ECONSTOR
Make Your Publications Visible.

A Service of

ZBW Leibniz-Informationszentrum Wirtschaft
Leibniz Information Centre for Economics

Krogh-Meibom, Frederikke

Doctoral Thesis

The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology: A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press - The Case Sudy of Financial Times

PhD Series, No. 22.2008

Provided in Cooperation with:
Copenhagen Business School (CBS)

Suggested Citation: Krogh-Meibom, Frederikke (2008) : The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology: A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press - The Case Sudy of Financial Times, PhD Series, No. 22.2008, ISBN 9788759383728, Copenhagen Business School (CBS), Frederiksberg,
https://hdl.handle.net/10398/7740

This Version is available at:
https://hdl.handle.net/10419/208705

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/

WWW.ECONSTOR.EU

Mitglied der Leibniz-Gemeinschaft

Frederikke Krogh-Meibom

The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology

– A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press – the Case Study of Financial Times

The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology

ISSN 0906-6934
ISBN 978-87-593-8372-8

Informatics PhD – School
CBS / Copenhagen Business School

PhD Series 22.2008

CBS PhD nr 22 Frederikke K Meibom • OMSLAG A5.indd 1

04/12/08 8:43:13

The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology

Frederikke Krogh-Meibom

The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology

– A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press – the Case Study of Financial Times

CBS / Copenhagen Business School

Informatics PhD – School

PhD Series 22.2008

Frederikke Krogh-Meibom
The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology
– A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes
within the Business Press – the Case Study of Financial Times

1st edition 2008
PhD Series 22.2008

© The Author

ISBN: 978-87-593-8372-8
ISSN: 0906-6934

All rights reserved.
No parts of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **5**

DANSK RESUMÉ **7**

ABSTRACT **9**

1 INTRODUCTION **11**

1.1 THE RESEARCH QUESTION 12
1.2 THE EMPIRICAL MOTIVATION 13
1.3 THE THEORETICAL MOTIVATION 20
1.4 STUDYING THE CHANGE PROCESS FROM A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST POINT OF VIEW 24
1.5 THE UNIT AND LEVEL OF ANALYSIS 25
1.6 THE OUTLINE OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS 27

2 ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS **29**

2.1 THE INTERPRETIVE RESEARCH APPROACH 29
2.1.1 The Practice of Qualitative Research *29*
2.1.2 The Interpretive Paradigm *31*
2.2 MEANING CONSTRUCTION 32
2.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL STAND 33

3 A REVIEW OF NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY **35**

3.1 THE HISTORY OF NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY 35
3.2 THE INSTITUTIONAL ENTREPRENEUR AND NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY 37
3.3 CONTEMPORARY INSTITUTIONAL THEORY – ACCORDING TO SCOTT 46
3.3.1 The Regulative Pillar of Institutions *48*
3.3.2 The Normative Pillar of Institutions *49*
3.3.3 The Cognitive Pillar of Institutions *50*
3.3.4 The Carriers of the Institution *53*

4 NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND MODELS OF CHANGE **59**

4.1 THE INSTITUTIONAL VS. THE TECHNICAL SYSTEM 60
4.2 MODELS OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE 64
4.3 THE NOTION OF AGENCY 72

5 METHODOLOGY **85**

5.1 A CASE STUDY 87
5.2 DATA COLLECTION 89
5.2.1 Ethnographic Observations *91*
5.2.2 Interviews *92*
5.3 DATA PRESENTATION 95
5.3.1 Realist Tales *96*
5.3.2 Confessional Tales *96*
5.3.3 Impressionist Tales *97*
5.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANALYTICAL STRATEGY 98
5.4.1 The Analytical Challenge *100*

6 THE IDENTIFICATION OF WORK PRACTICES UNDER CHANGE **103**

6.1 The Web Page Publisher 104
6.2 The Old Work Practice of News Gathering 104
6.3 From 'News Gathering' to 'News Surveillance' 106
6.4 The Old Work Practice of Writing News 112
6.5 The Old Work Practice of Publishing News 113
6.6 The New Work Practice of Publishing at Ft.com 114

7 ANALYSIS 123

7.1 The Structure of the Analysis 125
7.2 The Work Practice of Surveillance 127
7.3 The Work Practice of Publishing 162
7.4 Summary of Analysis 177

8 CONCLUSIONS 189

8.1 Revisiting the Research Question 189
8.2 The Identified Change Processes within Work Practices 191
8.2.1 Three Identified Changes of Work Practices 194
8.3 Contrasts to Prior Studies 199
8.4 The Impact of the Research 202

