media. Contemporary media have become ubiquitous, integrated, immersive and pervasive (Deuze, 2009, 2011), and mobile devices comply with all of these labels.

Journalism has always been intertwined with technology, from the invention of the printing press to the digitalisation of the tools used to produce and distribute news. There are several reports showing that technologies have had a great deal of influence on the shaping of newspapers over time (e.g. Pavlik, 2000; Czarniawska, 2009; Boczkowski, 2010). For a number of years, the technology used to access the news in a digital form, namely stationary computers with a fixed Internet

connection, was confined to particular places such as at home or at work. In recent times, an increasing plethora of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has offered a constant connection to the Internet, which means that Internet access has become disentangled from particular ICTs (the computer) and locations (work, school, home etc.). Due to this transformation of the patterns of news "usage," an increasing number of newspapers have formed strategies to help them to become ubiquitous and omnipresent, that is, accessible anytime, anywhere and through any device. The introduction of digital media has changed news flows, time patterns and the boundaries between different media (Klinenberg, 2005; Scott, 2005). Digital and mobile media have become conceived of as important means through which news media organisations can facilitate such ubiquitous access to news and other services for their users. History has shown that journalism practices in old media have been transferred, even shovelled, into new media. Journalism is typically shaped differently for new media compared to the old. In acknowledging that many contemporary news sites have moved beyond journalism in their value propositions for their users in the digital habitat, it is important to address the role of journalism compared to utility services and functionalities for participation. Ultimately, one should ask whether it is journalism as such, and/or services and functionalities, that are being adapted to new mobile media logic(s).

Designing for new media creates more distinguished value compared to designing for old media, which presumably fosters the complementary use of different platforms. The bottom line is that the contemporary media landscape is on the verge of disruptive transformations. The development of new digital and mobile media has not only added to, but also transformed, old media. Furthermore, new media such as web-based news sites can both displace (Filistrucchi, 2005; Dimmick et al., 2004) and complement (Nguyen and Western, 2006; Lee and Leung, 2008) printed newspapers. Recent studies show that both effects occur, but that these effects vary between socio-demographic groups (De Waal and Schoenbach, 2010; Westlund and Färdigh, 2011). There are also recent studies which show that, for some people, a mobile device is the only means through which they access news from newspapers frequently, displacing both printed newspapers and the Internet (Färdigh and Westlund, 2011). In brief, various reports indicate that the use of mobile media was conceived of as relatively limited until around 2008 in the

Western world (Church et al., 2007; Goméz-Barroso et al., 2010; Park et al., 2008; Wilken and Sinclair, 2009), although Japan is an exception (Ito et al., 2005; WAN, 2007; NTT DoCoMo, 2007). Since 2008, there has been a growing uptake of Internet-based mobile media in the Western world (Pascu, 2008; Horrigan, 2009; Goméz-Barrosso et al., 2010), and the role of smartphones has been important (Goggin, 2009).

There are reports that the uptake of accessing news via mobile devices has been significant, although it has not gained as much traction as mobile Internet (Westlund, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b, 2011b; Rosenstiel et al., 2011). A snapshot of individuals who access news on the move in everyday life (Dimmick et al., 2010) portrays the use of contemporary media in life on the go. Elliott and Urry (2010) suggest that miniaturised mobilities, the mobile device *par excellence*, are essential elements of people's mobile lives, while others suggest that the borders of the household and family life have shattered as individuals have aligned with what is labelled as an age of mobility (Silverstone, 2006). While there has been a preconception that people access news on mobile devices while on the move, it is worth noticing that many use these devices in both public and domestic contexts (Westlund et al., 2011; Westlund, 2011a).

In addition to the studies on accessing news via mobile devices discussed above, there are also some studies on journalism and mobile devices which focus on the practicalities of so-called mobile journalism (Quinn, 2009), as well as analyses of social practices and discourse (Erjavec and Kovacic, 2009). In addition, there are also a number of investigations that focus on the technological conditions for mobile journalism (e.g. Jokela et al., 2009; Väätäjä, 2010; Väätäja et al., 2009; Wigelius and Väätäjä, 2009), as well as the role of push or pull services for accessing news (Fidalgo, 2009). Some have concluded that the role of mobile devices in the contemporary work of news media institutions has become increasingly pronounced around the world (Goggin, 2010). An industry report on Nordic newspaper managers, conducted by the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), showed that in 2010, mobiles were seen as an opportunity by the majority of managers (73%), followed by social media (68%) and tablets (65%). In a similar vein, following general developments in new media products (61%), mobile platforms (51%) constituted the area which most media managers wanted to prioritise for 2011 (Stone et al., 2010). A study of Norweigian media managers and workers suggests that their working

notions for mobile media user situations involve not only on-the-go and on-demand media usage, but also user participation (Schanke-Sundet, 2011). Notwithstanding the studies above, the role of mobile media for news media organisations is, to date, fairly conspicuous in its absence.

1.3. Research proposition and design

Contemporary transformations in the digital habitat have essentially brought about change in old media organisations. These changes involve the way in which media produce and distribute their content and services, what content and services they offer, as well as how people use and interact with their offerings. The bottom line is that these changes affect the function of newspapers in society, with consequences for both the newspaper business and democracy. There is subsequently a growing body of research focusing on both contemporary and future journalism (e.g. Boczkowski, 2010; Curran, 2010) and the management of innovation and business dynamics (Mierzejewska, 2010; Nel, 2010; Stone et al., 2010). This body of literature has embraced the changing conditions for newspapers as organisations, and their content and services (i.e. journalism), as well as changing usage patterns. The literature is rapidly growing, and there are a number of research reviews that have analysed large portions of it (e.g. Kopper et al., 2000; Deuze, 2001, 2003, 2010; Boczkowski, 2002; Cottle, 2003; Erdal, 2007a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski, 2009; Steensen, 2011; Lewis, 2011). An examination of this literature suggests that among the key research areas are the dynamics of change (from both journalism and business perspectives), transforming occupational practices and competencies, different methods of organisation and how media workers interpret the changing situation.

Four general aspects were taken into consideration as the proposition and design of this study were crafted. First, there is relatively limited research focusing on the organisational practices of journalism and digital media from the perspective of *media production* (Deuze, 2010; Küng, 2007), which includes research into the work and organisation of the business side of news companies (Raviola and Hartmann, 2009). Following on from this, in-depth studies using qualitative methods are scarce, which means that not only will the qualitative methods used in this study of a regional newspaper organisation make it possible to fulfill its aim, but they will simultaneously make a contribution to an under-researched area.

Second, there are indeed a number of in-depth case studies relating to media production, although these tend to focus on changes to news media from either a journalism (e.g. Bechmann, 2009; Erdal, 2009a; Boczkowski, 2010) or a business perspective (e.g. Krumsvik, 2009; Raviola, 2010). Few researchers have applied a *cross-disciplinary* approach, merging the perspectives of journalism and business in one study. However, it has been noted that journalism and media scholars have applied business perspectives, and that a few economists have used journalism perspectives (Fengler and Ruß-Mohl, 2008). While one-sided perspectives on investigations of newspapers provide important depth, there has been a call for more integrative approaches to research (Deuze and Steward, 2010). The importance of paying attention to technology has been emphasised increasingly in more recent studies, as it is seen as central to the domains of media and economic action (Boczkowski, 2010), and as a potential determinant of the shape of the relationship between the editorial and business sides of news organisations (Raviola, 2010). In order to account for technology, researchers should not only study it as an object, but also study the actors working with it. Therefore, this study has accounted for research into transformations from an *cross-disciplinary* perspective, and, most importantly, has conducted interviews with media workers from editorial, business and IT departments.

Third, there are those who have emphasised the benefits of studying *processes* over time, rather than conducting fieldwork at a single instance in time. Achtenhagen and Raviola (2009), for instance, stress that there has been a great deal of research into permanent structures, but less on processes, which would allow us to address other types of research questions. Some have argued that it is important to conduct more longitudinal studies of digital media in order to identify continuous trends, and to disentangle these from the results of one-off studies that might well represent discontinuous trends (Mitchelstein and Boczowski, 2009). Furthermore, longitudinal studies are based on the idea that one at least partly avoid the pitfalls of retrospective studies, namely the risk of vague memories and respondents consciously or unconsciously rationalising their actions in order to improve their stories regarding how their organisation has acted. Fourth, and in relation to this discussion, investigations into *early actions* and *interpretations*, in this case the *formative* phase of mobile media, are important, as these aspects can rapidly become part of organisational routines and work practices (e.g.

Orlikowski and Gash, 1994), and then they tend to become unquestioned and naturalised (Plesner, 2009). In-depth research over time enables studies of how technologies relating to news are socially and professionally constructed (Cottle, 2007).

Finally, by studying the more general and social sensemaking of *mobile media,* rather than issues relating to the web (i.e. news sites), this dissertation make an important contribution by expanding the existing knowledge of an area which had been barely researched. As of 2008, when fieldwork was about to be initiated, mobile media were perceived to inhibit the potential disruptive power to transform the newspaper industry in the long run. Key anticipated disruptive changes involved how people access news, and subsequently how advertisers spend their marketing budgets. Ultimately, the use of mobiles for news media was expected to gain a foothold in the everyday lives of individuals. This indicated that newspapers were presumably going to scale up their developments for mobile news services over time.

This dissertation comprises an in-depth and longitudinal case study of media production processes from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Its focus on how the four tensions come into play in the sensemaking of mobile media over time, during their formative phase, makes it a unique contribution to the research. In order to apply a *cross-disciplinary perspective* on *interpretations* and *actions* to an *in-depth case study over time*, the sensemaking approach was perceived to be the most suitable. For the study of how tensions come into play *over time*, it was even necessary.

The sensemaking approach is positioned within the interpretive tradition of organisational research, which builds on a constructivist position in the field of theory of science. Sensemaking as a term conceives interpretation and action processes to take place in heterogeneous and circular patterns. The sensemaking approach is helpful for understanding how actors in an organisation make sense by structuring and constructing the unknown. The sensemaking approach involves comprehension, the construction of meaning and the search for mutual understanding. Organisations are treated as active constructors of reality, rather than passive discovers of reality. The sensemaking approach generally focuses on micro perspectives that illuminate changes in the macro environment, making meaning and mind explicit. It elaborates on the roles of thoughts and actions, illustrating the fact that actions can both precede and succeed thoughts. "Reality" is treated as being socially constructed through

ongoing processes of interpretation, negotiation and action (Weick, 1995; 2001; Weick and Sutcliffe, 2007). This dissertation studies sensemaking over time, linking events to patterns of thought.

The sensemaking and case study approaches are typically inductive in character, and usually involve exploring the thoughts and behaviour of actors with an open mind. In this dissertation, the sensemaking approach has been used to study how the four previously discussed tensions come into play in the sensemaking of mobile media. While striving to approach fieldwork with an open mind, it was seen as important to take the four tensions into consideration in order to grasp important contours of change. Importantly, the re-organisation of newspapers is often influenced by their history (Mazza and Strandgaard Pedersen, 2004; Djerf-Pierre and Weibull, 2011). In acknowledging the marked importance of history and path-dependent behavioural patterns for how newspapers evolve, the study departs from these four key tensions.

The sensemaking of new technologies and how they bring about change for cross-media news work is best approached longitudinally. This dissertation therefore comprises a longitudinal qualitative study, focusing on a quality newspaper organisation (GP) in Sweden. This is the major newspaper company of one of the largest media groups in Scandinavia (the Stampen Group). A study based in Sweden, a country with a high diffusion of newspapers and ICTs will help to expand the geographical gaze of research into journalism, business and technology in the digital era. This case study can be seen as a relatively typical example of a large newspaper organisation in the Western world which is facing typical challenges and conditions. GP and the Stampen Group have pursued a strong presence of digital and mobile media during the first decade of the 21st century. Research interviews formed the primary method used, and were predominantly conducted during the autumn of 2008, 2009 and 2010 (a few interviews were also conducted in 2011). In total, the material comprises 62 interviews with 26 individuals, and the average interview lasted for 92 minutes (reaching a total of 5,712 minutes of recorded interviews). The dispersion involves individuals from the editorial, business and IT departments, representing a mix from the bottom to the top of the organisational hierarchy. Furthermore, this study builds on observations, interpersonal communication and numerous official and unofficial documents of relevance (see the method appendix for further discussions on methods and materials).

1.4. Terminology

This section discusses key terminology used in this dissertation. These terms are introduced as follows: (1) cross-media news work; (2) mobile (media) logic(s); (3) mobile device; and (4) creatives, suits and techies.

1.4.1. Cross-media news work

The term "cross-media news work" has been coined in this dissertation in an attempt to amalgamate various practices and scientific labels into one. There are several labels that have been proposed among journalism and media scholars for conceptualisations of editorial viewpoints and processes. However, these unfortunately do not account for contemporary developments within the business and technology environments of such organisations. Cross-media news work is not a label for something new, but instead embraces the essence of previous and more narrowly posited labels, with the aim of strengthening the connotations of the words that constitute the label.

Convergence has gained a strong foothold as a term since the 1990s, both within the media industry and among scholars in fields such as journalism, media and communication, as well as media management. At its most basic level, it refers to a process whereby two or more units become integrated with each other, and has subsequently resulted in various interpretations and applications (Singer, 2004; Silcock and Keith, 2006; Dupagne and Garrison, 2006). Remarks have been put forward about its vagueness as well as its implicit claims regarding a technologically deterministic outlook (Silverstone, 1995), and the discussion on how to define convergence has continued into the 21st century (e.g. Storsul and Stuedahl, 2007). The far-reaching impact of convergence in society has been discussed in terms of a convergence culture (Jenkins, 2006). Convergence is typically conveyed as a process which is often closely connected to, but not determined by, technology.

With regard to the practices of newspaper organisations, scholars have focused on the human side of journalists in technological development (Quinn, 2005a, 2005b; Quandt and Singer, 2009). The term "convergence" has bearings on technology, for instance, for how distribution channels are integrated and how journalists have teamed up

to work together (Gade and Raviola, 2009), or been grouped together in integrated newsrooms. From a business perspective, convergence has been used as a strategy with manifold advantages such as efficiency and risk diversification (Micó et al., 2009). Convergence is a rhetorical tool through its visionary use in unifying technology and media systems (Storsul and Stuedahl, 2007). Journalism, media and communications researchers have held discussions on *convergence* journalism (Huang et al., 2004; Quinn, 2004; Quinn and Filak, 2005).

Other terms have also been proposed by journalism, media and communications scholars in order to encompass the transformation of journalism in the emergent media landscape, such as *participatory* (Deuze et al., 2007) and *liquid* journalism (Deuze, 2006, 2008a). Journalism is believed to be becoming increasingly liquid through the general transformation of society, and so the distinction between producers and consumers is changing. Furthermore, some scholars, based on case study research, have put the emphasis on *cross-media*. They have investigated journalism practices in news media organisations that have turned from using one to several publishing channels (Syvertsen and Ytreberg, 2006). Examples of the suffixes used in conjunction with cross-media are *communication, production* and *journalism* (Bechmann Petersen, 2006, 2007, 2009; Erdal, 2007a, 2007b, 2009b). While being closely related, they have different connotations and implications.

With regard to conceptual connotations, convergence, participatory and liquid journalism clearly emphasise the broader socio-technical transformations which are taking place. Meanwhile, there is a strong, and therefore also narrow, reference to journalism practices. The connotations of the various cross-media suffixes furthermore relate to distribution, in relation to production or communication. However, usage of the term "production" implies that such work would be linear, and does not address potential participatory practices. Communication, on the other hand, marks a profound emphasis on the nature of distribution. While each of these labels makes its own respective contribution, not one adequately addresses cross-media from a cross-disciplinary perspective that also takes into account the business and technological dimensions.

The concept of *cross-media news work* will be scrutinised more closely in the following section. The suffix *cross-media* is intended to connote the use of several media platforms, which is becoming an increasingly prominent characteristic of media which formerly used a single distribution channel.

News is used to highlight the fact that we are dealing with creative companies in the news industry. Although they are closely related, journalism and news carry different meanings. While journalism is connected to a set of professional norms and practices, which change over time, news has no such connection to journalism in itself. News can take the form of articles created by journalists, but is nowadays, in one sense, also created through status updates and blog posts in the continuous flow of information on Facebook, Twitter and other social networking sites (SNS). As such, news is created not only by those who we have traditionally conceived of as producers, but also their consumers/users. The integration of web 2.0 functionalities (e.g. O'Reilly, 2007) into digital and mobile news outlets means that the so-called produsers (Bruns, 2010b) can contribute to news. The term *work* is used here to refer to the broader body of research on media and news work. This is in line with the scholarship on media work by Deuze (e.g. 2007, 2008b, 2010). In this way, the connotations of the term are wider than production, communication or journalism. Cross-media news work thereby emphasises the study of not only editorial, but also business- and technology-oriented activities. It furthermore aims to encapsulate studies of both the thoughts and actions of these groups, rather than only one or the other at a time.

1.4.2. The construction of mobile media logic(s)

An important reason to investigate the sensemaking of mobile media at a relatively early stage of development (the formative phase) is that of gaining knowledge into how different actors within newspapers seek to explore and develop an emergent medium. Such early work sparks the institutionalisation of practices and beliefs that shape how actors continue to relate to the medium. Although one can criticise the normative nature of rational choice theory, actors can be assumed to try to interpret and enact mobile media in ways they find promising with regard to their vision and strategies. While some may assume that they are able to "discover" the best paths to follow, others may depart from an understanding that they "construct" these paths through their actions and interpretations. In the context of both the industry and the scientific community, there exists a notion of the *logic* coupled to different media, which often is conceived as something that can be explored and

developed. In the late 1970s, Altheide and Snow (1979) articulated that different media inhibit particular types of logic, to which producers of these media should conform. In this sense, media logic involved routines and rules. Dahlgren (1996) defines media logic based on the constraining and enabling features of a medium. These features are both organisational and technical, and influence both process and product.

Some have used the terminology of media logic in direct discussions of media such as the Internet (e.g. Deuze and Dimoudi, 2002), while others refer to such a logic indirectly in (normative) propositions of what the web can and should be, such as web 2.0 and web squared (O'Reilly, 2007; O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009). Media logic has also been used when putting forward perceptions of preferred journalistic practices. Nord and Strömbäck (2006), for instance, argue that news media have sought to adopt media logic in their continuous efforts to gain the attention of users by calibrating storytelling techniques such as personification and polarisation. Altheide (2004) stresses that, in addition to news media, politics, sports etc. have sought to adjust to media logic. The stance taken here acknowledges that media may perform better with one logic than another, but emphasises that such logic(s) are not discovered (i.e. rational approach) but rather constructed (i.e. sensemaking approach).

The argument stressed through these examples is that, when academics and industry practitioners interpret and act, they may implicitly and/or explicitly have a personal conception of media logic in mind. In this dissertation, the various ways of sensemaking of mobile media are treated as different expressions of how mobile media logic(s) is constructed. It is not assumed that there is *one* mobile logic to identify, but both the process and outcome of this work shed light on the contingent dynamics at play in the construction of mobile media. This stance opens up an understanding of how the actors in this study construct mobile logic(s), while retaining a sound critical approach to the idea that media inhibit naturalistic, deterministic and objective logics (e.g. Plesner, 2010).

In the context of this study, we can consider that people tend to desire a sense of certainty about things, and to structure the uncertain according to the certain. Constructing logics helps to provide a feeling of certainty. When the logic implies that technological opportunities should be harnessed early on in order not to be leapfrogged by competitors, technology is conceived of as a positive opportunity that enables progress. If one actor makes a particular development, others may feel that they

must follow suit in making developments that conform to this logic in order not to lag behind. The isomorphic characteristics of the newspaper industry foster herd behaviour and the developments which actors make are constructs of logics of which they seek to make sense. This dissertation investigates how such sensemaking evolve over time.

1.4.3. Mobile devices and mobile media

The mobile device, which was formerly conceived of as a portable "phone," has been labelled as a mobile phone in Europe, a cell phone in the US and a ketai in Japan. However, to date, one must acknowledge that this device has undergone an extensive technological transformation. It has become a device that integrates not only communication, but also multimedia functions. In light of digitalisation and convergence, the mobile has become coupled with multimedia functionalities, and has thereby transformed into something else – something new. *Multimedia* here refers to media that enable the processing and interaction of content and information through audio, video, graphics, text and animation (Westlund, 2008a). Reference to mobile media indicates that the mobile device has become coupled with (multi-)media functionalities. The wide array of content and functionalities available with contemporary Internet-enabled devices calls for better terminology than that which insists on associations to the "phone." The term *mobile device* will be used to connote an increasingly versatile medium characterised as being personal and portable. Contemporary trends of convergence have caused an ever-increasing blurring of the boundaries between different mobile media devices. The mobile device stands alongside other screen-based media with similar functionalities, user interfaces and degrees of mobility. While tablets are typically defined as tablets, they apply similar functionalities to the mobile device. Two differences *typically* remain: the mobile device has a smaller screen compared to the tablet, and it allows telephone calls to be made through the telecom network. These differences are blurring.

1.4.4. Creatives, suits and techies

Newspapers, as with most media companies in the creative industries, are characterised by the accommodation of heterogeneous professionals. The tensions between the editorial, business and IT departments are central to

this study. These groups presumably have heterogeneous identities and interests compared to one another, and also within each group, as different sort of media workers exist in these departments. For the sake of simplicity and ease of writing, the media workers from these departments will be referred to as *creatives*, *suits* and *techies*. While these labels are coupled with functions and stereotypes, connoting the wider construction of their professions, they do not mean that the media workers themselves would identify themselves as such. The term *creatives* refers to journalists, web and mobile editors, who perform creative work such as producing news articles, blog posts etc. *Suits*, on the other hand, are those appointed to the business department, such as the chief executive officer (CEO), marketing director, sales representatives, market analysts etc. *Techies* refer to those employed with work tasks oriented towards technology, such as digital designers and system developers, typically located in IT departments. On some occasions throughout the text, reference will be made to more than one of the groups at a time, then with the label media workers (e.g. Deuze, 2007).

1.5. Outline of the book

This book is organised into five main parts. The first part presents the rationale for studying the tensions at play in the sensemaking of mobile media. Next chapter is a meta-analysis of the four tensions, the third chapter presents the sensemaking approach, while the fourth chapter contextualises the newspaper organisation in question. The second part consists of four empirical and chronologically-oriented chapters focusing on the sensemaking of mobile media. These chapters show how old meets new, and also how tensions come into play between creatives, suits and techies. Chapter five presents the formative phase of sensemaking mobile media. Chapters six, seven and eight are each dedicated to sensemaking in 2008, 2009 and 2010 respectively. The third part consists of two empirical chapters that focus on particular processes whereby the tensions in question come into play. Chapter nine focuses on the case of tensions between humans and machines, while the tenth chapter scrutinises a case involving tensions between producers and users. Part four consists of chapter eleven, which summarises and concludes on sensemaking and tensions, and the bibliography. The fifth part consists of three appendixes, including one on methods and materials.

2

TRANSFORMING TENSIONS IN CROSS-MEDIA NEWS WORK

During previous decades, substantial changes have been taking place for newspapers with regard to journalism, business and technology. These changes have affected newspapers on several levels: the industry; as organisations; the competencies, tasks and identities of media workers; journalism content and services; their relationship to users and their relationship to technology and machines. Researchers have presented studies on the motivations behind cross-media news work from journalism and business perspectives (e.g. García Avilés and Carvajal, 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski, 2009; Deuze, 2010). Essentially, there is a perceived need to expand news distribution into the digital habitat in order to compensate for losses in print (e.g. Stone et al., 2010). The Internet has brought about occupational changes for the journalistic profession, a profession that has become increasingly coupled with, and challenged by, emerging ICTs. Researchers have studied how newspapers have moved towards so-called convergent or integrated newsrooms, in which the old medium of print and new digital media have been brought together, which has affected the daily work of media workers (Dailey et al., 2005; Domingo et al., 2008a; García Avilés and Carvajal, 2008). In addition, the ways in which media managers have interpreted these changing conditions have been scrutinised (e.g. Stone et al., 2010).

As of the second decade of the 21st century, most newspaper organisations in the Western world have adopted cross-media news work practices. Importantly, this involves continuous reconfigurations, involving processes of interpretation and action, in which the four previously introduced tensions come into play. In this chapter, these tensions are contextualised and discussed more exhaustively in light of relevant research findings. All four tensions involve a presumed destabilisation from the sensemaking of mobile media to the equilibrium between two or more balancing forces. Mobile media constitute one of

the boundary objects in newspaper organisations that foster transition, reshaping previous boundaries. While these four tensions are interrelated, they come into play in different ways and at different levels. Therefore, they will be discussed in four sections in the following.

2.1. Tensions among creatives, suits and techies

> Professionals in the creative industries are somewhat different from their colleagues in other fields of production in that they often care deeply about their work. The difficulty of media management is underscored by the combination of this rather unique element of media workers' sense of professional identity and a structural sense of risk and unpredictability at the heart of the cultural production process (Deuze, 2007: 65).

Media workers in creative industries, such as newspapers, typically have strong professional identities. Creative industries are also characterised by the duality of interests between creatives and suits: that is, between the media content creators (creatives) and the businesspeople (suits). This is typical in the case of media companies "partly because of the delicate and contested balance between the creative autonomy of culture creators and the scientific management of commercial enterprises" (Jenkins and Deuze, 2008: 8). Differences in professional interests and competencies are often proposed as a distinguishing characteristic of media organisations. The differences involved often causes resistance to change and culture clashes (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Deuze, 2004; Dailey et al., 2005). This results in a continuous struggle, as cultural producers (creatives) seek creative freedom, while managers (suits) seek to develop customer- and business-oriented products (Deuze, 2010).

A recent study of newspaper managers in the Nordic countries conducted by WAN-IFRA reported that four out of 10 managers felt that it was important to them to "encourage understanding and cooperation between departments." Furthermore, the newspaper managers felt that the strategic leadership was the most ready for change, followed by the editorial, business and IT departments (Stone et al., 2010: 37). Other studies show that newspaper industry associations play an important normative role in setting agendas (Nordqvist et al., 2010), and that industry associations such as WAN-IFRA have sought a more collaborative relationship in the pursuit of journalistic and business goals (Raviola and Pesämaa, 2012). It is worth noticing that in some countries,

the transition to digital activities was driven by editorial departments, but that owners and IT department have moved forward with apps and the mobile media development (Westlund and Krumsvik, 2012).

Ultimately, these studies posit that there are differences between creatives, suits and techies. The first tension acknowledges their different professional experiences and interests, and studies how their inherent relationships transform over time throughout the course of cross-media news work. This involves the study of how creatives, suits and techies both explore and negotiate new territories in the digital habitat, in which they participate in the redefinition of important boundaries in cross-media news work. The next section focuses exclusively on tensions between creatives and suits, followed by two sections on ICT and techies.

2.1.1. Duality management

Newspapers have traditionally, in many cases, been organised through duality management. This distinguishes between the business and editorial departments – between the "money" and the "words" (Wilberg, 2003; Djerf-Pierre and Weibull, 2009; Achtenhagen and Raviola, 2009). Raviola noted that the polarisation of journalism and business has been expressed in dichotomies such as truth vs. publicity, journalism vs. advertising and independence vs. ownership interests. She concludes that journalists legitimise their work as pure, in relation to the commercial work carried out by business departments (Raviola, 2010).

Duality management is most evident in newspapers with a CEO who is responsible for business and an editor-in-chief who is responsible for journalism. There are also newspapers that have appointed so-called publishers, who are responsible for both editorial and business interests (Djerf-Pierre and Weibull, 2009). Importantly, studies of American editors indicate that they tend to perceive themselves (rather than the editorial department) as representatives of the company (Gade, 2008). Tuchman (1978) illustrated that newspapers can be organised into three functional interests: advertising; audience and news. Interests in advertising and audience involve business conditions, and have been described as the double market of news production (Picard, 1989). Advertising and audience are coupled with revenue interests, while the third interest has a non-revenue goal. The presentation of journalistic content, for newspapers, news sites and mobile devices, has been separated from

advertisements through articulations such as colours and frames. This shows that it is considered important to distinguish between editorial and commercial content.

Research from previous decades has illustrated the existence of tensions between editorial workers, with their journalistic ideals and practices, and businesspeople, with their interest in commerce (Furhoff, 1986; Franklin and Murphy, 1991; Underwood, 1993; McManus, 1994; Hultén, 1999). Fagerling and Norbäck (2005) state that power, values and the dynamics of identity construction have formed cultures in which journalists "scrutinise" and business staff "cuddle." Duality management is expressed through the formal organisation of newspapers, with their structures and hierarchies, which involve the physical placement of staff. "Invisible" walls are often erected by locating the editorial and business departments on different floors or in different buildings. These walls are reproduced in everyday practices, as media workers work independently of one another. In relation to this discussion, van Weezel writes:

> Newspapers have traditionally been structured around the notion of "silos." Therefore, high boundaries have been erected between the newsroom and the rest of the organization (van Weezel, 2009: 146).

The boundaries between the editorial and business departments are both mental and social (Fagerling and Norbäck, 2005), as they are grounded in the identities of the respective departments (Achtenhagen and Raviola, 2009). Journalists have treated the wall between themselves and the business department as an important structural element for sustaining journalistic norms of autonomy and independence (Gade and Raviola, 2009). Djerf-Pierre and Weibull (2011) further note that these boundaries are associated with polarised conceptions of newspaper production, as well as ideological differences. The challenge of duality has been compared to a balancing act between the interests of journalists and business department staff (Fagerling and Norbäck, 2005). Unsurprisingly, there have been culture clashes (Deuze, 2008c). Compaine writes:

> Journalism was – and remains – about informing, about questioning, about abetting democracy. But journalism faculty, whether former scribes themselves or conventional academics, seemed to at best tolerate the commercial side of the media and at worst disdain it (Compaine, 2006: 280).

In relation to this discussion, Ryfe explains that internal resistances occur partly because of work practices. He concludes that journalists have strongly established routines for their practice, and that their identity is closely tied to their work. Changes to their practice can be compared to changes to their identity (Ryfe, 2009a, 2009b). To this discussion, Deuze adds that journalists have learnt to be skeptical towards organisational changes, as they are often associated with negative aspects such as redundancies and decreases in resources (Deuze, 2008b). The role of journalists is often described as serving democracy and being watchdogs in society and for business enterprises, while remaining detached from commercial connections. In journalism, it is common to apply the concept of the five Ws and one H (who? what? where? when? why? and how?) when reporting on an event. In contrast, suits at business departments typically ask the five economic 'W' questions:

> Who cares about a particular piece of information? What are they willing to pay to find it, or what are others willing to pay to reach them? Where can media outlets or advertisers reach these people? When is it profitable to provide the information? Why is this profitable? (Hamilton, 2004: 7).

Considering the differences outlined above between editorial and business departments, their interpretations and actions will presumably vary because of the differences in their interests, knowledge and power. It has been concluded that there is limited managerial commitment and collaboration over departmental boundaries, or even existing intra-organisational turf wars (Paterson and Domingo, 2008; Deuze and Fortunati, 2010a). These communication and collaboration issues imply serious challenges to contemporary newspapers. Some have suggested that it is essential for news media organisations to form more shared cultures and production processes (Lawson-Borders, 2003). Similarly, others have discussed the idea that news organisations must align editorial and business goals in order to increase performance through providing better services to users and advertisers (van Weezel, 2009). There are newspapers that have come to recognise collaboration (both internally and with other companies) as a strategy (Gade and Raviola, 2009). This can involve developing ICTs as well as sharing IT systems.

In relation to the discussion above, it should be noted that there are disadvantages of portraying these two groups as polarised. Fengler and Ruß-Mohl argue that many scholars (of media and communication) have

portrayed media managers as solely profit-seeking, while journalists have been portrayed as being selfless servants of society, who function as guardians of the fourth estate. Furthermore, journalists have described their profession as a "calling," an almost heroic notion that media companies may have great self-interest in maintaining. They also conclude that journalists have become more market-oriented; as they "seek to maximize attention for their work, they try to minimize costs of investigation and research and to use their sources to their greatest professional benefit, and so forth" (Fengler and Ruß-Mohl, 2008: 673).

The market-orientation of journalists has also been examined by other researchers (McManus, 1994; Andersson, 2009). While this typically concerns the type of news which is reported on, it also involves methods whereby journalists target consumption practices. For instance, studies show that newspapers publish their online news to target groups who read it while at work (Boczkowski, 2010). Some have suggested that the market-orientation of journalism involves a loss of control of the norms and values that characterise the profession, while others have questioned whether the integration of business and editorial interests has affected journalism in such a way (Beam, 1996). There is mixed evidence about the quality of journalism among newspapers with strong versus limited market-orientation (Beam, 2003).

Considering that increased market-orientation can imply that boundaries have started to dissolve, is there support for such developments in the research literature? Scholars have noted that the stereotypical polarisation of creatives and suits has started to transform, as media organisations are reorganising themselves for improved collaboration (Bilton, 2010), which has also been noted among newspaper organisations (Ybema et al., 2005; Fagerling and Norbäck, 2005). Organisational integration is an indicator of market-orientation, as the independence of the newsroom is challenged when values are re-examined jointly with other departments (Gade, 2008). Some studies suggest that the boundaries between these departments are eroding as editorial and business department managers collaborate and negotiate more and more through market research and so forth (Gade, 2004). From a survey of American newspaper editors, Gade (2008) concluded that the formerly erected walls between editorial and business departments had dissolved. Case studies from countries such as Italy (Raviola, 2010) and Sweden (Nygren and Roxberg, 2011) point towards increased

collaboration between the editorial and business departments. Raviola (2010) concludes that the introduction of a news site into an Italian newspaper was accompanied by a redefinition of the previous journalistic independence from business. With regard to such trends, van Weezel states that recessions (and the emergence of the Internet) have resulted in increased collaboration between these departments (van Weezel, 2009). This relates to general ambitions towards organisational integration, with the aim of facilitating sustainable innovation (Gade and Raviola, 2009).

An additional dimension to that of duality management concerns technology and IT departments. Newspapers used to be relatively dependent on techies: printmakers were professionals needed by journalists to compile their daily newspaper. The creative and productive work of journalists was then closely associated to technology and printmakers (Hultén, 1999). Thanks to computers and the Internet, multi-skilled journalists have since come to replace printmakers. However, perhaps the importance of techies has increased on other frontiers?

2.1.2. New media technologies and new boundaries

> It would be valuable to conduct research focused on the interface between the Newsroom and the Company on the influence of new technologies in shaping the relationship between the two sides of the organization (Raviola, 2010: 261).

Digital and mobile technologies are becoming institutionalised into the textures of everyday life for both producers and users of media. Cross-media news work involves new domains which are being negotiated and entered into. The introduction of news sites has formed tensions and differences between those practising print journalism and online journalism (Aldridge and Evetts, 2003; Beckett and Mansell, 2007). Considering that previous studies have highlighted the different processes and cultures of television and radio journalists (Domingo et al., 2008a), it is perhaps not surprising to find differences between journalists with different specialities. The introduction of new distribution channels has reshaped the tensions between editorial and business departments (Picard and Achtenhagen, 2007; Raviola, 2010). In this context, Verweij writes:

> For the first time journalists working in the old – analog – media have looked over the Chinese Wall that separated them, and realized that cooperation was

> now possible. Publishers and editorial managers did the same and saw they had access to new ways of making profits (Verweij, 2009: 75).

The separation between the editorial and business departments is dissolving, and a number of concerns are being addressed, as this dissolution ultimately is assumed to involve questions about the control of journalism. Collaboration between creatives and suits has been perceived as detrimental to the credibility of journalism. As regards the aversion to collaboration between print and digital news media, the factors at play are somewhat different. As with most integration processes, culture clashes occur as different logics and practices are brought together (Huang et al., 2006; Silcock and Keith, 2006; García Avilés and Carvajal, 2008). Erdal (2007b), for instance, concludes that structural constraints and resistance to cooperation hinder the desirable convergence of journalism practices. Many journalists have developed roles in conjunction with print and online media channels, which have fostered tensions between journalists within these spheres (e.g. Dimitrova et al., 2005; Weber and Jia, 2007).

One reason for such opinions is that although journalists are increasingly encouraged to work with new digital media, they assign a lower status to such work compared to working in the traditional medium of print (Bressers, 2006; Huang and Heider, 2007). Online journalism is characterised as being faster, more transparent and more oriented towards continuous reporting on processes (Nygren and Roxberg, 2011). Boczkowski concludes that journalists typically perceive the urgency of dissemination as the most prevalent concern for hard news. The perceived value of being the first to publish a news story has even caused journalists to mark false times of publication on their news sites. He proposed that print and online media have come to represent divergent logics for content production, which relate to strategies for distributing hard and soft news. With its delayed time of publication, a *modus operandi* of publishing soft news in print newspapers has emerged (Boczkowski, 2010). With regard to this, Fagerling and Norbäck (2005: 204) concluded from their case study that the new focus on the boundaries between "the web people versus the paper people" has diverted attention away from the initial tension between "journalists versus sales people." They also theorised that as the boundaries between editorial and business

department dissolve, professionals in business department may gain status and power, while the power of journalists dwindles.

In relation to matters of status between old print and new digital channels, it should be acknowledged that the characteristics of journalism for print and digital media tend to vary, and that journalists tend to prefer writing in-depth articles. The printed newspaper has occupied an unrivalled position as the most important channel, as it has so many associations with resources, tradition and culture. This means that it is the primary channel in terms of profits, the number of employees and symbolic value. Although new digital channels are on the rise, in particular from a user perspective, reports show that journalists think that there is insufficient investment in high-quality services (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007). The resources invested in digital channels clearly have an important symbolic value. Earlier reports have shown that although web journalists can be innovative in their work, other journalists seldom perceive them as opinion leaders (Singer, 2004). This implies that the web has an inferior symbolic value, leading to a difference in status between journalists using old vs. new media, which has also been discussed by other researchers (Deuze, 2004; Erdal, 2009b). With regard to boundary negotiations, Deuze and Majoribanks suggest that online journalists:

> … negotiate their position relative to journalists working in longer established media across a wide range of domains, including professional status and organizational position. In such contexts, boundary struggles among journalists become a critical feature of everyday work practice and process (Deuze and Majoribanks, 2009: 557).

Journalists have valued the old medium highly as it has had the most users, generated the most revenues and involved the traditional pace and style of journalism. Internet-based journalism has been associated with shorter and more rapidly compiled stories for a more limited user base, and has not contribute as much to the revenues of the company. From a business perspective, a strategy within cross-media news work has been to direct resources towards "quality" journalism by instructing some journalists to engage in the repurposing of news content (Klinenberg, 2005; Erdal, 2009b). Such strategies have resulted in intra-organisational status hierarchies between the new and the old within cross-media news work. For instance, journalists have learnt to be skeptical towards

organisational rearrangements of their work, as these changes have been accompanied by downsizing and new skills requirements.

2.1.2. Towards trisection management?

> The corporation is engaged in an internal upheaval of seismic proportions, as technological change accelerates and the largest ever round of job losses threatens. There is a titanic struggle between the technologists – who have been rebranded as über-divisional force Future Media and Technology – and the programme makers, who feel their role and resources have been cut to make way for the new platforms (Lee-Wright, 2008: 249).

Lee-Wright, based on a case study at the British broadcasting company (BBC), notes that management may have seized an opportunity to instigate change with the assistance of technological development. It was anticipated that such change would be met with resistance, as there were tensions between internal coalitions coupled with content production and broadcasting. In order to emphasise the tensions at play, Lee-Wright compares the media workers to soldiers in battle who cannot see the big picture, while the wartime generals fail to be sensitive to the mounting casualties (Lee-Wright, 2008). There are also reports illustrating the varied interests among IT (technical) and editorial departments in news media organisations (Adams, 2007; Silcock and Keith, 2006).

The bottom line is that techies are becoming inexorably intertwined with the contemporary development of digital media in news media organisations. The concept of trisection management emphasises their increasing importance by adding techies to the framework of duality management. It is anticipated that internal relations and practices established for the old medium of the printed newspaper will be renegotiated through the institutionalisation of digital and mobile media.

The ongoing work with the old and the new within newspapers has meant that new technologies have become objects to be negotiated. Their status as new objects at least partly disentangles them from the historically and culturally produced tensions between business and editorial departments. Through negotiating the Internet, and presumably also mobile media, the business, editorial and IT departments can engage in defining new boundaries, while at the same time changing their old boundaries. With regard to the Internet, Singer proposes that there has been an erosion of definitional boundaries in the journalists' profession:

> There also were boundaries of time; journalists worked to a deadline, after which the presses had to roll or the program had to air. There were boundaries of space; journalism was produced within a newsroom and processed by editors who worked in it. There were boundaries around the product itself, too; journalism came neatly packaged within the pages of a newspaper or the minutes of a news show. Reaching the back page or the last minute meant there was no more news. The Internet breached all those boundaries (Singer, 2010: 107).

Former boundaries have been reshaped with the advent of both digital and mobile media. This has become visible through collaborative inter-departmental organisation that has integrated representatives from different divisions. Restructuring can cause the relocation of boundaries. Achtenhagen and Raviola (2009) suggest that online journalism has caused more collaborative practices in duality management, while Nygren and Roxberg (2011) argue that the boundaries between creatives and techies are also dissolving through their collaboration on digital developments. Globally speaking, there are several newspaper industry projects which are striving towards such collaboration, such as Newspapers Next, Learning Newsrooms and Telegraph Media Group Lab. Kunelius and Ruusunoksa (2008) note that newspapers have become increasingly focused on catering to the needs of their consumers with products and services enabled by new technologies.

Previous research, in other words, generally indicates the increasing collaboration between not only creatives and suits, but also techies. This is not to say that the boundaries between these groups have been dissolved entirely, but that their relationships with each other are transforming as they explore new boundaries. Ultimately, the changing economic and technological conditions are perceived as requiring more collaboration. Clearly, such changes are welcomed by some, and resisted by others. This is a study of how these intra-organisational tensions come into play through the sensemaking of mobile media. For instance, this study pays attention to how they reason and enact the organisation of such developments, which can involve limited or extensive collaboration. This study also pays attention to how they negotiate the sensemaking of mobile media, and who has the greatest influence over the ways in which they define and shape such innovations.

2.2. Tensions between humans and machines

A great deal of research has dwelt on the relationship between technology on the one hand, and humans and society on the other. This dissertation acknowledges that social, political and cultural values both influence and are influenced by technological innovation, as does research in the science and technolgy studies (STS) tradition. This study focuses in particular on the tension between technology (machines) and newspaper media workers (humans). The idea of having machines assist, or replace, human labour is not new. Nicholas Negroponte founded the Architecture Machine Group at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). In 1985, he created the MIT Media Lab, which has become an acknowledged centre and laboratory for research into the human-computer interface. In 1995, Negroponte published a book entitled *Being Digital*, which has become a classic and had been translated into 40 languages. He hypothesised about technological developments and what to expect from the future, projecting that many jobs were going to be replaced by automated technological systems (Negroponte, 1995). This section presents how that projection has come into play in the newspaper industry.

Journalism involves craftsmanship; every day is an empty sheet that is filled with news reports. From this perspective, journalists deal with change on an everyday basis. On the other hand, the ways in which they manage such change involve news work characterised by routines (Tuchman, 1973, 1978). Journalists' conceptions of what journalism is and should be have remained relatively stable over time (Wiik, 2010). While routines and conceptions have remained stable, the conditions for journalism are changing. Technology has had a significant impact on journalism, which is only natural, as journalism, in one sense, is dependent upon technologies for production and distribution. Since the 1990s, there has been a discussion on how technology can assist innovation and organisational optimisation for the news media industry, as it does in other industries. Pavlik proposed that technology has influenced the ways in which journalists do their job (using ICTs), the nature of news content (storytelling, multimedia etc.), the organisation of newsrooms and news industries (integration of editorial and business functions etc.) and the transformation of the relationship between newspapers and the public (Pavlik, 2001). Schmitz-Weiss and Schwingel (2008) state that research into technologies in newspaper newsrooms during the second half of the

20th century focused on topics such as the implementation of pagination and technological information flows. Raviola and Hartmann (2009) note that journalists appear as the protagonists of work in news companies, while the work of techies has received limited attention, although studies by Russial (1995) and Utt and Pasternak (2000) are referred to as exceptions. Raviola and Hartmann state:

> Journalists gather, select and edit news, while technicians take care of the technical packaging of the product, dealing with the design of the pages and of the websites, the search and insert of pictures, the design of graphic elements, the editing of videos and audios, and so forth. As the technologies for news production have evolved, not only journalists' but also technicians' work has changed (Raviola and Hartmann, 2009: 13).

In contemporary cross-media news work, there are tensions between *human* journalists and technological *machines*. CMS have become increasingly effective for repurposing in an era of an increasing number of channels for which content and functionalities must be adapted, but decreasing resources with which to do so. Industry reports by WAN-IFRA convey that upgrades to CMS and customer relationship management systems (CRM) are the top priority for future improvements among media managers (Stone et al., 2010).

Presumably, original content will continue to be produced by humans – mainly by journalists in house or wire agencies, but also by third parties or citizens. However, it is worth noticing that news sites with articles created entirely by machines have also emerged. Machines and CMS are playing an increasingly important role in the management and presentation of content flows, which is discussed in the following section. Afterwards, the practices of repurposing vs. customisation are addressed.

2.2.1. Journalism and content management systems

> This chaotic news environment contributes to a constant stream of news content that pours in that the journalist must organize and upload to the site's system. The system then organizes the content into areas on the backend and provides options for how the content can be viewed by the news citizen. The content management system is a part of the journalist as much as the journalist is part of the content management system and they are interlocked in this delicate relationship of the news production process (Schmitz-Weiss and Schwingel, 2008: 93).

Schmitz-Weiss and Schwingel, based on case studies in the US and Brazil, essentially describe CMS as an integrated part of contemporary cross-media news work practices. CMS facilitate repurposing, and can run either through manual editing or with the help of automated publishing schemes. As both humans and machines operate in the repurposing and publishing activities attached to print and online media, mobile devices and tablets, there is a prevalent tension. This tension forms the focus of this dissertation, as news media organisations can deploy strategies for cross-media news work in which they favour CMS by employing a high degree of machine-led repurposing. Ultimately, this means that machines can carry out work that was formerly undertaken by journalists. Advocates of manually-crafted journalism speak in favour of avoiding granting technology too much influence over journalism. Others are in favour of employing technology to enhance cost-efficient cross-media repurposing, in order to adjust to the worsening financial conditions.

Technologically-led automation of content, whereby machines come into play, has been treated as an opportunity in technologically-oriented research into editorial processes (Sabelström-Möller, 2001). Applied research has investigated how technology can assist editorial processes for cross-media news work. For instance, one study suggested that newspapers can auto-direct all content (with no editing by humans), but also that they can treat the digital publishing channel as a stand-alone product, using humans to edit the newspaper's existing news content flow. The three newspaper case studies favoured auto-direction in combination with some manual selection (Appelgren et al., 2004).

CMS can be programmed to carry out tasks, such as retrieving, packaging and publishing news articles and other types of content. CMS, which are commonly found in today's news media organisations, are employed to manage multiple types of data (documents, pictures, videos etc.). They are usually designed to be user-friendly, to make it possible for laymen to learn how to use them for creating, modifying and publishing content to one or several channels. CMS typically do not require the involvement of techies, but can also be managed by creatives. This means that humans can make use of CMS to assist in their cross-media news work. While one way to make use of CMS is to edit content flows manually, another way is to program how journalism is to be repurposed and published for different channels. With the advent of online news

publishing, CMS have developed and flourished. As CMS are continuously calibrated in order to meet the demands of cross-media news work, they have subsequently also become increasingly reliable.

The bottom line is that CMS represent machines that can take care of work that previously was performed manually, which means that with the emancipation of online news media, the manual labour of journalists can become displaced by technology. This is in line with more general trends in contemporary society in which the human workforce is being replaced by technologies and machines. The role of CMS is brought to the agenda when new means of distributing news content are added to cross-media news work. For instance, with the introduction of tablets, CMS must be updated, synchronised or even replaced in order to achieve efficient solutions for cross-media news work (Haeger, 2011). Following on from this discussion, questions to address in empirical work include whether machines (CMS) are employed in ways which displace human labour, and if so, how humans react. This relates to ambitions for customised journalism (media logic) versus repurposing, discussed in the next section.

2.2.2. Repurposing vs. customisation of journalism

The printed newspaper constituted the primary news medium in terms of staff, journalism content and revenues for some time. Being a journalist at a print newspaper involves a professional identity that is coupled to medium-specific characteristics and the conditions of publishing. Editing articles (and advertisements) is a necessary and important dimension of print journalists' work, to make it fit with the predetermined format of printed newspapers. These editing practices have been transferred to how these journalists approach their work in the digital habitat. Such path-dependent transfers are typical: journalism practices for new media have typically departed from editorial workers' perceptions and experiences with which news media journalists are familiar (the old). When radio was introduced, journalists initially read newspaper articles aloud in radio broadcasts. When television news broadcasts began, journalists made radio broadcasts, but added moving images. Over time, however, journalists have developed practices which are tailored to the medium at hand, indicating the pursuit of media logic(s).

Unsurprisingly, with the advent of the Internet and the World Wide Web, new online journalism practices were formed on the basis of old

practices. What was different this time, however, was that the practices of imitation not only involved inspiration by journalistic practices, but repurposing the very same content. With the Internet, news work practices translated into making articles from printed newspapers available on the Internet, a repurposing practice which became known as shovelware (Pavlik, 1996). Established newspaper institutions essentially claimed an online presence simply by republishing their newspaper online. Technology appeared at the centre, as editorial CMS assisted newsrooms in auto-directing content from the (planned) print newspaper to the news site (Sabelström-Möller, 2001, 2005). Clearly, some manual labour was present, which at first primarily involved appointing web editors to program and manage the auto-directed content flows. One should note that they thereby transferred their institutionalised practices of editing content for the print newspaper to their new medium. Meanwhile, contemporary cross-media news work involves changes not only to editing, but also to continuous deadlines and the idea that journalism can be adapted to the so-called logic of different media channels. Nygren and Roxberg (2011) conclude that new CMS make it possible to draft newspaper pages even before articles and pictures have been created.

Among scholars of journalism, the practice of repurposing has (normatively) been treated as an expression of insufficient journalism practices. The reason is that articles are simply re-used from print to digital media, without taking into consideration the media logic(s) of each channel. In 1996, it was suggested by Pavlik that newspapers were going to make a transition from such shovelware practices by starting to supplement their value proposition for the digital habitat with unique articles and services, perhaps even with an exclusive focus on making unique content available on the website (Pavlik, 1996). While there are indeed newspapers that have explored such paths (e.g. Carvajal and García Avilés, 2008), there are also those which still engage in the practice of repurposing, and this is particularly evident in the redistribution of news for mobile devices (Nygren and Roxberg, 2011). Journalism has come to be redistributed within and between large media conglomerates and news agencies. While newspapers in the past had large newsrooms, these have typically shrunk, and some content has been replaced by content which is redistributed by machines (CMS) from other news companies. In addition, a great deal of news work nowadays is done by temporary media workers (Deuze, 2007, 2010).

From a critical perspective, the terminology of repurposing is rather broad. The concept of repurposing initially involved breathing new life and value into printed content by offering it to users of news sites. Over time, different ideas have emerged regarding what types of articles and services should be repurposed, in different contexts and at different times. Repurposing may involve the auto-direction of an identical article from print to web, or web to mobile. Such forms of repurposing are similar to the practices of repurposing in the television industry, which have become increasingly popular. While American companies started repurposing in the 1960s, its usage has grown in the 21st century, thanks to alliances. In television, repurposing actually means broadcasting the very same programme again, as a rerun, even on the same television channel (Chris, 2006). While it is out of the question to publish the same article in print on two consecutive days, it has become relatively common to publish the same article both in print and online. Have similar practices been employed for news provisioning for mobile devices?

One may also discuss the idea that repurposing involves ascribing the theme of the article a new purpose, by reworking it journalistically to better match the medium of publication. Previously, both hard and soft news were "saved" for print publishing before they were made available online. During the first decade of the 21st century, hard news was often published immediately on the web, while more unique and in-depth soft news was reserved to be published online (Boczkowski, 2009, 2010). However, while repurposing was once a matter of what should go from print to online, the question has increasingly become what should go from the news site to other outlets. News chiefs must determine what of yesterday's pile of digital news is worth repurposing in the printed newspaper, probably with a wider overview and in greater depth.

There is also the immediate challenge of repurposing news from news sites to mobile news sites, mobile apps and apps for tablets in appropriate ways. In using a CMS in which the website is perceived as the primary channel, creatives, suits and techies must negotiate the *modus operandi* for repurposing content for these different channels. Repurposing can take place on a continuum from pure auto-direction to repurposing that involves manual editing. In the case of auto-direction, technology is inscribed with journalistic news values that predetermine which types of news articles and services are to be repurposed from one medium to another. Either way, there is interplay between humans and machines in

the repurposing of journalism in cross-media news work. For a newspaper such repurposing practices can involve setting up their own means for distribution, through mobile news sites or apps for iOS (iPhone), Android etc. This means that theyare confronted with the need to adapt content from their news site for user-friendly access on various mobile devices. This relates to the fact that the conditions for creating an interface and programming code vary between computers, mobile devices and tablets. For instance, if a news site uses Flash software for video-based news reporting, it cannot simply auto-direct content for the iPhone and iPad, as Apple does support this software, but must instead make use of other software. Nowadays, auto-direction is challenging as it involves a plethora of screens and operating systems. In addition, news media content can be repurposed by third parties such as Pulse Reader and Flipboard, with their apps for smartphones and tablets. This may call for a more platform-neutral approach to the shaping of journalism.

Rather than use repurposing, there are journalists, media managers and scholars of journalism who have stressed that journalism for the digital habitat can (and should) be customised to media logic(s). The topic of what online journalism is and what it should be has sparked a great deal of debate. In the newspaper industry, repurposing has been criticized. For instance, at the 2007 Online News Association meetings in Toronto, the plenary panel discussed strategies for adapting news to the digital habitat. The following criticism was raised by one of the discussants on the panel: "if a site is just taking the wire content and reprinting it, they don't deserve any traffic because that's lame. That's not journalism. You're just having your robot machine repurpose it." The researcher noted others' responses, describing them in his own words:

> His colleagues applauded and then echoed his point with their own critiques of algorithmic selectivity, arguing that good news journalism necessitated some artisanal or simply human investment in processes of selection, filtering, and republicization (Boyer, 2010: 88f).

Within research on cross-media news work, there are a number of studies that involve (normative) discussions on whether news media organisations are making "appropriate" use of the opportunities for journalism in the digital habitat. A conclusion of many of these reports is that news media do not customise news work sufficiently for the digital habitat (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Cohen, 2002; Deuze, 2003;

Boczkowski, 2004a; Garrison, 2005; Quinn, 2005b; Quandt, 2008). When journalism is crafted and edited manually, more customisation of the content flows can take place. This takes the form of repurposing content by either reducing or adding elements, in order to contribute to the desired user experience. This can involve journalists doing manual labour by adding new perspectives and stories to their writing, but also providing pictures, fact sheets, videos, links etc. Steensen argued that customisation for the digital habitat involves the development of multimedia, hypertext and interactivity (Steensen, 2011). The action that is taken depends on choices which focus on what is socially and economically sensible from the perspectives of user behaviour and business (Quandt and Singer, 2009). The questions arising from this relate to how media workers shape journalism and services for mobile media, with regard to customisation through human labour and/or machine programming.

2.2.3. Path-dependent practices and power transfers

The tension between humans and machines relates to changes in the authority and power of journalists in relation to their increasingly digitalised work practices. Different activities formerly carried out by journalists can be managed by intelligent machines. However, after hundreds of years of editing articles to fit into printed newspapers, journalists are accustomed to evaluating and editing journalistic content, and can be resistant to such changes. Considering the widespread use of web editors in newsrooms, it is clear that the practices of manual editing have been transferred to the digital habitat. These practices can be perceived as path-dependent, considering that the rules of the digital habitat are not as strictly predefined as they are for print.

In conclusion, the tension between humans and machines comes into play as creatives, suits and techies explore new and undefined areas for journalism, in which the technological and business conditions for journalism are different. Newspapers are facing increasing competition and decreasing levels of revenue and usage, and effective solutions for cross-media news work are being pursued. The degree of complexity, efforts and costs involved in cross-media news work for print, online, mobile devices and tablets are presumably higher than when preparing work for print and online media only. To launch an app for a mobile device or tablet involves designing its interface and making decisions on

what content should be distributed. Channels can be compared to containers that must be filled with streams of new content on a daily basis. This calls for feasible approaches to content management. The tension between humans and machines comes into play as there are different approaches to how such content containers can be filled. Newspaper media workers can edit and publish content manually, or they can make predefined inscriptions of news values to their CMS, which then auto-direct content to different distribution platforms.

The normative question of positioning with regard to the tension between humans and machines relates not only to the potential effects of replacing human journalists with technology, but also to the critically important issue of the quality of journalism. Plain repurposing of journalism has not been credited with an equivalent stamp of quality to that of manual customisation. Instead, it has been prescribed that journalists should lay their hands on each individual medium by developing its unique media logic(s). However, repurposing practices are transforming continuously, and there are myriad alternatives when it comes to how humans and machines can be used in the enactment of future cross-media news work. With third-party content aggregators, machines are winning ground as a means of repurposing journalism outside of newsrooms. Machines also play an important role in the sense of the social architecture of web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007; O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009), which facilitates more egalitarian participation in journalism.

While machines will probably not replace journalists in making decisions on newsworthiness and writing articles, they can be used for repurposing, repackaging as well as rearranging priorities in terms of the space allocated to published news according to logarithms of what content is most popular among users (i.e. most commented on, most read, highest rated). Importantly, machines are then endowed with power previously possessed by journalists. The rating of these machines thereby accommodates analyses of what users do and want, which means that users are also granted more power. In simple terms, users access content based on their behaviour and preferences, rather than journalistic judgments. This is evidenced when news sites make use of personalisation technology, either through machines which learn from users' behavioural patterns, or by allowing users to define their own criteria for a personal interface for accessing particular types of news. While these

transformations relate to the tension between humans and machines, they also relate to the tension between producers and users.

2.3. Tensions between producers and users

> For at least 500 years, since Gutenberg invented the printing press in Mainz, Germany, the basic relationship between publishers and their publics has been defined by a "broadcast" model of communication. The broadcast model emphasizes a one (or few) to many communication flow, with little feedback between source and receiver (or journalist and audience) and a relatively anonymous, heterogeneous audience (Pavlik, 2000: 234).

Newspapers in the "old" media landscape controlled the print distribution channel as a means of one-way mass communication to their market. Their profit margins were considerably higher compared to other industries due to the low level of competition, which made it possible for journalists to develop ideals which were independent of commercialism. Journalists developed measures in order to judge what was newsworthy and what was not. As their readership provided limited signals about what they did or did not appreciate (unless asked in investigations), journalists received their most immediate feedback from colleagues. Newspapers in the "new" media landscape publish news through several channels, and have become accustomed to more direct feedback (through article comments, social media, e-mail responses etc.). With web-based instruments for measuring user behaviour, journalists can nowadays receive an immediate response regarding their readership's interest in their articles, which has led to practices of shuffling, calibrating and developing articles in which people will show an interest. Users can, in other words, become part of a trial and error approach to judging newsworthiness.

In a situation which is generally perceived to be increasingly competitive, many newspapers have become more market-oriented. Market orientation involves investigating and adapting to what users want (Beam, 1998; Andersson, 2009). This can involve strategically making hard and soft news available for print and online media, which requires journalists to be cognisant of consumer preferences (Boczkowski, 2010). Market orientation translates into newspapers becoming more adaptive to the needs and interests expressed by their readership. The relationship between producers and users has changed in the sense that users are now able to access news in ways other than through newspapers. However,

not all journalists are keen on adapting their journalism to attract an improved readership. Deuze discusses the idea that editorial news workers have tried to sustain their ways of doing things, due to:

> Outside forces are kept at bay primarily by the rather self-referential nature of newswork, as expressed through the tendency among journalists to privilege whatever colleagues think of their work over criteria such as viewer ratings, hit counts or sales figures (Deuze, 2008b: 18).

In other words, journalists may prefer to remain in the old world in which feedback on their output took the form of collegial feedback, rather than conforming to feedback from users in the form of user statistics etc. One of the most important changes to this tension, however, concerns whether users are addressed solely as recipients of news content, or whether they are addressed as potential creators and contributors.

> In the traditional world, content produced by professionals and distributed through proprietary platforms still dominates. But in the new world, content is often user-created and accessed through platforms. These polarized tendencies mark the conflict between new and old media (Berman et al., 2007: 23).

The quotation above addresses a key transformation, which has been discussed by an increasing number of researchers in the field. It notes that the former producer vs. user relationship is fading, which means that media workers are reconstructing their perceptions and treatments of the so-called audience, users, and consumers as active co-creators. The tension between producers and users acknowledges that the traditional one-way communication relationship has crumbled. A general transition is occuring into a so-called convergence culture, which is affecting areas such as aesthetics, politics, media law, economics and labour (Jenkins and Deuze, 2008). A power shift from journalists to users has been taking place (Deuze and Fortunati, 2010b), because of weblogs (Heinonen and Domingo, 2008) as well as the pronounced diffusion of SNS, which are easily accessible through laptops, mobile devices and tablets. However, one can also argue that this power shift is being restrained.

2.3.1. Towards practices of produsage?

Users have become produsers, although they are not always aware of their role as such. The term "produsers" integrates producers and users into one word (Bruns, 2005, 2008a). Bruns proposes four key principles for distinguishing produsage: first, that it is based on inclusivity and not exclusivity as regards welcoming contributions for produsage. Second, it is characterised by a fluid heterarchy, as produsers all have an equal ability to make contributions. Third, this takes place in a fluid and ongoing process, which fourth, involves individual rewards coupled with the recognition of total merits (Bruns, 2010a).

News media workers are becoming increasingly sensible of practices of produsage, in line with more general contemporary trends which stress the importance of social participation and interactivity. Journalism has taken a participatory turn, unfolding in parallel with the popular concepts of web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007) and web squared (O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009). During recent years, these concepts have been applied to the development of online and mobile media, including cross-media news work. This participatory turn is commonly discussed in relation to the integration of news media with a social sharing ideology that involves SNS, wikis, blogs etc. News media can make use of such opportunities by making functionalities for sharing and commenting available to users, as well as engaging in other types of relationship with users. There are, for instance, reports of an increased use of blogs for inspiration and as sources among journalists (Trammell and Keshelashvili, 2005). Studies also show that journalists use blogs as they interpret the newsworthiness of concurrent events (Lowrey and Mackay, 2008), and use Twitter for information flows and to get in contact with sources (Newman, 2011).

Essentially, the disruptive dynamics at play have come to the forefront because of altered conditions for participation among those interested in the services and content of news media companies. The emergence of web 2.0 and social media, as well as what is commonly referred to as participatory, convergence or citizen journalism, has changed expectations regarding the relationship between producers and users radically. The roles and control over the production culture are shifting. Institutionalised media generally seem to occupy a diminishing role in the overall picture. The tensions between producers and users have challenged the traditional gatekeeper role of news media. Journalism has

traditionally involved filtering, as journalists report on only the news stories which are found to be newsworthy. Journalists have been viewed as keepers of the gates that encircle what will or will not become news. In the digital habitat, a number of factors have challenged this position, by significantly lowering the barriers for others, both companies and citizens, to report on what is happening in the world. Bloggers, for instance, are perceived as both sources and competitors for journalists (Bruns, 2005; Quandt and Singer, 2009). Interactivity has been at the centre of (normative) conceptualisations about the (preferred) direction of journalism in a digital age. Convergence, web 2.0, participatory and citizen journalism are some of the labels used to discuss a form of journalism whereby users are presented with a largely different set of possibilities for influence and interactivity. Considering that an increasing number of citizens have access to ICTs and the Internet, they can be characterised as potential citizen journalists, who can jointly contribute to the exponential transformation of the ways in which news is reported in society.

> The number of citizen journalism sites is vast, and though each covers only a particular slice of the news, in combination this flotilla of large and small sites and projects nonetheless manages to address virtually all the beats covered by mainstream news organizations (Bruns, 2010b: 133).

Considering the transformations taking place, Bruns has argued that it perhaps has become more suitable to describe journalists as gate-watchers (Bruns, 2005). We are living in an information society, with endless sources of information and news, available in different media, and produced by both professionals and laypeople. Singer suggests that journalists have an important role in this society in terms of guiding others, by making such information easily accessible, understandable and meaningful (Singer, 2010). The subtitle of a recent book on participatory journalism is *Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers*, which essentially addresses the shifting power relationship between producers and users, and how this is transforming their respective roles in contemporary democratic societies (Singer et al., 2011). The anticipated role which users will acquire as content creators varies. Boczkowski (2010), for instance, argues that user-generated content will probably supplement, rather than supplant, news production processes.

Encircling the interplay between user-generated content by citizens and journalism, Bruns (2008b) has argued for the emergence of hybrid

Pro-Am journalism. Pro-Am translates into professional amateurs who create content. Through different case studies, involving the German *myHeimat* (Bruns, 2009) and the Korean *OhmyNews* (Bruns, 2005), he illustrates that newspapers can develop successful models of Pro-Am journalism. This is not a claim that citizen journalism can replace commercial news media, nor that citizens always take a participatory role as produsers, but rather that they can adopt different roles in different situations. Following on from this, research should investigate whether newspapers embrace participation in shaping new media. One should also ask whether there are groups who resist such work, and if so, why.

2.3.2. Is there resistance to produsage among producers?

From an extensive research review, Steensen concluded that there has been a general increase in the level of interactivity taking place among news media. This interactivity has predominantly taken the form of human-to-human interactivity, while users have seldom been allowed to participate in the selection of news. In general, journalists have preserved their traditional gatekeeping role instead of truly allowing users to participate in journalism (Steensen, 2011). The power shift which is taking place between producers and users has not been welcomed by all journalists. Journalists are trained to be sceptical in their work. It is therefore not surprising that there are journalists who have not welcomed this change in their relationship with users, especially as the anticipated benefits have been unclear (Killebrew, 2003; Quandt and Singer, 2009).

Editorial workers have been reluctant to work in an interactive manner or to engage with citizens (Salaverría, 2005; Hedman, 2009). One of the reasons for this has been that journalists have not liked the idea of engaging in a dialogue with readers (Riley et al., 1998; Heinonen, 1999; Andersson, 2009). It has been argued that blogging renders journalism vulnerable (Lowrey and Mackay, 2008). Even the journalistic profession itself has been called into question in contemporary times when user-generated content has come to the fore, as journalists' role as gatekeepers has become challenged. Furthermore, and partly in light of this, arguments have been proposed as to why journalists deserve lower pay (Picard, 2009). There are clearly also critics of the quality of user-generated content, who have argued that there are limited resources to monitor and approve such content. Singer (2008) also argued that quality

assurance, legal responsibilities and revenue opportunities constitute unresolved issues. Raviola proposes an additional reason, which notes that journalists have their conceptions about what journalistic work involves; stressing that dealing with user-generated content is for entertainers (Raviola, 2010). Ethnographic research at four European newspapers suggest that interactivity is an almost mythical ideal that online journalists feel urged to achieve but that their established professional culture prevents them from realising (Domingo, 2008). This indicates the tension between producer and user, as well as between old and new.

Much of this negative attitude, coupled with the concept of interactivity, concerns the challenge to the role of gatekeeper. Journalists do not want users to participate in the processes of selecting, filtering and publishing news. Losing control of their traditional gatekeeper role has caused journalists to battle against user involvement in journalism (Singer, 2005; Domingo et al., 2008b). Over time, journalists' attitudes towards interactivity have generally become more positive, at least as regards uploading photos and videos, commenting and forum discussions (Steensen, 2011). It is worth noticing that there are differences in the perceptions of journalists and managers. For instance, a study on perceptions of blogging showed that managers were more positively inclined than journalists, which relate to that their value systems differ. Managers treated blogs as an additional and free source of content, causing an addition to journalists' workload (Schultz and Sheffer, 2009). Obviously, creatives and suits have different approaches to participation.

In the old media world, journalists were relatively unthreatened as experts and gatekeepers. Bruns (2010b) writes that they now are "at pains to distinguish their professional, supposedly objective and accountable practices from what they describe as the opinionated and partisan 'armchair journalism' of amateurs" (Bruns, 2010b: 132). Bruns emphasises that although there is a difference between professionals (journalists) and citizens, the boundaries between the two have become less sharp. One should bear in mind that professionals are also citizens, and that citizen journalists can have professional skills. Bruns acknowledges that journalists occupy a favourable position thanks to their professional status, which gives them access to networks and major public figures. On the other hand, citizens are more numerous, more independent and more multi-perspectival (Bruns, 2010b), which suggests wisdom in numbers.

In conclusion, the producer-user tension has become increasingly noticeable in both the newspaper industry and the journalism research community during the 21ˢᵗ century. Users have acquired an increasingly powerful position thanks to the more competitive and digital media landscape, to which news media organisations have adapted by becoming more market-oriented. It should be acknowledged that the news media of today engage in more transparent development processes, in which feedback is collected from users on products and services already in the development phase. The most remarkable reconfiguring of the producer-user tension, however, is that users have increasingly become produsers, challenging the old position of journalists as gatekeepers. This indicates a movement of power from producers, whereby journalists decided autonomously what constituted news, to a market orientation which is more sensitive to users' interests, and even to a situation in which news is no longer produced only by journalists, but also by citizens.

Through web 2.0-inspired practices of user participation, the producer-user relationship has become significantly blurred. This has changed the traditional dogma of "we write – you read," which is transforming the concept of journalism and its associated work practices. Producers' relationship to users has also changed because of the changing social and media landscape, in which people increasingly demand and use news media in new spatial and temporal contexts. This development pathway has obviously changed the ways in which journalistic work is conducted. Journalism as a profession is changing as it moves increasingly towards a dialogue. Previously, journalists could complete their articles and call it a day, which meant that when they returned to work the next day, they started with an empty page. The publishing of an article may well be the start of a dialogue, leading to a "mash-up" of the original article.

The bottom line is that just as machines encroach on the turf formerly defined as belonging to journalists, emergent practices of produsage have also redefined the occupational boundaries of journalism. In approaching journalism and services for both mobile devices and tablets, media workers have the opportunity to shape new boundaries for journalistic work and user participation. The ways in which these boundaries are shaped in the formative phase of innovation are highly important, as they may enact path-dependent means of development. This calls for a study of how media workers will address the producer-user tension for mobile

media, and to what extent they are oriented towards journalism, technology or business in the development of mobile news channels.

2.4. Tensions between the old and the new

> The two worlds of old and new journalism, it is predicted, will come together in a protean synergy. The crisis of the traditional economic model of journalism will give rise to a new social model based on a pro-am (that is, professional-amateur) partnership (Curran, 2010: 3).

The three tensions outlined above illustrate how the institutionalisation of new objects, relationships and practices involves the continuous reconfiguration of the old and the new. This forms the fourth and more general tension, which addresses a historically debated area (e.g. Fidler, 1997; Bolter and Grusin, 2000; Jenkins, 2006). Cross-media news work has fundamentally transformed newspaper organisations through an ongoing process of shaping the new and reshaping the old. Evidently, new and old are relational concepts that change over time (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002), and which relate to both objects and practices. The printed newspaper is old compared to the website, which, on the other hand, is perceived as old when juxtaposed with mobile media apps. Old and new also relate to associated practices, cultures and structures. Old media can be viewed as traditional, unidirectional mass media in the analogue format, namely printed newspapers, radio and television. New media, on the other hand, are those which also enable interpersonal two-way communication through digital means, such as the Internet, but also mobile and other portable media. The term "new" is context-specific and can definitely be criticised for being used to label media that have existed for several decades. The old and the new can be comprehended when they are juxtaposed. For instance, Raviola states that newspapers are old objects with old practices, which were renegotiated in their encounter with a new object (the Internet), resulting in new practices and objects (Raviola, 2010). Transformations have presumably also emerged in the business and IT departments through the development of mobile media.

New demands and conditions arise with new technologies, thereby changing the business dynamics and conditions for journalism. Verweij (2009) notes that digitisation not only brings new media – it also transforms old media. The introduction of technologies such as the Internet, mobile devices, tablets. CMS etc. have transformed the

conditions for both the production and consumption of news. Key transforming tensions involve how newspapers, as producers of journalism, have reconfigured their position compared to (prod-)users and machines. The development of new media opens up new spaces – spaces of which the boundaries can be negotiated. Media workers may think retrospectively, which can cause digital developments that are path-dependent on previous experiences. In such ways, conceptions of the old are guiding the enactment of the new. This is a way of transferring familiar experiences and expectations to new and alien encounters. However, while the configuration of new boundaries mostly takes place in the digital habitat, boundaries and tensions coupled with the old and printed newspaper are also being transformed.

Broadly speaking, the emergence of cross-media news work as something new introduced into an old world illustrates the interplay between old and new media as well as between technology and society. Fidler (1997) suggests that new media usually depart from existing media. The art of printing was inspired by handwriting, and the art of photography was inspired by painting. As previously discussed in a similar vein, radio was inspired by news reporting in newspapers, and television news broadcasts were similar to the radio. Unsurprisingly, newspaper journalism was shovelled onto the web, which begs the question of how journalism for mobile media has been approached. McLuhan (1964) proposed that the content of one medium can be seen as the content of another, which means that one medium becomes incorporated or represented in another medium.

The representation of one medium in another has been labelled "remediation" by Bolter and Grusin (2000), who argue that as digital media were becoming widespread, it became clear that the ways in which they were developing were linked to their predecessors. Bolter and Grusin presented three types of remediation, focusing on the interplay between old and new media. First, remediation can take the form of plain repurposing, in which the ambition is for the digital medium to be an invisible platform for presentation. They proposed that transparency is the goal when the ambition is to reproduce the experience of the original medium (here the printed newspaper). This form of remediation, labelled "immediacy," in other words aims to reduce the presence of the medium itself. They do, however, underscore that one must bear in mind that digital media always intervene and makes themselves known in some way.

A second form of remediation takes place when the ambition is to significantly refashion the older medium, while still marking the presence of old media. This form of remediation is labelled "hypermediacy." The third form of remediation takes place when a new medium is created, with the ambition of minimising the discontinuity between old and new. Bolter and Grusin (2000) stress that such remediation cannot be effaced entirely, as there will always be interdependent connections between old and new media. Their works suggest that digital media do not have to divorce themselves from old media to achieve a good value proposition (and media logic). Instead, the emancipation of new media depends on the remediation of old media, assisting people to make sense of the new.

The current reshaping of newspapers engaged in cross-media news work constitutes a critically important area of inquiry. The old situation involved the manual production of journalism in a print newspaper organisation in which a dialogue with the business department and users was essentially absent. The new situation involves journalistic work produced by journalists, machines and produsers, in increasingly liquid and collaborative organisations characterised by cross-media news work. Tensions between digital and print media create opportunities to renegotiate new objects and practices. Some of those opportunities are welcomed, while others are not. The power which journalists traditionally have possessed is being challenged for a number of reasons, relating to the fact that the entry barriers for produsers, or so-called Pro-Ams, to publish their stories have become significantly lower. Another explanation relates to the notion that the ideals of journalistic practices were constructed in the old world. Such ideals could depart from journalists' values, rather than from an understanding of the public. No precise numerical data (like the continuous statistics created by users of news sites) were used in old print journalism, and therefore journalists could legitimise their own judgments of public interest as their primary guiding principle for news values. With a levelled awareness about the ways in which people make use of news on different channels, new journalism practices are guiding change in both old and new media.

An important discussion relating to the tension between old and new concerns whether the old and the new complement, displace or replace one another. Replacement is the absolute displacement of one medium by another, while displacement means reducing the usage of one medium in favour of another. There are clearly old technologies, such as typewriters

and VCRs, which nowadays have been more or less replaced by computers and DVD, Blu-ray and HTPC players. From the perspective of news media, historically, there has been a great preoccupation with regard to whether new media are displacing the newspaper, involving studies of the potential displacement effects caused by radio (Lazarsfeld, 1940), as well as television (Belson, 1961). These studies, however, showed limited displacement effects. With the advent of the Internet, there have been a myriad of studies addressing whether print is being displaced or complemented by the Internet. Studies of displacement typically assume that new media are superior to the old (McCombs, 1972; Dimmick, 2003; Lin, 2004; Nguyen and Western, 2006), while studies focusing on complementary relationships suggest that old and new media can function alongside each other (Dutta-Bergman, 2004; Flavian and Gurrea, 2009; Van Cauwenberge et al., 2010). Ultimately, the displacement or complementary relationships between old and new media underpin how the shaping of new mobile media can be approached by established newspapers. There are mixed findings regarding whether online news has a complementary or displacement effect on news in print. The ways in which print (old) and digital (new) media are used vary among different groups of users (De Waal and Schoenbach, 2010; Bergström and Wadbring, 2010; Westlund and Färdigh, 2011). Accordingly, the continuous reshaping of old and new involves considering how practices of accessing news change over time. Evidently, both printed newspapers and digital news serve important functions, but to somewhat different groups. It is reasonable to ask what part media workers envision is played by access to mobile news.

