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Keywords: Online Journalism, Convergence, Professional Identity, Role Concepts, Scripts

1. Introduction

The Internet, Social Media in particular, and the related transformation of user behavior and users' expectations brought far-reaching change to journalism. The dual business model, which bestowed a quiet comfortable financial situation on publishers by combining two thirds of advertising income with one third of users' contributions, no longer constitutes a sustainable business model for this industry. Advertisers' investments followed users' attention to the digital sphere where they appreciate elaborate online marketing strategies offered by Google, Facebook and others. Threatened by these new competitors, publishers face sourcing problems as gains in digital advertising revenue can't make up for print loses. Searching for a digital business model, many react with budget cuts and the suspension of newsroom staff. Additionally, publishers slipped up when offering their contents for free to the digital community, eroding users' willingness to pay. Although this background forms a challenging situation for journalistic organizations, it's not yet the end of the story. New technologies transform every step of the journalistic work process: from investigation to source checking, publishing, and user interaction. Evolving modes of working manifest themselves in Multimedia, Citizen or

Data Driven Journalism. For journalists, a profession formerly characterized by high status, a monopoly on mass communication and solid conditions of work, these transformations create a challenging environment inducing role stress, identity conflicts and overwork (Grubenmann, Meckel, & Fieseler, 2013). New skill sets are required, the boundaries between journalism and its "usership" turn into a "conversation between equal parties" (Starkman, 2011, digital source), and permanent beta is daily business. Citizen journalists and bloggers blur the line between professionals and "people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen, 2006). All of these changes taken together ask journalists' traditional role concepts into question and challenge their status in society. However, different journalists seem to interpret ongoing change from different perspectives: Some even ask into question if traditional journalism is dead (Hayes, 2013), others are convinced of "great times for journalism" (Bauer, n.d.).

In the context of different collaborations with Swiss newspapers during the last three years, we experienced this dichotomy in journalists' professional attitude: Some seemed to enjoy the additional opportunities brought by technological innovations and felt inspired by new challenges. Others appeared nostalgic (Grubenmann et al., 2013), some concerned to see their basic journalistic principles endangered. We got the impression that for some journalists, their professional self-concept serves as a resource to cope with ongoing change in a way that makes them focus on additional opportunities to realize their journalistic aspirations. For others, change seems to imply a threat to their professional self-concept, when they see their status and basic values endangered. Some appear to rely on a more flexible identity, capable to absorb change and readjust to new situations and requirements; others seem to rely on status and traditional values, which are potentially threatened by change and reallocation of power in the industry.

Impressed by the two divergent approaches to cope with current changes, we felt inspired for our inductive research question for this study: How does the professional identity influence journalists' perception and interpretation of current changes in their profession? In our study,

we interviewed 26 journalists of a Swiss daily newspaper and talked with them about their motivation and aspirations to become journalist, about changes in their daily work and in journalism. In our analysis we identified two groups, which differ in the scripts they refer to in their argumentation and the professional identity they rely on. The first group is characterized by the fear of status loss and the wish to delimitate their in-group from an out-group, which stands for online journalism and a hazard to quality journalism. The other group is characterized by a service- and user-oriented professional identity but its representatives lack shared scripts and values to rely on. These results indicate the influence of journalists' professional identity on their perception and interpretation of change in their daily work, the power relations between groups, and the organization they belong to. With our study we propose Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the concept of professional identity in particular, as a complementary perspective to research journalists' role concepts in journalism studies, which builds a bridge between existing quantitative and qualitative approaches.

2. Professional Identity

The concept of professional identity goes back to the theory of social identity (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Turner, 1975, 1982) and the related self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). According to it, identity at the individual level is composed of two parts: the personal identity and (several) social identities. Social identities often manifest themselves in professions and occupations (Barley, 1989; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006; Trice, 1993). An individual's profession is an important area for social identification: Characteristics of a social group become related to the individual's self and distinctive group norms serve as guidelines for his/her own behavior (Ellemers, Gilder, & Haslam, 2004). Tajfel defined social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he [or she] belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and *value significance* to him [or her] of this group membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 31, emphasis added). In the con-

text of such a group membership, "individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their in-group from a comparison out-group on some *valued dimension*" (Haslam, 2004, p. 21, emphasis added). This becomes especially true, if individuals internalize the group membership as an aspect of their self-concept. In our study we will see how journalists refer to the value dimension 'quality' to differentiate their in-group from a certain out-group (former online journalists) to, on the hand, consolidate their personal and the status of the in-group, and to downgrade the out-group on the other hand.

In situations of conflicting interpretations, for example change processes in organizations, members of a lower-status group (in comparison to a group with superior status) may stress the inferiority of the in-group on status relevant dimensions and emphasize their own superiority on status-irrelevant dimensions (Terry & Callan, 1998). Our study confirms these findings, when former online journalists cannot refer to the quality of online journalism (as the quality of online journalism is matter of basic criticism) but instead stress the familiar team atmosphere they appreciated in the past online team.

The changing nature of professions, the antagonism between management and profession in particular, has been widely studied in the past years with a strong focus on medicine where doctors act more and more upon managerial change agendas (Hotho, 2008). Whereas journalism, affected by comparable developments concerning the increased management orientation of editors in chief in particular (Hujanen, 2009), has not become considered yet within this research stream. Hotho (2008) speaks up for seeing employees not as the victims of such changes processes but as social agents capable of transforming structures through their choices and actions (Forrester, 2000; Whittington, 1994; Yuthas, Dillard, & Rogers, 2004) and stresses professional membership as "one of the most significant extra-organizational group ideologies mediating individual action" (p. 726). In her study she builds upon structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) to overcome the dualism of macro- and micro-levels of analysis and

allow for a "theoretical bridge between the collective and the individual level" (Hotho, 2008, p. 722). This theoretical realignment opens up the perspective to research "reciprocal interaction" (Yuthas et al., 2004, p. 231) between social structure and human actors.