APPENDIX: THE NARRATIVE FROM THE FIELD 207

1 FT Background 207
2 The News Conference 208
2.1 The Daily Conference Structure at Financial Times 210
2.2 The Weekly Conference Structure at Financial Times 211
2.3 The 07.30am Conference at Ft.com 212
2.4 The 1ST News Conference at FT-printed 213
2.5 The 11.00am Conference at Ft.com 216
2.6 The 11.00am Conference at FT-printed 220
2.7 11.30am Coordination Meeting at Ft.com 226
2.8 11.30am Weekly News Conference at FT-printed 227
2.9 14.30pm Coordination Meeting at Ft.com 230
2.10 16.00pm Weekly Conference at Ft.com 231
2.11 The 16.30pm Conference at Ft.com 232
2.12 The 2ND News Conference at FT-printed 233
3 The Editorial Production 235
3.1 07.00am at Ft.com 236
3.2 08.00am at Ft.com 241
3.3 09.00am at Ft.com 243
3.4 09.50am at Ft.com 244
3.5 10.00am at Ft.com 245
3.6 10.15am at Ft.com 246
3.7 11.30am at the Ft.com Main News Desk 246
3.8 12.30pm at Ft.com 250
3.9 12.40pm at Ft.com 251
3.10 12.45pm at Ft.com 251
3.11 13.00pm at Ft.com 253
3.12 13.30pm at Ft.com 255
3.13 14.00pm at Ft.com 256

3.14 14.30PM AT FT.COM 257
3.15 15.00PM AT FT.COM 258
3.16 15.30PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 260
3.17 15.45PM AT FT.COM 262
3.18 16.00PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 263
3.19 16.30PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 264
3.20 17.30PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 264
3.21 18.00PM AT FT.COM 265
3.22 18.30PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 266
3.23 19.00PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 266
3.24 20.30PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 267
3.25 21.00PM AT FT-PRINTED AND AT FT.COM 267
3.26 21.45PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 268
3.27 22.00PM AT THE FT.COM MAIN NEWS DESK 268

REFERENCES..... 269

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The years spent as a doctoral researcher have been like a flight. Besides from being delayed it has been a flight which has taken me through a universe of interesting ideas and inspiring encounters with committed academics and engaged practitioners. It has been a most challenging experience to navigate my way through research whose features have changed in response to every new insight I gained. The richness of the experience primarily came from the challenges of the research itself but also from encounters with people who, each in their own way, contributed to make it a unique experience. First of all let me mention *Niels Bjørn Andersen* who provided me with access to the doctoral position. I thank him for that. *Morten Thanning Vendelø* has been my main advisor in the last part of the period as a doctoral researcher. He has unfailingly provided me with feedback, stability, and just the right amount of support I needed to get going. Without his enthusiasm I would never have succeeded. Morten has ensured me a learning experience out of the ordinary concerning both data structuring and writing as well as for being a great inspiration and relentless commentator. *Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen* has challenged me to clarify theoretical ambiguities and has helped me to navigate in complex theoretical layers. *Steve Woolgar*, my advisor at Oxford University, introduced me to very inspiring and breathtaking research as an inspirational dimension to my work. *Mogens Kühn Pedersen* has provided me with great stability at a professional level for developing my abilities as a researcher at the Department of Informatics. Practitioners in London at Financial Times have been generous with empirical input to my research. At Financial Times I have been entrusted with both access and information needed to untangle the object of inquiry. Finally, I want to thank my husband, *Thomas Krogh-Meibom*, who constantly has stimulated and sharpened my thinking and motivation, and taught me essential survival skills exactly when I needed them the most. His encouragement and support is absolutely indispensable.

Frederikke Krogh-Meibom
Copenhagen, 2008

DANSK RESUMÉ

Denne afhandling er et studie af forandring. Det er et studie af forandring foranlediget af sammenhængen mellem menneskelige aktører og teknologi og en besvarelse af forskningsspørgsmålet – *hvilken effekt har implementeringen af en ny teknologi på en arbejdspraksis?*

Konkret følger afhandlingen forandringen på Financial Times i London, hvor traditionel journalistisk arbejdspraksis indgår i en ny redaktionel sammenhæng med etableringen af ft.com. Det redaktionelle miljø der understøtter ft.com synliggører nye arbejdspraksisser som motiverer studiet af sammenhængen mellem den menneskelige aktør og teknologi. Financial Times udgører en stærk case, hvor traditionelle arbejdspraksisser der understøtter den traditionelle trykte nyhedsformidling og nye arbejdspraksisser relateret til ft.com eksisterer side om side. Den redaktionelle kontekst på Financial Times rummer således både gammel og ny teknologi der gør det muligt at studere såvel gammel som ny arbejdspraksis.