In conclusion, the relationship between old and new can be viewed as one in which old and new media remediate one another, but also one in which they co-exist. The continuous exploration of the new is continuously reshaping the old. Through the institutionalisation of cross-media news work, newspaper organisations have been shaped into something different from their original platform, and are moving towards a definition in the digital domain (Westlund and Krumsvik, 2012). In the encounter between old and new, new practices and objects merge by means of planning, negotiation and testing. To introduce new combinations, such as that of journalism and the Internet, or the Internet and the mobile device, constitutes a process of innovation which is in line with Schumpeter's (1997) definition of innovation as the putting together

of pieces into something new. It also parallels a discussion by Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) on technology as a fitting process whereby ideas and actions create new and unique combinations. Digital media are becoming institutionalised into the textures of newspaper organisations, creating a hybrid of print and digital media, and between old and new. ICTs have become deeply embedded into the practices, objects and channels of everyday life.

Technology, such as printing presses and typewriters in the distant past, but also the Internet and a number of digital devices for multimedia and information processing today, has become a natural part of the work which takes place within newspapers. Previously, such technologies functioned only as enablers for producing and distributing journalism and advertisements to readers. The printed newspaper, with its journalistic content, constituted the backbone of their creative enterprise. Digitalisation, the Internet and mobile devices have changed that equation for old newspaper organisations. Cross-media news work, in other words, is not simply the addition of news sites, mobile devices and tablets to print newspapers. Digital media have made it possible for new practices and objects to evolve, which consequently has transformed old practices and objects. While there may be cultures in newspaper organisations which are preventing change, there are also cultures fostering continuous change. Contemporary cross-media news work is liquid. The emergence of new media involves significant remediation, whereby both old and new media recapture the media landscape. Following many years of cross-media news work with two channels, in recent years, tablets and mobile devices have added to its liquidity and complexity. This has led to excellent opportunities for studying the sensemaking of mobile media, for instance, by exploring whether media workers can make sense of extracts based on their experiences of the old. In a similar vein, are old practices being integrated with their approach to the new?

3

SENSEMAKING OF MOBILE MEDIA

Newspaper organisations are aiming to sustain journalism and business in a historically challenging situation. Cross-media news work is transforming newspaper organisations as concepts, as well as their organisation, cultures, practices and boundaries. This dissertation could have been designed to contribute a description and conceptualisation of different "successful" ways to manage contemporary change. It could have studied "successful" cases of how contemporary newspapers have organised digital developments and collaboration. However, these are not the sorts of contributions that this dissertation is aiming to make. Instead, it comprises an in-depth investigation into the transformation of tensions and the sensemaking of mobile media, addressing organisational change processes in an industry that has not changed much in the past.

The first section discusses approaches to environmental and organisational change. The second section makes a transition to the sensemaking approach, which here draws predominantly on the work of Karl E. Weick.[2] The discussion on the properties of sensemaking provides information on how the research design was approached, which guided the fieldwork and analysis of sensemaking processes and tensions from an organisational perspective. The section on action- and belief-driven sensemaking expounds on the lenses used for the analysis of sensemaking processes discussed in the concluding chapter.

3.1. Approaches to change

Organisational research involves the critical, interpretive, normative and postmodern/dialogic perspectives (Deetz, 1996), but also the structural, human resource, political and symbolic perspectives (Bohlman and Deal,

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[2] Karl E. Weick and Brenda Dervin are two prominent figures in the scholarship on sensemaking. They run parallel research communities and, in this dissertation, Weick forms the point of departure because of his focus on organisational sensemaking.

2003). As *structural* and *normative* research is similar, in the following, both forms will be labelled as normative. Several of these perspectives have been applied in research relating to the key dimensions which form the focus of this dissertation, namely the change processes involved in *organisations* and *environments.*

With regard to the interplay between interpretation and action in organisational change, there are two polarised positions. The first position departs from a conception of organisations as predominantly permanent, according to which change is episodic, and involves three phases: unfreezing; changing and refreezing. The unfreezing phase is when organisational members perceive that the old ways of doing things are not adequate for the new situation. During the changing phase, people look for new approaches in order to do things better, and in the refreezing phase, these approaches become established (Lewin, 1951). We can translate this process as an organisation *acting* in one way (publishing printed newspapers), *interpreting* important changes (relating to the digital habitat) and then *acting* in a different way that is supposedly better for the organisation (by developing cross-media news work). This position assumes that organisations are fairly permanent and independent, and that they can monitor, analyse, discover and adapt to environmental change. The second position, on the other hand, opposes episodic change, as it positions change as something that never starts because it never stops. The freeze-rebalance-unfreeze sequence acknowledges a process perspective on change as continuous (Weick and Quinn, 1999).

In this dissertation, newspapers are perceived as organisations that develop continuously in relation to environmental change. The previous chapter showed that change, however, is not always welcomed. Weick suggests that change management involves a tension between innovation and control, which relates to the tension between old and new. In the analysis and generation of innovation (the new), those involved often want to affirm their control of established practices (the old), which means continuously reconciling this tension (Weick, 1995). Innovation and stability relate to the relationship between organisations and environmental change. This has been widely researched, coming down to topics such as adaptability, strategy and rationality on the one hand, and interpretation, culture and sensemaking on the other. It involves a polarisation between treating environments as something externally fixed that can be *discovered* (positivistic and normative view), and something

constructed through noticing, interpretation and sensemaking (constructionist view). The conception of discovered environments, coupled with research with a normative emphasis on adaptation to environmental change, has brought forward rhetoric that change is necessary, perhaps even preferable, and that change should be guided by insightful analysis and strategy. The interpretive perspective and the sensemaking approach emphasise the difficulty of studying and determining the *accuracy* of *discoveries* (although they can be rationalised as accurate retrospectively). The normative stance on *rationality* has typically stressed a think-then-act recipe. Does this mean that the conception of constructed environments is not rational? The answer is no, it does not mean that. Weick argues that in sensemaking it is just as "rational" to approach change using an act-then-think recipe, if one considers that people continuously make sense of their own actions.

> There is considerable autonomous action that unfolds independent of formal system requirements and response to a variety of signals. Diverse though its origins may be, these autonomous actions still have effects. They leave traces. They alter people, materials and expectations. They leave puzzles for sensemaking in their wake. These actions provide the "saying" which people see in order to discover what they think. The sensemaking starts with actions rather than beliefs. Oddly enough, this seemingly irrational inversion of the recipe think-then-act into act-then-think results in the eminently rational recipe, seeing is believing. What people keep missing is that what they see is usually the outcome of their own prior actions. What they see is something of their own making (Weick, 1995: 134).

In the following section, different approaches relating to the two recipes for environmental change are discussed. After this follows a section discussing how legitimacy, mimicry and negotiation come into play in organisational change. Both sections are briefly elaborated on in relation to the sensemaking approach and cross-media news work, which are discussed in greater depth in the remainder of the chapter.

3.1.1. Perspectives on environmental change

The normative tradition portrays organisational change as taking place through the interaction between internal resources and the external environment. It is important to acknowledge that this research tradition has influenced media organisations' approach to analyses, strategy,

organisation etc. With regard to the (business) dynamics at play, organisational research has shown that managers seek to improve results and effectiveness through environmental scanning, strategic planning and decision-making, as well as organisational adaptation and learning (Gavetti and Levinthal, 2000). It is assumed that environments and preferred strategies can be discovered through competitive information searching and analysis. Findings from this research tradition also suggest that organisations increase their efforts to monitor and analyse their environment in times of perceived uncertainty (Thomas et al., 1993), such as those faced by contemporary newspapers. Organisations are treated as formal and rational, and as seeking to take "appropriate" action with regard to their resources, competitors and environment (Bohlman and Deal, 2003). Similar ideas have been proposed in organisational sociology (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2007), and also by the life cycle, teleological, dialectic and evolutionary approaches (Van de Ven and Poole, 1995)

Other approaches that can be labelled as normative include the industrial organisation (IO) approach, the resource-based view, distinctive competence theory (Fredberg, 2003) and the configurational view (Miles and Snow, 2003; Snow et al., 2005), which emphasise in different ways how external and internal factors influence organisational change. Among the findings, we can note that not only news media organisations but organisations in general are involved in ongoing processes of evaluating their purpose as they reconfigure the ways in which they interact with their environments. To be adaptive to change is seen as preferable (Miles and Snow, 2003). Studies of news media organisations have shown that they have transformed over time with regard to the challenges associated with the digital habitat (e.g. Krumsvik, 2006, 2009).

It is common for normative approaches to prescribe that organisations *should* make developments in relation to their transforming environment (through adaptation or intervention). There are indeed many newspaper organisations that have adapted to the digital habitat by accommodating cross-media news work, but there are also those that have neglected such developments. Although not necessarily conceptualising change as a discovery, this normative approach implies that newspapers should develop cross-media news work in order to secure future reach and revenue streams that compensate for losses in print. With regard to online journalism, normative propositions have been made that hypertext,

multimedia and interactive functionalities should be developed, as well as prescribing that newsrooms should become integrated etc.

The sensemaking approach addresses environmental change from a different perspective. Similar to other constructionist approaches, organisations are treated as evolving, dynamic and socially constructed (Alvesson, 2001; Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2007). This view acknowledges the importance of studying the role of, and interplay between, interpretations and actions. Orlikowski and Gash (1994: 175) emphasise the role of interpretation in how organisations approach technology, suggesting that while "interpretations become taken-for-granted and are rarely brought to the surface and reflected on, they nevertheless remain significant." Interpretive researchers often pay attention to ambiguity, studying issue-specific perceptions, values, cognitions, power conflicts and actions among individuals or groups within organisations. Boundaries between organisations and environments are seen as blurred (Kärreman, 1996), and the interrelationship between interpretation and action is not perceived as linear from either of the two polarised positions, but rather as a complex process of cross-fertilisation. Organisational members are not treated as passive recipients and adapters, but instead as active interpreters of environmental change. For instance, Daft and Weick (1984) suggest seeing organisations as interpretation systems, constructing and defining their own situation and environment. Weick (1995: 163) quotes Starbuck:

> Organizations environments are largely invented by organizations themselves. Organizations select their environments from ranges of alternatives, then they subjectively perceive the environment they inhabit. The processes of both selection and perception are unreflective, disorderly, incremental, and strongly influenced by social norms and customs (Starbuck, 1976: 1069).

By socially constructing their world, organisational members constrain their perspectives and actions, institutionalising some ideas and patterns of action rather than others. Importantly, the enactment of a world through actions that contain material artefacts that are given meaning becomes the feedstock for institutionalisation. From this perspective, it is particularly important to study sensemaking in the early stages of innovation, when it is new and uncertain, and has not yet become institutionalised (Weick, 1995). In other words, the sensemaking approach captures how the new is enacted, which subsequently establishes a

platform for its institutionalisation into the old. This is an important argument for making use of the sensemaking approach in the early stages of mobile media in the contemporary history of cross-media news work. The institutionalisation approach is better suited to studying somewhat more mature processes, such as the institutionalisation of online news sites in print newsrooms a decade after their first appearance.

Focusing on the interplay between organisations and perceived environmental uncertainty, Weick (1995) argues that perceptions can be seen as a joint product of the environment, individuals' dispositions, and the processes and structures of organisations. Clearly, the ways in which environments are constructed and the ways in which organisations change vary with the composition, competence and beliefs of their staff (i.e. creatives, suits and techies). This is discussed in the following section.

3.1.2. Perspectives on organisational change

Regardless of whether environmental change is seen as discovery or construction, the ways in which organisations change clearly involve a number of complex dimensions. The second chapter suggested that news media organisations involve different sub-cultures associated with different professions, which have different approaches to cross-media news work. Two themes which are relevant to organisational change will be discussed in the following section: first, legitimacy and mimicry; and second, heterogeneous sub-cultures and the negotiation of interpretations.

Legitimacy and mimicry in organisational development

The newspaper business is an isomorphic industry in which legitimacy is important. News media organisations may change based on the actions of other news media organisations (Sylvie and Witherspoon, 2002). This imitation is also expressed when journalists observe and mimic the work of other journalists (Quandt, 2008; Boczkowski, 2010). We can consider that the newspaper industry often consists of newspapers in different markets (local/regional) that are not in direct competition with each other. There are industry press, networks and affiliations on both national and international levels. In other words, newspapers keep each other informed and even collaborate with one another. In their interpretation of

their environment, they monitor the actions of their competitors or the industry leaders (Nordqvist et al., 2010).

The importance of legitimacy is present in other research investigations of cross-media news work (such as the aforementioned study on newspaper industry associations), showing that mimicry can be credited as a significant factor in the decision-making process. Studies have also shown that legitimacy has influenced newspaper managers in making decisions on technology (Lowrey, 2005). Other studies show that mobile media and user-generated content have come to the fore of media managers' analyses and mimicry in recent years (Fagerjord et al., 2010). The importance of legitimacy and mimicry in organisational change has long been illuminated by scholars of institutionalisation (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Peters, 2000). Rather than valuing only effectiveness and results, organisations value acting in ways that will secure their legitimate authority with the public (Thomas et al., 1993). In conclusion, news media organisations may be guided by what they think is perceived as legitimate by their peers in the news industry.

Another dimension of mimicry and legitimacy relates to the previously discussed tension between old and new. As new media tend to be a remediation of the old (Bolter and Grusin, 2000), mimicry takes place among news media workers that essentially involves developing the new by departing from an understanding of the old. Over time, organisational staff develops competencies and experiences, through which they form their interpretations and decisions. This is accounted for by research into the importance of path-dependent ways of thinking and behaving, which has been applied in investigations of newspapers in both Sweden (Djerf-Pierre and Weibull, 2009) and Germany (Koch, 2008). Path-dependency explains both tangible and intangible investments. Newspapers can make costly tangible investments in the Internet and mobile devices. As there are switching costs involved in making a change, even when it is obvious that the change will increase performance, they may continue on their existing path. There are also difficulties in changes to intangible factors, such as forming new behavioural patterns that contradict established practices (Koch, 2008).

Translating these lines of thought into the perspective of sensemaking, media workers will presumably construct arguments in order to justify their actions (to avoid switching costs). In relation to avoiding patterns that contradict established practices, the act-then-think sequence involves

processes of commitment or manipulation, leading to self-fulfilling prophecies. In other words, based on the outcome produced, media workers will mobilise legitimate reasons. Furthermore, the concept of minimal sensible structures involves the frames which organisational members draw upon as they extract cues from which they seek to make sense. Importantly, as they make sense of one thing, they do so by relating it to another, with which they are more familiar (Weick, 1995). This relational sensemaking can, in other words, be perceived as sensemaking of the new by relating it to the (path-dependent) old:

> The goal of organizations, viewed as sensemaking systems, is to create and identify events that recur to stabilize their environments and make them more predictable. A sensible event is one that resembles something that has happened before (Weick, 1995: 170).

One conclusion to be drawn is that the shaping of cross-media news work can involve imitating the legitimate practices of other industry practitioners, with regard to their endeavours concerning developments in business, technology and journalism. Imitation is also related to remediation and repurposing. Importantly, however, perceptions on what is worthwhile and legitimate to imitate clearly vary over time and between different groups. Hence, researchers should pay attention to the transforming sensemaking processes among various media workers.

Heterogeneous cultures and negotiations

There are differences between creatives, suits and techies in terms of their culture and way of thinking, but also between media workers coupled to the old and analogue practices and objects, compared to those engaged in the new and digital habitat. Organisational research has approached such differences using the concept of culture. The concept of culture applies anthropological terms and focuses on cognitive issues. It has a collective character, is socially constructed through its historical habits and traditions and transforms slowly due to conservative ideas and values (Hofstede et al., 1990). Others add that the collective and cognitive nature of culture implies that different meanings and orders are ascribed to organisational structures and changes, varying with factors such as profession, gender and generation (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2007).

As organisations are comprised of heterogeneous members, here referred to as creatives, suits and techies, negotiations presumably take place when tensions come into play. The transforming tensions between (and among) creatives, suits and techies influence how news media organisations approach the development of cross-media news work. Organisational change generally involves communicating and negotiating different interpretations and potential actions (Bohlman and Deal, 2003; Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2007). Staff may resist accommodating particular changes, e.g. journalists may resist cross-media news work practices. There are a number of reasons for this resistance to change in organisations, such as a lack of trust in those who propose the change, or if the change is perceived as unnecessary or unfeasible (Yukl, 2006). When suggested changes do not match the aspirations of all of the organisational members involved, they are difficult to accomplish (Sveningsson and Sörgärde, 2007).

> Management is a critical dimension of any organizational context. It involves relations of power and authority within organizations, as well as cooperative and contested relations between organizations, and also raises, at particular moments, forms of resistance and struggle within organizations (Majoribanks, 2010: 133).

Expressions of power can involve what people accept, reject and take for granted. Power can also become manifest through directions for communication processes and what actions are permitted. Power has definitely been a topic of extensive inquiry, theory and debate. However, this subject will, for the most part, be left aside here, although the importance of power in the interplay between professional groups is acknowledged. Studies of journalists as professionals show that they gain legitimacy and power in relation to one another based on their professional experience, formal position, news beat, journalistic prizes they have received, etc. Power essentially derives from peer recognition and being respected by colleagues (e.g. Schultz, 2007). With regard to the tensions between creatives, suits and techies, they achieve legitimacy among their peers based on different criteria, and therefore also bring with them different experiences and incentives to social negotiations of interpretation. Orlikowski and Gash have reviewed the relevant literature on culture, power and social information processing, concluding that:

> People tend to share assumptions, knowledge, and expectations with others with whom they have close working relationships. Likewise, social interaction and negotiation over time create opportunities for the development and exchange of similar points of view (Orlikowski and Gash, 1994: 177).

Organisational members may have shared understandings of their roles and expertise, but they may act differently because of their shifting interests (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992). There are sometimes heterogeneous cultures within organisations (Schein, 2004), including news media organisations (Küng-Shankleman, 2000; Singer, 2004). Generally speaking, this can be explained by different knowledge bases, jargon, training, industry cultures, hierarchical levels, functional departments etc. (Küng-Shankleman, 2000). This suggests that staff, such as creatives, suits and techies, develop similar interpretations and stances to those with whom they work most closely. Coopey et al. (1997) suggest that the social construction of innovation involves individuals making sense of changes in ways that support their self-identity. Translating this discussion into sensemaking terms, Weick views organisations as being comprised of heterogeneous sub-cultures that form the context of power relations in which interpretation processes take place. He writes that "most interpretations involve political interests, consequences, coercion, persuasion and rhetoric" (Weick, 1995: 7). Following on from this, it is obviously important to study the sensemaking of various media workers.

3.2. The sensemaking approach

> The strength of sensemaking as a perspective derives from the fact that it does not rely on accuracy and its model is not object perception. Instead, sensemaking is about plausibility, pragmatics, coherence, reasonableness, creation, invention, and instrumentality (Weick, 1995: 57).

This section introduces the general point of departure of the sensemaking approach. It views actions as being situated in context, studying one or a few cases in depth, and relying on what participants do and say. Thomas et al. (1993) define sensemaking as the interaction between information-seeking, the assignation of meaning and action. Weick, on the other hand, emphasises that sensemaking literally means the making of sense. Sensemaking is a constructionist approach, according to which reality is treated as an ongoing accomplishment of how individuals and groups

make sense retrospectively through a continuous process of active construction, classification, interpretation and conclusion (Weick, 1995). Scholars of sensemaking emphasise the need to understand the meaning-making processes that surround identity, interpretation and action. Important questions involve what events are relevant to sensemakers and how meaning is derived from these (Weick et al., 2005). The sensemaking approach is open to studying the interplay between creatives, suits and techies, focusing the sensemaking of all of these media workers, rather than on how one actor disseminates sensemaking through sensegiving.[3]

The sensemaking approach generally focuses on the micro perspective that illuminates changes in the macro environment, making explicit meaning and thoughts. Sensemaking involves language and the construction of categories to make explicit the meaning that is formed through written and spoken texts (Gioia et al., 1994). Language and communication are seen as important, as organisational staff talk their situation and environment into existence (Weick et al., 2005). Communication takes place continuously through information exchange throughout the course of action (Taylor and Van Every, 2000).

The sensemaking approach further suggests a view of bounded rationality, according to which the sensemaking process constructs a situation through interpretation and reinterpretation from a retrospective and ongoing perspective (Weick et al., 2005). The terminology used in the sensemaking approach connotes active construction processes, using terms such as enactment, creation, plausibility and construction, making clear that it is not possible to "discover" a reality (Weick et al., 2005). The sensemaking approach treats organisations as active constructors of reality, rather than passive discoverers of reality. While normative perspectives often focus on aspects that are best described as planned, permanent, general and written, the sensemaking approach emphasises the importance of grasping unplanned, temporary, small, relational and oral aspects (Weick et al., 2005).

Interpretations and actions are key dimensions of the sensemaking approach (Sackman, 1991; Thomas et al., 1993; Weick, 1995). These terms will be used continuously throughout this study, and at their most

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[3] Sensemaking and sensegiving are closely related concepts in the organisational strategy literature, although they focus on different dimensions (Rouleau, 2005). Sensegiving essentially focuses on how one actor communicates an issue to another actor, providing them with sense. For instance, a CEO can sensegive a strategy to the employees (e.g. Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991)

basic level, they can be translated as what people think and do. Sensemaking encapsulates both these dimensions. However, Weick (1995) emphasises that sensemaking is not equivalent to interpretation, although the making of sense may nurture such connotations. He notes that interpretations are translations of approximated texts (objects, events etc.). The interpreter interprets the text for a presumed audience. A distinguishing element of sensemaking is that people generate what they interpret. For instance, media workers will envision the benefits of developing a mobile news channel, then develop and launch it, and will only afterwards make sense of the result. Authoring and interpretation are interwoven throughout the process, while interpretation can be both a process and a product. Sensemaking is to structure the unknown by placing different stimuli into a framework, thereby acting as both author and reader. Sensemaking is an ongoing invention influenced by identity, knowledge and experience that involves subjective assessments.

While it is possible to distinguish theoretically between inventions/guidance and interpretations, it is much more difficult to investigate these elements empirically, as they can be subconscious or difficult to articulate. In this dissertation, interpretations are treated as social, retrospective and ongoing, and also as a concept that encompasses both the guiding and evaluation of changing events. Individuals are assumed to base their interpretations on their personal and professional experiences and interests. As people make interpretations, they draw on their experiences and memories, constructing plausible and simplified accounts (Weick, 1995). The nature of interpretations is subjective and personal, involving incomplete, ambiguous, incorrect and obsolete ideas (Orlikowski and Gash, 1994). Action clearly involves what people *do*, or to put it more correctly, what people *have done*. To quote Weick: "the moment an action is performed, it ceases to exist" (Weick, 1995: 125). Perceptions of what is being done, both momentarily and traditionally, are memories and images of those actions. In other words, both descriptions of historical work using the old print medium and contemporary work with new mobile media constitute memories of action. Nevertheless, studying patterns of action over time, as is being done in this study of creatives, suits and techies, makes it possible to access more recent memories and images of action. The following two sections enter more deeply into the sensemaking approach, and are accompanied by reflections on cross-media news work and the four tensions. First, seven

key properties are discussed, which have framed the general research design for this study of sensemaking as a social process over time. Second follows a discussion on action- and belief-driven sensemaking, which are applied in the analysis presented in the conclusion.

3.2.1. Seven properties of sensemaking

In 1995, Weick proposed that seven properties are central to the sensemaking process; (1) grounded in identity construction; (2) retrospective; (3) enactive of sensible environments; (4) social; (5) ongoing; (6) focused on and by extracted cues; and (7) driven by plausibility rather than accuracy. In later work, Weick et al. (2005) suggested that the first and last of these properties constituted the two most basic conceptual properties of the sensemaking approach. However, in the following section, all seven properties are introduced.

Sensemaking is grounded in *identity construction*, as sensemakers are humans who undergo continual redefinition and self-presentation. An individual may act not only on behalf of the organisation, but as the organisation. The term "sensemaker" is problematic because it is singular, rather than plural. Weick (1995) emphasises that individual sensemakers have many identities and selves, which are applied to their interaction with others. Identity is a changing sense of self which is associated with three self-derived needs and self-representations, namely self-enhancement (maintaining positive cognitions about oneself), self-efficacy (the need to perceive oneself as competent) and self-consistency (the desire for coherence and continuity). The ways in which individuals interpret others' perceptions of them can affect their self-identity as professionals. Ring and Van de Ven (1989) discuss the notion that organisational members project themselves onto their environment in order to make sense of their identity and to position themselves in relation to others, through self-referential appreciation. By acknowledging existing practices of mimicry in journalism, business and technology, media workers at newspapers may strive for innovation in ways contemplating with their desired professional identities.

Weick stresses that individuals make sense of both the environment and themselves, and that their behaviour and interpretations represent them both as individuals and as the organisation. Sensemaking grounded in identity means that people make sense of their situation and

environment by asking "what implications do these events have for who I will be?" (Weick, 1995: 23f). In relation to cross-media news work, the current and potential future identities of creatives, suits and techies are likely to come into play through the sensemaking of mobile media.

The second property, *retrospective*, emphasises that people know what they are doing for the first time after they have done it, as the world is constructed by memories. It acknowledges that as we register something, and as we experience the moment, it has actually become registered as memories of a moment in the (near) past. The implication of this is that perception is closely coupled to memory. To direct attention to flows of information means directing attention to what exists, that is, what has happened rather than what is happening. In other words, interpretations of particular actions can take place first when they have already taken place, as actions precede rather than follow on from interpretations.

Weick (1995) argues that as retrospective sensemaking takes place, individuals are faced with the challenge of equivocality, and therefore they seek to synthesise different meanings. They typically do not need more information, but rather priorities and clarity regarding how to make sense of the information which they have already collected. Importantly, the effect of categorisation labels, such as *threat* and *opportunity*, can come to dominate sensemaking in its early stages, as they influence what is extracted from elapsed experience. Weick also discusses the idea that the retrospective property of sensemaking means that the past becomes clearer than the future, thanks to the partial erasing of distortions. This is coupled with sensemakers' desire for clarity and order; when they achieve this feeling of clarity, their retrospective processing decreases or even stops (Weick, 1995). In conclusion, development projects of the future (the new) by necessity involve retrospective sensemaking of the past (the old). This corresponds well with the previous statement that the sensemaking of new media is coupled to the practices, objects and conceptions of the old media. Path-dependent practices and ways of thinking are present in the (retrospective) sensemaking of the digital habitat, and contribute to the remediation of mobile media.

The third property is being *enactive of sensible environments*. This property focuses on the "making" element of sensemaking, bringing together action and interpretation. Action is treated as a precondition for sensemaking, as the action of saying makes it possible for people to understand what they think. Enactment means that people construct their

own situation, creating and receiving stimuli as a result of their own activity. Weick stresses interdependent processes and continuous change. Thus, it is difficult to support the distinction between interpretations and actions. Importantly, it is also difficult to distinguish the boundaries between organisations and their environment.

> There is not some kind of monolithic, singular, fixed environment that exists detached from and external to these people. Instead, in each case the people are very much a part of their own environment. They act, and in doing so create the materials that become the constraints and opportunities they face. There is not some impersonal "they" who puts these environments in front of passive people. Instead, the "they" is people who are more active. All too often people in organizations forget this. They fall victim to this blindspot because of an innocent sounding phrase, "the environment." The word *the* suggests something that is singular and fixed; the word environment suggests that this singular, fixed something is set apart from the individual. Both implications are nonsense (Weick, 1995: 32).

Research on cross-media news work illustrates that news media managers decide on strategies for change, based on their analyses of transforming conditions (i.e. the environment), but that journalists resist some of these changes (e.g. Boczkowski, 2004a; Thurman, 2008). During such clashes, tensions between creatives, suits and techies come into play. Weick (1995) argues that resistance is a relating moment in a process, as the term "results" would imply an end to the process. Resistance to change is common in organisations, and Weick paraphrases Follett's (1924) statement that resistance to change is organisational shorthand for staff expressing resistance to the environment. Importantly, organisational members are creative constructors and authors of their environment. In other words, creatives, suits and techies participate in enacting their own mobile media scene. By means of socially constructing their world, they constrain their perspectives and actions, institutionalising some ideas and patterns of action rather than others. The enactment of a world in which actions become material artefacts that are given meaning becomes the feedstock for subsequent institutionalisation. Another important point is that enactment involves multiple and interchangeable meanings and power privileges between different groups, which influence the meanings which are considered for enactment (Weick, 1995).

In adapting these propositions to the inquiries of this dissertation, it seems reasonable to posit that managers of news media have perceived

that the emergent digital habitat is transforming environments on the move, with or without them. They have enacted technologically-oriented rhetoric which essentially has implied that news media must invest in cross-media news work, and orient their development work towards concepts such as hypertext, multimedia and interactivity. The resistance (among journalists) to the development of media logic(s) in such ways can, in this sense, be seen as resistance to the enacted environment. Here, tensions come into play, as creatives, suits and techies bring their identities and power privileges into their retrospective sensemaking and the enactment of change.

The fourth property, that sensemaking is *social*, claims that sensemaking is never solitary, as it is always contingent on others. Weick argues that sensemaking is contingent on others in the organisation, regardless of whether they are physically present or imagined. Building on symbolic interactionism, Weick emphasises that people are active contributors to each other's sensemaking processes. The social dimension of sensemaking does not necessitate that people share meanings: they may assign polarised meanings to an event they have experienced together. Importantly, the social dimension means that sensemaking binds organisational staff to actions that must be justified, forming expectations that influence the breadth of possible explanations (Weick, 1995). The social dimension of sensemaking acknowledges that creatives, suits and techies enact cross-media news work in ways that take into account for each other, either explicitly or implicitly. The enactment of digital and mobile media is a social process which is independent of the degree of collaboration between creatives, suits and techies, considering that decisions and strategies must be understood, and presumably also approved, by others in the organisation. Following on from this, the formal or informal inclusion of creatives, suits and techies in the sensemaking of mobile media can be expected to be important. Exclusion from the social processes of sensemaking relates to a lack of influence. Research shows that creatives, suits and techies have varying degrees of interest in and influence over digital developments (Westlund and Krumsvik, 2012). Hence, research should study the ways in which media workers participate in and influence innovation.

The fifth property of sensemaking emphasises that it should be understood as an *ongoing* process that never starts, as it never stops. This is in line with the previous discussion on continuous change. Sensemakers

can take moments from continuous flows, in order to extract cues and make interpretations. Organisational staff are typically conceived to be in the middle of things, working with different projects and tasks, and they will probably see things in the world that relate to what they are doing. Grounded in their identities and retrospective sensemaking, individuals are influenced by their personal experiences from the past, which help them to assign meaning to the flows of events of which they must continuously make sense. People reconstruct past events into explanations of ongoing processes, which underscore the notion that "sensemaking is ongoing and neither starts fresh nor stops cleanly" (Weick, 1995: 49). This property is a key argument about the necessity for researchers, when entering cross-media news work organisations, to be informed about the anticipated tensions at play as well to understand their contemporary history of development. Whenever a researcher makes an entry in fieldwork, it marks an entry to a social sensemaking process that started before the entry, and will continue after the fieldwork is finished.

Another property of sensemaking is that it is *focused on and extracted by cues*. Sensemaking is not only the sense that has been made, but also the actual process of making sense. In this process, people notice and extract different cues, which can be described as simple and familiar structures that help people to make sense of what is or may be occurring. Weick theorises that the extraction of cues may depend on the context (elsewhere labelled search, scanning, noticing and frames). The extraction of cues involves finding what types of factors are noticed, of which people care to make sense. What Weick refers to as the *context* also involves the cultural and political politics within organisations, acknowledging that organisational heterogeneity contributes to different interpretations of commonly experienced events. Based on a study of the Saturday Evening Post in the early 1980s, Hall (1984) illustrated tensions arising from the different interpretations of organisational members. Importantly, Weick (1995) stresses that cues are extracted from points of reference, and are then used to make (self-fulfilling) prophecies regarding these referents. He uses as an example a case involving a military group that was lost in a snowstorm in the Alps during the 1970s. On the verge of giving up, one of the soldiers found a map, which they subsequently used to navigate their way back to civilisation. However, the map used was not a map of the Alps, but a map of the Pyrenees. Weick proposes that when one is lost, any map (i.e. strategy) might do:

> Strategic plans are a lot like maps. They animate and orient people. Once people begin to act (enactment), they generate tangible outcomes (cues) in some context (social), and this helps them discover (retrospect) what is occurring (ongoing), what needs to be explained (plausibility), and what should be done next (identity enhancement). Managers keep forgetting that it is what they do, not what they plan, that explains their success (Weick, 1995: 55).

The quotation above illustrates neatly the interplay of various properties of the sensemaking process, as an interlinked circular activity involving thoughts and actions. The seventh property, *driven by plausibility rather than accuracy*, makes clear that the sensemaking approach takes a constructivist approach to reality, meaning that sensemaking should not be connoted to idealist ontology, adopting the stance that there is nothing such as "accurately" registering and sensing a "real world." The prefix *sense* is not to be interpreted to mean that people can sense the world accurately, as invoked by realist ontology. Weick emphasises that one of the strengths of the sensemaking approach is that it is associated with plausibility, coherence, creation, invention and reason, rather than being dependent on accuracy. He presents a number of arguments for this, namely that people need to filter information (which involves distortion), that they often embellish one or a few extracted cues, that there is a speed/accuracy trade-off in which accuracy is the lower priority, that organisational life is interpersonal and interdependent and that it also involves multiple identities. There is a need for simplification, as accurate perceptions can immobilise action. As previously discussed, people tend to familiarise the alien by recalling what they have done in the past, or to seek inspiration and comparison from what others are doing.

3.2.2. Two types of sensemaking processes

> When people take their interpretations seriously and act on them, the material world may cohere in a different way than it did before. It does change, others may notice these changes, interpret them in ways that are at least equivalent to those of the original actor, and then act on these new interpretations in ways that verify the original interpretation. Over time, interpretations become objectified, diffused, and widely internalized into what comes to be called a consensus on what is "out there" (Weick, 1995: 79).

By acknowledging that early interpretations become internalised, this dissertation has studied the early sensemaking of mobile media in its formative phase. This approach opens the door to studying how the new is approached and institutionalised alongside the old. Newspapers are navigating through uncertain times by transforming their organisation, products and services, media work practices etc. There are media companies which are seeking to improve their chances for successful developments by making numerous attempts, and by trying to spark interest at random as they explore new areas (Küng, 2007).

The concept of trial and error can be compared to enactment, which makes up the trial in a trial and error sequence, as it does not itself contain judgments of whether what was enacted was right or wrong. The trial translates into the creation and authoring of a world of which sense is made. Weick writes that organisations hold discussions in order to understand what they are saying, and act in order to understand what they are doing. Enactment is to act on one's perceptions, confirming one's predictions about how the future will evolve. It involves developing an understanding through what one is doing, and through which different tensions come into play. As creatives, suits and techies act on their interpretations, they constrain the information they get back, which in turn shapes their interpretations. Enacted environments are active constructs rather than real objects that are discovered. People produce their own environment, receiving stimuli as a result of their own activity (Weick, 1995; Weick and Sutcliffe, 2009). One definition reads:

> Enactment is about both direct and indirect adjustment. Adjustment occurs directly through changing that which is confronted, and indirectly through changing oneself. Enactment is about direct action on an environment. Enactment occurs in the context of both organizing (it is action that induces and is shaped by ecological change) and active sensemaking, and in both instances resembles the mechanism associated with self-fulfilling prophecies (Weick, 2009: 194).

Enactment, in other words, involves the interplay of organisations and environments. Enactment involves the creation of environments, but also their simulation for the sake of representation (Weick and Sutcliffe, 2007). Enacted environments are seen as stored wisdom from previous sensemaking efforts, that is, they create sensemaking outputs, not inputs.

People examine retrospectively the actions they first invented through their expectations. The actions taken are treated as raw data, from which people can make sense (Weick, 2001). Weick proposes that:

> Sensemaking is an effort to tie beliefs and actions more closely together as when arguments lead to consensus on action, clarified expectations pave the way for confirming actions, committed actions uncover acceptable justifications for their occurrence, or bold actions simplify the world and make it clearer what is going on and what it means. In each of these cases, sensemaking involves taking whatever is clearer, whether it be a belief or an action, and linking it with that which is less clear. These are fundamental operations of sensemaking (Weick, 1995: 135).

Sensemaking treats the relationship between interpretation and action as reciprocal. Weick notes that "divergent, antagonistic, imbalanced forces are woven throughout acts of sensemaking" (Weick, 1995: 136). He suggests that sensemaking operations are driven by *actions* and *beliefs*. Belief-driven sensemaking processes are called *arguing* and *expecting*, whereas the action-driven processes are called *committing* and *manipulating*. Both belief- and action-driven sensemaking involve making meaning out of changing conditions, involving continuous cycles of comprehension of the particularities of change and context. Beliefs acknowledge that people are embedded in contexts that influence what they notice. Ultimately, people's beliefs about something, like mobile media, can lead to the production of self-fulfilling prophecies (Weick, 1995). Regardless of whether sensemaking is driven by actions or beliefs, it constitutes a process that develops continuously over time. The various interests and competencies of creatives, suits and techies come into play through sensemaking as arguing, expecting, committing and manipulating. These forms of sensemaking function as lenses for the conclusions drawn in the final chapter (while employed modestly in the empirical chapters).

Belief-driven sensemaking

> A socially constructed world is a stable world, made stable by behaviorally confirmed expectations. Both perceivers and targets collude in achieving this stability, because neither of them welcomes uncertainty. Different as their individual goals may be, they share this aim of stability in the service of sensemaking. If this stability can be accomplished by momentary convergence on an expectation, by both the more powerful and the less powerful party, then that is what we expect to find (Weick, 1995: 154).

Sensemaking is strongly coupled to beliefs, which is the reason why people see what they believe, while the unbelievable goes unheeded. Weick (1995) states that beliefs are related to the ideologies and paradigms that set the framework that determines which cues people will heed. Beliefs influence what people are able to see, and subsequently also of what they can make sense. Believing is seeing. This implies that media workers in some sense must believe in a future for mobile media in order to actually see it, otherwise they will not invest as much time in sensemaking. The variety of beliefs among those involved influences the solutions which are identified. In other words, the involvement of creatives, suits and techies presumably stimulates more diverse sensemaking and constructions of mobile media.

The first type of belief-driven sensemaking is *arguing*, and involves calibrating the considered repertoire of beliefs that guide sensemaking. There are continuous streams of argument within organisations, in which creatives, suits and techies presumably seek to convince each other about possible paths for mobile media development. Arguments are active stances, while descriptions and classifications are non-arguments. Arguing takes place as interpretations are discussed and decisions are made, at meetings among and between creatives, suits and techies, in which tensions come into play. Arguing involves reducing the variety of beliefs that are considered to be relevant for defining an area (Weick, 1995). In other words, if creatives, suits or techies are excluded from sensemaking, they are subsequently absent when important definitions are discussed and defined. Weick builds his discussion on arguing as a belief-driven process on a proposal regarding the characteristics of an argument (by Wayne Brokeriede), which states that argument is a process of reasoning between different ideas. It involves a choice and the rationale behind making a leap in beliefs to a competing claim in times of uncertainty. There is a willingness to risk confrontation, but it does not necessarily involve conflicts. Sensemaking characterised by arguing unfolds into the situation of the new argument. Social influences in organisations involve staff changing their positions in relation to those of others. Sensemaking also evolves through processes of non-argument (Weick, 1995).

Second, sensemaking as *expecting* is more strongly correlated to identity than arguing. Individuals often seek confirmation of their expectations, making them both starting points and self-fulfilling prophecies.

Expectations are fundamental acts of sensemaking, constituting the framework which people use for navigation, seeking to see what they expect to see. As belief and action are tied together, sensemaking can start at any point. Seeing is believing, as the outcome of prior actions directs what one sees, which means that there is an action-based outcome that searches for a prophecy. Creatives, suits and techies may have publicly articulated their expectations for the promising future of mobile media. If they expect mobile media to become important for accessing news, this expected outcome is the prophecy to which they will attend.

> Given the preoccupation of organizations with foresight, strategic planning, prediction and extrapolation, we might find that self-fulfilling prophecies become commonplace, deliberate tools when people focus on the future. As they dwell on what might happen, people's expectations become better articulated, stronger and potentially more capable of being a potent force in their own validation (Weick, 1995: 134).

Putting the words of Weick into the context of this study, if creatives, suits and techies believed that mobile media were to increase in importance, they would extract cues and form interpretations that ultimately conformed to this belief. Belief-driven sensemaking can involve self-fulfilling expectations, based on prophecies and hypotheses. Importantly, news media organisations will initiate actions based on their expectations, thereby enacting and reinforcing their beliefs.

Action-driven sensemaking

Action-driven sensemaking involves processes labelled *committing* and *manipulating.* A major difference between these processes is that commitment is focused on organisational staffs' responsibility for a single action, while manipulation involves multiple simultaneous actions for environmental change. Weick notes that action shapes cognition in terms of the recipe "how can I know what I think until I see what I say?" which thereby involves justification (an element derived from dissonance theory). People justify what they have said and done by means of retrospective sensemaking. Weick emphasises that expectations guide the process of construction, functioning as a mindset in sensemaking. Organisational members practise what they preach and "talk the walk," as the values and strategies of the organisation follow on from their actions

(Weick, 1995). This constitutes a deliberate inversion of the usual phrase "walk the talk." In other words, as regards their stance on mobile media, media workers will presumably emphasise and legitimatise the importance of their own familiar "walk." Weick (1995) suggest that when organisational members construct their histories retrospectively, they tend to make history look more rational and focused than it did at the time. When decisions are taken, the members seek to articulate and motivate actions that have already been carried out, and their choice of words matters. He further proposed that the existence of numerous interpretations is to expect, rather than a symptom of a weak organisational culture and that problems are simply moments of interruption in the continuous process of sensemaking. Organisational members jointly experience activities and moments, but this does not necessarily mean that they will assign them the same meanings.

Committing focuses on why particular actions have taken place and is associated with symbolic and legitimacy acts. Weick (1995) notes that people invest the most in sensemaking for those actions to which they are committed, especially if those actions are binding by being explicit (the act has occurred), public (important people have seen that it occurred) and irrevocable (the act cannot be undone). Commitment through previous binding actions is similar to path-dependency. As people make sense of actions, they organise their interpretations in ways that support or oppose actions. Weick suggests that "when it becomes more difficult to change the behavior than to change the beliefs about the behavior, then beliefs are selectively mobilized to justify the act" (Weick, 1995: 156).

Essentially, commitment means that the ways in which people choose to act change what they know. It involves assembling reasons why particular actions are good, by spending more time understanding them. It is also clear that commitment can help to explain how beliefs about behaviour change over time, as media workers aim to legitimise their public actions. For instance, if beliefs exist about the role that mobile media *should* play in cross-media news work that are not consistent with the way in which it is *being exercised*, either the beliefs or the behaviour can be changed. As it is difficult to change behaviour, media workers will presumably mobilise beliefs that will legitimise their actions.

The second type of action-driven sensemaking is manipulation, which is not to be interpreted literally according to the everyday usage of the term. Manipulation here acknowledges that organisational members strive

to change and manipulate demands, and not only to adapt to them. This involves acting in ways that foster environments which creatives, suits and techies can comprehend. Weick emphasises that sensemaking is an active construction process, and not one of passively discovering a given environment. The sensemaker is an inventor who creates and manipulates his or her so-called environment, acting in ways that form an environment that the sensemaker can comprehend and manage. This illustrates clearly that sensemaking is not a passive process of discovering "what is out there," but rather an active and constructivist approach. Weick argues that organisations shape their environments as they seek opportunities in areas that involve few competitors. They strive to make simplifications and to define their products and services as distinct in relation to others in their industry (i.e. niche markets and competitive advantage). The environment is not seen as determining the action, as the organisation can choose its actions and constraints. For instance, a coalition of companies and politicians enforced daylight savings time in the US in order to guide behaviour in desirable ways (Weick, 1995). Similarly, creatives, techies and suits can enact the development of mobile media. If "the environment" is characterised by insufficient means for delivering mobile news services, such as the absence of flat-rate tariffs or revenue conditions among operators, news media organisations can form coalitions in order to negotiate with (and manipulate) these operators.

3.3. Study rationale

The sensemaking approach has been employed in the research design of this study. This section presents the study rationale, by means of synthesising and summarising the discussions in the introduction, the research review and this chapter. A key problem is that the press is under pressure. Four tensions come into play as newspaper organisations make transformations, such as shaping mobile media. There are a number of different ways to make developments which will prevail in the new media landscape, but the importance of digital media has been emphasised repeatedly. Opportunities provided by the web, mobile devices and tablets are at least partly expected to compensate for losses in readership and revenue for the printed newspaper. The mobile device was considered to be a new and emergent medium in terms of accessing news at the time when fieldwork was initiated. As such, it formed a window of opportunity

for studying how the sensemaking of new media is shaped over time among various media workers in an old news media institution.

This dissertation focuses on how the sensemaking of mobile media has been shaped over time among creatives, suits and techies in a newspaper organisation. The sensemaking approach is suitable for studies of subjects which are new, uncertain and in a state of flux. Sensemaking opens the door to studying how various media workers, with their own perspectives, construct and make sense of contemporary changes which are relevant to cross-media news work. The sensemaking approach allows a cross-disciplinary approach to the interplay between interpretations and actions among creatives, suits and techies. Mobile media form a topic which is assumed to be relevant, in different ways, to all three groups. The sensemaking approach has formed the general frame for this study. The empirical chapters have been designed to show the transformation of sensemaking processes, in conjunction with how the four tensions come into play. These chapters have been designed to exclude advanced sensemaking terminology in order to focus the narrative on a consistent level of abstraction. The concluding chapter, however, focuses on belief- and action-driven sensemaking in relation to mobile media.

Although technology has been considered to be an important part of sensemaking (Weick and Meader, 1993), and although sensemaking is suitable for studying the new (Weick, 1995), there are few studies of the enactment of technology within organisations (Sætre et al., 2007). This dissertation makes a contribution to that field of research by exploring the sensemaking processes relating to an emergent technology with which newspaper media workers are engaging. This is a study of organisational change and the processes of innovation management. The sensemaking approach is driven by both actions and beliefs, and the variety of beliefs among the creatives, suits and techies involved will influence the enactment of mobile media. Moreover, the analysis focuses on how four tensions come into play, against the backdrop of the research discussed in the second chapter. While the broader body of literature on journalism, media, business and technology marks the presence of these four tensions, few have empirically examined these tensions simultaneously.

With regard to the more general tension between *old* and *new*, the label of old here relates to newspapers operated by human journalists who are accustomed to being producers of journalistic content. In the past, these newspapers' business was healthy and their journalists were perceived as

experts. Due to their strong power over the distribution channel in relation to other media, there was limited competition. Neither journalists nor sales staff had to take into account the needs of readers and advertisers, compared to the new situation, in which competition has become fierce. In the new situation, there are additional distribution channels, which mean that newspapers have new competitors and have had to learn to master these (as a result of adopting them into their cross-media portfolios). Marketers and advertisers increasingly have a wide array of options for their desired communication. The bottom line is that journalism has become increasingly disentangled from advertisements, but that working with advertising within news media organisations is becoming increasingly connected to the work of journalists.

This dissertation studies *creatives*, *suits* and *techies* and the interplay between *editorial, business* and *technology* functions and departments. It studies creatives, suits and techies as they renegotiate their inherent professional boundaries as they position themselves in relation to mobile media (*the new*) with respect to their existing organisation and channels (*the old*). Creatives, suits and techies are anticipated to bring different experiences to the mobile media pot. This means that the development of cross-media news work is not simply related to monitoring, analysing and acting on environmental changes. It is also shaped by path-dependent practices and conceptions of professional ideals that are negotiated by creatives, suits and techies. Taking into account the transforming tensions between these groups, encounters with new media are anticipated to take place through increased inter-departmental collaboration.

By studying processes of the sensemaking of mobile media among these groups, this dissertation will investigate the *producer* vs. *user* tension. This involves how producers position themselves with regard to their traditional role and the idea of allowing users to become active produsers. Through such transformations, a greater degree of individualisation and power can be granted to users, while stripping journalists of theirs. By allowing users to customise the way they access news and to create and publish their own content, the traditional authority of journalists is challenged. This loss of power also concerns the transforming tension between *humans* and *machines*, in particular how technological systems for the auto-direction of news content displace the work traditionally conducted by journalists. These four tensions represent simplified constructions of the dimensions credited as being significant to our

understanding of the transformations taking place in contemporary news media organisations. While previous research has made it possible to establish the significance of these tensions, less is known about how they play out when scrutinised empirically together and over time. By acknowledging that contemporary cross-media news work is fluid in nature, and involves continuously changing interpretations and actions, this chapter has contextualised and outlined the sensemaking approach. With its constructionist point of departure for the study of the transforming processes of interpretation and action, the sensemaking approach makes it possible to explore change processes from the insider perspectives of creatives, suits and techies. It will be employed to encircle the moving target of mobile media developments addressed in this dissertation. *The aim is to study the sensemaking of mobile media over time among creatives, suits and techies in a relatively typical newspaper organisation.*

This approach to the thoughts and actions associated with mobile media has created an opportunity to investigate how new objects are explored and given meaning, both in forming the new and reshaping the old. This study makes use of longitudinal qualitative fieldwork to explore how the four tensions come into play. Considering that the sensemaking approach typically takes an inductive stance, it should be noted that although the presumed existence of the four tensions is acknowledged, they have been approached in an exploratory and open-minded way. The empirical work has been designed to investigate how these tensions come into play by studying what media workers *say* and *do* over a period of time.

The analysis of how tensions have come into play builds mainly on 62 interviews conducted with 26 different creatives, suits and techies between 2008 and 2011 at a large Swedish newspaper. Sweden has a well-developed ICT infrastructure that involves a high diffusion of mobile Internet and mobile devices. The media landscape includes both private and public service actors and has a historically strong newspaper circulation compared to countries elsewhere (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; World Press Trends, 2008). The newspaper under investigation is GP, the second-largest subscribed quality newspaper in Sweden. GP is the largest newspaper in the Stampen Group, which is the third-largest media group in Scandinavia. The next chapter presents the context and the case study more thoroughly, and then the two parts of the empirical analysis are presented. Before embarking on the analysis, the outline of the empirical chapters will be presented.

3.3.1. Outline of empirical chapters (chapters five to ten)

The empirical results are outlined in two parts. The first part consists of chapters' five to eight and focuses in particular on how tensions come into play between creatives, suits and techies, as well as between old and new. The chapters are ordered chronologically and focus on the sensemaking of mobile media over time. The second part is made up of chapters nine and ten, which focus in particular on micro processes which are relevant to the understanding of how tensions come into play between humans and machines and producers and users. The train metaphor, which was used extensively by media workers to describee mobile media, is used for the structure and headlines of the empirical chapters.

Chapter five closely scrutinises the formative and intensified processes for the sensemaking of mobile media that took place throughout 2006 and 2007. It shows how tensions between creatives, suits and techies came into play through inclusion and exclusion in the social and ongoing formative processes of sensemaking that shaped the boundaries of how mobile media have been constructed. Chapters six, seven and eight are all outlined in a similar fashion, focusing on the sensemaking of mobile media during 2008, 2009 and 2010 respectively. These chapters systematically analyse the organisation, development, vision and retrospective analyses of mobile media for each year. Chapter nine discusses how the sensemaking of the reproduction and redistribution of journalism for mobile devices changed over the period of study. It also presents how creatives, suits and techies engaged in arguing for particular paths of development, through negotiations with each other and with the company board. This chapter shows how tensions between humans and machines came into play, focusing on whether journalists or technological systems were assigned the power to redistribute content from the web to mobiles. Chapter ten, on the other hand, focuses on the tensions between creatives, suits and techies as they develop a mobile app, negotiating their sensemaking of whether or not to allow user participation. It shows more directly how producer-user tensions have come into play.

4

CONTEXT OF STUDY

Sweden is a culturally and socially homogeneous nation with a prominent social welfare system. The Scandinavian media systems involve ingredients from both market and planned economy ideologies (Hallin and Mancini 2004; Brink Lund 2007). Similarly to other Scandinavian countries, the Swedish news media system has traditionally been characterised by a high newspaper readership and use of public service media. Following the deregulation which occurred in the late 1980s, commercial broadcasters established themselves. News media are professional and the competitive market is regulated based on political compromises. With the high diffusion of Internet and mobile devices, Sweden is characterised as a digital hotspot alongside other European countries, as well as the US, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea (WAN-IFRA, 2010).

4.1. News media and telecoms in Sweden

The Swedish history of cross-media news work started in 1994, when the largest Swedish newspaper (Aftonbladet) started to publish news online. In 1995, the second-largest newspaper (Expressen) hired a journalist to work solely on its news site. As of 2011, many newspapers have redefined themselves as omnipresent news and information providers. This chapter introduces the Swedish press, the changing conditions surrounding mobile media, and access to news via print, online and mobile media.

4.1.1. The structure and ties of the Swedish press

The Swedish press originally grew out of initiatives by political parties and families. Nowadays, it is characterised by its regional and local press, which has a strong presence throughout the country. Another characteristic of the Swedish press is that people subscribe to most of its

newspapers, which are then home delivered. There are four national newspapers. The two largest are evening tabloids and sold as individual copies. The other two are quality subscription newspapers, with most of their circulation in the capital of Sweden.

The Swedish press is, for the most part, privately owned. A concentration of ownership has taken place. Many regional and local newspapers, which were previously independent, have either been purchased or merged with others. The two largest newspaper groups are Bonnier and Stampen, which own approximately half of the Swedish newspaper market. The third largest is Schibsted, and there are also several newspaper groups characterised by their ownership of local newspapers[4] (Carlsson and Facht, 2010). As of 2010, the nine largest newspaper groups published 76 of the 95 daily newspapers in Sweden, accounting for 88 percent of the total circulation. In terms of newspaper circulation, Bonnier was the largest, followed by Schibsted and Stampen (Nygren and Roxberg, 2011). The Norwegian-based Schibsted, which operates in 25 countries, owns two of the largest newspapers. The Swedish-based and family-owned Bonnier operates in 17 countries and owns the other largest newspapers, but also numerous local newspapers. A number of families own the Stampen Group, which has offices in five countries. They manage 36 free weekly newspapers and 23 subscribed morning newspapers, among which GP is the largest. Stampen runs a network company for digital developments called MktMedia with four other Swedish newspaper groups.

There are many strategic alliances in the newspaper industry, as newspapers can collaborate as their business model is fairly homogenous, and they are seldom in direct competition with each other. There are several interest associations that assist, guide and influence their newspaper members through change processes (Nordqvist et al., 2010). According to an international outlook, there were two major industry associations until 2009. The World Association of Newspapers (WAN) was a major international network, representing more than 18,000 publications on the five continents. It was predominantly comprised of a network of 76 national newspaper associations. The INCA FIEJ Research Association (IFRA) was the second association, which had formed through mergers of different associations in 1970. In 2009 IFRA had

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[4] Such as GotaMedia, Ander, Mittmedia and Herenco

approximately 3,000 members in 80 countries and provided information and training relating to news production and technology. In 2009, WAN and IFRA merged by proposition of their members. In 2011, WAN-IFRA labelled themselves as the global organisation of the world's press, with more than 3,000 member companies in 120 countries, which operated more than 18,000 newspapers and 15,000 websites. The Global Editors Network (GEN) was founded in 2011. They emphasised the need for a new collaborative forum for editors involved in digital developments. At the end of the day both GEN and WAN/IFRA organise conferences and author reports, competing with each other in having members.

There are many national counterparts to these networks. The Swedish Media Publishers' Association is the network for newspaper employers (and other media companies such as news agencies, printers, newspaper distribution companies etc.). This association represents and informs its 240 member organisations regarding a wide array of topics, in an attempt to strengthen its members' businesses. At the Stockholm head office, more than a dozen people work to monitor changes in journalism, marketing, labour market issues, the law and technical developments. The members of the association attend international meetings and also arrange events designed to establish networks in Sweden. They scan research and reports, as well as supporting research and conducting studies of their own. The counterpart to the employers' organisation is the Swedish Union of Journalist, which operates as both a union and as a professional network for journalists.

Many Swedish newspapers not only watch their competitors closely, but also collaborate with them. These collaborations take place directly between individual newspapers, or through workshops etc. In addition to the national Swedish Media Publishers' Association, there are other formal networks such as Citygate and MktMedia. Representatives from individual news media gather ideas from these networks, which can inspire their work within their own organisation. This discussion illustrates that newspaper leaders are surrounded by a range of shifting environmental factors. They can gather information about change processes themselves, and establish collaborations through formal networks. Their perception of environmental change will probably be inspired by the conclusions of analysts in member associations.

The financial agreements between newspapers and telecom operators and other content providers are very important. In late 2007, Citygate and

the Swedish Media Publishers'Association reached an improved settlement with telecom operators about the shared revenue from journalistic content used on mobile devices. In Norway, the newspaper industry terminated their distribution of content to telecom operators as a strike, in an attempt to achieve better business conditions. There have also been negotiations regarding business agreements and copyright legislation between the Swedish Media Publishers' Association and Swedish telecom operators. For instance, the Swedish Media Publishers' Association intervened when the telecom operator TeliaSonera used their portal to embed advertising banners on top of newspapers' mobile sites. Swedish newspapers collaborate on both national and international levels.

4.1.2. Transforming mobile media conditions in Sweden

This section introduces the shifting conditions for mobile media, focusing predominantly on conditions in Sweden during the period of study. The period immediately before the fieldwork for this study was carried out (2007) is seen in relation to the situation as it was when the fieldwork was being conducted (2008-2011). In 2007, the deployment of 3G networks had been completed and people could purchase mobile devices (i.e. feature phones) with 3G and somewhat larger screens. The user experience of these mobile devices involved access to the so-called mobile Internet, which essentially consisted of sites with an interface adapted for the smaller screen and slower data transfer rate of mobile access at the time (WAP or MOB sites). Such sites typically involved a selection of auto-directed content streams from websites. Many companies had not invested in a mobile site, and consequently, the amount of content which it was possible to access with mobile devices was substantially more limited when compared to computers. At the time, some mobile devices had emerged which enabled access to traditional websites using XHTML browsers. The size of the mobile devices available on the market had been reduced, as this was seen to be important. Meanwhile, a growing number of mobile devices had started to emerge which were equipped with 3G and a larger screen. Using any of these mobile devices, users could insert commands using the keypad, and watch the content on a relatively small screen (typically half the size of contemporary touch-screen devices). As regards costs, the payment plans and pricing lists offered by operators were diverse, but generally

conformed to the variations of pay-as-you-go. This meant that users paid for their actual traffic in terms of MB downloaded, which was different from the turn of the millennium, when users were charged per minute.

In 2008 and 2009, the 3G network improved further, and faster data transfer rates became available. There was also a growing diffusion of accessible Wi-Fi networks in homes, offices and public areas, and newer mobile devices were typically equipped with the technology needed to make use of these. The first generation of iPhones and apps which were adapted for mobiles were launched in Sweden during the summer of 2008, and became available in stores by the end of that year. Soon afterwards, numerous other touch-screen devices were launched, using Android, Windows Mobile or Symbian operating systems.

The launch of the iPhone sparked a major change with regard to how mobile devices were used in Sweden. The launch also fostered an increase in meta-communication, as the rollout of touch-screen devices was hyped up by the media, as well as among citizens. With the iPhone and other touch-screen devices, users could possess a device with the large screen they had longed for, coupled with a user-friendly interface and a growing amount of mobile-specific content and services in the form of apps. In addition to mobile sites and the World Wide Web, users could, in other words, make use of customised mobile apps, tailored to improve the mobile media user experience. As well as employing thoughtful auto-direction of content, through a more user-friendly navigation system and graphic interface, the content was also made accessible through personalised or location-based principles. Importantly, Apple managed to establish contracts which involved bundling together the mobile device with a flat-rate price for mobile Internet with all of their licensed vendors. Although flat-rate tariffs had existed prior to the introduction of the iPhone in Sweden, its introduction stimulated increased competition. During 2009, the availability of flat-rate tariffs increased for all sorts of mobile devices and operators, which resulted in a significant decrease in the cost of usage. In conclusion, the conditions for usability, user-friendliness and costs improved a great deal during the period of study.

In terms of mobile activities among Swedish newspapers, there are two relevant studies focusing on their content, products and processes. The first study, a content analysis of Sweden's 95 daily newspapers in 2011 (published at least three times per week) shows that 44 percent offered a mobile news site, 24 percent offered an app for the iPhone and

12 percent provided an app for Android phones. The apps typically prioritised news on politics, society, crime and sports, but the possibilities for interactivity were limited (Eriksson and Tomic, 2011).

Based on four case studies of Swedish newspapers from 2010, Nygren and Roxberg (2011) found that at all of these newspapers, journalists had been provided with iPhones so that they could discover opportunities for mobile journalism. Their repertoire included distribution by two or more channels, such as mobile news sites, SMS or apps for iOs (iPhone) and Android (Google) mobile operating systems. They all had mobile news sites featuring journalistic content and utility services. Aftonbladet, the largest newspaper in Sweden, had reconfigured its cross-media news work for different channels after noticing that a great deal of mobile news was being accessed late in the evening. Aftonbladet was the only newspaper of the four that had mobile editors engaged in manually editing the mobile content. The others made use of auto-directed content flows, similar to those of their websites. Those interviewed were afraid that they were failing by not customising content for mobile media logic(s), but had not yet prioritised the resources to do so (Nygren and Roxberg, 2011).

4.1.3. Accessing news via print, online and mobile media

Sweden has a strong track record for newspaper consumption. Alongside Finland, Norway, Japan and Switzerland, it has one of the most extensive newspaper distributions in the world (WAN, 2008). As with most other countries in the Western world, the Swedish press readership has been in decline for the past decade. Considering that advertisers want to use the most effective way of reaching their consumers, the increased competition and introduction of new actors has been challenging to newspapers (Picard, 1989, 2004). These changes have affected the economy of newspaper companies, as Swedish newspapers have had difficulty making comparable profits from their online and mobile operations, similarly to newspapers elsewhere.

News media have different roles and functions for people in their everyday lives. Newspapers present an overview and in-depth reports on yesterday's news, while online news offers more up-to-date stories, interactivity and multimedia. For a growing number of users, online news is displacing print journalism (Bergström and Wadbring, 2010; Westlund and Färdigh, 2011). Although online news figures are increasingly

encroaching upon those of printed papers, print definitely remains an important medium for the dissemination of news (WAN-IFRA, 2010). In Sweden, specific groups such as teenagers, young adults and white-collar workers have led the transition from print to online newspapers. This transition has been particularly prominent for the sales of single-copy evening tabloids (Westlund and Färdigh, 2011). Since the turn of the millennium, the total levels of usage have been relatively stable when frequent users of either printed newspapers and/or news sites are taken into account (Bergström and Wadbring, 2010). While the general figures for accessing news via mobile devices are small compared to print and online media, there has been an annual increase since 2005, which has been accentuated since 2009 (Westlund, 2010b, 2011b). Studies indicate that news is typically accessed via mobile devices in parallel to news sites, but for some there has been a displacement effect caused by mobile news consumption (Färdigh and Westlund, 2011).

4.2. The case: A large subscription newspaper

The case selected for investigation is GP in Gothenburg, the second-largest city in Sweden, with approximately 550,000 inhabitants. At the time at which the fieldwork was conducted (2008-2011), it had the fourth-highest circulation among print newspapers in Sweden (second when evening tabloids are excluded). GP has a long history as a quality subscription newspaper, and has since the mid-1990s transformed into a media house which distributes news online and for mobile devices. It was first founded in 1813, but was closed down and re-established several times in the subsequent decades. It has been produced and distributed without ceasing since 1859. In 1933, it became the newspaper with the highest reach among citizens in Gothenburg and in 1939 it started daily distribution. The main business and revenue area has since been to produce and deliver a subscribed and printed morning newspaper, although there has been increasing usage of their cross-media portfolio. The newspaper operates in a region with around 900,000 inhabitants, of which their circulation of approximately 210,000 printed newspapers reached 60 percent in 2010 (Dagspress.se, 2010). To these figures for print, one can add the statistics for their performance in the digital habitat. During a typical week in the autumn of 2010, GP had approximately 400,000 unique visitors to their website, an additional

500,000 page impressions for their iPhone app and 100,000 for their mobile news site. Similarly to most newspapers, the online figures rose continuously, while the figures for print declined.

Between 2006 and 2008, the annual turnover varied from 1,321 to 1,363 million Swedish krona (SEK). As a consequence of losses in advertising sales and subscriptions during the recession in 2009, the turnover fell to 1,146 million SEK, but in 2010, GP increased their turnover to 1,208 million SEK. From 2006 to 2010, the number of employees decreased from around 435 to around 400. Slightly more than 200 of the employees were journalists. GP used to be a independent company which focused on the production and distribution of printed newspapers, with strong walls between the business and editorial departments. It has, however, become a subsidiary within the expansive Stampen Group, which has grown a great deal since its beginnings in 2005 through the acquisition of both newspapers and start-ups focusing on mobile media activities (Mobiento).[5] In addition, they have partnered with other newspaper groups to collaborate on digital (MktMedia) and mobile media developments (MktMobil).

4.2.1. The shaping of cross-media news work at GP

The transition from print newspaper to a media house engaged in cross-media news work started at GP in 1995, when the World Athletics Championships were held in Gothenburg. Some journalists with an interest in digital media created a news site together with students at Chalmers University of Technology and the University of Gothenburg. GP continued to publish news online after the athletics event. Their subsequent development processes have been categorised into six different phases, which distinguish their general paths of development. The start of each new phase marks a substantial change to either their organisation, their collaboration (between print and online media or creatives, suits and techies) or their formalisation of mobiles. The reports on the first three phases rely mostly on interviews with the media workers who were involved at the time,[6] while the other phases build on the broader set of interviews which were conducted.

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[5] Stampen annual financial reports for 2009 and 2010.
[6] These were predominantly interviews with the editorial development chief, the digital developer, the IT chief, the Stampen chief analyst and the editor-in-chief.

PHASE 1 (1995-1998)

Cross-media news work involved publishing news online only, managed by a handful of enthusiastic creatives and techies. The news site at this time was treated as a peripheral activity on which they worked when they had some extra time available. Much of the work carried out was done on personal initiative. They were allocated scarce resources, mainly because the user demand and revenue streams at the time were limited.

PHASE 2 (1999-2000)

The work on the news site was formalised through strategies and projects for development. There was increasing development activity, and the news site was organised through principles of duality management. One chief was responsible for editorial aspects, under the surveillance of the managing editor and the editor-in-chief. Another chief was responsible for business issues, reporting to the marketing director and the CEO. GP also ran a number of related web development projects.

PHASE 3 (2001-2004)

The news site was formally organised through a dedicated project in the web department, managed by the IT chief. The news site, other web projects and new mobile news services were organised as an area of business in itself. This organisation marked a higher status, but was perceived to cause insufficient coordination of sales staff. An economic depression struck (in March 2001) just as the web department had been formed. This resulted in the downsizing of the web department, as the most recently employed media workers had to be fired first (rules defined by the Swedish Union of Journalists).

PHASE 4 (2004-2006)

The organisation of web and print media was integrated. This change was motivated by the need for cost-effectiveness as well as collaboration, in particular among the sales staff. On the editorial side, a specific web department remained to ensure journalism on the web was updated. From 2005, the development of the news site was managed by a inter-departmental collaboration group. In 2005, GP launched a mobile news site with navigation based on icons. The Stampen Group was formed in 2005, and they established MktMedia along with other newspaper groups.

PHASE 5 (2007-2009)

GP continued with cross-media news work through integrated organisation, which involved several project groups for digital development. In 2007, GP launched their first project in collaboration with MktMedia. The project was called MktTv and focused on developments for sharing content and a platform for web-based video content. There followed projects for their news site and mobile news site, synchronising efforts, platforms and CMS with other members of MktMedia. The year 2008 marked the formal launch of mobile media investments at GP, with a mobile project and a mobile editor.

PHASE 6 (2010 onwards)

In 2010, GP formed the Digital Developments Group (DDG) in order to facilitate the continuous development of cross-media news work. The DDG organised rapid collaborative digital developments. Throughout 2010 and 2011, they developed mobile apps for the iPhone, Android and Symbian systems. The web department was responsible for maintenance work. The DDG represented GP in meetings with MktMedia which focused on collaborative digital development.

4.2.3. Conclusion: A study of a relatively typical case

In conclusion, GP is a relatively typical newspaper organisation, and the conditions in Sweden are similar to those in many other nations in the Western world. GP is a dominant quality newspaper in a metropolitan area, in a country with a strong press and a digital orientation, battling with challenges which are typical of most newspapers of its kind. GP represents the major newspaper in a relatively large, and yet still expanding, media group. As such, GP are moving towards increased centralisation and collaboration in their operations, providing the means for digital development. GP have proliferated their actions continuously in order to improve cross-media news work. While typical in many ways, their developments in the field of mobile media from 2008 onwards mark them as a company with ambitions to establish a strong position in terms of ubiquitous access to their news and services.

PART II

TENSIONS AT PLAY:
OLD MEETS NEW IN THE
SENSEMAKING OF CREATIVES, SUITS
AND TECHIES

5

ENVISIONING THE MOBILE MEDIA TRAIN (2006-2007)

This chapter introduces the historical emergence of mobile news services at GP and then focuses on the early and formative sensemaking of mobile media at GP. It outlines a chronological process of key events and interpretations. It makes an in-depth presentation of joint sensemaking efforts initiated by an alliance of creatives and techies. The suits felt excluded from this process of defining the new, and demanded their participation once the sensemaking process was formalised. This resulted in fierce debate and negotiations between the suits and the alliance of creatives and techies. The results of their joint sensemaking and negotiation process in this formative phase led to important outcomes, which influenced their subsequent actions and interpretations.

5.1. A retrospective glance at the initial emergence of the third channel

> We have made developments for the mobile for a fairly long time, but the first time we really did something really great was in 2005. Everything prior to that was related to the enthusiasm of individual co-workers. Someone discovered Avantgo and fixed our presence there. Someone else (a techie) thought we must have a better service for the PDA [personal digital assistant] people had in their pocket. He sat at available moments and did scripts; suddenly, he had accomplished a really nice service. He showed it to us and I said that we must make it accessible to our users, so we did. From 2005 there was a more organised GP project, where the company board took decisions and allocated money (Digital developer, 19.09.08).[7]

The digital developer described the meandering development of mobile media that has involved many different sorts of distribution channels

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[7] Dates will be displayed as "day.month.year." Consequently, 19.09.08 refers to September 19th 2008.

since the turn of the century. Importantly, he and others labelled this as a "service," rather than discussing it in terms of a journalistic channel. The GP media workers used their personal initiative to make it possible to download news onto PDAs.[8] The PDA service involved a limited selection of journalistic content, made available through auto-direction from the news site managed by machines. It focused predominantly on text and contained few images. The reason was that transfer speeds were slow, the cost of usage was high, while advertisements and usage levels were limited.[9] Soon afterwards, GP started publishing news by SMS and the mobile portal of a telecom operator.[10]

During the first years of the 21st century, several minor initiatives were adopted in order to develop and improve GP's mobile presence, but evidently no media workers were assigned to work with mobile media. In other words, no human was assigned the responsibility for developing and managing mobile media, nor was there a budget for such work. Mobile media developments were instead coupled with personal initiative and the passion of media workers involved with their news site, such as the digital developer, the editorial developments chief, the Stampen chief analyst and the system developer (labelled with the titles they had during the fieldwork).[11] The digital developer and the editorial developments chief continued to be deeply involved.[12] The CEO recalled:

> In reality there was no one who really owned the mobile [presence at GP]. One should start there. It was in a way the digital developer who was given that mission, or did it. He kind of became chief of the mobile without having it formalised (CEO, 24.10.08)

By 2004, GP had started to receive pictures from their readers by MMS, and also included mobiles as a channel for marketing communication with new print newspaper subscribers (i.e. promotions and return channel communication). In 2005, they launched a mobile news site with machine-led auto-direction of news articles that made use of icons to make it easy for users to navigate when using mobile devices with small

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[8] System developer, 13.09.10.
[9] Stampen chief analyst, 07.10.08.
[10] The telecom operator was first named Europolitan, then purchased by Vodafone and later sold to Telenor.
[11] Stampen chief analyst, 07.10.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08; Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08.
[12] The digital developer and editorial developments chief have therefore been quoted extensively in this study.

screens. As of 2008, both the editorial developments chief and the digital developer made reference to more recent mobile media developments:

> The digital developer and the Stampen business analyst were driving change, and I was with them. We gathered in a meeting room in 2005 and made drafts. We had different ideas of how this should look, but then we agreed upon a picture on a board – this is the way it must look, and that we were to have a number of icons. And that is amusing, how one sees that the circles move around, now with the iPhone, even if ours were not as cool. But it built on symbolic icons, and that is the way we rolled out the service. And then we were all happy and satisfied with that (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

> This is amusing in a way that I am almost proud of – it was built like an iPhone […]. When you entered it, it looked like this, with icons. There was news, there were advertisements, there was Läsvärdet [the GP Loyalty Club]. It is a pretty good user interface, right? Well, after a year we redesigned it […]. It was really funny to see that when Apple came they had the same thing we came up with in 2005 – not that I think that they imitated us though (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The point here is that these quotations indicate that the media workers compare themselves to others in the media industry, and relatively proudly suggest that they considered and deployed a design for mobile media in a similar fashion to those of more recent companies. It is worth noticing that in 2005, GP also developed a mobile news app focusing on sports news and results (built with JAVA technology). The app could be bought, and its users could access sports news, photos and personalised football goal alerts. The app was, in other words, both personalised and fee-based, and it also received a prize from the magazine *Mobil*, a Swedish industry press publication which focuses on mobile media. However, as there were hardly any subscribers to the app, GP consequently terminated it. They retrospectively interpreted this as an example of bad timing, as they were too early in launching the app.[13] The development of their mobile news site continued, and in 2006 they redesigned it:

> About a year later we met again, and then we felt that it was so-so, the moment had passed for this thing with icons. I believe we were the same group of people who believed that we needed a more up-to-date mobile site. Now we must have news headlines instead, and consequently a site was created with the three most

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[13] System developer, 13.09.10; Digital developer, 19.09.08.

important news articles, and also a stream from TT (news agency) that delivered the latest news (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

From one year to the next, GP enacted different mobile news sites, in a process of trial and error driven by creatives and techies. A conclusion which can be drawn from the quotation above is that the media workers made sense of their previous actions retrospectively, felt that they were insufficient, and decided to put more emphasis on up-to-date news content streams. They therefore programmed their machines to auto-direct news in such a fashion. Their new mobile news site was launched in the same year as the European Athletics Championships was organised in Gothenburg, a major news event that stimulated growth in traffic:

> We were happy and proud that we had a good mobile service, and there were many people who visited it, you know. It was proceeding quite well; we took some steps forward. We took some steps forward, for instance in conjunction with the European Athletics Championships (Gothenburg, 2006). Then we ran a big communication campaign so that one could see the results directly on mobiles. I remember that was our first breakthrough with the mobile service (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

The editor-in-chief essentially made retrospective sense of their mobile news site traffic, and employed this as a criterion of GP's breakthrough. Usage levels, in other words, formed an extracted cue that became translated into conclusions on their progress. The perception of increasing user traffic was an important driver of change in what creatives, suits and techies commonly labelled as a "mobile service." While mobile services had been treated as a peripheral activity to cross-media news work during the end of the 1990s and the first years of the 21st century at GP, things soon began to change. From 2006 onwards, there were increased efforts to make sense of mobile media among creatives and techies, and particularly among those who had previously been engaged in developing their news site.[14]

5.2. Creatives leading change for mobile media

> They tried to deal with mobile (media) in the coordination group, but there it had not been specified that they had responsibility for the mobile, so the mobile was lost "between chairs." It was uncertain who was responsible for it. It was

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[14] Digital developer, 19.09.08; Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08.

> probably up for discussion there [in the coordination group] a couple of times, but nothing happened as it was not their responsibility. So it was kind of like there was some kind of frustration and general pressure that pushed our feeling that we must do something. It was not like a command came from somewhere, saying that we now must do this (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

Mobiles were essentially described as something new that was consistently occupying territories for which the media workers who focused on old media were not responsible. The inter-departmental group for digital development (the coordination group) had been formed in 2005, but there were mixed views on whether mobile media development was one of its responsibilities. Instead, mobile media, for the most part, progressed as a result of personal initiative. Since the early 1990s, the editorial developments chief had been a project leader for most projects on editorial change at GP. As of 2006, he became responsible for analysing environmental change from an editorial perspective. He was a member of the editorial board and also had frequent meetings with the editor-in-chief and managing editor to discuss environmental change. The managing editor and the editor-in-chief expressed confidence in his analyses.[15]

> He is supposed to be like an eye-opener for the rest of us. He is an environmental tracker who has the unique capability to convert his tracking into journalism. Very few people know how to do that; there is hardly anyone in the Swedish media world who is as knowledgeable, competent and clever as him. I make this assertion with confidence. He is one of the reasons GP is a front-runner (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

In other words, the editorial developments chief was assigned an important role as analyst in the editorial department. From 2005 to 2008, the editorial developments chief compiled a monthly newsletter that was distributed exclusively to the members of the company board, focusing on analyses of environmental change which would affect GP. The function of the newsletter was to "make the company board aware about things taking place."[16] It is important to note that the company board did not receive such a newsletter from their business development and analysis unit. In other words, at the time, the company board was informed only by a newsletter tinged with an editorial perspective. The editorial developments

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[15] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08; Managing editor, 23.09.08.
[16] Editorial developments chief, 04.10.08.

chief said that he occasionally made presentations and arranged workshops for the editorial and company boards. For instance, he recalled his feeling of amusement when he arranged a workshop for the company board to which he "brought mobile devices and an iPod so that they could play around." He explained that he wanted to increase their awareness of new devices and developments, arguing that "there are always some tricks to make people start thinking."[17] The editorial developments chief, in other words, planted cues regarding mobile media of which the company board could make sense.