In her study of Scottish general practitioners' change experiences in the context of primary care reform, Hotho (2008) was able to show how individual professionals use and rewrite scripts of their profession but also draw upon new scripts as they engage with local change and contribute to the changing identity of their profession. Participants applied cognitive strategies of reduction to confirm the superior status of medical over management activity and draw on these interpretative scripts of their profession to locate the medical rather than managerial domain as the source of social identity and the maintenance of self-esteem. Hotho calls attempts to differentiate from existing referent groups and efforts to seek new salient in-groups a typical consequence of change. She refers to Brewer (2001) who points out that in larger groups of high status a tendency towards the formation of smaller salient sub-groups is frequent as a means to achieve optimum group distinctiveness. She further shows how a professional élite formed which see themselves as potential leaders of the profession. They perceive current professional scripts as constraining and experience a sense of need for change to the profession and the way it defines itself. The group becomes more hierarchical and members apply intra-professional competition, which becomes a driver for change to professional identity.

With our study we draw upon these findings by analyzing journalists' perception of the transformation of their profession. We complement and extend Hotho's findings by comparing opposing interpretations of ongoing change by different members of an editorial team. Through a systematic analysis of 26 interviews with Swiss journalists we were able to identify two distinctive groups with divergent interpretations of current change in journalism. We will see how journalists with experienced superior status devaluate (former) online journalists and construct online journalism as a threat for the paper's quality journalism. In our study we lay

stress on the role of individuals' professional identity by connecting journalists' professional self-concept with their interpretation of current change. We will show how journalists with an elitist self-concept feel threatened by ongoing change, as their self-concept is in conflict with basic principles of online journalism. These journalists draw on traditional interpretative scripts to locate their primer source of identity in print journalism rather than in online journalism. Our study further confirms Hotho's findings regarding the formation of sub-groups to achieve group distinctiveness when we see journalists with perceived superior status referring to their department rather than to the editorial team as a whole and stressing department specific values and principles.

By considering SIT, the concept of professional identity in particular, as a theoretical framework for our study, we introduce a new, alternative approach to study the change of the journalistic profession not applied before in journalism studies. We wish to complement existing research on convergence and journalistic role change by proposing a qualitative perspective on journalists' role perception. With this we deviate from frequently used quantitative approaches, asking journalists about their norms and behaviors on the one hand, but also from qualitative approaches researching journalistic role change from a meta-perspective on the other. In the following we give a brief overview about past research on journalistic role change (in the context of newsroom convergence) to present up-to-date findings and show, where and how we wish to complement existing findings.

3. Professional Role Concepts in Journalism

Singer (1997, 1998) and Deuze (1998, 1999) were among the first who conducted research into journalistic role change induced by technological innovations in the nineties. Singer called for the renewal of the gatekeeper (White, 1950) concept, which she saw in conflict to the interactivity brought by new media. Some years later, Bruns in 2005, and Kovach and

Rosenstiel in 2010, both presented developed journalistic role concepts based on the gate-keeper theory[1]. Apart from these rather conceptual contributions, we find several empirical studies which research into the development of journalistic work process. Among these studies we can differentiate three approaches: (1) Authors applying the first perspective recognize a change on the micro-level considering tasks and required skill sets. They speak of "multi-channeling" and corresponding "multi-skilled journalists" (vgl. Cottle & Ashton, 1999; Deuze, 2008a; Kantola, 2012; Robinson, 2011; Wallace, 2009). Authors of a second (2) perspective observe the formation of new forms of journalism on a meta-level. In elaborated analyses of journalists' expanding areas of accountability, they identify new forms of the profession as "multimedia journalism" (Deuze, 2004), "network journalism" (Deuze & Yeshua, 2001; Singer, 1998, 2003; Steensen, 2009c, 2011), "video journalism" (Wallace, 2009), or "ambient journalism" (Hermida, 2010). Additional abstraction is generated by a third perspective (3) which claims change in journalists' role concepts and professional identity on a makro-level (vgl. Deuze, 2008b; O'Sullivan, 2005; Robinson, 2006, 2007; Singer, 2003).

The third perspective connects change in journalism to processes of social negotiation concerning journalists' authority, normative power, the relationship between journalists and its usership, and the delimitation of the profession (Robinson, 2007; O'Sullivan, 2005; Singer, 2003). Object of influence is the journalistic role concept affected by journalists' identity – and vice versa. Journalists become influenced by external factors on the one hand, and by personal characteristics and attitudes on the other (Deuze, 2008b). Authors' interpretations of their findings reach from 'hardly any change at all' (Boczkowski, 2004b; Deuze, 2003; Garrison, 2001; Quinn, 2005), over 'it's just a new medium' and 'business as usual'

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[1] Bruns proposes to speak of a "librarian" instead of a gatekeeper, Kovach and Rosenstiel build their proposal on eight essential dimensions of journalistic work.

(O'Sullivan, 2005; Williams, Wardle, & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011) to ‚far-reaching change' affecting the profession (Nguyen, 2008).

We realize that change is happening and that journalists seem to resist it. They become illustrated with a defensive mindset, insisting on traditional role scripts (Fortunati et al., 2009; Ruggiero, 2004). These scripts are related to status and privileges (Singer, 1998) – and they give security by reducing complexity. "The profession as an institution provides the scripts on which individual professionals draw in their daily practice" (Hotho, 2008, p. 729). In contrast, new scripts have to become negotiated and interpreted (Robinson, 2006, 2007) to enable daily sense making. For a long time it seemed counterintuitive to journalists to interact with their readers and to integrate their interpretation into their work, as this was not part of traditional role scripts. However, journalists have to find a way to deal with new, unknown situations – be it pragmatic, by reference to traditional routines and role concepts, or by developing new, adapted scripts.

Another factor, which threatens journalists' identity, is the delimitation against laymen. The Internet serves as infrastructure to reach mass audience for anyone who strives for, be it bloggers, citizen journalists or providers of YouTube channels. Within this context it becomes difficult to define the boundaries of journalism (Singer, 2003; Blöbaum, 2004) what gave rise to discussions about the profession[2] and distinguishing marks. Objectivity, fairness, watchdog or public service constitute key concepts of journalists' sense of self (Deuze, 2005). These values become re-evaluated when bloggers act as "watchdogs of the watchdogs" (Singer, 2007, p. 79) or when users ask journalists' interpretations into question. Additionally we find the situation that journalists maintain their private blogs and bloggers become hired by established media brands. Approved structures, identity, authority, and power relations become

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[2] We define journalism as a profession by considering tendencies of professionalization in the 20th-century (Deuze, 2005, p. 444), which were characterized by the aim to create shared value systems and norms (e.g. by standardized education), and the wish to border the profession against 'non-professionals' in changeable times (Evett & Aldrigde, 2003; Witschge & Nygren, 2009).

object of negotiation, what leads to phases of uncertainty, and generates winners as well as losers when resources become reallocated.