Afhandlingen henter sine ontologiske og epistemologiske antagelser i fortolkningsparadigmet, hvor aktørernes rolle er aktiv som fortolkere af teknologien. Aktørernes meningskonstruktion er central og danner udgangspunktet for forståelsen af hvordan aktører handler og hvordan teknologien implementeres gennem handling og bidrager til en større forandring af en arbejdspraksis. Afhandlingen antager således et socialkonstruktivistisk syn på virkeligheden, hvilket indebærer en opfattelse af virkeligheden som social konstrueret. Denne virkelighedsopfattelse står i modsætning til forestillingen om en absolut virkelighed, som kan opdages og udforskes uafhængigt af forskerens optik. Det socialkonstruktivistiske syn på virkeligheden er en gradbøjet størrelse. Det udelukker således ikke, at der eksisterer en fysisk virkelighed uafhængigt af os som iagttagere af den. Det består blot i, at give virkeligheden mening og gøre den til genstand for fælles forståelse og handling.

Afhandlingen præsenterer en kvalitativ analyse baseret på empiriske data. De empiriske data som ligger til grund for analysen, er indsamlet gennem etnografisk observation, interviews, opsamlet skriftligt materiale i form af såvel trykt som online publiceret nyhedsstof, samt anden skriftlig information om den redaktionelle historik og organisation. Analysen af de empiriske data er foretaget på baggrund af en identifikation af to journalistiske arbejdspraksisser på ft.com; nyhedsovervågning og publicering. De to arbejdspraksisser fungerer som overordnede analysekategorier og danner således rammen for analysen af en række journalistiske aktiviteter der tilsammen udgører den enkelte praksis. Analysen afdækker samspillet mellem aktør og teknologi og synliggører hvilken effekt implementeringen af Internet teknologien har på den traditionelle journalistiske praksis.

Analysens bidrag uddybes i afhandlingen på baggrund af inddragelsen af neo-institutionel teori. Den neo-institutionelle linse for skabelse af forandring er det primære teoretiske rammeværk. Neo-institutionel teori anvendes i afhandlingen til at udforske og diskutere institutionel forandring i forhold til den menneskelige aktør og teknologi. Analysen af effekten af Internet teknologien på den journalistiske praksis på Financial Times bidrager med sit fokus på det teoretiske samspil mellem praksis og teknologi samt på den menneskelige aktørs rolle. Analysen søger at skabe en udvidet teoretisk forståelsesramme for forandring og dens udfoldelse. Dette fokus bidrager til den neo-institutionelle litteratur generelt, hvor kun få studier har inddraget netop samspillet mellem teknologi og aktør i forståelsen af forandring.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines dynamic processes between human actors and technology that encourage institutional change displayed as the emergence of new work practices. The research design is a micro-level analysis of a case study, conducted in 2002 in London at Financial Times under the headline of *the co-evolution of institutions and technology*. The study seeks to contribute to neo-institutional theory with a more profound understanding of how institutional embedded actors generate new institutional work practices when they interact with new technology. Two work practices have been studied; *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of publishing*. These have been observed and studied as they were unfolding themselves at ft.com at Financial Times. The actions of journalists working at ft.com has been the empirical locus of the micro dynamic processes of changes of otherwise well defined and taken-for-granted institutionalized work practices The findings specify how the micro-dynamic mechanisms of change of work practices is related to the interaction of human actors with new technology. The study of how individual human actors institute changes to established work practices through a process of *endogenization* of technology is the basis for a better understanding of institutional change and its relation to human actors and their use of new technology.

1 INTRODUCTION

> Most versions of the new institutionalism in sociology have no way of making sense of how institutions emerge…. Where do the opportunities for these new forms of action come from?; which actors can organize?; which meanings are available and which are unavailable and why?; why and how do actors who are supposed to only be able to follow scripts recognize theses situations and create new institutions? (Fligstein 1999)

This dissertation investigates dynamic processes between actors and technology that encourage institutional change with the emergence of new work practices as a consequence. This dissertation is about understanding change processes taking place within the business press illustrated by the case of Financial Times, not as top-down, management driven *projects*, but as *processes* developing at the level of human agency. The change processes under study are initiated by organizational actors who engage in changes of their work practices through their interaction with technology. During the past 20 years institutionalists have addressed the questions of *how* and *why* institutions change. However, no consensus has emerged about the mechanisms and causalities of institutional change. The theoretical research of neo-institutionalism provides plausible accounts of change processes and empirical studies shed light on many specific dimensions of change processes, but some features remain controversial. One of them is the role of technology in institutional change. The objective of this research is to illuminate the dynamic processes of change as embedded actors interact with technology and generate change patterns within their work practice as a direct result.