In 2006, the editorial developments chief felt convinced of the potential of mobile media and therefore analysed journalistic and technological trends, as well as changes in user demand. He analysed reports and articles, monitored developments among other Scandinavian news media and held discussions with researchers and industry professionals. He introduced mobile media as a topic at editorial meetings and their annual workshops which focused on environmental change. At one of these workshops, during autumn 2006, the creatives discussed the improvement in technological opportunities relating to mobile devices. In the time that followed, the editorial developments chief continued to analyse and discuss his interpretations with other creatives, in particular the editor-in-chief and the managing editor. As of 2007, several editorial board members stressed that GP were going to make more mobile media developments.[18] They discussed this in a social context at the spring conference of the editorial department:

> It was at this time that it started to grow, that we must have human hands on [by journalists], that we must improve the services, that we must improve the functionality and layout. I remember that we worked in groups on this. I recall that things were starting to happen, things in our heads. That was a really important milestone in our work, which later resulted in us bringing with us the entire company (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

His version of how this change occurred obviously reflects that it was the creatives who initiated mobile media development at GP, including emphasising the importance of manually editing journalistic content for the mobile news site. In other words, the creatives were not satisfied with having machines auto-directing their work, but suggested instead that it

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[17] Editorial developments chief, 04.10.08.
[18] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.

should be edited by humans to fit with the mobile news site. It is worth noting that they emphasised manual repurposing and editing, rather than the development of a new sort of journalism. Later, the creatives joined with the techies in their social and ongoing sensemaking and definition of mobile media boundaries.

5.3. Creatives and techies join forces

By coincidence, one day at the coffee machine in 2007, the editorial developments chief started to discuss mobile media development with the digital designer from the IT department. In their conversation, they discovered that they were both trying to grasp mobile media trends, although from slightly different perspectives (editorial implications compared to technological opportunities and web design). At the time, the digital designer had mostly discussed her ideas for mobile media development with another techie (the digital developer). For several years, the techies had managed the auto-directed mobile news site, but their resources for development had been limited. The editorial developments chief reflected on the conditions for the digital developer at the time:

> He has a background in journalism, but is placed with the techies. So he did not have the resources to do anything other than those types of things that work in an auto-directed flow (Editorial developments chief, 04.10.08).

These creatives and suits had previously collaborated a great deal over the cross-media news work relating to their news site in previous years. Their spontaneous meeting at the coffee machine sparked several more discussions on how they made sense of mobile media. The digital developer and the digital designer proposed a redesign of their mobile news site.[19] The editorial developments chief recalled:

> The digital developer had, together with our digital designer and another techie, compiled a proposal for how a new mobile news site could look. I myself had, on my own desk corner, made drafts for how a mobile news site should look, and these happened to match each other rather well, even though we had worked on different counters (Editorial developments chief, 081004).

The digital developer, on the other hand, recalled:

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[19] Digital developer, 19.09.08; Digital designer, 10.12.09.

> When we heard that the editorial developments chief was looking into how to redesign the mobile news site, we already had drafts. We had drafted these because it is part of our work to look continuously into how the next generation of the mobile news site should look. The digital designer and I got to present it to the editorial development group, who said "this is exactly what we are thinking, it is great, when can we have it?" (Digital developer, 09.10.08).

The creatives and techies described their collaboration in positive terms. The techies expressed that they were glad that initiative was being taken regarding the mobile news site. The digital developer said that the techies had been working a lot on their drafts, in the interstices of other work tasks. He continued "we more or less opened our drawer once we knew that there was interest in a mobile news site. And once we got them [drafts] out things moved forward pretty fast."[20] From this point, the sensemaking of mobile media among the creatives and techies became synchronised. The editorial developments chief accommodated the ideas and drafts of the techies into his ongoing analysis of mobile media. He said "the digital developer and I, we tried to propagate it on our respective counters. We made presentations about transformations on the mobile frontier."[21] He continued to analyse mobile media, exchanging and discussing ideas with the techies and his colleagues at the editorial department, and also to be influenced by others working with mobile media in newspapers in Sweden.

> The discussion on mobile media just came to the fore; it was something that was growing all the time. We saw how Aftonbladet and Expressen (the largest tabloid newspapers in Sweden) had redesigned their mobile news sites, and we heard that there were people employed to work specifically on mobile media. In April 2007, I met a man at a conference who presented himself as the chief of mobile [media] at Dagens Nyheter (the largest quality subscription newspaper in Sweden), and that was really interesting. I asked him frankly more specifically about how they were going to work, and when, but he did not know at the time, as he had recently been appointed to the position. He had been there for two weeks at the time. But we sat down and experimented, and then we saw during the autumn that several of these sites started to work manually, and so it was evident that they had invested resources. It was there, at some point that we realised that the train was departing (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

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[20] Digital developer, 09.10.08.
[21] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.

It is clear that GP not only monitored and exchanged information with other newspapers in Sweden, but also that they were inspired to mimic them. The editorial developments chief referred to a departing train, which is a metaphor which is used frequently at GP. Essentially, the train represents other newspapers in Sweden, which at this point in time had started to move forward, with GP in danger of lagging behind. It is also evident that they extracted cues on how others were working with their mobile news sites to ensure the quality of journalism, and that they saw manual editing as a signal that others had started to get involved.

At this point, during the first months of 2007, the chief analyst for the Stampen Group made a proposal regarding collaboration on mobile media to the CEO of MktMedia. The proposal concerned whether MktMedia could start a dedicated project for mobiles, just as they had done for the web (MktWeb) and web TV (MktTv).[22] The topic of mobile media development through a joint exercise with MktMedia, and the future position of GP in relation to mobile media, was discussed at an editorial board meeting during the spring of 2007. The editorial developments chief sparked the discussion through a presentation of his analysis, and all editorial members agreed that mobile media were becoming an increasingly interesting and important area and object of which to make sense and use.[23]

They concluded that the technological conditions for mobile media had improved substantially, paving the way for the development of editorial services. The editorial board members perceived a need to develop mobile opportunities through further investment, but they were uncertain in what direction to proceed. The editor-in-chief, the managing editor and the editorial developments chief proposed treating mobile media as an important area for future business. The editor-in-chief argued that the editorial department had to drive change in order to accommodate the possibilities for journalistic development enabled by emergent technologies. They interpreted the business potential as being fairly small at the initial stage, but as promising in the long term. The editorial board decided that the editorial developments chief was going to continue and further develop his analysis of mobiles.[24] In the months that followed, the editorial developments chief continued to analyse mobile media,

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[22] Stampen chief analyst, 07.10.08.
[23] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08; Managing editor, 23.09.08.
[24] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

discussing his interpretations with the creatives and techies involved. They revised propositions for future direction and assessed needs for resouces.[25]

During the early autumn of 2007, the topic of mobile media was discussed thoroughly at the annual editorial department workshop. The editorial developments chief once again had an important role in outlining the topic for discussion. At the time, an important line of discussion focused on the fact that the mobile news site was perceived as being of insufficient journalistic quality. The machine-led auto-direction of content was not properly displayed, headlines sometimes appeared awkwardly, and the pictures used for the news site did not work well in the mobile interface with its significantly smaller screen. They concluded that they had to take measures to ensure improved journalistic quality.[26] The managing editor argued that "our previous web department was not aware that what they created for the online edition actually had consequences for the mobile site."[27] In other words, at this point in time, their creatives were unaware that the new was inexorably linked to the old.

After one and a half years of sensemaking by creatives and techies, they concluded that GP should develop their mobile media presence. It is worth noticing that although these sensemaking processes involved creatives and techies from different hierarchical levels, the story did not yet involve any negotiations caused by a lack of similarity. This was perhaps linked to the fact that their line of reasoning suited both creatives and techies. Both parties sensed that the technological innovation of mobile devices was becoming increasingly important, implying that they had to develop both their journalism and technological functionalities. Another possible explanation is that the creatives and techies had developed a mutual understanding of their respective professional expertise through their previous collaborative work on digital media. To this point, the business department had, however, been conspicuous in its absence in mobile media development. The editorial developments chief was asked if it was correct that he had hardly discussed this with the suits:

> One can say that, and it has to do with the fact that there did not exist an advertising market for mobiles, unfortunately. It hardly exists now, but at that time there was absolutely nothing. But there was one guy at the business

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[25] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[26] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[27] Managing editor, 23.09.08.

department with whom I had some contact – a business developer who has always been enthusiastic about mobiles (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

The editor-in-chief recalled that sometime after their editorial board meeting in May 2007, he had started to informally notify the CEO about their discussions on mobile media. He felt that he and the CEO had a mutual understanding about their need to develop mobile media.

> I started talking to the CEO, and we meet naturally every now and then, just him and me. The CEO thought the exact same thing as us, namely that we must join [the mobile] train. At the same time, it was natural that he also said that there were no profits, and that it was going to be a challenge to allocate resources, while still saying that we must join (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

The CEO and the editor-in-chief agreed that it was important for GP to board the mobile media train that was about to depart. They therefore agreed to discuss approaches in their next company board meeting in the autumn of 2007.[28] The following section shows that the negotiations took off when the creatives and techies presented their ideas for mobile media developments to the suits in the company board.

5.4. Creatives, suits and techies: Tensions at play

> I went to the company board. I met with a lot of resistance. It was said that the topic was not sufficiently prepared and came from the wrong direction. To me, it was the ultimate proof that we are not organised for these types of new channels. One could say that the topic was returned so that I could prepare it better. It was a bit of a political statement as well […]. So then I did so, we did it more formally instead, and came back to the company board after a number of palavers, because there was some heat there for a while. Then we at least came to a decision about doing this (Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08).

The alliance of creatives and techies presented their analysis and proposal for mobile media development to the suits. The quotation above from the editorial developments chief summarises his view on the process, illustrating that it involved "resistance," "a political statement," "palavers" and "heat." This section analyses how these tensions came into play, rewinding to the company board meeting three months earlier (September 2007), which was the first occasion on which mobile media were

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[28] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

discussed more thoroughly at a company board meeting. As the editorial board had taken the initiative, they were also responsible for introducing the topic at the meeting. The editor-in-chief and managing editor first discussed the findings from their analysis in brief, and then suggested that GP must consider approaching the mobile device as an important channel for their future. According to the editor-in-chief, there were five more or less equally important issues that the company board members prioritised at the time: (1) manual editing for the mobile news site; (2) establishing collaborative relations with partners (in particular MktMedia); (3) creating new mobile-specific services; (4) redesigning the mobile news site; and (5) re-organising GP for collaborative and rapid mobile media development.

The discussions at the company board meeting made those involved more aware of mobile media, but did not result in solutions to these issues at the time. Instead, the members decided that there was a need to analyse and discuss the brief analysis and five issues more thoroughly. They decided to invite the editorial developments chief to their subsequent company board meeting to make a more thorough presentation of the analysis, to enable them to make informed decisions.[29] During the months that followed, the editorial developments chief compiled a presentation based on the analysis he had carried out together with the other creatives and techies. He made his presentation to the company board in December 2007, referring to the five different issues discussed by the company board at the previous meeting, but with the emphasis on two of these, both inexorably connected to journalism. He emphasised that GP should hire a journalist as a mobile editor to ensure the "journalistic quality" of their mobile news site, and that they should edit existing journalistic content rather than produce new content. Another proposition was to organise to promote collaborative and rapid mobile media development. He proposed forming an autonomous mobile project with a dedicated budget.[30]

The company board representatives expressed that the analysis and presentation in general was well done. The editorial representatives were particularly satisfied with his presentation. The editor-in-chief, for example, described it as a valuable eye-opener for the company board members about the need to invest in developing mobile media.[31] However, a well-performed analysis does not guarantee universal satisfaction. On the

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[29] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[30] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[31] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

contrary, the previous exclusion of suits from the social sensemaking of mobile media resulted in tensions which came to the fore.

The CEO recalled the situation when he listened to the presentation of the editorial developments chief. At first, he thought to himself that the analysis which had been accomplished was impressive, given that it had been only a couple of months since their previous company board meeting. However, as he noticed the body language of the marketing director, he realised that something was wrong. As the presentation continued, it became increasingly evident to him that the creatives and techies had been analysing mobile media extensively for a long time, but that they had excluded the suits from the process. The CEO remembered that once the editorial developments chief had finished his presentation, an uncomfortable discussion unfolded. The marketing director questioned the presentation, as he was disappointed that the suits had not been invited to participate in the extensive analysis process. The CEO recalled:

> I felt that this concerned something more than the mobile proposition. Then I had to act as a chief, and keep the group together. Much of my approach here did not concern whether it was a good or bad presentation as such, but I had to keep our forces together, or it would burst [negative feelings between departments]. And in the business department, it was said: "now we are no longer part of this, now they have moved ahead and we must stop this." So much had already been thought of, so I said that we must cool down the entire process, and we must pause for one month. I noticed that the editorial developments chief was offended: "I have worked night shifts and have been accused of running ahead; that is not my goal. I have only taken my responsibility, no one else has, nor anyone in the business department." The digital developer felt unloved, and the editorial developments chief felt that he had invested time for nothing. The editor-in-chief did not understand what was happening and the marketing director only said "you cannot work like this." The only thing for me to do was to say that we should take two months' pause. I drew a line and then during the evening the editor-in-chief and I called each other and said "this will not work, it does not matter if it is a wise presentation or not, we must coordinate our organisation" (CEO, 24.10.08).

The quotation above summarises the CEO's interpretation of various individuals' perceptions and feelings at the time. There were mixed feelings of disappointment. Obviously, it was exclusion from the sensemaking process, rather than the sensemaking of mobile media in particular, that constituted the main reason that tensions surfaced between creatives, suits and techies. In this case, mobile media was becoming an

increasingly important channel, and the business department had been excluded from the territories in which the initial definitions of its direction were being defined. The CEO explained that the suits were particularly disappointed as, for many years, they had strived for better collaboration with the creatives in business developments. The event signified a setback in that sense, as the suits had been practically excluded from the analysis process.[32] The CEO described the final part of the meeting as having a negative and turbulent atmosphere.[33] The IT chief described the atmosphere as very unpleasant.[34] Other media workers who were involved in the process but not present at the meeting had also made sense of these events. The digital developer, for instance, recalled that "there was suddenly heat about something we all intrinsically agreed was really good, although the process had not been perfect." Asked to reflect on why this happened he said: "I do not really know why there was a tilt… in the system. I got a feeling that it was some kind of statement, it was about politics."[35] The presentation was followed by questions and discussions, mostly because the suits had several objections to the proposition.[36]

The marketing director said that prior to the meeting, he was not at all aware that the creatives and techies had come so far in their analysis of mobile media. It was, however, not the first time that he had experienced negative feelings within their company board meetings. There were several occasions on which they had worked on separate counters, although they were striving not to operate in that way. There was a disconnection between their explicit ambitions for collaboration, and the collaboration actually taking place. The marketing director found it inappropriate that the analysis had not been carried out together with the suits.[37] The editorial developments chief, on the other hand, explained that GP were insufficiently organised to manage mobile media development:

> The key to everything that happened has to do with the fact that no one owned [responsibility for] mobile media. I mean, it was not explicit who owned the mobile issue. There were opinions, for instance within the coordination group, about whether they owned the issue or not, but nothing happened since there was no clear mandate that they were to manage mobile activity as well. Since no

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[32] CEO, 24.10.08.
[33] CEO, 24.10.08.
[34] IT chief, 02.10.08.
[35] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[36] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[37] Marketing director, 25.09.08.

one owned mobile media, the situation became awkward when someone tried to take the initiative. I frankly do not know how it should have come about […]. It became awkward – there was a vacuum and there will be one for the next channels as well (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

The editorial developments chief felt that he had been encouraged to engage in analysis, involving others in the process, and that they formally touched base with the suits by presenting the analysis at the company board meeting. He insisted that mobile media and potential new channels tended to be unexplored and uncontested territories for which no one takes responsibility, as they are vaguely defined. The editor-in-chief noted that it was unfortunate that the business department felt excluded, but also reasoned about the process as a whole: "I do not think that there is anything peculiar about it. It feels truly natural that things like this happen every now and then – it must, as there are so many things being processed."[38] In other words, in their sensemaking of mobile media, the creatives and techies explored new territory. Once they attempted to integrate their work within the formal structures of the organisation, the suits expressed discontent at having been excluded from the sensemaking and definition of the new boundaries. The marketing director stressed that GP must collaborate in such matters, as the suits would have made a significant contribution to the analysis by estimating its business potential. His critique of the content of the presentation itself focused mainly on the lack of analysis of business aspects. More specifically, he requested an analysis of potential revenue streams from future mobile media services.[39] He afterwards reflected:

> We got off to a bad start there. There was discord between specific individuals. I remember that it really put pressure on the company board for a period, as we were disunited regarding what had been said and who was going to become responsible for what […]. There were things being developed that did not have any commercial potential at all, but there are different ideas about this. I mostly recall that it was really bothersome […]. It was a huge issue – it really was a question that caused problems for us, causing fuss and a lot of unnecessary conflicts in the company board […]. We had different perceptions about what had been said, about the background to this, who had done what, how dangerous it really was. I mean, there were different nuances to this. I feel that it was totally unnecessary – it would have been enough with a couple of calls,

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[38] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[39] Marketing director, 25.09.08.

some meetings, and then we could have solved this entire question, with just some kind of coordination (Marketing director, 20.09.10[40]).

The marketing director, who later became the CEO of GP, stated that their lack of collaboration resulted in undesirable and troublesome problems. The event made it clear that there were still problems in communicating boundaries, showing that their pursuit of inter-departmental collaboration had its shortcomings. The discussions that took place should also be seen in light of the fact that the business department, led by the CEO and marketing director, two years earlier (in 2005), had formed a business development and analysis (BDA) unit. The BDA unit had been trained in methodologies for carrying out systematic analysis and business development by a consultancy firm. The BDA unit had been working to mobilise forces to approach the changing and increasingly digital media landscape. While the editorial developments chief had spoken informally to one of the members of the BDA unit, they had not collaborated in the early sensemaking process. The BDA unit chief was disappointed: "everything turned into a total mess. I agree, why should they do such things in secret when we are supposed to collaborate across boundaries?[41] She was also disappointed about having been excluded from the analysis carried out by the creatives and techies. She was aware that the editorial developments chief had started to analyse mobile media, but did not think that he had come so far. At the time, the analysts at the BDA unit acknowledged that they had not carried out a great deal of analysis of mobile media. The suits welcomed GP's investment in furthering mobile media and improving their level of journalistic quality. The suggestions to form a mobile project group and to employ a mobile editor were also welcomed. The suits in the BDA unit felt that it should have been a collaborative process to which the suits could have contributed their expertise,[42] which they did in the final phase.

5.5. Symbolic collaboration

The CEO perceived that it was important that GP postponed making a decision on how to proceed in practice. He reasoned that he had to

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[40] At the time of the interview in 2010, the marketing director had become CEO.
[41] BDA chief, 01.10.08.
[42] BDA chief, 01.10.08.

demonstrate that the company board truly valued inter-departmental collaboration. While the CEO acknowledged that GP at the time had not reached their goal regarding collaboration, he argued that one could interpret this event as a sign that the business department had acquired a position from which they dared to demand to be part of development processes alongside the editorial department. He stressed that such demands were not to be taken for granted, and that they had not been present in their organisation at the turn of the century.[43] In other words, the CEO decided that the analysis was to be revised, which was intended to symbolise the necessity of inter-departmental collaboration.

Following the company board meeting in December 2007, the chief of the BDA unit and the editorial developments chief were instructed to jointly revise the analysis and its implications. The editorial developments chief recalled: "I had to start over, and make sure that it was anchored by involving some additional persons, but it came down to the exact same thing. Surely it did." He explained: "I was not delighted at all. I thought it was urgent," as to him personally it was more important "to move forward rapidly" and to ensure a good position, as other newspapers were making progress. He recalled that the largest morning newspaper (Dagens Nyheter) and largest evening tabloid (Aftonbladet) were making progress. He said: "during exactly that period, DN got things rolling with the DN mobile, and we saw that Aftonbladet started to work." This indicated that GP felt pressured, as these Swedish newspapers were performing innovative work. He furthermore emphasised that their project was postponed by nearly two months, and although this did not result in them losing much pace, they could have got started sooner.[44] He argued that in his view, their revised analysis was more or less identical to that which he first presented and that the only contribution of the prolonged process was to symbolically demonstrate that creatives, suits and techies were to collaborate in sensemaking.[45] Their collaborative work on the analysis progressed in December 2007 and January 2008, and afterwards they handed over their revised analysis, which the editor-in-chief presented at the subsequent company board meeting.

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[43] CEO, 24.10.08; Managing editor, 23.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[44] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[45] Editorial developments chief, 13.09.10.

5.6. Shaping the outcome of future mobile media development

A number of decisions were made on mobile media development at the company board meeting in January 2008, relying on motives such as the need to ensure the journalistic quality of their mobile news site, which was assumed to be important for satisfying user demands as well as maintaining a good brand image. It was also perceived as important in order to make it possible to profit from their news and services in new ways. Importantly, from their revised analysis, they envisioned that their potential revenues from mobile media were limited in the short term, but promising in the long term. They also reasoned that by working with mobile media, they would subsequently improve their general work in digital development.[46] They decided to form a mobile project and to start editing work for the mobile news site manually. The CEO and editor-in-chief had anchored the decision to invest resources in mobile media development on the Stampen board of directors. The editor-in-chief explained that "the board of directors sees the big picture, and should see the big picture." He noted that GP worked autonomously in terms of how they made progress, but continuously informed the board of directors about areas of development in which they invested resources. He stated that "one of the new areas is mobile media, into which we are transferring money, and the board of directors is informed about it. They have given their approval and the green light, so to speak" (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

Following on from the implications of the conducted analysis, the company decided to run a (dedicated) mobile project with its own budget. The budget allocated to the mobile project group was to be used in any way its project members found appropriate, but with three important conditions. The first was to cover the costs of a project leader to work half-time on the project. A second condition was that any services that were launched had to be integrated into the existing organisation, so that they could continue to exist when the mobile project was terminated.[47] In practice, this meant that when the mobile project launched a sports news function that involved additional operative costs, they had to negotiate with someone from the existing organisation to cover these costs using

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[46] CEO, 24.10.08.

[47] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08.

their budget. The mobile project budget, in other words, primarily covered development costs that involved one-off transactions only. The third condition was to provide temporary employment for a journalist to work as a mobile editor for the duration of the project. This condition was one of the key issues addressed in the analysis which was originally crafted by the creatives. GP wanted to avoid insufficient mirroring from their news site to their mobile news site. The quality of the auto-direction of their editorial CMS (machine) was seen as unsatisfactory and therefore they felt a need for manual editing by a journalistically trained mobile editor.

Their decision to employ a dedicated mobile editor, rather than to enforce mobile editing as a task for existing journalists, related to an assumption (based on previous experience) that several of their journalists would not welcome the obligation to perform such new practices. At GP (as with numerous other newsrooms around the world), the editorial managers had struggled with introducing and institutionalising the online practices (the new) into the practices of their print-oriented newspaper organisation (the old). The editorial managers emphasised that they, in spite of strong resistance from journalists, had worked continuously to establish new practices. For instance, the news chief said:

> It is exhausting just to nag, nag, nag, which has been our role to a large degree. The web department practically functions as policemen, constantly asking others to deliver articles and photos for the online news site (News chief, 22.09.08).

The news chief anticipated that GP would encounter similar resistance to mobile editing if they forced journalists to do so. The perspective of the editorial staff was that it would be foolhardy to try to make all of their journalists edit their work manually for mobile media as a collective. This would be troublesome, as mobile media were perceived as a new and even more immature medium in the organisation than the news site.[48] While the managing editor also recognised that such resistance was probable, she believed that it would be easier to implement mobile media within the organisation than the web, thanks to their previous efforts in familiarising their staff with producing and publishing news online.[49] Employing a journalist dedicated to editing the mobile news site was a solution whereby an individual was ultimately responsible for the quality of the journalism, while GP avoided forcing such tasks upon all their journalists. This

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[48] News chief, 22.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08; Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[49] Managing editor, 23.09.08.

employment also aimed to symbolise the importance of their mobile news site, paving the way for future integration.[50]

5.7. Organising mobile media development

> In the company board there is no expert on mobile services. It would truly be wrong if we defined the frame too narrowly. They [mobile project] should know which resources and money they have at their disposal. Then they can use these resources pretty much as they like, as the project decides. If they want more money they must come back [to the company board]. They should feel allowed to try out things and fail. That we continuously try out different things (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

The company board wanted to create a framework for *rapid* and *collaborative* mobile media development, and in January 2008 they decided that this was to be organised as a dedicated project. The mobile project was launched with immediate effect as a one-year-long project with a predefined budget.[51] When the company board members discussed options for organising their mobile media development, they were influenced by their established practice of facilitating innovation through projects, which was seen as a positive experience. A couple of weeks earlier, at the end of 2007, they had terminated their GPTV project. Over one year, they had made developments for Internet-based TV, and this project was evaluated with positive remarks. The managing editor argued that the conditions for starting a mobile project were similar to those when they began the GPTV project a year earlier. She said "this is an exact repetition of the work we did with our Internet TV project."[52] In both situations, they had been certain that it was important for them to develop, but uncertain as to how to do so. They decided to organise one-year-long projects with group members representing creatives, suits and techies. Their launch of a mobile project can be seen as path-dependent. They interpreted the two situations as similar and applied similar frameworks to both. The old ways of organising new media were mimicked in order to structure mobile media developments.

The choice to make a dedicated mobile project was, however, not uncontested. At this time, the company board had also decided to launch two other project groups which focused on major development work, one

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[50] Managing editor, 23.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[51] Company Board Meeting, January 2008.
[52] Managing editor, 23.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

for the printed newspaper and one for the news site. Before deciding to form a dedicated mobile project group, the company board members elaborated on the possibility of integrating mobile media development into their news site project. However, they found it to be more appropriate to form a dedicated mobile project to ensure specialist competence and a rapid rate of development. By dedicating a project to mobile media, they strived to put mobile news on the agenda, and to avoid the risk of it playing second fiddle to the web project. The mobile project members were given the time, resources and power necessary to develop mobile media. The company board aimed to organise a fairly autonomous project with skilled media workers. The editor-in-chief said:

> We wanted to keep mobile media away from too much unwieldy administration […]. With mobile media, we must acknowledge that they are fast and mobile. Therefore, we do not have a gigantic project group. It is about operative power and trial and error (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

A permanent organisation at GP was perceived to be less suitable for the rapid development of a new medium, and it was seen as better to work in a way that allowed experimentation with mobile media. In sensemaking terms, they enacted mobile media, which meant that they planted and extracted cues from which they could make sense of mobile opportunities. The editor-in-chief argued that with unexplored mobile media territory, they had to strike a balance between time-consuming analyses and trial and error. He reasoned:

> We must test things so that we learn, and this applies to mobile media. We will initiate a number of journalism services that we will not have after some time, because no one was interested (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

Autonomy and a dedicated budget were two criteria that were treated as important conditions for the outcome of the mobile project. A third important criterion, in the opinion of the company board, was that of the composition of the mobile project group. They were to assign a project leader and a group of members from different departments for the purpose of collaboration.[53] When they assembled the mobile project group, the company board followed the standard procedure for

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[53] The label used by GP was "steering group." However, in order to improve the flow of the text, the label used here is "mobile project group."

assembling project groups. The procedure for assembling a mix of chiefs from different departments can be seen as a path-dependent and institutionalised self-evident practice. Most projects in the company typically had one or several company board representatives, and also involved representatives from the three departments. For the mobile project group, it was decided that the most important matter was to create a dedicated project team that could take rapid action. The company board took into consideration that the mobile project was going to involve a great deal of work with technology, but limited opportunities for business in the short term. The editor-in-chief considered numerous questions:

> What is its main focus? Is it mostly about technology? Is it mostly journalism? Is it mostly about making money? Who has the time and opportunity to fit this in with the other things we do? (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

The company board decided to appoint the IT chief as their representative to the mobile project group. This indicates their interpretation of mobile media as a technologically dense project, rather than one which is focused on journalism and/or business. The editor-in-chief said that the mobile project was intended to manage relations with MktMedia, and that they anticipated a great deal of collaboration on technical platforms. With regard to their decision to appoint the IT chief, he explained: "the IT chief is the best person to take part, because this will be a technologically-oriented project. It must be."[54] It was further agreed that there was no need for additional representatives from the company board. The members of the company board all had busy schedules, so their presence in different projects had to be prioritised, and the mobile project was assigned the lowest priority. Their organisation into three projects, in others words, involved prioritizing both financial investment and the appointment of representatives. The company board members prioritised their participation in the two parallel projects for print and online development. The company board members were aware that this signified the lower status of mobile media, but felt that this was necessary.[55] Mobile media were, in other words, prioritised in relation to the other channels they engaged with in their cross-media news work.

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[54] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[55] Managing editor, 23.09.08; IT chief, 02.10.08.

The company board decided to make the digital developer from the IT department the leader of the mobile project, on the basis of his previous experience in leading projects and extensive experience in mobile media development.[56] Three additional representatives were chosen for inclusion in the project group, in whom the company board sought to involve media workers from the different departments with experience of digital developments and an interest in mobile media. The creatives gained representation from the web department chief and the editorial developments chief, while the suits were represented by the BDA chief. The mixed composition of the mobile project group was assumed to bring a variety of experiences and ideas, as well as to facilitate communication between the mobile project members and other members of staff. The five members of the mobile project were supported by senior management. As the second most influential representatives in the business and editorial departments, the marketing director and managing editor functioned as senior advisers whom the mobile project members could consult as they felt necessary. In other words, the creatives, suits and techies in the mobile project group were supervised by duality management. While this was not an example of trisection management *per se*, the involvement of the IT chief secured a strong techie presence.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the formative phase of the sensemaking of mobile media (the new), which was influenced by experiences of the news site (the old). At the time, mobile media were treated as unexplored and virgin territory, and there was no precise definition of who was responsible for their progress. Eventually, creatives and techies took the lead in exploring this field through sensemaking. This alliance of media workers shouldered the responsibility for pursuing a more formalised development of mobile media, which was helped indirectly by the earlier institutionalisation of the news site into the old print organisation. This formative phase came to be important, as the boundaries they defined and the actions they later realised influenced their subsequent sensemaking and development of mobile media.

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[56] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08; Managing editor, 23.09.08.

When the company board meeting in January 2008 came to an end, the members had made a number of important decisions regarding their future path for the development of mobile media. These decisions were the outcome of several years of sensemaking by creatives and techies, and a symbolically-oriented negotiation with the suits. Mobile media constituted an area for cross-media news work that was initially socially constructed by creatives and suits. With the initial exclusion of the suits from the sensemaking process, the tensions between creatives, suits and techies surfaced in this formative phase. There were limited tensions between creatives and teachies, while tensions arose in the negotiations with the suits, who demanded to participate in the process of sensemaking, negotiating and defining the boundaries of mobile media.

The development of web and mobile media has been driven by enthusiastic entrepreneurs in the organisation, who had to convince the senior management about the necessity of further work. While the web was alien to the old organisation, the sensemaking of that process paved the way for the development and establishment of mobile media. While both the web and the mobile can be seen as objects which are coupled to different logics and practices, they can also be treated and labelled as *new*. In other words, the sensemaking of the new was shaped by the old organisation and practices. The creatives and techies processed the new by taking it one step further down the path trodden by the old, through the formalised decision-making process that involved the suits, while still demarcating it from the old by forming an autonomous project. Almost paradoxically, as the sensemaking process led towards the institutionalisation of the new, the result was that the new was organised and established in terms of a new and fluid project group which consisted of creatives, suits and techies. In other words, the new was organised through something new, making it distinct from the old, in order to facilitate the company's desire for collaboration and rapid development.

The sensemaking process took place in a formative phase, in which mobile developments relied on personal passion and were given limited resources, before decisions were made about formal investment. That GP chose to design their work for the mobile by hiring a *new* mobile editor and forming a *new* project shows that their old framework was perceived to be unprepared to accommodate mobile media. They crafted their path to future development by paving the way for rapid and collaborative development by dedicated media workers, rather than forcing such

changes upon all of their staff. The importance of enacting this new medium through trial and error was, in other words, made explicit.

The sensemaking process indicates how they approached the development of mobile media predominantly from a journalistic perspective. They extracted cues from other newspapers which were engaged in manually editing journalistic content for mobiles, translated this into a sign of importance and direction, and assigned such an aim to their own work. The pursuit of quality journalism essentially came down to employing a (human) mobile editor who was to repackage and edit the format of existing journalistic content derived from their old channels. It would have been possible to approach mobile media by creating unique journalistic content. However, this was not pursued in this formative and defining phase, which influenced the company's approach in the years to come.

6

THE DEPARTURE OF THE MOBILE MEDIA TRAIN (2008)

We have really made progress in Sweden when it comes to mobile media. For instance, I was in Amsterdam in May [at a conference], and as I sat there, I noticed that 80 percent of all the speakers were from Scandinavia. They were from Sweden, Denmark, Finland. There were people from companies such as Ericsson and Nokia. We are really far ahead, so it is absurd to go down there to listen to Swedes, or even colleagues. However, it works as a place to meet, where you get the chance to think, a chance to talk (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

In 2008, it was believed that the mobile media train had started to roll. This digital developer felt that the Scandinavian countries were the front-runners, and that industry conferences were good occasions for thinking and talking about development processes and sensemaking. This chapter explores the sensemaking of mobile media in 2008, a year characterised by optimism and change in GP. It presents the organisation at GP and their mobile media development. The following two sections focus on sensemaking – first, the company's sensemaking of the situation in 2008, and then projections for 2010. This chapter closes with some conclusions.

6.1. Organising mobile media development

If the company board is to make a good decision, there must be project groups that have penetrated the issues and investigated them in order to lay the foundations, and also that have come up with a proposition which we think is good […]. I think that we work much more professionally today than before, as then we could have a whim from our chiefs like "now let's do it like this." In the long term, that is not sufficient, as our decisions must rely on a much more businesslike and professional foundation, and you achieve that by setting aside resources that penetrate a question – you do substantial pre-studies, and then carry out projects in which things are tested (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

It is worth noticing that the editor-in-chief emphasises the need to be "professional" and "businesslike" by engaging in more extensive analysis

and through project groups. Complementing their duality management structure, the company board delegated development work to designated project groups. In 2008, they had projects involving creatives, techies and suits for the further development of the newspaper, the news site and mobile media. The editorial developments chief discussed the relationship between project autonomy and the company board:

> Since the mobile is the smallest channel, and the channel of which we have the most limited knowledge, with which we have engaged least, it is also the project provided with the most autonomy (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

The mobile project group was assigned a great deal of autonomy, and the company board had limited involvement, as the group was trusted to manage rapid and collaborative development on their behalf. The company board formed project groups to assist with their sensemaking of change in increasingly uncertain and challenging times. Their sensemaking of environmental change developed in parallel to their sensemaking of organisation, in which they pursued a framework for the *rapid* and *collaborative* development of digital and mobile media.

6.1.1. Organisation for collaboration

> We share our experiences with each other. Others come in – the editorial developments chief, for instance, does his own monitoring of the environment and shares with us the things he has found. It becomes an exchange which works as the foundation for the decisions we are making, about where we are heading, and what is important now. And afterwards, I guess that it is disseminated – just as I bring things back with me and disseminate them here [at the IT department], the others similarly bring back and disseminate (information) in their departments. It is a benefit that we work over the department boundaries all the time in this way (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer expressed his positive experience of collaborating with other media workers, something that was articulated across the group. In relation to their fluid projects and their permanent duality management structure, GP also provided a structure for collaborative change in 2008 by employing matrix-inspired duality management.

The editorial developments chief and the chief of the BDA unit were assigned to collaborate and participate in all development projects. As they were members of the editorial and business department boards

respectively, they formed a miniature representation of duality management. Their task was to ensure that their company continuously accounted for both the journalism and business perspectives in all of their development activities. It is worth noting that this structure was formed after the mobile project commenced at the end of 2007/beginning of 2008, at which time these departments did not formally collaborate as expected (as discussed in the preceding chapter). The editor-in-chief described these two chiefs as the hubs of their organisational development processes, as they secured both business and editorial perspectives on all important projects. Through such collaboration, GP aimed to avoid the pitfalls of internal resistance from their creatives and suits.[57] The fact that the techies were excluded from this miniature representation of duality management signifies their position at the time.

The chiefs of analysis from the editorial and business departments were involved as members of all three project groups at GP in 2008. As a representative of the suits, the BDA chief was the only suit present in the mobile project group. The editorial developments chief, on the other hand, was accompanied by the web department chief. The five members of the project (which also involved two techies) had collaborated with each other previously on similar development projects. The digital developer, who led the mobile project, said: "I do not in any way feel that we are standing on different barricades as we meet in the mobile project group, although we may have some different views."[58] A similar line of argument was expressed by others in the group, who emphasised positive values linked to collaboration. They had become used to accommodating each other's perspectives, and suggested that they often had similar opinions on things. To agree was a necessary condition for their progress:

> If the business department wants to do something and the editorial department says no, then it will be that way, and also the other way around, and so we must definitely work our way to an agreement (Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08).

The members of the group emphasized that the assembly of creatives, suits and techies in the group facilitated collaboration. While they had different views, there were no negative tensions between the three groups.

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[57] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[58] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

The constitution of the project was organised to facilitate communication with other creatives, suits and techies at different hierarchical levels. They discussed their analyses and work at face-to-face meetings every two weeks, but also through informal talks, e-mails and so forth.[59] The digital developer, who led the project, reflected on his continuous collaboration with colleagues throughout the organisation:

> Most of my time is spent meeting people who are not from my own department, attending meetings with [people from] different parts of the organisation. I work with the entire organisation in all sorts of strange constellations, and also with people outside of the building (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

In his role as mobile project leader, he engaged in continuous collaboration with others in the organisation, as well as external partners. While collaboration marked the mobile project group, their work was, for the most part, autonomous. In most cases, they did not have to gain approval prior to making their decisions, but still continuously informed the company board and the respective departmental board about their progress. The members of the project had accumulated significant experience of the cultures and strategies of GP over the years, which helped them to anticipate what the company board would or would not approve.[60] When they felt the need for approval, they simply turned to the marketing director and the managing editor, who constituted a senior duality management reference group. For some decisions, such as the redesign of the mobile news site in early 2008, the editor-in-chief was asked for approval.[61] Internally, the CEO was involved very little at GP, although he participated in their discussions and planning with MktMedia:

> With all respect, I have not been involved with the mobile very much. The revenues are so small and there are so few people involved. I have mostly been involved with mobile media since it is a future channel in which we must hasten, with our connection to MktMedia, to try to make MktMedia invest. It is mostly there that I have been active, but it is a small part of my operation (CEO, 24.10.08).

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[59] Digital developer, 19.09.08; Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08.
[60] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[61] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

This quotation illustrates that the CEO, as the ultimate chief of business at GP, did not find the mobile project to be worth his involvement. This relates to the fact that the mobile news site and SMS news flashes, in terms of user traffic and revenues, were inferior compared to the newspaper and news site. The CEO, however, participated more in shaping the terms for collaboration with MktMedia. In addition, the mobile project members were involved in the sensemaking of such terms, defining the desired role of GP in a forthcoming MktMobil project. The mobile project members felt that they had a favourable point of departure thanks to their established relationship with MktMedia.[62] The bottom line was that senior management had ascribed autonomy for sensemaking and enacting mobile media to the inter-departmental mobile project group, who shaped new practices and boundaries of collaboration.

6.1.2. Mobile project: Organisation for rapid development

> I read in Medievärlden [Swedish industry press] this Tuesday that Aftonbladet integrated print and web, and that they made mobile media into a separate business enterprise. Then I thought it was really good timing. Now they have grown so much with their web that they are no longer growing, and now they can do business from what they have. They cannot become much bigger – they have processed this long stretch of pioneering work and now it is an established enterprise. Then it is time to integrate, and then they identified mobile media and say "here we have the next upcoming area of expansion." Then they organise it as a company of its own, and then drive it forward really fast. I am not opposed to integration when one has an established enterprise, but I find it really difficult to move forward as a pioneer with a growing enterprise in an industry that celebrated its 450th anniversary this year. The printed newspaper will always take up the majority of resources (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

There are two important dimensions to the discussion above, namely integration versus separation and the speed of change. One interpretation of this quotation is that development of the *new* (digital media) should preferably be organised by decoupling it from the *old* (newspaper), in order to achieve the desired goal of *rapid* development (similarly to Aftonbladet). He argues that this line of reasoning guided their organisation of mobile media development through an autonomous project. While the first mission of the project was to "make sure that we

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[62] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

do the correct things at GP and in the Stampen Group for the future," their second mission was "to run exceptionally fast in the making of GP services."[63] The argument about the necessity of rapid development for cross-media news work was also mentioned by others. For instance, the editorial developments chief said that "things will move faster and faster, and it will require faster decision-making processes. It will require that we are faster in allocating resources and transferring resources."[64]

Due to its budget and varied composition of influential members, the mobile project group was perceived to be autonomous. They employed an explicit trial and error approach, and dared to develop new services to see if they worked. Their guiding principle was to move forward quickly, learning from both good and bad decisions.[65] They were expected to try new things in order to understand and identify possible paths to travel.

> That is the fun and interesting part with these new channels. One can experiment as much as one likes. One is not punished for doing something that is not completely accurate in a mobile service, as it is rather immature (Marketing director, 25.09.08).

The marketing director stated that the immaturity (newness) of the system allowed for greater experimentation, casting mobile media development as an unexplored territory for which expectations were different compared to the old. To conclude, the one-year-long mobile project consisted of a inter-departmental group working operatively and autonomously sensemaking of mobile media. As it was detached from the old, this new container of creatives, suits and techies was expected to enact rapid change through experimentation. Its members were generally satisfied with the organisation of the project and its allocated budget.

During the autumn of 2008, the mobile project members and the mobile editor all expressed that they would have preferred to extend the length of the mobile project. However, as with all other projects that had taken place at GP, their project model predefined the date of project closure and integration with their permanent organisation. In other words, the new and fluid was to be aligned with the old and permanent. Changes were anticipated for both the old and new modes of

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[63] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[64] Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08.
[65] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08; Marketing director, 25.09.08.

organisation, and they continued to pursue modes of organisation that made possible for the rapid development of mobile media.

6.1.3. Envisioning future organisation

> We realise that we cannot move backwards and make a worse mobile news site, journalistically speaking – that is not acceptable. There are advantages of having our mobile project group, and of having a composition of people who can make very rapid decisions about an issue, and that cannot end this year. We must continue to keep that pace in decision-making (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The media workers wanted to pursue continued efforts to secure the journalistic quality of their mobile news site. There were, however, several questions regarding how GP were going to organise the development of mobile media for 2009. They considered creating a cross-collaborative group that would embrace all forms of digital development, similarly to the structure which existed prior to the three projects, which resulted in that group being quiescent throughout 2008. It was made explicit that the new group was going to be in charge of mobile media development (contrary to their earlier experience). Their retrospective sensemaking of the organisation represents a way in which the old shapes the new. In drawing on experiences to make improvements to their organisation, two issues in particular were stressed, in order to facilitate the desired rapid pace of development. Their previous group had limited influence, as they were not in charge of the media workers who made the operational developments, nor did they have a budget of their own. The editorial developments chief argued that a group without a budget and operative power would often produce only promising ideas for development. He said: "there are no resources, so resources must be allocated all the time to new things and it takes time to get these,"[66] which results in long-winded rather than rapid development. He was inspired by the way a Norwegian newspaper had organised its digital development:

> The organisation of development looks different in different places. Aftonposten, for instance, have a chief of developments for the entire company, who is also in charge of the business department. I do not know if it is possible to do it like that, I really do not know, but somewhere there is a vacuum of power when it comes to new channels (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

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[66] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.

Compared to Aftonposten, there were two chiefs (rather than one) in charge of digital development at GP, and there was also more uncertainty about decision-making power. However, the two chiefs from the editorial and business departments were not in charge of the necessary budget, nor the staff to allow them to enforce rapid change. The discussion with the editorial developments chief (EDC) continued as follows:[67]

EDC: I believe that there must be only one person, who has a mission from the board to ensure that we are at the frontier, ensuring that we investigate new devices, and they should also have a bag of money to do such things, preferably connected to profits, as some things should be profitable rather quickly. I do not argue for my own interests, I want to emphasise that, as, as a 60-year-old, I should not be doing such things. That is just the way it is. The one who does these things should be about 35-40 years old, be a journalist, and be curious, an entrepreneur, and all those things. There are such people, one just has to find them.

Author: Why do they have to be a journalist?

EDC: Because if you are not a journalist you will not see. Journalism is not only coupled with writing a text and packaging something, there is also a curiosity and a driving force in it. And, in addition, if you are to get things through in an editorial department, you must be a journalist, otherwise you do not have a chance.

Author: Does it have to do with status?

EDC: No, it is not about status, it is about trustworthiness. If you come from a business department and are very skilled, or if you are an engineer or whatever, but enter an editorial department and do not understand the fundamental wall between what journalism is, publishing that is, and what commercial enterprise is, then you are lost. No one will listen to you. You will encounter many stumbling blocks in what it is possible to do. You will never speak the language of journalists. There are several here who come from other departments, and they have had to work to learn it. The brand image chief is one of those, and there are other examples as well. But you would probably have to be a journalist.

Author: So basically [what is needed is] a merger between your function and the chief of the business development and analysis [BDA] unit?

EDC: Yes, in a few years, I hope this organisation will be ready for that.

The discussion above shows that the editorial developments chief envisioned that a more permanent organisation for digital development

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[67] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.

would be led by one person rather than two, and perhaps most importantly by someone with a background as a journalist. The bottom line was that a creative suggested that digital development should ultimately be led by creatives. Interestingly, while there was some discussion of the need for collaboration, this suggestion actually meant that the editorial department was to take charge of the group leading digital development at GP. He explained that although he and others in the editorial department found this manner of organisation to be promising, it would not be possible to perform such changes at the time.

> Pieces in the organisational puzzle are not only pieces, but also people who are here in the house for something. This is about status between the departments. Neither the BDA chief nor I could possibly take such a position, as if she took the position she would be positioned above me, and if I were to be placed there I would end up above her. In other words, the editorial department would be placed on top of the business department, or the business department would be placed above the editorial department. There would be rather stupid conversations about things. It is much better to clear the table at a given point in time when we get out and then place someone else there (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

In conclusion, creatives, suits and techies articulated the importance of organisation for the rapid and collaborative development of digital media. Several envisioned it as important to grant operative influence and a budget to a inter-departmental group. In light of mimicry, the creatives wished for a window of opportunity in which GP could appoint a creative responsible for such a group. While the organisation of digital development in 2009 was to unfold in an unexpected manner, the wishes of the creatives would eventually become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

6.2. Facilitating mobile media development

> Among the things we are working with at the moment, the mobile feels the most urgent and important. This is where growth is taking place right now. This is where the rules have not yet been defined. This is where exceptionally many things will happen. We do not know what will happen, but I am sure that it will happen. Mobile media is virgin territory (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer, and others, expressed firm expectations of the growth of mobile media. Throughout 2008, the mobile project group

therefore made various developments in the field of mobile media. Their work involved redesigning the mobile news site, developing mobile ringtones (such as fans cheering to a goal by their local hockey team), as well as developing a universal mobile messenger service. The practical work for the messenger service was contracted to a company in India, but marketed by GP in Gothenburg. The digital developer explained: "our motivation has been to change people's perceptions about the GP brand, [and show] that we are relatively hip, by having a messenger program."[68] He explained that they had, however, not been very successful with this.

Other mobile media-related work involved the occasional use of mobile devices for journalistic reporting, which should not be seen as structured mobile journalism (MoJo). It was essentially the provision of camera-enabled mobile devices to journalists, to be used for reporting from the field. GP furthermore encouraged the public to submit tips on newsworthy events by SMS or MMS. In addition, the mobile project group, as well as the web department with its employed mobile editor, occasionally received suggestions from users on functionalities and content they wished to find on the mobile news site.

> The mobile editor and I can send proposals to the digital developer, who is the one who decides whether it can be done, technically speaking. Afterwards, it is up to him to prioritise […]. Then we can discuss what is really important to make accessible for mobiles, and then it is up to him to make sure that our techies have time for it, as there are always a bunch of other projects (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

GP obviously made various developments in the field of mobile media throughout 2008, but they engaged in particular with three areas of work. First, they redesigned, developed new functionalities for and manually edited their mobile news site. Second, they sought to establish and negotiate the direction of the MktMobil project for mobile media development (with their partner MktMedia). Third, they developed SMS services, comprising predominantly news flashes managed by the editorial web department. The following sections discuss these three areas of work.

6.2.1. On the interplay of humans and machines

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[68] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

The mobile news site was the primary mobile distribution channel in 2008, and GP continued to improve it. The digital developer said: "we are running pretty fast to increase traffic and profits for the GP mobile site."[69] In February, an extensive redesign was performed, aiming to make the site more useful and user-friendly.[70] The redesign involved changes to its graphical design and the programming of the machine-led auto-direction. The digital developer argued that mobile media previously had been coupled with "a tiny screen, fast news, few images, compressed, one-line headlines, little variation in typography – in other words, a pretty condensed news channel."[71] As more mobile devices became equipped with large screens, the conditions for accessing news changed. With the redesign of the mobile news site, GP enforced a new default setting which defined the content and made services accessible. News was published simultaneously on the mobile news site and on the online news site, and the types of news which were expected to be important on mobiles were defined for inclusion.[72] Humans in other words programmed machines for machine-led and selective auto-direction of journalistic content. No functionalities enabled user participation (produsage), nor were there any personalised or location-based services.

As the mobile news site developed graphically, it took longer to load (due to pictures etc.). Meanwhile, it was seen as important not to burden users with heavy content, as several users had complained that this was generating high costs (they used pay-as-you-go price models rather than flat-rate price models). The settings for the default auto-directed mode were decided upon to enhance user experience, giving the mobile news site more text-based content, while still taking site loading time into consideration. The definition of a default mode meant that the mobile news site operated with machine-led auto-direction. In other words, humans programmed machines to auto-direct content extracted from the news site. This default mode was always on when no human was at work; otherwise, the mobile news site switched to a mode which enabled manual editing. As previously discussed, manual editing was exercised to

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[69] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[70] Digital developer, 19.09.08; Digital designer, 10.12.09.
[71] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[72] The five most recent news articles about Gothenburg, Sweden and the world were visible on top of the homepage. There were also three articles about sports and three about entertainment/culture further down. The top article in each of these three sections displayed a picture and a lead paragraph, while others only displayed text. Users could also access videos and utility services relating to traffic, sports, food and wine etc.

pursue a level of journalistic quality which would be impossible to achieve if the system relied entirely on machines. Journalists were expected to lay their hands on the repurposed content:

> We used to shovel through auto-direction, from the web to the mobile. Some of the links to which the web refers cannot be displayed on mobiles, so we had numerous leads that did not lead anywhere. That part of her work [the mobile editor] concerns "complete and clean," but there is a lot more to it. She ensures that we have the right priorities on the news site for mobiles, such as by replacing pictures. She does a lot with it, and I would like to say that it mostly has to do with quality. I think that to develop a stock exchange service and to have sports results is a matter of "complete and clean." We must have it, but it is nothing that marks us as different, as soon everyone will have it (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer essentially argued that their manual editing practices ensured sufficient quality for mobile media – a quality he and other media workers referred to as "complete and clean." Mobile editing was seen as a necessary practice, and it was anticipated that it would become common amongst other newspapers as well. Following on from their sensemaking in 2006 to 2007 (chapter 5), GP employed a journalist in April 2008 to work as a mobile editor on a temporary contract for the remainder of the project year. Apart from special news events, such as local concerts or sports events, manual mobile editing took place only in the daytime on weekdays. The auto-direct mode continued to be used at other times, that is, during lunchtime, evenings, nights and weekends. There was, in other words, interplay between humans and machines in the shaping of journalism for the mobile news site.

The mobile editor seldom reported on stories herself, and neither was she involved in the development of mobile media. In 2008, her work focused on editing existing auto-directed content. She rewrote headlines, edited and/or replaced pictures, erased broken links and re-arranged articles on the homepage. She strove to keep the mobile news site updated and "complete and clean." This involved resolving the problems which arose from machine-led content repurposing. For instance, on the news site, articles were published in conjunction with other "related articles," but the latter could not be auto-directed by their machines. The limitations of their machines were, in other words, compensated for by having a journalistically-trained mobile editor who manually edited and published "related articles." She occasionally also replaced or published

additional articles on the mobile news site.[73] She replaced pictures in articles, as they did not come out well when accessed with mobile devices with small screens (in 2008, few Swedes possessed touch-screen devices enabled with a zoom). The mobile editor used pictures that emphasised people's faces, as otherwise it was difficult to identify individuals on the relatively small mobile screen. She tagged and saved all pictures edited for the mobile to a GP picture database.[74]

While she was initially the only one to perform mobile editing, it was anticipated that the database would be helpful to others involved in mobile editing later on. The mobile editor was employed to ensure the quality of the mobile news site. This dedicated responsibility was seen as necessary, as there had been different types of resistance from (print-oriented) journalists when GP launched and implemented various practices for working with their news site.[75] However, as a way of spreading this knowledge and practice to others, a rotating schedule was implemented at the web department from September 2008.

> Today, the mobile editor works four days per week with the mobile site and one day per week with the news site. Then, there is someone else in the web department who manages the mobile site, and then it is mostly basic editing that they can do. It is important that we do not become vulnerable, as we would if the knowledge [of mobile editing] resided with only one person (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

The web department chief explained that the mobile editor was the expert, but that she could share her knowledge. During the autumn, additional journalists in the web department were therefore involved in the practical work. They needed instruction, and the web department chief felt that the manual compiled by a techie was not sufficient.

> One of the techies started to write a basic manual, but he is a techie and therefore writes manuals his way, while the mobile editor could write a manual more from our way of thinking and the way we work here [in the web department]. Therefore, the mobile editor was commissioned to write it, and she has done a lof of work in this area (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

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[73] Mobile editor, 22.09.08.
[74] Mobile editor, 22.09.08
[75] News chief, 22.09.08; Managing editor, 23.09.08.

The fact that the mobile editor wrote the manual to make it comprehensible to other creatives indicates the different competencies and languages of creatives and techies. Editing is a practice which has been aligned with the old, including both the newspaper and news site. GP appointed a creative to be ultimately responsible for such activities, and also for new activities. The mobile editor improved the quality of the mobile news site and the position itself helped to symbolise the importance of mobile journalism. Through their employment of a mobile editor, GP created a situation characterised by a symbiosis between humans and machines, rather than giving machines sole responsibility for repurposing. Ultimately, however, humans remained dependent on the opportunities and restrictions provided by machines.

6.2.2. SMS news flashes: Immediate news for a fee

> We realised that right now, one can make most money from SMS, so we started a lot of SMS services. Then we arranged workshops in both the editorial and business departments to look into what can be done, how we can do it, how we can educate them. The editorial department got started and provided quite a few SMS services. The business department was slower, which I think has to do with them not having a mobile editor. They have nobody dedicated to the mobile. This means that someone has to do it on top of their other work obligations, and then you do not achieve efficiency. Apart from that, the potential is much bigger in the business department (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer noted that his and others expectations for potential revenues had resulted in the development of mobile SMS services. By 2008, GP had been experimenting with different types of SMS news flashes for almost a decade. Using 160 characters, selected news stories were distributed to a list of subscribers. During 2008, they worked with both temporary and permanent subscriptions to SMS news flashes. Temporary SMS news flashes involved short-term subscriptions to the results from the Olympic Games and the Nobel prize gala. A seasonal news flash involved subscriptions to news on the local hockey team.

As of June 2008, they also launched a permanent subscription-based news flash, focusing on major news events. The number of SMS varied, from several news flashes per day to a few per week, depending on the newsworthiness of events taking place. All SMS news flashes were crafted and distributed manually, rather than composed and distributed by

machines. Journalists made decisions on which events to use, and then carefully and manually composed the news flashes. They enforced a policy that all SMS news flashes were to be approved by at least two members of the editorial staff. This work was closely related to payment models and pricing strategies, as discussed by the mobile project group. The mobile project group were unsure how to form their pricing strategy, and as there was no investigation, they tried to make a rapid decision. Due to feelings of uncertainty, they imitated another Swedish newspaper:

> The evaluation never came so then we decided to do it like DN. We needed a quick decision. We did not have time to evaluate it, we did not get the basic data we thought of, so we decided that we must get going, and that we would follow DN, as they cannot be entirely foolish. At least there was some other actor who was doing it that way (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

The web department chief explained that through mimicking another large quality newspaper, the mobile project group members felt that they adopted a reasonable path of development. They decided to launch a service that offered a subscription to a major news events service, whereby subscribers were charged for each SMS they received. This called for particularly delicate judgement before an SMS was sent. The payment model was soon questioned by various creatives and suits. The web department chief said that at one of their morning meetings in the editorial department, some suits who were present questioned the pricing strategy, as they could not include it in their marketing communications. She insisted that such issues should have been addressed by the suits in their previous mobile project group discussions:

> We are not experts on pricing strategies here in the editorial department. That is something the business department is supposed to be [experts on], how to communicate a service and such. We think more in terms of content, what to include in mobile news flashes. But how one communicates the service – if that is impossible, it would have been good if the business department had done an investigation on it earlier (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

This situation displays the fact that discussions were held between creatives and suits on how to design the conditions for one of their SMS news flashes. In essence, the creatives felt responsible for the journalistic content and felt that the suits should have taken responsibility for designing the pricing strategy, as they launched the service. The web

department chief and mobile editor raised this question for discussion with the members of the mobile project during the autumn, and the advantages and disadvantages of different payment models were discussed. They chose to change their pricing strategy in September, based on positive experience from the flat-rate based payment model they had used for their temporary SMS news flashes. This method was seen as more favourable for their users since it reduced anxieties about costs, about which users had filed complaints.[76]

6.2.3. Negotiations for business and collaboration

> We are really involved in a lot of meetings on how we are to meet in the future in some way. It is something that is pretty important, that they [MktMedia] get on track. I mean, we hope that they will solve, and in the first phase take responsibility for the development of, the tools that we need. Then we may deploy resources in Gothenburg as well, and we may do so jointly. But we have many meetings to define these needs and what we are to do. But for us, it is just as important that they get going at a fast pace, and that the Stampen Group is a pace setter for us. Our ambition is to be present and assist there, both to satisfy our own needs, but also to launch great things so that we can accomplish good things together (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The process of building the Stampen Group affected GP's work with mobile media. The digital developer said: "with everything we do with GP now, we must, in some way, have at the back of our minds that it should be done from the perspective of the Stampen Group."[77] Throughout 2008, the mobile project group participated in establishing the boundaries of the MktMobil project. MktMedia employed two Finnish experts on mobile media in September 2008, and one became the leader of the MktMobil project. One reason for their early participation in establishing the MktMobil project related to the ambition of GP to be a leader rather than a follower. In other projects, they had been a follower and a latecomer. When, earlier that year, GP started to integrate their news site with the MktWeb project, they were the last newspaper in the network to do so. They found it troublesome to adjust to a web platform which had been defined by others. With the MktMobil project, they therefore tried to take the opposite role. The digital developer said: "it is much easier to

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[76] Web department chief, 23.10.08.
[77] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

sit in the locomotive than to run behind and try to jump on."[78] His references to a locomotive conformed to the common metaphor of a train to represent mobile media at GP. Here, it signifies that one can occupy one of many different positions on the mobile media train, and that a position in the locomotive was coveted. As such, GP were expected to influence its direction and pace. The editor-in-chief elaborated on their wish to take on the role of the locomotive in a similar fashion:

> Now we are synchronising with MktMedia, and there the explicit meaning is for us to be the locomotive. We have come much further than others in our sphere. We go first – we are some kind of testing platform, and then others come after us. That is how I hope and believe it should be (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

In addition to negotiating with MktMedia, the mobile project group negotiated collaborations with a number of stakeholders with regard to their work with the mobile news site and the SMS news flashes. For instance, at the time, in Sweden, some telecom operators provided free access to content within their portals (i.e. the mobile homepage of the operator). These portals also functioned as a means to direct users to other mobile sites. The mobile project group therefore worked with such operators in an attempt to be included as a bookmark in their portals, which they managed to do with some operators. There were also negotiations to establish partnerships with other content companies in order to make their information or services accessible by SMS or through the mobile news site. Successful examples of such work involved displaying information about the weather from a national provider (SMHI),[79] as well as offering an integrated search function for maps, companies and so forth (Eniro).[80] The digital developer explained how GP, with the Swedish Media Publishers' Association, had negotiated their conditions with telecom operators:

> We are pretty angry with the operators since they slow down our development. One part of it has to do with the fact that the distribution of profits is insane, as we only get to keep about half. Our argumentation departs from the fact that they should offer reasonable conditions and we will ensure that they make money from volume (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

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[78] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[79] SMHI is Sweden's governmental institute for metrology and hydrology.
[80] Eniro is a third-party company offering search services in print, online and mobile formats.

GP formed an alliance with other newspaper representatives, representing the Swedish Media Publishers' Association, which then become involved in manipulating the telecom operators. Together, they managed to close a trial period agreement that involved more favourable terms for pricing and revenue sharing.[81] Obviously, by constructing a joint interest group for mobile media, they improved their position for manipulation. They improved the conditions for making a profit, which had been especially bad for business to consumer activities.[82] The suits also contracted media marketing consultants to investigate potential business opportunities.[83]

6.3. Sensemaking of the situation in 2008

> I think that for every day that passes, the mobile device becomes even more central. You can do more things with it – not only make calls, but have your calendar on it, your e-mail – it is a communication hub. You will probably soon be able to pay with it in stores. Of course you should have information on it that helps you orientate your life. I think that this is so strong that we cannot even understand the extent of it yet. I do not think we can (IT chief, 02.10.08).

In 2008, there were expectations that the mobile device would be used ubiquitously for the Internet, news and much more. However, the digital developer and others were uncertain about how it was going to develop.

> I feel that the mobile is pressing, and very important. This is where we are seeing growth. This is where the rules have not yet been defined, this is where a lot of things will happen. We do not really know what will happen, but I am certain that it will happen (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

There was a strong emphasis on the growing interest in mobile media from users, as the technologies and content customised for mobile devices were improving constantly. In light of this, GP believed that mobiles presented many promising opportunities. Among the preconditions emphasised was the fact that the print newspaper industry was in decline, in terms of both readers and revenues. As the global recession in 2008 had recently escalated, there was uncertainty about its expected duration. The bottom line was that GP had to prioritise. On the one hand, they wanted to be open to emerging opportunities from digital

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[81] Digital developer, 19.09.08; Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[82] Marketing director, 25.09.08.
[83] BDA chief, 01.10.08.

and mobile media, in order to compensate for losses in print. On the other hand, they also felt a need to secure revenues by profiting from their printed newspaper. The mobile was perceived as a relatively new and uncertain device for accessing news, but with untapped potential. Key themes to their situational sensemaking are discussed in the next section.

6.3.1. Improving conditions for mobile media usage

> How many of the things you purchase in a store do you bring to bed? It may be a book, a newspaper, a glass of water and your pyjamas. A mobile can also be brought to bed, and that is common. But in addition, you have it with you all of the time that you are awake. I mean, it is the absolute most important factor (IT chief, 02.10.08).

The mobile device was perceived to have a favourably ubiquitous presence in everyday life. There were great expectations about the future potential of mobile media among media workers in 2008. The IT chief stressed the importance of the personal and portable affordances of the mobile device. Several others stressed the importance of portability, such as the editor-in-chief, who also argued for the relative superiority of mobile devices compared to computers:

> I am looking into mobiles a lot now, I am really interested. I think, my gut feeling is, that this will be really, really big. Everyone has a mobile, everyone brings it with them. The services we have developed for the website are actually better with the mobile. Traffic services, various types of reviews, utility services. It is on the mobile that they belong. They have been good, but there is always some trickiness. We do not always bring computers with us, we do not always connect, but with the mobile it is so easy – that is where film and bar reviews and also search services belong. And consumer tests, they belong there as well. So I am definitely enthusiastic about the mobile (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

Dimensions other than portability also featured in the personal analysis of the editor-in-chief. He continued by discussing factors such as "the accessibility, the ease of management, the speed" of mobiles, coming to the conclusion that these constituted the "key factors making it a fantastic platform to reach different types of readers and consumers."[84] Other media workers also discussed the fact that the broad diffusion of mobile devices spoke in favour of their potential uptake for accessing news.

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[84] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

While mobiles were still used mostly for interpersonal communication, through voice calls and SMS, media workers expected the amount of news accessed via mobile devices to increase. The web department chief said: "among all generations that have grown up with mobiles, it will gradually become natural to access pretty much information, of which news is one."[85] There were also those who suggested that the convergence of the mobile device and the Internet would eventually create appealing solutions for accessing news. For instance, the digital developer argued:

> There is no doubt that if you combine your Internet subscription with your mobile you will get very good functionality, because they [people] spend a lot of time with each other and searching for information. Then you have the device of the future. How it will look in particular is not the important thing, but you have something in your pocket through which you are always connected, and to which you always have access (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

Several people stated that the attributes of mobile devices coupled to access to news had previously been limited, but had recently improved:

> Everything speaks in its favour. I believe the mobile will come on strongly with regard to news. That is to say, practically everyone has a mobile today, and later, when they are more technologically developed, they will become lighter, with larger screens and a better overview, with the attributes of an iPhone and so on. Thenceforth, it will become pretty easy to surf, since [the image] will be pretty big on the screen, so it will be a way for people to access the latest news (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

Several emphasised the fact that a great deal of technological development for mobile media was taking place. User-friendliness in particular was emphasised, often with reference to the improved ease of using touch-screen devices such as iPhones. They also mentioned that user-friendliness had been refined through the development of mobile-specific apps. At the time of the interview with the marketing director, he had recently received a report on a new traffic record for their mobile news site. He was excited and makd sense of the reasons for the uptake:

> The mobile is being discussed a lot right now. It is a hot topic. There are constantly new mobiles that are better for browsing the Internet. The iPhone,

and Google are making a new mobile now – mobiles are becoming better. It may be that this is technical. I mean, the traffic on our website has increased in parallel to the diffusion of broadband, and its performance. I mean, we are more or less analogous to that. It could be that now something is happening with the technological conditions (Marketing director, 25.09.08).

In some Swedish newspaper companies, all employees were provided with iPhones in order to stimulate experience with such touch-screen devices. The editorial developments chief noted that it was important that they kept track of the development of touch-screen devices:

A small and completely natural thing should be for all of us to have an iPhone, as it is about to revolutionise the market somewhat. But no, here we have been stopped because someone in the Stampen Group has decided that the company is not to provide us with iPhones as it would be very expensive (Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08).

The recession prevented GP and the Stampen Group from prioritising the provision of iPhones to most of their employees during the autumn of 2008. Meanwhile, they started to give them to senior management and techies (and later they were distributed more widely). The mobile project group members argued that location-based services were emerging, providing opportunities to tailor content to their users based on their geographical position. The editorial developments chief argued that these technological innovations had stimulated user adoption by making it easier and more appealing to access the Internet on a mobile.

I am completely convinced that the mobile will become a big channel, although perhaps not as it looks today. I think that the iPhone is a step in the right direction, because you have a larger screen, it is simpler, it is fancier, it is stylish, there are direct commands and so on. To access news on old mobile devices is impossible – they must become more user-friendly (Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08).

The editorial developments chief argued that the mobile situation in 2008 was similar to the situation prior to the development of the Internet news site in the mid-1990s. The technology was complicated, the services were very basic and it was expensive to use. He stressed that adoption of news with mobile devices was going to grow enormously in the long term, but that the adoption process could potentially take some time in the short

term.[86] Their past experience of earlier (old) digital developments were, in other words, present in their sensemaking of (new) mobile media developments. While technological innovation was generally seen as a driver, some media workers underscored that the mobile interface also had its limitations.[87] The IT chief, for instance, spoke positively about the general progress of the mobile media train, while emphasising that:

> Now the train has departed. Now technology has become sufficient. A lot has to do with technology. It has to do with 3G, it has to do with larger screens, it has to do with being easy to use. It is still not easy enough – it is not particularly easy to type in a URL. It was not very easy when I tried to take a picture of an RFID tag, and I did not quite manage. The other month things became a little bit easier when the iPhone was launched. And this will, of course, continue – it will become easier, much easier (IT chief, 02.10.08).

Referring to the mobile media train metaphor, the IT chief noted that there had been a number of technological barriers preventing the train from departing, but that with recent technological innovations, it had left the station. While this quotation may imply a technologically deterministic approach, the IT chief stressed that the important thing was whether technology conforms to the needs of users in their everyday lives. Although it was acknowledged that the iPhone had facilitated better conditions for usage, no media workers at the time stated that GP were to make customised mobile apps for the Apple iOS. They instead focused on developing their mobile news site and SMS services.

At the time, they were inspired by a development that DN had made earlier that year to facilitate the ease of accessing mobile news. Through collaboration with Nokia and telecom operators, DN had allowed their print subscribers to purchase a specially-designed Nokia model with an integrated and easily accessible button that directed users straight to the DN mobile news site. Their proposition, offered to subscribers to the print newspaper, involved a favourable flat-rate pricing model. During the autumn of 2008, the mobile project group considered developing a similar value proposition, but they eventually abandoned those ideas. It is worth noting that the proposition from DN, with a mobile device customised for accessing news and Internet coupled with a flat rate, is in some ways comparable to the value proposition of Apple with their iPhone launch.

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[86] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08.
[87] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08.

In conclusion, the vision of the evolving technological conditions for accessing mobile news was generally discussed in a favourable light. It was also stressed that the emergence of pricing conditions would have a significant impact. The digital developer explained that he had received reactions from users about the mobile news site being slow to load, meaning that a lot of data were being transferred, which in turn meant that it was expensive for users to access it.[88] If prices did not fall, in combination with a change from pay-as-you-go to flat-rate pricing, then it was anticipated that the mobile device would not be seen in a positive light. It was, on the other hand, believed that better conditions were emerging, as envisioned by the IT chief, who spoke of "the flat-rate that everyone says is coming."[89] The editorial developments chief stated that "people must be able to know what it actually costs," and also that patterns and conditions varied depending on whether individuals had their expenses paid through a company subscription or a personal subscription. He said "if I were to use it in private I would be extremely cautious when browsing with the mobile." In 2008, GP felt that they had to develop their services with great sensitivity to the current pricing conditions. When they made video clips accessible through their mobile news site, they therefore displayed warning signs, so that their users would not be affected by costly invoices from their telecom operators.[90]

6.3.2. Positioning GP in the mobile media landscape

The media workers emphasised that they had established a good position compared to other news media organisations in Sweden. They had a mobile editor, a recently redesigned and previously award-winning mobile news site, a mobile project and were part of the incipient formation of the MktMobil project. The web department chief said: "the way I interpret things, we are pretty much at the frontier as of today, and we are continuing to be there – we are among the leaders."[91]

While they sensed that they were among the front-runners, they could not rest on their laurels, as there was a great deal of movement among their competitors. The editorial developments chief was particularly

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[88] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[89] Web department chief, 23.10.08.
[90] Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08.
[91] Web department chief, 23.10.08.

concerned about the advances of their competitors, expressing that: "we have probably come the furthest within MktMedia, but clearly one can get frustrated seeing what DN, Aftonbladet and Expressen are up to, and Svenska Dagbladet and Tasteline, everyone."[92] In other words, while GP had come so far, other news media institutions in Sweden were seen to be making progress as well. The editorial developments chief emphasised that although they were not lagging behind, "naturally one wishes that we had more resources."[93] Monitoring and taking inspiration from others (mimicry) were part of their practices. The editor-in-chief said: "we feel an enormous need to increase the pace of development of mobile media to really be part of it. We therefore have a significant interest in what others are doing."[94] They expected that those leading the change in mobile media were exploring, learning and defining how things were to be done.

> Those who are first to fill that device with content, they also draw conclusions about the direction of this device, the direction of user habits and so forth. And if one is not present at an early stage, then one has a pretty long uphill slope later on (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

The editorial developments chief, and several others, emphasised that it was important that GP was alert in mobile media development. As suggested by the train metaphor, they reasoned that one should be prepared to jump on the train as it departs. Considering that the mobile device was expected to become a powerful way to access news, it is not surprising to find that they wanted to take a firm position. Importantly, they felt that they had learnt from the web (the old) about how to approach mobile media (the new). The digital developer reasoned:

> The thing is, when we look at how we approached the computer, everything on the web, we see that much of people's behavioural patterns were established in the beginning, in the mid-1990s. When it [the web] came, where did people go, which sites did they visit? The most common reason, and we have done studies, why people access sports news on aftonbladet.se, why they read local news in GP and such, why they do not do so and where they go instead… And most people's answer is more or less "it is an old habit" – not that they are better, that they are faster, that they are bigger, that they are more fun, but simply that they have always done so (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

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[92] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[93] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[94] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

The digital developer argued that GP must take the role of the locomotive to ensure a good position. He referred to Aftonbladet.se, which is a Swedish success story, suggesting that they enjoyed the advantage of making the first move in the early development of their news site.[95] The digital developer envisioned that GP would attract users by offering good value from the very start of their mobile media development. He expected that if they did so, then in the future, when asked about mobile news, people would respond that GP "were so great at the start, they were visible at the beginning, they communicated that they existed and that they did things."[96] In other words, he articulated an outcome in search of a prophecy. The mobile project group was pursuing such a position through their investment in mobile media development. GP had also been recognised for their efforts, as the Swedish industry press on mobile media (Mobil) had ranked the mobile news site as the second best in comparison with other news media.

As they evaluated their position, the point of reference for the media workers was typically other newspapers. These were monitored by using their mobile services, but also by reading about them or talking with people hired by them. Among the newspapers observed most closely were the two largest Swedish newspapers, the evening tabloids Aftonbladet and Expressen. During 2008, these two companies re-organised and invested in mobile media development. Aftonbladet formed a subsidiary company with a dozen employees to work exclusively with mobile media. The same year, Expressen formed an alliance for mobile media development with the television broadcaster TV4.[97] In their monitoring of DN, the media workers at GP perceived two activities as especially interesting: the first was a location-based service that guided users to local restaurants and the second was a mobile device with integrated DN services.[98]

In conclusion, GP and their mobile project group mostly sought inspiration from and compared themselves to the large Swedish newspapers, which were seen as innovative and powerful, and worthy of imitation. GP also monitored news media in other Scandinavian countries

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[95] In 1994, Aftonbladet, when they launched their news site, had been the second-largest newspaper in Sweden for decades. A couple of years later, characterised by strong investment in and uptake of their news site, they had become the newspaper with the largest print circulation. Is is commonly believed that their news site explains this turn, but obviously it has not been proven in scientific terms.
[96] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[97] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Mobile editor, 22.09.08.
[98] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08.

which were also seen as innovative, and were often reported on in the Swedish industry press.[99] The media workers explicated that they had lagged behind with their investment in the online news site during the mid-1990s. With mobile media, they felt that they had been given a second chance to show their innovativeness, and therefore wanted to make use of this chance not to lag behind the others in the industry.[100] At their mobile project group meetings, they continued to discuss the evolving changes. Below follows an excerpt of the discussions which took place at a mobile project meeting involving the editorial developments chief and the digital developer during the autumn of 2008.[101]

EDC   The Google mobile is coming, and a number of other things. Some kind of evaluation must be made.

DD   And then someone can look at what others are doing. Aftonbladet is now hiring 11 people to work with mobile media. I think that someoneone really has to make a thorough analysis and report on this. The problem is time.

EDC   Yes, exactly.

DD   I mean, we are in the middle of all these transformations.

They declared continuously that mobile media had to be prioritised, even if the potential revenue in the short term was perceived as limited. Their argument was that the mobile was going to become an increasingly important channel in the future and that they therefore had to acquire a good position.[102] Their chain of reasoning related to the slow but steady decline of the old newspaper concept and its powerful position and successful business model. Developing their digital and mobile channels was perceived as necessary for future business. They also felt pressured by increasing expectations from their users, as illustrated in the following quotations from the IT chief and the digital developer respectively:

If we at GP are not present in the mobile field, with a strong position, it will be devastating for us. It is our core idea to provide people in Gothenburg with things that guide them in life, either with main news events that keep them informed, small utility services or commercial products (IT chief, 02.10.08).