An alternative approach to research (change in) journalists' professional role perception lies in a merely quantitative approach with a long tradition (Willnat & Weaver, 2013). In surveys researchers ask journalists for their ambitions, values and norms, they oblige to.

> *"Questions about journalists' general motivations in their work can reveal their ambitions, that is, which goals they want to pursue while working in journalism. […] Questions about basic norms such as fairness, objectivity, or distance from sources can reveal the normative basis of their practice. Questions on their picture of the audience can show whether they see themselves in a position elevated above or equal to the public, which in turn can indicate an educational role perception."* (Donsbach, 2008, p. 2608f.).

The advantage of this approach lies in its international comparability and the possibility to allow benchmarking with other professional cultures. International comparisons show remarkable differences among different countries, even if they resemble considering structural patterns of their media and political organization (Donsbach, 2008). It although remains an open question to what degree journalists' values and personal beliefs become reflected in media content (Keel, 2011; Preston & Metykova, 2009) respectively to what degree the questioned ideals become realized in daily work (Keel, 2011; Meyen & Riesmeyer, 2009).

Last time, when Swiss journalists became integrated into a quantitative role study was in 2008 (study published in 2011). Guido Keel researched into the question to what degree Swiss journalists' values and personal beliefs considering journalism and society have changed. Questioning 1,403 Swiss print journalists, the author was able to show stability rather than change: Facts-based concepts such as 'analyst', 'adviser' or 'neutral correspondent' are most important to Swiss journalists as they were already ten years ago. Nevertheless, Keel was able to identify the formation of a new, rather user- and service-focused journalistic self-concepts among young professionals. He further showed how journalists working for free commuter pa-

pers or private broadcasters are more geared to business relevant dimensions when compared to representatives of other media types.

It's a weakness of this kind of studies that it can only integrate predetermined role concepts and does not allow for new, alternative and/or journalists' personal role concepts. With our qualitative study we wish to compensate for this limitation by considering journalists' personal conceptions and related considerations. By discussing convergence as a very up-to-date topic in the interviews, we bring journalists to *apply* their role concept to a concrete object and *demonstrate* the use of underlying scripts. This is how we wish to overcome the methodical challenge of asking for ideal values and norms but looking for specific factors influencing daily work and journalists' sense making. We further complement existing research by merging the attempt to research manifest, individual identities (as we find it in the quantitative approach, which generates a particular profile based on values and beliefs for each and every questioned journalist) with a qualitative approach which relates to current changes in the newsroom (as we find it in current qualitative, merely ethnographic, studies presented in the overview above).

4. Method

In our study we research how Swiss journalists' professional identity influence their perception and evaluation of current change in journalism. By analysing journalists' argumentation in interviews with focus on the experienced convergence process, we try to differentiate divergent lines of argumentation and applied role scripts between journalists who accept ongoing change and emerging principles of online journalism, and journalists refusing it. By studying participants' use of professional role scripts, be it traditional, established versions, or divergent, emerging forms, we wish to identify journalists' underlying professional identity and its influence on their interpretations and sense making. We wonder if journalists' professional identity holds the potential to serve as a resource to cope with far-reaching change in their

work environment. The aim of this study is threefold: (1) First of all we wish to develop a complementary approach to study journalists' role concepts by applying SIT, the concept of professional identity in particular, in combination with the perspective of structuration theory in this field of research. We will propose qualitative data gathering to capture journalists' professional identity (2) and research its relevance for journalists' daily work, their interpretations of current changes in particular (3).

4.1. Context: The Converged Newsroom of a Swiss Newspaper

We conducted our study at the newsroom of a Swiss daily newspaper. 200 journalists and 26 producers (art directors, photographers, info graphic artists and others) are part of the editorial team, which is structured by dossier competences meaning that senior journalists hold the exclusive responsibility for specific topics. As we will see as a result of our analysis, this team structure constitutes a basic challenge for the converged newsroom as journalists perceive dual burden being responsible for online and print coverage in their area of responsibility. Through the interviews we identified liberal-mindedness, autonomy, quality and expert knowledge as core values of the paper's organizational identity. In 1997 the paper founded its digital brand with a "very autonomous" online team responsible for the published content consisting of around 15 journalists. In 2012 the paper converged its two editorial teams by "integrating" online journalists into existing print departments. When we conducted our study (summer 2013) the editorial team consisted of 10 departments, the news desk, and a data and a TV team, supporting the departments. The departments enjoy extensive autonomy concerning their coverage, agenda setting and decision-making. They further decide how to organize the department's online shift meaning that some departments apply changing responsibility, others assign a particular online responsible.

The paper's converged newsroom stands as placeholder for further changes concerning journalists' work: multimedia-based coverage, linking in digital publications, interactivity or self-

promotion via Twitter or Facebook. Respecting employees' autonomy, the editorial management leaves it open to journalists' discretion, to what degree they implement principles of online journalism into their work. For that reason we find a wide range of online activity and related skills among members of the editorial team. Involvement and advanced training are optional and require journalists' own initiative. Even though journalists appreciate assigned autonomy, several team-members criticized the editor-in-chief's decision for so much tolerance. Autonomous conditions of work for individual journalists, high autonomy for the departments, and dossier responsibility resulting in distinctive expert knowledge bounded to single journalists are peculiarities of this case particularly influencing our findings. It's not our intention at all to control the influence of such factors, as they (for some more, for some less) constitute crucial elements of journalists' social identity in this editorial team.

4.2. Data Sources

The editor-in-chief's decision to leave the degree of online participation up to journalists' discretion provides an interesting context to study different levels of journalists' online activity. It further allows the interpretation to see it as journalists' personal decision to participate in online projects or to attain advanced education if they do so – and not as some degree of obedience. The autonomous working culture provides a basic characteristic of the case at hand that allows insights into processes and mechanisms that may not be as easily discernible under more constrictive conditions (Pratt, 2000).