The question of institutional change is central for neo-institutional theory. Institutional change constitutes a dividing line among many different scholars of neo-institutional theory. Theoretical accounts of institutional change diverge significantly from one another with regard to the proposed relationship between individuals and institutions one the one hand, and with regard to the role of technology in institutional change, on

the other. A key question is whether individuals are able to distance themselves from institutions and act to generate change, or whether they are institutionally embedded to a degree which makes it impossible for them to play a major role in change processes. This research provides the account of embedded actors who generate identifiable change patterns to the taken-for-granted work practices as the result of the adoption of new technology. The neo-institutional literature is divided not only on the role of actors and technology, but on the appropriate chain of causality. That is, whether institutional change is essentially a top-down or a bottom-up process (Barley 1986; Campbell 2004). This study was conducted as a field study of change processes, as they unfolded in the editorial newsroom of Financial Times. The processes under study are actor-driven, bottom-up attempts to incorporate the Internet technology in institutionalized journalistic work practices. The present research seeks to provide new insight into institutional change processes and how the 'black box' of technology could be opened and understood as an *endogenous* and embedded explanation of change as a result of the *exogenous* variable of introducing new technology to the work practice.

1.1 The Research Question

The above-mentioned theoretical dispute will be outlined in detail in chapter three and four of this dissertation as the present research seeks to contribute to the advancement of this theory-building agenda. Hence, the point of departure of this research is the acknowledgement of the premise that individuals are both cognitively and normatively bounded by the institutions in which they are embedded. That is, individual interests and perceptions of reality are assumed *a priori* to be institutionally shaped. With point of departure in that premise, the analytical objective is to develop an empirically derived account of how embedded actors interact with new technology and thereby bring about changes to the taken-for-granted. Changes are understood as new work

practices; new rules, and norms that transcend the particular collaborative professional relation within the organization and may become institutionalized if they diffuse sufficiently (Lawrence, Hardy et al. 2002). Since the research is actor and action oriented, I conceptualize a change as an identifiable *new work practice*. The research seeks to answer the following research question:

How are work practices affected by the adoption of a new technology?

The answers to this question are intended to shed light on the micro-dynamic processes of institutional change within neo-institutional theory. The research question is supposed to capture the twofold potential and aim of this study. First, to explore the status of technology within neo-institutional theory. And second, to investigate the role of technology adoption by human agents and its implications to the change of work practices. The nature of the research question is supposed to unfold what is actually happening in the change processes. It seeks to document the sub-processes by which changes are constituted at Financial Times, which is similar to what Gubrium & Holstein refer to as exploring how social reality is constructed, managed, and sustained. The research question addresses the key characteristics of the process to explain *why the process unfolds as it does and what is the impact of technology*? It represents a concern, which according to Gubrium & Holstein (2000) has emerged in relation to ethnomethodology, "… reflecting a heretoforth suspended interest in *what* is being accomplished, under *what* conditions, and out of *what* resources." (p. 488).

1.2 The Empirical Motivation

The business press has grown in importance and magnitude (Kjær and Langer 2000). The empirical motivation of this research is linked to this observation. It is linked to the specific story about the institutionalization of today's business press. However, it

is not merely linked to the story of the institutionalization of communication of financial and economic information in itself but to the story about *how* technological components and actors have participated in making this branch of news production expand. The observation of the importance and magnitude of the business press made by Kjær and Langer is here considered in the light of the adoption of technology and how technological factors have participated as the carrier of the institution. The argument is that the structure and the practice of business journalism has developed parallel to technological factors and pressures, and continues to do so.

In a working paper titled, 'Business News as an Institution' (Kjær and Langer 2000), Kjær and Langer argue that " …*the business media have become institutional in the sense that they have come to be organized around a stable set of taken for granted values that govern news production and the relationship between business and media*." (pp. 1-2). The practice of producing business journalism has become explicit and recognizable. The argument is that the process of institutionalization has resulted in a differentiation of positions between business media and media organizations in general in the relation to business and broader society. The concept of institution is used by Kjær and Langer to signal this specific social position of the business press and its associated set of values, norms, and behaviour and to describe the specific patterns of journalistic practice, i.e. news values and genre conventions drawn upon by business journalists. The fact that the business press is considered, among scholars, an institution on both an *external*, organizational and *internal*, practice-oriented level, makes it possible to study the business press as an institutional formation in today's media landscape. In line with Kjær and Langer, the notion of institution is here considered a social construct whose definition changes over time and across its context. The meaning of the business press becomes subject to the study of its variation and change.

The constitution, stabilization, and function of the business press have been argued by different scholars. Kjær and Langer draw upon the work of Timothy Cook (Cook 1998) and his conceptualization of media as an institution. Kjær and Langer point out Cook's proposition not merely to consider news media from an organizational perspective but to consider news media as a "…*transorganizational agreement on news processes and content*." (Cook 1998) (p. 64). Cook makes use of three components to define institutions with reference to the large literature on institutions. First, the social patterns of behaviour as rules (Cook 1998) (p. 66). Second, institutions "…*extend over space and endure over time* …." (Cook 1998) (p. 68). And third, institutions can be recognized as performing a particular function by broader society. Wayne Parsons (Parsons 1989) is another scholar who deals with news media. He provides a historical account of the business press. He argues on the vital connection between the development of economic ideas and communication structures and how the business press was established as a result of the relationship between economic journalism and economic ideas in the early nineteenth century. All three studies provide a point of departure to consider the particular of the business press as a lens through which business issues are represented, produced, and negotiated and to consider the changing nature of the lens. In other words, the framework presented by these scholars opts for the study of at least two distinct aspects of institutionalization: 1) the rules and routines of business news production. That is, what Cook terms 'production values' and 2) the changes of these production values. In other words, the presupposition of this research is that the business press has developed through at least three distinct phases of institutionalization: 1) the development of 'production values' i.e. the rules and routines of production, 2) a stabilization of the 'production values', and 3) social legitimatization.