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[99] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Stampen chief analyst, 07.10.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[100] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[101] Mobile project group meetings, 09.10.08.
[102] CEO, 24.10.08; Marketing director, 25.09.08; Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08; Managing editor, 23.09.08.

> People expect to be able to access any information, anytime. If you cannot access a company, a news media company, through digital channels, you will think that there is something wrong. In the same way that you realised that everything was only a couple of clicks away with the computer, you will have the same expectations from the mobile […]. One expects to find a mobile news site – it is a free commodity. People perceive GP as a public authority. They can criticise us for being insufficient, but they are not willing to pay for their usage (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The first quotation refers to users' needs as a point of reference for the urgency of developing mobile media. The IT chief argued that this was a way for GP to be accessible to their users. The digital developer, on the other hand, stated that some users even took for granted that GP would provide news for free on mobiles. He noted that GP had to be the best news provider in Gothenburg, and that this meant that "we must make sure that we are accessible through all kinds of different channels, from the perspective of the user's needs."[103] In other words, he emphasised the need for GP to engage in cross-media news work. People had expectations of GP, as an established news media institution in the community – expectations equivalent to those people have of public authorities. Their editorial strategy for customising involved distinguishing mobile media, which required the transfer of resources from legacy media.

> First, one publish a text dedicated to being published rapidly on the web, then write a more analytical text for print. In the future, everything will be drawn apart, as there are different art forms. There is one form of writing for the web, one for mobiles, one for print (Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08).

Ideas existed about what distinguished the mobile and other channels in terms of accessing news, which addressed interpretations of media logic(s) and the potential to develop a distinguished form of mobile journalism. The editorial developments chief clearly envisioned that journalism for their mobile channels was going to become more distinguished, set apart from that of print and web-based media. Furthermore, the editor-in-chief argued that their mobile news site should focus on local and general news stories. He suggested that the mobile device was inferior to the computer for some sorts of utility services. However, he stressed that they could not yet be certain what types of content and services would work out well:

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[103] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

> We must test things so that we can learn, and this applies to the mobile. We will initiate a number of journalism services that we will not have after some time, because no one was interested (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

In conclusion, GP made developments in order to satisfy users' expectations and to position themselves at the frontier. They continuously analysed the pros and cons of mobile media. As the quotation from the editor-in-chief on experimentation implies, GP planted and extracted cues throughout the sensemaking process. They planted services for testing by users, which provided cues for their later sensemaking of the situation.

6.3.3. Interpretations of mobile news (prod-)usage

> We believe it is a channel that really will come out strong. I heard as late as yesterday that now we have passed 70,000 page impressions per week. It is fun, really fun and fantastic. I mean, now there really is a user base that uses it. I use it myself all the time, as it is the perfect way to keep up-to-date about what is happening. When I take the airplane or train to Stockholm, I see the amount of people making use of it, who have developed habits, and that they are browsing and accessing different new sites (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

While it was acknowledged that mobile devices were still used mostly for voice calls and messages, it was expected that the demand for accessing the Internet and news with mobile devices would increase. People, across a broad age spectrum, were expected to crave access to information whenever and wherever. The creatives, suits and techies emphasised the importance of "monitoring," "tracking," "studying," "analysing" and "understanding" the transforming patterns of their (potential) mobile news "users." The quotation above mentions two of the sources for analysis to which the media workers referred. The first was weekly statistical reports on the use of their news site. The second was their observations of mobile media usage patterns in everyday life. In addition, they also made reference to industry reports and research, as well as other types of study they had conducted themselves. Their continuous tracking of the mobile news site traffic helped them to see differences over time and between mobile browsers. The mobile news site traffic had increased significantly with major news events in 2008, each time resulting in a stabilisation of usage at a higher level.

As regards the profile of users, several respondents said that many of their users were male and that many were using company subscriptions.

The web department chief said that her dream was to reach out to ordinary people: "our hope is that it will become a news channel for everyone, and that we will offer many services and a great deal of utility content to the people in Gothenburg."[104] The digital developer stated that they had received positive reactions from their users. Some had even contacted them to say that they had deserted both print and the web in favour of the mobile as their primary means of accessing news. He quoted one user in his argument about where he felt that current developments were heading: "now I have discovered your mobile service, and it is excellent, so now I start my news day with the mobile."[105] Accessing journalism through the mobile news site evidently had a displacement effect on news in print or via the news site.

In what ways did their sensemaking reflect the tension between producers and users? This was shown in two different ways, labelled as *personalisation* and *interactivity* by the respondents. Through personalisation, the producer vs. user relationship transformed, as it allowed users to access content based on their personal criteria and behaviour. In the old world, journalists possessed the exclusive power to decide on newsworthiness. While they still were in charge of what made the news, personalisation essentially allowed users to take charge of the news medium and to personalise the content, assisted by machines which facilitated such a functionality (provided by the producers).

> I think that we must let the readers have control of their channels, over their own computers, over their own mobiles, to let them choose what they want to have. That, I think, is an interesting question to consider. Then you can, in the next step, consider developing sufficiently intelligent CRM systems so that you can choose what you want to deliver in different sections. I mean, if you know that a person is always looking for this, we will deliver it before you have even asked for it (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer argued that users desired personally tailored mobile services, such as push services by SMS news flashes focusing on particular news content, but also other types of distribution channels:

> We need a system where we categorise the content appropriately and offer so many flows out from this system that I, as a user, in principle can tailor my own information solution. Imagine that you are interested in GAIS [a football team]

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[104] Web department chief, 23.10.08.
[105] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

and football. Then I should be able to get it as an e-mail, write about it as an SMS, as a podcast, you name it. It comes down to us having sufficiently well-organised data systems that we, in fact, can deliver it to you – what you want and when you want it. And if I say that I want to have it read as I commute to work, then we have to arrange that, through voice programs and voice commands and whatever it may be. To believe that everyone will access the news we select for them and in the ways in which we present it I do not believe will work in the long run, since people nowadays are specific in their use of media (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer essentially proposed that GP should make better use of personally tailored services, providing both journalism and useful information. He felt that this approach was very important in mobile media, and he argued that this would be achieved through technological systems. He suggested that: "I believe more in allowing users to gain power over the channels, through their own computers, through their mobile, to let them have what they want to have" (Digital developer, 19.09.08). His suggestions would mean that journalists would lose their influence over what was prioritised for news distribution. He furthermore emphasised that they had to approach personalisation delicately, in order not to spam their users. A prerequisite would be to develop intelligent CRM systems (machines) capable of personalisation functionality. Personalisation would be enabled both through learning their users behaviour and though personalised settings.[106] The editor-in-chief, on the other hand, stressed that personalised services could be perceived as an intrusion into their users' personal sphere.[107]

The interactivity dimension, which affects the producer vs. user tension, focused on whether users were seen as, and allowed to be, active contributors of content (produsers). Few media workers put forward a view of mobile news users as active participants at the time. There were few who even discussed such a possibility. The digital developer was among those who did elaborate on the topic. He anticipated that people would appreciate the possibility of making their own contributions, but that there were few people who would do so. He noted that there were those who had assumed that people would be keen to contribute to the news site, but then they had investigated to see whether this was the case:

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[106] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[107] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

> When we started with panel surveys on the Internet, we had a theory that we were going to have to extend our approach to user interactivity. I mean, that people want to write comments, to read what others have written, and sure, some people want to debate. But when you ask the readers, not very many have done so. There are few who have done so, but they do it quite a lot, and then there is a group who read [the contributions], but most are never read by anyone. That is the way it is. When we asked them if we should be open to news from the public, they said that "it is really good that you welcome suggestions for news, and I do not mind giving suggestions to GP, but we want a real journalist to write the articles. So, this thing that my neighbour has written is something I do not like (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer concluded that there was presumably limited interest in user participation through their mobile news site. He also suggested that people prefer articles written by "real journalists." Other media workers either expressed similar stances or did not discuss it at all. The conclusion to be drawn is consequently that in 2008, media workers did not see their users as produsers for their mobile news site. Another dimension of interactivity involved receiving suggestions for improvements to their mobile services. The web department chief said:

> I do not get very much input from the readers. The mobile editor receives some, and that is of course something we want to make use of: both what people want to read on their mobiles, but there are not many questions that we communicate upwards – instead, they influence us: how should we make news judgments for mobile media, should we make the same news judgments as for the site or should we have something else as the lead article? (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

Her statement illustrates that the journalists in the web department were sensitive to the interests of their mobile news users, and tried to make their journalism more worthwhile to their users.

6.3.4. Conditions for mobile business

> What is fundamentally important to the GP business over time concerns having great customer relations so that we can fulfil our advertisers' need to reach a target group. We are the ones providing the target groups, and we must naturally build a relationship with this person with the mobile in his or her pocket, to create a strategic business in the future. Then, exactly how to make money from it is another thing that people must think about over time. For now, we must establish GP as a brand in the mobile world and make sure that people become connected to GP (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

In 2008, the media workers believed it was important to develop a strong presence in the mobile world. Creatives, suits and techies all argued that business conditions for mobile media were limited from a short-term perspective, but more promising in the long term. With reference to general conditions, the global recession that struck Sweden during the early autumn of 2008 was expected to have a negative impact on advertising expenditure.[108] With reference to the more particular conditions of mobile business, they were typically seen as limited in 2008. The marketing director stressed that throughout 2008, they had generated very limited revenues from mobile media. Their business to consumer revenues was particularly limited, while he perceived that there were some revenues from business to business operations.[109] It is worth noticing that their approximations of the revenues from mobile media (the new) were compared with the revenues from the newspaper (the old). Clearly, the revenues from mobile media were small in comparison. The editorial developments chief argued "whatever we say, we think and believe the printed newspaper remains the most important channel since it generates a very large part of our reach and revenues."[110]

Creatives, suits and techies anticipated that they could make money from advertisements on their mobile news site, SMS services and by charging users for content and services. However, as such profits were still absent, they wished to explore such opportunities. In 2008, the mobile device was seen as a new and immature medium, and as such it was not coupled with high expectations for revenue streams. This related to a stance on digital developments which basically allowed for a focus on building user traffic before expecting to make significant profits:

> Everyone has participated in the journey with the web, and everyone knows that it is not the revenues that come first, but that first one must generate traffic. One gets traffic through broad and good content, which not necessarily, just like with the web, pure journalistic content. It is rather a journalistic way of thinking that is needed. Without traffic, there is no revenue, so focus on traffic first. I would like to argue that there is probably more of a focus on technology and journalism than on business at the moment. That is the way it has been for a very long time on the web. I mean, in a best case scenario, advertisers will be alert to new technologies, but they are in reality rather few, so they must be convinced that this is an interesting channel. Before they have been convinced,

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[108] Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08.
[109] Marketing director, 25.09.08.
[110] Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08.

very few are prepared to make investments in advertising or new services for digital channels. It is no coincidence that there is an advertisement revenue imbalance for print and web (Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08).

The discussion with the editorial developments chief illustrates that GP's past experiences helped them to make sense of what they were doing, defining their expectations for profits from mobile media. Importantly, the editorial developments chief argued that they needed a journalistic approach to mobiles, while it was not necessarily journalistic content that people desired the most. Building a strong customer base was sensed as being critical to the creation of the right conditions for mobile revenues. Does this mean that GP experimented with mobile media without expecting to make revenues in the short term? To some degree, the answer is yes. For instance, the editor-in-chief acknowledged that "obviously the mobile investment is not economically self-supportive. It will not be for quite some time, I believe," but his stance was that "we must have a presence there – research and development money, in other words."[111] Their investment ultimately depended on their resources.

> It is a matter of priorities. There are lots of things we want to do, and we would make many more developments if we were able to maintain a focus on several things, such as audio and hyperlocal content. I can imagine a number of different areas where we should be experimenting, but our resources are insufficient. It may sound strange for a media house with 230 journalists, but it is not possible to do everything (Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08).

The editorial developments chief asserted that in their organisation, they must prioritise some areas more than others. With the mobile project and the mobile editor, mobile media development was a relatively high priority in 2008. It involved transferring resources from their old and profitable product, the printed newspaper, to the new and (as of yet) rather profitless area of mobile news services.

> In the 70s, 80s and 90s, when we first kicked things off, we thought about revenues afterwards, how to finance everything. That is not the way it is today – you must have a solid idea about how this is to be financed (Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08).

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[111] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

The editorial developments chief argued that the company board had levelled their expectations for profiting from innovative projects. The principle of building and polishing on the platform for a long time, without demanding a profit, had been used in the old situation. In the new situation, the new had to demonstrate its worth much sooner. Consequently, the BDA chief argued that immature business models constituted a barrier.[112] The marketing director added:

> The mobile will have to prove its merits as it enters the company board agenda by the end of the year. How have things turned out? How have sales turned out? What is the commercial potential of the product? How many resources does it require to operate when it is not in a project? (Marketing director, 25.09.08).

In conclusion, it was held that mobile media had to develop for some time before profits were to be expected. On the other hand, the media workers expected the time period to be shorter in 2008 than in previous decades. The new consequently had to prove its worth sooner than their previous digital endeavours. This shows that the new was expected to become institutionalised with the old more quickly, considering that there had been slightly different expectations of the old compared to the new. While expectations regarding profits had levelled, this did not mean that mobile media investments were to be terminated immediately if profits were absent. Following his discussion on proving the merits of mobile media, the marketing director said:

> It would surprise me a lot if the mobile dies here by the end of the year just because we cannot cover the costs on the revenue side, because we will not be able to do that this time either, unfortunately. I mean these are immature media, the same as with online media, where it took many years before we started to generate business from them. There are still many newspapers that do not generate business from their news sites (Marketing director, 080925).

In other words, different stances were adopted on what to expect from digital development, but there seemed to be an agreement that they should do their best to accumulate profits. Their sensemaking of the conditions for profiting from mobile endeavours involved several difficulties. First, they argued that there were no successful business models for mobile media which were capable of generating substantial

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[112] BDA chief, 01.10.08.

profits. It was stated that there were only weak signs of the business potential of SMS-based marketing communications. Even though the mobile advertising market was growing relatively rapidly, the total level of the market was still very low compared to other news media channels. The potential revenues from mobile consumers were seen as rather low in the short term, even though they perceived users' willingness to pay for mobile services as higher than for Internet services, as people were used to paying for mobile services (ringtones, SMS, MMS etc.). The marketing director said that few companies generated mobile media revenues from business to consumer, but he had noticed, however, increases from business to business activities.[113]

One problem with the business to consumer area involved the aforementioned pricing conditions. Several respondents stressed that in 2008, most payment models available for mobile Internet usage were pay-as-you-go, and few involved flat-rate pricing. In conjunction with the high cost of purchasing new mobile devices, these factors were perceived as barriers to usage, and ultimately business.[114] For example, the IT chief argued that "a big barrier is the pricing structures telecom operators use," and he stressed that access to mobile news "will not become big until it becomes much cheaper to transfer data."[115] With costly and confusing payment models, they did not expect users to use their mobiles for Internet and news services, which restrained GP from accumulating the user traffic needed to convince potential advertisers to select mobile media for their marketing communications. As the pay-as-you-go payment model meant that users paid for all content transferred with their mobile, it was troublesome to display media-rich content such as pictures and animations, which were common to advertising banners. Ultimately, users had expressed reluctance to being exposed to advertisements on the mobile news site, as they were paying for the exposure.[116]

6.3.5. Mobile media and personal integrity

Another difficulty related to profiting from users through mobile media concerned personal integrity. Several positive aspects of the personal

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[113] Marketing director, 25.09.08.
[114] Web department chief, 23.10.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08; Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08
[115] IT chief, 02.10.08.
[116] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

nature of mobiles were mentioned – the editor-in-chief noted that "it is today one of the most personal devices one has," even suggesting that it is a dear friend. He continued by asking:

> Many young almost sleep with their mobile. It lies on the bedside table. It is almost placed under the pillow. How many commercial messages does one want to receive there? That is, how much business potential is there for us, how much can we earn? I am afraid that people are not keen on receiving that many commercial messages, that they will therefore choose those who have little of it [mobile advertisements]. For us to become really great in the mobile world, we need to get revenues from mobiles, and that I am concerned about. One must make extremely careful considerations before one develops different types of promotions and advertisements (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

In conclusion, both pricing models and personal integrity were discussed as important challenges when seeking to develop the business conditions for mobile media. An additional challenge concerned the competence levels among both their advertisement sales staff and customers. As advertisers were relatively uninterested in mobile media, they were consequently not particularly interested in placing mobile advertisements. Furthermore, as they did not have mobile sites of their own, there would be limited value in placing advertisements on mobile sites, as they consequently had no mobile site to which to direct the traffic. The marketing director said that a lack of profits was a typical problem for digital developments, meaning that while they had to think commercially regarding mobiles, they also had to be patient. The editorial developments chief explained: "about 4-5 percent of the advertisement revenues come from digital [media], and it is not like it is impossible to charge – it has to do with inertia, a strong inertia in the market."[117]

In 2008, GP initiated a project together with a consultancy company to explore how to do business and identify revenues for mobile media. The marketing director and the BDA chief treated this project as a live experiment in which the mobile project members could work their way forward through trial and error.[118] The marketing director said:

> The thing that is troublesome with new products is that an unskilled sales person meets an unskilled buyer and then it does not turn out very well. There is no dynamic, and therefore we try to collaborate to increase the level of the

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[117] Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08.
[118] Marketing director, 25.09.08; BDA chief, 01.10.08.

ability to sell this product, to inform people about it, and to purchase it. So we do it together with them [the advertisers], learning together, almost like a research project, which is supposed to result in better business for all the parties. The consultancy firm makes use of their customers, who are also our customers. Then we look together, with this diary company for instance, who have been early to use mobile technology as an advertiser (Marketing director, 25.09.08).

The marketing director pointed out that they were experimenting and discussing different options with their advertising customers, using a trial and error approach through which they could learn by doing. They extracted and made sense of cues as they tried to improve their mobile business. Furthermore, they enacted mobile advertising through mimicking others. The editor-in-chief noted that mobile media, just like the web, had been moving on slowly:

It [mobile media] is evidently about to come. I believe I recognise a lot from the infancy of the web, when some things happened truly slowly. There we had those who invested heavily, ending in bankruptcy because they were too early. A couple of years later, with the exact same business idea, they were successful (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

Essentially, the editor-in-chief argued that bad timing could be a possible explanation for why their approaches to profit-making had not been successful. As they discussed how to develop a sustainable solution for the mobile media business in the future, they argued that they had to develop a platform with MktMedia. The digital developer argued that they should "launch mobile news sites for as many MktMedia member newspapers as possible," as this would make it possible for them to "create a national market for advertisements on mobiles."[119] In other words, he expressed the notion that since there was no mobile advertising market, they had to create it themselves. By aligning with MktMedia, they established better conditions for creating a national market, which was anticipated to attract advertisers. The mobile project group at GP at the time held discussions with MktMobil on building a joint CRM system:

There are enormous opportunities to reach people with mobiles, to reach the right target group, to reach the right individuals and to collect information about them this way. But personal integrity will be more critical for mobile media than for the web. This means that if people feel that they are being spammed, or that

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[119] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

GP are bad in some way, then they will shut us off directly. Then we are out, so we must have their permission to send the information to them, advertisements that is, and they must perceive the advertisements as positive, that they are something they have asked for and not spam (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer envisioned a shared CRM as being very promising, while emphasising the need to be sensitive to the personal integrity of their users. He stated that the mobile project group was investigating the limitations and opportunities of CRM through their existing systems and other versions. In relation to these discussions, they wanted their future system to be capable of managing payments, SMS services, positioning, personalisation, terminal identification etc. These discussions formed part of the ongoing establishment of the MktMobil project, as they were mobilising forces to improve their future mobile operations.[120]

6.4. Sensemaking of the potential situation in 2010

History has taught me that whatever I think about how something is going to develop, I will smile about my thoughts in three years and laugh at them in five years, because things never turn out as one expects. One should be very humble about the future. I have also learnt one more thing, namely that technological breakthroughs take place much more slowly than one believes. We have always believed that technological breakthroughs are waiting around the corner, but in reality they take much more time (Editorial developments chief, 10.09.08).

This section focuses on future-oriented interpretations and expectations of mobile media. The media workers were asked to reflect personally on what the situation for mobile media would be in the autumn of 2010. Several said that it was really difficult to make such projections, but after making that remark, they gave their personal reflections. It is worth noticing that sensemaking clearly builds on retrospective understandings of the old, but that these can be employed to envision the future. The next section focuses on their conceptions of the situation in general, while the last section discusses their expectations and hopes from the perspectives of GP and MktMobil.

6.4.1. Expecting asymmetry between use and profits

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[120] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

> It will have become more natural to access news and other information by browsing. Accordingly, just like one checks out a lot of things with the computer today, one will do those things with mobiles. Similar things, but you can do them whenever and wherever you are (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

In 2008, the media workers constructed a situation characterised by rapid change and in which the impact of mobile media was growing. The editor-in-chief stated that the extent of the current level of change and uncertainty was so extensive that he did not even find it meaningful for GP to have a long-term mobile strategy. He argued that they should be interpreting mobile media continuously to ensure that they kept track of important changes.[121] The media workers argued that technological conditions were improving, through smartphones and 3G, and that by 2010, the conditions could be expected to have improved significantly. At one of the mobile project group meetings during the autumn, the editorial developments chief stressed that a breakthrough for mobile media was in sight – he said: "there are some thresholds that are about to disappear, thanks to iPhones and sundry other things."[122] The thresholds to which he referred related to user-friendliness, usability and pricing models.

The creatives, suits and techies generally insisted that by 2010, many technological developments for mobile media would have taken place. It was assumed that mobile devices would have developed into a unique channel, through content and services customised for mobiles. Furthermore, they believed that other newspaper companies would drive change, by carrying out innovative work for mobile media.[123] They insisted that their importance was going to increase, as mobiles had a strong advantage with their personal nature. Media workers argued that mobile devices were going to become more important to users than computers.[124] The editor-in-chief argued that "many services are better on mobiles than on computers,"[125] and the digital developer expressed that:

> I personally believe that mobiles will become much more important than the computer, both as an information and communication channel. Computers are fairly personal, but in a home, there may be four different people logging in with their identities in the computer. I mean, first we had only the post box, then we

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[121] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[122] Mobile project group meetings, 09.10.08.
[123] Digital developer, 19.09.08; Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[124] Digital developer, 19.09.08; IT chief, 02.10.08.
[125] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.

had an IP number, and now you in fact have an individual [means of communication] (Digital developer, 080919).

As discussed above, the personal character of mobiles, with promising opportunities for personal communication, formed an important incentive for newspapers to make developments for mobiles. Furthermore, the media workers generlly projected that the demand and use of mobile Internet and news was going to increase by 2010. They envisioned that more users would engage with mobiles more extensively and in new ways, having become accustomed to personalised and ubiquitous information access. The web department chief, for example, said that it would become commonplace for people to access news with their mobile device.[126] In their projections, they typically expressed expectations that people would browse the Internet and news. While they presumed that the uptake of the iPhone would increase, they did not explicate that this uptake would be characterised by mobile apps rather than mobile web browsing.

In their projections for the situation in 2010, the media workers also made reference to the conditions for business using mobile media. They argued that the breadth and duration of the recession was very difficult to foresee, and that it therefore overshadowed their analyses. While they found it difficult to estimate what effects the recession was going to have on mobile media development, they were certain that the recession was an important factor. The editorial developments chief explained that the general conditions influenced their every action: "I would say that the recession will be the key factor determining what will happen."[127]

They argued that the recession was probably going to slow down mobile media development among most newspapers in Sweden, and that it was unlikely that anyone would have developed viable business models for mobiles by 2010. The CEO and marketing director said that business models would have improved by 2010, although mobile media would still generate a small portion of the newspaper's profits.[128] The mobile project group members anticipated that telecom operators would probably start to offer better subscription models by 2010, and that flat-rate payment models would become fairly common. While some conditions were

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[126] Web department chief, 23.10.08.
[127] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[128] CEO, 24.10.08; Marketing director, 25.09.08.

expected to improve, the IT chief stressed that in 2010, it would still be difficult to charge users for mobile media services.[129]

> The central problem for the media industry sector is that the gratis culture is so strong. There are demands that everything should be free. If you look at how our society is constituted, everyone wants everything for free, and they do not even consider that others have invested money in creating it (IT chief, 02.10.08).

In the old world, newspapers benefited from a strong position in the market, enjoying high circulation and good profit margins. As the media workers envisioned the near future, a new world emerged in which mobile media played an increasingly important role from the perspective of users but probably not in terms of profits. While problematic, this is not to say that the media workers did not expect to make any profits at all.

6.4.2. Mobilising the mobile media development locomotive

> GP and Stampen are prepared to go all in with this channel. Well, I personally feel that I hope we are going to do so. That we are really going to make heavy investments to show that mobile device is an important channel, really positioning ourselves and being among the leading mobile players, you see, now I believe we have a chance to become that. I mean, if you browse around today you will see that there is no one who is lengths ahead of the others in this world right now. There will be in a couple of years. It would be great (probably everyone thinks this about their work) if we could become one of the best. I absolutely think we have a chance to do so (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

There was a sense of optimism in the interpretations of mobile media trends towards 2010 in relation to the conditions of GP. The web department chief argued that "GP has come so far and we are among the leaders."[130] Mobile media developments were progressing and, although the mobile project was to be terminated, the media workers expected that they would continue to develop during 2009 and 2010. The mobile project group members did not expect increased resources, as there was a recession, but still hoped that resources would remain so that they could keep their mobile editor. The editorial developments chief discussed the challenges of the situation for their company:

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[129] IT chief, 02.10.08.
[130] Web department chief, 23.10.08.

> At this company you can no longer increase the subscription charges, you cannot charge on the web and you cannot increase advertising charges. But you have an automatic increase in costs of a couple of percent every year since salaries increase, the price of paper increases, the price of printing increases, everything increases, and where are you to take this from? Well, the bulk is [taken from the] staff. On the one hand, you can cut down on the total staffing, while on the other side, you can transfer resources to ensure staff for digital channels. As with all media houses, there are 10 to 20 percent who are incredibly good, who can do everything, but they are needed for mobiles, they are needed on the web, and they are needed for print, because they are skilled at everything (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

The editorial developments chief anticipated that GP were not going to recruit people with the specific competencies needed, nor invest in the best technologies. As the company had limited resources, they had to prioritise, and mobile media would probably appear far down on the list of priorities, while the online news site was a higher priority. He stressed that it was important that GP ensured that they were present for mobile media developments, "so that we are there as it is starting to move, not when it has been around for three months and everyone is already there."[131] As mobile media were not self-supporting, the media workers noted that they were dependent on resources from their printed newspaper. The IT chief said: "it is far from certain that the newspaper business will sponsor the digital world with resources for all of time, and that is what is happening today."[132] In other words, while old media supported the new media at this point in time, such support was not to be taken for granted. Others involved in mobile development expressed their conviction that they needed to keep up the pace:

> It is a little like missionary work, it is like religion. We are totally convinced about this, which is the way it is. There is no one who wants the pace to slow down. It has not yet been sufficiently established for us to turn it over to the organisation and say to them "go on." There is a lot of development work left to accomplish, so I think that we are all eager to go on in some way (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

Importantly, the digital developer saw the project group as set apart from the rest of the GP organisation. He referred to the group as "we" (who are driving the development of mobile media), and argued that they could

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[131] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08.
[132] IT chief, 02.10.08.

not hand over the responsibility for development. The mobile project group members argued that there were good reasons for them to develop functionalities for the mobile, even though they did not see it as likely that they would make much profit by 2010. Nevertheless, they foresaw that they would launch a number of new SMS and mobile Internet services by 2010.[133] Others did not expect much progress, even predicting that they would be outpaced by some competitors.[134] The CEO expected that GP would have integrated mobile media into their organisational structure,[135] while the editor-in-chief expected them to improve their framework for rapid digital development.[136] They both argued that GP would continue developing mobile media, even though the short-term profits were limited compared to print and web-based media. Meanwhile, both the marketing director and the CEO anticipated that they would have managed to increase their profits from mobile media by 2010.[137]

From an editorial perspective, they argued that it was important to continue with editing of the mobile news site. Meanwhile, the members of the editorial board expected that some journalists would be resistant to such changes, as they had previously been resistant to accommodating new practices coupled with the web.[138] The mobile project group members not only hoped to keep their mobile editor, but also to increase the number of staff working as mobile editors, so that they could manually maintain the quality of the website from early morning until midnight, every day of the week.[139] This was being discussed at a time when the mobile editor herself did not know whether her employment as a mobile editor would continue after the end of the year.[140]

The CEO argued that they had to invest in order to ensure the quality of their mobile services, but that the extent of this investment would be influenced by the recession. In terms of managing the mobile news site, the CEO said that by 2010, they would have invested in staff for both the development and maintenance of their mobile channels. The CEO also suggested that from a business perspective, their annual revenue from mobile media would have increased from around 100,000 to nearly

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[133] Editorial developments chief, 11.09.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[134] Managing editor, 23.09.08.
[135] CEO, 24.10.08.
[136] Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08.
[137] Marketing director, 25.09.08; CEO, 24.10.08.
[138] News chief, 22.09.08; Managing editor, 23.09.08.
[139] Web department chief, 23.10.08.
[140] Mobile editor, 22.09.08.

3,000,000 SEK. He projected that by 2010, GP would have one or two salespeople dedicated to mobile advertising. An additional one or two media workers were expected to be devoted to mobile media development, and would be located at GP but employed by MktMedia.[141]

The collaboration with MktMedia through the MktMobil project was expected to be of great importance to the future development of mobile media at GP. In 2008, they negotiated the terms of collaboration, and the media workers at GP envisioned that they would be appointed as the mobile media locomotive in the MktMedia network. They desired to lead rather than adapt to change, exploring new territories with financial support from the network members. In return, they were to invest their time and set an example to the other members of MktMedia.[142] In other words, GP strived to lead and enact mobile media development, and their endeavours provided the raw material for cues of which others could make sense. Developments which were seen as successful could then be replicated by others in the network. The discussion below, involving the digital developer, the BDA chief and the editorial developments chief at a mobile project group meeting (October 9th 2008), shows their sensemaking process:

DD: I have spoken to the MktMobil project leader – well, I do not know exactly his power to make decisions right now, but since he is running their project he has quite a bit of influence. He is interested in opening an office in Gothenburg, where, if I have got him right, we do more or less the same things as we are doing today, but they pay some of our salaries, for those of us working with mobile issues. And that means that even if he cannot pay for the mobile editor, he will be able to pay for someone else's salary, which gives us money to pay for the mobile editor.

BDA chief: Yes.

DD: And that is the solution we can see. Then we would be able to continue to move on rapidly with a focus on mobiles, with GP in the driver's seat, but financed by MktMedia.

BDA chief: That seems like a very appealing solution.

DD: Yes, and it would also provide more value and focus. Because I mean, right now, GP has been focusing on making developments for GP, but then in the long term we would have to start thinking about making developments for GP and MktMedia in parallel, and that will mean a somewhat different list of desires as well.

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[141] CEO, 24.10.08.
[142] Digital developer, 19.09.08; Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08; BDA chief, 01.10.08.

DD: But I actually think that we have already done that. In every conversation we have had with suppliers and businesses we have said that we want to be able to scale it up [to the newspaper group level].

EDC: I mean that we have to make it formal.

DD: That is something we have to do, of course. But I mean, since they have declared explicitly that they want GP in the driver's seat, it makes me think that a group like this, our mobile group, can continue to set and control the priorities. Then it may be that we occasionally encounter a drawback, like if the other newspapers express that "this is not something in which we are interested," then we have to decide whether or not we should do it by ourselves, but to a large degree I think we can have MktMedia finance our mobile ventures. I mean, the bottom line could eventually be to send an invoice for everything that we are doing today. I mean, much of what we are doing, such as with Eniro, is something we can launch for everyone's mobile news sites. Then we have done the work for them, and then they should be able to pay for that today, really.

The sharing of costs and benefits was a key dimension of the idea of the MktMobil partnership. During 2008, there was a strong focus on the opportunity to have MktMobil develop a new and improved technological platform for their mobile channels. They wanted a platform that was going to enable the use of personalisation and location-based services for their mobile news site, as well as including a joint CRM database in order to create a national newspaper market. The digital developer said: "we are going to build an excellent infrastructure: we are going to build good CRM systems."[143] The mobile project members wanted such a platform to be integrated with their web system (MktWeb). It was stressed that all of the partner newspaper companies would be able to use the new platform for their local markets.

While the GP mobile project group members were going to drive the agenda for development, it was intended that the practical work for developing the mobile platform would be carried out by subsidiaries of MktMobil. In other words, GP envisioned that they would become the locomotive driving mobile media development for MktMedia. This involved a network of newspaper groups that mobilised collaborative resources for mobile media development and trial and error. MktMobil were to plant new products and services in one market (such as GP), and

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[143] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

then extract and make sense of cues, before potentially launching such products and services in other markets.

6.5. Conclusions

In 2008, the new was being enacted and processed into the old. This time was a formative phase in the emerging institutionalisation of mobile media. From GP's situational and social sensemaking, it was clear that it was envisioned that mobile media would play an increasingly important role in people's everyday lives, and that therefore mobiles were essential to their cross-media news work. They paid attention to improving technological conditions, such as the promising advent of touch-screen devices, which was anticipated to stimulate the uptake of mobile media, as their user-friendliness and usability were superior to feature phones. Other important cues extracted for their sensemaking involved the financial conditions of usage, which were perceived as being insufficient with pay-as-you-go price plans, but which were expected to improve with the wider diffusion of flat-rate pricing. The media workers were satisfied with their position and the increasing user uptake rate, but the recession and profit-related difficulties caused concern.

Their sensemaking referred both to their previous experiences in the digital habitat (the old) and observations of the work of others (paying attention to large newspapers in Scandinavia). For instance, they made sense of cues extracted from an analysis of user participation in their news site, and concluded that users were probably not going to create content for mobile media, even if they enabled such a functionality. Another analysis which guided their actions, based on old practices and competitors' behaviours, related to the long-standing practice of editing journalistic content. Their ambition to ensure journalistic quality through a redesign and manual editing was profound.

Were there any indications that the media workers were pursuing a form of journalism which was specific to mobile devices? The answer is both yes and no. On the one hand, they actively selected and published news stories for their SMS-based news flashes. However, as regards their mobile news site, which was typically emphasised in their discussions, the answer was no. Their practices essentially involved a process of "complete and clean," which involved repackaging journalistic news content from one channel to another by ensuring that its visual

presentation was adequate. The tension between humans and machines came into play as the creatives, suits and techies, through both perceptions and practices, made explicit that machine-led auto-direction would not suffice. Journalistic quality was seen as reliant on employing humans to edit the mobile news site. The limitations of machines were, in other words, compensated for by a journalistically trained mobile editor. Meanwhile, it must be noted that the workers envisioned that machines could be used to enable machine-led personalisation and location-based services, which, it was believed, would add value to their news content and utility services. In terms of rhetoric, some media workers stated that journalism for the mobile news site was going to become increasingly distinguished from journalism for print and the news site. This can be seen as a way of pursuing the construction of mobile media logic(s), but it essentially involved customised shaping and repackaging.

GP paired up with MktMedia to define a collaborative mobile media project called MktMobil. GP aimed to become the locomotive, enacting the situation on behalf of other newspaper members in the network. Collaboration was seen as necessary in order to cope in the new digital habitat, which meant that old boundaries were redefined and that mobile media were constructed as new in order to avoid expectations of self-sufficiency and profitability. They also strived to increase collaboration within the organisation. They viewed collaboration as critical, and the pursuit of unity between creatives, suits and techies guided their organisation towards the formation of the mobile project group. This group was set apart from the permanent organisation, which indicates the relative newness of mobile media. The mobile project group was a container filled with experiences and ideas from creatives, suits and techies, who pursued the rapid development of mobile media. Ultimately, this shows that they saw their purpose as the re-arrangement of previous departmental boundaries.

7

IDLING AT THE TRAIN STATION (2009)

> We have not yet seen that incredible explosion of usage, and first and foremost, [we have] not witnessed an explosion of revenues for anyone. I would say that we are about where we were one year ago (Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09).

The year 2009 was described as a time when mobile media development slowed down, and in some ways even stopped. The quality of journalism for the mobile news site deteriorated because of system changes, the heavy workload and the recession, which was seen to be forcing the prioritisation of the news site and print media (the old). Applying their own metaphor, the mobile media train slowed down at a station, where the GP carriage parked to refurbish their machines. The essence of their narrative and position in relation to this metaphor is a key result with regard to the sensemaking of mobile media. Ultimately, it shows how they interpreted their position and progress in the field of mobile media against broader changes. This chapter discusses their idling in terms of (insufficient) organisation and operational development in the field of mobile media, involving the way in which the centralisation of developments through MktMobil resulted in media workers at GP feeling restrained. While some felt preoccupied by these conditions, the workers generally expected and hoped to depart on the mobile media train without much delay. By organising rapid and collaborative digital development through the DDG, while leaving the recession and other challenging tasks behind, they expected to repossess lost ground in the years to come. They even hoped to acquire the role of the locomotive in MktMobil, thereby furthering their position compared to other newspapers.

7.1. Organising mobile media development

The fluid mobile project was terminated at the start of 2009, and was supposed to be integrated into GP's permanent structure. There were,

however, some difficulties that made this integration difficult, some of which related to the different constructions and deconstructions of actors involved in the facilitation of mobile media over the years. In early 2009, the mobile project group was terminated, but their project which aimed to change the system and redesign the news site continued to operate until late 2009. The reason was that there was a significant delay due to unanticipated difficulties in making the transition to the MktWeb platform. As GP were under pressure to complete their planned developments for the news site, they did not manage to mobilise resources for the organisation of mobile media development in 2009. As a result, the responsibility for the new and alien area of mobile media was left undefined. The editorial developments chief said "today, mobile media have been floating around. There is no one who really has had the responsibility for it."[144] It is important to distinguish between *development* and *operative* work for mobile media:

> For driving mobile media on a daily basis, there has been a clear responsibility. For a year, it has been placed on the web department, so the web department chief is also the chief of mobile media (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

The editorial developments chief referred to their daily work in manually editing the mobile news site, as well as publishing and distributing SMS news flashes, as a general problem with their organisation: "we are really well organised to take care of the things that already exist, but we are not nearly as well organised to take care of the emerging things."[145] These uncertainties, coupled with the organising for mobile media development, are discussed in the following section.

7.1.1. Uncertainties and power transitions

The idling at the station was related to unclear organisation and the fact that the digitally-oriented media workers, for the most part, were occupied with other tasks. Throughout 2009, GP had a strong focus on their developments for print media and the news site, as these were valued as their two most important channels. Most of their senior management and several operative managers from the three departments

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[144] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[145] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

were involved in these projects and therefore had limited time to commit to other development projects. The editorial developments chief said: "we have the same people, the same resources and the same time," explaining that they had to prioritise continuously. The effects of the recession were prevalent, as there were limited resources for the development of mobile media. He pointed to the fact that "in the mobile project, more or less the same people were present as for the redesign of the news site, including the same techies as well, so everything is interconnected."[146]Consequently, following the termination of the mobile project, there was a lack of resources, as well as uncertainty about the organisation of mobile media. This was frustrating to some media workers, such as the mobile editor, who claimed that it was difficult for her to see a context and goal when she was unsure about the responsibilities and progress of others.[147]

Given the relatively unclear organisation of mobile media development during 2009, the media workers were asked to specify which people they considered to be in charge of mobile media development. The responses posited that the ultimate responsibility lay with the company board, but also with the editorial, business and IT boards. In these boards, some individuals were seen as being particularly important. The editor-in-chief, the managing editor, the editorial developments chief and the web department chief were mentioned as responsible individuals from the editorial board.[148] The IT chief, the CEO and the marketing director were also discussed.[149] Others mentioned the CEOs of Stampen and MktMedia,[150] as well as the members of the former mobile project group.[151] The editorial developments chief argued that a great deal of practical work had been done through the personal initiative of these members. He said: "it has, in practice, been done by the digital developer, but I do not know if he has been formally responsible for it [mobile media]. I do not know, but he has worked with it out of interest and so on." It is worth noticing that the digital developer himself had not felt formally responsible for such work.[152] He said: "I cannot make decisions by myself on my chamber [i.e. at his own desk], but this group [for the

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[146] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[147] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[148] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09; Digital designer, 10.12.09.
[149] Chief of marketing communications, 24.11.09.
[150] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[151] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09; Mobile editor, 11.12.09; IT chief, 16.12.09; DDG chief, 15.12.09.
[152] Digital developer, 05.02.09.

mobile project] has not had meetings for quite some time."[153] The web department chief argued that no one in particular was responsible for mobile media during 2009.[154] In conclusion, the development of mobile media was coupled with difficulties in 2009 which were significantly related to the changing role of techies. This will be discussed next.

Power and passion: Bottlenecks and the role of techies

When the mobile project group dissolved, there was no defined forum in which creatives, suits and techies could discuss and work with mobile media development. The hierarchical structure of the three departmental information silos made collaboration difficult. The web department chief said that she, on behalf of the web department, wished for mobile media development, but was not in a position to define the priorities of the techies.[155] The creatives and suits had always relied on the techies to perform technical developments for mobile media. However, techies had difficulty driving change through their own initiative, as they relied on acceptance by the suits and creatives. The editorial developments chief discussed the problems of this mutual dependency, in relation to the allocation of the digital developer to the IT department:

> The problem has been that he is placed in the IT department, which means that he cannot enter the editorial department and say "now you must do this," and he cannot walk into the business department and say "now you must do this," and so he must find other paths. The mobile project group has been such a path, but it has just about died (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

The editorial developments chief explained that with the loss of the inter-departmental support of the mobile project, it was difficult for the digital developer to make progress. He pointed to the relative lack of power of the IT department. In other words, techies were in a relatively dependent position as regards taking significant steps in mobile media. In earlier years, they had been able to make changes for mobile media, such as upgrades to the mobile news site, as long as these changes did not endanger journalistic credibility or require funding. The media workers

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[153] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[154] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[155] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

had been accustomed to a situation in which GP had techies who managed their own digital development. The digital developer explained:

> We had three programmers, and if we wanted to do anything here or if I or someone else wanted something done, I walked over to them and said "I do not want this as it is, fix it." If it was not a Friday, it would be done. If it was a Friday, they would say that they did not want to launch into it before the weekend, because then they may have to work the entire weekend making adjustments. But in other cases, we had ideas during the morning and then had them implemented by the afternoon (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

However, following the integration with MktMedia in 2009, the techies employed at GP more or less lost their mandate for developing digital systems and platforms. Following centralisation, they instead had to specify desired changes, which thereafter were handled by the techies at MktMedia. The insufficient digital development progress was explained by a prevalent bottleneck relating to IT resources.

> The IT people must be involved, I mean, we can have a lot of ideas, but then the techies must get involved to specify requirements, and there is not an unlimited number of people doing such tasks – there are, on the contrary, fairly few. This makes a bottleneck, and then the next bottleneck is that it [mobile editing] should be processed hands-on, and that is not something we are doing at GP any longer. There are some things one can do, if someone builds the functionalities. Well, yes, we can clearly do that, but then the list only grows, and there are few things being ticked off. That is the way it is – the IT department is the bottleneck (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

In addition to portraying the small IT-department as the bottleneck for innovation, the web department chief pointed to the interdependce between creatives and techies on the one hand, and humans and machines on the other. Ultimately, the techies had to repossess lost functionality in order for the mobile editor to perform her work. Some of the former mobile project group members, and particularly the digital developer and web department chief, expressed their frustration with the new situation, in which mobile media were not provided with sufficient resources for development. The web department chief said: "the list of things we want to have done is very long, and at the moment we are lagging very far behind with completing all the ideas we have."[156] One of the main reasons

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[156] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

was that the techies had been instructed to prioritise the development of the website, and that they were also affected by the centralisation of IT resources (within the Stampen Group and MktMedia.) The bottom line was that centralisation, due to which operative digital developments were performed centrally, resulted in a transfer of power from GP to MktMedia. In a similar vein, MktMobil had encroached on the influence GP had on mobile media developments.[157] The BDA chief at GP became the chief of business developments at MktMedia (MktMedia BD chief) during the spring of 2009. She insisted that GP and MktMedia would collaborate on both digital and mobile media development:

> GP have taken a decision as the owners of MktMedia. They want a closer collaboration with us [MktMedia], since they have reduced many of those types of resources at GP. But they reason that if we have close collaboration, then MktMedia will work with their issues here (at GP) and then we can work with them centrally to see which other newspapers want to participate (MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09).

Essentially, GP made detailed specifications for how the techies at MktMedia were to perform the desired changes. The order of priority of these specifications was decided by the so-called MktMedia development council, which consisted of 15 members from the different newspaper groups that owned MktMedia. GP had a strong influence over their agenda, first because they were the largest newspaper and therefore had four representatives, and second because the the MktMedia BD chief had formerly been employed at GP. There were two representatives from the editorial department (the digital developer and the DDG chief) and two from the business department (the advertisement chief and the BDA chief).[158] The MktMedia BD chief, who had extensive experience of inter-departmental collaboration from her period at GP, was inspired by these experiences when she designed the MktMedia development council. Her stance regarding collaboration was that "it is so tightly knit with the editorial and commercial aspects for digital media, that one cannot separate them."[159] Consequently, she wanted to involve media workers who were willing to collaborate on digital development:

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[157] CEO, 11.12.09; MktMedia BD chief, 14.12.09.
[158] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[159] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.

> Everything comes down to that online we only make profits when people visit us to read and so forth. With the newspaper, one can care less about that, there is more of an inside to outside perspective. On the web, we must be much more sensitive to what people read and click on (MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09).

Essentially, she reasoned that MktMedia must ensure that they make developments from which profits can be made, which relates to her idea that "you must work much more tightly with the editorial and the commercial mindset."[160] GP pursued a position from which they could take the lead in mobile media development, as the MktMobil locomotive. As regards the MktMobil project, the different newspapers formed a new platform together. The MktMobil project leader reported to the MktMedia development council on their progress. The MktMobil project consisted of representatives from the newspaper groups, in which the digital developer represented GP. He emphasised that although there was limited progress at GP, there was more progress in MktMobil.[161] The centralisation of IT resources and prioritisation called for a return to the bottleneck issue, by focusing on the perceived uncertainty about how the MktMedia techies prioritised:

> I mean, they have probably looked at it, but sometime when it cannot be adjusted immediately. It has probably been noted on some list somewhere, on MktWeb or something like that, that this will be taken care of later. I mean, they have some type of specification list where they prioritise the things that are supposed to be done. I do not know who is in charge of that list, but I think it is the web department chief and the digital developer (Mobile editor, 11.12.09).

Among others, the mobile editor expressed dissatisfaction with the transparency of the MktMedia list of priorities and their pace of development. Essentially, she and others made sense of what their digital network partner was, and was not, doing. The web department chief added that "there does not exactly seem to be an ocean of techies who are awaiting our ideas and specifications and to jump all over them,"[162] by which she expressed dissatisfaction with the insufficient number of techies prioritising the interests of GP. The bottom line was that the interests of GP were grouped with requests from numerous other companies. In addition to the centralisation of IT, MktMedia strived to enhance

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[160] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[161] Digital developer, 05.02.09.
[162] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

collaboration for analysis and business development, which involved the organisation of themed workshops, some with direct relevance to mobile media development. As a result, media workers beyond the former mobile project group became involved in the sensemaking of mobile media.

By the end of 2009, the digital analyst and the system developer started to meet regularly to discuss mobile media usage statistics. Their collaboration was expected to contribute improved analysis and internal communication.[163] The digital analyst, from the analysis unit at the business department, said that other media workers were unfortunately unaware of her analysis (and potential analyses) of mobile media. She had produced leaflets with facts about usage, but she was unsure about how many workers had accessed them. Only a few suits had shown a personal interest in her analyses of mobile media, and none of the creatives or techies.[164] There were few other efforts to analyse mobile media. One possible conclusion is that the interest in (or at least engagement with) analysing and developing mobile media was limited at the time.

In conclusion, while the idea remained of centralising development through MktMedia, in which GP was to be the locomotive, there were still concerns about their priorities and processes. The bottom line was that GP did not perceive themselves as fully prepared for rapid and collaborative mobile media development in 2009. However, they were holding discussions on how to improve their organisation in that sense.

7.1.2. Sensemaking opportunities for improved organisation

What we have done here at GP is to analyse how we are working with our development of digital channels because there must be a forum where different departments can meet in some way. We are aiming to prioritise different things using the same technical resources, so to speak. We must meet to see where different issues meet, with things like whether we should make an investment in the editorial department, when the business department has something else in the pipeline. Then we have to decide that this time, this thing will be prioritised and next time, the other thing will come first. The DDG will be a forum for ideas and information as well as issues of priority (DDG chief, 15.12.09).

Throughout the course of 2009, there was a process of sensemaking of how GP should organise their continued digital development, as their

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[163] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[164] Digital analyst, 18.12.09.

project for the news site was to be terminated in 2009. They developed a proposal for organisation, aimed at autonomous, rapid and collaborative digital development, through the DDG.[165] Their conceptualisation of the DDG built on interpretations from old structures, and particularly on their experiences with the inter-departmental coordination group which had been in operation a couple of years earlier. There were parts which were satisfactory, but also parts they felt had not worked as well. Essentially, they made retrospective sense by learning from previous trials, considering that there had been uncertainty about the responsibility for mobile media at that point in time. For instance, the editorial developments chief said: "no one really knew who was responsible for mobile media."[166] Throughout 2009, they made sure to define the DDG as responsible for all digital media development, including mobile media.

The MktMedia BD chief added: "the coordination group was really focused only on the web, mobile media were like… well, and supposedly we discussed it if anything came up, if it did that is But this is the reason for calling the DDG the digital development group."[167] She explained that the DDG label was intended to embrace all of their digital developments, arguing: "I believe in this group for GP, who must work much more closely to develop digital business."[168] Collaboration was obviously an important dimension of their sensemaking, guiding the way they mobilised their organisation for future digital development:

> We spend time on this [environmental analysis], and we could absolutely spend more time on it. I mean, the more we know the better, but at the same time current development is extremely fast so I do not believe that we should let all of our decisions start with six-month-long investigations. I think that we are in a situation in which, particularly when it comes to payments and what we are able to make money from, it is not like old times with the newspaper when you could investigate for half a year and then you could have it for a year. Now, I am exaggerating a bit, but I do think that we must become much better at testing different things. Try to charge for something and use it for three weeks, and if it does not turn out well then terminate it. Do not let it cost a lot of money for a year, two years or five years when one can in fact notice fairly quickly that it is not working. We have a tradition of carrying out a lot of investigations in this company. We have discussed that when we had the mobile project, our mission really was to do a lot of things, and I think that we did so. I really do not think

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[165] Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.
[166] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[167] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[168] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.

that it has changed; I still think that we must do a lot, but at the same time I always feel that we need to know more. Since things are changing so rapidly, the things you studied a year ago might even be outdated since the market looks entirely different. You should have a systematic way of following up on traffic, statistics, user behaviour etc. I think that it is really important. But I would not want to decide one or the other as I do not want to lose development in favour of really careful analysis either (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

The digital developer said that the increasing pace of environmental change required GP to become better at enacting change. They needed to become better at testing different ideas and services, extracting and making sense of these cues as they progressed. Ultimately, he suggested that a sound balance between analysis and testing was required to achieve continuous change. The editorial developments chief said:

We aim for shorter redesigns for the newspaper as well as for the web and mobile media. Transformations must be processed faster now. Previously, we had extensive change processes, because we wanted to involve people, but it is very time-consuming. This is, and has always been, a very polite company where we want to involve people and where we want people to be engaged. It is not possible to instruct by force, but it takes time (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

Essentially, the editorial developments chief stated that environmental transformations had become so rapid that they could not cope unless they improved their organisation in order to pursue a shorter redesign process and continuous development. This led to a dilemma, since they had to touch base with media workers in different departments and hierarchical levels, which hindered them from progressing rapidly. He acknowledged the project group form as valuable for achieving such ambitions, as it enabled both collaboration and a rapid pace of development, involving media workers from different departments and hierarchical levels. He and others envisioned the DDG as applying a miniature form of duality management by appointing two chiefs with operative powers: one creative and one suit. It is worth noticing that they did not pursue trisection management, by also appointing a techie as a chief.

By the end of 2009, a project leader from the editorial department had been appointed as their representative, but no one from the business department had been chosen.[169] As regards the editorial media workers

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[169] The DDG chief, 15.12.09.

involved, there was a process of transferring knowledge from the old to the new. The MktMedia BD chief argued: "the editorial developments chief will eventually retire, so the future DDG chief is supposed to shoulder his role. They even sit in the same room, so he is trying to transfer his knowledge to the DDG chief now."[170] The editorial developments chief added: "he and I share an office, so it is really easy to collaborate for print and digital channels." He also argued that "we will get organised in order to form a closer link with that which represents IT today. There will simply be more focus and clearer responsibility."[171] He also discussed how GP would organise improved collaboration with the techies by placing the digital developer and the digital designer in the editorial department. An important conclusion here is that although they envisioned a miniature form of duality management for the DDG, and not trisection management, they emphasised the more pronounced involvement of techies on the operational level. This has significant importance for our understanding of the transforming tensions between creatives, techies and suits in the contemporary shaping of digital media.

The editorial developments chief valued that the DDG was to be given autonomy: "it is very important to decide on the frames, but within these frames, one can accomplish quite a lot, and then there is a lot of operative freedom, both on the departmental level and on the company level."[172] At the end of 2009, they held discussions about whether the DDG should be held responsible for making a profit from their budget, which was expected to facilitate rapid development by making the DDG more autonomous. In addition, the DDG members would be required to be more oriented towards profiting from digital development. Those in favour of this argued that it could be expected to enhance collaboration:

> One must form a shared agenda for the digital enterprise. In addition, GP have made sure that they have some responsibility for business, and that is what will make a big difference, that the DDG chief and the web department chief are forced to consider how we can make money from this. They [the DDG] must ask that question, as it becomes part of their mission in the DDG – they did not have that in the coordination group. I think it is for the best, because then one understands that we should work much more closely with each other (MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09).

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[170] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[171] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[172] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

The MktMedia BD chief was a proponent of more collaborative practices for digital development, and of emphasising the business aspect. By the end of 2009, GP was on the threshold of their new structure for digital development. After a year of idling at the train station, there were high expectations for their digital development as they approached 2010. The digital developer said: "I think that everyone will be able to present things from their drawers, saying that they have had them for a long time. So there is not a lack of ideas, we just have not sat down to discuss what to do first."[173] He argued that if they were only given time and resources, they could accomplish a great deal. He stated that they had a lot of ideas, but needed to perform continuous analyses:

> I believe we must have a better orientation towards future activities within this group, like environmental scanning, analysis about where the market is moving, where the development is directed, so that we can look round the corner, so to speak, making new priorities, and then our organisation can take care of the operative – he or she does not necessarily have to be placed within such a group for development (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

In other words, the digital developer envisioned that the DDG could function as a future-oriented group that would make sense of changes and decide on priorities, which could then be handed over to the rest of the organisation. The bottom line was that GP mobilised in order to improve its organisation for rapid mobile media development, with a marked emphasis on collaboration between creatives, suits and techies.

7.2. Facilitating mobile media development

> The thing is that often, we are not doing anything in particular. We send SMS news flashes, but then the mobile is in auto-direct mode. There is so little that we can accomplish that it feels like it is not even useful. In addition, the new news site requires more work, so we easily feel that all of our energy is being spent on the news site (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

The web department was responsible for the practical work for mobile media, which mostly involved operating their SMS news flashes. The mobile editor continued to pursue the desired level of journalistic quality

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[173] Digital developer, 10.12.09.

through manually editing the mobile news site during the first half of the year, but could do less and less manual editing during the second half. The reason was that from September, when GP made the transition to the MktWeb system, much of the functionality that enabled mobile editing was lost. The web department chief said: "we have many bugs in the system, we cannot work with it. This is what we are supposed to do, we must recover the losses."[174] As a consequence, the mobile editor manually edited the mobile news site for only a couple of hours per week.[175] This was a critical problem around which sensemaking occurred, and through which the tension between humans and machines came into play, which is analysed more thoroughly in chapter nine.

Another aspect of the work of the web department was that journalists and editors were provided with different types of mobile device, while iPhones were provided to other GP staff. The reason for this was that the staff were intended to use them to access different mobile news sites belonging to both other companies and their own, to become accustomed to mobile media and to generate new ideas.[176] Ultimately, 2009 was portrayed as a year in which GP not only lost pace, but rather unexpectedly even took a step backwards in their mobile media development. The digital developer said:

> The situation regarding mobile media at GP is in fact that it has fallen behind substantially since we have transferred to a new platform for the news site and mobile [news site], which has not been absolutely finalised. We have inferior functions in our mobile system today compared to when we had the old system. It has been paused. There are a lot of faults. My dream scenario was, from where we were this spring, that we were going to be making progress. However, now it is more of a situation in which we are trying to recover to the level we were at before we can make any new developments. That means that at the moment, we have paused when it comes to mobile media. We are idling and waiting on the techies at MktMedia who will do something eventually. So, mobile media are being neglected at the moment; we are actually not working practically with mobiles at all at the moment (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

In other words, 2009 was a year when GP were not only uncertain about their organisation of mobile development, but when they also felt that their mobile media train was idling at the station. This was radically

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[174] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[175] Mobile editor, 22.09.08.
[176] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

different from their expectations during the sensemaking of 2008. The digital developer stated that the media workers at GP were waiting and hoping that the MktMedia techies would to get the mobile media train rolling. However, they had decided that it was most important that their web train got rolling first, and had therefore prioritised the web over mobile media. The editorial developments chief said: "there were several lists with specifications about the number of hours that were to be allocated to different things, but not a quarter of an hour was dedicated to mobile media, and not a single coin. That is how bad it was."[177] The company board wanted to prioritise the print newspaper first, followed by the news site, and then the mobile news site. These priorities were made based upon reaching users and the accumulated profits from different channels. This leads to an important conclusion on the sensemaking of old and new, showing how old channels were prioritised ahead of new. As a consequence, the progress of the new came to an unexpected halt.

The former mobile project group members envisioned that they would eventually be able to focus on mobile media again, and that they must first recover the losses incurred by their mobile news site. The digital developer said that they were going to "prioritise to get rid of lists with prioritised leftovers, that is, the things we need to get back on track. At the moment, there really is no possibility of investing our resources in the things we really want to do, which is to develop new things."[178] They had, in other words, decided to focus on recapturing lost ground. In 2009, GP made relatively limited developments on their mobile news site and SMS news flashes. Furthermore, there were also several other areas relating to mobile media that they had been unable to prioritise. For instance, the digital developer said: "we are not among those who have a mobile app. We have not had the resources to make an iPhone app."[179] However, discussions took place within MktMobil, as well as within GP, among creatives and techies on the one hand, and suits on the other, about creating an iPhone app. Ultimately though, neither MktMobil nor GP acted on these discussions during 2009.

It is clear that several of those who had been involved with mobile media development in 2008 felt frustrated. Meanwhile, from the perspective of what was being carried out together with the other

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[177] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[178] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[179] Digital developer, 10.12.09.

newspapers in the MktMobil network, several stressed that they had been making substantial progress.[180] With MktMobil, they worked on developing a new platform for furthering and managing the mobile news site, which was eventually launched in December 2009. The digital developer said that the user interface could be compared to the Apple app store, as members of the network could log in and access different types of services, and decide whether they wanted to use them. The idea was that all of the services and functionalities that were developed within the MktMobil network were going to be available for use by its members, either for free or at a price. Their platform included a number of services building on SMS technology, which could be used for events, promotions etc. The platform also included a tailored system for mobile news sites that was programmed to match the MktWeb platform that all of the newspapers had started using (and to which GP made a transition in September 2009). The new mobile news site platform enabled personalisation and location-based services, of which GP planned to make use in their future services.[181] To conclude, there were several reasons why GP idled at the train station in 2009, and the media workers made sense of the situation by glancing in the rear view mirror:

> We kind of had to start over. If I have got this right, to continue with the old system would involve continuous repairs, but not to make astart over. So once again I see the connection to the web. We worked with manual editing for the web until 98-99. We did a lot of things, but there was a big limitation to the things we did, as we could never become truly effective. We could never manage integration and such things, but had to change platforms, and then everything stopped for a year or two before it started to speed up again. I see an obvious parallel to mobile media today (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

Essentially, the editorial developments chief described their idle at the train station as a passage in history with which he was familiar from their experiences with the web. Importantly, he expected that GP would make progress in the field of mobile media in their future work.

7.3. Sensemaking of the situation in 2009

> To me, the mobile is now where the web was in 1996-1997. Perhaps we are closing in on 1998 now. Consequently, it is still, what should I call it, another

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[180] Digital developer, 05.02.09; CEO, 11.12.09; MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[181] Digital developer, 05.02.09.

form of distribution derived from the web. I usually say that it is a leftover product of the web. There are some things happening on the mobile side, but it is still fairly limited. I think that around the turn of the millennium, the web made a pretty big leap, but I have not yet seen such a leap for mobile media. My opinion is that all this type of development must involve considerations about the specific strengths of each channel. The specific strength of mobile media is not the ability to browse websites. It must provide entirely different things, related to the fact that it is truly mobile, that it is personal, and that you can take it everywhere. You can do entirely different things with the mobile from what you can do with the computer (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

With his reference to the old, the editorial developments chief argued that the mobile (the new) would progress from being a leftover product of the web to a channel with more distinguished mobile features. This relates to the customisation of a perceived mobile logic by enabling functionalities for personalisation and location-based services. In a similar vein, the other media workers emphasised factors relating to new opportunities and the growing demand for mobile access to news.

The most interesting aspect to us concerns people's behaviour. The sum of all this – whether devices are good, if the web is fast, is it cheap – all of that enables us to reach a conclusion on how people will behave. That is what interests us. How big is the market? Will everyone browse soon? Are they browsing? Are they willing to pay? If they have paid for their browsing, are they willing to pay for content? Where do they browse? (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

There are a number of areas mentioned above for which sensemaking is critically important. Among the areas discussed were: transforming usage patterns;[182] technological conditions such as bandwidth, smartphones and apps;[183] pricing models;[184] journalists' perspective on mobile media development;[185] competitors' activities;[186] the usability and user-friendliness of the mobile interface;[187] geo-tagging; CRM and social media[188] and so forth. They noted that mobiles were not only transforming into multimedia devices, but also being used as such. The

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[182] Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09; Digital analyst, 18.12.09; Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[183] Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09; IT chief, 02.10.09.
[184] Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; CEO, 11.12.09, DDG chief, 15.12.09.
[185] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; Mobile editor, 22.09.08.
[186] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09; Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[187] Digital designer, 10.12.09.
[188] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.

market analysis chief stressed that the difference between mobile devices and computers was diminishing.[189]

> There has been nothing during the last year that has pointed towards the idea that mobiles have become less important, but rather the contrary – they have become more important. There are more and more mobiles that do more and more great things. To me, there is no doubt that within a couple of years, they will be the most important devices to people in their everyday lives. It is a catastrophe if you leave your mobile at home (IT chief, 16.12.09).

The IT chief, among others, envisioned a future in which mobile media were at the centre. While GP had not provided a structure for mobile development, there were many discussions and a great buzz about mobiles. Discussions about mobiles had escalated because they were sensed to have grown in significance. The chief of analysis at the business department (appointed in 2009) emphasised that "I think that it is exceptionally important to follow mobile media development, and that we consider it in everything that we do."[190] She also said: "the mobile has become part of all discussions in a different way than it was before." Later, she underscored that "I am part of different groups in which mobile media are important in various ways. But I cannot say that I see anything that no one else sees." She continued by concluding that "there are many thoughts that are circulating in the organisation in a completely different way compared to one year ago."[191] One conclusion to be drawn from her discussion is that, from her personal experience, the analysis and discussion of mobile media accelerated in 2009. In that sense, it diverged from previous discussions on the limited interest and activity in analysing mobile media transformations. On the other hand, the media obviously became informed about mobile media from numerous sources.

The chief of digital communications argued that one explanation for the broader dissemination of knowledge on the topic was that many of the employees at GP frequently read the articles and commentaries of journalists who focused on digital and mobile media. While her writing was aimed at their readership, it had an impact on the staff as well.[192] The editor-in-chief said that mobile media constituted an area of growing importance which formed the subject of reports by their journalists in the

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[189] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.
[190] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.
[191] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.
[192] Chief of marketing communications, 24.11.09.

editorial space, not only in the technology and trends sections, but in generally. He argued that it was important for GP to acknowledge the increasingly important role of mobile devices in people's everyday lives, by publishing articles on mobile media usage and how it was changing social networks, norms, holiday behaviour, interpersonal communication and so forth.[193] The DDG chief pointed to the fact that GP had started to provide an increasing number of employees with smartphones (iPhones in particular), which also stimulated an improved awareness of mobile media opportunities.[194] In this context, the editor-in-chief suggested:

> I think that we have a fundamentally similar view, on all levels, that mobiles and mobile usage are here, and have come to stay. There are development possibilities and GP must be part of them. For this, we have the same view, I believe. Then, we have the question of what portion of the resources should be used, how much one should allocate (Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09).

In other words, the editor-in-chief perceived a unanimous conviction about the growing importance of mobile media, and that the creatives, suits and techies shared "the same view" about the neccessity for GP to develop a mobile presence. In terms of sensemaking, GP manipulated perceptions on mobile media by reporting on the subject and providing smartphones to their employees. Furthermore, the editorial developments chief acknowledged a pronounced engagement with mobile media at GP: "the entire lineup of chiefs here uses mobile services. So, the awareness of mobile media, the possibilities and what is happening right now is quite high, and this has flipped in recent years."[195] Their sensemaking of mobile media still involved various questions:

> We have not seen the end of the iPhone, and now Android is coming, along with Google mobiles. What new functionalities will exist? What kind of user patterns can be imagined? When will the breakthrough come, that is, when will the young generation truly start using mobiles for browsing? They are not there quite yet. My feeling so far, when looking at both our figures and other figures, is that it is still mostly being used by early adopters. There are still many users who have someone else who pays their bill, but when will the next leap take place? Then we will see other types of needs and other consumers. So, in principle, it is those areas we are looking at (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

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[193] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.
[194] DDG chief, 15.12.09.
[195] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.

While he directed more attention towards touch-screen devices, it is worth noticing that the editorial developments chief, amongst others, discussed the use of mobile media in terms of browsing. They did not refer explicitly to the usage of mobile apps. The following sections elaborate more on their sensemaking of these areas: the first section discusses users, and then the transforming technological and financial conditions, followed by GP's envisioned position and developments.

7.3.1. Towards increasing access to mobile news

> The fundamental reason why the GP mobile news site is of interest to our users, I believe, will be the same in the future as it is today, namely to update local news […]. The second reason is utility services, and there I feel that we have lots of services on our website, but which really are so much better with mobiles. This applies to all types of utility services […]. The third thing is interactivity, the dialogue. I am convinced that blogging, columns, personal voices and dialogue with them will increase with mobiles (Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09).

When the editor-in-chief discussed the (potential) users of their mobile news site, he first and foremost constructed users as recipients of content. He suggested that local news was the most important aspect of the mobile news site, as with their old channels. Following local journalism, he also credited "services" and "interactivity" as important, which meant that he anticipated the emergence of some practices of produsage. In 2009, the media workers sensed that mobiles were increasingly being adopted and used to access mobile Internet and news. They perceived that Swedes were using mobile devices more and more for mobile Internet services. This increasing interest in using mobiles to access the Internet on the go was assumed to be related to the diffusion of touch-screen mobile devices (with particular reference to the iPhone) and the development of mobile services. The editorial developments chief, for example, said that "mobiles have been revolutionised through the iPhone, when one looks at the traffic from international reports and its impact on browsing."[196]

The former mobile project group members argued that Swedes had started to access mobile Internet to make use of utility services, entertainment and social media through the mobile Internet. They assumed that as Swedes were forming such mobile usage patterns, they

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[196] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

were also being exposed to different means for accessing mobile news. In addition, they had noticed that the use of their mobile news site increased with major news events, but also that there had been a drop in user traffic during the autumn of 2009. The web department chief explained that the main reason was the problems involved with their transition to the new platform:

> Considering that we have transferred to a new technical platform, users have had to add a new bookmark to access us with their mobile, resulting in a loss of user traffic. There are many such things. It is like a move from celebrating reaching more than 100,000 page impressions per week right after the summer, and then after the loss of bookmarks, we have lost a lot of functionality (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

Changing usage patterns were interpreted as a sign of the increasing demand for mobile news. The media workers returned to their discussions from the previous year about the advantages of mobiles, as they are personal and always accessible. They noted that there were many indications that the uptake of mobile Internet services was growing, but had not yet taken off. The analysis unit at the business department continuously produced and distributed their analyses of the user uptake of the mobile news site.[197] In 2009, they noticed that their users were accessing both mobile sites and websites with their mobile devices. The web department chief tried to make sense of such cues:

> What is new is that we are questioning whether people will use the mobile news site or the traditional news site. We have lost power. Perhaps we should have mobile services other than a manually edited mobile news site? (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

In other words, she expressed that users have various needs, which implies that there was a need for a multitude of "mobile services." While mobile services could involve apps, their focus in the discussions involved the web news site vs. the mobile news site. They reasoned that some individuals expected to access mobile Internet in a similar way to their experiences on computers, which involved wanting to access all available content. Others, on the other hand, wanted to access news with their mobile device through a tailored mobile news site. Apart from

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[197] Digital market analyst, 18.12.09.

tailoring the mobile news site through manual editing,[198] it was anticipated that users would be interested in personalisation and location-based services.[199] The web department chief also stated that they envisioned that people would expect more interactivity from their mobile user experiences.[200] These conditions, coupled with such mobile media services, must involve technologies which are sensitive to individuals' behaviour and preferences. The digital developer emphasised that since mobiles are highly personal, newspaper companies had to be careful in handling issues of personal integrity. When it came to the mobile services they already offered, and were going to develop, they strived to handle personal information and integrity carefully. The digital developer argued that they were not going to make an uncomfortable intrusion into users' private sphere.[201] All in all, numerous activities were in progress, and being processed, at the time:

> We are at the entrance to a number of things that are about to occur. User patterns never change as quickly as one imagines, but then they tend to accelerate by themselves. We overestimate the time it takes from technology to market, but underestimate the time it takes for user demand [to grow], what the device works for really well (Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09).

In other words, while user adoption grew more slowly than one typically expected, technological change was anticipated to move more rapidly than one typically expected. The sensemaking of technological conditions is discussed more thoroughly in the following section.

7.3.2. Transforming technological and financial conditions

> There is naturally an enormous potential if you want to spread a message, when it comes to both information and commercial information, as you know who you are reaching. If people were fine with us categorising them into a good database, then we would be able to do really great things. I believe that there is an array of services that will be offered through mobiles. Both free and fee-based services will increase – of that I am convinced. The big problem concerns how to find the money, that is, services that people are willing to pay for. There are not all that many who have found those services, and that is the big and general problem for our company. As long as we are not making profits through

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[198] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[199] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09; Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[200] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[201] Digital developer, 10.12.09.

the digital channels, that are equivalent to the resources we invest there, the resource transfer [from print] will eventually end (IT chief, 16.12.09).

From their sensemaking of the transforming technological and financial conditions, as exemplified by the discussion with the IT chief, it was clear that these conditions were treated as being closely interrelated. The diffusion of iPhones was perceived to offer new technological features as well as more compelling pricing plans (flat-rate tariffs). While technology offered new and appealing opportunities, there were concerns about the opportunities for profit. The IT chief discussed the transfer of resources from print (old) to mobile (new) media, envisioning that the new must prove its worth through profits, or resources would be dispatched elsewhere. On the other hand, he also emphasised an emerging upside:

> The iPhone has had a great deal of influence. Not everyone has an iPhone, but those who have an iPhone have seen the potential, I think [...]. One hears people discuss it, that it has all these apps you can get, that it is user-friendly and so on. I think the iPhone took things forward one step when it arrived. My interpretation is that they departed from the user, rather than the engineer (IT chief, 16.12.09).

The IT chief explained that the iPhone interface, with its large screen, touch-sensitive display and apps, was more user-friendly than feature mobile devices. In terms of transforming technological conditions, the editorial developments chief stated that "my feeling is that the device is becoming less and less important while the user interface is the key, the fundamental [element], which will be the shared factor when all things communicate with each other."[202] In order to make sense of mobile devices and interfaces, they explored emerging opportunities:

> Naturally, we monitor the development of hardware, so we test different mobile phones. For instance, what does it mean that Android are coming, like, what can we do there? We are looking into apps for the iPhone, not that we try out all of the apps, but we want to understand the opportunities to do things. What methods of communication are there to charge for things, micro-payments and such? The iPhone is exciting, since it is already per se connected to an incredibly simple payment system. It would be misleading to say that we spend a lot of time on it, but we are at least trying to keep up to date (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

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[202] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

The digital developer discussed opportunities with different interfaces and app stores, and made reference to how the iPhone was coupled with a user-friendly system for making micro-payments. Solutions for profiting from mobile services were clearly seen as important, as the recession and structural downturn of the newspaper industry did not provide endless streams of money. The recession in 2009 forced newspapers to prioritise the channels from which they profited. The recession had a powerful impact on their activities, which resulted in major downsizing activities in order to cope with the significant loss of revenue. It was stressed that during recessions, few newspapers could afford innovation, but instead focused on their core newspaper business activities.[203]

Mutual financial interdependency between new and old

The equation is fairly straightforward. The revenues from newspapers in print are decreasing, and so they will be practically dependent on alternative sources of funding in the future to cope in the long term. From a short-term perspective, the development of new channels is not self-sufficient, but rather dependent on the old. Compared to print and the web, mobile media did not offer promising financial opportunities. The market analysis chief said: "there is no one who knows what the business models will be. This applies to everyone – how are we to make profits from it?"[204] The editorial developments chief stated: "with mobiles, I wonder whether there is anyone who is making any profit, well, it would perhaps be Aftonbladet in such a case. They claim that, but I cannot imagine that it is profitable."[205] He and others discussed the notion that it was challenging to develop successful business for mobiles. In a similar vein, the IT chief reasoned: "I do not think there is anyone making profits among the media companies, making money from mobiles or from their mobile investments, but we all want to participate."[206] The bottom line was that profits from mobile media were typically seen as limited, immature and uncertain, compared to print and web-based media (the old). The editorial developments chief said: "my opinion is that

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[203] Mobile project leader, 10.12.09; Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[204] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.
[205] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[206] IT chief, 16.12.09.

mobiles are still in some kind of phase of infancy."[207] In this context, the editor-in-chief said:

> We know that revenues will be delayed, no question about it. I see no big revenues in the coming two to three years from mobiles. I see small, small revenues. This is about investing money that we will not have in returns in the short term (Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09).

There were three main ways in which the media workers envisioned that newspapers would profit from mobile media. One was to sell mobile-based services and solutions to other companies (such as from the MktMobil platform). The other two were conventional business ideas in terms of advertising and charging users to access content and services.[208] A number of media workers acknowledged that the mobile advertising market was progressing rapidly, although from a low starting point. Most advertisers did not yet perceive the mobile news site as an attractive format for advertisements. The small screen and relatively limited number of users were two reasons for this. The digital developer added:

> The problem, just like for the web in the 1990s, was that we had built a website but our customers did not have websites. Why would they buy an advertisement if they did not have anything to link it to? (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

In other words, a critical problem was that the advertisers did not yet have mobile news sites to which they could direct their target groups. They theorised that other forms of advertising would emerge, but at the time, the media workers thought mainly of banners. While expectations for revenues were modest, there were those who discussed potential steps forward. One of the digital salesmen discussed an escalating interest in making advertisements for mobiles. He had noticed that some Swedish companies had introduced a policy of reserving a pre-defined percentage of their marketing budget for digital media, and encouraging the use of mobile media for advertising. Consequently, an increasing number of advertisers, especially national advertisers, wanted to use mobile media.[209]

With regard to financial conditions and charges for users, there were concerns about the costs of acquiring and using mobile devices for

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[207] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[208] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[209] Sales staff, 11.12.09.