To get a first impression of the newsroom culture and current issues characterizing journalists' daily work, we had several informal talks with journalists, representatives from other departments (e.g. the paper's Innovation Lab) and the editorial management in advance of the interview phase. We gained intimacy with the organization by passively attending advanced training workshops for well over six months, in which journalists developed brand-specific forms of online journalism. However, only interview data became integrated in this current

study: As the main part of our research, we conducted 26 semi-structured in-depth interviews with six female and twenty male journalists during summer 2013. The data set was constructed with the help of the paper's editor-in-chief who provided his employees with the resources to participate in the interviews and gave hand to put the sample together.

With the exception of two interviews, the same two researchers have conducted all interviews (with only one researcher asking questions, the other was passively attending and taking notes). Each interview lasted between 60 and 90 minutes (with the exception of one interview which lasted three hours). All interviews were taped and transcribed and comprise 548 pages of data. One interview was conducted by phone (with a correspondent from the US), the rest were face-to-face. The interview outline only provided three fix points for each interview to leave flexibility to the interviewer to respond to interviewees' answers: (1) Participants motivation to become a journalist, (2) participants evaluation of current work in the converged newsroom, (3) participants appraisal of the paper's future (10-year-perspective). As an additional stimulus to elicit data on journalists' professional identity, we provided interviewees with a preparation task by asking them to think of a metaphor, which describes the function they aspire as a journalist in society, and bring it to the interview. In the first part of the interview (see (1)) we asked journalists for the metaphor and talked with them about their personal interpretation of it. The chosen (open) interview design leaves room for interviewees to apply their professional identity to a given context (converged newsroom) and, at the same time, navigate the talk into directions with particular meaning for them. We closed our data gathering not earlier as when we reached data saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1996, p. 165).

4.3. Data Analysis

Two researchers have analysed all the interview data and discussed their coding and interpretations in joint sessions. They applied inductive, thematic analysis (Mischler, 1986; Riessman, 1993) to investigate the interplay of journalists' professional identity, underlying role scripts,

and the perception and interpretation of work in the paper's newsroom. By moving iteratively between data, emerging, themes, and existing theory in several phases, we follow the grounded theory approach as suggested by Strauss & Corbin (1996) and re-enact the interplay between structure and individual action as proposed by structuration theory (Giddens, 1984).

In a first phase of our analysis we went through all the material to get a grounded impression of our data and become able to identify common topics and narratives. We identified shared patterns and discussed journalists' divergent interpretations. In this first phase, we already recognized the use of divergent professional scripts and were able to relate applied scripts to interpretations of past and current changes in the newsroom. In this first phase we focused on journalists' named metaphors, which we tried to analyse in context of the whole interview (see table 1). The different elements lead to our first-level constructs, which were the starting point for the second phase of our analysis. By reviewing our first-level constructs and relating these to prior research, the work of Hotho (2008) in particular, we were able to identify strategies of group delimitation on the one hand and of status conservation on the other. These insights and the related theoretical lenses helped us to conduct another coding session to generate second-level constructs and develop the model we present in chapter 5.3. In several iterative loops of interpretation, discussion, theory-alignment, and refinement of our model we finalized our analysis. As the volume of this paper won't permit to report in detail on our research findings, a summary account of the study will suffice. To complement our interpretations and "minimize the violence" (Pratt, 2008, p. 499) to our data, we will work with both, with in-line quotations and by referring to the developed model we present in figure 1.

5. Findings

Basically, the converged editorial team is accepted as the current newsroom structure. It's not perceived as an option to go back to the former newsroom organization with separated teams

for online and print. Based on this general acceptance of current structures we can still distinguish two groups, which differ in their perception and evaluation of past changes and the current situation in the newsroom. We identified two groups based on the professional scripts its representatives referred to refer to in their argumentation. We call the two groups the '*arts group*' and the '*craft group*'. In the following we briefly describe the two groups before generating a detailed analysis of their particular argumentation with the aim to expand into their underlying professional identity.

5.1. Arts and Craft

Representatives of the *craft group* fully accept the converged newsroom and would never ask it or the evolution of journalism in question. Their attitude is characterized by the motivation to concentrate on the optimization of work conditions to contribute better online journalism. For this reason they criticize processes, team structures and infrastructure but not the converged newsroom itself. With the label '*craft*' we stress an activity- and realization-oriented attitude based on technical skills. Journalism with a democratic or at least service- respectively user-oriented aspiration seems to be located at the center of their professional self-concept. With the chosen name we seek after a differentiation from the *arts group* and its representative's self-concept in particular.

The representatives of the *arts group* feel threatened by current changes in journalism what becomes reflected in a cautious defensive demeanor in their argumentation. Their first fear seems to be status loss, recognizing the shift of requirements and fundamentals in their profession. Considering the very traditional professional scripts these journalists refer to, they seem to constitute a professional élite, consisting of artists and intellectuals, which see themselves as the true leaders of their profession. We will show that and how the representatives of the group use the value dimension 'quality' to differentiate themselves and/or their in-group from a comparison out-group which becomes represented by the place holder 'online journal-

ism' and principles related to it. Representatives of the *arts group* dismiss former online journalists as they stand for a new form of journalism, which constitutes a threat for their status within the newsroom and in society.

In 26 interviewees we identified 11 as representatives of the *arts group* and 15 as representatives of the *craft group*. Even though we only find one former online journalists among the representatives of the *arts group*, this does not mean that the former team affiliation (print or online) would constitute the criteria of group belonging in our analysis. In the *craft group* we find a balanced mix between former online and former print journalists. We allocated each journalist based on the professional scripts he or she refers to in his/her argumentation concerning online journalism and the evaluation of the converged newsroom.

Out of the two groups, the *arts group* and its strategy of argumentation was much easier to identify than the *craft group*. They strictly differentiate themselves, who they are, what they do and how they do it from online journalism, and use print journalism as their first source for their identity construction. They use 'quality' as their basic value dimension to differentiate their in-group from an out-group and form an *élite*, which constitutes the asset of the profession. The *craft group* on the other hand lacks a shared value to refer to. They do not have a specific out-group they would try to separate from. Whenever they construct social comparison they refer to international best practice examples such as Spiegel Online or the Guardian. A results-oriented attitude and their openness to change in journalism unify the representatives of this group. However, scripts applied by different representatives of the group were diverse, what made it difficult to identify the *craft group* and shared patterns of argumentation.