Most observers of the business press agree that the field has changed over the last decades. The history of business news is long. As argued by Parsons, writing on

business affairs predates political journalism (Parsons 1989). In Denmark, writing on economic affairs dates back to the mid 1700's and the founding of the first daily newspaper in Denmark, Berlingske Tidende (Kjær and Langer 2000). Berlingske Tidende supplemented its reports on foreign and domestic affairs with lists of prices. Such list based information on trade constituted the primary form of developing business news for the next 150 years in Denmark. Parsons argue how newspapers in general could be said to lie at the very core of the capitalist process and consequently hold a key role to play in the economic culture itself (Parsons 1989). His point is that newspapers in general have assisted in the integration and mediation of economic value and ideas. It has always been about selling markets and providing information for businessmen and opportunities for the business community to advertise its products (Parsons 1989). Nevertheless, the financial pages became the bias from which the financial press as an institution developed. In Denmark, Dagbladet Børsen was established in 1896 (Fonsmark 1996). It was supported by the Copenhagen Chamber of Commerce whose members also constituted the primary readership (Kjær and Langer 2000). Parsons points out how: "*The financial press … is a unique interpreter, less of 'mass opinion' than of the views and values of a more limited and narrower elite which composes the readership of the financial pages.*" (Parsons 1989) (p. 3). Kjær and Langer describe how the history of economic- and business news has developed through three phases; first, a phase *of trade- or financial information* characterized by a low degree of differentiation. Economic and business news is presented as tables and lists involving a low degree of editorial work; second, a phase of *economic news* characterized by topical specialization and professionalization. Economists were invited in to the newsroom to produce economic news with a more significant status. According to Kjær and Langer it is through this second phase it becomes possible to identify journalistic values in the area of economic and partly business journalism; and third, a phase of *business news* characterized by growth in business reporting and editorial specialization. In this phase there is a distinct focus on

business issues of firms and industries (Kjær and Langer 2000) (pp. 8-9). According to Parsons, the format of business news has changed over time, but its use seems stable. Parsons use a quote to state *"... in spite of the coming of new modes of communications and computer technology the financial press continues to stand ... at a crucial intersection between the world of finance and the world of government*" (Parsons 1989) (p. 4). Parsons argue how the financial press and its product; the business news goes hand in hand with leadership. The observed changes of the institutionalized routines of the production of business news speed up and focus information for decision makers. The study of Kjær and Langer argue that the importance of business issues in Danish press journalism from 1958 to 1998 was growing (Kjær and Langer 2000) (p. 17). In general, business journalism has become a professional part of journalism. It has become a respected and recognizable journalistic discipline independent of political announcements and particular events, and as stories produced on a journalistic initiative without any visible external cause (Kjær 2005). Kjær and Langer argue "*Business journalists and their output - business news - thus can be said reflect a shift from an ideal of representing the reality of business in the media towards the construction of a media reality of business*." (Kjær and Langer 2000) (p. 20). Thus, the business press should be considered an institution and business news as an institutionalized practice: "*… the business press does not constitute a neutral channel …. The business press has become infused with '(news-value)' and has ... specialized into a variety of sub-genres …. Business newsmaking has thus become an institutionalized and highly differentiated activity ….*" (Kjær and Langer 2000) (p. 23). The observations made by these studies of the development of the business press and business news have implications for further research. According to Hansen, Langer, and Salskov Iversen studies of communication processes need to emphasize the contextual conditions under which communicators are constituted and messages constructed (Hansen, Langer et al. 2000). This research

is about what happens to the institutionalized work practice of producing business news as the contextual condition is interaction with new technology.