Internet access and news services. The former mobile project group members in particular sensed that high costs and uncertainties in pricing plans still constituted a barrier to the convenient use of mobile Internet and news services. They explained that this had to do with the limited availability of (favourable) flat-rate subscriptions at the time, arguing that pay-as-you-go pricing plans were coupled with added uncertainty.[210]

> I cannot help thinking about, once again during the youth of the web, when exactly the same thing took place in 1995, 1996 and 1997. Everyone complained that it was extremely expensive and complicated to use the computer for the Internet. Today, it has become integrated with the rent somehow. I mean, you pay for it, but we barely realise that we are paying for it, since it is so natural that everyone must have it. When this applies to mobiles, we will have forgotten about the flat rate – people will just have it (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

Once again, reference was made to old experiences in the digital habitat. This retrospective sensemaking was explicitly applied to mobile media by the editorial developments chief in his vision that flat-rate pricing tariffs were to become commonplace. It was noted that the *gratis* culture of the Internet was a disadvantage to media content producers, making it challenging to charge users. The IT chief said: "a number of newspaper companies, at least abroad, have said that they are going to lock in content," suggesting that there were discussions about charging users for mobile media.[211] Among those who believed in charging users was the editor-in-chief: "I think there is an opportunity to charge if one has really good services. Then people are prepared to pay, a small sum, not much, but a small sum to receive the ultimate advice, guide or test."[212]

One conclusion to be drawn is that the media workers saw opportunities to profit from mobile media as limited at the time, but also as utterly essential for the legitimisation of its future development. This requires us to return to the discussion on how the old finances the development of the new. The editorial developments chief argued that "normally you have sufficient resources to invest in developing these things, you have resources that enable endurance, to be present once the real race takes off, but nowadays we must, however, prioritise."[213] In other

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[210] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[211] IT chief, 16.12.09.
[212] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.
[213] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

words, mobile media were perceived as an increasingly important and independent area, which could eventually take off, regardless of whether or not GP got on the ride. He also explained that mobile media had been prioritised under the news site because they had struggled to make profits from mobile media activity. Regarding the difficulty of making a profit, the media workers posited that all newspapers had been equally incapable of solving the problem. In other words, they excused their own difficulties and shortcomings with reference the many other companies dealing with this problem insufficiently. This was explicated as being related to the fact that old media were financing new media:

> One approaches a new channel because one believes it will not only be exciting as a channel for publishing but that it will also generate new profits. And then we have an economic crisis, and then the advertisers desert it, and the traditional advertisers go to the traditional media. To the extent to which one can choose things, one chooses the things that are old and to which one is accustomed, so that one knows what they are, and that is print. Consequently, the gearing for web and mobile media has turned out quite badly. We have lost a lot on the web, which was supposed to be the solution to compensating for the decline of print (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

In conclusion, old media finance new media, but new media are expected to provide revenues that will compensate for the loss of revenues from the old. The managing editor noted that their most important challenge was to show, through successful business development, that they could manage to turn the analysis of mobile media into a fruitful business.[214] She also said: "we must flip every coin, and then see it leave our hands,"[215] while the IT chief, in a similar vein, posited "we must become better at making money. There is a catch 22: we need money to make money, but money is not given until we make it."[216] He also suggested that suits were going to improve their competence, developing business models for mobile media, supported by creatives and techies.

> In order to get the support of the entire organisation and company board, then those who work with mobile media must show that it in fact is possible to make some money from them. Then resources will come (IT chief, 16.12.09).

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[214] Managing editor, 16.12.09.
[215] Managing editor, 16.12.09.
[216] IT chief, 16.12.09.

The web department chief, on the other hand, argued that the business department should have worked more on developing ways to profit from mobile media. She felt that as they had failed to do so, they had slowed down their development.[217] The digital developer stressed that further mobile development depended on their success in making profits, for which they were going to need the support of the business department.[218] The CEO argued that the editorial department had always wanted to make developments for mobiles, but that the business department had consciously held them back by stressing that they must make a profit.[219] In other words, the creatives and techies relied on the suits to legitimatise the new channel by demonstrating its profitability.

While there was discontentment about the efforts of the business department on this issue, there was also progress. During the autumn of 2009, GP sold significantly more advertising space on their mobile site than ever before.[220] The CEO explained that mobile media were going to become an important part of the new marketing and advertising model that he and others in Stampen were developing, and that mobiles were therefore gaining important strategic value.[221] The CEO stated that the business department had planned to develop their mobile competence by having dedicated salespeople for mobile media.[222] According to their chief of digital communications, their sales force focused solely on print media, giving digital channels limited attention. Their incentive programmes primarily supported the medium from which they made the most revenue.[223] In other words, the way that the business department had designed their salary bonuses favoured an orientation towards the old, which ultimately led to the slow progress in profiting from the new.

7.3.3. Position: Idling at the train station

I do not think that there are very many exciting things taking place right now. There was a breakthrough with the iPhone, and if not for the recession I think there would have been many more who would have developed iPhone apps. The thing is, it costs money to build apps, so there are no longer many firms

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[217] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[218] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[219] CEO, 24.10.08.
[220] Sales staff, 11.12.09.
[221] CEO, 11.12.09.
[222] CEO, 24.10.08.
[223] Chief of marketing communications, 24.11.09.

doing so […]. For instance, DN created an app called "Going out," but it has more or less been liquidated, at least that is my feeling. There was another drive, a different sort of willingness to do things for mobiles, before the recession. There was absolutely another drive in the industry (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

The editorial developments chief believed that very little progress was made with mobile media in the Swedish newspaper industry in 2009, although there was some movement: "Aftonbladet and Expressen are still those who have experimented most."[224] The former members of the mobile project group agreed that Aftonbladet and Expressen, but also TV4, had been making progress. From a broader perspective, it was stressed that other industries and companies, such as Google, were the main drivers of mobile media.[225] In light of this, the media workers at GP reasoned on their position:

> We employed a mobile editor since the [journalistic] quality was unsatisfactory, it was not sufficient with auto-directed publishing. Afterwards, we took one step backwards, and our traffic generally decreased. We were dependent on the technology of the web, so when we changed the technical platform for the web, it came to affect mobile media as well. So, at the moment, we are testing a new mobile platform. Consequently, we have taken one or several steps backwards, in order to establish a better platform for future development. It has become explicit within the Stampen Group that GP should take the role of the locomotive, simply to become the biggest actor, since we have the best opportunities to develop things (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

The editorial developments chief presented a perspective on the position of GP that was common during 2009. In short, the employment of a mobile editor was perceived to have indicated both quality and progression. However, GP were idling at the station because of the platform changes (and the recession), but were about to shoulder the role of the mobile development locomotive for MktMobil. The editorial developments chief continued by discussing their role in the MktMobil project: "since it became a project in the group, it became explicit that GP should have the function of the locomotive."[226] Their metaphorical reference to idling at the station was made explicit by the IT chief: "I think that we are now standing, still idling, so to speak. One year ago, we

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[224] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[225] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[226] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

were pretty early, one year ago we took a pretty good step forward, but since then nothing has happened."[227] The digital developer expressed similar thoughts: "I would not say that we have been left behind, but we are no longer at the frontier in any way." He explained that their position had changed during the last year:

> We felt that we were among the best, but that is not how we feel today. It feels like we have lost, not lost a year, but we have lost. We were probably a bit ahead when we invested in 2008; we feel that everyone else is investing in 2009, and now they have clearly passed us as there are things that have taken place between 2008 and 2009 (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

The digital developer argued that GP were competing with other actors in a race in which they had been overtaken. When GP evaluated their position, they focused predominantly on the quality of their mobile news site, although some mentioned other activities as well. The web department chief, for instance, argued that "the SMS news flash is performing well, with 800 subscribers, and there is a possibility for more different flashes," while acknowledging their shortcomings in other areas: "an iPhone app would probably be necessary to attract more attention."[228] The digital developer focused mainly on their mobile news site, while acknowledging that the potential creation of an iPhone app, and other special services, would provide added value and enhance their brand image. He noted that an (Swedish) industry press magazine evaluated various media companies' efforts for mobile media every year, employing criteria other than their own:

> If you look at when Mobil magazine elects the best mobile sites, then we were the best mobile news site last year [2008], and we noticed that their motivation was not that we were always up-to-date, that people sat and worked actively with the site, that we had nice pictures, you know, stocks and sports results and a lot of quality things. No, they found local and downloadable ring tones, more piquant things (Digital developer, 091210).

In other words, working with the extraordinary for mobile media was important. Furthermore, the digital developer said: "I felt that one year ago we were on, we had a mobile news site that one could browse without us feeling ashamed of it; when we browsed other sites, we felt that there

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[227] IT chief, 16.12.09.
[228] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

was no one doing much better than we were."[229] The digital developer was among those who felt that their mobile news site was no longer sufficient, while there were others, such as the market analysis chief, who argued that "through our mobile site, we have a very good position."[230] The typical conception was, however, that GP's position as a front-runner in mobile media had been lost during 2009. However, accounting for their progress in the Stampen Group and with MktMobil, they were still in the game. The CEO discussed their position:

> We are not waiting, nor are we a mover. That is too strong a word. If we were a front-runner, we would have two or three mobile editors, and we would be more active in our design of services and products, in order to make more profits and have more utilities. Or no, that is wrong, I have to put this differently and rewind. We are a mover in our group, and it has to do with our acquisition of Mobiento [a subsidiary for mobile advertising]. We have the MktMobil project leader who is one of the sharpest in the field of mobile media in Northern Europe, we have a mobile platform that we have created with MktMedia, and we have a mobile editor working on it. I think that we are a mover, yes I actually think that we are, through our Stampen Group we are (CEO, 11.12.09).

An interpretation of this quotation is that as the CEO was talking about his sensemaking process, he simultaneously made sense of what he was saying. As he realised that he was undecided about the position of GP, he asked to rewind, and then stated that GP were a mover from the position of the Stampen Group and MktMobil. In other words, he came to understand his thoughts as he was speaking. Another important conclusion relates to the fact that the CEO used the level of involvement of mobile editors as a point of reference for his evaluation of their position. This criterion, involving the manual editing of mobile journalism, had emerged with the formative sensemaking originally led by the creatives. Evidently, their path-dependent beliefs and previous actions had shaped the way they made sense of their actions in relation to others.

Others also felt that their engagement with MktMobil put them at the forefront. The market analysis chief said: "with the MktMobil investment, one can say that we are really, really a mover." She stated that "we are making developments to take a really strong position, but we are probably

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[229] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[230] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.

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not there quite yet."[231] The MktMedia BD chief argued that GP was driving change in 2009 through MktMobil developments, although things had slowed down locally at GP.[232] The editorial developments chief said:

> Until one year ago, I felt that we had a good drive in mobile media, but now there has been somewhat of a pause, from a GP perspective. From a MktMedia perspective there is now, simply speaking, rapid growth. No one has started to build all of these things, they are about to be launched and now a new foundation is being established. But if I am to take it from a kind of user perspective, if I use the GP mobile news site, then I have definitely taken a step backwards, which is unfortunate (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

In conclusion, there were two perspectives on their position. The work of GP with their mobile news site, which was visible to users, had been paused. Their work with MktMobil, involving a new platform with enhanced opportunities, put them at the frontier but did not yet involve any added value for their users. Mobile media were seen as important from the perspective of promoting the sustainable and attractive development of news publishing.[233] It is worth noticing that the workers typically discussed their mobile news site in terms of utility services that could appeal to users, eventually leading to revenues. When referring to news, they simply mentioned that their mobile editor manually supervised their progress. They did not bring journalism for the mobile news site to the fore in these discussions.

Some expressed that GP had to become more innovative in mobile media development, and that, at the time, they still had an opportunity to become a leading actor in mobile development in Sweden. In terms of the two top chiefs of the company, the CEO argued: "we have a position right now that makes it possible for us to really be at the frontier in this matter,"[234] while the editor-in-chief stressed that "we must have a presence – there is no doubt that we must become good with our mobile services, try to position ourselves on the front line."[235] Several interviewees expressed that they were hoping to make a change, to remobilise their forces in order to develop mobile media once again.[236]

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[231] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.
[232] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[233] Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[234] CEO, 11.12.09.
[235] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.
[236] Web department chief, 03.12.09; Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; Mobile editor, 11.12.09.

The CEO said that GP, through Stampen and MktMedia, was among those who had the opportunity to acquire a front-line position:

> We have a strong market and are among the leaders, so I think we have a historic chance to take a strong position with mobile media that we did not manage to take with the web. So, we are in the starting blocks, although it is not certain that we will succeed. Either we invest limited resources, or we are not competent enough, or we do not prioritise [mobile media] because of a lack of profits (CEO, 11.12.09).

The CEO discussed "a historic chance" in the sense that there was a window of opportunity in these formative years. He, and others, felt that they had missed that opportunity with their website. The CEO made explicit reference to this previous experience: "we have a historical chance to become good at mobile media early, compared to the web."[237] The editor-in-chief added his argument in a similar vein: "now we have the chance to take the first steps, compared to our historic lateness with the web in the 1990s."[238] The digital developer and the editorial developments chief also stated that they had a second chance to be on the digital front line.[239] Their pause was a temporary phase on their way towards mobile media progress. In the words of the editor-in-chief, "we are driving change by nature, although for now we are in a phase of waiting."[240]

While there was optimism about the potential opportunities to come, there were obviously also those who expressed dissatisfaction and frustration about their position compared to other newspapers. In particular, those who had been part of the mobile project in 2008 were frustrated. The web department chief expressed such annoyance when she said: "the digital developer, the chief of digital communications and I attend the same meetings and complain about the lack of investment in mobile media."[241] Over the years, some individuals had worked for years to put mobile media on the agenda, and had made several achievements through the mobile project. Presumably, these individuals, who had developed mobile media during 2008, had a stronger personal connection with its future outcome than others.

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[237] CEO, 11.12.09.
[238] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.
[239] Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[240] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.
[241] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

The mobile editor, web designer and programmers noted that they had been poorly informed about the transformations taking place with the MktWeb and MktMobil projects. They felt that it was pointless to make developments for the old CMS, since they would be incompatible with the new system.[242] The changes also resulted in new and centralized ways of managing programming, which had resulted in a perceived loss of control. Whilst GP previously could make developments and repair bugs, they now had to specify for MktMedia (Adeprimo) to carry out this work. Previously, they could adjust their list of priorities, but after the change their priorities were in the hands of others.

The system developer stated that he felt like someone had tied a rope around his wrists, as many of the specifications for programming work he could easily have carried out himself, but was not allowed. He said that this was one of the drawbacks of the idea that all of the newspapers in the MktMedia network were to benefit from programming processes. A positive consequence, on the other hand, was that the transparency of goals was improved, as programmers and decision-makers had to start to communicate more about their actions.[243] Others were also critical of the centralisation, such as the web department chief, who was uncertain about its effectiveness. She was frustrated, as there was a constant demand for techies, but limited availability. She said: "we have many problems and bugs. While we try to make good specifications, some come back to us. Mobile media have become truly neglected."[244]

The web department chief experienced a structural problem that the company board had not addressed properly, with a critical effect on the enthusiasm of those involved: "this creates a risk in that we lose pace and enthusiasm if nothing is done, that we shrug our shoulders and say 'oh well.' Then you lose your enthusiasm and drive, if nothing happens."[245] She explained that those feelings had spread not only among creatives, but also among the techies, as they had become dependent on the techies at MktMedia to perform their specifications: "they do not feel that there is any point in becoming engaged if nothing happens at the other end."[246] The mobile editor had lost much of her enthusiasm for the mobile news site. She wanted an appealing and functional mobile news site, which was

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[242] Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[243] System developer, 18.12.09.
[244] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[245] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[246] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

free from bugs, so that she could fulfil her work tasks. She had not anticipated that 2009 would be a year in which they would pause, and even lose functionality, which resulted in feelings of frustration about her role as a mobile editor.[247] The bottom line was that while she wanted to ensure high-quality journalism for the mobile news site, she could not accomplish this because of technological shortcomings.

7.4. Sensemaking of the potential situation in 2010

The interviewees were asked to discuss their vision of mobile media in the autumn of 2010 (as they were for 2008). Once again, they emphasised that it was difficult to make such projections, particularly as they had not actively been working with mobile media in GP in 2009. The editorial developments chief said: "there is not really any discussion about where mobile media will be in one to two years, and I basically do not think there is anywhere [among other Swedish newspapers]."[248] Meanwhile, they once again put forward their ideas. Generally speaking, users, technology and other newspapers were expected to have driven mobile media forward. In the following section, it is first discussed how the workers made sense of environmental changes, followed by an assessment of their own conditions for mobile media development. This involves feelings of uncertainty,[249] as well as projections about scenarios involving both limited[250] and progressive[251] mobile media development.

7.4.1. Improving conditions and increasing uptake

I think that mobile media will just continue to increase. Now everyone possesses mobile devices. It is evident that this thing with mobile browsing is not something that everyone does, but I think that it will come, that it is becoming natural. It has to do with both the technology for mobile devices and flat-rate costs. Obviously, there will be more and more people who have this type of mobile as it becomes cheaper to browse. It will be just as natural as accessing the traditional web all the time. I believe that the trend of mobile browsing will continue to increase, and then also access to mobile news will increase as well – of that I am certain. But it may also be that one conceives of the mobile as a

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[247] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[248] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[249] DDG chief, 091215; Digital analyst, 18.12.09.
[250] System developer, 18.12.09.
[251] DDG chief, 15.12.09; Digital developer, 10.12.09; Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.

device for relaxation. It is there if one needs to update oneself. But it can be more of a friend as well – people do not engage in all of these serious things with it, but rather see it as a fun device for relaxation. Like they call and send texts to their friends and then update their knowledge of the news a bit (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

The web department chief envisioned that conditions for mobile media would improve, with a subsequent increase in uptake, while noting that these activities would perhaps be complementary. The sensemaking accounts of the future environmental situation had generally become more positive by 2009 than during 2008. It was assumed that the uptake of mobile media would have grown. The web department chief, however, stated that when it came to the future importance of mobile news usage, other features were probably going to be more important. The digital developer envisioned that "the mobile will become more important than the web. It is personal and something people carry with them everywhere."[252] Some expressed that the uptake was going to be stimulated by factors such as the increasing diffusion of user-friendly mobile devices.[253] The mobile editor argued that by the autumn of 2010, many Swedes would have replaced their feature mobile devices with those that are more user-friendly for mobile Internet and access to news.[254]

The interplay with business conditions was also discussed, as it was estimated that there would be improved accessibility to flat-rate subscriptions, which, it was anticipated, would result in more users.[255] There was a recurrent discussion that by the autumn of 2010 there would be improved hardware and software for mobile devices. This involved touch-screen devices as well as developments in mobile-specific content and services. The IT chief, for example, argued that mobile devices would be used to access information, as well as in the role of a wallet.[256] Others stressed that many other media companies would drive change.[257] Another driver of change mentioned was the increased level of marketing in newspapers, radio and television about the various advantages of mobile media[258] – so-called "meta communication."

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[252] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[253] Mobile editor, 11.12.09; Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[254] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[255] Chief of marketing communications, 24.11.09; Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[256] IT chief, 16.12.09.
[257] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[258] Chief of marketing communications, 24.11.09.

There was a generally positive attitude, and evaluations of external barriers were scantily worded. It was, however, proposed that the recession was still having a major impact on the industry, and it was difficult to foresee when it was going to level out. Furthermore, it was perceived as inconceivable for any actors to have formed truly viable business models for mobile media by 2010, as the advertising market was slow and it was difficult to make much money by charging users.[259]

7.4.2. Sensemaking opportunities for future mobile media development

It was underscored repeatedly that by the end of 2010, the mobile news site was going to have reclaimed all of the functionality it lost in the transition during the autumn of 2009. Much of the focus in 2009 was directed towards the mobile news site, and the media workers discussed that it should be turned into something much more than a "news" site. Their intention was to become a media portal that functioned as a gateway to different types of content and services for people within their geographical region. They planned to develop their proposition for both news and utility services. Their discussions on news centred on whether additional content was to be auto-directed from the news site, or repackaged and edited to fit with the mobile news site. They did not orientate towards changing journalistic practices or methods of reporting. The shaping of customised news content was instead inexorably interconnected with services. Machines were expected to facilitate new and enhanced experiences of their news content, as well as utility services. Any types of service or content which were helpful to users on the go were found to be relevant. The extent to which these plans would have been realised by 2010 was, however, less certain.[260]

In their aspirations to make developments for mobiles, the discussions focused on two areas. The first focused on the need to customise mobile media through media logic(s), while the second focused on how customisation was to be offered through their mobile news site, or through mobile apps.

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[259] IT chief, 02.10.08.
[260] Digital developer & mobile editor, 03.03.09.

Customisation: Personalisation, positioning and produsage

> The things that we know are coming with new platforms are positioning and personalisation, and the possibility of building customer databases so that you, in fact, know who they are. But I can imagine that something that could potentially become unique to mobiles, if we take something from the pile, would be truly geographical services. There are some who have played around with this, but it is still at the level of a playhouse (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

The editorial developments chief envisioned a plethora of possibilities for mobile media, in which personalisation and positioning were expected to be open for customisation. He argued that in order to develop a mobile logic, they had to focus on its personal and ever-present characteristics. It is worth noticing that customisation, and distinguishing print, online and mobile channels from each other, had become a company strategy. The techie responsible for the mobile platform emphasised the importance of personalised services.[261] The web department chief reasoned:

> We could be able to give a little tailored information about what has happened, what people are interested in or have a use for, that one should be able to come closer. I mean, our mobile news site, to a large extent, conforms to the idea of a traditional newspaper, a smorgasbord with something for everyone […]. There is an idea about pulling channels apart, moving in that direction. The more general may not be interesting, since the mobile is a personal channel (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

The web department chief argued that their mobile news site (the new) was relatively similar to their print newspaper (the old) in terms of offering a variety of news. She envisioned that personally-tailored information would be useful for users, suggesting that they would potentially be willing to pay for tailored utility services. Her reference to "pulling channels apart" related to their cross-media strategy. The editor-in-chief said that their new mobile platform supported personalisation:

> We are waiting for the new mobile platform to be in full operation, and I am incredibly excited about the mobile platform, which will make it possible for personalisation and differentiated payment. So, there will be the possibility of personalising different types of message, both editorial and commercial. I

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[261] System developer, 18.12.09.

personally consider that as the main advantage of mobiles (Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09).

In addition to personalisation, the editor-in-chief said that they should focus on the development of utilitarian local services for areas such as traffic, restaurants and weather, but also on functionalities for supporting dialogue.[262] In other words, he envisioned more user participation in mobile media. In a similar vein, the web department chief stated:

> Today, one can do very little with the mobile news site – one can more or less only read. People do not stay there long since they cannot do very much, like doing fun things, like commenting, expressing one's opinion, writing something or casting a vote. I do not really believe that people would want to write a lot on mobiles, but maybe [they would] vote and take a quiz. Such things are included in our list of future developments. It is more or less the same way of thinking as for the news site. People access the news site to get up-to-date about news, but once they are there they must discover that it is fun: "this is something I want, this is something I want to participate in and answer, this is something I know something about." We do not offer such things for mobiles, those fun things. Then, of course, one could push for more entertaining news, but nowadays I mostly emphasise interactivity (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

The web department chief referred to their list of desirable future developments, which originally had been developed by the mobile project group. She essentially emphasised types of content and services other than those coupled with journalism. This signifies her perceptions of what the mobile news site was and what it should be. Importantly, as the creative in charge of journalism in the digital habitat, she did not put much emphasis on how journalism for the mobile news site could be developed. She treated news as the basic type of content, while other things created stickiness. User involvement was discussed in terms of entertainment services such as quizzes and votes, while the possibility of including users in journalism for the mobile news site was practically absent from the discussion. The editor-in-chief, however, added that GP would encourage the public to contribute information and images.[263]

Positioning, in the form of location-based services, was another distinctive feature they planned to have implemented by the end of 2010, by employing positioning technology with their new MktMobil platform.

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[262] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.
[263] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.

Some of these location-based services would focus on traffic and weather services. It was suggested that GP should develop location-based services with local content, which would supposedly then be managed by the mobile editor, to ensure a high-quality product.[264] The mobile editor said that their mobile news site "should have maps and search functions, but it will probably take a while."[265] The market analysis chief explained that she had participated in developing location-based services (geo-tagging) for their GP loyalty club through the MktMobil project. She said: "it should involve geo-tagging so that you can walk around in Nordstan [a local shopping centre] and see if there is something there associated with the loyalty club as you pass by."[266] Evidently, creatives, suits and techies all envisioned the emerging importance of positioning for mobile media.

Accessing news via sites or apps

> We will probably have to make an iPhone app, but I am just as keen on making apps for those mobiles that most people have, and most people still do not have an iPhone. But it may be that we must have both an iPhone and an Android and a Symbian version next year (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

In 2009, some media workers started to say that they felt that they were expected to develop mobile apps. The editorial developments chief said that "apps are appealing, and at the moment, a great way to make good things for mobiles, if people have an iPhone that is."[267] The media workers focused mostly on the iPhone, as the development of apps was almost synonymous with the iPhone. However, as the quotation from the digital developer shows, there were also those who felt a need to make apps for other mobile operating systems. At the time, mobile apps were seen as an appealing way to customise content and services for mobiles, which could involve the aforementioned areas of personalisation, location-based services and interactivity. The web department chief elaborated extensively on whether the emergence of mobile apps would conflict with the conception of a customised mobile news site. She said "whether a tailored mobile news site is the big thing in the future, that is an area where my way of thinking has changed, considering that the

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[264] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09; Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[265] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[266] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.
[267] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

iPhone and similar mobile devices have arrived."[268] She continued by discussing the displacement effects of mobile apps on their mobile site.

> One could imagine that a site tailored for mobiles in the future will become outdated, but I am not sure about that. Perhaps it will take time and that there will be a need for both, and so, but it is perhaps not as clear as we believed a year ago. This is mostly a reflection; I do not have a key, so to speak […]. Practically speaking, I do not think we will desert it for quite some time, but I think there are parallel paths. I think that we, for a period the length of which I do not know, must have a good mobile news site (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

The web department chief reasoned that it had become increasingly popular to make use of mobile apps, rather than mobile news sites and traditional news sites, but that there was perhaps an interest in all of these methods of accessing mobile news. She said that "many who have iPhones also enjoy accessing content from web and mobile sites. But is it perhaps a passing phase to have a site tailored for mobiles? That I do not know, but we are at least asking ourselves such questions."[269] Ultimately, it came down to the question of whether (and if so, how) GP were to customise their content and services for mobile channels. The web department chief further discussed the role of human editors:

> Perhaps there are other mobile services that are coming that must be dealt with, rather than manually editing the site for it to be very different. I mean, manual editing is probably something we should do, but the development of mobile services is probably a larger area (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

The bottom line was that there were cues which implied that GP would have to question the editing of their mobile news site, although she argued that they would continue with such practices. The editorial developments chief stressed that "there are some who are really good at building apps, and this is of course a fantastic way to make things for mobiles, to make pretty and attractive services."[270] Customisation for mobiles was seen as important, but the digital developer emphasised that an app in itself did not necessarily entail good customisation.

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[268] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[269] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[270] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

Some of the apps that were launched in the beginning were not particularly smart in terms of programming. They consisted only of links – you could just as easily build a mobile news site. If you are going to build an app, I think you should prove to the user that it solves a number of problems that could not be solved with the site version of our mobile service. You can have tracking services in an app, if you have television, you can store a number of things in your mobile that allow you to change programmes as if you are using a remote control, but if you are using a site you must load the site, buffering those videos and so on. There are a number of things that can create added value in an app (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

The digital developer envisioned that GP would develop mobile news apps for both the iPhone iOS and the Android Market. There were two reasons why they had not yet made such developments: "the bottom line is that we have not had the resources, and another reason may be that we have not had a sufficiently good idea."[271] He stated that GP had at least sent one of their techies on a course arranged by Apple to learn the programming skills needed. The editorial developments chief noted that if they were going to create apps, they would have to "have a really good idea about what kind of app it should be."[272] He also reasoned that since they lacked the competence needed to create such apps, they would probably have to involve external partners. He said that "it is really difficult to say which resources we will be able to get from MktMedia, but it feels like a precondition for us to proceed with an app."[273] Since the costs involved in this were expected to be relatively high, he found it unlikely that they would have developed such apps by the end of 2010. Ultimately, it came down to the question of whether they could justify such significant development costs for mobile media, which in turn related to the aforementioned issue of being able to demonstrate that these mobile services would generate revenues.[274] Some other media workers, on the other hand, anticipated that such developments would have started by 2010. The MktMedia BD chief projected that this would take place as part of the MktMobil project.[275]

In conclusion, following the development and uptake of touch-screen devices and apps, the media workers envisioned a change in the ways in

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[271] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[272] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[273] Editorial developments chief, 16.12.09.
[274] Web department chief, 03.12.09.
[275] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.

which news and utility services would be used in the future. They focused on how to shape mobile media logic(s), but rather than discussing journalism per se, they instead focused on how machines could be deployed to enhance the user experience. Personalisation, location-sensitivity and participation were discussed as possible paths for exploration, with their new mobile platform as well as future mobile apps.

7.4.3. Hopes for the departure of the mobile media train

When we gather again sometime after this year has ended, then I think we will strike off all the old. We will sit down and ask ourselves "what do we want to do now, what do we really want to do?" We do not really have the time to focus on that right now. That is not to say that there are no ideas, I mean, there are several needs. I can go back to our wish-list for mobiles – we have plenty of services we want to integrate for mobiles, that were not possible to have with our old platform. I have a list in my drawer of the GPS coordinates of all of the public toilets in downtown Gothenburg, and now when we move to the new platform, we can actually make a service out of them. That was not possible before we knew how to locate the position of mobile devices, so it is a service that we hope to implement relatively soon (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

In the quotation above, the digital developer discusses his expectations for what GP would have accomplished within a year. He essentially envisioned that their idling at the station would come to an end, and that they would make progress with the mobile media train once again. The new mobile platform would make it possible to fulfil both old and new wishes. Importantly, he articulated words such as "wish-list" and "hope." After one year of idling at the station there were, perhaps naturally, long lists of developments they hoped to make. In a similar vein, the editorial developments chief articulated his expectations for 2010:

I want, think and hope that we will have got started with mobile services. We will pull the mobile apart from the web, so that the mobile is distinguished, so that we can look more and more into mobile-specific things. I hope that we will have started with personalisation and geographical positioning, because then we will have the conditions for it. I hope that we will have some kind of collaboration with others that can facilitate the development of apps, or whatever it is. I would not be able to paint you a picture of how mobile media will look, but I hope and think that we will have much higher quality than we have today (Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09).

The editorial developments chief, among others, hoped that GP would customise more developments for mobile media during 2010. He further argued that they would "make use of the mobile as a channel for interactivity." While he expected GP and MktMobil to make a great deal of progress, he recapitulated that "there will not be a revolution in one year, but we will hopefully have accomplished a number of improvements."[276] The mobile editor said: "the mobile news site today is rather simple. I hope that in the future, it will involve more functions."[277] There was, in other words, a perception that the uniqueness of the mobile news site would be developed through added functionality. The mobile editor also acknowledged that they could make more of their journalism for the mobile news site, but that it mostly involved making the most of the news content and services that could be repackaged from the news site. There were things that she and others wanted to present on the mobile news site, but which they either could not because of technological limitations, or hesitated to because they reasoned that not everything was intended to be redirected. The IT chief added:

> I hope that we will have an improved and more powerful browsing service. I think there will be somewhat of a fight between those who want to publish everything, and those who argue that we should take it easy, that we must get our money back first, before we give away new things (IT chief, 16.12.09).

There were, in other words, tensions between different positions regarding their approach to the mobile news site. Various creatives, suits and techies adopted different stances. Nevertheless, one conclusion to be drawn is that the media workers typically focused on their main mobile platform at the time, the mobile news site, although they also discussed potential mobile apps and their SMS services. They expected the development of more news flashes by SMS with their new MktMobil platform, but also the use of SMS for marketing communications and subscription errands.

Furthermore, the editor-in-chief added that GP would become better at using mobile devices in their editorial production processes, for searching for information as well as receiving information and images from the public.[278] In terms of hope, to some, mobile media

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[276] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.
[277] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[278] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09.

were coupled with a strong personal passion. For instance, the digital developer made his personal interest in mobile media very explicit:

> In my position, I am really convinced about mobile media, I truly am. I feel that I have worked with three projects this year. The redesign of gp.se that I have worked on a bit, the change of platform to MktWeb that I have worked with a lot, and the mobile that unfortunately I have worked with much less, but considered it the most fun to work with. I hope that after the end of the year, we will focus [on mobile media], as we now have the other things in place. But then it is really important that we have a discussion partner who really has the resources so that things actually take place (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

7.4.4. Conditions for mobile media development

> Even if we were to take a position on the front line, even if we were to develop products, both for utility sites and utility services, even managing to charge for some things, even if we were to find interactive solutions – I mean, there will probably never be a breakthrough for banners on mobiles or coupons you scan. I mean, even if we succeed with all of this, it will take long time before any substantial money comes from this (CEO, 11.12.09).

The CEO expressed a line of reasoning which was typical at the time. It came down to two things: first, a focus on (utility) services; and second, that limited revenues could be expected from mobile media in the short term. That is not to say that no revenues were expected at all, the CEO continued: "there are possible incomes, with some payment willingness and micro payments. But it will take time."[279] There were also several workers who anticipated that GP would make progress. Some argued that GP would have generated increasing revenues through mobiles,[280] which were perceived as important for legitimising their investment in mobiles. The digital developer believed that they would have developed good solutions for chargeable services, mostly via SMS and for utility services such as traffic information. He also believed that they would have developed business models whereby they partnered with advertisers to offer mobile users coupons for discounts on their merchandise or services.[281] Others suggested that they would have tested several different campaigns and business opportunities through the MktMobil platform.[282]

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[279] CEO, 11.12.09.
[280] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[281] Digital developer, 10.12.09.
[282] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.

They anticipated that GP would have realised a plan to establish a central sales office in Stockholm with a dozen salespeople from within the MktMedia network. At this office, there would be at least one salesperson dedicated to selling advertising space on mobiles.[283] One planned initiative for MktMobil involved assisting advertisers to establish themselves in the mobile media world.

> We have plans for MktMobil, in the sales interface, to build a self-service interface in which you can build your own mobile site as a customer. This means that if you come and purchase a mobile banner at our mobile news site, you must be able to link it somewhere. I mean, you only get a picture with a number of pixels on mobiles, which would not allow anything, just a logotype or a slogan. They need to be able to, in a simple way, make a site accessible with a logotype and some text, a simple campaign site. I believe that if we are to get up speed with mobiles we must provide this (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

The plan involved ensuring that advertisers could redirect their target groups of users to a mobile site. GP and MktMobil, in other words, sought to manipulate the environmental conditions in order to improve their opportunities to make a profit from mobile media. There were also additional initiatives that can be seen as GP's engagement in the manipulation of their environmental conditions. For instance, the CEO said: "we can direct income flows and collaboration as we are affecting the Swedish Media Publishers' Association and telecom operators. Stampen can collaborate with Bonnier and Schibsted in a rapidly growing market."[284] In other words, inter-organisational collaborations were occurring on both the newspaper group and industry levels.

Another initiative to improve conditions for business involved the development of a CRM database. This was anticipated to facilitate a better understanding of user patterns and needs, to enable personalised services, as well as to improve the conditions for marketing and propositions to advertisers. The market analysis chief was responsible for CRM at GP, and had started to collaborate with the MktMobil project leader in developing a CRM database. To her, 2010 was expected to be a year of trial and error in the area of mobile media opportunities.[285]

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[283] CEO, 11.12.09.
[284] CEO, 11.12.09.
[285] Market analysis chief, 18.12.09.

I am sure we will develop a number of fun things during the upcoming year. But it is not that we at GP can decide to do these things all by ourselves. I mean, once we have decided to do things here, then we will proceed to the development council at MktMedia, or as with mobiles right now, we will approach MktMobil, where decisions are made on priorities. If we buy the service, we can decide [the priorities] ourselves. If we have a bag of money and say that we want you to do this for us, then that is okay. But if we want them to use their budget to do it, then they will work for all the newspapers (in MktMedia), and then we have to pitch our ideas to the others as well. And for now, we are still in a recession, so I assume that we, as much as we can, will try to pitch our ideas so that we get others to finance our development. That is what everyone else will do as well, and then it will come down to a couple of questions that are so important that we (GP) say that we do not care if we have to pay for them ourselves, since they are so important to have anyway. But it will not be our first option, I do not think. Consequently, we are living in another reality nowadays (Digital developer, 10.12.09).

Ultimately, the digital developer stated that GP had become more or less dependent on MktMedia for their digital development. Their new reality was strikingly different from their old reality. This new reality would ultimately affect the outcome of their hopes. The collaboration with MktMobil was assumed to constitute an increasingly important asset in realising their ambitions for mobile media.[286] From the perspective of both the company board and MktMedia, it was stressed that GP had to become better at managing the products and services that they had developed. For instance, the MktMedia BD chief discussed the need for competence among editorial co-workers. She said that as the MktMobil platform was implemented, it was important that GP could manage and make use of it. This required people from all departments to collaborate in developing services for their end-users through the MktMobil platform.[287] In this context, the IT chief suggested "I do not believe that newspapers set aside sufficient resources and competence to really work with this. I think that is the really big problem."[288] In other words, cross-media news work requires the organisation of both development and maintenance management. The organisation of digital development was expected to play a crucial role in their future success with mobile media. Considering that, at the start of 2010, GP were planning to organise rapid

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[286] Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09; DDG chief, 15.12.09; Digital developer, 15.12.2009; Mobile editor, 03.03.09.
[287] MktMedia BD chief, 13.11.09.
[288] IT chief, 16.12.09.

and collaborative digital development, there were also high expectations for their forthcoming mobile media development.[289]

7.5. Conclusions

The discussion on the sensemaking of the situation and the prospects for mobile media has shown that the media workers generally interpreted the technological and financial conditions for users to be improving. To be precise, they sensed that the increasing diffusion of touch-screen devices with flat-rate pricing schemes was stimulating the rapid growth of the mobile media uptake. This reinforced their conviction that GP must develop their presence in the field of mobile media, which may eventually include the development of apps. They discussed a plethora of opportunities for developing their mobile media propositions, expressing a great deal of hope for the future. However, in 2009, they were not making the same kind of progress in the field of mobile media at GP as they had the year before. Although the business- and journalism-oriented efforts for mobile media at GP were limited, they had made much progress in terms of their technological development with the new MktMobil platform.

The area of mobile media was positioned in between the old and the new. The year before, the formative institutionalisation of mobile media had been organised through a inter-departmental project. However, there was no smooth integration from the new and fluid to the old and permanent, which contributed to a lack of clear responsibility for the development and maintenance of mobile media. From a general perspective, several media workers felt that their mobile media train came to an unexpected halt in 2009. After the rapid pace of the previous year, they were practically idling at the station because of the recession, the shift in technological systems, and the fact that they prioritised their development projects for print and online media. The tension between old and new was witnessed in their priorities. With the recession, not only GP but most other newspapers as well were perceived to have slowed their mobile media development in 2009. The old and profitable channels are evidently prioritised over the new and less profitable channels when resources are scarce for cross-media news work. At GP, creatives, suits and techies had to prioritise their resources, and consequently the print

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[289] Web department chief, 03.12.09; Editor-in-chief, 01.12.09; DDG chief, 15.12.09.

newspaper and the news site became the focal points. Sales staff focused on sales of print rather than mobile media, since both their company and their personal paycheck attracted the best figures that way. Ultimately, new media depend on old media before they become self-sustainable.

The interplay between old and new is inexorably linked to the performance of creatives, suits and techies. The media workers at GP, and particularly the suits, emphasised that they must expect revenues from new channels in which they explore and invest. Making profit from the new was important for the legitimacy and survival of emerging channels. The media workers all acknowledged that there were challenges inherent in achieving profits, a difficulty they emphasised that they shared with everyone in the industry. The media workers contributed to the pursuit of this goal in different ways. Creatives were expected to produce, repackage and edit news content and other relevant information that could be made accessible. The techies were expected to develop the mobile platform for a user-friendly experience, but also to assist in creating mobile-specific services. The suits were responsible for generating profits and promoting their mobile channels through marketing. It is worth noticing that among their activities for increasing profits was assisting advertisers in creating their own presence for mobile media. By providing potential advertisers with mobile sites, they manipulated environmental conditions (action-driven sensemaking). Obviously, the suits were dependent on the success of creatives and techies in generating user uptake. Conversely, creatives and suits depended on suits to make profits from their mobile media endeavours, thereby legitimising their efforts in exploring the new.

Their assessment of idling at the station obviously departed from a comparison to previous endeavours as well as the actions of other companies. As they valued their position in the field of mobile media compared to other newspapers, they emphasised the customisation of mobile logic(s), predominantly in terms of facilitating personalisation and positioning. Meanwhile, they also continued to urge the importance of manual editing. In this context, it is worth noticing that their formative and path-dependent analysis (2006-2007) and actions (2008) for mobile editing had become a reinforced criterion in their evaluation of mobile media positioning. Consequently, they also wanted to recapture lost technical functionalities and manual editing practices in the year to come.

In terms of the emphasis on journalism, the discussions were basically confined to mobile editing. Such practices were geared towards securing

the quality of the mobile news site, by having a journalistically trained human eye monitoring, repackaging and reshaping auto-directed content flows from the news site. Journalistic news values came into play when the mobile editor rearranged the order of articles, placing an article with presumed high news value above others. However, the pursuit of "complete and clean" quality journalism, for the most part, came down to the need to compensate for shortcomings in machine-led auto-direction. With the growing diffusion of touch-screen devices (iPhones) to selected employees, GP had started gearing towards the use of mobile devices in their work. While touch-screen devices were used only occasionally to report news, they had helped to refashion perspectives on approaches to mobile media, calling into question the sustainability of the mobile news site. It is worth noticing that they saw primarily traditional websites as having potential displacement effects, rather than mobile apps.

Meanwhile, some envisioned that GP would develop mobile apps in 2010. They would be mobilised in order to repossess lost ground, and to move forward with new developments. Technological solutions enabling utility services for users on the go were highlighted, in combination with manual editing. The development of practices for shaping mobile journalism and allowing participation was discussed less frequently. Machines deployed to enhance user experience by customising the repackaging of journalistic content or utility services were, in other words, more important than journalism or participation. The launch of the MktMobil platform was expected to facilitate such plans, which (alongside their plans for collaboration among creatives, suits and techies through the DDG) sparked hope about their future progression. These efforts aimed to arm them for a forthcoming supercharged mobile media train ride from 2010 onwards. They envisioned taking the role of the MktMedia locomotive, led by the creatives, suits and techies of the DDG. They believed that mobile media were still in a relatively early phase, and that there were benefits to be gained if they moved forward rapidly, defining mobile media for inclusion in their cross-media news work.

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REPOSSESSING THE MOBILE MEDIA LOCOMOTIVE (2010)

Over the years, the mobile media train has both progressed and idled at the train station. Importantly, in 2009, the media workers expressed high expectations for the progress of the mobile media train by 2010, if the recession faded. In 2010, the Swedish economy boomed, and the media workers not only recovered lost ground, but also organised and executed relatively substantial progress with their mobile media development. Their organisation through the DDG underwent some transformations over this period, regarding the interplay between creatives, suits and techies. In terms of sensemaking, 2010 was characterised as a year of optimism and change, during which they felt that they recaptured their function as the locomotive of the mobile media train. Their development of an iPhone app, led by the DDG, contributed significantly to that feeling.

8.1. Organising mobile media development

> This is an ad-hoc enterprise and the lead times are becoming shorter and shorter. But I think that, in the upcoming year, we will have tested numerous products that we hope to charge for, and hopefully we will have found a number of killer apps, that will continue to exist and that we can invest in. We have probably terminated numerous things that turned out to be nothing […]. It is commonly and beautifully said that one must adapt to change. In our enterprise, I think that it is absolutely necessary. If you do not dare to kill your darlings, one will lag behind. One cannot be nostalgic (Digital developer, 07.09.10).

In other words, the digital developer felt that the pace of change had increased and that they had to conform to this by experimenting, that is, by continuously enacting and making sense of new opportunities. In a similar vein, the editor-in-chief explained:

> Since it is incredibly complex and so many things are happening, then you cannot embrace an issue entirely, investigating it until you know what you should do.

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> That is not taking place nowadays; you can only grasp parts of reality, and you can only partially know how to go forward. I think it is for the best that we use the trial and error method, because we have said for a long time that it is something we want to do (Editor-in-chief, 05.10.10).

The editor-in-chief stated that he and others felt that they had to dare to make developments through trial and error, rather than extensive analysis, if they were to succeed with rapid development. There was a conception that GP had to adapt to the rapidly progressing mobile media train, and they mobilised such work through the DDG. This was set in motion formally at the start of 2010, and constituted a new arena in which creatives, suits and techies could collaborate for rapid development for digital and mobile media. The web department chief claimed that their re-organisation was a consequence of transforming and increasing environmental demands, which required rapid and continuous development.[290] The new CEO, formerly appointed as the marketing director, argued that the company board was striving for "collaboration for a unified GP," particularly between creatives and suits:

> Processes are supposed to be just as important for the commercial as for the editorial, and therefore we should progress by joining hands over as many questions as possible, and that will be the majority of questions (CEO, 20.09.20).

The symbol of joining hands signified that creatives and suits were going to travel development paths together. The marketing director felt that the boundaries between creatives and suits had been broken down for digital channels, but were still relatively pronounced when it came to print media. He asserted that, at some point in time, they would improve their collaboration in that area. He reasoned that the notion of journalistic trustworthiness had been counterproductive for collaboration between departments.[291] The chief of marketing stated that "investigative journalists" and "old journalists" in particular held the incorrect belief that suits were willing to make profits while risking the journalistic credibility of GP. On the contrary, she argued, the suits were very keen to maintain GP's credibility: "they do not realise that credibility is what makes it possible for us to charge a lot more for the same number of

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[290] Web department chief, 01.10.10.
[291] Editorial developments chief, 06.09.10.

customer contacts than others can."[292] She explained that their journalistic content was a prerequisite for success, and that this enabled creatives and suits to collaborate. The suits were dependent on the creatives when they wanted to develop new products or services:

> Without the willingness of the editorial department to participate, there will not be any progress at all. We cannot manage to drive things if we do not include our traditional content, because then it is not GP in some sense. They have the power to say no, and then we will not make much of an impact with the product (Chief of marketing, 29.09.10).

The DDG aimed to facilitate collaboration between creatives, suits and techies. It also came to represent GP in their collaboration with other companies, such as MktMedia. The DDG transformed significantly throughout the year, in terms of participation and financial conditions, and the various forms were therefore labelled as DDG 1.0 and DDG 2.0 by the media workers.[293] The two phases are described in the next section.

8.1.1 From DDG 1.0 to DDG 2.0

The first phase lasted from January to September 2010. GP had planned to enforce a minituarised form of duality management, appointing both a creative and a suit as chiefs of the DDG. However, when the DDG was set in motion in January, only the creatives appointed a representative. The suits experienced unanticipated change, as the representative they had planned to appoint announced that he had accepted a job offer at another company. This was significantly important to the organisation of the DDG in phase 1.0. Continuous discussions were held on alternative suits who could be appointed to the position, but ultimately no one was appointed during this phase. Furthermore, the DDG was supposed to involve a mixture of creatives, suits and techies, but during the first phase, few suits were present. Apart from the absent chief representative, another intended representative of the suits went on parental leave during the spring, with the result that there were only two remaining suits present in the DDG. The DDG chief explained: "at first we lacked relevant individuals, who we were waiting for, then people resigned and

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[292] Chief of marketing 29.09.10.
[293] DDG chief, 04.10.10.

we had to recruit new people to keep it alive."[294] In other words, obstacles occurred with staffing.

While most of the DDG members continued to be based physically in their respective departments, two of the techies' offices were transferred to the editorial department, adjacent to the office of the DDG chief. In addition to facilitating communication and collaboration in their everyday work practices, the re-allocation of these techies (the digital designer and the digital developer) to the editorial department was intended to strengthen their symbolic status.[295] In conclusion, while the aim was to improve collaboration in general, the alliance between creatives and techies in particular was strengthened.

In phase 1.0, the DDG representatives continued to have their chiefs in their respective departments, which meant that the DDG was not in charge of its members. Consequently, there were limitations to opportunities for the DDG to decide on what to prioritise. Another limitation was that the DDG was not provided with a budget for its development work. The combination of these two factors ultimately meant that the DDG was dependent on the boards to allocate financial and human resources for the developments they wished to carry out. However, at the start of 2010, GP also initiated a project with its own budget, called 100 new (i.e. million SEK in revenues), which focused on business developments for cross-media news work. At the time, there was confusion among media workers about the intended functions of these two projects. For instance, the digital developer stated: "they started looking at the same ideas that we had been looking at for several years, but they had better financing, a lot of money, and it was managed outside of the DDG."[296] He explained that the DDG members were disturbed by the way in which resources were being used, and therefore signalled to the company board that they needed to change their organisation. The editor-in-chief and CEO recalled that the company board members did not foresee such problems with these two projects.[297] The bottom line was that the DDG in phase 1.0 could not fulfil its ambitions for rapid and collaborative digital development.

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[294] DDG chief, 07.09.10
[295] DDG chief, 04.10.10; Digital designer, 04.10.10; Digital developer, 04.10.10.
[296] Digital developer, 07.09.10.
[297] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10; CEO, 20.09.10.

On the 21ˢᵗ of September 2010, it was announced to all staff at GP that a new DDG was to be set in motion. With the organisation of the new DDG, they strived for a clearer division of responsibility and improved autonomy. The DDG 2.0 did not enforce a minituarised form of duality management; instead, the editorial chief from DDG 1.0 was appointed as a permanent chief of the entire group. He was appointed because he had previously led development projects in the company, in which he had managed to gain support from media workers from all corners of the organisation. The IT chief stated that it was worth noticing that "he came from the editorial department, but he was also embraced by the business department. That is not very easy to accomplish in an organisation like this" (IT chief, 29.09.10). This indicated the long-standing tensions in duality management, and the new change which took place with the perceived positive reception of the new chief. On the other hand, it also signifies that the creatives were put at the frontier of digital development. The market analysis chief, who had previously managed the parallel business development project (100 new), was appointed as the DDG vice-chief. Furthermore, the DDG 2.0 was allocated a budget of its own, which meant that the DDG chief reported directly to the CEO on the group's financial performance. It was the first time in the history of the company that a creative was responsible for profits, reporting directly to the CEO.[298] There was an increasing mix of representatives, which was sensed as being important for the organisation of rapid and collaborative development. The editor-in-chief stated:

> In the DDG, we really have all the competencies that are needed; editorial competence, business competence, technological competence, including design and functionality competence through the digital designer. We have created a much better organisation today (Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10).

In terms of collaboration with MktMedia, the DDG was involved with representatives of its various projects. As regards the MktMobil project, the digital developer represented GP in their project meetings which focused on more general lines of development, while the digital designer and system developer represented GP in more practical work.

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[298] DDG chief, 04.10.10.

8.1.2 Making sense of centralised digital development

While the DDG 2.0 was perceived to provide improved means for rapid digital development, through collaboration with MktMedia, the media workers also noted that there were disadvantages of this centralisation. Following the transition and integration into MktWeb and MktMobil by the end of 2009, GP had centralised nearly all of their digital developments. This was seen to be counterproductive to their operative work and their goal of rapid development.

> We cannot invest resources from GP, and neither can we do much ourselves since MktMobil must make the developments, and this is not their first priority. They have hundreds of things to do (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

The web department chief stated that GP had less control over the processes and priorities relating to digital development since they enforced central management. The system developer argued that simple matters had become more difficult. He said that while he had previously been allowed to make developments or fix bugs in their system, he now had to compile specification lists for other system developers at MktMedia stating what he wanted to be done. He said that he often spent the same amount of time making these specifications as he would have done performing the intended changes himself. He was dissatisfied that they had to wait until MktMedia prioritised the desired changes, and that people had started to realise that IT was creating a bottleneck in their work with digital media, especially for operative maintenance work.[299]

In conclusion, when some media workers discussed the disadvantages of centralisation, they legitimised their earlier wait at the station. From this discussion, it was clear that they believed that GP had idled at the train station during the previous year because of the bureaucracy inherent in the centralisation of digital development. Throughout 2010, the media workers learnt from what they had done in the first phase, extracting cues on what could be performed better, which resulted in the calibration of phase 2.0 of the DDG. Previous sensemaking of the structure, based on mimicry of other newspapers, came to the fore as they formed the DDG.

It is worth recalling that the editorial developments chief stated in 2008 that he and some of the editorial board members had paid a visit to

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[299] System developer, 29.09.10.

a Norwegian newspaper called Aftonposten. Based on that visit, he had envisioned a promising opportunity for their organisation. He then argued that GP should ideally form a permanent group which would be responsible for digital development, provide it with a budget and operational mandate, and appoint a creative. At the time, he emphasised that their organisation had to mature and that he and his counterpart had to leave the organisation first. In the autumn of 2010, his then counterpart in the business department had long since (February 2010) left GP for a job with MktMedia. He himself had announced that he was to resign within six months. The conditions he had sensed necessary were in other words in place, paving the way for a self-fulfilling prophecy.

8.2. Facilitating mobile media development

The mobile news site became neglected during our entire redesign for the new Polopoly (an editorial CMS). It was launched in September 2009, and there were several functions that we had earlier that were lost. Since then, we have had discussions about it, but nothing has happened with mobile media because our focus has primarily concerned the bugs with Polopoly for our news site. Therefore, to put it simply, just about all of our focus has been on the app, so in terms of making developments I would say that nothing has happened with the mobile news site during this year [2010], and that all our wishes on the priority list remain (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

Throughout 2010, GP were developing their mobile media in order to get back on track. In 2009, they stressed that they would regain the functionality they had lost on the mobile news site, so that they could begin again with their mobile editing. However, this was not the area they chose to prioritise for development in 2010. Their work throughout the year, and particularly during the first six months, was instead predominantly occupied with developing their first iPhone app. This process is only briefly introduced here, since it will be discussed thoroughly in chapter 10. In 2010, GP essentially focused their forces on app development, as the creatives, suits and techies all agreed that mobile apps had become important to their cross-media news work. GP hoped to become more conveniently accessible to iPhone users, and a GP app was expected to enhance their brand image. They worked relatively intensively throughout the spring to create their first iPhone app, through collaboration with MktMobil. The app was launched in June and primarily

gave access to news content and some additional location-based and personalised functionalities, free of charge.[300]

> From my perspective, it was assumed that we would start with some kind of basic app, and that is what we have done now. We have started with a news app for GP. Then we will develop more apps that are more specialised. And it was in that direction that the consultancy firm was thinking […]. I think that, in this case, we did the right thing in starting with the basics […]. One must always keep in mind what GP is on a fundamental level, and that is a news provider, and that is what one must build on as a kind of basic platform. Thereafter, one can do other things as additions that are something extra and that have finesse […]. All of our experiences in making developments for print media, for the news site, for the mobile news site, show that the key to our user traffic is reports on local news (Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10).

The editor-in-chief, who was ultimately responsible for the content published by GP via all of its channels, emphasised the importance of prioritising the production of their own news content, and particularly local news. In other words, as the boundaries of the app were defined, he suggested that they should embrace the new distribution platform by relying on their old and familiar approach of being a producer of news content. During the autumn, the DDG continued to work on developments for their iPhone app, in order to launch an upgraded app with fee-based content by December.[301] They launched their upgraded iPhone app immediately before Christmas in 2010, but there was no chargeable content. The upgrade instead involved new features such as visible comments from (prod-)users (their third version of the iPhone app, with some charged content, was launched in May 2011).

In terms of further mobile app developments during 2010, two additional apps were developed and launched. The making of these apps was characterised by other types of process. During the summer, at around the same time as they launched their basic news app for the iPhone, another app was launched by the suits. They had collaborated with a consultancy firm in sponsoring a sailing event, which meant that the practical development work was managed by the suits.[302] During the autumn, an app for Symbian (the Nokia operating system at the time) was also launched. The practical work of developing the app was performed

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[300] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10; Digital developer, 07.09.10; DDG chief, 04.10.10; Digital designer, 13.09.10.
[301] Digital developer 07.12.10.
[302] Brand chief, 04.10.10; Market department chief, 29.09.10.

by people employed by Nokia. They were working to involve and develop apps for newspapers and other sorts of content creation companies, in order to stimulate growth in their Symbian app store. In relation to their work with mobile devices and the creation of apps, the media workers at GP also focused on the sensemaking of the conditions for tablets. During 2010, they adapted their news site to be compatible with iPads, and also discussed the advantages and disadvantages of creating apps for iPads and other tablets.[303] One conclusion is that during 2010, GP accommodated several additional channels in their cross-media news work.

During 2010, GP also developed a mobile-based loyalty card. Previously, they had only made use of a loyalty card made out of plastic, which was sent to every household which subscribed to the print newspaper. With the mobile loyalty card, subscribers were offered an individual loyalty card, which gave them access to promotions for activities, restaurants etc. The mobile loyalty card was a permalink (URL) to their mobile news site, which users could easily display to different companies when they made use of promotions. The mobile loyalty card was developed with the specialist in CRM at GP, in collaboration with MktMobil.[304] This was one of the products resulting from their work relating to building a better technological infrastructure and CRM system, as envisioned in 2008 and 2009.

Throughout 2010, GP also worked with different services coupled with their MktMobil platform. However, the platform offered far more services than were currently in use.[305] The digital developer stated that "we cannot approach every situation by saying that we must develop new technology. Now we must allocate staff to make use of it."[306] It came down to the fact that they had structured their digital development process, but not how to integrate their new digital services and channels within their organisation and into their everyday work. An important problem concerned the fact that the developments in MktMedia and MktMobil were supposed to serve the interests of the newspapers in the network, but some of these developments were in fact used by very few companies. The digital developer believed that GP and other newspapers would benefit from a better dialogue with MktMedia about their needs in order to make better

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[303] Digital developer, 04.10.10; DDG chief, 104.10.10, Digital designer, 13.09.10.
[304] Market analysis chief, 20.09.10; Digital developer, 07.09.10.
[305] Digital developer, 07.09.10; Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.
[306] Digital developer, 07.09.10.

use of MktMedia as a centralised development resource. He said: "it is fairly difficult to sit at the centre and drop things into the lap of a group of newspapers and believe that they will just take them." He reasoned that different newspapers are preoccupied with different agendas and that centralised digital developments should match these agendas.[307] Considering that the MktMedia network comprises the various priorities and interests of almost 50 different newspapers, it was anticipated that GP would benefit from becoming the mobile media locomotive within MktMedia, and defining their priorities.

In terms of their operative work in 2010, GP continued to operate their mobile news site and SMS news flashes. The SMS news flashes continued to be managed manually by the web department creatives, who compiled and published news on extraordinary events. The SMS news flashes had not been heavily marketed in 2010, and the number of subscribers had deteriorated, but was still regarded as important:

> This thing with SMS news flashes is something to which we are very sensitive, where we act directly if TT [news bureau] sends out [a message], if there is a big thing. I think there have been only a few things that we have missed. It is almost always us that come to the chiefs and ask whether we should flash on this, before they have even had time to notice that something has happened (Mobile editor, 25.11.10).

The publishing of SMS news flashes represented the tailoring of journalism to mobile media. The mobile news site, on the other hand, was, for the most part, a machine-led and auto-directed mirror of the news site. The new editorial CMS had limited functionality for manual editing, and they had not developed this system, but rather prioritised the development of apps. Consequently, hardly any editing of the mobile news site took place.

> My opinion is that we have had a rather extensive lay-off with regard to our mobile news site. First, during 2009, there was a big lay-off because then we focused all of our forces, all of our development resources, primarily on the technical side and the redesign of the news site. And then, when we were about to re-approach the mobile news site, and achieve some pace for it, then we decided to prioritise nothing but the creation of an iPhone app, that this was the most important thing of all. The consequence has been that the user traffic development for our mobile news site has, and what is the chicken and what is

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the egg here we do not know, in fact stagnated, and the app has skyrocketed (Managing editor, 14.09.10).

The managing editor discussed some of the typical reasons why media workers suggested that GP had not prioritised the mobile news site during 2009 and 2010. The bottom line was that the mobile news site, which previously was seen as an increasingly important channel, had become downgraded in favour of the iPhone app. In 2010, they continued to justify the lack of attention to the mobile news site, suggesting that the app was more important. That choice was seen as legitimate as the app had "skyrocketed," particularly in relation to the stagnant mobile news site. The fact that the evolution of user traffic for the app exceeded expectations, while the mobile news site attracted very few users, lent support to this decision. Importantly, however, by focusing their development on the app rather than the mobile news site, they actively participated in constructing the success of the app and the failure of the mobile news site. They enacted new environmental conditions, and the cues extracted were in favour of mobile apps.

So was anything done for the mobile news site? The mobile editor, the digital developer, the web department chief and the system developer had a meeting in February 2010 in which they discussed ways to get the mobile news site back on track. They then discussed a number of important priorities if they were to recover losses and achieve a high-quality mobile news site once again. However, practically none of the priorities on their wish list were granted for another six months, as the DDG prioritised the development of an iPhone app.[308] In late September, they arranged another meeting with the intention of re-igniting the mobile news site, and identifying what they could do to accomplish this. Following that meeting, they recovered some losses and made some improvements to the mobile news site,[309] but this did not, however, result in much more manual editing.[310] The mobile editor and the other media workers at the web department had edited less and less material for the mobile news site since September 2009 and their transition to the MktWeb platform.

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[308] Web department chief, 01.10.10.
[309] Web department chief, 01.10.10; Digital developer, 07.09.10; Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.
[310] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.

The repurposing of content had, in other words, once again come to rely heavily on machine-enabled auto-direction, and journalists had adapted their practices to the conditions that had emerged. However, there was a marked difference to how they approached journalism for their digital channels, characterised by higher sensitivity to the fact that mobiles formed a part of cross-media news work. The journalists in the web department had started to edit and publish content for their news site in ways which considered the opportunities and restrictions of their machines for repurposing to the mobile news site.

> Managing the mobile news site is now about considering how one manages the news site. There have been some absurd events sometimes, for instance, a major news event has unfolded and we have added and updated more and more text, making packages and so forth. Then, during the afternoon, we get a video from web TV, which we want to put on top of the news site because it is new. Then it is not visible on the mobile news site, it is visible in the mobile TV section but not among the top news, and neither is the content of all the different packages visible. The only thing you see is a standard article. So what should we do then? It has come down to a rule that when we do such things for the news site, we must make the main article a standard article, only because then it becomes visible on the mobile news site. Then at least this news article becomes accessible with a mobile. Otherwise, we could build good packages for the news site, but not a single article would be retrievable with a mobile. But there is nothing that we manually edit for the mobile, we make sure it becomes accessible by our ways of managing the website (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

In conclusion, the interplay between humans and machines in publishing news for the mobile news site was changing. Rather than having one dedicated mobile editor refashioning previously published content for the mobile site, they sought to make everyone aware of both web-based and mobile media in their work. Essentially, this meant that they had to be aware of the limitations of the systems enabling auto-direction in their cross-media news work. This signifies practices in which humans design content to be neutral and published for different distribution channels. This shows that the old (news site) was approached and managed in ways that functioned with the new (mobile news site).

A final area of GP's work with mobile media in 2010 involved initiatives which were intended to support creatives (both journalists and photographers) in making use of mobile devices in their journalistic practices. All journalists in the web department were provided with

iPhones that they could use for reporting from the field. The practice of using the mobile as a tool for producing journalism emerged without a policy decision. The managing editor stated: "I do not think that we will create a policy, but rather try to let the creativity flow – that I believe is the best way."[311] The journalists working with web TV had started to use iPhones occasionally. Some of the other journalists were using them for blogging and accessing Twitter. Then, during extraordinary events, journalists used them as one of the primary means of reporting from the field.[312] For instance, the mobile editor used her iPhone when moblogging (mobile blogging) from the marriage of the Swedish princess and her husband in June 2010. However, she explained that the journalists in the web department typically worked from their desks, and made little use of smartphones in their daily work.[313] In other words, the journalists who were most involved in cross-media news work practices made little use of mobile devices in their work, as they seldom reported from the field.

With regard to iPhones, the app that GP launched in June 2010 had resulted in some new tasks for the web department. They had become responsible for the daily control of the user-generated content they gained from their mobile users. This involved making evaluations of possible user-generated reviews or comments on local restaurants. It also involved reviewing the photos people had uploaded, as well as their associated likes and dislikes. The mobile editor, however, stressed that there was not much work to speak of with regard to these tasks, as their users were rather passive in making contributions.[314]

8.3. Sensemaking of the situation in 2010

> We must participate to see what is happening. We do not see this [mobile media] from a short- or even mid-term perspective, and it may not generate more users or advertising money, but it is important to be there to understand what is happening, because it helps us to form knowledge and competencies that help us to evaluate how to proceed (Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10).

The editor-in-chief, among others, continued to argue that it was important for GP to make continuous developments for mobile media.

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[311] Managing editor, 14.09.10.
[312] Web department chief, 01.10.10.
[313] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.
[314] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.

They pursued a trial and error approach in order to explore and prepare for the uncertain future. He and other media workers continued to construct mobile media as being increasingly important, suggesting that there had been a breakthrough in the uptake of mobile media.

> It has to do with the payment plans, namely that users today can browse at a flat-rate price. Whether this is the chicken or the egg is difficult to determine, but it has changed behaviour. People get more interested and want to use their mobile more, they get much better opportunities and it becomes cheaper. Those aspects, but also the fact that mobile services are being developed and are becoming much more fun to use, like with personalisation and positioning (Editor-in-chief, 05.10.10).

Considering the aforementioned conditions, as well as the personal and ubiquitous characteristics of mobile devices, the editor-in-chief insisted that media workers saw their potential. He also reasoned: "we always strive to create a relationship with our readers and users, and the mobile device is really important to accomplish that."[315] The general perception among the creatives, suits and techies in 2010 was that the usability and user-friendliness of touch-screen devices, coupled with the widespread availability of flat-rate pricing models, had paved the way for a broader uptake of access to news and Internet browsing with mobile devices.

The importance and improvement of these conditions had clearly been envisioned in previous years, as was also the case with the growing impact and uptake of mobile media. In the interviews conducted in 2010, the workers were asked to reflect on how their assessment in 2010 compared to their assessments in 2008 and 2009. The answers varied. Some could not make such assessments, as they did not recall the specifics of their previous interpretations, but felt assured that they had become more positively inclined towards the importance of mobile media over the years. Others recalled, and articulated, distinct differences between their interpretations. For instance, the digital designer stressed that she had become more and more convinced that they should make content in one way, and then auto-direct it to all of their different mobile channels.[316] Furthermore, the web department chief argued that they felt increased

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[315] Editor-in-chief, 05.10.10.
[316] Digital designer, 13.09.10.

pressure to develop a strong mobile media presence, as their competitors were advancing and there was a growing uptake by users.[317]

To assess changes in sensemaking is obviously challenging. The fact that some people found it difficult to articulate retrospectively how they had made sense of changes one to two years earlier is a key finding. Another key finding is that the workers felt that they had become increasingly reassured about the importance of mobile media. For instance, we can recall that the digital developer in 2008, when discussing mobile developments, said "we do not know what will happen, but I am sure that it will happen."[318] In 2010, he said:

> I believe strongly in mobiles, I think they are really fun to work with, with future-oriented issues […]. Already, five or six years ago we lectured the company board on the fact that mobiles were going to become more important than the computer in the long run, which I still believe (Digital developer, 07.09.10).

The digital developer insisted that he had always been convinced that the mobile device was going to develop into a significant news channel. This feeling had been reinforced during 2010 with the success of the iPhone app.[319] Their journey on the mobile media train in the years following 2008 had involved both expected and unexpected stops and detours. He continued to discuss various issues of which GP were making sense:

> We have recently realised that it is not sufficient to deliver a really good mobile news site – you must also come down to offering an app for those who have an iPhone because then you have an effect there. And now we must perhaps offer an app for those who use Android as well, and we must perhaps offer a good widget for those who have Symbian phones. Then there are those who say that all companies will go over to Windows 7 since Microsoft are making heavy investments in mobile media right now. It will be the first generation of mobiles one can really work with, where you get the entire office suite to be used with your mobile. And then there is suddenly another platform we are to work with for mobiles […]. The dream scenario would be if we only needed one simple thing, and then it was either good or bad, but we must do a number of different things here […]. I think that we must continuously develop our products, in parallel with the behaviour of users and technological developments (Digital developer, 07.09.10).

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[317] Web department chief, 01.10.10.
[318] Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[319] Digital developer, 07.09.10.

A key area of importance for their sensemaking in 2010 was that of mobile apps. This involved changes to the conditions for developing and operating services and news for mobiles. There was a strong orientation towards accessibility for various mobile channels which correlated with user uptake. The digital developer made it clear that although GP continuously added new channels to their cross-media news work, this was far from a "dream scenario," as it increased the complexity of their work with mobile media. At the time, there was a strong focus on the potential uptake of mobile apps. These were considered to have a potential displacement effect on their mobile news site. The digital analyst suggested that:

> If we see that people who have mobile devices download apps more often, and then make a projection based on this that shows that in two years, 80 percent [of people] will have them, then it is probably the thing one should go in for. I mean, we must follow technology (Digital analyst, 23.09.10).

While the digital analyst stressed that she was speculating on these trends, she also emphasised that it was an important area to analyse more closely. Evidently, their analysis pointed towards a transition from mobile news sites to mobile apps. In a similar vein, there were indications of a transition from seeing users as users, to approaching them as produsers.

8.3.1. Mobile (prod-)users

> I believe that there will be, and this is my personal guess, but there are others who make similar guesses, namely that the coming generation will demand to participate in a totally different way, otherwise they will not consume us, so to speak […]. I think that there are many who feel like this, but we are not doing much about it. It is a difficult issue, also from a journalistic perspective – on whose behalf and under what conditions are we operating this newspaper? Are the people in Gothenburg supposed to read exactly what they want, or should we decide that? How much should one do in terms of flirting with the public in order to make profits? That is a really big issue, on which there are fairly divided opinions in this organisation. If you ask someone in the sales department they will say "as much as is needed, because otherwise we will not be able to sell anything in a couple of years." If you ask a journalist they will say "no, no, no, the public do not have the knowledge to know what they want, so we must tell them." These are the two opposite poles (Chief of marketing, 29.09.10).

The chief of marketing addressed key differences in how their (prod-)users were constructed by creatives and suits, and the degree to which GP would design their content in order to please them. While others shared her view, there were also those with opinions between these poles. Many of the interpretations of the transforming mobile media conditions related to the media workers' perceptions of users. They sought to keep track of contemporary changes from a user perspective in order to understand their behaviour. By being informed, they assumed that they would be able to develop content and services that would leverage the user uptake. They pursued customised developments for users. Since they wanted to avoid intruding on their personal sphere, they targeted a balance between the level of customisation and exploring services that could open up revenue streams. They analysed different types of measurements of user behaviour, such as data traffic reports from their app and mobile news site. The system developer stressed that they had to improve their ways of measuring users.[320] The media workers generally argued that access to mobile news had gained traction as more people wanted ubiquitous access. For instance, the digital designer argued that mobile devices were used "everywhere," in both old and new contexts, and both at home and on the go.[321]

While becoming omnipresent for ubiquitous users was one important dimension, another concerned whether these people were constructed as users or produsers. There were various interpretations among the media workers. One position, derived from experiences with the news site (the old), was that users would contribute very little, and that the content would be of insufficient quality. Others anticipated that enabling for increased participation would be both adopted and appreciated. The chief of marketing previously made it clear that approaches to users in this sense differed between creatives and suits. This related to whether creatives and suits were willing to give them what they want, but also conclusions on the (un-)willingness to participate:

> Everyone says that they want to participate, but they are not doing it. It comes down to the fact that what you say and do are different matters […]. They demand to participate, but then they do not have time because they are too busy. So this also relates to an issue of the users maturing. There are some people screaming loudly that they demand to participate, but the majority are

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[320] System developer, 29.09.10.
[321] Digital designer, 13.09.10.

not interested in doing so, if you look at the volumes. They want to be fed by
someone who has filtered [the news] (Chief of marketing, 29.09.10).

In 2010, GP did not have much functionality on their mobile channels
that allowed their users to undertake an active and participatory approach.
For numerous years, they had facilitated interactivity by allowing users to
give their opinion on events in the news through SMS, MMS and voice
calls. Their mobile news site, on the other hand, did not allow any user
participation whatsoever. Some media workers felt that GP should enable
more user participation in their mobile news site. The web department
chief made it clear that her opinion was that they should integrate some
basic interactivity functionality into their mobile news site. First and
foremost, she argued that they should "make visible what others have
commented," but also that "one should of course be able to write a
comment, so that we get that type of interactivity for mobiles."[322]

With their development of an iPhone app, on the other hand, GP had
made some user-created content and functionalities accessible, which was
the outcome of negotiations among creatives, suits and techies as they
positioned the app with regard to the tension between producers and
users (chapter ten analyses thoroughly how this tension came into play in
the sensemaking process). For now, we can acknowledge that GP,
through two functions of their iPhone app, took another step towards
produsage. First, they allowed iPhone app users to access other users'
reviews of local restaurants (but not to write reviews themselves). Second,
they created a section in which users were encouraged to give their
opinion on everyday things in Gothenburg. A user could upload a photo
and comment on a particular site or event, and then other users were
encouraged to "like" or "dislike" their contribution. Importantly, these
forms of participation did not involve what is commonly referred to as
participatory or citizen journalism, but instead featured utility services and
entertainment-oriented content. As they made sense of the terms for
involving users as produsers for their mobile channels, the media workers
referred to their experiences with old media. The editor-in-chief discussed
the position of the editorial department:

> All the experience that we have by now with users making different types of
> contribution is definitely not as easy as one may believe. It requires resources to

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[322] Web department chief, 01.10.10.

edit, package and control this. I mean, there are numerous examples, such as the attempt by Metro, with sites where citizens are supposed to write and such, that have not worked, and that have been terminated. That is the conclusion everyone reaches […]. If we let users contribute, they would probably think about dramatic events, car crashes, different types of accident, fires. We get a large stream of pictures and text about such events. It would require a large amount of surveillance on our part to ensure that the pictures adhere to our principal ethical rules, that people are not hurt by the journalism created here. So this, to a large degree, concerns practical matters (Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10).

The editor-in-chief mentioned a number of challenges that relate to how citizen journalism creates ethical problems. The bottom line was that not all citizens could be expected to upload publishable text and pictures, which would require GP to have journalists to scrutinise the content before publishing it. In other words, journalism by journalists was seen as negatively distinguished from citizen journalism, and GP were, at the time, unwilling to invest the resources needed to ensure the necessary level of quality and ethics for their mobile news channels.

8.3.2. Increased pressure to profit from mobile media

People believe that the willingness to pay is higher for mobiles than for the web. It has to do with having simple payment models, of course. But one has to try, I believe that the only way is to try. I mean, there are endless numbers of analyses on this, but I think that the only way is to try different things, and not to try too many things at once, but to choose, so that you can focus. Now we are testing this, and yes it is working well, how may we develop it more? Or no, it is not working, should we calibrate it and do it another way? (Managing editor, 14.09.10).

In 2010, GP were not yet making significant profits from mobile media, but had ambitions to explore various opportunities. From 2008 to 2010, mobile media development was carried out in order to generate new revenue streams in the long term, while maintaining low expectations for revenues in the short term. The managing editor continued: "we need to be anchored in reality, asking ourselves where the money is. We must make profits from these channels."[323] As they had been investing in mobile media for some time, there were increased demands on its profitability. A prerequisite was that the suits became involved in the

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[323] Managing editor, 14.09.10.

development of mobile business. In 2010, the suits had not carried out any projects dedicated to mobile business.

> I have experienced an extremely limited interest from the business department when it comes to thinking about mobile advertisements. Non-existent […]. I think it is a tradition, because there was also a fairly limited interest and pace for our advertisement revenues for the web as well. I think it is about tradition – we lack that tradition (Managing editor, 14.09.10).

The managing editor felt that the managers of the editorial department had explicitly blazoned the importance of developing their digital channels since the turn of the century, while little had been done in the business department to communicate their importance. Consequently, it was not traditional among the suits to focus on new and digital media. As previously discussed, their salary was based on a piece rate system that stimulated sales for print rather than digital media. The editorial developments chief also stressed that the creatives had driven change for mobile media, but that it had been hampered by the suits, as they had not developed profits from this channel. He made it clear that this was an enormous challenge to manage, and that he felt that the suits had performed in line what one could expect:

> You could illustrate in numbers that this was the most commonly read page, but it was still really difficult to sell advertisements, since the customers were so difficult to convince to try something new. They wanted to take what was old, familiar and secure. I remember how incredibly difficult it was to sell advertisements for the web. Partly because the market was really slow, partly it was because this industry has a commission system that does not favour new things. It was not lucrative for sales staff to sell for the web. Eventually, it started moving, but then we had a recession that forced us to fire that type of competence and it is exactly the same thing with mobiles. It has always been completely hopeless to sell for mobiles (Editorial developments chief, 06.09.10).

The conditions for profiting from mobile advertisements were evidently seen as poor. One conclusion is that both advertisers and sales staff were oriented towards the "old, familiar and secure," while the new was less certain and profitable. Experiences of the old (web) formed cues for sensemaking of the new, as conditions were perceived to be "exactly the same." As it took time to profit from the web, expectations for mobile media business were framed in a similar way. While GP were benefiting from subscriptions to their print newspapers, it was seen as more

challenging to charge users for content on news sites and on their mobiles. The digital analyst, who was in charge of analyses of usage patterns with digital channels among the suits, reasoned:

> I believe it is generally difficult for GP, since we are a regional actor, and therefore I think there are difficulties in making profits. I believe it will be difficult if we do not collaborate with others, or expand our collaboration among the [newspaper] groups […]. There will be problems with the willingness to pay, which I believe is really difficult. I mean, we are not a national or global site. I mean, when a couple of percent of Aftonbladet users pay, they will actually make money, but if we get a couple of percent to pay, we will not make any money, really. The problem is that we are not large enough (Digital analyst, 23.09.10).