Relying on this data basis, we are going to focus the presentation of our findings on the *arts group* and their professional identity, and are going to distinguish the *craft group's* nature from it. A last point we wish to stress is that neither the *arts* nor the *craft group* perceives itself as a social unit. These groups do not exist as such in the newsroom but are a construct of our analysis.

5.2. Basic Conflict: Quality versus velocity

Before we start to discuss the *arts group* and the scripts they refer to, we will present a basic conflict influencing the convergence process itself and interviewees' evaluation. It is the constructed contrast between 'quality' and 'velocity' of journalistic coverage, the paper's coverage in particular. Quality, or quality journalism, is a broad concept in journalism with different dimensions it can refer to (see Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). For the representatives of the *arts group* quality represents the core value of the paper's print journalism and central script to refer to for their self-enhancement. Even though interviewees never concretizes to which dimension(s) of quality they are referring to, for them (in the context of the interview and its focus on convergence) quality seems to stand for a particular, traditional way of working with the result of "profound" (interviewee 1, line 98), sophisticated (interviewee 4, line 72), accurate and error-free (no typos) coverage.

Velocity on the other hand becomes the central value attributed to online journalism and stands for fast, (breaking-)news-oriented coverage of minor value. Quality and velocity are perceived as conflictive and hardly compatible (with velocity obviously not (yet) seen as a dimension of quality). The two dimensions become the opposite poles of the convergence discussion with 'quality' representing print journalism, the brand itself, status and a traditional way of working. 'Velocity' on the other hand stands for online journalism, change and a thread for the brand and individual journalists' self-esteem. Representatives of the *arts group* see velocity as the driving force for the lack of quality in online journalism. Whenever this 'lack of quality' becomes vocalized in the interviews, they stress the occurrence of typos, the lack of a digital editorial strategy e or "quality impairment" in general.

Whenever representatives of the *craft group* (former members of the online team in particular) speak about this basic conflict, they take up a defensive demeanor indicating their wariness to vindicate themselves. With the lack of quality as a basic critique of online journalism,

representatives of the *craft group* lack a core point of reference for their organizational identi-fication and a shared value as basing point for their social identity.

> *"[…] it's just not manageable to reasonably get a picture within two hour the same way I was used to when I had five or six hours to my disposal to elaborate my work. With two hours I am just not capable to deliver the same quality" (interviewee 1, line 120ff.)*

5.3. The Arts Group: Fear of Status Degradation

We would like to start the discussion of the two groups by giving an overview of journalists' professional self-concepts applied by representatives of the two groups. We therefore present journalists' answers to the preparation task in which we asked them for a metaphor, which describes the function they aspire as a journalist in society. Considering the named metaphors and the underlying professional self-concept, we can clearly distinguish the representatives of the *arts group* from their colleagues of the *craft group* (see table 1). The named metaphors give us a first impression to which scripts journalists refer to for their identity construction.

Journalists' Self-Concepts in Metaphors

Comparing the named metaphors we identified the following distinctions:

(1) Considering the answers of *craft group* representatives, we find a distinctive **relation to the reader** reflected in the chosen metaphors: either they wish to create a certain „light bulb moment", or to render a service („establish transparency", „translation work") or they just want to be „close to people". Even though we also find corresponding examples among the metaphors of representatives of the *arts group* (e.g. "explain economics form a liberal position"), this relation is not that pronounced among those journalists.

(2) Considering the *craft group's* metaphors we surprisingly often find an **investigative attitude** represented in metaphors like „fourth estate" or „to rap people's knuckles, be it in business or in politics". We do not see representatives of the *arts group* acting on this script.

(3) Among the metaphors of the representatives of the *arts group* we repeatedly find a **relation to arts** ("chisel", "intermediator between arts and life") respectively a **superior attitude towards the reader** ("explain" (*arts group)* vs. "narrate" (*craft group)*).

The metaphors give us a first impression of journalists' professional self-concept. The applied categorization into the two groups is not absolute. However, we can still recognize a divergent approach to the question of what to strive for as a journalist in our society. It's further interesting to see, how some journalists implement rather academic approaches (e.g. "fourth estate") whereas others constructed new scripts (e.g. "chisel") due to a lack of existing concepts fitting their perception.

Craft Group		Arts Group	
Interviewee	*Named Metaphor*	*Interviewee*	*Named Metaphor*
2	- To tell simple stuff in an extraordinary way	1	- Analyst, Reporter
3	- Intermediator, consultant	4	- "Intermediator between art and life"
9	- "Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee"	5	- Confidence Trickser
10	- sSees herself currently as service provider within the editorial team (in a negative sense)	6	- A toolbox and within the toolbox a chisel
11	- Reporter, close to life/stories/people	7	- Ferryman - "To transport your readers into the environment they feel comfortable in"
12	- The Storyteller in Drama - Guard, Fourth Estate	8	- "To explain economics from a liberal position"
13	- "[…] to evaluate and select news, and construct articles or interviews or anything."	14	- "[…] to find out how something works and to write about it"
15	- Fourth Estate - "To rap people's knuckles, be it in business or in politics"	17	- Intermediation
16	- Translation activity	18	- Elucidation - To contribute to the formation of opinion in politics - To point to topics not that common
20	- "[…] like a lion as the king of animals, which is firstly fair and secondly respected […]"	19	- "A juggler with several balls up in the air" - "Or someone fighting at several fronts"
21	- "[…] I don't want to change the world, actually, for me the most important thing is to establish transparency […]"	23	- "Gold digger with pun and subtlety"
22	- Create moments of epiphany - To create benefit for your readers		
24	- Representative of the fourth power, advocate of the reader		
25	- Gatekeeper		
26	- Speaking Tube - Investigative Journalism - To make people attentive		

Table 1: Named Metaphors

Of Artists and an Intellectual Elite

Far-reaching change in the industry alters the parameters, which define a profession's legitimacy. Structuration theory suggests that professionals are likely to draw upon strategies and scripts to reassert their professional identity (Hotho, 2008). After getting a first impression of the scripts journalists act upon to construct their professional self-concept, we are now going to elaborate strategies and scripts applied by representatives of the *arts group* to (re)legitimise their status as the core element of our study.