The media landscape in general has been supplemented by technological platforms since the beginning. And the interplay of media and society has been shaped significantly by the emergence of new technologies. In addition, the business strategies of media institutions have been rooted in a specific historical context and technological climate (Croteau and Hoynes 2001). The application of state-of-the-art technologies of business news media in the 1830's, the 1840's, the 1990's, and in the 21st century aims at providing reliable and relevant information fast so that end-users can act accordingly – conclude a trade or make a transaction – on the basis of accurate and recent information. It is not just information in itself that counts. Those who sell business news today promote themselves as providing 'added value' to information. During the nineteenth century business news became a commodity of the industrial revolution (Boyd-Barret and Rantanen 1998). Reuter targeted the market for business news. He was the first to provide brokers and merchants in London and Paris with daily reports of the opening and closing prices of the stock exchange. Reuters identified a market that several agencies continuously strive to target today (Palmer, Boyd-Barret et al. 1998). In the 1970's it became big business for Reuters. And many newspapers began to capitalize on the potential of advertising revenue from economic news and established financial news sections (Palmer, Boyd-Barret et al. 1998). Palmer argues that today the provision of financial and economic news *"... constitutes an important part of the agencies' service for their media clients, contributing to the growing recognition of such news as central to mainstream news coverage and understanding of global affairs*." (Palmer, Boyd-Barret et al. 1998) (p. 64). Palmer argues how the demand for business news probably is the most important stimulus to competition in speed of delivery. The combination of traditional news agency work with new technological networks has reformulated the character of international trade.

The agencies have become involved at the core of modern international capitalism. As argued by Kjær, online delivered business news is the latest and perhaps most revolutionary means of circulating economic information (Kjær 2005).

The definition of mass media has changed with the introduction of tailor-based and interactive solutions that have not been available previously on existing platforms. In the late 1960's and early 1970's Reuters profited from the advent of real-time trading through interconnected operators around the clock and around the world, across time zones. Technological convergence resulted in 'electronic conversation' between traders serviced by Reuters and others. This made it possible to conclude a transaction within seconds on the basis of information appearing on Reuters screens (Palmer, Boyd-Barret et al. 1998). There has been an interrelated development in technology, financial, and economic data flows that has helped create what Palmer calls 'the world electronic marketplace' (Palmer, Boyd-Barret et al. 1998) (p. 66). Knight Ridder, AP-Dow Jones, Bloomberg, AFX, Telerate, and Reuters are among the agencies that have competed in recent years as electronic vendors of financial and economic data, news, and analysis. These global agencies define to a large extent what is meant by 'news' and at the same time, have been at the forefront, sometimes the pioneers, of new communications technologies. With respect to technology, Boyd-Barret argues a) how the agencies have been users of communications facilities and b) they themselves have been active in the customization and development of communications technologies and c) through technologies they have developed new forms of communications and d) streamlined ways in which news could be fed through to retail media without editorial intervention (Boyd-Barret and Rantanen 1998) (pp. 32-33). The connections between news agencies and the practice of producing business news today perhaps have a more substantial history than has been recognized. The news agencies are of considerable significance to the development, status, and changes within business journalism. Business news represents the reformulation of financial and economic list-

based information to become a commodity gathered and distributed for the purpose of political communication, decision making, and trade - directed by technology. It contributes today to processes of the construction of national identity and in day-to-day financial affairs both within and between domestic markets. Hence, the link between modernity, news agencies, globalization (Larsen and Lin 2005), and technology is perhaps a neglected feature of the status of today's business news. The important theme in this dissertation is the extent to which technology represents a change to the work practice of producing business news. And as the narrative from the field will illustrate, the influence of Reuters, among other agencies, as electronic information providers and distributors of financial and economic information is of significance to the change of work practice of the production of business news. The process of a reconceptualization of the fundamental journalistic production norms, rules, and concepts is the backbone of this dissertation.

1.3 The Theoretical Motivation

> In 1995 people realized that an online version of the Financial Times in some form was to be taken seriously. But still, even as late as 1997 I would say, ft.com was still regarded by most of the journalists as a sort of stepchild that people didn't take tremendously seriously. And certainly, if you had said to a reporter, a mainstream newspaper reporter at that time, that he should write an article for ft.com as well as doing what he was doing for the newspaper, he would react rather negatively.
> (The deputy managing editor)

The *Deputy Managing Editor of FT* explains in an interview how new information technology came into use at Financial Times. The implementation of the Internet at Financial Times in the mid 1990's followed a plan. The keyword in the plan was '*presence'* as the plan was about the expansion of the existing publishing strategy. However, the intervention of a new online-based publishing strategy at Financial Times did not turn out as planned. In other words, Financial Times did experience all the hoped-for benefits in terms of fulfilling FT presence but the organization was also

to experience a set of unexpected consequences accompanying the plan. The editorial newsroom is the centre of attention, where the unexpected was to be discovered. Valuable new things happened and the unexpected was both pleasant and not so pleasant surprises as the organization experienced the initialization of a whole range of new publishing patterns. The situation is not unique for FT. In a 2004 article, Markus and Robey argue how the phenomenon of 'unexpected consequences' of IT is well known but only few studies have examined the links between IT use and outcomes that were unintended, unexpected or unwanted (Markus and Robey 2004). This dissertation is a small step in the direction of an integrated theoretical understanding of the unintended consequences of information systems and agency, between neo-institutional theory and the theoretical proposition of Emirbayer and Mische (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Markus and Robey present four explanations for unintended consequences of IT use. Included in the scope of this research is the explanation which is rooted in *technology appropriations by users*.