Charging users was difficult, and with a relatively small user base, there were limited expectations for profits to be made from business-to-consumer activities for mobile media. There were, however, also those who argued that the conditions for making revenues had improved significantly by 2010. The editor-in-chief expected mobile media to make important contributions: "one of the biggest challenges we have is to increase our digital revenues, and I am convinced that mobiles are a key area for achieving this."[324] The system developer argued that GP had particularly good opportunities to make profits from users of Android apps, who would begin to form a larger market. He argued that Android users would be willing to pay more for high-quality content, since many apps were available for free, and they probably did not pay as much for their data traffic as iPhone users.[325] The digital designer argued that they could probably make money by charging users, if they were considerate regarding how they made use of their content.[326] In addition, the digital developer stated that: "we must scrutinise our content. What does GP publish that actually has such a value that one can charge extra for it?"[327] The DDG chief, among others, essentially argued that they could not expect to profit from auto-directed general content, but that opportunities could be found in new approaches to their content and services:

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[324] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.
[325] System developer, 29.09.10.
[326] Digital designer, 13.09.10.
[327] Digital developer, 07.09.10.

> I believe that we will be able to identify profits from mobile consumers, if we manage to adapt our organisation and try to think outside the box about content. To press Ctrl + C on content that we have today in our flow, and just to make it accessible on mobiles and assume that people will be willing to pay, that is a way to a comfortable and easy approach. I think that it will require repackaging and new combinations of content (DDG chief, 07.09.10).

The DDG chief highlighted their approach at the time. Journalism itself was, for the most part, treated as neutral, but while they assumed that it was not valuable if it was only auto-directed, they envisioned developing more appealing ways to repackage their content. In 2010, there was a stronger focus and more development work for mobile media. Some media workers insisted that as the number of mobile media opportunities grew, the main issue was whether GP were willing to make the necessary investment in order to advance with mobile media.[328] Following general transformations in access to news, mobile media were becoming increasingly important for cross-media news work. The digital analyst suggested that "we must find people where they are, and be accessible in the ways in which they want to access GP. We must approach them in such a way."[329] By adopting a good position in the field of mobile media, they expected to improve their chances of profiting from such ventures. Profits were crucial to their future development work. The managing editor stated: "if we had made profits from mobile media, it would have been much easier to say that it is self-evident that now we must transfer these resources."[330] In other words, self-sustainability and profits from mobile media would legitimise their endeavours in that domain.

8.3.3. The position of the locomotive

> With the app, we have positioned ourselves at the frontier. If one looks at the ranking in the app store, then we have the best, and also SVT Play is the top news app. In fact, there are frankly not all that many newspapers that have an app. Sydsvenskan have one, but we have significantly more downloads and better ratings. Helsingborgs Dagblad have one, but DN do not have a pure news app. Svenska Dagbladet do not have one either, they have invested in more narrow categories, with an election app and so forth. So, I would like to posit that we are really at the frontier right now […]. We also have a better

[328] Web department chief, 01.10.10; System developer, 29.09.10; Digital designer, 13.09.10.
[329] Digital analyst, 23.09.10.
[330] Managing editor, 14.09.10.

rating than Aftonbladet, for instance, so I would say that GP has taken a strong position, on the app side (DDG chief, 07.09.10).

When the DDG chief and others at GP compared their work in mobile media to that of others, they typically stated that GP had acquired a very good position in 2010 thanks to their iPhone app. This marks the introduction of a new criterion for evaluating the position of mobile media development, which had not been used much in earlier years. Mobile media had taken an increasingly strong position within the company. The editor-in-chief argued: "the mobile channel is now established in an entirely different way from before, and we have moved from experimenting to, how shall I say this, a formal enterprise" (Editor-in-chief, 05.10.10). This indicates a progressive institutionalisation of the new into the old. As a consequence of performing a great deal of work on the iPhone app and very little on the mobile news site, they decided that the latter was no longer proficient compared with the mobile news sites of other newspapers. The editorial developments chief suggested:

> With the app, we have positioned ourselves with those who do this best, and I think that it is a true gold mine. The mobile news site weighs on our conscience, and none of us has a reasonable answer to what we should do with it. There is perhaps a need to carry out a change project [...]. I do not perceive that any of the others have more drive in the mobile field today. DN had it for a while, but it just felt boring. Aftonbladet have always been on the front line, but it feels mediocre. Expressen are lagging behind and Svenska Dagbladet only do it out of a sense of duty. I think that we are the group on the front line, and GP have some things that distinguish us (Editorial developments chief, 06.09.10).

With regard to the mobile news site, GP felt that they had not even made up for their earlier loss of functionalities. They felt that it was inferior compared to what it used to be, and in comparison with the mobile news sites of other media companies. The digital developer said: "we are still missing a lot from the mobile news site," and also added that his personal opinion was that "for the app, we were rather late."[331] While he felt that it took quite some time before they had developed their app, it was far more advanced and tailored to the logic of mobile media than the apps of most of their competitors. He emphasised that their app enabled the personalisation of content, through customisable settings. The app also

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[331] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.

involved location-based functionalities, such as their service which guides consumers to local restaurants. He said that many other apps were basic apps that only auto-directed content, and which would have worked just as well as mobile news sites with bookmarks.[332] Once the GP app became accessible in the iPhone app store, there was an extraordinary uptake. They recognised a great interest in their work, as the app was downloaded and used at a rate far beyond their expectations. Their evaluations of success were also grounded in positive feedback from users, by e-mail, phone and through the comments left on the iPhone app store.

> We received a great deal of feedback from people who had discontinued their use of the Aftonbladet app, and who were very happy to have an app for Gothenburg on their iPhone. If we can get our news site together, the same thing may happen there, but if it is not sufficient, people will choose something different (Digital developer, 07.09.10).

In other words, during 2010, GP were perceived to have recaptured much of their formerly self-perceived advanced position in mobile media. It was argued that GP had lost a great deal of pace throughout 2009, but in 2010, they felt that they were well-prepared for further development. They had their new systems for their news site and mobile platform in place, and they had reorganised their collaboration through the DDG. For instance, the editorial developments chief argued:

> Our conditions are better than ever because now there is organisation. Now there is an attitude to this, an interest. Now there is collaboration with MktMobil. Now there are great opportunities to proceed. We may not be able to proceed at the same speed as Schibsted and others, but we can proceed sufficiently quickly, and I believe that our work with the app is truly impressive (Editorial developments chief, 06.09.10).

Their work with MktMobil was emphasised as being something truly valuable, as they had mobilised themselves, along with a great foundation, to do interesting things with mobile media. Importantly, the DDG members felt that others in the organisation were very interested and supportive of their work, thanks to their "success" with the iPhone app.

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[332] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.

> Today, there are good central development resources for mobiles. Today, there is a good platform. Today, there is acceptance within our organisation, GP, that mobiles are important and must be invested in (Digital developer, 07.09.10).

In conclusion, the digital developer emphasised that both the technical conditions and the legitimate position of mobile media at GP were relatively good at the time. The DDG had support from throughout the organisation. The editor-in-chief acknowledged that the Stampen Group was also very supportive of their development work for digital and mobile media, and particularly the development of apps. He said:

> The group has high expectations and hopes for digital revenues. And it is therefore natural that they have requirements for us in the companies. There is a genuine interest in the development of iPhone apps, apps for iPads and tablets, from the group, and it clearly matters (Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10).

As discussed in the chapter on context (chapter 4), one in four Swedish newspapers offered mobile apps in 2010, which helped to distinguish GP. The DDG had decided that they would continue to improve their iPhone app, as well developing additional ones. The managing editor said: "we should find new apps, that we expect to charge for, and we might do some Android apps as well."[333] They reasoned that there was important value for the company in active participation in app development. For example, the editor-in-chief asserted:

> GP operates in an extremely competitive market, and with very demanding readers. We cannot be late with new technology or with new opportunities to access GP. So that is why we are now working to be prepared for the upcoming launch of the iPad, and now we are also looking at Android apps. It is completely obvious that we should have apps for Android mobiles as well, but we have to consider how to prioritise, and how to make the resources last (Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10).

While many people proposed arguments in favour of developing and improving apps for mobiles, some discussed factors to be taken into consideration. The digital developer noted that the potential future success of HTML 5 could challenge the interest in producing and using mobile apps, which would mobile news distribution easier for them.[334] In

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[333] Managing editor, 14.09.10.
[334] Digital developer, 07.09.10.

other words, while GP had prioritised the development of apps in 2010, it was expected that other solutions for access to mobile news could potentially alter the situation.

The editorial developments chief stated that "the iPhone has certain limitations. It has too small a screen, which can make it troublesome to do certain things […]. I sense that the direction of the iPhone and apps is dependent on what happens with tablet devices." He reasoned that tablets could come to alter both the expectations and usage of mobile devices.[335] Ultimately, the number of distribution channels was increasing because of the growing number of systems offering apps for their mobile devices. In 2010, the general aim at GP was to participate actively in and to lead the development of mobile apps, particularly within MktMobil in their role as the locomotive. Meanwhile, emerging innovations such as tablets and HTML 5 formed cues that they extracted for sensemaking (in September 2011, GP launched an HTML 5-based iPad app).

In terms of pursuing the role of the locomotive of the mobile media train, GP clearly had ambitions to lead development, particularly within MktMedia. Being at the frontier was seen as important, while some insisted that GP did not have to be the very first one to launch new services. For instance, the chief of marketing argued: "often it is not those who are first who perform the best, but those who come second and third, when the market is a bit more mature."[336] This exemplifies the discussions which were held about recapitulating in order to compete with the big national newspapers (Aftonbladet and Expressen), or rather monitoring them and following their tails as they explored new territories.

8.3.4. Towards a myriad of mobile media channels

In 2010, the history of distribution for mobile devices at GP had involved telecom portals, WAP, SMS, a mobile news site and apps for the iPhone and Symbian operating systems. In late 2010, the latter four were in use, and it was anticipated that the distribution of apps for Android and Windows 7 mobile devices as well as apps programmed in HTML 5 would be added to their cross-media portfolio in the future. There were a number of different platforms for mobile media, from which GP either made their services and journalistic content available, or through which it

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[335] Editorial developments chief, 06.09.10.
[336] Chief of marketing, 29.09.10.

planned to do so in the future. Everyone agreed that it was important that they made the news accessible through mobiles, and since there were several ways to distribute news over mobiles, they wanted to make it accessible through the channels that their users accessed most frequently. The web department chief, for instance, stressed that it was difficult to know which mobile platforms were the most important to users: mobile apps, mobile news sites or traditional sites accessed via mobiles. She therefore felt that GP had to be present in all these ways.[337] The media workers felt that the new situation, with a growing number of users using different apps, required them to have a presence on a number of mobile channels. Importantly, this new situation was perceived as being far from the "dream situation." When the editor-in-chief discussed their work with the first iPhone app, he explicated the necessity of a mobile presence:

> It has clearly been editorially driven. It has been driven from a perspective that accounts for the fact that this is something that many readers/users demand. It is also something that builds up the image of GP. It is important to do this to build up the image of GP as a company that is progressing, moving and modern. And it is also clearly a part of our strategy for cross-media news work, which in principle means that no channel replaces another. We must be present on numerous channels for our readers, who have individual preferences for how they want to make use of GP news (Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10).

The editor-in-chief suggested that the editorial department had driven the development of new and improved mobile media channels. They had valued the brand image, but they also wanted to satisfy users with individualised patterns for accessing news through the omnipresence of the company. This confirms the commonly-held belief that creatives and techies led much of the digital development work, while the participation of suits escalated once they closed in on possible business opportunities. In terms of becoming omnipresent through cross-media news work, the editorial developments chief drew on his previous experiences, discussing the patterns he recognised from the late 1990s, when they spent a lot of time adjusting their news site to numerous web browsers. At that time, as in 2010, he argued that there were not yet any definite standards:

> I recognise this from 1997. When a change was made to our news site back then, we had to check on 18 different websites whether it was actually working.

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[337] Web department chief, 01.10.10

> You will enter a swamp if you make a new app for every new platform, and I think that we must get around that. Sooner or later, there will be some standard, but it may take, like, five years before there is a standard, so then perhaps we should devote our attention to the mobile news site, rather than make an Android app, and a Symbian app, or whatever it is. It feels like if we are trying to run down five different paths at the same time, we will lose focus. It is better to run down only one path (Editorial developments chief, 06.09.10).

The editorial developments chief was obviously not convinced that they should make developments for all of the different app platforms. If the new situation was to turn out like the old, standardisation would take place. HTML 5 was expected to become such a solution, with its web browsing interface. However, such a standard was not yet securely in place. In 2010, there was an increase rather than a decrease in the number of mobile distribution channels. The bottom line was that, with the growing number of mobile channels, the conditions for the distribution of news via mobile devices had changed significantly. The mobile device was not one universal device with one way to access the news. Mobile web browsing and SMS were indeed possible with all mobile devices, but as regards apps, there were numerous standards. As a contrast to the idea of drawing channels apart, the digital designer argued that they should present their content in ways that would give the user a feeling of consistency, connecting the web and mobiles to each other so that "people feel that it is GP. Wherever one is with GP channels, one feels the same, you feel at home and you get what you want and expect."[338] This involved customising for each GP channel, but in a different way.

Following on from this, there was a significant change to GP's sensemaking of mobile media in 2010. A key issue for sensemaking over the years had concerned the different ways of ensuring the quality of journalism for *the* mobile channel. When the creatives and techies made sense of *the* mobile in 2006 and 2007, driving a process that resulted in the employment of a mobile editor, journalism for *the* mobile could be spoken of in the singular. With the launch of mobile apps, however, several mobile distribution channels came to exist. Consequently, this had an impact on how they approached publishing for the mobile in terms of the use of humans or machines. As GP shaped their cross-media news work for mobile media in 2010, with machine-led apps and limited efforts to

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[338] Digital designer, 13.09.10.

recapture functionalities for mobile editing by humans, they were evidently turning back to more machine-led repurposing.

8.4. Conclusions

The year 2010 was characterised by a great deal of progress in the field of mobile media, which involved GP's integration with MktMobil, changes to their organisation of rapid and collaborative digital development and the launch of mobile apps. Having completed a number of major development projects in 2009, which involved upgrading several of their systems and platforms for digital and mobile media, their media workers could once again prioritise and spend time developing mobile media. While there were initiatives to improve GP's use of mobile devices to report the news, they focused mostly on developing their mobile media channels. However, they did not focus on their mobile news site, as was emphasised in 2009, but instead focused on developing apps for the iPhone (iOS) and Nokia (Symbian) smartphones (in 2011, they also launched an app for mobile devices operating with Android).

This marked a significant change in the role of mobile media in their cross-media news work, from focusing on *one* mobile news site (with SMS news flashes as a minor activity), to *multiple* mobile media channels. While they found it difficult to assess how their sensemaking had evolved over time, the media workers generally insisted that their expectations for the progress of the mobile media train were reinforced. Some even explicitly envisioned that mobile media would displace the web in terms of both access to news and utility services.

In 2010, GP insisted that they were making a great deal of progress for mobile media compared to the year before. When discussing their previous wait at the station, in their retrospective sensemaking, they justified their earlier failure through arguments such as the recession, the bureaucracy coupled with the centralised organisation of digital development through MktMedia, and also the fact that no one was responsible for mobile media. In other words, the new was insufficiently integrated with the old throughout 2009, but in 2010 they provided the necessary organisation to make progress again. Their organisation was made sense of and calibrated throughout the year, as shown by the two phases of the DDG.

Their sensemaking and calibration of the organisation indicates that the contemporary shaping of cross-media news work involves a continuous interplay between environmental and organisational change. Previous organisational ideas were inexorably linked to their transforming organisation in 2010. With the formation of the DDG, it is clear that the creatives seized a previously identified opportunity to shoulder the responsibility for digital development. This provided an opportunity for the creatives to fulfil their desired prophecy of taking the lead in digital development in the company, as envisioned two years earlier. This opportunity was seized when the pre-existing minituarised duality management structure led to job transfers (the BDA chief and the editorial developments chief). It is worth noticing that a creative thereby took charge of digital development, indicating their position in relation to suits and techies. Mimicry of how other newspaper companies have organised came into play, through the self-fulfillment of an prophecy.

With their new organisation for digital development, the media workers felt that they had progressed a great deal, and that they were positioned ready for forthcoming work. They felt that they were the locomotive of the mobile media train within the MktMedia network and also that they were at the frontier of mobile media alongside the national newspapers. In previous years, they had insisted that the manual editing of journalistic content and improvements to their mobile news site were key issues for their positioning in the field of mobile media. However, in 2010, they emphasised that their iPhone app had brought their position forward significantly, with its personalisation and positioning functionalities. Their interpretation of positioning, in this sense, marks the strong emphasis on technological attributes rather than journalism and the previous emphasis on editing by humans. Consequently, they made apps a criterion for evaluating their relative position in mobile media. Their extraction of cues for sensemaking, in other words, focused on an area of mobile media that they had highlighted themselves.

The tension between humans and machines obviously came into play. Manual editing had, for some years, been seen as a way of ensuring journalistic quality, but was evidently losing ground in favour of machine-led practices. Designing apps with machine-led repurposing was legitimised by arguments about the "impossibility" of manual editing with an increasing plethora of mobile channels. In a similar vein, GP's approach to their mobile news site continued to be characterised by

machine-led repurposing. While still acknowledging the quality of journalistic content, they instead pursued increasing awareness and conformity to the limitations of their machines used for enabling repurposing in cross-media news work. In other words, they started to consider auto-direction to their mobile media channels when they published news to their news site. This signifies a key transformation of their cross-media news work. An important conclusion is that practices coupled with the old (news site) transformed because they had to functiontion alongside and with the new (mobile). The interplay of old and new also came to the fore in the opposite direction. For instance, GP's iPhone app departed predominantly from their old role as a news provider, on which the distribution of news was focused. Their advertisers also focused on the old, making them reluctant to shift their marketing budgets from print to digital media. There was not yet much profit to be made from mobile media, but optimism existed about its long-term growth. The bottom line is that increased revenues from mobile media were a prerequisite for the long-term legitimacy of such developments.

PART III

TENSIONS AT PLAY:
HUMANS VS. MACHINES
AND
PRODUCERS VS. USERS

9

TENSIONS AT PLAY:
HUMANS VS. MACHINES

This chapter analyses the ever-changing tension between humans and machines over the period 2006-2010. It focuses on the sensemaking of possible practices for mobile journalism, mostly in terms of manual editing versus machine-led auto-direction. The analysis involves how creatives, suits and techies made sense of advantages and disadvantages related to mobile media, such as economic resources and technological capacity, coupled with human- and machine-led practices. It also concerns whether mobile journalism should, will or can be developed so that it can be distinguished from journalism on the web or in print media. The four preceding empirical chapters have shown that GP, until early 2008, relied entirely on auto-direction for their mobile news site. From 2008 onwards, humans trained in journalism worked to ensure the quality of journalistic content during working hours, while relying on machines at other times. Over 2009 and 2010, their approach changed gradually, involving less manual editing of the mobile news site, but heightened sensitivity to mobile media in their practices of publishing to the news site. In this sense, new cross-media news work practices emerged, characterised by a new interplay between humans and machines, as well as old and new.

This chapter returns to and deepens the discussion on mobile editing and the tension between humans and machines which began in earlier chapters. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the pursuit of manually-edited journalism during the period 2006-2008, which signifies that GP's guiding interpretation was that manual editing was to be performed, contrary to earlier practices. The second section analyses how (unanticipated) transformations in 2009-2010, predominantly caused by a loss of functionality for machine-led repurposing, resulted in a reinterpretation of their stance on human- vs. machine-led publishing of mobile journalism. Essentially, GP returned to a high level of reliance on machine-led auto-direction, but it is worth

noting that these machines had become increasingly capable. Another important change was that the creatives had also developed cross-media news work practices that were more sensitive to the growing plethora of mobile news channels. These changes in direction between an emphasis on human- or machine-led practices for auto-direction are analysed more thoroughly in the final section, which presents conclusions on the changing roles of machines and humans in mobile journalism over time.

9.1. Emphasising human-led editing

Throughout these formative years, the mobile news site contained news which was repurposed from the news site by machines. These machines caused many problems in the auto-direction and publishing of content to the mobile news site. For instance, the editorial developments chief noted: "you could get a headline without any text, you could get things that did not fit in terms of length, a picture that did not fit on a mobile. Above all, lead articles were cut off at a predetermined number of words, which made it look really insane."[339] The media workers, and especially creatives, were dissatisfied with how their work was being presented.

Chapter five showed that the creatives and suits pushed for change in the field of mobile media throughout its formative phase in 2006-2007, during which they successfully argued for the necessity of manual editing of journalism for their mobile news site. Manual editing was treated more or less as a mark of quality, which related to two factors: first, that it was an institutionalised practice for journalism on both the web and in print (the old), and second, that it was emerging as a practice among other large newspapers. Consequently, GP employed a journalist to focus exclusively on mobile editing throughout most of 2008, which symbolised the importance of mobile media in general and human-led editing practices in particular. This action was binding, as it was made explicit not only to their media workers, but also to the public and other newspapers. There were, in other words, factors which may possibly have influenced GP's media workers to continue to commit to this particular path of sensemaking in their subsequent work. Following on from that, reasons that would support their path of development could presumably be assembled with the aim of legitimising their public actions.

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[339] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

The mobile editor was initially employed temporarily for 2008, in parallel to GP's mobile project. This temporary employment was to end at the start of 2009, with the possibility that the position would be either extended or terminated. There were two powerful contextual factors that influenced their opportunities to institutionalise the new and fluid into the old organisation by offering permanent employment. First, the company enforced a strategy of downsizing the number of staff. The editorial developments chief stated that "staff politics suggest that the total number of staff should shrink, that there are fewer employees at GP."[340] GP had employed a policy that for every two journalists who retired, they employed only one new one. Second, confronted by a major recession (which exploded in Sweden during September 2008), the possibility of employing additional journalists had faded even more.

Notwithstanding these challenging conditions, there were several media workers who insisted that GP should provide permanent employment for the mobile editor in order to be able to continue manually editing their mobile news site. The web department chief explained: "there is content that can be published on the news site that is [technically] impossible to publish on a mobile device,"[341] which meant that some news content was accessible to users only if the mobile editor had edited the mobile news site manually. The mobile editor said that some sports news feeds that were updated continuously on the website could not be auto-directed, which meant that on such occasions when the mobile editor was way (i.e. evenings and weekends), "only headlines are displayed, and if you click on them nothing happens, and this is clearly uninteresting for the readers."[342] Considering such disadvantages, the web department chief said:

> My wish is for us to keep the mobile editor. It has been working really well as she has trained herself and knows the area. There would be a loss of competence and pace without her. The problem is that we have entered a recession which has more or less enforced an employment freeze, and if we are to keep the mobile editor we must give her a permanent contract. How are we to do so in such bad times? That is the main question (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

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[340] Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08.
[341] Web department chief, 23.10.08.
[342] Web department chief, 23.10.08.

The web department chief, amongst others, was distressed by the conditions that could potentially hinder GP in their pursuit of high-quality mobile journalism. It was perceived that the loss of their mobile editor would result in an inevitable loss of competence and pace. It should be noted that if GP were to keep their temporary mobile editor, they would have had to offer her permanent employment, as posited by staffing rules agreed upon with the Swedish Union of Journalists. If they had employed a mobile editor on a temporary contract, they would have had to hire another journalist and offer sufficient training in mobile editing.[343]

The mobile project group, as a miniature container of creatives, suits and techies, represented an actor that was exceptionally keen to keep the mobile editor. They sensed that manual mobile editing, performed by a dedicated mobile editor, was critical in order to sustain the future quality of journalism (as well as utility content and services) for their mobile news site. The digital developer noted that the mobile project group members reasoned: "we have said that we must save the mobile editor, since we realise that we cannot go back to doing a worse mobile site from a news perspective after the end of the year."[344] During the autumn of 2008, the mobile project group members explored arguments in favour of employing the mobile editor on a permanent basis, and then also discussed their arguments with the company board members. It should be noted that several of the company board members were also positively inclined to continue the practice of manual mobile editing. However, this did not necessarily mean that mobile editing would be prioritised over other areas of work when the priorities were set. The bottom line was that mobile media, and mobile editing practices, were processed in a formative phase which involved a great deal of uncertainty. The mobile project group attempted to convince the company board to invest in a permanent position for the mobile editor. The next section discusses how they did so by assembling arguments that favoured the reinforcement of manual editing practices.

9.1.1. Manual editing practices: An outcome in search of a prophecy

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[343] BDA chief, 01.10.08; Web department chief, 23.10.08; Digital developer, 19.09.08.
[344] Digital developer, 19.09.08.

Early in the autumn of 2008, the mobile project group discussed arguments for and against continuing the practice of manual mobile editing. The mobile project group represented creatives, suits and techies, and together they engaged in a process of arguing with the company board. They crafted a document which focused on their arguments in favour of the outcome they desired. The mobile project group members carefully prepared their arguments for the continuation of manual mobile editing. The bottom line was that their arguments aimed to achieve a particular goal. In the terminology of sensemaking, they envisioned an outcome (retaining their mobile editor) to fulfil, which means that they formulated an outcome in search of a prophecy.

The mobile project group members felt that they had to anticipate the complexity of the situation, making sure to present their arguments with care to the company board, who possessed the ultimate decision-making power on the matter.[345] The document was shaped through meetings and e-mail conversations among the mobile project group members. By early October, they had composed a document drafting important arguments and scenarios, which the IT chief discussed with the company board. The document described a need for GP to have a mobile news site that was competitive at a time when more and more advertising money was being transferred to digital channels. In order to have a competitive mobile news site, they posited that they had to develop its unique functionalities. In 2008, GP had a general editorial strategy which encouraged the development of the unique characteristics of all of their distribution channels. Following on from this argumentation, it was suggested that GP needed a mobile editor to pursue such developments. The document outlined the current role of the mobile editor:[346]

> The quality of the mobile news site has improved dramatically since we started working with it actively. Picture editing, headlines that work on mobiles, links to sites that cannot be displayed are taken away etc. A modern mobile news site, (like the one we launched this spring) demands that someone works with it actively, promoting content that people would not find otherwise (Internal documentation, 01.10.08).

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[345] Digital developer, 19.09.08; BDA chief, 01.10.08.
[346] Document entitled "Mobile Editor," 03.10.08.

The document explicated that a "modern" mobile news site essentially "demanded" humans to engage in mobile editing. The mobile project group members, in other words, perceived manual editing as a necessity, suggesting that such practices were commonly associated with progress at the time. Further down the line, the document also stated that the role of the mobile editor was to "spread knowledge about the mobile service, to make other co-workers start working in a 'mobile way,' and to educate those who want to do so." The mobile project group envisioned that the editor would guide others in the company towards practices designed for mobile media.

The document set down three scenarios which aimed to articulate the anticipated future results of different courses of action. They expressed their support for a scenario in which GP provided their temporary mobile editor with a permanent contract. By taking such a path, they believed it would be possible to achieve all of the advantages which they emphasised as important for high-quality mobile journalism. The other two scenarios essentially highlighted the negative consequences of alternative paths to that which was proposed by the mobile project group members. One of these scenarios involved not offering a permanent contract to their mobile editor, while still continuing with manual mobile editing practices. They argued that if this scenario was chosen, the result would most certainly be a reduction in the proficiency of mobile editing. In the event that this path was taken, they suggested recruiting the new mobile editor from among the more digitally skilled media workers in the web department, although this was anticipated to result in a lack of skilled staff in the web department. The document made explicit that the mobile editor had to be replaced with a dedicated mobile editor, as "to occupy the position with existing staff would never work." The reason was that the creatives had far-reaching experiences of the difficulty of institutionalising new practices for their news site in the editorial department. The third and final scenario was a worst-case scenario, featuring the anticipated consequences if they were to terminate their manual editing practice for the mobile news site.

> The quality will decrease. We will have to go back to a simpler design in order to hide the deficiencies that will arise. No new SMS services will be developed, and those that are already running will probably have to be terminated. The mobile will not become a news channel of its own and the editorial interest and work with mobiles will come to a standstill. It is important to focus on the channel

and its specific nature. Without a dedicated mobile editor, this focus will disappear (Internal documentation, 03.10.08).

The bottom line was that the mobile editor was described as critically important for GP by the mobile project group members. They gathered for a meeting (9th October 2008) in which the IT chief informed them about the company board meeting. They discussed how to proceed with their goal of providing the mobile editor with a permanent position. Below follows an excerpt from a discussion at the meeting, involving the IT chief, the BDA chief[347] and the web department chief (WDC):

IT chief:	I made sure that this issue was put on the agenda for the company board. It became an item on the agenda. I presented this as if it was the stance of the project, as the way we think. I would like to say that everyone agreed. Everyone was of the opinion that this was crystal clear. They agreed that we need to have a mobile editor, doing this and that, and if we do not have one we will lose important value in this development process. In summary, that is. The company board decided that we must do a fast evaluation of this project, and present it on October 20th. Within less than two weeks. I said ok to that, but I am not sure if it can be accomplished, and I am not sure if it changes the scenario. We have entered a situation that is similar to other experiences with regard to digital development. If you consider the situation when questions were directed to the company board about starting new sites [i.e. previous experience from web developments], then we came down to a situation of taking pains to make decisions.
BDA chief:	Mmm.
IT chief:	That is where we are.
WDC:	But can I ask you, is the mobile editor a yes? That is phase 1.
IT chief:	Yes.
WDC:	The second question is, of course, whether we should solve this with our existing workforce, or should we solve it with external staff. And that question has not been resolved, or, I mean…?
IT chief:	Something like that…
BDA chief:	Or are we supposed to compile, I mean, what the project has accomplished?
WDC:	Yes, and that is, like, the next step.
IT chief:	But I think it is fairly clear. I do not think we have to do that. When we are talking about evaluating this project, we are talking about what this project has resulted in, with traffic and so forth.

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[347] BDA unit (Business Department).

> The value of the mobile editor is unquestioned, so to speak. The bottom line is that this has to do with the issue of whether we can afford this external competence, which we all agree is really valuable, or if it is better to redistribute resources and knowledge among those we already have, and this cannot be seen clearly yet, since we are in the middle of our forecasting work.

The discussion above highlights a couple of critically important issues in the argument process. First, it is evident that the IT chief argued on behalf of the mobile project group in his meeting with the company board members, while still being a member of the company board himself. The IT chief reasoned that no one in the company board questioned the value of the mobile editor, but that resources had to be prioritised. He stated that the company board wanted the mobile project group to evaluate their own progress, indicate that they had tried to make sense of what they had done and that they understood which things had worked and which had not. Evidently, they also made sense of the new situation by referring to their earlier experiences of digital development. As there was a consensus about the necessity of mobile editing, the aim of this retrospective sensemaking can be seen to be to assist the company board in articulating arguments about the need for continued manual mobile editing. At their meeting, they elaborated on the different arguments in favour of permanently employing the mobile editor, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a discussion between the web department chief and the editorial developments chief:

WDC: It is, of course, possible for others to learn the things that the mobile editor has learnt, but we will clearly lose some pace, so it is not like you can put anyone in that position. We must employ a rather competent person, knowledgeable in the web, Polopyly [CMS] and all that kind of thinking, but then there will arise a gap elsewhere that we have to fill. It is a chain effect, after all. And it has not been easy internally to employ people for the web department, as there have not exactly been long lines of people applying for those positions internally. That is the reality, which we have known for a long time.

EDC: But I also think about what you have said, that this is a driven and acknowledged journalist who has been doing this, so you can avoid having it categorised as technological.

WDC: Indeed, I think it has had an enormous influence. Those are values that may be a little difficult to make explicit, but I mean,

> her status at the editorial department, having been acknowledged and having gained acceptance rapidly, it has meant a lot.

The web department chief suggested that there was a need for the mobile editor to have a particular way of thinking and competence relating to the web. Their employment of a journalist had helped to link the mobile news site to associations other than the purely technological. The mobile project group members further discussed the problem of acquiring the finances to employ the mobile editor for 2009 and onwards. They considered the possibility of finding funding through collaboration with MktMedia and the planned MktMobil project, but concluded that MktMedia would not be willing to finance a mobile editor on their behalf. Ultimately, establishing the legitimacy of the mobile editor was seen as critically important for allocating resources.

At the meeting, the mobile project group members discussed how they could assist the company board in a way that would help them to go along with the idea of employing the mobile editor. They noted that the company board were not capable of making such a decision as of yet, as they needed more information. The mobile project group therefore collaboratively improved their argument for the need for a mobile editor, as well as articulating their perceived need for continued mobile media development work. A summary was compiled, focusing on factors such as the role of the mobile editor, but also staff involvement, learning and user uptake statistics. They decided to carry out the required evaluation quickly, which the IT chief would then present at the upcoming company board meeting. He said: "I will say that this is just so good that we must continue during next year, and it will cost this much."[348] When their mobile project group meeting closed, the creatives, suits and techies had discussed their different experiences and interpretations of the work of the mobile project throughout the year. Their discussions can be treated as the social and ongoing formation of arguments aimed to convince and support their company board in deciding to continue with mobile media development and to retain the services of the mobile editor.[349] Their activities were intended to reinforce the importance and legitimacy of the work in which they were already involved. The mobile project group

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[348] IT chief, 02.10.08.
[349] Mobile project group meeting, 09.10.08.

members felt that they were successful in their aims. The following week, the editorial developments chief said:

> If you imagine some kind of worst-case scenario, if we imagine that the post remains, it will remain, there will be a remaining post, but an existing member of staff must be appointed, and then you never know how much entrepreneurial spirit you will get, how much drive you will get […]. The best scenario is that there are several people who work with the mobileand truly develop services for it, in the business department as well (Editorial developments chief, 14.10.08).

Whilst pursuing the continuation of the mobile editor's work, the editorial developments chief envisioned only two of their scenarios as being possible. He expressed a sense of certainty that the post would remain, and even saw this as the worst-case scenario. Furthermore, a couple of days after the company board meeting, the web department chief said that the company board had become convinced of the necessity of the mobile editor: "they understand that the post must be staffed, that we have people who work with it manually."[350] The mobile project group members felt that their argumentation had been successful, since the company board members had responded by acknowledging that the mobile editor was of great importance to their goal of ensuring high-quality journalism for mobile media. The careful preparation of arguments shed positive light on the mobile editor and the members of the mobile project group, as the company board quickly assimilated and further strengthened their argument. At this period in time, the managing editor stressed that having a mobile editor was an important symbol of the value of the mobile news site. She reasoned that in previous projects, they had made the temporary (the new) into something permanent (incorporated with the old), and that there were similar indications that mobile media development would be made permanent as well.

> I do not think we will back off and say that the investment in development and knowledge for the project over one year should be wasted […]. What I do think we must do is to prepare to argue for its survival, since we are not generating much revenue yet and we are entering a recession right now (Managing editor, 23.09.08).

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[350] Web department chief, 23.10.08.

The possibility that the investment in mobile media, such as GP's mobile editing practices, would be terminated was referred to as a "waste." However, given that the mobile news site was not self-sustainable, they had to prepare to "argue for its survival" with others in the organisation. Following the company board meeting, the CEO and the editor-in-chief confirmed that they were willing to fight to keep the mobile editor in their ongoing and future negotiations regarding downsizing with managers from the different departments. They felt that they had a challenging task ahead, especially considering the relative status and priority of mobile media when compared to the other (and older) channels. The CEO reasoned that "the news site comes first, then web TV, and the lowest priority is mobile media, based on how many consumers we have and how much money we make."[351] From this perspective, it was evident that the position of the mobile editor was facing a challenge. Mobile media represented something new, with a substantially different level of institutionalisation and self-sustainability than print media or the news site. Meanwhile, the company board members were obviously determined to fight for the mobile editor, on the basis of the arguments compiled by the mobile project group. The day before the company board initiated negotiations on priorities for downsizing, the CEO expressed the view of the company board members: "now there is no one who is willing to remove the mobile editor."[352] At the end of 2008, the company board provided their mobile editor with a permanent contract. It is worth noting that she was the only journalist given permanent employment at GP in 2009.

9.1.2. Expectations for an increased uptake of manual mobile editing

I think that mobile media will take the same road as print and the news site. It starts with one believing that one can repurpose exactly the same content and then one looks at the readers' demands, changing patterns and such. This is not the thing [to do], they can complement each other. I believe that this will become evident with mobiles as well. From being something for auto-directed, replicated content from the Internet, it will become increasingly evident that there are other needs with mobiles. We must adapt. Exactly how it will look is difficult to know, but we must be sensitive (Managing editor, 23.09.08).

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[351] CEO, 24.10.08.
[352] CEO, 24.10.08.

The managing editor envisioned a future for new, mobile media that was similar to the history of (old) print media and the Internet. Amongst other things, she emphasised that mobile journalism would be adapted through journalistic editing as well as through practices which had not yet been explored. Their emphasis on such adaptations can be taken as an indication of their aim to explore and construct a more distinguished mobile media logic. Editing and adaptation have long been key elements of journalism practices. In this study, such practices formed an important point of departure for the sensemaking of mobile journalism in 2008. The old, in other words, formed a point of reference for their vision of the new. There were hopes and expectations that the mobile news site (new) would be edited manually in a similar way to their news site (old).

> My wish is that we should be at least performing manual editing for the mobile, that is, more or less in the same way as we run our news site today, which nowadays is staffed from 6am to 1am. We should also have staff on evenings and weekends doing manual editing, perhaps not every second, but someone should be keeping an eye on it at evenings and weekends as well (Web department chief, 23.10.08).

In acknowledging the importance of manual editing for mobile journalism, the web department chief, for instance, treated staffing as an essential sign of involvement. Unsurprisingly, arguments were put forward about the necessity of expanding GP's mobile editing efforts beyond those of their mobile editor. The auto-direction of content was seen as inferior to manual editing by humans, which applied to visions of the future, which involved upgrades to their web publishing systems. The web department chief envisioned that they would develop technological solutions for publishing more content to the mobile news site. She was asked whether more manual editing was going to take place, and responded: "simply speaking, this consequently means that there will be significantly more people working with it. Not full-time, but who still have it as part of their operation, so to speak." She explained that in addition to having a dedicated mobile editor, other creatives would also become involved in such practices: "I hope that there will be more web people on evenings and weekends, which there will be, and then there will be time to work more with mobiles, I believe."[353] In other words, she

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[353] Web department chief, 23.10.08.

wished for more human-led editing practices for the mobile news site. In a similar vein, the editor-in-chief reasoned:

> We cannot dedicate just one person, the mobile editor, to work nine to five, and then at other times GP, in terms of mobile media, goes back to where we were before. That means that there is no manual editing at all and no conscious journalism. We added her as a resource to gp.se, ensuring that the mobile editor is a carrier and mentor. But others must also make adjustments to mobile media, and then we will cover a much larger section of the 24-hour period, as well as weekends. Then there will be a clearly distinguished difference between the mobile editor, who is the best and the most knowledgeable person on this, more than a less knowledgeable person working at the weekend (Editor-in-chief, 25.09.08).

Essentially, without human-led editing, there would be no conscious journalism. The mobile editor would occupy the position of the expert, which would help to transfer knowledge on manual editing practices to other journalists. The practice of manual editing was, in other words, to become integrated with their other cross-media news work activities. It was anticipated that it would be troublesome to make one individual responsible for introducing new practices into an organisation with traditions and established patterns. The digital developer, for instance, reasoned that other large newspapers had gained a head start by employing several dedicated mobile editors:

> It is easier for the mobile chief at Aftonbladet to employ x number of people in a company of their own and to tell them "now we are running," than to employ one person in the editorial department and say that we are to get everyone else involved as well. We do not know yet how to take this further, how to make rippes on the water. The mobile editor is the first person, but we should not rise and fall with one individual forever (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

Several media workers, and particularly creatives, hoped for increased future investment in mobile editing. The CEO projected that within two years, approximately 18 to 25 journalists would spend at least some of their time working with mobile media every working day. He assumed that these employees would write first for the mobile channels, then rewrite the text for the online edition, and finally edit it for print.[354] In addition to these workers and their mobile editor, he expected GP to have

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[354] CEO, 24.10.08.

employed another two to four dedicated mobile editors, who could be expected to "wake up in the morning, thinking of the mobile channel and its distinctive character, its layout, its tempo."[355] It is interesting to note that the CEO, who is first and foremost responsible for business, elaborated in detail on future editorial work for mobile media as he made his personal projection.

9.2. Interchangeable human- and machine-led practices for mobile journalism

Following the efforts made in 2008, the mobile editor was permanently employed and continued her manual editing work on four days per week throughout the spring of 2009, while the fifth weekday was managed by another journalist in the web department. A rotating schedule was used so that everyone in the web department could become acquainted with manual editing for mobile media. Weekends and evenings relied mostly on auto-direction. However, as discussed in chapter seven, 2009 turned into a year of "idling at the station," since there was a recession and also unanticipated difficulties and heavy workloads that accompanied the system transitions. The managing editor reasoned: "that technology was going to make it impossible to edit manually news for mobiles was something we did not anticipate."[356] In 2009, GP replaced four technological systems, while simultaneously centralising its IT by integrating with MktMedia. Their web CMS was replaced and integrated with the MktWeb platform in September 2009. At a glance, this constituted an upgrade, from an eight-year-old version that a handful of techies had patched together locally at GP over the years, to a completely new system managed by a powerful workforce of techies at the newspaper group level. However, at close range, the new situation resulted in a significant loss of functionality for manual editing, which constrained the activities of the mobile editor.

While the media workers were initially keen to recapture lost functionalities and practices, their sensemaking transformed throughout 2010 in parallel with their development of an iPhone app. Following technical shortcomings, as well as feelings of frustration and dejection,

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[355] CEO, 24.10.08.
[356] Managing editor, 14.09.10.

they developed new practices for their mobile news site. While these practices, in one sense, came to represent increased dependence on machine-led auto-direction, they also involved policies which encouraged sensitivity to the interplay between the news site and the mobile news site.

9.2.1. Technical shortcomings, feelings of frustration and hope for change

> There are those small technical things that one hardly understands, like functionalities that have not yet been developed, such as including a separate picture. The techies say that it should work, but when we do it, it does not work […]. Understanding what is wrong is completely incomprehensible really, it is on a technical level […]. How the connections of the system are built is beyond my knowledge, and that is why I feel that I have entered a phase of resignation when it comes to mobile media. I am aware that there are insufficient resources to develop all areas at the same time, so we have to take this step-by-step. The redesign of our news site has been the first priority, while mobile media has been the second priority. However, I believe it is important that we do not lose pace for too long (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

The web department chief, in other words, had difficulty making sense of the technology, while asserting that technology was a barrier to the desired quality of mobile journalism. Their machines did not comply with mobile journalism, as they did not auto-direct material as humans desired, nor did they allow humans to perform manual editing. The web department chief stated that the issue was "completely incomprehensible" to her. She continued by reasoning that "there is some technical barrier, I cannot explain why, you know, it is the editorial web publishing system. No one has had sufficient time dedicated to mobile media."[357] She made explicit her difficulty in articulating and explaining the technological shortcomings of their machines.

The situation was frustrating for those involved, and particularly the mobile editor. She felt that she had become inactive as a mobile editor, while her colleagues in the web department were extraordinarily busy with the finalisation of the redesign of the news site. She hoped that GP were going to recover the losses in their system soon, but explained that she did not know about such plans, because "sometimes it is a little bit vague

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[357] Web department chief, 03.12.09.

who it is that has the responsibility for different things."[358] She had felt excluded from discussions on development more or less since they began, but this became particularly frustrating at the time of the aforementioned problems with the functionalities of the mobile news site. While this state of uncertainty could be discomforting, she also said: "from my perspective, the only interesting issue is whether things are being carried out, and when. It does not really matter who is doing it."[359] To her, this issue was critical in order for her to be able to perform manual editing again. She expressed frustration about how the situation had unfolded:

> To me, it is clearly frustrating. Of course I know that there are many things to do with the news site, and I sit here without any work to do. I mean, it feels like we are almost one person short here anyway, even though I now have more time to work with the news site. There is a lot to do all the time. It is more that I have been hired to work with mobile media, and it is frustrating that I cannot do it very much. The mobile site is pretty ugly, and it feels like I am responsible for doing something about it, but I cannot (Mobile editor, 11.12.09).

In 2009, the mobile editor wanted to perform manual editing, but could not do so because of technological shortcomings. The mobile editor had asked the web department chief and the news chief for other work obligations, but they had told her that it was not appropriate for her to discontinue her work as a mobile editor at that time.[360] Later, they told her that she had to be a mobile editor for at least two years before she could apply for other positions within the company.[361] The editorial department chief said: "we have employed a mobile editor who is the youngest person we have in the entire editorial department, which is really good."[362] He explained that most journalists at GP were much older, which was a problem for the organisation, since they were not as interested in or competent using GP's digital channels. The chiefs of several specialist departments within the editorial department had expressed an interest in having the mobile editor based with them, but their suggestions were rejected. This implies that although the mobile editor was performing hardly any editing for mobile media, it was seen as important to preserve her position as a symbol, despite the fact that this caused uncertainty

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[358] Mobile editor, 11.12.09
[359] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[360] Mobile editor, 11.12.09.
[361] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.
[362] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

about the conditions for GP's mobile media work. However, in practice, more and more of the work performed by the mobile editor became oriented towards the news site, rather than the mobile news site.

> When there is not much to do, we cannot have one person working full-time on the mobile site alone, so that person has started to do other things as well. But then there is some frustration about the mobile mission, and what it should be all about. What should one do with it here in the editorial department? That is the reason for our current situation. I think that the mobile editor herself finds that it is a bit meaningless to work with, to just sit and stare at it every day. Then it is better to do other things (Web department chief, 03.12.09).

As a consequence of technological shortcomings, the web department chief started to reconsider the function of mobile editing. The majority of media workers, however, stressed that they planned to regain the lost functionality of the site and to start performing mobile editing once again. Evidently, some media workers felt dejected because of their limited progress with mobile journalism. The idling at the station during the recession was an unwelcomed halt to their progress, but was not going to hinder them in their forthcoming development work. The editorial developments chief reasoned: "we have fallen behind for natural reasons, but we must reassert the quality [of our work] again. We must create a mobile service that works like a true mobile service and that is processed journalistically."[363] In this sense, there were ambitions to pursue improved journalism for mobile media, by developing its logic(s). By the end of 2009, the media workers expressed their intention to pursue manual mobile editing once again. Ultimately, the media workers wanted to overcome their dejection and delay by returning to the path they had paved earlier on. However, in the year that followed, they did not fulfil many of these plans.

Chapter eight showed that, in 2010, GP made relatively extensive investments in mobile media, and thereby regained some lost ground. However, their aim to repossess the required functionalities for manual mobile editing was not realised in practice. Instead, most of their efforts focused on the creation of an iPhone app. By the autumn of 2010, they had become enthusiastic about the user uptake of their iPhone app, which was considerably higher than the uptake of their mobile news site. The perceived importance of the mobile news site had deteriorated, and some

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[363] Editorial developments chief, 06.12.09.

media workers even felt guilty for not putting sufficient work into it. While they still insisted that GP would make improvements to the quality of their mobile news site, by re-enabling increased functionality for manual mobile editing, they did not make it a priority.

> For the mobile news site, we say that we must revise it so that it meets the requirements of being complete and clean, because it has not been a priority for too long. But we will not aim to be cutting-edge. That is how we think. This is the opinion of our company (Managing editor, 14.09.10).

In the words "complete and clean," the managing editor referred to the quality of the interface for the mobile news site. This involved ridding the site of broken links, missing articles, invisible pictures etc. In addition, the DDG chief added that GP could not prioritise the pursuit of a cutting-edge mobile news site, but that instead "we should be okay really, we should be the local alternative."[364] Throughout 2010, very little manual editing work was performed, as only a fraction of the lost functionalities were recovered, and the task was seen as a lower priority compared with the news site. At this time, the mobile editor was still officially employed as a mobile editor, but mostly kept herself occupied with online journalism, as she could do little for the mobile news site. While some explicated that they were to exercise manual mobile editing, most treated it as a secondary priority compared to the news site, involving relatively limited time and resources.[365]

9.2.2. Mobile editor: Symbolic value and dejection

> The mobile editor does not really work practically with mobile media more than anyone else here, on a daily basis that is. But mobile media remains her little specialty in the web department, so it is her specialty, but that does not mean that she is occupied with editing for the mobile site more than others […]. This has ultimately been a change she has insisted on herself, but it is not possible for us to have staff who are employed in something they cannot do (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

From the autumn of 2009 onwards, and especially in 2010, the mobile editor evidently became occupied with work tasks other than manual mobile editing. The managing editor explained: "I think that she is mostly

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[364] DDG chief, 07.09.10.
[365] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.

occupied with general news work here; I do not think that she does much work specifically for the mobile site. The mobile editor has clearly been frustrated."[366] The managing editor said that although the practical (instrumental) value of the mobile editor's work had decreased with the loss of functionality, there was a symbolic value communicated by her position to both the staff and people in the industry. She argued: "it is symbolic for everyone in the company, of course, that we have invested in this and have [a mobile editor]."[367] The editorial managers wanted to regain the functionalities for mobile editing and therefore insisted that the mobile editor should keep working, even when the mobile editor herself and other editorial managers had asked to have her transferred. The managing editor said: "you cannot even imagine the number of people from other departments who have said: 'the mobile editor should be transferred to our department.'"[368] The mobile editor was seen to have a symbolic importance for the status of GP's mobile media work, although many media workers were aware that she had been unable to do much work on the mobile news site.[369] In 2010, she and the editorial board had not approved such a transfer. The mobile editor felt that there were internal politics at play with regard to her employment. She guessed that since the former mobile project group, and the company board, had fought to grant her employment as a mobile editor, they had to sustain that decision through their actions.[370] She informed that since she had practically not worked with the mobile news site since the summer of 2009, she had lost most of her interest in doing so. When she was employed as a mobile editor, she had envisioned participating in the journalistic development of the mobile news site. However, she had not been involved in such processes. Given the loss of functionality and the low priority of the mobile news site, she felt that her work as the mobile editor over the past year and a half had been more or less a waste of time. She was no longer certain that she would appreciate working with manual mobile editing, even if GP regained the functionality they had lost:

> For some reason, I had expected that it was going to be more about journalism, if you know what I mean. I am not a technician. I am not a person who can go

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[366] Managing editor, 14.09.10.
[367] Managing editor, 14.09.10.
[368] Managing editor, 14.09.10.
[369] Editorial developments chief, 06.09.10; Managing editor, 14.09.10.
[370] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.

out and measure how we should achieve the best traffic, or how we are going to sell advertisements in the best possible way. That is how I feel – it is not related to my expertise. I mean, even if I had been allowed to participate, it may be that I would not have been good at it. I long to work more with journalism, rather than working with the packaging of journalism […]. It became clear that [my job] involved mostly dealing with small technical problems, which a machine could fix, but someone had to do it (Mobile editor, 06.09.10).

The mobile editor, in other words, had not only lost her passion for the mobile news site, but had also concluded that it was less about journalism and more about technology than she had first expected. A conclusion to be drawn from this is that she envisioned the focus of mobile media to be on journalism, but gradually realised that it was more technologically-oriented. She reasoned that there was a small chance that she would regain her interest in manual mobile editing, but that this was possible only if the entire web department became involved in relaunching the practice of mobile editing.[371] In general, the media workers were not satisfied with the quality of their mobile news site. Some creatives, such as the editor-in-chief and the managing editor, continued to insist on the importance of manual editing for the mobile news site. The editor-in-chief stated that they were in a transitional period, and that they intended to regain lost functionality so that the mobile editor could start manual editing again.[372] The managing editor argued: "if we are to have an adequate mobile news site with the ways technology and content work today, then manual editing is necessary."[373] However, she also underscored that they faced increasing difficulties because of the growing number of mobile channels. She argued that manual editing was no longer feasible, and emphasised the importance of exploring the possibility of auto-direction. The next section contains a discussion of how the web department deployed changes to their mobile news site practices throughout 2010, involving the interplay between old and new, as well as between humans and machines.

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[371] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.
[372] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.
[373] Managing editor, 14.09.10.

9.2.3. Towards the co-existence of old and new?

Although cross-media news work involves various channels, the value, status and importance of these channels varies. The printed newspaper was typically seen as the most important, according to tradition as well as in terms of usage statistics and revenue. The news site came second in such assessments, while mobile media were treated as the least important. Throughout 2010, the responsibility for the mobile news site became a shared exercise among the creatives in the web department. However, it was clear that its importance was overshadowed by the news site in their everyday work practices. The mobile editor reasoned: "all of us perceive that the news site must come first; that is what we prioritise, since it has the most readers."[374] The workers became conscious of the interconnectedness between the mobile news site and the news site. The mobile editor stated: "I think it is in the back of our minds, sometimes, that if we do something in a particular way on the news site, no one will be able to access that news article on a mobile."[375] She also said that they had made explicit that media workers must take into account the mobile news site when they were working with the news site, but that "it probably comes and goes in periods how much we actually work with it."[376] Obviously, the old was treated as being more important than the new, which resulted in only sporadic attention being paid to mobile media. The mobile editor continued:

> We now have a rotating schedule where each person is sometimes responsible for mobile media. And I say "sometimes" because, in our ordinary schedule, one could assume that someone will be responsible for mobile media almost every day, but during this autumn, many people have been absent because of sickness, or various people are only working 80 percent of the time, and therefore are away for a day and someone else is away the next day. So, from the ordinary schedule it may seem like someone will be responsible for mobile media every day, but I believe that there have been hardly any such days during this autumn because of all the absences; some people also work for unions and so on. The bottom line has been that we have to manage the news site every day and then there is no one who considers the mobile site, so to speak. There is no one to shoulder that responsibility, and then it is easily forgotten, I believe (Mobile editor, 25.11.10).

[374] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.
[375] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.
[376] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.

The previously discussed intra-organisational tensions and established status dimensions between old and new, which are common to print and online media, evidently came into play in their embracement of the mobile news site. The mobile editor noted that the pace of work in the web department was intense and therefore made prioritisation necessary. She reasoned that "if you are the one responsible for the lead page, then I can imagine that most of us do not really think about mobile media very much,"[377] which indicated that the mobile news site was given secondary priority. The mobile editor explicated that "there is a constant evaluation of whether or not it is important. It all comes down to how highly we value it compared to our normal work, so to speak."[378] One possible interpretation is that the news site started to become institutionalised and treated as "normal work," while the mobile news site was perceived differently, as the new and inferior medium. Evidently, this affected GP's approaches to these news channels in their everyday work practices.

9.2.4. A new interplay between humans and machines?

It is all about what one can do. We can, of course, work to ensure that the headline looks good, but for which mobile? I mean, we had an idea at the start that there was only one mobile format. But now, my mobile puts the headline on one row, and on the next person's mobile, it is on one and a half rows. Consequently, there is not too much we can do with it, so to speak [...]. What we discussed at the start was to have a picture that works, a headline that does not end up on several rows and so on. But it typically looks good nowadays and there is no special person that has done anything with it. It is "complete & clean" and I do not know what we are going to do – there is no need to do anything with it (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

In 2010, some suggested that machine-led auto-direction had become more sufficient, and that they had come to work with mobile media through several channels, rather than just one. Interestingly, the web department chief did not envision that a mobile editor could do much editing (or other journalistic) work for their mobile channels at the time, and instead machine-led auto-direction was treated as being increasingly sufficient. With the loss of functionalities for manually editing the mobile

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[377] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.
[378] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.

news site, another kind of interplay between humans and machines emerged in the media workers' pursuit of high-quality mobile journalism. The media workers' approach relied more and more on machine-led auto-direction. In 2010, GP not only prioritised the creation of their iPhone app ahead of recovering lost functionality for the mobile news site, but also created an app which functioned entirely through auto-direction. Similar processes were implemented for the mobile news site.

This interplay essentially involved the relationship between the old (news site) and the new (mobile news site), acknowledging that GP's practices for the news site were strongly correlated with the outcome of the mobile news site. However, as a consequence, different sorts of content were not auto-directed from the news site to the mobile news site with the desired quality. With limited opportunities to edit the mobile news site manually and directly, they instead tried to adapt their practices for their news site in ways that avoided the problems of auto-direction. For instance, when they published articles on extraordinarily important news events, they used a format that displayed the article over either the entire screen, or half its width. Although such articles had great news value for mobiles as well, the mobile news site did not display them. The mobile editor explained: "it is carried out entirely through auto-direction. It is just that we do it in another way now, which is easier than the way we did previously. It is just that the programmer has changed a setting in our web publishing system."[379]

Obviously, the techies could calibrate the settings for auto-direction in a way that improved the quality of the mobile news site. The mobile editor evaluated its results: "for us, this has in reality meant that work processes have become easier, while things actually become visible on mobiles, so it is entirely positive."[380] As she had felt dejected and frustrated about manual editing, she was relieved and positively inclined towards the change which was taking place. She explained that when the news site had previously not auto-directed material properly to the mobile news site "then we would add it manually, but now the problem is solved anyway, so this is just another step towards auto-direction."[381] In conclusion, GP relied increasingly on the machine-led auto-direction of mobile news.

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[379] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.
[380] Mobile editor, 25.11.10.
[381] Mobile editor, 06.09.10.

> We do not have many resources to do things manually, so the general line is to get more and more auto-directed mirroring of the news site, in a way that makes it look, well, good enough […]. I mean, there are two paths to take: one way was when we had the mobile editor doing manual editing all the time during the daytime […]. If it is right to work with mobile media manually, one has to expand this, having staff doing manual editing during the night, adjusting the staff situation and so on, but that is not our path. Our general direction now is rather to make it acceptable through an auto-direction mode, but one should be able to manually edit extraordinary events, and that particular task is one that any web editor can manage (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

When the web department chief discussed different paths, she argued that they had deserted the path of having dedicated mobile editors, for which she had argued in previous years. Instead, GP had moved towards practices of auto-direction. The web department had enforced policies for publishing to the news site, in order to be sensitive to the specificities of publishing to their mobile news site. She concluded that "our path of development is to manage mobile media by considering it in our work with the website."[382] In a similar vein, the managing editor argued:

> We are clearly going to become present in an increasing number of forms of distribution. It is obvious that we will not be able to have an editor for every form of distribution […]. In the long term, we cannot have manual editing as soon as we distribute something in a new channel. It is not possible. Then these new channels will never become profitable. That is a challenge for the future, how to solve this, and I think there must be a combination of technological and content-related thinking (Managing editor, 14.09.10).

An increasing number of (mobile) distribution channels were expected, and it was not perceived as feasible to manage these channels through manual editing. It is worth noticing that the managing editor emphasised business issues, just as the CEO was previously quoted framing editorial projections. Evidently, creatives and suits emphasised both business and journalism. One of the techies, the digital designer, suggested that they spent too much time editing content for different channels. She argued: "you really do not have to edit for the web or the mobile as much as you have to edit for print," which concerns the format of these channels. She acknowledged that manual editing was a common practice for newspapers and news sites, but as regards the mobile news site, she said: "editing

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[382] Web department chief, 01.10.10.

content is indeed good, but I think one can make much better use of technology."[383] The digital designer further argued that journalism, to a significant degree, concerned editing, and that the practices of editing for the print newspaper had been adopted for both their news site and their mobile news site. However, she stressed that she did not find that the need for editing was as prevalent for digital channels as it was for print media. She had also come to the conclusion that even if they spent time editing content for their digital and mobile channels, it would then be embedded or redirected to other sites and apps, over which they had no control. Rather than think in terms of editing, she suggested that they should design their content and services for user-friendly access via various digital channels.[384]

While acknowledging the increasing complexity and heterogeneity of mobile media distribution channels, the web department chief said: "we cannot have numerous different sites of practically the same thing, and then edit them all manually. No, that is not desirable. It is desirable that there should be better technological solutions. That is desirable."[385] When this fieldwork was coming to a close, the media workers generally favoured increased auto-direction. During the spring of 2011, the mobile editor was transferred to another editorial department, where she could engage in the journalistic practices for which she had longed. There was no longer a dedicated mobile editor, but instead there were practices involving the interplay between humans and machines, as well as old and new media. The following quotation from the web department chief displays an emergent stance on the necessity of human involvement in the shaping of "mobile journalism" at the end of 2010:

> There is no specific journalism for mobiles. It is not like unique articles are written for mobile media. I do not really feel that it is a big problem, that there is a need for it. Of course, it was probably important that we employed the mobile editor previously, but now I feel that as more and more people access news with their mobiles, and when you use it for browsing, there is probably no particular need for a mobile editor (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

The web department chief argued that there was no need for a mobile editor, nor was there anything that could be labelled "mobile journalism."

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[383] Digital designer, 13.09.10.
[384] Digital designer, 13.09.10.
[385] Web department chief, 01.10.10.

She argued that technological systems came to form the desired solution for the management of mobile journalism. This machine-led approach was unlike their previous interpretations, which favoured mobile editing by humans. Taking a glance in the rear view mirror, in 2008, she said: "there is no one who thinks that we should not have a mobile editor at all. We have already erased that alternative. But I mean, you never know." Obviously, the "erased" alternative was realised with the termination of the mobile editor's position. The web department chief was, however, right in her proposition that "you never know." There were also several others who envisioned that GP would have employed several mobile editors by 2010. In conclusion, sensemaking of the future is obviously truly challenging.

9.3. Conclusions

This chapter has shown the transformation of the sensemaking of the roles of humans and machines in the shaping of journalism for mobile media channels. As the tension between humans and machines came into play over the years, it became obvious that perceptions of their respective roles were changing significantly. This chapter provides new knowledge on the shaping of mobile journalism in general, and the tension between humans and machines with regard to auto-direction in particular.

The longitudinal sensemaking approach has captured transformations during different phases, from reliance on machine-led auto-direction to manual editing and back again. This outcome produced cues that were extracted and used to make sense, and creatives pushed towards the interplay of repurposing between humans and machines, exchanging responsibility for the mobile news site. This result shows that the sensemaking and shaping of the new (mobile editing) relates to practices and experiences of the old (editing for print and web-based media). Newspaper journalism is, in other words, so inexorably connected to the way it is distributed that the practices for one distribution channel can be transferred to another, substantially different, distribution channel. This relates to conceptions of editing as a mark of quality, which were derived from both GP's own previous practices, and others' current practices.

As they were bound by their public nature and symbolic importance, these practices of manual editing were presented as important, even when unexpected losses of the necessary technological functionalities made

them impossible to achieve. In 2008, GP practised what they preached, but the two became disconnected in the following year. Their previous sensemaking became path-dependent on how they continued to make sense of the situation. Some were resistant to deserting the idea of manual mobile editing, as they were committed to their own actions. Their initial sensemaking was binding, as it was public knowledge, both within and outside the organisation. Their arguments were designed to achieve a particular outcome (retaining the mobile editor), which meant that they had posited an outcome in search of a prophecy. They mobilised reasons that supported their development path, with the aim of legitimising and preaching on their past and yet publicly visible actions.

However, in the final instance, most of them disentangled themselves from these conceptions and instead adapted content to the limitations of machine-led auto-direction. New sets of arguments legitimised their new machine-led approach, such as the "impossibility" of manual editing when there are a plethora of channels involved in cross-media news work. As the conditions transformed, they started to preach what they practised. They legitimised their new approach of exercising sensitivity to mobile news channels in publishing to the news site. With the practices that emerged in the final phase studied here, humans designed journalistic content for the old (news site) in order to facilitate machine-led auto-direction to the new (mobile news site). They envisioned practices in which they shaped journalism for one digital channel, and then used machines to auto-direct the content to various other digital channels.

The tension between humans and machines not only involves the simple and practical choice of whether a machine or a human journalist should be responsible for publishing content. It is a tension that comes into play when machines do not offer the required functions. It is also a tension that comes into play when human journalists become resigned to performing their assigned tasks. Obviously, these tensions have not only influenced practices for mobile media, but also for the web. In conclusion, the transforming sensemaking of mobile journalism, which involves continuous negotiations between the possibilities and limitations of machines, is consequently shaping contemporary practices of cross-media news work. What was formerly perceived as the new (the news site) became institutionalised as the primary channel, from which humans repurposed journalism to print (the old), and from which machines auto-directed content to their mobile channels (the new).

Nevertheless, the label "mobile journalism" refers to ambitions to adapt and edit previously produced journalistic material. Regardless of whether it is repurposed by humans or auto-directed by machines, this kind of mobile journalism, for the most part, involves shaping something new based on the old. The old has a double meaning. First, it refers plainly to the shaping of mobile media based on old content, that is, content which is auto-directed or edited for mobile channels. Second, it refers to how old journalistic editing practices were transferred into GP's initial approaches to the new. Ultimately, there were, however, limited developments of new and distinguished journalistic practices for mobile media. The developments which occurred basically came down to either repackaging existing news for SMS news flashes or the mobile news site, or being sensitive to the inexorable interconnections between the different channels. The continuous and transformative shaping of unique and customised features for mobile media was instead characterised by the programming of machines to enable new experiences involving journalism and useful information. The sensemaking of creatives, suits and techies was enacted in the programming of their machines to enable location-based services, participation and personalisation.

10

TENSIONS AT PLAY: PRODUCERS VS. USERS

> In 2010 we have been truly app-oriented, during all of spring and until we launched the app. At the time, it almost felt outdated to work with the mobile site, this old thing, you know (CEO, 29.09.10).

This chapter discusses how tensions came into play between creatives, suits and techies. It focuses on the process of creating a GP iPhone app during 2009 and 2010, as this case study highlights the polarised positions of producers versus users. Their work in creating an iPhone app was central to their mobile media efforts in 2010. It involved simultaneous development processes driven by an alliance of creatives and techies on the one hand, and suits on the other. While they agreed to develop an iPhone app, opinions varied on the degree to which old practices and outputs were to shape how they approached the new.

Tensions between creatives, suits and techies came into play as they shaped their iPhone app. Creatives and techies essentially adopted a producer-centric approach, which involved applying their old approach, which focused on the distribution of local journalism to users. The suits, on the other hand, proposed a participation-centric approach that suggested an equal division of the focus between content derived from journalists and citizens. Following their arguments, they progressed with the producer-centric approach, with the assistance of MktMobil. This chapter presents a chronological narrative of these sensemaking processes, focusing on key issues relating to the tensions which were addressed. The first section presents an introduction to the transformation of their sensemaking, followed by an analysis of their different app proposals and the launch process.

10.1. An introduction to the sensemaking of iPhone app developments

During 2008 and 2009, the mobile news site and the MktMobil project formed the focus of the attention of those involved in developing mobile media at GP. Orchestrated by their interpretations and actions during those years, there was a pronounced focus on improving journalism and the user interface for the mobile news site by means of manual editing by the mobile editor. During the second half of 2008, the iPhone was launched by Apple in Sweden, and subsequently appeared on GP's sensemaking radar. While still expressing their dedication to the mobile news site at the end of 2009, they anticipated that an iPhone app would become important. Two key motives were discussed: first, to satisfy the continuously growing number of iPhone users, and second, to improve their brand image. The vision of the growing importance of the iPhone was spread among media workers at GP, but also within MktMobil. During the early autumn of 2009, their discussions on the advantages and disadvantages of developing an iPhone app entered onto the agendas of both GP and MktMobil. At an MktMobil project group meeting in September, the development of an iPhone app was included on their preliminary list of priorities for 2010, although not defined as a priority for the spring.[386] At GP, the topic was discussed more extensively for the first time at an editorial department conference in September,[387] and the suits started similar discussions with a consultancy firm in November.

By the start of 2010, with the launch of the DDG, its members started to make preparatory developments for an iPhone app. The techies involved compiled drafts for the design and functionality of the app. They used their intranet to summon others to a meeting (on February 1st) in which they were going to present and discuss their draft of an iPhone app. However, no one came to the meeting.[388] The DDG continued their work and compiled a draft with specifications of content and functionalities for an iPhone app, collaborating with the creatives on the editorial department board.[389] At an editorial department workshop at this time, the DDG chief and the editorial developments chief made a

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[386] Digital developer, 04.10.10.
[387] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.
[388] Digital developer, 04.10.10.
[389] Digital designer, 04.10.10.

presentation in which they emphasised the importance for GP to improve their position in the field of mobile media. The digital developer made a presentation on his appraisal of the situation regarding mobile media, which focused on three questions: where are we now? what is happening now? and what are we going to do? He informed the board about the general mobile media activities of both GP and MktMobil, but emphasised the advantages of developing an iPhone app. While these advantages formed the focus of his talk, some disadvantages were acknowledged as well, and in particular that forthcoming web browsers (HTML 5) could displace apps customised for specific mobile operating systems. At the meeting, they agreed that GP had to take immediate action in order to develop an iPhone app. They favoured the development of an iPhone app prior to apps for other mobile operating systems (Android etc.). They expected that an app for the iPhone would attract the most users, provide the most important brand value, and have the most potential for future advertising revenues. The managing editor recalled that they found it important to prioritise rapid development, at the expense of the thorough investigation of alternatives:

> We are not going to have a lengthy process of investigation, analysis and such – we are going to go for an iPhone app. Now we should invest all of our resources in launching one, so that we can promote it before the summer holiday begins (Managing editor, 14.09.10).

GP orientated towards the development of an iPhone app. The editor-in-chief held informal discussions with the CEO and the IT chief about the urgent need for GP to develop an iPhone app, and found that they welcomed this idea. The editor-in-chief felt that they had carried out sufficient preparatory work to make the creation of an app a key priority for their digital development work during the spring. While there were some suits involved in the DDG, the development of the iPhone app was initially led by the alliance of creatives and suits. The suits pushing the development in the business department were, however, not members of the DDG. It was not until several months of parallel sensemaking had occurred that the discussions between creatives and suits on the development of the iPhone app began. This coincided with one of the recurrent scheduled meetings between the business department chief, the brand chief, the editor-in-chief and the managing editor on February 11th, which focused on the content and brand image of GP. They then realised

that they were all positively inclined towards the creation of an iPhone app, and subsequently decided to coordinate the two parallel tracks by pursuing collaboration through the DDG.[390] The members of the DDG and company board reasoned that from a resource perspective, it was preferable if they developed one app. The creatives and the DDG argued that it was preferable if GP made use of their collaboration with MktMobil in their development of the iPhone app, rather than involving consultancy firms, as proposed by the suits. The DDG and the creatives argued that cost-saving improvements and essential programming experience would be helpful for developing potential apps for Android mobile devices etc. For instance, the digital developer said:

> When we decided to make an iPhone app, we discussed whether we were going to buy the service. There are numerous companies that deliver such apps that are ready-to-use. But we concluded that this is simply the future, and we will need this competence in house – we need to own the programming code in order to use it again. I mean, it is said that up to 50% of what you do in one app can be re-used, if you do an Android app, for instance. If you then possess the programming code, you will have gained a great deal, and you get more in-house competence (Digital developer, 07.09.10).

In conclusion, the creatives, suits and techies initially approached the iPhone and apps as something new and important to monitor and analyse, and then started to see it as necessary to make such developments themselves. Following two parallel processes, they started to coordinate, through which the focus shifted from making *an* app to making *one* app. This app was to be developed in-house by the DDG in collaboration with MktMobil, thereby developing their competence in the newspaper group, rather than by an external consultancy company, as planned by the suits. The next section discusses the collaborative shaping of the iPhone app.

10.2. Sensemaking of two iPhone app proposals

The creatives, suits and techies got involved in collaborative sensemaking of the development of the iPhone app from early March onwards. At the first meeting (March 5th), the DDG chief and the digital developer met with the brand chief, and they presented and discussed their respective

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[390] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.

drafts, which constituted the springboard for negotiations. The suits and the consultancy firm arranged a lunch meeting soon afterwards (March 10th), during which they presented their proposition to the DDG. During the following week, they continued their discussions on how to proceed in order to develop one joint iPhone app, based on the two different drafts. There were some important issues that they approached in similar ways, such as the idea that the app should rely on machine-led repurposing. With regard to making the app free or fee-based, the CEO recalled that "we had a very short time to make a decision on whether or not we were going to charge for the app." He acknowledged that there "were very different views on charging within the working group,"[391] but that they quickly decided to favour a free approach. They assumed that a free approach would generate the best initial user diffusion. The DDG chief reasoned that they could eventually offer and charge for a variety of types of content and functionalities:

> We looked into how apps can be a path to charging for digital content, since charging on mobiles is accepted in a different way from charging for a traditional website. We felt that an app gives you another feeling as a product compared to a website, which is more of a content stream, so to speak. The app makes a frame – its usual construction has icons that you can click on; of course, you can have an icon with a website, but for most people, their behaviour is different with an app. You have it, and it feels like your own miniature newspaper in some way (DDG chief, 07.09.10).

Developing an iPhone app was, in other words, envisioned as a possible track to profiting from mobile media by charging users, but first, those ivolved wanted to attract users through a free app. There were two important reasons for the perceived urgency of developing an app. First, they felt eager to make progress, as mobile media had not been prioritised during 2009. Second, as evidenced by the two draft proposals, creatives, suits and techies were all involved in pushing this change, which put it high on their agenda. It is worth noticing that the suits pushed for the rapid development of the iPhone app because they wanted it to be available on the market in conjunction with a large marketing campaign planned for the summer. The brand chief reasoned:

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[391] CEO, 29.09.10.

> It was the business department that put strong pressure on the DDG and said that we must complete this by the summer, since it is during the summer that people use their mobiles the most, browsing mobile Internet and so on, and therefore we cannot miss the summer period (Brand chief, 04.10.10).

From this perspective, the suits had started to push the development of mobile media, while creatives and techies were also pushing forward. There were two relatively different app proposals. The proposition by the DDG, with its alliance of creatives and techies (few suits were involved in DDG 1.0), will here be referred to as the DDG app. The proposition by the business department, driven by the brand chief and the chief of marketing communications, will be referred to as the BD app. Their propositions were conceptualised based on different ways of sensemaking of mobile media, through which their stances on the producer vs. user tension came into play.

The suits emphasised that the forthcoming iPhone app would enhance the brand image of GP. They wanted to position the app and the GP brand at the frontier compared to other Swedish news media companies. In order to achieve this, they suggested that the app should make use of unique and creative features, such as personalisation and location-based services (positioning). Most importantly, they envisioned that GP would create an appreciative niche if they were to allow a high degree of user participation. The proposed BD app was therefore characterised by a relatively progressive position on citizen journalism, leading to their approach being labelled "participation-centric." The BD app essentially involved and promoted two equally-sized sections of content. The first section was proposed to contain news produced by the journalists at GP, building predominantly on auto-directed articles from their news site. This section, in other words, relied on their traditionally established role as media producers, focusing one-direction distribution of journalism.

The second section was, on the other hand, intended to focus on news originating from their users. This was addressed as a response to the interpretation that users desired not only to consume, but also to produce news with their mobile devices. They reasoned that while not everyone would contribute user-generated content, it was important to make it possible for those who were interested to do so. The BD app therefore involved a proposition for a section labelled "you-news," which was to build on news written by the citizens of Gothenburg. They also suggested developing a number of functionalities enabling user-generated content.

For instance, users would be provided with the possibility of submitting their personal news stories and photos, which would be presented according to their geographical position. Another proposed feature was designed to encourage the citizens of Gothenburg to use the app's location-based functionality to identify their current location, and then to express whether they hated it or loved it. This feature was seen as promising for their local context based on interpretations of the popularity of "liking" things on social networking sites.

The proposed draft for the DDG app, by way of comparison, departed from a sensemaking position here referred to as "producer-centric." The DDG reasoned that when GP made their first app available, they would have to focus on those aspects that were familiar and appreciated by users. Their stance was that GP must first and foremost promote and establish their (old) news producer role in the context of the iPhone app. Hence, the proposed DDG app emphasised the accessibility of journalistic news content. The editorial board argued that local news in particular should constitute the core content in all their channels. While they acknowledged that a creative app could be appealing to users, they stated that they would prefer to launch their first app based on local journalism. They argued for employing basic functionalities in the first app to be launched, but also for making use of the personalised and location-based services developed together with MktMobil. It was seen as essential to make rapid progress and to develop a manageable app:

> It rather quickly ended up in us making something quickly with the most important functionalities. Then we tried to create some functions that focused this thing on personalisation and sensitivity to the user's location, which came down to our bar recommendation service (Web department chief, 01.10.10).

While the stance of the DDG was to make a basic iPhone app available as quickly as possible, their line of reasoning suggested a continuous and subsequent process of improvement, through which they would develop and integrate more distinguishing features. Their position, in other words, corresponded to the web 2.0 concept of beta versions that are developed continuously over time. While the suits also wanted to pursue continuous development, they suggested using more distinguished features at first.

10.2.1. Producer-centric versus participation-centric

The two drafts were negotiated in continuous meetings. One key issue concerned how the two apps were positioned in relation to enabling extensive user participation. The proponents of the DDG app argued continuously in favour of promoting their own journalistic content, rather than user-generated content. The DDG members reasoned that their extensive analysis of the patterns of their website users indicated that they could not expect users to be particularly active participants or content creators within the mobile media domain. The digital developer found the idea of enabling more dialogue between journalists and users appealing, but he argued that there was a limited incentive for users to generate content for a news app. The editor-in-chief acknowledged that the editorial board did not yet perceive users as being truly willing to participate in content creation, as the BD app assumed.[392] The DDG chief argued that the proposed BD app would probably not succeed, as there was an overestimated need for user participation and dialogue. If the users failed to make contributions, such sections of the app would risk having limited value. He did, however, acknowledge that user involvement was important:

> Everyone can take notice of things, which involves how they have experienced something. For instance, at a football game, our two reporters can see something from a very professional perspective, but they cannot notice everything. If there are 50,000 people at a game, it is possible to get many more impressions of that event (DDG chief, 07.09.10).