Based on their perception of ongoing change and (cognitive) evaluation of the shifting group relations, journalists activate *social cognitive strategies of self-enhancement* (Haslam, 2004) to adjust their social identity in the changed context. This becomes apparent, when representatives of the *arts group* apply a very conservative and elitist attitude. From their argumentation we get the impression of meeting an artist or the representative of an intellectual elite, ready to talk about his[3] act and his approach towards quality. Their work, as an end in itself, has to meet the artist's personal demands or those of the epistemic community rather than those of a democratic standard. Considering journalists' argumentations we find ourselves far from journalistic concepts such as a "watchdog" (e.g. Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2010) or the "fourth estate" (e.g. Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008). The described professional identity is though not department sensitive. In the *arts group* we find representatives from the business, the local, or the sports department and even correspondents who apply the illustrated attitude.

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[3] We only find men among representatives of the arts group. This may be due to coincidence respectively related to this particular editorial team. If it is a case characteristic, it might be related to predominant conservative team structures: For a long time we mostly found men among the team members. For that reason we still hardly find women holding this superior level of expertise based on her dossier competences as the women still lack the necessary seniority to reach this status. However, an aspect in disfavour of this argumentation is that we do find younger journalists among representatives of the arts group. As another explanation we might consider this predominant self-concept as a particular masculine attitude. However, to proof these assumptions we will need to extend the sample (which was not desirable in the context of this case study).

We identified three sources for journalists' self-enhancement:

(1) A **traditional journalistic** role concept, characterized by journalists' former monopoly on mass communication and the related status in society (this point becomes for example manifested in journalists' refusal of interactivity).

(2) The organization of the newsroom by **dossier competences** (see chapter 4.1). This setting makes journalists to specialists in areas of expertise and fosters the perception of them as such within society and epistemic communities.

(3) Representatives of the *arts group* relate their status to the **value 'quality' and connect it to the newspaper brand**. In the following they construct a threat scenario, in which current changes respectively specific elements of it endanger these assets (the journalist's status, quality journalism and the brand). For this scenario the (foregoing) (superior) status construction seems necessary to bestow the evoked menace with relevance.

Strategies of Self-Enhancement and Degradation of the Out-group

Where change alters relations between groups, individuals will activate different strategies to retrieve social identity and self-esteem (Milner, 1996, p. 263). In the following we elaborate point three of the precedent description, as the mentioned strategy constitutes the basic mechanism in journalists' argumentation (see figure 1). Journalists of the *arts group* relate their status to the value 'quality' and connect it to the newspaper brand. In the following they construct a threat scenario, in which online journalism menaces quality journalism.
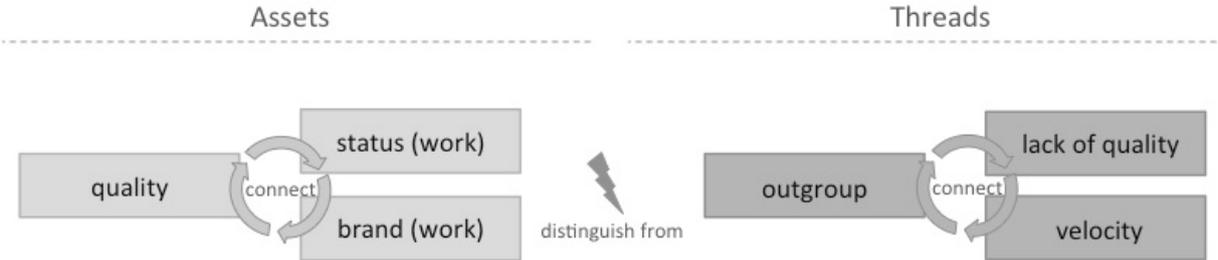

Figure 1: Basic mechanism in representatives of the arts group's argumentation

Underlying is the experience to feel threatened by ongoing change. Those journalists' status in society, in their community and within the editorial team constitutes the fundament of their

professional identity and builds on the 'traditional' system, which they see endangered. In their interpretation they construct a superior status by applying four different strategies of self-enhancement:

(1) Stressing the **acceptance procedure** one had to run through himself/herself to become part of the editorial team and distinguish it from today's hiring procedure.

(2) Highlighting **personal privileges** as an external appraisal.

(3) Stressing **personal ambitions** and relate it to a certain way of working.

(4) Connecting the personal status with the brand's status to emphasize **superiority**.

Additionally they distinguish themselves from an out-group, which they devaluate and present as threat for the quality of the newspaper's journalism. Individuals seek maximum differentiation between the group most salient to their social identity and sense of self-esteem, and non-salient out-groups from which they wish to differentiate themselves (Hotho, 2008). If their in-group is challenged by change, social competition strategies are activated which serve to challenge the out-group's superiority (Haslam, 2004). We identified two strategies applied by representatives of the *arts group* to differentiate their in-group (former members of the print team, long-established journalists, members of their department) from the out-group (young journalists and new team members, former members of the online team): On the one hand they connect the in-group, its member's status and their way of working with the value 'quality'. On the other hand, they construct a negative relation between the out-group and quality by presenting the out-group/it's members as a threat for quality:

> "[…] you find certain awareness, that journalists need a certain contemplation to write good texts, for the Feuilleton I would say in particular" (interviewee 4, line 134).

> "Well, the problem manifested itself for the first time, in my eyes, with the former '[brand name]-online', as this never was the [brand name]'s quality. It drifted apart -, it probably was never intended to, but it actually became a discrete 'plant', which never met our standards. […] well, we never saw our standards to be represented by this thing" (interviewee 4, line 283f.).

The illustrated strategies help representatives of the *arts group* to construct online journalism, related principles and responsible journalists as a threat for quality, the paper's core value. Representatives of the *arts group* dominate the presented conflict. Representatives of the *craft group* do not (yet) have the power to go against this dominant way of interpretation, as they lack shared values and scripts to refer to.