Markus and Robey point out that "*When we say that unintended consequences occur, we mean that some features of the post-intervention situation are different than the features of the pre-intervention, but that they are not the originally intended effects*." (Markus and Robey 2004) (p. 62). At Financial Times the Internet was supposed to increase the existing publishing strategy with an expansion of presence. It did fulfill that vision, but at least two other unexpected outcomes were to result from the intervention. First, it expanded the editorial newsroom at a physical level, with more manpower and second, expanded the traditional journalistic work practice with the initialization of new rules, norms, and values. Markus and Robey consider unintended consequences to be related to the *use* of IT. They argue: "*The new or more noticeable effects in the post-intervention situation would not have been observed in the absence of IT use*." (Markus and Robey 2004) (p. 63). They refer to the work of Pool (Pool 1978; Pool 1983) and the idea of the 'dual outcome' of technology. That is, how

different outcomes occur simultaneously. The observation of 'dual effects of technology' draws attention to the organizational actor. The organizational executives and IT specialists, who commission, purchase, select, and develop IT vs. the people who use the IT (Markus and Robey 2004). Markus' and Robey's phrase 'unintended consequences of IT' refer to outcomes of IT use that were not planned for or expected by some of the organizational actors. This stand raises issues concerning human agency and IT. First, the actors involved with the use of IT have different intentions. Second, the intentions of actors may be incompatible (Markus and Robey 2004) (p. 64). The use of IT is defined by Markus and Robey as "… *a pattern of interaction between people and technology that results in changed work practices, organizational routines, or interorganizational processes*." (Markus and Robey 2004) (p. 65). Thus according to Markus and Robey, attempts to explain the unintended consequences of IT use must consider both the situation where organizations do not use IT as they are intended to and the situation in which IT is used as it was intended to be used. At Financial Times the observed changes of the traditional journalistic work practice is considered at first an unintended consequence of the direct use of IT by human actors and later as intended consequences. This research is framed within the finding of Markus and Robey that: "*Although unintended consequences are regularly reported in empirical studies of IT outcomes, no study we are aware of has focused primarily on them.*" (Markus and Robey 2004) (p. 66).

The occurrences of the, at first, unintended consequences as a result of the expansion of the existing publishing strategy at Financial Times are directly addressed within this research and framed within the theoretical tradition of neo-institutional theory. The task is not to theorize exclusively on the unintended consequences of IT, but to consider them to investigate the potential of neo-institutional theory to explain the relationship between IT use and institutional change patterns. This investigation draws on a review of neo-institutional theory and its relation to technology as a carrier of

change. The claim is not that the interrogation of the institutionalist school on its conceptualization of change and its implicit notion of technology is exhaustive; however, the argument is rather that the concept of technology has been ignored within neo-institutional theory. And that one cannot reintroduce the concepts of work practice and agency without reconsidering the role of technology. That is, in contrast to explanations of change that refer to the use of IT's features the focus is here on human agency and on actor's use of IT and how it generates changes of existing institutional work practices. To some extent, the journalists at Financial Times appropriated IT to their own use. They responded to the invention of IT with improvisation and reinvention of existing work practices. The improvised uses of IT generated departures from the taken-for-granted work practice and variations to the overall plan of implementing IT to the editorial newsroom. Emirbayer and Mische focus on these processes within human agency (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). They offer a potentially useful perspective for studying both the unintended and intended consequences of IT. It is a theoretical proposition that deals with the overall consequences of human enactment with technology. The model of Emirbayer and Mische points out how human agency is also a temporal human capacity that is simultaneously oriented toward the past, the future, and the present. The main implication of this view of agency for technology use is that actor's engagements with technologies are simultaneously oriented toward the past, future, and present through three elements; the 'iterational', the 'projective', and the 'practical-evaluative' element. The 'iterational' element is oriented to the past practice in which actors attempt to situate their thoughts about action in terms of familiar routines. The 'projective' element looks to the future, invoking possibilities for new patterns of action. The 'practical-evaluative' element is the human capacity for making judgments in the present context of emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities. Here, the theoretical framework developed by Emirbayer and Mische is used to analyze user's enactment at Financial Times with the Internet technology. The

ambition is that the perspective on human agency as developed by Emirbayer and Mische has the potential to integrate and reconsider the dynamic relationship between technology and human agency within neo-institutional theory.

1.4 Studying the Change Process from a Social Constructivist Point of View

This research is related to the tradition of 'opening the black box' (Doz 1996) of technology as it considers how the change processes unfold in an organization from the point of view of actor's interpretation of new technology. As such, it adopts a process perspective in which the change process is defined as "*a sequence of individual and collective events, actions and activities unfolding over time in context*" (Pettigrew 1997) (p. 338). The aim of this research is thus to come to understand how the change processes at Financial Times unfolds and why this is so.