The DDG chief argued that he welcomed user interactivity, under certain conditions. While asserting that people can contribute their impressions, through pictures or comments, these contributions were not seen as equivalent to the "very professional perspective" of journalists reporting from the field. There was, in other words, a critical stance towards both the anticipated amount and quality of user-generated content. The editor-in-chief underscored that such interactivity raised ethical questions with regard to their responsibility towards the citizens in the region. He stated that GP had, for a long time, worked to gain the trust of their users, which had become an important asset to the company, and the risk of

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[392] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.

offensive user-generated content could potentially be detrimental to this asset. The editor-in-chief reasoned that citizens may, for instance, take and upload pictures with their mobile devices if they happen to observe an accident. Their pictures could potentially display the faces of people who have been hurt or even died in the accident, which would be traumatic for the friends and relatives of the victim, but also the GP brand. If GP were to allow such user participation, he argued that they would have to employ editors to monitor and edit potentially offensive user-generated content before it was published, which would require extensive staff resources.[393] In other words, it was anticipated that the DDG app could be more easily managed compared to the BD app.

Those in favour of the BD app argued that a creative and unique app would enhance their brand image the most. As the suits responsible for the marketing communications of the company, they could more easily design an effective marketing campaign if there were unique features that could be publicised. The BD app proposition with "you-news" relied on the expectation that users would appreciate such functionality, even though not all of them would become contributors. The brand chief noted that it was unfortunate that the creatives did not relinquish their control of the content by allowing more user involvement. She believed that the creatives did not want user-generated news because of an anxiety that user-generated content would challenge their own news articles:

> We wanted to involve the users much more than what they wanted from the editorial side. They are afraid of this thing of having other people writing news. That is clear […]. It would be a little bit of a competitive situation, user-news versus the editorial department news, if the user news is faster. At the same time, I think this adds a fantastic actuality to one's app, if one dares to open up in such ways. I mean, the idea that our readers built half of the app in some way really was an interesting idea, I believe (Brand chief, 04.10.10).

She argued that it was a pity that GP did not dare to make the iPhone app more creative, which related to their generally prudent approach to digital media development and control. She acknowledged that there were clearly ethical concerns, as emphasised by the creatives, but that they could have found ways to move forward nevertheless. Importantly, she emphasised a perceived "competition" between producers and users in the production of news. She explicitly touched upon the issue of power distribution,

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[393] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.

from a different perspective from that of the creatives themselves. This involves how new approaches allow users more power and opportunities to utilise their creativity and ideas. During the negotiations in the spring, the alliance of creatives and techies won ground with their proposal, at the expense of the BD app proposal. The chief of marketing recalled:

> There were no big conflicts really, but as soon as the app came into their hands [the creatives], the influence we and the consultancy firm had evaporated. Then our draft was like a fundamental base, but there were other drafts and activities that were processed, based mainly on what MktMobil could deliver, and also perhaps a bit more on the traditional newspaper way of thinking than the consultancy firm's ideas. Then it was processed that way instead – instead of a customer perspective, it was processed from a newspaper perspective. That is what happened. When we develop something, and perhaps especially when we get it from external partners, then it is very consumer-oriented. It focuses on utility for customers and also the fact that there should be something unique, something that can be communicated as distinctive. But when it is the other way round, then it is more like "well, how do we usually report on news, and how can we do that on this new platform?" The things we usually do are then supposed to be transferred in some way to a new screen, a new template, so to speak. And then one must battle, we really had to battle to get some of these things through, such as "love and hate Gothenburg" and restaurant reviews. These were pushed a lot by our department in order to keep as much as possible of such functionality, so it was a compromise (Chief of marketing, 29.09.10).

The chief of marketing explained that the suits felt that the creatives insisted strongly on their line of reasoning for the app. Importantly, she explicitly addressed her perceptions of how creatives and suits held different positions on both old and new media as well as producers and users. According to the chief of marketing, the creatives favoured developing an iPhone app based on their old "newspaper way of thinking," which involved translating old journalism publishing practices to a new channel. Furthermore, her stance was that the suits were more sensitive to consumers' needs, and that they therefore "battled" with the creatives (and techies) to reach a compromise in which some of their suggestions were included. An example of how they negotiated a compromise concerns the idea of expressing a love or hate of places in Gothenburg. They decided to change the labels to like versus dislike Gothenburg, to facilitate user interactivity, while avoiding strong vocabulary. There were several discussions among creatives, suits and techies of that kind, in which they proposed their stances, based on their

interest. Their discussions were described as reasonable. The chief of marketing, for instance, discussed her experiences on collaborating with the creatives and negotiating stances with the editor-in-chief thus:

> On some particular occasions, there was a definitive no. Then there were very clear journalistic reasons that one can understand. The idea is not declined for the sake of it, but we understand why. When there are no clear journalistic reasons, we have a very open dialogue about opportunities, such as why we do something, and its benefits. I find this very constructive and good (Chief of marketing, 29.09.10).

The bottom line to the chief of marketing was that creatives and suits were accustomed to negotiating with each other, and that there was no direct conflict in this case, but rather a compromise that did not favour the will of the suits. However, she asserted carefully that the editor-in-chief not only made the journalistic reasons for his decisions clear, he was also compassionate and cooperative with the ambitions of the suits.

10.3. Rapid and centralised development of the iPhone app

During the spring, the DDG took charge of developing their free and producer-centric DDG app.[394] Based on their situational analysis and their revised DDG app, the digital developer and the digital designer presented their progress to media workers from all of the departments.[395] Following the social sensemaking and shaping of the app, they needed assistance from MktMobil to realise their ambitions in practice. In 2010, the conditions for their collaboration suggested that DDG contributed analysis, creative ideas and drafts, while MktMedia and MktMobil performed the technical development which enabled the implementation of these services and products.[396]

As the agenda for MktMobil was decided jointly by all of the newspaper groups, GP had to convince them that developing an iPhone app was important. The DDG at GP approached MktMobil with a proposal to make the development of an iPhone app their highest priority

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[394] DDG chief, 04.10.10.
[395] Digital developer, 04.10.10; Digital designer, 04.10.10.
[396] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.

for the spring. The digital developer, who represented the DDG and GP in discussions with MktMobil, recalled that the other network members at the time were generally aware of and positive towards apps, but were not yet planning to make such developments themselves. At a MktMobil meeting (March 17th), he proposed that they should prioritise and invest resources in developing an iPhone app with immediate effect. He argued that GP had made this their top priority for digital development, and suggested that MktMobil should do the same.[397]

The digital developer claimed that there were a number of factors in their favour. For instance, GP had, from the start of the MktMobil project, been the strongest company in advocating change. Their analysis and creative work had benefited the other project members, as the services they developed could be used by the other members. The mobile media services which had been developed furthermore formed cases that the MktMobil project leader could use when presenting their progress to their existing and potential future stakeholders. GP would benefit from MktMobil carrying out the programming, while the network members of MktMobil would benefit from gaining access to an app shell that could be tailored to their needs at a low cost. The digital developer furthermore argued that MktMobil needed actors such as GP to take the initiative, since it was necessary to illustrate successful examples of mobile development to both existing and potential future partners and stakeholders.[398] At the subsequent MktMobil meeting (April 8th), it was formally decided to make the development of an iPhone app the highest priority. It was clear that the priority list was changed in favour of the will of GP, since none of the other network partners had any immediate demand for the development of an iPhone app. The digital developer acknowledged the importance of his close personal relationship with the MktMobil project leader, with whom he had communicated frequently between the scheduled MktMobil meetings over the years. Since the interests of GP were recognised in this way during the spring, the MktMobil project leader made sure to prioritise the interests of the other network members during the following months.[399] Essentially, it was a relationship of give and take, in which GP were assisted by MktMobil to perform their digital development.

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[397] Digital developer, 07.09.10.
[398] Digital developer, 07.09.10.
[399] Digital developer, 04.10.10.

It is worth noticing that the official decision to develop an iPhone app at GP was taken at a company board meeting on April 19th, which therefore took place after they had agreed to make such developments together with MktMobil. The practical development work was by then already in progress, as the techies in the DDG were shaping the design and functionalities of the app together with the techies employed centrally by MktMobil.[400] The digital developer and digital designer led much of the practical work, while the chief of system developments functioned as a translator of the requirements for programming between GP and MktMobil. The DDG involved other creatives, suits and techies in the process. They could view, evaluate and discuss the ongoing development of the app, connected directly via videoconferencing technology to the MktMobil programmers, who were not physically present.[401]

The iPhone app was finalised and processed through Apple's approval procedure, and was made accessible for download by mid-June (as planned). As the media workers had worked to a challenging schedule, they had been forced to make numerous priorities and compromises. The end result was a basic and news-oriented app, with some functionalities specifically customised in pursuit of mobile media logic(s). There was the possibility of user participation through the restaurant review system and "like or dislike Gothenburg." However, there were no functionalities enabling citizen journalism, as these had been refused by the creatives and techies. Other elements had been left out because of time pressure and technological constraints. The DDG chief stated: "we did not manage to solve, upon the launch, the problem of allowing users to comment, but we will get that sorted during the autumn."[402] While they needed to improve their programming in order to solve this, he said they had at least made it possible to view users' comments (unlike their mobile news site). While they enabled less participation than suggested by the suits, a process aimed at facilitating more user participation was initiated.

10.4. Sensemaking of the process and outcome

In their retrospective assessments, the creatives, suits and techies insisted that the iPhone app they had developed was characterised by the

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[400] Digital designer, 04.10.10; DDG chief, 04.10.10.
[401] DDG chief, 04.10.10; Web department chief, 01.10.10.
[402] DDG chief, 07.09.10.

proposed design and functionalities of the drafted DDG app. This was also evident when accounting for how the app made accessible for download in fact was designed. This section discusses how the creatives, suits and techies evaluated the process of development, the outcome of their work, and future paths.

10.4.1. Evaluation of the process

There was a consensus that GP had demonstrated, with the development of the iPhone app, that they had the capacity to make rapid digital developments if they were prioritised. For instance, the DDG chief said that GP "have shown their muscles."[403] The CEO, on the other hand, stated that he and the company board realised that GP had lagged behind significantly with regard to mobile media, and therefore that they had to take new measures to get back on track. He felt that they progressed a great deal, saying that "it was quick to develop the app once we decided to do so," but also acknowledging that "at one stage, it exploded once MktMedia entered the process."[404]

One explanation for this rapid progress was that both creatives and suits (and techies) were keen to make such developments, and participated actively in enabling progress. There were different perceptions of who was pushing the development the most, which is far from surprising when we consider that the early processes were taking place in parallel. The CEO argued that the early developments were made by the suits, but that they should have combined their process with that of the creatives much sooner. He compared the situation to when the suits took exception to the creatives a few years earlier when the mobile project was being negotiated:

> I know that we on the business side made the same mistake as the editorial side made in the development of the mobile project, as we went to the consultancy company and asked them to propose what a mobile app for GP could look like, with drafts of this […]. There were many good ideas that were abandoned because the editorial department was not involved from the start. There was some kind of "I" thinking that was lost in the process. Something I found very interesting, a very interactive interface in the app […]. Unfortunately it did not get a breakthrough in the end. One explanation was that it was not anchored with the editorial part of the organisation (CEO, 29.09.10).

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[403] DDG chief, 07.09.10.
[404] CEO, 29.09.10.

The CEO also stressed that it was important that GP should enable better communication with regard to digital development, and expressed positive expectations for their re-organisation of the DDG during the autumn of 2010.[405] The editor-in-chief did not find it particularly remarkable that the creatives and techies, as well as the suits, were involved in parallel developments for the app at the beginning of the year. On the contrary, he saw this as an indication that they saw the same things as being important. As they had organised to hand over power to specialists within the organisation, such things were expected to occur. Meanwhile, he hoped that they would become better synchronised through the reorganisation of the DDG 2.0.[406]

The creatives, suits and techies clearly had different views on who had been pushing for change. The brand chief and the chief of marketing felt that their involvement and suggestions for an app had stimulated rapid development during the spring.[407] While the digital developer, on the other hand, acknowledged that their rapid progress was a result of the creatives, suits and techies pushing for change, he also stressed the powerful influence of the creatives in making these developments. He emphasised that the creatives and techies had analysed and considered paths for developing an iPhone app for quite some time before they were contacted by the suits. He felt that there was insufficient communication between the DDG and the suits, considering that they had become aware of each other's work relatively late in the (sensemaking) process. He also stressed that the DDG had close connections to the will of the editorial board, which had a great deal of power over their digital developments. Furthermore, he insisted that GP had benefited from having a strong influence over the priorities of MktMobil, as they successfully made the development of an iPhone app a key area. During the autumn of that year, several other newspapers in the MktMobil network had started developing iPhone apps, making use of similar designs, content and functionalities as those that GP had developed for their app. He concluded that this was a sign that their development of the iPhone app was a win-win situation for the newspapers of MktMobil.[408] This also

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[405] CEO, 20.10.09.
[406] Editor-in-chief, 30.09.10.
[407] Brand chief, 04.10.10; CEO, 29.09.10.
[408] Digital developer, 07.09.10.

shows that the enactment of mobile media by one newspaper produces cues for sensemaking by other newspapers, which engage in mimicry.

10.4.2. Evaluation of the outcome

> It is extremely difficult to say what the timing is here: what is the right timing? Although we should be at the frontier, we must also be in unison with our users. There is no point in launching anything so early that there is only a really small [user] group. I think we launched our app at the right time – it was launched just as the mobile exploded (Editor-in-chief, 05.10.10).

GP aimed to reach 3,000 downloads from its launch in mid-June to the end of August. The result was more than 30,000 downloads, and by the end of 2010, they had reached approximately 50,000 downloads. During the autumn of 2010, the app was generating around half a million page impressions per week, and the trend continued upwards (by the end of 2011 the figures for downloads and page impressions had more than doubled). The DDG-chief explained that the users of the app used it more frequently and browsed more pages, compared to the usage patterns of their mobile news site (DDG chief, 07.09.10). Creatives, suits and techies expressed their satisfaction with the outcome of the app. They emphasised its popularity among users by referring to figures for downloads and page impressions. Positive feedback gained from user reports was also used to evaluate the outcome. For example, the DDG chief stated: "there have been a lot of comments such as 'nice to be able to trash Aftonbladet – see and learn,' and such things, so I feel that we accomplished a really good internal project" (DDG chief, 07.09.10). The media workers defined the criteria for success primarily in terms of the available measurements on users' uptake of their iPhone app. The downloads and page impressions were directly materialised as cues which were extracted for their sensemaking of whether their mobile media endeavours were successful. With figures exceeding their expectations, the iPhone app was seen to be a success, reinforcing GP's sensemaking that they were progressing on the "right" mobile media train track.

In a similar vein, they evaluated their fortunes and misfortunes in terms of user participation with the iPhone app by analysing statistics on usage patterns. When they evaluated user participation outcomes according to traffic and the amount of user-generated content, they found it to be relatively limited. The earlier positions among creatives and

techies vs. suits on user participation naturally influenced the way they made sense of and perceived such statistics. For instance, the IT chief said: "on 'love or hate' or 'like or dislike' Gothenburg, not very many pictures have been uploaded."[409] The brand chief, on the other hand, said: "I think our current app is really passive, except for the 'like/dislike Gothenburg' function, and that one has not exactly been a blockbuster, and that is the only thing where the app facilitates some interactivity."[410] While she acknowledged that people did not participate to any great extent, she insisted that this partly related to the fact that their app had been shaped in a way that did little to support and promote participation.

A critically important aspect of the interplay between creatives, suits and techies relates to the consequences of designing the app in a substantially different way than that which was suggested by the suits. The chief of marketing noted that their participatory features were "not being used very much, but this relates to the fact that we have not marketed them very much. We could run a campaign on that."[411] With their first proposition emphasising several distinguishing features, the suits planned to communicate in their marketing campaign that GP had taken an innovative approach to the app. Unique features could be materialised into strong messages for marketing communications, but she explained that the conditions were different due to the app they had developed:

> The original proposition, which involved news written by citizens, you could have built a campaign on since it was sufficiently distinguished and big, but there is nothing we can do now. Instead, we have to publicise it little by little, since it is not impressive nor unique enough to shout about (Chief of marketing, 29.09.10).

In other words, as a consequence of developing the iPhone app from what was referred to as an old and producer-centric approach, the suits felt that they lacked the conditions to base an impressive campaign around its launch. The chief of marketing reasoned that they had reached a compromise between the creatives and suits, and afterwards she felt that it was satisfactory. She said: "this is a classical app, and then I believe that in the next phase we can move towards that direction [i.e. participation] and make also a charged app,"[412] implying that she expected a process of

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[409] IT chief, 29.09.10.
[410] Brand chief, 04.10.10.
[411] Chief of marketing, 29.09.10.
[412] Chief of marketing, 29.09.10.

continuous development which could come to involve more of their suggestions for participation. In the autumn of 2010, she had evaluated the app's outcome and concluded that "people were really interested, which we can see, in having a traditional news app from GP."[413]

The chief of marketing "saw" that people wanted traditional news, rather than interactive features, an evaluation that was in fact similar to those of the creatives and techies. Those media workers who had favoured the production-centric DDG app, who had also expressed expectations for limited user participation, were keen to emphasise that they had predicted this outcome. The outcome matched their expectation-driven sensemaking, strengthening their conviction that users were not particularly keen on producing content for mobile media, or at least not for their local newspaper. Importantly, through their enactment of an iPhone app with limited means of user participation, they had themselves shaped the conditions for both its outcome and their subsequent sensemaking of it.

10.4.3. From app to apps or HMTL5?

> It is a victory for us that we launched an iPhone app so quickly, which is relatively good. But I see today that there are things we must improve. There is a lot of potential (Managing editor, 14.09.10).

Sensemaking and cross-media news work are characterised by continuous processes. During the autumn of 2010, the DDG coordinated their development work, and by Christmas they had released an app for Symbian mobile devices (developed together with Nokia/Symbian), as well as an updated version of their iPhone app. It contained more premium content and functionalities, but there was no charged content. Some additional features for user participation were deployed, such as the possibility of viewing comments on news articles. The DDG was, at the time, planning future developments for their iPhone app, and also to launch an app for Android mobile devices. They also considered developing apps which would make use of voice synthesis software.[414] While they focused mostly on their iPhone app, which was perceived to

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[413] Chief of marketing, 29.09.10.
[414] DDG chief, 07.09.10.

be successful, they were not entirely convinced that apps were a sustainable way to publish mobile news. The DDG chief said:

> We were naturally aware that we chose to do an app which was only for the iPhone. Naturally, we have been contacted by people asking us why we do not have an app for Android. However, we took a decision that we had to choose, we cannot do them all at once, we will see how things evolve. We are not convinced that apps in the long term will be a sustainable alternative, but they have a powerful effect on the behaviour of people right now at least. I mean, with HMTL 5, a lot of the things in apps will become available in a browsing interface, and that may take the lead. That we do not know, but it is a reason for us not to burst all our [budget] frames (DDG chief, 07.09.10).

The digital developer also emphasised the potential uptake of HMTL 5 functionalities,[415] while the editorial developments chief argued that tablets could transform the current climate.[416] They felt pressured to develop a strong proposition for mobile media for their cross-media news work. The managing editor said: "our readers expect to access us through all of the different channels."[417] The IT chief outlined a potent scenario by suggesting that GP would be ruined if they did not continue to explore the uncertain paths of mobile media. He said: "I think this is really difficult. The only thing I can say for sure is that these new platforms are incredibly powerful, and if we are not present, everything will be ruined, of that I am sure."[418] The media workers obviously continued their sensemaking of this area in 2011. By the summer, they had launched their third version of the iPhone app, in which they charged for some niche content. They had also launched an app for Android users, and by September 2011, they had made their HTML 5 iPad app available on the market. By the end of 2011, their fourth verision of iPhone and second version of Android were launched, including a fee-based service that supported articles being read aloud (by a compuertized voice). Additional customized and charged mobile media app functionlities were envisioned.

10.5. Conclusions

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415 Digital developer, 07.09.10.
416 Editorial developments chief, 13.09.10.
417 Managing editor, 14.09.10.
418 IT chief, 29.09.10

This chapter has shown that the media workers' unanimous conviction about the urgency of developing an iPhone app fuelled rapid development, which presumably would have been different if alternative views had been aired. Their initial sensemaking, however, also resulted in the creation of relatively different conceptions and drafts of iPhone apps. One conclusion to be drawn is consequently that the sensemaking of new media, within the boundaries of old media, may generate heterogeneous interpretations and parallel tracks if creatives, suits and techies do not engage in collaborative sensemaking (as a result of being constrained by departmental boundaries). Following on from this, a challenge to the organisation of contemporary media production processes concerns how to involve the collective intelligence of different departments. It is also obvious that their pursuit of rapid development resulted in a great deal of progress being made prior to the formal decision of the company board.

While everyone insisted on a free approach, combined with machine-led auto-direction, there was significant variance in their ambitions for user participation. Many researchers have suggested increased participation as a preferred direction for contemporary newspapers engaging in cross-media news work. However, creatives have resisted such suggestions more often than they have welcomed them. Hence, citizens have typically been given limited opportunities to get involved with journalism. In a similar vein, the findings of this study show how such demarcations were shaped, as polarised conceptions emerged concerning the participation- and producer-centric approaches. The producer vs. user tension came into play throughout the process of developing an iPhone app, with negotiations between the alliance of creatives and techies and the suits, based on proposals departing from their respective backgrounds and interests. The suits argued for a distinguished participation-centric approach, which would be open to a great deal of user-generated content. The creatives and techies, on the other hand, suggested a producer-centric approach in which GP would promote and establish their (old) role as a news producer in the context of the (new) iPhone app. User-generated content was anticipated to be of insufficient quality, so they emphasised that a prerequisite would be to have journalists supervising the user-generated content. The outcome of their negotiations, in which conflicts were avoided, favoured the producer-centric approach. As a consequence, the suits found few features that shone brightly enough to support extensive marketing.

With little promotion of user participation within the app and to the public, it is not surprising that the media workers concluded that there was limited interactivity in their analysis of the statistics produced after the launch. This shows that they defined and evaluated their own success with the app by extracting cues that depended heavily on their own actions. They essentially produced a self-fulfilling prophecy by designing limited opportunities for user participation in their app. They had, in other words, enacted an action-based outcome from which they justified their projections when they initially designed their iPhone app. This corresponds to Weick's (1995) discussion of enactment as a way of confirming one's vision of the future by means of acting on perceptions.

While they concluded that little participation had occurred, they also found that there was a strong user uptake. The media workers defined the criteria used for measuring their own success, as they made use of the readily available figures on the number of downloads and page impressions. Numerous other criteria could have been used, but were not. With figures exceeding their initial expectations, the perceived success of the iPhone app reinforced their ambition to travel along the app-oriented mobile media train track. They developed several upgrades for their iPhone app in the following year, and also apps for the Android and Symbian operating systems. At the same time, they kept an eye on the potential displacement effects of HTML 5. With their apps, GP enacted cues for further sensemaking by other newspapers. Following in their footsteps, other newspapers in the MktMobil group developed similar iPhone apps using their shell. This further enacted mobile media within the Swedish newspaper industry, which is characterised by isomorphism. Considering that GP had enacted an app that involved limited functionalities for user participation, and had not emphasised these functionalities in their marketing, other newspapers were likely to extract cues supporting a similar producer-centric approach to mobile media.

Ultimately, the media workers forced the convergence of their heterogeneous sensemaking of mobile media, negotiating the extent to which journalism or content created by citizens was to be accommodated in their iPhone app. The old and producer-centric vision of journalism came to shape the new mobile app, rather than the participation-centric approach. Their ongoing and social formation of reality was an enactment grounded in their old journalism identity and practices.

PART IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

11

ON CROSS-MEDIA NEWS WORK
AND MOBILE MEDIA

The press is under pressure, while mobile media are on the verge of explosion. As a consequence, news media organisations are engaging in extensive innovation, becoming inexorably involved in cross-media news work practices. A great deal of research has focused on the transition to online journalism and business models, but scholars have seldom scrutinised both areas simultaneously. The contemporary literature on journalism, business and technology (from an organisational perspective) has mostly focused on dynamics of change, transforming occupational practices and competencies, and different ways of organising, as well as how media workers and managers interpret these transformations (e.g. Lewis, 2011; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski, 2009; Steensen, 2011).

Four important aspects guided the general crafting of the research design of the dissertation. The first was to contribute to the general lack of in-depth studies using qualitative methods in the field of media production (e.g. Deuze, 2010; Kung, 2007). The second was to address the problem that researchers from different disciplines tend to study one professional group or the other but do not use cross-disciplinary or integrative approach (e.g. Deuze and Steward, 2010). This study therefore focuses on the interplay between the areas of journalism, business and technology by studying creatives, suits and techies from their own perspectives. Thirdly, to overcome the shortcomings of studying only single instances in time, relying entirely on post-rationalisations of subjects' thinking and doing, this study embarks from the understanding that media organisations' processes should be studied over time. In this way one also gains insight into continuous versus discontinuous trends (e.g. Achtenhagen and Raviola, 2009; Mitchelstein and Boczowski, 2009). The final aspect follows on from this, suggesting that researchers should aim to study early actions and interpretations, as over time these become naturalised parts of organisational routines and practices (e.g. Orlikowski

and Gash, 1994; Plesner, 2009). In other words, as the new has become institutionalised with the old it becomes more challenging to distinguish their earlier sensemaking. The intersection between old newspapers and new mobile media has enabled a cross-disciplinary and process-oriented approach to the study of early actions and interpretations in media production. To date there is limited research on the increasingly important and potentially disruptive role that mobile devices play in how journalism is produced, accessed and profited from. With rapid growth in mobile-specific content and apps, emerging commercial opportunities and impressive diffusion of touch-screen mobile devices (i.e. smartphones) and tablets, this is an increasingly important area of scientific inquiry.

The aim of this dissertation has been to study the sensemaking of mobile media over time among creatives, suits and techies. This has involved a research interview approach to explore how media workers organise, exploit and interpret mobile media, as well as studying how four particular tensions have come into play: 1.) old versus new 2.) creatives versus suits versus techies 3.) producer versus user 4.) humans versus machines. The tensions have guided the analysis of the media workers' sensemaking of mobile media, which was a relatively new and alien area to newspaper organisations during the fieldwork (2008–2011). The terminology was discussed thoroughly in the introduction, but it is worth reiterating briefly for those readers who start their reading with this chapter. Old and new are relative terms that encompass dimensions such as practices, objects and organising. Creatives, suits and techies represent the media workers based in the *editorial*, *business* and *IT* departments, and they primarily focus on journalism, business or technology in their work (while the boundaries are blurred for some). Producer versus user refers to the media producer's role in relation to the user and the transforming boundaries between the two in an era in which users can become producers. The human versus machine tension relates to the relationship between creatives, suits and techies and technological machines, focusing here in particular on content management systems (CMS), facilitating cross-media news work through machine-led auto-direction of content.

The dissertation presents the story of a typical large quality newspaper organisation in the Western world, namely Göteborgs-Posten (GP) in Sweden, that is battling against worsening structural conditions in a digital era, orientating towards increased cross-media news work enabled, to a large extent, by mobile media. A metaphor involving a locomotive and a

mobile media train has been employed for the narration of the story. This metaphor was used frequently by the media workers themselves, in mixed ways, as they articulated their sensemaking and positioning with respect to mobile media. The next section contains a chronological summary of the empirical results, to which the metaphor of the mobile media train is applied, and it closes with a thorough analysis of the metaphor. Thereafter, five concluding sections follow. Firstly, conclusions focusing on three areas of the sensemaking of mobile media are discussed: interpretations of the mobile media train as such; the media workers' ambitions to be its locomotive and the actions they took in this regard; their ambitions to organise to ensure that creatives, suits and techies all participated in its acceleration and direction. Secondly, conclusions are presented based on Weick's (1995) conceptualisation of action- and belief-driven sensemaking. Thirdly, conclusions are presented on how the four tensions have come into play over time, and how these can be approached against the broader backdrop of relevant scholarship. The fourth section discusses the concept of mobile journalism, while the fifth and final section presents some relevant future research inquiries.

11.1. The mobile media train ride: a summary

Since the turn of the millennium GP has accommodated more and more mobile media into its cross-media news work. For a number of years these developments were driven forward thanks to the personal passion of a few media workers, predominantly creatives and techies. The suits got on board as the creatives, suits and techies internalised the notion that the new mobile media train was important to their cross-media news work in late 2007. Once this notion had become accepted, through their sensemaking process in the early formative phase, it became taken for granted. They did not criticise their anticipation that mobile media were becoming increasingly important, but instead continuously reaffirmed their conviction about their potential. This shows how early sensemaking established a guiding framework, within which they continued to extract cues conforming to their beliefs. Notwithstanding this, their sensemaking of this moving target did change character substantially over the period of study. Their metaphor was used for the articulation of their progress and position in comparison to others. It is worth noting that other media organisations have also applied the metaphor of the locomotive for their

self-assessments, but differently (Erdal, 2007c; Erdal, 2008; Søndergaard, 2008). For example, within a national public service broadcaster some news desks were referred to as locomotives of original journalistic production. Meanwhile, web-oriented news desks were referred to as sucking straws since they frequently repurposed content (Erdal, 2008). In that case the old media were portrayed as the locomotive, not the new media. The locomotive metaphor crystallised in this study reveals entirely different meanings, as it has been employed in assessments of their position in relation to others. Projecting oneself onto others in the environment is common as organisational members seek to make sense of their identity and position (Ring and Van de Ven, 1989). This section employs their own metaphor for a summarising discussion of their evolving process. As such, it obviously provides an analytical framework that guides, and limits, the discussion of the four phases of their mobile media train ride. The explicit intention of this section is to summarise and elaborate the process and meaning associated with the metaphor, and it is followed by four sections with more theoretically informed conclusions.

11.1.1. Envisioning the mobile media train (2006-2007)

In the formative phase of mobile media developments at GP important sensemaking efforts were driven forward by a few creatives and techies, among whom several had previously also been involved in pushing developments of their news site in its earlier days. This alliance of creatives and techies took the initiative to take responsibility for mobile media, which at that time was conceived of as unexplored territory. Their analysis of mobile media was negotiated with the suits upon its finalisation, as they formally discussed it at their company board meetings. The suits had felt excluded from the social and ongoing sensemaking among the creatives and techies. Recognising this, the company board decided to symbolically mark the importance of involving suits in the finalisation of the analysis. Their sensemaking of the new and undefined area of mobile media was predominantly driven by creatives and techies.

Following their construction of a mobile media train, the media workers felt that it was necessary to invest more in developing their mobile media presence. Their path for development signifies that old ways of thinking came into play in their assembly of the new. There were two signs of this. Firstly, they applied their path-dependent idea that

journalism for the mobile, just as for newspapers and online news, was to be manually edited by a journalist to ensure quality. This idea evidently also involved imitating other large newspapers. When aiming for these new practices, they chose to employ a new and dedicated mobile editor to perform the task, rather than to force such new tasks on existing and possibly reluctant journalists who conformed to old practices. Secondly, GP designed a project group, which was a way of organising that they had deemed suitable from their previous digital development endeavours. The fluid, autonomous and temporary character of their organising of a mobile project group gives an indication that mobile media were in a formative phase of development. While the mobile project group was ultimately formed through decisions by the company board, indicating a move towards institutionalisation, it became an outlier with practices and values that functioned parallel to permanent organisational structures. Mobile media developments were consciously organised through the new and fluid, distinguished from the old, to facilitate the desire for rapid change and collaboration among creatives, suits and techies.

It is worth noting that the IT-chief was the only representative of the group on the company board and that the digital developer was appointed as the mobile project leader. Both of them were, in other words, techies. This gives a strong indication of their interpretation that mobile media development, at least initially, was going to be a technologically dense project, rather than one focusing on journalism and/or business. This is not to say that the other media workers, especially creatives, initially put emphasis on the editing of journalism for the mobile news site. Following these early choices about the composition of the group, it is reasonable to suggest that techies became empowered to influence subsequent mobile media developments. Moving onwards, their enactment of mobile media subsequently developed a pronounced technological character, involving a great deal of focus on shaping mobile-specific utility services.

11.1.2. The departure of the mobile media train (2008)

Throughout 2008 the mobile media train was perceived to show signs of movement. The media workers sensed a growing body of users accessing news with mobile devices. With the launch of touch-screen devices (in particular, the iPhone) they felt that technological conditions had improved substantially. They envisioned that appealing content and

services had to be made accessible and customised for the mobile device so that their users would start accessing news with their mobile devices. At the time they felt that one of the main obstacles to the progress of the mobile media train was that the pricing conditions for using mobile data traffic were unsatisfactory. The media workers expected that flat-rate pricing tariffs were eventually going to be more widely diffused, and then the uptake by their users was expected to accelerate. Another barrier to departure that was continuously referred to was the global recession that struck in 2008, which was expected to slow down industry investments in digital media. From a business and learning perspective, they said that they had learnt from their work with the news site that content and users must come first, while revenues should not be expected until the train arrived at a station further ahead on the journey.

In 2008 GP engaged in shaping MktMobil, a collaborative and formalised network project for mobile media developments, together with several other Swedish newspaper groups. It expressed satisfaction about its pursuit of mobile media developments, emphasising that it was making rapid progress through collaborative work. This new and autonomous container equipped GP with the resources necessary to make sense of environmental changes, and also to build its mobile media train through trial and error. Its mobile editor was passionate about manually editing its mobile news site and was satisfied with the quality of the editorial content management systems (machines) that she was using to do this work. The media workers generally expressed that they were well-positioned for the anticipated acceleration of the mobile media train, as they had a mobile project group and a mobile editor in operation. The mobile project group marks an expression of how GP started to incorporate the new into the old by means of constructing a cross-departmental project group that was running separately. Metaphorically speaking, GP constructed a cross-departmental locomotive, supported by the big newspaper and the Web train but not burdened by their heavy train carriages. The employment of the mobile editor exemplifies that they made sense of the new by applying familiar practices from the old. The explicit instrumental and symbolic value that was targeted also shows that their old organisation was not considered ready to embrace such new practices.

11.1.3. Idling at the train station (2009)

At the start of 2009 the mobile project was terminated, as planned, and it was supposed to be integrated with the existing (old) organisation. For a number of reasons the actual outcome was that the resources (both human and financial) previously dedicated to mobile media practically disappeared. The GP train unexpectedly pulled into one of the mobile media train stations and sat there idling. This captured the idea that the machines of the train were running, ready to move yet it was stalled because some kind of force did not allow it to proceed. The idling at the train station posits that a waiting game ensued as a result of the outbreak of the recession (autumn 2008) and several upgrades of their machinery, as well as the fact that the media workers prioritised extensive newspaper and news site development projects over mobile media. The mobile media train had generally slowed down due to the recession, but GP was perceived to slow down more than many others. Throughout such challenging times its media workers were encouraged to focus on the channels with the highest levels of usage, generating most of its revenue. Acknowledging that old media make new media possible, they wanted to ensure that GP was sustained, with the consequence that mobile media developments came to a halt as they prioritised print and the website. With a recession and suits focused on profiting from print, the conditions for making profits from mobile media worsened, which subsequently reduced their possibilities for legitimatising further mobile media developments. In conclusion, old media finance new media, but new media have been expected to provide revenues that compensate for the loss of revenues from the old, although it was thought that limited revenue would be attracted in the short term.

2009 was essentially a year in which the mobile media area was positioned between the old and the new. The transition from the new and fluid mobile project group to integration with the old was insufficient, and mobile media evidently fell outside everyone's responsibility. The halt also involved the mobile editor, as the transition to a new editorial CMS resulted in losing many of its editing functionalities. As old media were at the top of the priorities, these functionalities were not recovered, resulting in GP once again relying on machines for the repurposing of journalism (i.e. auto-direction through CMS). However, the media workers' perception of idling at the train station was primarily linked to their work locally at GP. Throughout 2009 they were, on the contrary, making progress by participating in the network of newspaper groups in

MktMobil. Their progress involved upgrading, and carrying out maintenance on, their mobile media train with the intent to resume their mobile media train journey at even greater speed. This involved developing a platform for mobile news services, with personalisation and positioning functionalities, in collaboration with MktMobil. Such mobile media customisation, together with mobile editing, formed important criteria as to how they assessed their position in relation to their perceived competitors. Interestingly, the formative and path-dependent analysis on the urgency of mobile editing that was originally led by their creatives (chapter 5) had evidently shaped their extraction of cues in their subsequent sensemaking of mobile media with its sustained focus on mobile editing (chapters 6 and 7). At the time mobile editing by journalistically trained humans was regarded as important, although they started to fear that the mobile news site could be displaced by traditional news sites (mobile apps were not mentioned). Finally, since they mainly constructed the public as users, based on experiences of the website (old), they enabled limited user participation for mobile media.

11.1.4. Repossessing the mobile media locomotive (2010)

By 2010 the uptake of mobile media had increased significantly in the light of the wide diffusion of touch-screen devices, in particular the Apple iOS (iPhone) and the Google-based Android (Samsung, HTC, LG, etc.). The pricing conditions for users had improved as all telecom operators offered different types of flat-rate subscriptions. By 2010 the recession had abated in Sweden and GP had reorganised to produce rapid and collaborative digital developments through the digital developments group (the DDG). Furthermore, its replacements of machines (i.e. upgrades of software) and the transformation projects for print and online had also been completed. With a new editorial CMS and mobile platform the media workers attempted to restart the mobile media train, aiming to repossess their role as a locomotive within the MktMobil network, and also to position themselves at the forefront of Swedish news media. Their efforts to do so focused predominantly on developments of their mobile media channels, organised locally through the DDG.

While the media workers at GP indeed engaged in many mobile media developments throughout 2010, they did not prioritise recovering the functionality for their mobile news site that had been lost (i.e. with the

transitions in 2009). As a result of this, the obstacles for mobile editing remained throughout the year. Consequently, its mobile editor engaged in other activities instead and was unhappy about how the mobile news site had been prioritised. Rather than mobilising resources for its recovery, GP instead became engaged in intense developments of an app for the iPhone. The media workers were very satisfied with their iPhone app as the levels of usage were far beyond their expectations. The mobile news site was no longer their primary channel for publishing mobile news, but one of several mobile channels. Following this, they once again chose to approach mobile news in terms of machine-led repurposing. In order to achieve the quality of journalism for its mobile media channels, the creatives developed publishing practices for its news site that made it possible for their machines to repurpose with quality. This meant that journalists had to think one step ahead as they published for the news site, for example, by asserting that they published articles for the news site in ways that could be repurposed by machines (some videos, photo galleries and article formats could not). This shows how practices coupled with the old (news site) transformed as they had to contemplate the new (mobile) throughout the mobile media train ride. Human-led and machine-led repurposing was essentially intertwined. Similarly, old practices and ways of thinking affected how the new was approached.

The mobile media train was seen to move forward rapidly in 2010, with an increasing uptake by users, though income remained limited. Notwithstanding the lack of profits, which were needed for the legitimacy of mobile media developments, there were expectations of revenues from stations further along the mobile media train ride (i.e. creatives, suits and techies envisioned that GP eventually, with a substantial base of users, would make profits from mobile media). The media workers felt that their expectations on the progress had continuously been reinforced, envisioning a future in which mobile media was to play an important role for both users and cross-media news work. GP obviously also continued its sensemaking and developments of mobile media after 2010. For completeness, it would be prudent to note that by the summer of 2011 GP had launched the third version of its iPhone app and its first app for the Android. In the early autumn they released an application for tablets (iPad) programmed in HTML5, and by the turn of the year they launched upgraded versions of their iPhone and Android apps. GP continuously accommodated more and more mobile media, institutionalising it into

cross-media news work. As a consequence, interpretations of how to organise through the DDG, for rapid and collaborative developments, continued to evolve.[419] Ultimately, GP continued its mobile media train ride, aiming to achieve and maintain a front-runner position.

11.2. Pursuing a rapid and collaborative mobile media train ride experience

This section discusses how the metaphor of the mobile media train has been explicated in this study. It involves the idea that the concept of mobile media, with its related actors and factors, is forming and moving independently of what GP is doing. These actors and factors involve technological and business conditions and changes in society, as well as developments by media workers in the news media and telecom industries. The mobile media train was assumed to be assembled by different actors, who were simultaneously becoming prepared to enjoy its ride either as drivers, crew or passengers. From the perspective of newspapers, for which the conditions for transport were worsening, there were expectations that joining the mobile train ride would be rewarding. The media workers envisioned that those who were quick to jump aboard the mobile media train were going to enjoy increased levels of usage, enhanced brand image, and possibilities for new revenue streams. At the early stops at stations on the train ride they gathered important components and fuel for the train ride (i.e. touch-screen devices, flat-rate pricing tariffs, etc.), which facilitated the uptake of mobile media.

The creatives and techies played an important role within GP in getting their train rolling and starting to attract users. This was the currency they needed to give to the suits in order for them to become involved and making the profits needed to legitimatise the mobile media train ride. Creatives, suits and techies were mutually dependent on each other's skills and influences to avoid missing, or falling behind, the train. The mobile media train was considered independent from GP, the idea of an environment that can be discovered. It could depart any time, fuelled by a locomotive that ran independently of the number of connected carriages, which meant that it could depart without GP if it was not alert in monitoring its assembly. Their rhetoric suggests that the mobile media

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[419] DDG-chief, 29.04.2011

train was an independent factor in 'the environment,' which practically exerted a technologically deterministic influence. On the other hand, the media workers also called themselves the social constructors of this technology, directing the train ride by becoming the locomotive.

The mobile media train would outpace GP if its train carriage could not keep up with the pace of the others. In other words, its sensemaking witnessed the conception of being an actor disconnected from its environment. This was expressed in numerous ways, for example, it monitored competitors and users to draw conclusions such as that the train was running and that if it did not make appropriate developments rapidly, it would miss the train. The next section presents the endeavour to position GP as the locomotive of mobile media in MktMobil. Thereafter, two pronounced conceptions for its organising of cross-media news work are discussed, namely its pursuit of rapid and collaborative developments. These conceptions are inexorably connected to the mobile media train metaphor, forming key elements of how the creatives, suits and techies at GP shaped its organising for this pursuit. These conceptions also represent organising as sensemaking, that is, a continuously transforming interplay between interpretations and actions. The ambition for rapid development progress through collaboration among creatives, suits and techies, evidence that GP intended to disentangle itself from some of its old organisational boundaries.

11.2.1. Endeavouring to be the mobile media locomotive

The metaphor of a mobile media train departing from the station implies that different actors can take different positions, where the worst scenario is to miss the departure of the train. Unsurprisingly, the media workers initially emphasised that it was important to constantly monitor the train and to make continuous preparations, so that when the train started moving they would be able to catch up with it quickly. They repeatedly expressed a path-dependent interpretation, namely that they had learned from their mistake of underestimating the importance of the Web, which then resulted in them lagging behind others. The mobile media train ride gave them a second opportunity to take up a position at the forefront of the digital habitat and to enhance their image.

Throughout the years of mobile media developments studied, GP monitored and imitated others in the media industry. The media workers

have selected their own reference points when making evaluations on its positioning. These involved factors such as levels of usage, mobile editing practices, and developing functionalities tailored for the mobile device. For instance, they suggested that they performed well through their mobile editing practices in 2008, practices which only a few other newspapers were performing. By 2010 mobile editing of journalism was no longer an important criterion of success, but instead it was whether one had developed an iPhone app (and also whether this app was tailored to a mobile logic). Regarding desirable elements, GP media workers expressed how they distinguished their company from others. However, regarding more unfavorable elements on the other hand, they emphasised that GP was in the same position as everyone else. For instance, the media workers consistently included GP with other newspapers when it came to discussing their common struggle to make profits from mobile media initiatives. GP strived to acquire a generally favorable position compared to other news media in Sweden and, in particular, in relation to the other members of the newspaper network. However, they typically suggested not trying to compete with the largest national newspapers as these had much larger resources. They instead insisted on learning from these newspapers' mistakes and fortunes by being hot on their heels.

The locomotive metaphor was also applied to how they envisioned that creatives, suits and techies should work with digital developments. The DDG-chief had noted that almost all newspapers have a gap between development and operative enterprise, which essentially translated into the fact that some particularly innovative media workers in the organisation were pursuing the locomotive position, while others were not moving forward at the same pace. The following quote from the DDG-chief is used as an example to amplify the metaphor, in which perceived intra-organisational differences were articulated: "Departments for development should be positioned at the front, but it is really important that somehow we have with us the other train carriages further back on the train, that there are connections there. We must reduce the asymmetry between those who are at the front and those who are in the train carriages".[420] In other words, the metaphor applied to their descriptions of how creatives, suits and techies, involved in development work as the locomotive, had to drive the initiatives while ensuring that

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[420] Head of the DDG, 07.09.2010

their colleagues were aboard the train carriages that followed. Ultimately, this signifies the media workers ambitions for rapid progression as a locomotive, while assuring that it collaborates and makes progress as a unified newspaper organisation. These two aspects of their continuous pursuits for improved organising are discussed in the following section.

11.2.2. Organising for collaboration

This study shows that change processes in organisations, such as with mobile media developments, involve distinctly interconnected sensemaking processes of both internal and environmental conditions. The study has also shown that through working on mobile media, media workers tend to draw on their previous experiences of organising for similar digital developments. Essentially, organisational staff devotes time to develop frames and make interpretations (Daft and Weick, 1984). Their frames and interpretations depend on professional background and interest. Hence different cues are extracted and made sense of by creatives, suits and techies, which suggest that the collective intelligence is improved when collaboration occurs.

Duality management has for a long time formed the modus operandi of many Scandinavian newspapers. Additionally, the newspaper in question has a CEO who is responsible for business and an editor-in-chief who is responsible for journalism. Importantly, since printed newspapers have been matured products in markets with relatively limited competition, they have enjoyed favorable profit margins compared to other industries (Picard, 2011). Therefore, it has subsequently also been possible to foster values claiming that the creative work of journalism should be neutral and independent, not being influenced by economic forces such as advertisers and the business department. Throughout their journey into the digital habitat, new territories have been explored and new boundaries have been shaped, in particular as these have been approached with the explicit ambition of intra-organisational collaboration. The old boundaries between creatives and suits have been rearranged, and with the increased reliance on technology the techies have become increasingly involved in formalised sensemaking processes.

Throughout the course of environmental change, and the mobile media train ride, the GP media workers have continuously made sense of their own organising. Since about 2000 there have been numerous efforts

to ensure cross-departmental collaboration. These efforts have involved the organisation of festivities for everyone in the company (rather than for each department). Not only has the upper management explicitly emphasised and demonstrated the importance of collaboration (for example, the CEO and the editor-in-chief have made joint presentations), but they have also organised collaboration in their development work (including being physically grouped together). Over the years numerous cross-departmental project groups, as well as a miniaturised form of duality management and multiple forms of more permanent groups, have been in operation for collaboration. Since 2010 GP has organised continuous collaboration in development work through its digital developments group (DDG), the organisation of which had been arranged based on past experiences. While there have been ambitions for collaboration between departments, there have been several occasions when they failed to collaborate in practice, witnessing the existence of old boundaries. The tensions between creatives, suits and techies have continuously come into play and reshaped their boundaries as they have engaged in cross-media news work. The DDG marks an institutionalisation of the organising for collaboration and digital innovation, and this also represents the first time in the company's history that a creative became responsible for a budget dedicated to (business) developments, reporting directly to the CEO.

11.2.3. Organising for rapid developments

The changing mix of people, solutions and problems, through constantly changing decision opportunities created by an unstable competitive world, means that organisations sometimes cannot afford the luxury of accuracy. Instead, their goal is to establish some sort of stability and predictability under conditions that work against this goal. For contemporary organisations the costs of being indecisive may outweigh the costs of being wrong. This means that sensemaking will tend to be schema-driven rather than evidence-driven, which is what happens when people resolve speed-accuracy trade-offs in favour of speed (Weick, 1995:153).

Weick (1995) discusses how organisations facing instability and competition tend to value speed in favour of accuracy in their sensemaking. This is evidently applicable to the newspaper organisation in question, which is essentially a relatively typical newspaper in the Western

world, dealing with similar difficulties to newspapers elsewhere. Regarding mobile media developments, and their pursuits not only to board but even to some extent to operate the progressing train, it is obvious that they have consistently valued speed. While acknowledging that analyses leading to informed decisions are important, there have been recurrent patterns of arguments suggesting that they must be open to trial and error. Kung describes such practices as aiming 'to increase the odds of success by increasing the number of attempts' (Kung, 2007:28). Essentially they have posited that they should enact digital developments, learning from doing by making sense of the results of their actions. Enactment involves acting on the perceptions one has, confirming one's predictions about how the future will evolve. It is not selective perception or action without resistance since their enactment means that they constrain the information they get back, which in turn influences their subsequent interpretations. GP media workers have retrospectively interpreted the actions they first invented as expectations in its sensemaking process. As suggested by Weick (2001), enactment can be compared to trial in a trial and error sequence, considering that trials do not contain values of right or wrong. The dissertation has shown numerous examples of enacting rapid mobile media developments, such as the iPhone app, which involved the construction of a new situation from which cues could be extracted. They retrospectively made sense of the trial, concluding that GP was successful, and thereafter also developed apps for Android and Symbian. These enactments formed cues and stimulated imitation among other newspapers.

In terms of organising for rapid developments, the company board has continuously endeavoured to facilitate exploration of promising opportunities in the digital habitat (i.e. by organising in ways that they anticipate will sustain such goals). It is worth noting that their organising typically involved creating fluid and relatively autonomous containers of mixed professionals, pursuing rapid digital developments parallel to their permanent organisational structures. For its various project groups, as well as for the DDG, the company board has explicitly aimed to give autonomy to the creatives, suits and techies involved in order to facilitate speed. These have represented organised fluid containers of mixed professionals with presumed competencies and ambitions to pursue rapid progress. These groups have typically made a great deal of progress before formal strategic decisions have been taken by the company board,

as this has been anchored more informally. Regarding environmental change and digital developments, there is a continuous sensemaking process on how to organise for rapid digital developments.

11.3. Different drivers of sensemaking

This is a study on the sensemaking of mobile media over time, focusing on the complex interplay between interpretations and actions. As discussed in chapter three, sensemaking processes are driven by both actions and beliefs. The study rationale promised to make a focused analysis of action- and belief-driven sensemaking in this concluding chapter. Each of these sensemaking processes involves two different dimensions: belief-driven sensemaking encompasses expecting and arguing, while action-driven sensemaking may encapsulate committing and manipulating (Weick, 1995). The analysis in the following sections discusses explicit examples of how these four types of sensemaking have become present. These conclusions make important contributions to our understanding of how various types of sensemaking of mobile media have evolved over the years. From the perspective of sensemaking research, the results of this study thereby confirm that each of these four types of sensemaking have been present. As discussed by Weick (1995), sensemaking is a joint product of environmental change, the processes and structures of organisations, and the dispositions of their individuals (i.e. creatives, suits and techies). From the perspective of cross-disciplinary research into cross-media news work, the prevalence of the different types of sensemaking expands the horizon of knowledge about how old media accommodate for new media. Obviously, this is important for our understanding of the shaping of the future of journalism and the changing role and conditions of business and technology.

11.3.1. Belief-driven sensemaking

Belief-driven sensemaking encompasses expecting and arguing, and expecting will be analysed first. Believing is seeing. People tend to see what they believe in and not see the unbelievable. Beliefs therefore direct individuals' attention, influencing which cues they extract for sensemaking, which in turn affect the developments and solutions they come up with. The creatives, suits and techies have believed in the

departure of a mobile media train. Expectations are strongly coupled with people's identity, and their expectations can form both starting points and self-fulfilling prophecies. The media workers have continuously expressed high expectations from users of mobile news services. This point of departure has influenced how they have made sense of environmental changes, and consequently it has helped them to become better at articulating and validating their expectations. When there was not yet much uptake, they reasoned that the conditions for usage were not in place, but insisted that increased uptake was expected.

Their pronounced expectations kept them pursuing different lines of developments in order to be prepared once the mobile media train sped away. They contributed to fulfilling their predicted prophecy by experimenting with different types of functionalities and content for various mobile media channels. With the relatively large number of downloads and the high number of weekly page impressions, the launch of their iPhone app in 2010 was considered to have proved their expectations to be right. In other words, they used their expected predictions as a lens for selective attention aimed at confirming their sensemaking. In the formative phase the media workers envisioned the future of mobile news to involve manually edited mobile news sites. This related to old conceptualisations of journalism, with the emphasis on editing, but it did not foresee that mobile apps would come into existence later through machine-led auto-direction (i.e. their mobile apps were designed to be operated by CMS). While they did not expect to make these developments at the start, they expected that they would make developments to cater for mobile media usage. Importantly, they expected users demanding to access not only the GP journalism with their mobile devices, but also a smörgåsbord of utility services providing added value to their everyday lives, hence the emphasis on exploring and developing a variety of such mobile media services over time.

With regard to sensemaking as arguing, there have been continuous occasions for arguing among and between creatives, suits and techies at formal and informal meetings. The arguing about the mobile media train has not only shaped the media workers' constructions on how to approach developments, but also transformed their relationships with each other. Through arguing, they have developed stances on the mobile. During the formative phase there was arguing about the emergence of a mobile media train, to which manual mobile editing was important, and

this eventually became an established stance. On the one hand there has been arguing about the necessity for making developments, customising mobile media logic(s) through personalisation, positioning, and so forth. On the other hand, arguing has also involved critical discussions about the limited revenues that the mobile media domain has offered. The expectations that creatives, suits and techies had, based on sensemaking stimulated by their respective professional backgrounds, nurtured their arguing about mobile media. Their arguing has been a social process adjusting the considered repertoire of beliefs that guided their sensemaking, and it has consequently also influenced their developments.

The stance on mobile media developments was that it was increasingly important for them to produce, edit and distribute news and customised services for users. While they had to argue to establish this stance, the creatives and techies forming these arguments in the formative phase benefited from their previous developments of their news site. There was explicit reference to how their previous forays into the digital habitat had made it easier to convince media managers (and media workers) at GP about the necessity for mobile media developments. Phrased in terms of the metaphor, mobile media were a new train, but this train was perceived to be moving on a similar track and passing similar train stations to the news site. Evidently, they approached the new (mobile) based on their experiences of the old (Web). Furthermore, they were convinced that their competitors had won many of their forward positions by being first on the Web, concluding that they would benefit from achieving a forward position on the mobile media train in its early phase. Over time, instances of arguing show how tensions between humans and machines as well as between producers and users have come into play. With respect to humans and machines, it is clear from earlier discussions that media workers argued in favour of performing manual editing of the journalism for their mobile news site. They imitated both their historic approaches to journalism and other newspapers that had started to approach mobile news sites with editing. Their sensemaking on mobile editing later shifted, mainly because of the loss of functionality for editing and the creation of mobile apps, which generated more arguing. Their development of the iPhone app shows how the media workers argued about different stances with respect to the producer versus user tension. The creatives and techies argued in favour of their old producer-centric approach focusing on the distribution of journalism. The suits pursued a new approach,

which involved making a substantially higher degree of participation possible. As these tensions came into play the creatives and techies won ground for their arguing, and GP consequently implemented an iPhone app that was largely equivalent to the producer-centric approach.

11.3.2. Action-driven sensemaking

Action-driven sensemaking involves committing and manipulating. Over time creatives, suits and techies have experienced numerous activities and moments, although they may have experienced different meanings from these. Weick (1995) suggests that people typically engage in sensemaking of areas they are committed to. Such areas involve explicit, public and irrevocable actions they have contributed to themselves. Committing takes place as people develop beliefs that justify their actions, rather than changing their behaviour. Manipulating, on the other hand, focuses on media workers as active constructors of change, pursuing to form comprehensible and manageable environments (Weick, 1995). In the following paragraph committing will be analysed.

The sensemaking of manual editing for the mobile news site represents a strong case of committing. Between 2006 and 2007 the creatives and techies led and shaped the construction of mobile media, to which it was becoming increasingly important to direct attention and resources. The technological conditions, as well as the interest from users, were perceived to be improving. As they evaluated their own proposition for mobile news services one of their convictions was to pursue the quality of journalism for the mobile by manual editing. Their sensemaking of the new was in that sense influenced by historical preferences for the manual editing of journalism. The company board decided to employ a mobile editor for a year, starting in early 2008. This decision became an action that was not only explicit and irrevocable, but was also made public to the employees and others in the Swedish news media industry. In their sensemaking of mobile media in 2008 they obviously made sense of cues that had been planted through their own actions. As the temporary employment was coming to an end, the mobile project group compiled arguments to convince the company board, and themselves, to offer the mobile editor permanent employment. The different turns of negotiations between the mobile project group and the company board signified a process in which they helped and stimulated each other to conclude that

they should continue with what they were already doing. It is reasonable to assume that interpretations were organised to support their established patterns of action. The CEO and the editor-in-chief ultimately decided that GP should employ a mobile editor, even though the recession in all other respects resulted in discharging employees. As GP once again made it clear that it was going to invest resources in mobile editing, the employment of the mobile editor became even more bound by action. However, there were unanticipated turns because of changing conditions. In 2009 GP lost much of the technological functionality needed for mobile editing. As a consequence, the mobile editor could no longer perform more than a fraction of the previous editing tasks, which media workers at the time suggested could be compensated for by repossessing the necessary functionalities. However, by the end of 2010 GP had still not recovered its losses and its mobile editor had not only become dejected, but had instead become involved with other tasks.

Committed sensemaking organises its interpretations in ways that support or oppose actions, which also involves deciding what is irrelevant. The media workers at GP could have made the changes necessary to facilitate mobile editing, which would have involved recovering losses in its technology, but they chose to prioritise other areas. Considering that they did not change their behaviour, they selectively modified their beliefs in ways that justified that they no longer had a mobile editor. As they changed their beliefs they made a change from old to new beliefs, legitimating their situation and previous actions. A stance that emerged with the new situation, involving the mobile news site, SMS newsflashes and mobile apps, was that it was 'impossible' to manually manage the flows of content. Instead, they expressed an increased need for intelligent machines that could master such tasks. Their former conviction that mobile news should essentially involve manual editing in order to ensure the quality of journalism was overshadowed by the new beliefs. By 2010 their commitment to the concept of a mobile editor was dissipating, seemingly in secret, in favour of creatives assimilating their machine-led repurposing. This juncture represents a new phase in the interplay between humans and machines in the institutionalisation of mobile news in cross-media news work.

With regard to manipulating, the second type of action-driven sensemaking, there are several examples of how the creatives, suits and techies manipulated situational and environmental conditions. They

shaped their situation as active inventors, seeking to become the locomotive of their own mobile media train in their construction of the anticipated journey. Over the years of fieldwork the creatives, suits and techies exerted such manipulation on their users, the industry, their employees, and so forth. Starting with the users, media workers at GP expected users to start accessing news with their mobile devices, and therefore continuously tried different ways to cater for that expected need. They made developments that could be present through WAP portals, SMS, mobile news sites and mobile apps of different kinds. Through their trial and error, through available technological means, they manipulated the conditions for usage. Eventually, with the launch of their iPhone app they felt that they had succeeded. The app essentially confirmed the outcome that they were committed to.

Their launch of a 'successful' iPhone app further manipulated the situation from which other media workers in the Swedish media industry were extracting their cues for sensemaking. This form of manipulation was explicit with respect to MktMobil, as the media workers at GP endeavoured to be its locomotive of mobile media developments. The MktMobil project group praised their wish to prioritise such developments during the spring of 2010 and then evaluated the outcome of their efforts. The manipulated situation was perceived as desirable by fellow newspapers, some of which later developed similar iPhone apps. In that sense GP not only enacted its own progress for the mobile media train, but it paved the way for other train carriages to follow its route.

Other forms of manipulating media workers in the network and in GP involved the provision of touch-screen devices (mostly iPhones) to employees so that they could explore the opportunities offered by mobile media through their own experience. In a similar vein, some of the creatives and techies organised workshops in which other media workers, including upper management, could experience and play around with new mobile devices and functionalities. As the editorial developments chief explicitly explained, such workshops were eye-openers for the other staff. Regarding the employment of the mobile editor, it is worth recalling that the company explicitly pursued not only instrumental but also symbolic values. By demonstrating the symbolic value of quality journalism for the mobile device by employing a mobile editor, GP essentially manipulated its perceived importance. Additionally, promotions and journalists writing and blogging about mobile media presumably influenced the media

workers. The creatives, suits and techies were also involved in strategic manipulation of stakeholders in the Swedish news media industry. For instance, in 2008 they got involved with other newspapers in improving their conditions for offering mobile news alerts by SMS by negotiating with telecom operators. From 2010 they were making developments to help their potential advertisers to develop mobile sites, as they concluded that their advertisers needed landing pages to which they could direct traffic from advertisements on their mobile news site and apps.

11.4. Negotiating sense: Four tensions at play

This longitudinal study focusing social sensemaking of mobile media among creatives, suits and techies has shown, both directly and indirectly, how tensions have come into play. These tensions are, for the most part, characterised in terms of the interplay between polarised positions, in which boundaries are dissolved and defined. The following sections discuss how the four tensions have come into play in this study, and reflect on the related consequences that these tensions are transforming.

11.4.1. Creatives vs. suits vs. techies

Cross-media news work essentially concerns an understanding of the interplay among creatives, suits and techies. Many researchers have suggested that there have been pronounced boundaries and tensions among the creatives, suits and techies from newspaper organisations, in particular, between creatives and suits (e.g. McManus, 1994, Deuze, 2007: Achtenhagen and Raviola, 2009: Djerf-Pierre and Weibull, 2009). While there are studies of the relationship between creatives and suits, few have brought these tensions to the focused attention of scientific inquiries. GP has, historically, been organised through duality management, in which the editorial department has had much influence, while techies used to have relatively little say. The media workers describe their old situation as one in which the departments functioned as silos. This approach worked for managing everyday activities and incremental innovation, but was not sufficient when it came to making substantial and continuous change.

Since the 1990s, more and more media workers at GP have strived explicitly towards improved collaboration, through their organisational and daily work processes. This has involved an increasingly complex and

dynamic array of approaches, involving fluid project-based methods, as well as making change permanent through the DDG. Cross-departmental collaboration has been inscribed to all such groups, to ascertain that their digital development work takes the perspectives of creatives, suits and techies into account. In other words, media workers at GP have not only expressed ambitions towards increased collaboration, but also taken action to achieve it. The results of the study witness that the inter-organisational tensions among creatives, suits and techies have transformed over the years. The experienced necessity for change, and need for shaping digital developments collaboratively, has fostered differently shaped boundaries. The exploration of new and uncontested limits in the digital habitat have made it possible to define new ways of collaborating, that are less influenced by conceptions of 'how things are and have always been' for their printed newspaper. While the transition to cross-media news work caused tensions initially between print (old) and Web (new) journalists (e.g. Aldridge and Evetts, 2003; Beckett and Mansell, 2007), the important result here is that the study confirms conclusions from earlier studies on increased internal organisational collaboration, as a result of digital developments (e.g. Verweij, 2009: Singer, 2010). Other case-based studies suggest that some newsrooms have a collectivistic (i.e. collaborative) culture, whereas others are clearly characterised as being more individualistic (Schmitz Weiss, 2008).

While this study shows ambitions and actions for increased collaboration, it also contains results indicating the uphill slope with which they are battling, caused by historical demarcations between these professional groups. For instance, the formative sensemaking of mobile media by creatives and techies practically excluded suits, and in 2009/2010 there was, initially, more limited collaboration between these groups, as they initiated their development work for the iPhone app. A conclusion is that the sensemaking of new media can generate heterogeneous interpretations and parallel tracks if the creatives, suits and techies do not engage socially in each other's sensemaking. The result can turn into conflicts and symbolically arranged processes for collaborative sensemaking (as in the formative phase). It is also clear that digital development processes are accelerated by having creatives, suits and techies oriented towards a shared goal (as with their development of the iPhone app). While such instances demonstrate that creatives, suits and techies collaborate in every step they take, these instances still show that

the company board instructs them to do so, once they become aware that they are not working together. The media workers involved have continuously made sense of their actions, calibrated their ways of organising, in pursuit of rapid and collaborative developments of digital media. While there has been a progression in such a direction, the empirical chapters have also disclosed several instances where they have not moved forward in the ways they might have wished.

The composition of project groups and the DDG can be conceived of as attempts to put the fluid tensions into cross-departmental containers. These represent miniaturised containers of the organisations' various interests, experiences and values, by accommodating the tensions at play among the creatives, suits and techies. The DDG became an actor in GP to manage developments of digital and mobile media through collaborative practices. The members of the DDG carried out sensemaking and negotiations within this container, and then its members re-represented and negotiated their socially constructed sensemaking accounts with others in GP, and partners such as MktMedia. The organisation of projects for digital media provides approaches for old media to accommodate new media. These fluid and cross-departmental containers operated both inside and parallel to the old structures, which allowed for explicit experimenting. Those interested in rapid mobile media developments benefitted from labelling it as new, since the old was coupled with higher requirements for profitability and self-sustainability.

The creatives, suits and techies took different positions on the mobile media train. Techies were both interested in, and directly involved with mobile media. They assisted the other media workers as best as they could in driving change. The creatives aspired to develop an improved omnipresence through which they could provide journalistic content and services for their users' changing demands. Creatives and techies envisioned utility services designed for the mobile interface through personalisation and location-based services, striving to facilitate new and improved experiences for their users. The techies shouldered the role of facilitating journalism through new means, by collaborating closely with the creatives. Both these parties put their (potential) users in the searchlight. Key to their arguments was to be prepared for future demands by developing journalism and technologies that corresponded to the expectations of their users. In conclusion, the creatives and techies formed an alliance that led to many mobile media developments, as the

locomotive within GP, while the suits, for most part, were positioned among the train carriages in the back. Consequently, creatives and techies acquired a powerful position to define their boundaries within the organisation. The suits, on the other hand, were less involved; in particular, by upper management. For instance, the CEO implied that mobile media was not worth his involvement in 2008 (owing to a lack of revenue), while the IT chief was part of the mobile project group and the editor-in-chief was closely involved in the editorial sensemaking. The fact that the suits were not as eager to jump on the train in the early phases of development related to the difficulties of making profits from emergent channels. In summary, the suits were involved in mobile media developments at the start of the mobile project in 2008, had little presence throughout 2009, and then started to take more substantial initiatives of their own with the creation of their iPhone app in 2010. From the perspective of the suits, it was best if the creatives and techies managed to create a mobile news site, apps and SMS services that attracted many users, which they could make use of subsequently in negotiations with advertisers. The suits possessed the competency and responsibility to work with business developments, aimed at sustaining profitability on mobile media. However, they envisioned this to be at a train station further ahead along the mobile media train journey, hence were more passive. While the suits wanted to promote GP at the frontier of mobile media, ultimately they argued for the necessity of profitability.

From 2005 to 2009, while there was a department dedicated to business development and analysis, none of their launched projects actually focused on mobile media. An explanation here relates to their relatively incompatible conditions of operation. To start with, technology can enable new means for both packaging and promoting content, and users may also adopt such practices fairly quickly. Meanwhile, some of the most important tasks of the business department are to promote and develop sustainable business from their cross-media news work. While they can assist in communicating their activities to different (target) groups, they still depend greatly on others to have established the distribution channels and content, necessary for accomplishing a substantial base of users. This means that their possibilities for sustaining development of mobile media increases throughout the course of the process. With the maturing of a medium within the organisation, their expectations on revenues increase. Meanwhile, the incentives for the sales

staff to become actively involved with the new digital channels are limited. This relates to their conditions of work and pay. Much of their pay depends on a productivity bonus, which means that it varies depending on their success in convincing their advertisers to spend large amounts of their marketing budgets with them. However, in light of this, suits have focused primarily on selling advertisements for their printed newspaper, since they receive the best pay cheque that way, but also such advertisements have been the easiest to sell (since their customers have typically asked for print advertisement). There has been some work on improving the incentives for sales for the news site over the years, but none with respect to their mobile platforms.

The bottom line is that the creatives and techies have been dependent on the suits to ensure profits from mobile media, which, in turn, is required in order to ascribe legitimacy to it. In other words, the suits have slowed down processes through their explicit voices calling for return on investments, while not delivering such figures through the work of their own department. While there have been few controversies with respect to mobile media developments, one can interpret the occasions of absent collaboration as expressions of resistance to work together. The suits have also resisted planned developments in the formative phase, demanding to be included in the sensemaking, which led to a smaller delay. On the other hand, it is also evident that once creatives, suits and techies all agreed on making developments for mobile media — for example, as with the creation of the iPhone app — change could take place rapidly. In other words, the pace of development may require creatives, suits and techies to all participate.

An important conclusion is that the introduction of new mobile media into the old has unleashed numerous occasions for sensemaking and negotiations among creatives, suits and techies. Obviously, other contemporary changes, such as web redesigns, pay-walls and stances on social media inclusion, have unleashed similar kind of occasions for sensemaking and negotiations. Nevertheless, their sensemaking of mobile media has not only transformed and added value to their cross-media news work portfolio, but also changed their intra-organisational boundaries and tensions. Collaborative cross-media news work practices require inclusion of creatives, suits and techies in the social and ongoing sensemaking process. The processes that took place in the formative phase show that inclusion in sensemaking processes has both symbolic

and instrumental value, and is important to newspapers seeking to achieve cross-departmental collaboration. Consequently, sensemaking of new media, within old media, may generate heterogeneous interpretations if creatives, suits and techies do not all participate. Another important conclusion is that in an era of continuous and rapid transformations, informal agreements, rather than company board meeting decisions, can make the point of departure for enabling development processes. A challenge to the organisation of contemporary media production concerns how to involve the collective intelligence of different departments in change processes.

In their negotiations of sense, through collaborations among creatives, suits and techies, conflicts have generally been avoided, since media workers have accumulated experiences with regard to which practices are typically supported or not. Having these experiences in mind, they adjust their development work, which means that they negotiate on issues from rather similar stances across their departmental functions. Occasionally, they encounter unexplored territories, unexpected events or simply fail to communicate with each other, owing to a perceived lack of time. On such occasions there are sometimes more intense negotiations, but the tensions at play among creatives, suits and techies have generally not involved much explicit disagreement about developments and the shaping of boundaries for mobile media. Through various forms of organisation, the tensions of creatives, suits and techies have led to more collaboration and understanding. New and fluid containers, such as the DDG and mobile project, have allowed the oxygen of collaboration to circulate relatively freely. The mobile media train has contributed essentially to the reshaping of inter-organisational tensions, forming new relationships in the ongoing processes of developing cross-media news work.

The study shows that, traditionally, the creatives at GP have asserted a great deal of influence on development processes, while the suits have been their counterpart within the organisation. The techies have, historically, played the role of facilitator, assisting creatives and techies to achieve their goals for journalism and business. While techies still can be, and also to some extent are, portrayed as facilitators of digital developments, this study also shows that they have been given more influence. For instance, the formation of the cross-departmental mobile project group was skewed towards the techies, as the digital developer became the project leader and the IT chief was the only representative

from the company board. While techies were particularly involved in enacting and defining the new, the creatives and suits took charge of redefining the old (print and Web). Meanwhile, it is worth noting that the techies were battling their historically weaker role in the organisation, associated with performing functions such as fixing bugs with others computers etc. Previously, techies were perceived as a kind of service desk, but through the physical re-allocation of two techies to the editorial department (for the DDG), the GP company board aimed to strengthen their authority and status internally. Essentially, this reveals how techies, in recent years, have become part of the integrated fabric of cross-media news work.

Lee-Wright (2008) reported that techies at the BBC have become an exceptionally strong intra-organisational force. A national representative study from Norway, on the interest in and influence on digital developments, show that creatives were most influential when developing news sites, mobile news sites and Web-TV, but that suits (owners) and techies have encroached on their influence substantially when it comes to developing mobile media (Westlund and Krumsvik, 2012). It is important to acknowledge that new competitors or partners to the news industry, such as Google, Yahoo, Facebook, Twitter, Flipboard, PulseReader and many more, consist of highly skilled techies to a large extent. In the light of these changes, techies are gaining an augmented role in newspapers, since cross-media news work is becoming more dependent on digital technology. Techies have important and relevant know-how, which will become part of the shaping and execution of decisions on digital developments. Obviously, general trends towards outsourcing of media work (Deuze, 2010), revealed by the centralisation of technological operations through the MktMedia network, may result in a weakening of techies in-house (i.e. at GP). At the same time, these trends mark the mobilization of digital developments. Hence, the previously introduced concept of *trisection management*, (in which techies are treated as an integral part of management) is relevant to put adequate emphasis on techies' improved position. Research focusing on digital innovation in news media organisations, which typically studies only journalists and newsrooms, will simply generate limited and one-sided perspectives on such processes. This dissertation has shown how additional dimensions of knowledge can be gained, by approaching news media organisations more broadly, and from an organisational perspective rather than from only one group of

professionals. The role of creatives, suits and techies in the intersection between old news media and innovation processes is definitely worth further scrutiny.

11.4.2. Producer vs. user

Newspapers are accustomed to practices of media production. Journalists perform creative work on an everyday basis as they report on important events in the world, and a key aspect of journalists' professional work has been to develop a sense of which events are newsworthy or not. In the old media situation, when producing and distributing news purely for a printed newspaper, the sense of good journalism was reinforced continuously in terms of peer recognition. At the end of the day, journalists decided what was newsworthy to report on, and which news reports were to be promoted as the most important; that is, on the front page. They reported on things they believed were important to the public, but not necessarily what the public wanted; a polarisation discussed thoroughly by McChesney (2000) for instance. Nevertheless, journalists have typically had gut feelings about what readers want, since reliable measurements have been absent and/or poorly communicated. While market research on print readership did exist, these figures did not give immediate feedback, unlike fellow journalists and editorial managers, who also valued peers' input more than the public's. However, journalists' authority in that sense is being challenged in the new digital habitat.

Nowadays, there is more instant feedback on what news the public want, reported through website statistics etc., which even can exert influence on the news reporting s over the course of a day and cross-media. As newspapers are adapting increasingly to users' needs and behaviours, these exert more influence indirectly on what constitutes news. Personalized news services are becoming increasingly available among old news media offerings in the digital habitat. Not all people only access news online by entering a news site and navigating through its predefined categories of news articles. On the contrary, general patterns of online usage have become characterised more by search than navigational browsing; hence there have been many efforts towards search engine optimization (SEO). Furthermore, news recommendation engines (NREs) have come to play an augmented role for digitally distributed news (e.g. Thorson, 2008), and in recent times actors such as

Pulse Reader and Flipboard have pushed forward personalisation through services that are essentially hi-jacking and repackaging news streams from old news media. With the advent of powerful social networking sites (SNS) more news accessing behaviours have also emerged, where users redistribute handpicked and recommended news articles, taken essentially from old news media. This marks an expression of users becoming editors of news content to their peers. During autumn 2012, Facebook partnered with old news media such as the Washington Post, the Guardian and the Wall Street Journal (WSJ) for new sorts of news provision. The WSJ Social app is promoted by the slogan 'You're the editor,' encouraging people to amass readers by sharing articles with others.

While news has always been coupled with a social dimension, such as discussing the news in coffee houses, digital media have enabled new forms for such social activity. With a growing figure of SNS redirections to news articles, old news media have become more engaged with social media optimization (SMO), in order to achieve a constant level of attraction for their users. For instance, analyses of log data files from major news corporations, reveal that the downstream traffic from social media such as Facebook and Twitter (the new) to news sites (the old) increased substantially from 2008 to 2011 (Newman, 2011). News media companies are evidently developing ways to accommodate user-generated content in their news production (e.g. Harrison, 2010). Future research may investigate how this transforms power dynamics among news media, citizens and commercial companies (such as Facebook and Twitter). It is also worth studying how people reflect on such practices, which may involve spontaneous sharing of interesting stories, as well as taking the role as editor of selected news stories for friends and/or professionals, demonstrating particular news accessing behaviour to their peers.

At the end of the day, there are now a plethora of contesters for the old news media authority, which recontextualize news articles by employing either machine-led personalisation or user-empowered selection and sharing. In addition, users are commenting on, making so-called mash-ups of, or even producing, journalism (although the proportion not doing so is definitely larger). Practices labelled 'produsage and participation' have been described and prescribed, as important to news media (e.g. Bruns, 2008, 2010b; Singer et al., 2011). This generally relates to the idea of openness to the collective intelligence and

contribution of the population (Lévy, 1997). Such distributed participation is built into the conceptualisation of Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007), suggesting a social architecture for the digital habitat that enables and encourages more participation (Lewis, 2012). Lewis further suggests that some of the new organisations, being established in the digital news arena, situate themselves within an ideology of open participation that welcomes collaborative innovation, in contrast to the traditional journalistic logic of professional control (Lewis, 2012). This dissertation, on the other hand, has addressed how the tension between producers and users has come into play in the salient case of mobile media, in a traditional newspaper less familiar with such processes.