Another strategy applied by representatives of the *arts-group* to prevent the out-groups potential upgrade within the editorial team lies in the denial to take part in the development of the paper's online journalism. Related statements give us the impression of a forceful indifference. If individuals perceive their in-group as superior, they aim to maintain the high status of their in-group (Haslam, 2004) and would not take an interest in changing the status quo. Another interpretation might be to see it as a protective mechanism to not lose face in the interview: Most of the representatives of the *arts group* lack expertise to interpret certain challenges and discuss potential problem solving. An aspect in disfavour of this interpretation is that journalists explicitly admit to have "any idea", lack time or expertise, but most of all don't see it as their responsibility to be involved in this problem-solving process.

5.4. The Craft Group: Lack of Shared Reference Points

To finish the presentation of our findings, we will turn to the *craft group* and elaborate representatives' professional identity. For the representatives of the *craft group* the future brings the chance for a status upgrade (particularly in the editorial team but in society likewise). The acquired competences and the ongoing development of those journalists' skill sets have already become more important – a trend which continues. At the same time they must realize how digital channels attract more and more attention of the editorial management, what might be beneficial for their status in the editorial team. However, we do not find explicit evidence for such considerations in journalists' considerations. The opposite seems the case: Former members of the online team still seem to experience a two-tier culture which resulted from

developments in times previous to convergence. Everyone seems to agree on the fact that this dichotomy still exists in the newsroom, even if only representatives of the *arts group* talk about reasons, which lead, in their eyes, to the situation (the employment of young, unqualified people in combination with insufficient training).

> *"Again, we have a problem with two different cultures, it won't alleviate within the next months, I know this is evil, it's just related to the people. There are still people of the former online team, a lot have already left, I don't want to call names (laughing)"* (interviewee 4, line 307f.).

Whenever representatives of th*e craft grou*p refer to conflicts in the time previous to the convergence, they pick up criticism for the lack of quality. This shows us how this conflict and the convergence have become strongly related to each other. However, former members of the editorial team still like it to think of these days, when they were able to work as an "independent" and "autonomous" team. In their identity construction former online journalists always come back to this team, as it constitutes their primal in-group. Basis of comparison is the "atmosphere" among team members. One journalist describes it affectionately as familiar. Through these statements we realize on the one hand how former online journalists still feel related to the past team structure, and how they on the other hand seem to miss such a sense of belonging these days.

From the interviews we get the impression that representatives of the *craft group* do not perceive each other as social unit within the newsroom. With the convergence, members of the former online team have been allocated to different departments. For that reason we find representatives of the *craft group* distributed all over the newsroom what makes a 'physical perception' impossible. We can certainly act on the assumptions that journalists know of each other's basic attitude toward online journalism in general and the paper's online journalism in particular. Nevertheless they seem not to feel like a unit or relate consciously to joint values. The group lacks shared reference points and scripts, as we know it from representatives of the

arts group. We find some reference to velocity but not in a compelling way, as it is not yet perceived as an actual force of the paper's online journalism.

> *"Well, you know, we often find the mentality, and I am really furious about it, we are eventually not the fastest but we are doing it a bit more slowly in exchange of for a more profound way. I really think this is bullshit" (interviewee 15, line 212 ff.).*

We further miss the construction of a relation between the personal identity and the newspaper brand as we know it from representatives of the *arts group*. A possible explanation is that journalists of the *craft group* feel rather related to online journalism than the paper's print journalism (a (interim) commitment which might be induced by the focus of the interview). As this area of the newspaper's activity still needs further development, it's not yet an asset journalists would be proud of (neither representatives of the *arts* nor of the *craft group*), it would rather result in a status degradation to interrelate the personal identity to the newspaper's digital brand. In contrast to representatives of the *arts group,* representatives of the *craft group* do not define an out-group to elaborate their own identity. Whenever they construct a comparison, they refer to international examples of best practice and their worthwhile standard of online coverage.

Journalists of the *craft group* share their fundamental critique of internal processes, structures and the infrastructure as essential resources for doing online journalism. It's interesting to see how the interviews with representatives of the *arts group* were characterized by references to the paper's print journalism while interviews with representatives of the *craft group* got characterized by its focus on providing (better) online journalism. This is because representatives of the *arts group* act on traditional, print-oriented role scripts, and representatives of the *craft group* develop new role scripts relying on emerging principles of online journalism.

> *"It's the wrong workflow (..) because it's dictated by print, that's clear as daylight" (interviewee 22, line 557).*

Representatives of the craft group list three basic points of critique considering the conditions to provide online journalism:

(1) Even though the editorial management claims 'online first', **print-orientation dominates** daily workflows. People experience double workload due to the traditional newsrooms structure based on journalists' dossier competences.

(2) The lack of a convincing **online strategy** and a responsible that is in charge of its implementation.

(3) Contemporary (technological) **infrastructure** according to international (industry) standards.

Even though representatives of the *craft group* pull the paper's online journalism, the conditions to provide online journalism in particular, into pieces, it's not a destructive attitude at all. It's rather a constructive discussion and the willingness to be part of the problem solving respectively the further development of the paper's online journalism (in contrast to representatives of the *arts group*'s alienation).

6. Discussion and Outlook

In our study we have been able to confirm Hotho's findings from her study in 2008 with the completion to differentiate between two groups of employees and their applied social strategies to cope with ongoing change in their work environment. Whereas our analysis of the *arts group* was in line with identified cognitive strategies by Hotho (2008), our analysis of the *craft group* generated further insights into identity negotiation and the emergence of new role scripts from representatives of a (former) status-lower group. Even though the converged newsroom is not supposed to support a dual hierarchy, members of the editorial team still perceive this dichotomy, which arose in times of separated online and print responsibility. Representatives of the *craft group*, former online journalists in particular, and their professional identity became affected by power-relations in these days of pre-convergence. When representatives of the *arts group* refer to quality as a fundamental point of reference for identity construction, representatives of the *craft group* lack distinctive scripts they could rely on. Their group and identity formation seems still in progress, hindered by the lack of physical-group-presence in the newsroom and the lack of successful achievements due to structural

difficulties ("print-first") and limited resources. However, we already find evidence for the emergence of adapted scripts when we consider named metaphors or the elaborated user- and solution-orientation representatives of the *craft group* apply when they speak up for improved online journalism. Keel already found evidence for this new, rather user- and service-focused journalistic self-concept among young professional in his quantitative study (2008). These results are in line with observed rising service orientation in journalism, which Cory Haik, executive producer and senior editor for digital news at The Washington Post, conceptualized last year by referring to "adaptive journalism" (Haik, 2013). It's interesting, that even some representatives of the *arts group* show evidence for more service-orientation − even though they still overrate reservations over enthusiasm and seem to wait for some external (or advanced) impulse.

> *"I know of a friend who works at Frankfurter Allgemeine [German Newspaper] who maintains such a blog and they only have moderate number of visitors. [...] I would probably maintain a blog, I thought about it several times because we always produce such by-products, but it comes to nothing, someone would have to take the matters into its own hands and of course this could be me, this is quite plain to me"* (interviewee 8, line 289ff.).

Another element of identity formation applied by representatives of the *craft group* is their (so far unsuccessful) quest for new salient in-groups or referent groups. For orientation they turn outwards to international brands and drop names as Spiegel Online or the Guardian. However, they seem far from any sense of belonging or shared ideals. The lack of an authoritative digital editorial strategy is probably one reason why journalists find it hard to define best practice examples for their alignment. The lack of (time fore) conscious examination with international brand's activities is probably another. The missing digital editorial strategy is something not just representatives of the *craft group* complain about. For former online journalists the current situation is particularly unsettling: they've lost their social identity with the breakup of the online editorial team and most of them didn't develop a sense of belonging with the department they became assigned to (as in many cases reservations are still present − on both sides). The absence of a digital editorial strategy and of convincing prototypes makes the situation even more difficult.

Journalists further request an editor-in-chief for the paper's online journalism. These different factors hinder the development of new role scripts for these journalists. However, (until now) optimism and the joy over new potentials seem to overbalance insecurity.

If we turn to the *arts group's* reference activities, we observe the formation of smaller salient sub-groups by referring to principles and shared values of their particular department. According to Brewer (2001) this realignment of identity-orientation serves to achieve optimum group distinctiveness and is a typical consequence of change. The significance of the value autonomy for the paper's organisational identity supports this process. If we believe in experts' predictions that editorial teams have to detach themselves from fix departments and turn to more flexible team structures, like the formation around "ever-evolving collection of phenomena" (Lichfield, 2012) as Quartz is applying it to cover so called "wicked problems"(Rosen, 2012) , the distinctive department-focus might become hindering when journalists need to collaborate in cross-departmental teams.

Related to the formation of salient sub-groups, Hotho (2008) recognized the formation of an *élite*, which sees the need for change of the profession and acts as "*avantgarde*". In our study we identified representatives of the *arts group* as sort of *resigning élite*, which still defends itself against change and emerging forms of journalism, but we already found indication of this kind of *avantgarde*-formation as well but only in single cases so far. Three interviewees, all representatives of the *craft group*, see themselves as representatives of such an *avantgarde* and act as ambassadors to contemporary online journalism. They are rather young (around the age of 30) but already have some (outstanding) online experience to show for themselves. Their professional identity is the embodiment of new opportunities in journalism: Only if they find themselves at the forefront of change they can live out their ambitious professional self-concept. They delimitate themselves from "old men" within the editorial team and form an in-group of around six or seven people who have a notion of the new era of journalism. They appear self-reliant and show them-

selves aware of the fact that people underestimate their know-how and experience. One of those three interviewees was already tired of explaining herself and what she does when we talked to her one year ago – in the meantime she left the organisation and is team leader of another Swiss data journalism team. We might interpret this emerging in-group as a change-cell, which manifests a new form of the paper's online journalism and drives change bottom-up. It needs to grow further – but it's a beginning. However, to come out on top, it will need the editorial management's support. Otherwise they run the risk that members of the emerging avantgarde will find a more supportive environment to live out their aspirations elsewhere.

The analysis of individual identities and sense making on the one hand, and shared dimensions and divergent role concepts on the other hand, show us the "reciprocal interaction" (Yuthas et al., 2004, p. 231) between journalists' activities on a micro-level and professional role concepts on a macro-level. In our data we found both: The application of traditional role concepts (such as investigative journalism) to contemporary work conditions on the one hand, and the creation of customized role models, best suited for individual peculiarities on the other. This illustrates the flexibility of (traditional) role scripts and the chance to interpret change in a beneficial way. It further shows the elasticity of the profession, which gives room for personal, adapted role concepts by building on shared values and routines. This is how some journalists make use of existing role models and fill them with adapted interpretations and personal action, while others rely on shared scripts and actively create convenient role models.

It's the tolerance of the profession and the interplay between values, routines, role models and scripts, what makes professional identity a resource to cope with change and uncertainty. And it's an advantage of the presented approach to become able to illustrate these variants applied by different actors. Our study was a first attempt to introduce the concept of professional identity in combination with SIT and structuration theory to contribute to the ongoing discussion in journalism studies and propose a qualitative (alternative) approach to capture journalists' profes-

sional identity. It's not an easy task to manifest individual identity based on qualitative data and our chosen combination of data gathering and analysis must become further elaborated. However, we were able to illustrate evidence of the relation between journalists' professional identity and the acceptance of ongoing change in journalism, and to capture journalists' social and argumentative strategies to defend established structures and power relationships on the one hand, and create new variations of interpretation on the other. It became apparent how organisational context contingencies shape power structures, social identity and related group building. With this, management decisions set social processes in going which, over time, become manifested in (robust) social structures (professional self-perception and status orientation, daily sense making) which in turn affect future change efforts. In the case at hand, we can see how the decision to hire young, in some cases unqualified people to compose the online editorial team developed far-reaching influence not just on the papers' corporate identity but on group and employees' identity as well. The decision not to hire an online corrector leaded to the increased occurrence of typos what (negatively) affected the (internal) quality identification. Both factors taken together (status-lower online team and occurrence of typos) added up to the (internal) degradation of online journalism and cognitive alienation among print journalists. It's a potential of the applied analysis to identify such correlations and derive management implications to learn for future change processes, one thing we could not achieve within the volume of this paper. Another potential of the applied approach lies in the long-term observation of journalists' examination with and application of professional role concepts and the conceptualization of the interplay between personal, organisational and professional values, routines and role scripts for the constitution of professional identity.

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