This study of GP reveals a company in which its media workers emphasize that it is important to form omnipresent strategies for cross-media news work. They conceive of themselves as a service, not only to provide journalism through cross-media, but also through a range of utility services. In that sense they focus on giving users what users want. Being an established news media institution, they perceived that their local community expected their presence in print, online and mobile, like a public service institution. GP tracked user behaviour continuously for different channels. Their measurements of user behaviour formed a point of reference by which they evaluated their performance for different channels. These measurements were compared to their previous figures, as well as with figures from other newspapers. The media workers have developed more and more functions, for their news site, thus enabling user participation. Arguments have been proposed that the measurements on the news site have been of limited interest to their users to participate actively online. Their experiences from their news site have greatly influenced their approaches to mobile media. Throughout 2008 and 2009, their sensemaking accounts constructed their news and other services for the mobile device for users, not 'produsers'. It was not until 2010 that the conception of them as 'produsers' won ground, and then it did so mostly among the suits, while this stance was criticized by creatives and techies. One criticism was that users were not thought to be interested or willing to produce content themselves. Consequently, they could offer means of participation which few people would make use of, or gain limited added value from. Another criticism was that the quality of such content was expected to be low, perhaps even deleterious to their company brand image, and their highly valued reputation as a sensible and trustworthy

news media institution. They felt that their brand and content profile should be consistent across different media channels.

The micro-processes of sensemaking mobile media, related to the development of an iPhone app, showed how tensions between the conceptions of producer versus user came into play. The alliance of creatives and techies won ground for their producer-centric approach, on behalf of the participation-centric approach of the suits. There was a move towards produsage, but there was no involvement of users in the production of journalism for the mobile. The winning arguments of the creatives and techies against user involvement for the iPhone app were related to their anticipation of limited and insufficient user involvement. They emphasized that GP could not put its brand name at risk by allowing users to upload photos and comments directly to their mobile media channels. They felt that if they were to allow user involvement they had to allocate resources so that their journalists could supervise and edit the incoming streams of content from users manually. In other words, they managed to win ground for their assumption that users were going to generate content of low quality. This path-dependent interpretation was related to their experiences from the Web, and so was also the solution they had for their ideas. That users were going generate large amounts of quality content was unthinkable from their perspective. Consequently, their post-evaluations of measured user behaviour in the app were also characterised by affirmation of their expectations.

One must consider that, as they created an app with limited capabilities for participation — methods which were little promoted by the suits since they were not unique enough — they practically produced a self-fulfilling prophecy. With poor promotion of user participation inside the app and to the public, it is not surprising that they concluded from their statistics that there was limited interactivity. If they had designed for more user participation they would probably have constructed another situation, providing other cues for their sensemaking. In conclusion, they defined and evaluated their own success with the app, extracting cues that depended largely on their own actions. They had thus enacted an action-based outcome from which they legitimatized their initial expectation that guided their design of the app. This outcome not only guided their subsequent sensemaking, but formed cues for extraction and sensemaking to their fellows in the newspaper industry. As planned, other newspapers in the MktMobil group developed similar iPhone apps, by using the shell

created by GP. This, in turn, continued to reinforce the isomorphism and direction of the mobile media train. Old media, in other words, reinforced a mobile media train ride characterised by a producer-centric approach.

It is worth noticing that the suits discussed one additional argument, which they assumed was important to the creatives (although it was not mentioned by the creatives themselves). This was that the journalists were afraid that citizens were going to report faster and better than the journalists themselves. Ultimately, this concerned the power of journalism, and that user involvement represented a challenge to the traditional producer and expert role that journalists have embodied for centuries. It relates to the issue of journalists having a deeply embedded interest in sustaining their authority and control over news publishing, restraining the possibilities for the public to actually contribute and participate, even though newspapers typically declare that they value civic participation and democracy. The creatives in this study have distanced themselves explicitly from citizens and the value of their potential contributions, posing and reinforcing a belief that what people want and need is articles written by 'real journalists'. As discussed in Chapter three, journalists and old news media have resisted allowing for citizen and participatory journalism (e.g., Quandt and Singer, 2009; Steensen, 2011). Since they have not been appreciative of dialogue (e.g., Heinonen, 1999; Andersson, 2009), they have deliberately allowed for it in more peripheral ways (e.g., Domingo et al., 2008b: Singer et al., 2011). There are also studies indicating that journalists find it important to link with their audience for (online) journalism (e.g. O'Sullivan and Heinonen, 2008).

This study has shown that GP have promoted much of their familiar and producer-centric approaches also for mobile media, allowing for limited participation. This is evidenced by their limited efforts to make such activities possible over the period of study, as well as the explicit resistance to design for such possibilities as they developed their iPhone app. The study shows that participation was designed to be peripheral, yet, as they made sense of the outcome they extracted cues that legitimatized their expectant approach to participation. The inferences drawn from their experience essentially reinforced their stance. The public has for most part been approached as users rather than so-called produsers, while the reasons given for restricting user involvement may not cover all the arguments actually considered. Journalists are reluctant to relinquish their professional control (Lewis, 2012). Domingo (2008)

suggests that user participation is an almost mythical ideal nowadays, while the traditional journalistic culture essentially hinders them from allowing it. In a similar vein, Deuze (2008b) has suggested that news workers to a large extent seek to sustain a self-referential nature. Consequently, while contemporary touch-screen devices make possible for immediate citizen and participatory journalism, it has in this study been confined to submitting news tips by SMS or MMS, uploading reviews of restaurants, etc. While creatives in this study have refrained from transforming their role from gate-keepers to gate-watchers of mobile journalism, there are general trends indicating that this may change, as there is increased mobilization towards participation across all sectors, putting greater pressure on old news media (e.g., Bruns, 2005: Singer et al., 2011). As suggested by Bechmann (2012), new content flow structures are also emerging among old news media, which actually allow for more participation at the expense of professional control. Ultimately, though, it still makes sense to conceptualise a polarisation of producers and users, with produsers in between.

11.4.3. Humans vs. machines

Humans and machines are inexorably and increasingly interconnected in contemporary transformations of journalism. Technology has become deeply embedded into the textures of old newspaper organisations (e.g. Pavlik, 2001; Schmitz-Weiss and Schwingel, 2008; Raviola and Hartmann, 2009). Technology plays an important role in the production, organisation, distribution, interactivity, measurement, and also business of journalism. With print circulation and advertisement revenues on the decline, and debts and new competitors on the rise, the press is under pressure. Following the enormous expansion of newsrooms during the 20th century, newspapers have, in the 21st century, executed numerous downscaling efforts. Since human labour has been displaced by machines in numerous industries, it should come as no surprise that the news media industry has also explored opportunities for replacing humans with machines. Reports by the World Association of Newspapers (WAN-IFRA), for instance, convey that media managers have placed upgrades of content management systems (CMS) and customer relationship management systems (CRM) at the top of their priority list for future improvements (Stone et al., 2010). Machines also play an important part

in the social architecture of Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007; O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009), enabling greater participation in journalism. To employ technological machines for auto-direction of journalistic content has stirred much debate since the advent of shovelware practices in the 1990s, and yet remains an important issue for the shaping of contemporary cross-media news work, not least when acknowledging how they are used by third-party content aggregators, hijacking and repurposing journalism for a plethora of ICTs. The dissertation has explored how the tension between humans and machines has come into play for mobile media, and the results suggest that this has mostly concerned how to manage the repurposing of journalism. The longitudinal approach to the study has made it possible to analyse this tension and its relatively unanticipated turns over the years.

During the first and formative years of mobile news publishing, GP employed a machine-led auto-direction of news to their mobile news site. Owing to insufficient machines, they felt that the presentation of journalism for the mobile news site was unsatisfactory. As the alliance of creatives and techies established their sensemaking of mobile media in 2006–2007, they outlined a path for the mobile news site that involved repurposing and editing by journalistically trained humans, which led to the employment of a dedicated mobile editor in 2008. By scratching the surface, the employment of a mobile editor simply showed that the members of a newspaper thought it important to edit its journalistic content also for the mobile news site. This decision, however, also signifies how an old media approach to new media, and how tensions between journalistic news media institutions and contemporary technological machines, came into play. The production of print journalism has always involved moments editing, making articles fit into predetermined formats. While both the Web and mobile represent radically different media, such editing practices were subsequently transferred to the digital habitat. Working with the online news site, editing and repackaging content constitutes important routines. As the media workers (in particular the creatives) made sense of the mobile news site, they clearly considered it crucial to emphasize editing in that instance. These path-dependent practices suggest that editing has been perceived to be closely interconnected with journalism, and its inherent quality; values which have been translated into their approach to cross-media news work. Ultimately, manual editing was treated more or less as a quality

mark, deriving from their own old practices and competitors' practices. Prior to employing the mobile editor in 2008, the impact of the mobile news site was perceived to be comparatively limited. However, as user uptake grew and other newspapers employed dedicated mobile editors, the creatives and techies sensed a need for initiating such practices as well. Instrumentally, they aimed to customize content for the mobile news site, such as the types of pictures used, but also to keep it 'clean and complete' (by which they referred to how content was presented). Symbolically speaking, with the employment of the mobile editor they wanted to demonstrate to the media workers in their company that the mobile news site was important to GP. While there are many different ways to demonstrate such value, the employment of a mobile editor marks the importance of coupling quality and caring through manual editing. Their stance on mobile editing, however, changed over the years.

From autumn 2009, GP exercised far less editing on the mobile news site. The machine transition done by GP in 2009 aimed to improve performance, but instead there was loss of functionality, which was not recovered because of the recession, and pressure on the media workers involved in digital developments. Considering that their new systems did not meet the requirements for mobile news editing, the machines can be perceived as (actants) resisting humans to undertake practices. Consequently, the mobile editor could not perform mobile editing as before, which resulted in a loss of engagement with such work. As the tension between human and machines came into play, the creatives adapted to the new conditions. Realising that there were limited opportunities for editing content directly for the mobile news site, they developed new editing practices for their news site, which ensured their machines could auto-direct to the mobile news site. In other words, humans adapted to the changing conditions of their machines. Originally, this was not a change they had asked for. However, somewhere along the way, they changed their conceptions about the role of mobile editing. This was evident as they developed the iPhone app, which once again relied completely on machine-led auto-direction. The difference at this time was that the creatives were better trained in how their work with the news site (old media) affected the auto-direction and presentation of journalism for their mobile news site (new media). In other words, a broader collective of creatives started to consider how their work should be published for the mobile news site. With these new practices, media

workers sought to make use of machines to grant desired quality, but also to lessen workloads of their journalists, since there were a growing number of mobile media channels. The bottom line is that with the emancipation of mobile media, streams of content were first managed by machines, and thereafter by an interplay of machines and humans, and then again by machines, although with creatives being more sensitive to the interplay of the news site and mobile media channels.

One conclusion is that humans must learn what their machines are capable of. The tension between humans and machines does not only involve the simple and practical choice of whether the machine or the human journalist should be responsible for publishing content at a given situation, it is a tension that partly comes into play as machines do not offer the functions asked of them, and it is a tension that comes into play as human journalists become resigned about performing the tasks they were assigned. It also relates to a strain between creatives and techies, considering that the techies are responsible for the programming developments of such machines. Obviously, these tensions have not only influenced journalism practices for the mobile, but also for the Web. The sensemaking of mobile journalism, which involves continuous negotiations about the possibilities and limitations of machines, is thus shaping contemporary practices of cross-media news work. From this study, it seems as if both humans and machines will play an important role for these practices, rather than machines or humans will displace the other. Both have roles in the repurposing and customisation of journalism content across channels. The relationship between humans and machines is clearly linked to that of the producer vs. user tension, as discussed by Andersson (2011) on the role of algorithms for news work. Linking this to the earlier discussion on social discovery and social media optimization (SMO), it is clear that the networked ways of distributing news are changing significantly. News is now also being accessed as selected discrete units, rather than through pre-packaged modes created by journalists. Users' ratings of news sites are empowering citizens, which also alters gate-keeping. Calling on the fact that a greater (yet relatively small) proportion of news is accessed beyond the channels controlled by news media organisations, this is definitely worth further inquiry.

Importantly, though, while there is a customisation of services for the mobile device, this study has shown that the media workers in this study do not work with a particular mobile journalism. This is clearly a matter

of resources and assumptions about the benefit of customising journalism for a particular channel. While there were ambitions and actions for involving humans in the making of mobile media, the study shows that the general approach has been characterised by empowering machines to master journalistic content flows. This study demonstrates how machines are used to auto-direct and repackage content produced by GP. Such solutions are at the heart of responsive adaptations enabled by HTML 5, yet a prerequisite is that media workers program the selection of news stories in some way. In this context, it is worth noting that machines are already being employed also to produce journalistic content, with projects such as StatSheet and Narrative Science. StatSheet provides extensive coverage of American sports events practically without the involvement of humans, describing itself as a digital media company that automatically transforms data into compelling narrative content (stories), visual displays (charts, tables, graphs) and interactive applications (Statsheet, 2011). Companies such as StatSheet are examples of machine-led practices taken a step further. Will routine tasks, previously performed manually by journalists, be carried out by machines and their algorithms for extracting information and compiling news stories? An important question to address, concerns to what degree machines can be employed for different cross-media news work, and which practices can only be done by humans. Journalists will probably seek to remain in charge of old practices, while worsening conditions may prompt their media managers to be open to accommodating more machine-led practices. Scholars should be sensitive to how this tension comes into play in future cross-media news work.

11.4.4. Old vs. new

The old vs. new tensions stretches from the general encounter between old and new media, which embraces other tensions, as the old becomes reconfigured with respect to the new (Fidler, 1997; Bolter and Grusin, 2000; Raviola, 2010). Such interplay has been prevalent historically, not least in the ways journalism from one medium has been traded with another for radio, television, and the Internet, in relation to newspapers (Fidler, 1997). There is a tension between making innovation and being in control. In the analysis and making of innovation (the new), those involved often want to reassure control of established practices (the old), which means a continuous reconciling of this tension (Weick, 1995).

What is ascribed as old and new is relative, and in this study newspapers and news sites have been referred to as old in relation to mobile media. Obviously, categorisations of something as old vs. new can be criticized because of normative associations. In some sense, strains arise as new and old are approached as 'polarised'. The old is sometimes coupled with connotations of familiarity, comfort and maturity, while the new is associated with the unfamiliar, challenging and immature. Others associate old with being outdated and eventually displaced, while the new is promising, exciting and valued. On the other hand, it is worth recalling that within newspapers, the journalists earlier ascribed lower value and status to old media, compared to new media (e.g. Deuze, 2004; Erdal, 2009b). Notwithstanding this juxtaposition, old and new should be regarded as being interconnected with each other. The new is something that fosters sensemaking, and in which creatives, suits and techies negotiate sense, that is partly dependent and partly disentangled from their historically and culturally produced tensions.

This dissertation has not only shown how the sensemaking of mobile media has transformed over time, but also how old objects and practices have been an important part of the sensemaking of the new. Individuals' memories, experiences and knowledge form organisational intelligence that not only records and stores the old, but transforms and applies this knowledge into the shaping of the new. Such path-dependent conceptions of what journalism should be —with respect to editing, for instance — has had a marked influence on the paths that were decided for mobile media. Moreover, as mobile media became integrated into the textures of the newspaper organisation, this old medium and its related objects and identities have transformed as well. This dissertation provides an insider's view into the continuous transformations taking place, in which newspapers have incorporated mobile media into their hybrid of print and digital output, in processes promoted mainly by creatives and techies.

The media workers have engaged consistently in sensemaking of how new technology has enabled opportunities to develop valuable services for users. They have also stressed the necessity of developing such services rapidly in order not to lag behind their competitors. Throughout the course of their sensemaking of mobile media, they have strived to make mobile media legitimate within their old organisation. This has involved a number of measures, such forming a formal project in 2008, the composition of the project members, the employment of an

acknowledged journalist as a mobile editor as well as to direct powerful resources on developing an app for iPhone. Almost paradoxically, one should note that while they have worked to establish emergent mobile media into their old organisation, there were attempts to sustain perceptions of it as something new. This has been expressed on different occasions; for example, when the company board provided a permanent mobile editor position, as such editing practices were perceived not to be ready for integration into their old organisation. Their sensemaking have involved conceiving mobile media as transforming rapidly; a new important train departure not to be missed. However, while there may be strong intentions for pursuing such journeys, a disadvantage for emergent new media remains that the responsibility for developing and managing these has not always been defined explicitly. This study shows that with the termination of the mobile project group in 2009, responsibility for mobile media developments was lost in the borderland between the old and new. The new, in other words, depend on media workers caring for it. To sustain innovation one must acknowledge that it is difficult to envision what the new will involve. Therefore, a prerequisite is to assign some individual(s) responsibility for sensemaking and enacting the new. Importantly, when mobile media is constructed as new, the media workers have been relieved from demands for immediate return of investment. Therefore, emerging media are constructed to sustain the perception of them as new, even when these media are maturing, to ensure resource allocation. The sense of newness was postponed to grant new media (such as mobile media) conditions that allow them to flourish.

Schanke-Sundet (2011) suggests that new media are less regulated and that there are fewer expectations from the public. From this study, it is clear that previous lengthy periods for developing something new before expecting returns on investments, had altered, as the urgency for profitability was paramount. The results of this study have some broader implications for our understanding of the interplay between old and new media, as well as for innovation and business. Newspapers have trouble in developing sustainable business in the digital habitat (e.g. Nel, 2010). It is obvious that to make a profit is important, yet the developments have been pushed forward primarily by creatives and techies, not the suits. Research suggest that creatives have had great influence in shaping the Web, but that suits and techies have become influential for mobile media developments (Westlund and Krumsvik, 2012). Newspaper associations

have sought to assist newspapers in making both good journalism and good business (Raviola and Pesämaa, 2012).

While there are benefits to constructing the new as new, there are also disadvantages. Media workers must also ensure that the new is sufficiently established as "new." When the Web was new, managers had to battle with journalists unwilling to work with it, and this resistance was related partly to the inferior status of the Web (attracting less users and profits). Early development involves making investments, while positioning the new alongside the old. The institutionalisation of mobile media has rearranged old practices and objects, resulting in perceptions of even the news site as old. The mobile device has been cast as new, considering its relative newness within the old organisation, similar to earlier studies of the relationship between print and news sites (Raviola, 2010). With the birth of the tablets, these conceptions have once again been rearranged.

With the bloom of mechanical production, there has been a concern with loss of authenticity of art work. Such concerns are evidently coming into play for the art of journalism, as the old media situation blurs with the new. The former independently crafted journalism, by people, has, in the digital habitat, come to involve forces of influence by commerce (business), technology (machines) and citizens (participation). The point here is not whether one situation is (normatively) preferred over the other, but to acknowledge that new media are reshaping the old. This dissertation has shown that mimicry is prominent in the development of digital media, not least shaping the new based on the old. Conceptions about printed newspapers, as well as radio, TV and the Web, form points of reference and inspiration for developments in mobile media. Developments in journalism and mobile media involve the introduction of new combinations, shaped by sensemaking of the untapped potential of new media, in conjunction with beliefs about the certainty of successful past endeavours. Old media shape new media, and vice versa. These processes include channels, everyday practices, perceptions and the organisation of digital and mobile media developments. Newspapers have traditionally organised in 'silos,' (i.e. organisation departments) for their production of journalism, advertisement sales, and so forth. With the organisation of cross-media news work there is a greater focus on collaboration and integration. Clearly journalism changes in a general sense, but it also accommodates different sorts of journalism, coupled with the channels through which it is distributed. Therefore, multiple

sorts of journalism may emerge as part of cross-media news work. Consequently, it is reasonable to ask if a mobile journalism is evolving.

11.5. Is there an absence of mobile journalism?

From the perspective of media logic, and the focus on customising content and services for each channel, one could assume there is a distinct sort of journalism emerging, which could involve making particular sorts of news stories available for people throughout the day, both for news access at home, in the office and in the so-called interstices of everyday life. Mobile news access may, to some extent, frame the day, as it can be used both in the early morning, as people wake up, but also late in the evening as people prepare to go to bed. It could possibly even involve writing unique articles, or refashioning existing ones, for an improved experience. By considering different forms of online journalism, many news media institutions have developed new practices for reporting and preseting journalism, which involves making use of multimedia, participation and so forth, to allow for different experiences of a news story. In what ways have the media workers at GP related to this?

This study has shown that media workers have typically approached journalism as taken for granted and platform-neutral. Adaptations to mobile media channels have taken place through customisation of machines, as well as manual editing of how journalistic content is presented. Consequently, the news site forms the primary channel, from which content is auto-directed to the mobile media channels, and selected manually for publishing in the newspaper. The interplay between humans and machines has meant a different focus on people over the years, but has not involved developing a particular sort of journalism for mobile media. Considering current conditions shaping the future of newspapers and their cross-media news work, the results suggest that the customisation and shaping of new media logic(s) does not equate to developing a new sort of journalism. Journalism has instead been regarded as platform-neutral, and the customisation is confined to how it is coupled with features such as location sensitivity and personalisation.

The immediacy of accessing news using mobile devices may be more pronounced than for news sites, which calls for considering the news reporting processes. This study shows how cross-media news work practices emerged that are sensitive to mobile media, as creatives started

to consider the publishing of news for mobile devices. However, by approaching the news site as the primary channel, practices often conform to publishing online news for people at work (Boczkowski, 2010). However, with mobile devices people access digitally distributed news before arriving at their desk and/or computer at school or work. The bottom line is that there is presumably a need for updated news for mobile channels earlier in the day, which means that the scheduling of media workers in some instances must be done earlier, to publish news early in the morning. Machine-led auto-direction of news articles from news agencies will obviously make important contributions at this point of the day. However, people (humans) could publish important news at this point of time, as well as later throughout the day. The tensions between humans and machines will continue to come into play, as journalists defend the old, established boundaries of their craft from newly generated algorithms, supporting machine-led publishing. Notwithstanding the above, both humans and machines can be employed for various tasks of cross-media news work.. There may also be a growing involvement of citizens as producers. The wisdom of the crowds has, for instance, come into play as the *Guardian* encouraged the public to scrutinize documents on the expenses of members of parliament. Digital technology has made it possible for activists and citizens to make highly important documents available for investigation. The initiatives of WikiLeaks, and their partnerships with major newspapers, reveals new flows and power dynamics in investigative reporting.

The bottom line is that this may cause displacements of human journalists becoming deskilled in some sense, while yet calling for the development of new skills to handle cross-media news work. While this does not necessarily mean the development of particular practices for the growing plethora of mobile media channels, it will involve a shaping of journalistic content and services that can be presented thoughtfully and adequately, for both mobile media channels and other digital channels. The newspaper of this study oriented towards treating its news site as the heart of the ecosystem, from which content was pumped to other digital channels, customized in terms of repackaging the content (e.g., personalisation, location-based services, etc.). Ultimately, journalism for the old and printed newspaper is affected by these transformations.

Perhaps the most critical issue to address, concerns about what sorts of journalism and stories people want to read and pay for in a printed

newspaper. Newspaper managers may consider to what degree classifieds, stock quotes and the like actually provide substantial value to their print readers nowadays, considering the wide diffusion of such information in the digital habitat. Digital and mobile news channels are coupled with immediacy of news reporting, while the printed newspaper struggles with the selection and presentation of news stories that many readers are already acquainted with. Consequently, one may question the path-dependent nature of multi-section print newspapers. Many indicate that in-depth analysis guiding people in the vast amount of information and news flows is asked for by readers. The *Economist* has managed to attract an increasing readership for print (and digital channels) with their in-depth analysis and authoritative voice ('of God'), aiming to inform their readers about the most important matters in the world. Furthermore, they have refrained from enabling much participation in their applications for tablets, not because the journalists resist it, but because they sense that their readers want what their digital editor refers to as 'finishability'; that is, a feeling of having finished reading the most important news (Standage, 2011). While the *Economist* is different from daily newspapers, its focus on print has also been adopted elsewhere, both by legacy news media and new inventions such as the *Huffington Post* that provides filtering, analysis and guidance in a networked information world.

In conclusion, even if the news media industry engages mostly in machine-led practices for new channels, rather than developing journalism, these practices influence how journalism for old channels is performed. As a point of expansion, the current move towards increasingly digitized cross-media news work stimulates augmented degrees of machine-led practices. That is, however, not to say that human-led journalism per se is decreasing. But just as the proportion of digital revenues seems to increase as print revenues decrease, the relative amount of human-led practices becomes smaller with the expansion of digitized cross-media news work. Obviously, the journalism profession is changing, which also alters how future journalists can and should be trained. Academic institutions such as Columbia University have joint degrees, in which students are trained in both journalism and computer science. It is worth noting that the issue of journalism in higher education has lately been investigated collaboratively by a plethora of prominent American universities (Patterson, 2011). At the end of the day, the institutionalisation of Web and mobile media has shaped the newspaper

into an organisation deeply involved with cross-media news work. Moreover, the boundaries among creatives, suits and techies, as well as the limitations of machines and users, have become increasingly fluid. Newspaper journalism used to be tangled with print, but relatively disentangled from commercial and technological forces. Now, journalism is becoming decoupled from the upside of commercial contributions, and simultaneously is becoming increasingly blended with technology and commerce in its production, presentation and distribution.

11.6. Towards future research inquiries

The results and conclusions of this study have advanced our knowledge of contemporary cross-media news work, incrementally and momentarily; that is, as numerous additional inquiries benefit from further attention. Researchers should be encouraged to apply a longitudinal approach to follow up on how sensemaking of mobile media, and the shaping of cross-media news work, continue to evolve. Such studies can provide understanding of how processes continue to evolve in other phases (of institutionalisation), from other kinds of data sources (such as ethnographic observations or surveys), but also by expanding the geographical gaze to other countries and types of news media organisations (commercial and public service broadcasters, etc.). A key matter for future research is to study research and development (R&D) in news media organisations. Theoretically speaking, there are numerous approaches applicable to this area of research. Nevertheless, two approaches are suggested as particularly relevant to explore: 1) organisational learning; and 2) a sense-negotiation approach.

The more general tension between old and new encompasses how media workers in old newspapers make sense of, and institutionalise, the new. The interplay between old and new is a topic that organisational researchers have studied for decades in the field of organisational learning. One form of the learning process, with direct relevance for studying how old practices and cultures are transferred to the new, is experiential learning. The concept has been employed by craftsmen for centuries, and entered research through educational literature, before being embraced later by business education and organisational research. Experiential learning suggests that individuals and organisations learn from what they are doing, both formally and informally. Different

learning experiences can both foster and hinder change, and thus are related to organisational inertia and path dependency (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Daft and Weick, 1984; March and Olsen, 1989). In the context of news media organisations, those involved in pursuing innovation use inferences from historical experiences to guide their actions. Experiences dependent on the contingencies of particular situations, such as developing an iPhone app, may shape approaches to other sorts of app developments (e.g. Android). Such experiences influence whether further application developments are approached as untapped potential (i.e., positive experiences), or are dismissed as troublesome and uncertain (i.e., negative experiences). Inferences drawn from media workers' earlier experiences are found in their organisation, their work processes, their documents, their perceptions, and so on.

While this study has presented several results that are relevant to experiential learning, it has also shed light on vicarious learning. The transforming enactment of mobile editing practices shows that media workers treated editing as a quality mark, based on their own old practices (experiential learning), as well as on cues extracted from competitors' practices (vicarious learning). Also, the continuous structured and unstructured surveillance and analysis of other newspapers give a clear example of how vicarious learning has come into play. This approach suggests that organisations learn by monitoring and imitating other organisations in their industry (e.g. Levitt and March, 1988). Research suggests that vicarious learning in newspapers takes place both among journalists (Boczkowski, 2010) and executives (Nordqvist et. al, 2010). Research suggests that there tends to be a delimited and biased sample of organisations that are learnt from, since sampling tends to be influenced much by individual preferences and social networks (Denrell, 2003).

In addition, future studies might employ calibrated approaches to sensemaking, in order to focus more in the nature of negotiations in how tensions come into play. Obviously negotiations are acknowledged by the sensemaking approach, by its general emphasis on social processes, and its particular emphasis on argument; that is, an action-driven form of sensemaking (Weick, 1995). The sensemaking approach can be developed in a direction that can be conceptualised as a *sense-negotiation approach*. By directing attention exclusively towards how tensions come into play through social sensemaking, the sense-negotiation approach studies how creatives,   suits   and   techies   both   articulate   and   negotiate   their

interpretations. How such research might be accomplished methodologically and conceptually will now be discussed briefly. In terms of method, a triangulation of interviews, observations and document analysis can be used. The bottom line is that studies of organisational change and innovation in news media organisations should comprise studies of the various perspectives, cultures and interests of media workers. This is important to grasp the power dynamics at play as creatives, suits and techies negotiate their making of sense; reinforcing or inventing different paths of developments. By considering that contemporary cross-media news work often involves the use of freelancers, consultants, network partners and subsidies, future research may explore how sense-negotiations are processed with those actors as well. Such studies may advance our understanding of how different groups of media workers, at different hierarchical levels, sense-negotiate and construct different paths that either support or hinder change. These studies would provide insight into the interplay of journalism, technology and business, in formative processes of constructing something new.

Conceptually speaking, there are different theoretical lenses that may be used for assisting and strengthening a sense-negotiating approach, many of which are related to power and field theory. Furthermore, the ways technology is adopted in organisations has been studied by scholars focusing diffusion of innovation (e.g. Rogers, 2003) that employ a technologically deterministic approach, and scholars of the social shaping of technology (e.g. Bijker et al., 1987), that apply a more socially contingent approach, explicitly resisting technological determinism. As suggested by Boczkowski (2004b), the integration of these two approaches makes it possible to study the mutual shaping of technology and society, in which tensions can arise and negotiations occur. He also points to the technological innovations that often result in alterations of work practices and organisation (Boczkowski, 2004b). With regard to social shaping of technology, and the field of science and technology studies (STS), boundary work makes one compelling source of inspiration for the study of how tensions come into play in sense-negotiations.

Boundary work focuses on how individuals and organisations strive to legitimize their perceptions and ambitions (Gieryn, 1995; 1999). Boundary work also acknowledges that different actors (here, creatives, suits and techies) have different interests in establishing and maintaining such boundaries (Barnes et al., 1996). Coupling boundary work functions with

a sense-negotiating approach, to show how creatives, suits and techies negotiate jointly and make sense of the new, defining and shaping the boundaries for future 'newspapers'. There are already different ways to produce and present journalism for these devices and newspapers. While customisation of media logic(s) of particular media have been conceived normatively as desirable, constructions emphasising buzzwords such as 'interactivity' depend ultimately on sensemaking conducted in context. To paraphrase Plesner (2010), the meanings associated with the empty signifier of 'media logic' depend on how it is constructed; that is, the social sense-negotiations among creatives, suits and techies. Importantly, the construction of contemporary and future journalism, by industry practitioners and researchers, is one involving conflicts of interest.

At the end of the day, the concept of newspapers and journalism is definitely changing. News media organisations are innovating continuously, to secure omnipresence for their individualized (prod)users on the go. News access via laptops, mobile devices and tablets all make so-called miniaturised mobilities (Elliott and Urry, 2010) that are employed for news provision in the digital habitat. The digital and mobile media trains are directing newspapers into new territories in which there is much yet to explore and make sense of. While it is important to study how contemporary transformations are changing newspapers from inside and out, researchers need not suggest normative conclusions about what should be done. The old situation for journalism is one most are familiar with, and many tend to look into the rear-view mirror with more comfortable feelings, than gaze into the hazy and challenging roads ahead. Others praise the opportunities coupled with the roads being explored in the new digital and mobile habitat. Whether the old or the new is preferable is not the point, but rather understanding the new situation that emancipates through the blending of the two. Both philosophical and economical value must be created by journalistic institutions (Picard, 2006), which inevitably applies also in this new situation. This is critically important as this dissertation ultimately suggests that the mobile media (r)evolution has just started. It is not the end of newspaper journalism, rather a continuation of cross-media news work developments.

12

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PART V

APPENDIX

Appendix 1:

METHODS AND MATERIALS

This chapter outlines how the study of sensemaking among creatives, suits and techies was designed and managed. It was seen as important to carry out a longitudinal study of social sensemaking and change processes over time (Thomas et al., 1993), which helped to make decisions concerning the method to be used for the enquiries to be addressed.

An emphasis on getting close to the media workers and their personal understanding of changing practices has been prioritised. Throughout the course of this study, observations have been carried out through occasional participation in meetings, workshops, conferences and internal courses for further training. During the entire period of the fieldwork, I have also frequently accessed news through GP's various mobile news channels, making observations about changes to their content and services. In other words, I subscribed to their SMS news flashes and frequently used their mobile news site (and later also apps). I have also had a great deal of informal communication with many of the media workers at GP over the years, both in person and through mediated communication. An additional source of information has been different sorts of documents, both official and unofficial, such as strategy reports, meeting protocols and visual drafts of mobile apps. Such documents leave tangible traces of the events and thoughts in an organisation. However, observations, informal communication and documents have all been used in a complementary way in relation to research interviews.

Conducting research interviews was valued as the most appropriate method in order to grasp the sensemaking of creatives, suits and techies over time. The contextually-shaped information and meaning created in these interviews has been analysed inductively in order to grasp general patterns of the sensemaking of mobile media, but also through the lens of the four tensions. From the perspective of scientific theory, conducting the interviews involved two different approaches, which are discussed against a broad body of theory in the following section. The subsequent and theoretically informed section discusses the preparations for

conducting fieldwork with (elite) media workers. The third section discusses the fieldwork, and the fourth, the analytical procedures. The final section focuses the management of the data material.

1. The interview as a site of sensemaking

There are several different positions on research interviews, such as neopositivsm, localism and romanticism (Alvesson, 2003). These positions have obviously been ascribed normative labels. While I do not find these labels appropriate, these positions are discussed in brief in the following in order to contextualise the two interrelated approaches that have been adopted in this study. Two approaches have been used, as sensemaking involves both interpretations and actions. Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) write that interviews are used in studies of talk as an indicator (of action) and talk itself (interpretations). These dimensions are closely linked, and as a result, they have been approached in two different ways through research interviews. On the one hand, the interviews involved attempts to convey more or less "accurate" descriptions of the organisational processes over time. This approach (drawing on neopositivsm) has been employed in the study of talk as an indicator. On the other hand, research interviews have been approached as a site of social sensemaking between researcher and interviewee. This approach (drawing on romanticism and localism) has been used in the study of talk itself, by emphasising interpretations.

1.1. Approaching interviews as indicators of change

Neopositivists are influenced by the idea of objectivity and decontextualised truths about reality, and imitate quantitative ideals in their research processes. They aim to minimise their influence and any sources of bias, treating the interview and language as a transparent medium for transmitting knowledge from interviewee to interviewer. In organisational research, they battle with how to go beyond the façade of rehearsed and representative narratives that have been polished in order to reflect the desired company image. They try to discern social facts by applying interview techniques that make it possible for the interviewee to discuss the issues addressed as a moral truth-teller who acts in the service

of science (Alvesson, 2003). This position conforms to the interview-data-as-a-resource approach, in which the interview data collected are seen as reflecting the interviewees' reality outside of the interview (Rapley, 2001). While my general stance emphasises socially-constructed representations, inspiration has been gained from the literature in this strand, which focuses on skills for mechanical procedures for conducting interviews.

Despite being problematic and challenging, this approachhas been employed in order to construct the processes taking place in the "real world" of the newspaper organisation, capturing "reality" beyond representative constructions. Considering that research interviews were employed in order to obtain information about the system world of the organisation, interviewees were, in that sense, approached as informants on factual events and processes. I have pursued interview techniques that facilitate well-informed constructions of "their reality," by systematically addressing similar questions to several media workers. Obviously, there are several factors, such as experience, intentions and memory, which limit the ways in which interviewees can report on "reality." Factors such as mixed language repertoires and the pursuit of a company image form additional barriers to grasping their (perceived) reality. Critics can obviously argue that there is a limited degree of robustness to interview accounts as indicators of actions. While acknowledging the existence of an objective reality "out there," any statement of this reality is clearly a subjective and simplified construction. Nevertheless, this construction contextualises the understanding of explicit interpretations.

1.2. Approaching interviews as interpretations

The romantic position emphasises the pursuit of a good relationship between interviewer and interviewee as a prerequisite to exploring ideas, feelings and meanings (sensemaking). It suggests that researchers should get involved with interviewees in order to facilitate better conversation, such as with the interview-data-as-topic approach proposed by Rapley (2001). Interviewees are not treated as repositories of information that can be accessed, but rather as people willing to discuss their interpretations. This position "assumes that the interview is a highly ambiguous situation calling for intensive sensemaking" (Alvesson, 2003: 20). Aspers treats the interview as a conversational relationship, focusing on understanding (2007). This position states that interview accounts are

co-constructed and situational. This corresponds to the fact that the interview, as a site of social sensemaking between researcher and interviewee, has been employed as the second approach in this study. In addition, I have also sought to acknowledge that language cannot mirror social reality. Different wordings can refer to the same thing, while similar wordings can refer to relatively different events or experiences (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000). The ways in which media workers express themselves can involve metaphors, which are known to help people in their interpretation and meaning-making (Morgan, 2006), and are therefore clearly relevant to sensemaking. In relation to this approach, I have also been inspired by dimensions of the localist position, which acknowledges that interviewees produce situated accounts influenced by their social structure and culture. This has guided the research design in terms of interviewing media workers representing presumably different structures and cultures, and acknowledging ambiguity by exploring more than one set of meanings. The analysis of their cognitive frameworks, which guided them in noticing and extracting cues, has been closely linked to their sensemaking processes.

Their interpretations have been approached as reflecting a reality which is jointly constructed by the interviewee and the interviewer (similarly to the interview-data-as-topic approach). The co-creation of the conversation, which takes place in an interpersonal context, influences the meaning of the stories told (Mishler, 1986). The interview situation is treated as a social encounter involving the ongoing articulation of interpretive structures, resources and orientations (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995), and as an occasion for constructing realities and meaning (Rapley 2001). This perspectives leads to a sensemaking-oriented approach to interviewing, which focuses on interviews representing personal interpretations and socially-constructed meaning-making.

Through the ways I posed some of the questions during interviews, I have aimed to make sense of various issues together with the interviewed creatives, suits and techies. I brought talk itself to the forefront by means of emphasising their vocabularies of interpretation. In this sense, the joint sensemaking in interviews could possibly best be depicted through quotations from conversations. To a limited extent, this has been done, but the empirical chapters obviously involved the most excerpts of conversations in the form of quotations from interviewees. While this de-contextualises their accounts, I found this priority to be necessary, as the

alternative would require much more space. In terms of analysing the meaning of interpretations, I have paid attention to phraseology, such as what activities are coupled with the "quality of journalism." Studying the vocabularies of interpretation has also involved being sensitive to the use of metaphors, which, for the media workers, involved many imaginative references to the mobile media train ride, and to being its innovative and rapidly-moving locomotive.

2. Interviewing media workers in news organisations

Studying media workers, rather than members of the public, involves the challenge of convincing particular individuals to participate in interviews. Specific positions, experiences and thoughts can be linked to a particular individual. Conducting research interviews with the staff of an organisation involves two daunting challenges. The first challenge concerns gaining formal entry to the organisation, and the second is earning the trust necessary for interviewees to share information and opinions. The next two sections discuss these challenges, while the subsequent two focus on the research interview itself.

2.1. Gaining entry

Having been accredited with a senior management position, such as CEO or editor-in-chief, some individuals in this study hold a powerful professional position. Time is scarce, company secrets are presumably preferably kept secret, and this may result in researchers being kept at bay. The preparations for the fieldwork were guided by the literature on interviewing elites (Odendahl and Shaw, 2002). There are three types of elite: business; professional and community/political elites (Hertz and Imber, 1995). Media managers can seen as business elites, who have previously been relatively inaccessible to researchers. The potential interviewees at GP were approached in sequence throughout 2008 in order to gain access for interviews. I was, at the time, acquainted with some of the media workers at GP from previous research collaborations between GP and the Newspaper Research Programme (NRP) at the University of Gothenburg, to which I had been a frequent contributor since 2005. The NRP had regular meetings with a reference group of newspaper representatives, including the editor-in-chief of GP. In June

2008, I also met with several GP media workers at the World Association of Newspapers Conference, which was held in Gothenburg, and where I was an invited speaker at a session focusing on mobile news. These two factors presumably worked in my favour in gaining entry to GP.

First, I approached the editor-in-chief with my research proposal. As he welcomed GP's participation in the research project, we agreed for him to run through the proposal with his colleagues on the company board. Once he had done so, I approached each media worker personally by outlining the project in brief and asking for an interview. I performed a snowball sample, in which I continuously approached additional interviewees when they were mentioned as being relevant in the interviews, or even recommended for interview when I asked for advice. The criteria for inclusion related to their professional involvement in mobile media, as well as the four tensions. Over the course of the fieldwork, I found the media workers to be exceptionally helpful, and they generally tried their best to attend the interview appointments if possible.

2.2. Achieving conversations beyond scripts

Following my formal entry into the organisation, each encounter with the individual media workers of GP was coupled with the challenges of establishing a sense of trust and openness in the interview situation. Considering that a sequence of longitudinal interviews was conducted, my relationship with the interviewees was, by necessity, maintained over the course of the research process.

Media workers have a status that presumably affects the researcher, as well as the prerequisites for the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee. There are inequalities in the power balance (Aspers, 2007). First, the media workers have more power, as they are able to decide what information to give out and what to conceal. They may also choose to answer the question in ways they assume the researcher or their company expects, or in ways they will find favourable when the findings are presented. The bottom line is that creatives, suits and techies may express particular opinions because they have internalised values with which they identify, but also because they follow a moral imperative to express themselves in loyal terms. It is definitely difficult to determine whether people are trying to express their personal opinions and views, or to reproduce a culturally- and morally-influenced script. Second, the

researcher eventually acquires more power, gaining insights into the organisation, as well as being in charge of how the results are reported.

This is not a study on business elites *per se*, but rather on what they do and think as professionals in an organisation (Pridham, 1987; Medhurst, 1987). As such, they may identify themselves as company men and women, voicing the broader concerns of both their organisation and the business community (Useem, 1995). A prerequisite to studying research questions relating to the four tensions of this study is to go beyond the façade of representative company images. The literature within the domain of the first approach suggests removing business elites from their office to get beyond these formal scripts and pre-prepared public relations responses. In this study, some interviews were performed outside of the office (in restaurants, lobbies and meeting rooms), while most were conducted in the interviewee's office (for their convenience). While it is obviously difficult to determine, my personal experience is that the place of interview had less of an influence than suggested by the literature.

The point of departure for tensions between creatives, suits and techies involved giving voice to various professionals at different hierarchical levels, with different sorts of involvement with mobile media. In my experience, I have been welcomed similarly by creatives, suits and techies. Through the sensemaking approach, they have been given fairly equal opportunities to develop their personal reflections and arguments. During interviews, I have listened extensively to their personal reflections, in which they have been aware of their own interests. Those intensively, rather than peripherally, involved with mobile media development have engaged more actively and openly in the interviews.

2.3. The interview situation

A loosely structured interview guide, notepad and dictaphone were used in the interviews. The social setting and these tools presumably influenced the interviewees, but it is difficult to determine how. While various loosely structured interview guides were used (which have transformed over the years), each interview involved a number of questions phrased in a similar way. From this perspective, the conditions have been superficially consistent. A notepad was used extensively throughout the interviews, and particularly during passages with exceptional relevance to the four tensions, and less during descriptions of processes which were already

familiar to me, or digressions from the subject. The intensity of my note-taking may clearly have influenced how the interviewees valued my interest.However, I continuously asked the follow-up questions I found relevant, which ensured that discussions were held on the relevant topics.

In the very first interview with each individual, they were asked to briefly discuss their personal professional career, and their role in the company. Following on from that, and in subsequent interviews, they were given relatively open questions, asking them to describe and reflect on what they had done in terms of mobile media development. I assumed these questions to be fairly unproblematic to answer, but I cannot be certain that they revealed all of the relevant sensitive information. In addition to providing important insights into the questions discussed, these questions aimed to establish a feeling of trust with the interviewees. Later, questions explicitly addressing more sensitive issues and the interviewees' personal interpretations were introduced.

I made explicit that the interviewees were welcome to disclose sensitive details, with an agreement that I was not to make their accounts publicly available. Several of the interviewees took advantage of this opportunity on several occasions, and sometimes I was asked to pause the recording mode of the dictaphone, and complied. Generally speaking, they asked for secrecy on occasions on which they disclosed the forthcoming launch of products and services, internally managed figures on their performance, or if they put forward critical opinions about other media workers within their organisation. While I have kept my promise not to reveal such accounts, they helped my ongoing sensemaking of the transforming tensions at play. On some occasions, one person has insisted on secrecy for a particular issue, while others have discussed it without restrictions. On these occasions I have included the issue for analysis, when relevant, but avoided quoting the individual who felt uncomfortable about disclosing information. This approach has, at least partly, made it possible to go beyond the (possible) company façade.

In order to sustain a sense of trust and relationship with these business elites, I found it important to continuously prove my understanding of the field. During the interviews, I occasionally demonstrated my knowledge of mobile media, inferring the role of expert to those accustomed to discussing the subject. In discussions with those more peripheral to mobile media, I demonstrated my expertise to a far lesser extent. Another strategy involved making explicit to the interviewee that I

was aware of particular sensitive issues from interviews with other media workers. This strategy was used when the media workers hesitated over discussing a sensitive issue, and the result was typically that they felt comfortable once they knew that their colleagues had already disclosed information on the issue. Ultimately, I equalised the power imbalance by inferring my personal understanding of both general changes in the field and changes within the organisation.

2.4. The interview situation as an occasion for sensemaking and relationship-building

Many technically-oriented (neopositivistic) textbooks on interview methods encourage researchers to pose questions in a non-leading way. Such principles have been used in the first approach to interviews (as indicators of actions), and for the open exploration of what came to the minds of the respondents. Importantly, however, the second approach, which focuses on interpretations, involves the aim of making interview situations into occasions for mutual sensemaking. Following on from this, I have strived to mark the personally-oriented interviews with an emphasis on active conversation, in which both the interviewee and I engage in sensemaking. This involved asking them open-ended questions, to which I have raised follow-up questions throughout the process. It has also involved intervening by presenting my interpretation of what they have just said, asking for their further reflections (and validation or rejection of my interpretation). In a similar vein, I posited statements based on my continuous sensemaking from other interviews on various issues, and asked for their personal reflections.

This involved proposing articulations of other interviewees' answers in order to gain multi-perspectival responses to an issue. On some occasions, I have consciously phrased statements by media workers who have expressed perspectives other than those of the interviewee, in order to discern their stance. Such phrasing has shown that I am well-informed about the sensitive issue and want to make sense of it from their personal and professional perspective. Obviously, I have thereby also made my knowledge about the issue explicit. This approach has been particularly useful for discussions on their personal experiences and interpretations of more sensitive events. Using the accounts of others, as well as my own preliminary conclusions, helped to initiate discussions and to move

beyond hidden agendas. The senior management were less hesitant to disclose secret details compared to media workers at other hierarchical levels. By declaring my awareness, the interviewees clearly became more comfortable about discussing sensitive matters. My experience is that the relationship established during the first interview was important for the subsequent interviews, during which the atmosphere was more transparent from the start. Ultimately, these techniques helped the sensemaking process, supporting some conclusions and adding new perspectives to others. Another result has also been that I feel that I have accessed an inside perspective. An indication of this is that some media workers treated me as one of them, in the ways they talked to me and granted me access to the premises.[421]

3. Materials and analytical process

Editor-in-chief:	You must have endless amounts of material.
Author:	Yes, I have a lot of material.
Editor-in-chief:	I almost get a bit nervous. I mean, how are you going to be able to sort things from all that material?
Author:	There is indeed a lot of sorting, and then…
Editor-in-chief:	But I mean, I hear by the way you are speaking that you have grasped exactly how our processes have come along. You have a very clear understanding of them.
Author:	You think so?
Editor-in-chief:	Yes, indeed you have. I mean, it is almost like you have a better understanding of it than any one of us on the inside.

The data gathered from this longitudinal and interview-based study are extensive and multi-perspectival. The next section outlines and discusses the material. The ensuing section discusses the management of this data material, followed by a discussion of the analytical process.

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421 Visitors to GP have to register with the reception to gain access beyond the security gates to the newspaper premises. The receptionist typically called the interviewee, who came to the lobby to welcome me and let me through the security door. In 2008, I was welcomed rather formally, and escorted as a guest before and after the interviews. At the interviews in 2009 and 2010, several interviewees opened the discussions at the security gates smilingly, with expressions such as: "I thought you had received a entrance key of your own by now." When I had several interviews on the same day, I was allowed to stay and move freely within the office landscape inside the gates to the premises. While working at an available desk in the interstices, some of the workers who passed by said: "Is this your new office?" Others seemed to become accustomed to my being there, and either took no notice of me (as with those I had not interviewed) or started informal discussions with me on other subjects as if it was commonplace for me to be present.

3.1. Outline of interview material

This longitudinal study of the sensemaking of mobile media can be compared to shooting at a moving target. A total of 62 interviews were conducted between 2008 and 2011, mostly during the autumn of 2008, 2009 and 2010. Conducting most of the interviews during the autumn facilitated comparisons between similar time periods, but also an analysis of interpretations among different individuals. Between the interviews I have, in several cases, maintained occasional contact with the interviewees, either by e-mail or through meetings at conferences, workshops etc. The interviews averaged 92 minutes in length, and involved a total of 26 creatives, suits and techies. There were a total of 5,350 minutes of recorded interviews (approximately 89 hours), and numerous hours of unrecorded conversations.

Table 1 outlines the interview occasions and interviewees, grouped based on their original department affiliation. Ten individuals were categorised as being based in the editorial department, 11 in the business department and five in the IT department. Any categorisation of this kind is challenging in longitudinal research within organisations of this type. One must consider that several media workers over the years transferred between departments, as well as between GP and the Stampen Group and MktMedia. Transfers took place because of changes in position due to both individual career advancements and the general reconfiguration of the organisation. As a consequence, some individuals have been given several labels, used for various phases over time. The BDA chief during 2008 became the chief of MktMedia's business developments (MktMedia BD chief), and she was replaced by the former CRM chief, who was appointed as the market analysis chief. One year later, she transferred again, and the CEO in 2008 and 2009 became marketing director of the Stampen Group in 2010, and was replaced by the GP marketing director. The organisation of the DDG group meant that the digital developer (who had worked as the mobile project leader), the digital designer and the chief of the market analysis unit were re-organised. The digital developer and the digital designer were physically transferred from the IT department to the editorial department. Following on from this, the market analysis unit was integrated with the marketing unit in the business department, and the chief of marketing became their chief of analysis.

Table 1   Compilation of recorded interviews

Position	2008	Min.	2009	Min.	2010	Min.	2011	Min.
Editorial Developments Chief	11.09.2008	109	06.12.2009	92	13.09.2010	100		
	14.10.2008	97						
Web Department Chief	23.10.2008	71	03.12.2009	97	01.10.2010	106		
Editor-in-Chief	25.09.2008	126	01.12.2009	87	30.09.2010	74		
					05.10.2010	57		
Mobile Editor	22.09.2008	118	11.12.2009	111	09.09.2010	97		
					25.11.2010	41		
Managing Editor	23.09.2008	82	16.12.2009	98	14.09.2010	87		
News Chief	22.09.2008	78						
Stampen Chief Analyst	07.10.2008	118						
Human Resources Chief	07.10.2008	50						
DDG Chief			15.12.2009	119	07.09.2010	136	26.04.2011	85
					04.10.2010	69	29.04.2011	62
Journalist (Technology & Trends)					21.12.2010	106		
CEO/Stampen Marketing Director	24.10.2008	99	11.12.2009	54	21.12.2010	86		
Marketing Director/CEO	25.09.2008	50			20.09.2010	100		
BDA Chief/MktMedia BD Chief	01.10.2008	158	13.11.2009	103	30.09.2010	123		
			14.12.2009	167				
Business Developer	21.10.2008	78						
Digital Market Analyst			18.12.2009	105	23.09.2010	165		
CRM Chief/Market Analysis Chief			18.12.2009	105	20.09.2010	102		
Chief of Digital Communications			24.11.2009	104				
Market Analyst			18.12.2009	51				
Digital Media Sales			11.12.2009	52				
Chief of Marketing					29.09.2010	98		
Brand Chief					04.10.2010	43		
IT Chief	02.10.2008	86	16.12.2009	91	29.09.2010	81		
Digital Developer	19.09.2008	164	10.12.2009	176	07.09.2010	159		
					09.09.2010	84		
					30.09.2010	70		
					04.10.2010	41		
System Developer			18.12.2009	65	29.09.2010	75		
Digital Designer			10.12.2009	93	13.09.2010	78	26.04.2011	23
					04.10.2010	41		
Programmer					13.09.2010	69		

Given these changes, the categorisation of the interviewees was determined based on an amalgamated analysis of their professional background, occupational identity and department. This means that

although the CEO, the BDA chief and the Stampen chief analyst transferred from GP to Stampen and MktMedia, they were grouped based on their roots in the business and editorial departments. The digital developer, on the other hand, was categorised as part of the IT department in this study, as he worked in that department for most of the period of study, and was also recognised as a techie by others. His response to the question of where he belonged illustrates the difficulty of labelling cross-media news workers when boundaries are blurred:

> I do not see myself as IT, but nor do I see myself as editorial or commercial. I do not know where I belong, but I am quite unique in this company in that way, because throughout my entire service at GP, I have worked across departmental boundaries (Digital developer, 19.09.08).

The digital developer was based in the IT department during 2008 and 2009, and then in the editorial department from 2010 onwards. He had a background as a journalist, having been based in the editorial department for most of his career, but had in recent years worked for the IT department. However, he was placed in the editorial department in a inter-departmental group in 2010. He and the editorial developments chief are particularly visible in the empirical chapters, as they have been heavily involved in mobile media and their analysis and development during the time of study.

3.2. Management of interview material

Some interviews from the extensive interview material were transcribed verbatim, but most were transcribed selectively, that is, selected excerpts were written out. A number of strategies were deployed in order to cope with the interview material. This involved conducting interviews according to themes, recorded as individual audio files. The thematically-oriented interviews were structured using a set of key overarching themes, in which particularly in-depth questions were discussed. These themes were used to create the frames through which individual recording files were singled out throughout the course of the interviews. In other words, each research interview typically generated several audio files. The recorded interview material was transferred to my computers, mobile devices, mp3 player and tablet, enabling seamless listening in various

contexts. All interview recordings were processed at least once, and many were processed numerous times.

Notes were taken throughout the interview sessions, and immediate reflections were compiled directly afterwards. The notes taken during the interview involved the general direction of arguments and stories, but also involved writing down keywords for the discussion, with reference to the particular audio file chapter and the number of minutes that had elapsed. In other words, I inserted hints to myself about particular sections of the interview that I found particularly interesting and wished to revisit. The sections which were transcribed were typically first transcribed into Swedish, and then translated into English, but in some instances, I have selectively transcribed and translated into English directly. During the process of translation, the wording of the interviewees' answers has sometimes been improved incrementally for clarity, such as by erasing pause words. When making these incremental changes, I have strived to avoid transforming the meaning of their statements.

The data material consists of physical folders with documents for respective years, the interview notes, selective transcriptions and other documents (meeting protocols, strategy documents etc.). The digitally-managed compilation of material consists of numerous text documents with selective transcriptions, as well as themed analyses. Excel has been used for sorting some material numerically. The management of the interview material involved contemplating discussions carried out under the principle of secrecy. These discussions facilitated a better understanding at the time of the interview. In some cases, these discussions were coupled with issues of a more long-standing sensitive character, such as when conflicts or other areas of discontentment relating to colleagues were discussed. The promise of secrecy was, in these instances, obviously important. In other cases, these discussions focused on business developments that had to be kept secret until they were launched. By the time of completion, however, these secrets had transformed into publicly-available products and services.

3.3. Making sense of the interviews

The rich data material made it possible to examine multiple perspectives on and extremely detailed descriptions of the processes that took place. Obviously, one must extract selected cues for sensemaking, simplifying

the narratives by focusing on particular themes and events. There are nowadays opportunities to use software for the qualitative analysis of interviews, such as Nvivo or Atlas, but none of these programs have been used. Such software carries benefits for systematic and numerical coding and analysis processes in a neopositivistic spirit. these were not considered, as time-consuming work with transcriptions was a prerequisite, while these programs, for the most part, offer fragmented analyses that are de-contextualised from the rich nature of interviews.

The analysis process of the interview data instead resembles a continuously evolving sensemaking process, which was guided by the four tensions. Contrary to common preconceptions about "good science," in which the theoretical point of departure is crystal clear when the fieldwork is initiated, my point of departure has instead crystallised over time. A sensemaking process has evolved over time, through continuous interactions between interview material and my theoretically-oriented pre-understanding. Obviously, the tensions between creatives, suits and techies were part of the point of departure in 2008, as was my curiosity about how old media cope with new media. The two other tensions, focusing on producers versus users on the one hand and humans versus machines on the other hand, emerged as important dimensions for analysis and empirical investigation during the course of the study. From a retrospective perspective, I would have wanted to ask additional questions relating to these tensions in 2008.

The bottom line is that the interviews allowed me to study how the four tensions have come into play over time. This study achieves validity by presenting findings that correspond to the aim of the study. By making the four tensions a point of departure for the fieldwork and analysis, they have formed a general filter through which both interviews and analysis have been performed. These tensions have guided the extraction of cues for my sensemaking process. If one does not make an analysis filter explicit, it is more difficult to appreciate the way in which the analysis has been organised. This approach can be labelled as deductive, as theoretically-oriented pre-understandings have guided the analysis. In addition, an inductive approach has been employed, which is sensitive to patterns in the empirical material, and common to qualitative research. For instance, the categorisation of the sensemaking of mobile media over various years was a construction of patterns and themes that I developed predominantly by analysing the interview material. A recapitulation is that

my preconceptions about mobile media are clearly influenced by previous experiences and readings.

The analysis process was inspired by traditional procedures used in interview studies, which involve concentrating and categorising meanings (Kvale, 1997). The analysis of qualitative data material ultimately boils down to reduction, selection, simplification and construction. The analysis process which characterises this dissertation has involved making simplifications and constructing patterns that show the sensemaking of mobile media and how the four tensions come into play. Throughout the course of analysing the interview material, it has been continuously constructed and reconstructed in numerous different ways for different sections of the dissertation. Literally one hundred different ways of sorting and constructing the interview material and findings have been used. It is no understatement to say that it would be a challenge to describe these processes meticulously. A brief comment on the general shape of the analysis process, however, is a requisite. Reports on the analysis of interviews typically convey a linear progression from incomprehensible and specific details to the comprehensible and abstract. While there has been a kind of linear progression from incomprehensible and scattered details towards the abstract, the nature of longitudinal research interviews has obviously involved recurrent returns to the first phase of analysis. With the intention of simplification, I will, however, outline a linear process consisting of four phases.

The first phase of analysis following the interviews involved comprehending and sorting the individual interviews. Preliminary conclusions were drawn on the sensemaking of mobile media as well as how tensions come into play. In the second phase, individual data were compared to other data. In terms of the aim of describing the sequence of actions and change processes which took place, I put together pieces of different interview accounts in order to make them as representative of "reality" as possible. The sensemaking approach to the analysis involved several dimensions. First, it involved analysing the transforming interpretations of particular individuals over several years. It also comprised making thematically-oriented comparisons between different individuals, as well as between different groups. With the aim of constructing patterns and showing the breadth of different interpretations, I tried to form a thematically-oriented narrative that captured the scope of the study. Both typical and deviant interpretations

were sought after, and represented through quotations and paraphrasing in the emerging construction of the academic narrative. The analysis in the second phase materialised as constructions encapsulating particular time periods (i.e. 2008) or specific processes (i.e. the creation of an iPhone app). These constructions have, to varying degrees, been read and commented on by my two supervisors, and also other academics. These comments have stimulated the reinforcement of some constructions, and the dismissal of others. The feedback has formed valuable and intersubjective judgements of the validity of the constructions.

The third phase involved merging analyses between different periods and processes, shaping a comprehensible understanding of the sensemaking of mobile media and how the four tensions have come into play. Their metaphoric assessments were applied to the presentation of the results. Feedback from academic colleagues on these constructions once again contributed to their shape. The fourth phase of analysis took place during the months prior to completion. At this stage, the final articulation of the conclusions took place. With a manuscript ready in hand, I could read and revise, calibrating the results of my theoretically- and empirically-oriented sensemaking. Frankly, at this stage, I noticed and extracted additional cues in the empirical chapters, on which I sought to comment in the text and integrate into the conclusions.

The bottom line is that the research process has had both advantages and disadvantages. It has been exhilarating to engage in a sensemaking process of longitudinal interviewing, focusing on a continuously moving and increasingly important target. This dissertation has essentially been enacted. The action of writing has stimulated the creation and reception of stimuli, which has made it possible for me to see what I think. The study of processes therefore fits well with how my own sensemaking has progressed over the course of conducting this longitudinal study.

Appendix 2:

SAMMANFATTNING
(SUMMARY IN SWEDISH)

Såväl internationell som svensk press är under press. Siffror för tidningsläsning pekar på en nedåtgående trend, samtidigts så växer antalet människor som tar del av, och interagerar med, nyheter via digital kanaler. Därtill sker en omvandling av medielandskapet, som en följd av att tekniken för, tjänsterna i, och användningen av, mobil nyhetsförmedling har förändrats massivt. Som följd av sådana uvecklingsmönster sker en strukturell omvandling av nyhetsmedier, där fokus i ökande grad kommit att handla om de digitala kanalerna för nyhetsrapportering. Emellertid kvarstår det faktum att det är via den tryckta papperstidningen som i princip alla intäkter genereras. Det som i vardagligt språk benämns flerkanalspublicering, och som här fördjupats inom ramen för begreppet *cross-media news work*, inbegriper ett paradigmatiskt skifte från nyhetsförmedling via en distributionskanal (för vilken man inte sällan haft monopol vid den lokala marknaden), till att producera, distribuera och interagera kring nyheter i såväl print som online, via mobil och medieplattor med mera. Detta skifte har medfört påtagliga förändringar för tidningsorganisationer när det gäller såväl journalistik, ekonomi som teknologi. Förändringar som inte "bara" reser frågor om framtiden för den goda journalistiken, i en tid då pengarna tar nya vägar, utan också rentav omstöper hur såväl "tidningsorganisationer" som "läsare" definierar vad en tidning faktiskt *är*.

I dagens tidevarv utmejslas mediehus som krymper sin kostym när det gäller antal journalister, men som breddar inte bara sin portfölj av kanaler för nyhetsdistribution, men också investerar och utvecklar andra produkter och tjänster (likt den diversifieringsstrategi som var vanlig under 1900-talets första hälft). Under 2000-talets första decennium har det skett en påtaglig orientering mot digital innovation, samtidigt som branschen fått hantera tre kraftfulla lågkonjunkturer. Dessa två faktorer har visat sig vara mycket betydelsefulla för förändringar av såväl struktur

som kultur med avseende på interna relationer mellan redaktion-, marknad- och IT avdelningarna. Det är med andra ord faktorer som påverkat en omdefiniering i vad "tidningsorganisationer" *är*, sett till de spänningsfält som råder och verkar inom dessa. Det är i denna kontext som avhandlingens fokus har utmejslats, till att fokusera socialt betingade utvecklingsprocesser kring mobilen bland olika grupper av medarbetare inom ett tidningsföretag. Det skall sägas att, även ur ett internationellt perspektiv, så lyser forskningen kring innovationsprocesser kring mobil media och journalistik med sin frånvaro. Likaså tillhör det ovanligheterna att forskare studerar både tankar och handlingar, och då inte bara bland journalister i nyhetsorganisationer, men också medarbetare vid marknads- och IT-avdelningar. Samspelet mellan dessa tre grupper utgör särskilt jungfrulig mark. Denna avhandling studerar samtliga dessa aspekter.

Avhandlingen syftar att studera (så kallad) sensemaking av mobil media över tid. Studien fokuserar tankar och handlingar, utifrån en djupgående och longitudinaell fallstudie av morgontidningen Göteborgs-Postens medarbetare. Åtskilliga personer i såväl beslutsfattande som operativa positioner, vid redaktion-, marknad- och IT-avdelningar, har studerats. Analysen bygger i första hand på 62 djupintervjuer med 26 olika medarbetare, som genomförts under åren 2008, 2009, 2010 och 2011. Därtill understödjs analysen av ett brett urval av relevanta dokument (så som mötesprotokoll och strategihandlingar), och ett fåtal selektivt utvalda observationer (så som möten och interna konferenser). Detta har bäddat för en förståelse av hur tankar och handlingar kommit till uttryck och förhandlats i en tidningsorganisation. GP är typisk i bemärkelsen att den likt andra västerländska tidningar brottas med försvårande villkor och ökande grad av innovation under denna period, men särskiljer sig genom att ha satsat relativt mycket på utveckling av mobila tjänster.

Sensemaking utgör den teoretiska ansats som lagt grund för forskningsdesignen. Avhandlingen utgår primärt från sensemaking ansatsen, så som den presenterats av dess ledande forskare, Karl E. Weick, med ett antagande att tankar och handlingar utvecklas genom ett cirkulärt samspel som involverar sociala processer över tid. Sensemaking ansatsen möjliggör studier av hur nya innovationer konstrueras genom sociala samspel bland olika yrkesgrupper. Ansatsen är särskilt lämplig för att förstå formativa faser i en process, d.v.s. när fasen kännetecknas av en hög grad av osäkerhet. Att studera sådana faser, så som med föreliggande studie kring mobil media, är av betydelse eftersom den riktning som

utmejslas utifrån de tankar och handlingar som formas under den formativa fasen kan få stor betydelse för dess fortsatta utveckling. Det skall sägas att sensemaking ansatsen inte sällan associeras till ett bredare fält av forskning med tolkande ansats inom vilken djupgående analyser av mikro händelser (t.ex. organisationsmöten) fokuseras. Inom ramen för denna avhandling har sensemaking däremot snarast studerats ur ett något bredare perspektiv. Fokus har lagts vid att förså processer av tolkning och bland olika medarbetare i ett organisatoriskt sammanhang som förändras i samspel med omvärldsförändringar över tid. Avhandlingens explicita fokus kring förändringsprocesser relaterade till mobilen motiveras utifrån två huvudsakliga skäl. Det första handlar om att mobilen, vid studiens inledande fas (2008), bedömdes få en kraftigt tilltagande betydelse för nyhetsmedieorganisationer (och svenskarna i större bemärkelse). Det andra handlade om att mobilen därmed var något som medarbetare skulle komma att förhandla kring och definiera.

I studien av hur detta område utvecklats över tid, utifrån sensemaking ansatsen, har fyra särskilt relevanta (och forskningsmässigt grundade) spänningsfält kommit att ackompanjera förförståelsen och inramningen av studiens fältarbete och analys. Dessa spänningsfält tillkännager att det finns olika krafter och aktörer, med varierande intressen och förväntningar, som kan förmodas påverka hur tankar och handlingar formas. Det första spänningsfältet fokuserar samspelet mellan medarbetare från *redaktion-, marknad* och *IT* avdelningarna (eller medarbetare med grund i sådana funktioner). Historiskt sett har tidningssfären många gånger verkat inom ramen av en sorts dubbelt ledarskap, där chefredaktör ansvarat för journalistiken och VD ansvarat för affärerna (ibland har rollerna sammanförts genom s.k. publisher). I denna avhandling antas att mediearbetare från IT-avdelningen får allt större betydelse och inflytande, med tanke på tidningsorganisationers ökade orientering mot digital och mobil medieteknik. Förändrade ekonomiska och teknologiska villkor förmodas kunna bidra till förändrade relationer mellan dessa grupper. Det sociala samspel som omger utvecklingen av något nytt, så som journalistik och tjänster för mobiler, möjliggör att studera hur dessa relationer ändras. Föreliggande studie pekar på en stark orientering mot att samarbeta över tidigare avdelningsgränser, rentav att dessa gränser definieras om i åtskilliga försök att arbeta med digital utveckling genom nya projektgrupper och konstellationer där samtliga grupper medverkar. Samtidigt som dessa

praktiker av samarbete har institutionaliserats genom de organisationsstrukturer som utformas vid GP, pekar resultaten emellertid också på att historiskt betingade kulturer av avståndstagande kommer till ytan genom att tilltänkta samarbeten i somliga fall uteblir.

Ett andra spänningsfält fokuserar den mellan tidningarnas traditionellt etablerade roll som *producenter,* som distribuerar nyheter, i relation till mottagarna av dessa, *användarna.* Spänningsfältet kommer till uttryck genom att användare i en digital värld med större enkelhet kan ges förutsättningar att bidra med innehåll och reflektioner. Deras bidrag kan ta många olika uttryck, allt från kommentarer till nyhetsartiklar, uppladdning av foton och video, till författande av egna texter. Under den studerade perioden konstruerades användare i första hand som just (mer passiva) mottagare av nyheter och tjänster, vilket framgick från såväl de intervjuades tolkningar som de funktioner som lanserades för deras mobila nyhetskanaler. Med utvecklingen av en iPhone app under 2010 kom frågan om att involvera användare som aktiva medproducentet däremot upp på bordet mer påtagligt, efter initiativ från marknadsavdelningen. Utfallet av de interna förhandlingsprocesserna landade emellertid i ett fokus på att publicera och distribuera nyheter, i synnerhet de lokala nyheter som värdesattes vara centrala för tidningens identitet och varumärke. Samtidigt skall sägas att en del möjligheter för deltagande definierades in i utformningen av deras första iPhone app version, så som personalisering av nyheter och att ladda upp och uttrycka sitt gillande eller ogillande kring foton (och senare gavs även möjlighet att kommentera artiklar). En typisk tolkning av utfallet kring interaktivitet i denna iPhone app var att dessa funktioner nyttjades i begränsad utsträckning. Däremot skiljde sig tolkningarna mellan olika avdelningar kring varför det förhöll sig så. Redaktion och IT ansåg att de därmed gjort en rimlig bedömning av den begränsade interaktivitetsgraden hos användare, medan marknad uttryckte att de istället själva bidragit till att skapa detta utfall genom att begränsa fokus på interaktivitet (i såväl själva utformningen av appen som deras marknadsföring av densamma). Detta exempel belyser det komplexa och cirkulära samspel av tanke och handlingar som sensemaking ansatsen, och denna avhandling, fokuserar.

Det tredje spänningsfältet utspelar sig mellan *människor* och *maskiner.* Historiskt sett har journalister manuellt utfört den journalistiska processen, i viss mån med hjälp av andra medarbetare och verktyg. I en digital samtid som präglas av många olika distributionskanaler, ett ökat

tryck på att effektivisera, samt bättre teknologiska publiceringssystem, så har det skapats utrymme för en maktförskjutning från människa till maskin. I denna avhandling har detta framförallt studerats med avseende på att låta journalistiskt tränade människor lägga handen vid innehållet som publiceras i mobilen, i kontrast till att låta teknologiska maskiner automatisera flöden av innehåll för publicering i densamma. Studiens longitudinella forskningsdesign har möjligjort att se ett flertal vändningar över tid: från automatisering genom maskiner, till manuell redigering (i samspel med maskiner), och tillbaks till automatisering av innehåll.

Analysen visar att medarbetare vid redaktion och IT-avdelningen under 2006-2007 drev på att GP skulle satsa på att utveckla sin närvaro för mobilen. En central punkt kom att handla om att den "journalistiska kvalitén" var undermålig som en följd av att ha låtit maskiner automatisera flöden av innehåll. Med grund i erfarenheter av manuell redigering från papper och nät, och iakttagelser från andra tidningars initiativ mot en sådan inriktning för mobilen, så drev man igenom att anställa en mobilredaktör under 2008. Detta år fastlades det rentav som otänkbart att underlåta sig manuell redigering för mobilen, och det uttrycktes förväntningar på att fler journalister skulle komma att involveras. Under början av 2009 gavs mobilredaktören fast anställning på redaktionen vid GP, som enda person under dåvarande lågkonjunktur. Senare under året förlorades dock funktioner för manuell redigering i ett byte av tekniska system. Gradvis ebbade aktiviteterna för, och betydelsen av, manuell redigering ut. Som följd kom GP att återgå till att förlita sig på automatisering av nyhetsinnehåll till mobilen. När GP under 2010 utvecklade och lanserade flera olika appar så framstod manuell redigering som en icke-fråga. Med många olika distributionskanaler för mobilen sågs det snarast som tidsödande att ägna sig åt manuell redigering. Man kom istället att utforma praktiker för nyhetssajten som i ökande grad tog hänsyn till hur automatisering av dess innehåll skulle komma att presenteras i mobilens kanaler. Relationen mellan människa och maskin visar med andra ord ett samspel mellan gamla och nya nyhetskanaler.

Det för oss vidare till det fjärde spänningsfältet, vilket är mer allmänt hållet, och som inbegriper de första tre spänningsfälten genom sitt fokus på spänningar mellan det *gamla* och det *nya*. Denna studie fokuserar kring sensemaking av mobilt (det nya) bland medarbetare i en tidningsorganisation (det gamla). Med självklarhet utgör dessa normativa och relativa etiketter med kraftfulla konnotationer. Oavsett hur man

förhåller sig till dessa laddningar så kan det konstateras att erfarenheter, praktiker och kulturer från det gamla inte sällan påverkar hur människor tar sig an, förstår och skapar det nya. Likaså skall tillkännages att utformningen av det nya vanligen har effekt på förståelsen av, och hanteringen av, det gamla. Det är också just sådana samspel som kommit till uttryck i denna studie av sensemaking över tid. Ovan nämnda diskussion kring samspelet mellan människa och maskin utgör ett exempel på hur föreställningar och praktiker kring redigering av nyheter fördes över till hur man inledningsvis närmade sig nyheter för mobilen. Med tiden utvecklades en förståelse för vad maskiner kan åstadkomma för mobilen, vilket i sin tur påverkade hur man arbetade med nyhetssajten (det gamla). Utformningen av "mobil journalistik" kom att behandla journalistiken som given, men att paketeringen och publiceringen av denna skräddarsys genom specifika mobila tjänster. I förlängningen kan nyvunna erfarenheter kring automatisering för mobilen, i en tid då nedskärningar blivit vanligare, komma att påverka hur man närmar sig publicering av nyheter också för nät och papper.

Avhandlingens forskningsbidrag går givetvis långt bortom denna sammanfattande diskussion av spänningsfält. Exempelvis visar studien också på en kontinuerlig kalibrering av den interna organiseringen i relation till den föränderliga omvärlden. Vid sidan av en stark strävan mot ökat samarbete har det också funnits en framträdande övertygelse om betydelsen av snabb digital utveckling, varför utvecklingsgrupper tillskrivits en hög grad av autonomi och även uppmanats att våga satsa på *trial and error,* på bekostnad av djupgående analyser och långtgående förankringsprocsser. I relation till dessa strävanden för organisering av utvecklingsprocesser, och i ljuset av deras utveckling av journalistik och tjänster för mobilen, visar avhandlingen vidare på ett mångfacetterat användande av en metafor till ett tåg. GP har jämfört sitt tåg med andra nyhetsmedier, inklusive medlemsföretagen i deras nätverkspartner för digital utveckling (MktMedia), bland vilka GP strävat efter att axla rollen som loket för mobil utveckling. När metaforen uttryckts med avseende på interna positioner har redaktion- och IT- avdelningarna ansetts utgöra dess lok. Med en ökande volym av användare har det vidare ansetts som viktigt att marknadsavdelningen kopplar an sin vagn och utforskar intäktssidan. I slutändan är det nämligen obevekligen endast genom samspel mellan redaktion- marknad- och IT-avdelningar som hållbara förutsättningar för den framtida journalistiken kommer att skapas.

Appendix 3:

PUBLICATIONS BY JMG, DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM, MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION, UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

Göteborgsstudier i masskommunikation (1980–1990)
Redaktör: Lennart Weibull

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Göteborgsstudier i journalistik, medier och kommunikation
Redaktörer: Kent Asp och Lennart Weibull

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This is a longitudinal study into the sensemaking of mobile media and the transforming tensions of innovation within a newspaper organisation. The study focuses the thinkings and doings among media workers from editorial-, business- and IT departments, emphasizing that scholars should preferably study all three groups in order to grasp innovation processes.

The results shed light on the transforming tensions between these groups, as well as bearing witness to the changes in the culture and organisation of contemporary newspapers. It shows how techies are becoming inexorably intertwined in digital developments and how they shape cross-media news work. The study also shows how increases in the possibilities and expectations for participation are changing the tensions between media producers and users. Also noted is how the changing tensions between humans and machines further impact the shaping and management of journalism, in general, and services for mobile media, in particular. Finally, the study illustrates how the shaping of mobile media has not only been influenced by media workers' concept of newspaper journalism, but also that their construction of the new transforms how they relate to the old.

Oscar Westlund *is an interdisciplinary researcher focusing on the transformations and relationships between old and new media. He has specialized in qualitative and quantitative longitudinal studies of media organizations, media content and services, and also usage patterns. He researches the evolving dynamics and interplay of journalism, internet and ICTs, in general, and the intersection of newspapers and mobile media, in particular.*