The research has been conducted as an inductive study where the change processes has been considered from a social constructivist point of view. This perspective was taken on late in the research process, as it became clear from the initial analysis of the empirical data that the object under analysis was a bottom-up driven process and not a top-down managed project. The social constructivist point of view was adopted to be able to discuss the process and not to guide the outcome of the study prior to the final version of the analysis. The adoption of a social constructivist point of view might result in the ability to contribute with new insight to change processes. It takes the factor of historical embeddedness into account. History guides the current institutional work practices and their survival in the organization.

The social perspective rests on a retrospective change process, where change is to be understood as something already in the making, something already existing, and not as something that will come. In other words, it is not based on a classical view of

change as a top-down planned implementation of new ideas and practices (Whittington 2001). The social constructivist point of view is therefore considered explanatory rather than predictive in its character (Van de Ven and Engleman 2003). The change processes at Financial Times is thus viewed from an intra-organizational perspective, where the social constructivist process come about as individuals or groups (actors) propose change patterns through work practice, which create variation to the taken-for-granted.

1.5 The Unit and Level of Analysis

In the spring of 2002 I conducted a field study at Financial Times. I studied changes in the news production at Financial Times as a result of the adoption of the Internet technology within the editorial newsroom. During my fieldwork I realized that I was studying the *process* of change rather than a specific *project* of change (Pettigrew 1997). A project in this context I define as a strategically recognized action or intended action that can be defined in terms of politically defined intentions, and plans. The processes of change that I actually studied consisted of a series of events, ideas, and activities which were bottom-up driven, highly uncoordinated, and not necessarily strategically or politically intended and recognized in the organization. As opposed to the case where a formal project exists, I had to conduct a series of choices being in the field: which editorial work practices was of interest to study and which held the status of being essential parts of changes of the taken-for-granted? No official guidelines existed for where to direct my focus. I had to spent time in the field, among the actors to discover what this was the story about. Working my way through I ended up defining *the process of change* as the unit of analysis.

In his work, ‘Organizations: Rational, Natural and Open Systems’ (Scott 2000), Scott identifies and outlines three levels of analysis dominant in organization theory; the *social psychological level*, the *organizational structural level*, and the *ecological level*. It is not a simple task to place this study of change processes in any analytical hierarchy. The focus of the study is organizational action rather than organizational structure and a process study rather than a study of organizational units. Although individual actors and their actions are the focal point of investigation, the focus is not on the separate individual but on the dominant attitudes and interpretations among the individuals. The individuals under study are the creators of meaning and their individual actions and intentions are central to understand the unfolding of the change process of work practice. Hence, the level of analysis of this study comes closest to Scott’s (2000) psychological level as it focuses on the actions and behavior of individuals and their social interactions with technology to understand the development of change patterns to work practice.

1.6 The Outline of the Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 – Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions

This chapter introduces the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study. The interpretive research paradigm is presented as the set of beliefs from which the study draws. The interpretive research paradigm is elaborated by emphasizing its links to social constructivism and meaning construction.

Chapter 3 – A Review of Neo-Institutional Theory

This chapter introduces and reviews the literature on neo-institutionalism. The basic concepts of institutionalism and the dominant issues in the literature are presented. The history of neo-institutional theory is presented, a review is conducted on the status of the institutional entrepreneur along with a presentation of contemporary institutional theory.

Chapter 4 – Neo-Institutional Theory and Models of Change

This chapter takes the presentation of neo-institutional theory a step further and asks whether the existing analytical framework of neo-institutional theory provides a sufficient framework to be able to understand the characteristics of institutional change.

Chapter 5 – Methodology

This chapter presents and reflects upon the methodology and the research design taken on in this study. The data collection methods are presented and the use of a constructivist approach to the analysis of the data is presented and discussed.

Chapter 6 – The Identification of Work Practices under Change

This chapter identifies the changes within three traditional work practices of newspaper production. The observations from the field reveal not only structural changes where three practices are narrowed down to become two, but internal changes to the nature of the work practices as well.

Chapter 7 – Analysis

This chapter contains the main analysis of the dissertation which focuses on the identified changes within the two work practices; *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of publishing* and how they evolve. The focus is on change, and what it looks like when human agents interact with new technology.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions

The dissertation is concluded with a summary of the research conducted. This is carried out within four concluding sections: 1) a revisit to the research question, 2) a summary of the identified processes of change, 3) a contrast to prior studies of importance, and 4) a review of the impact of the research.

Appendix

The appendix includes the narrative of the thesis. That is, the ethnographic observations of actions are retold in a narrative form. It is the narrative about what happened in the field and is supposed to illustrate the processes of change as they unfolded during the time of observation.

2 ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

This chapter presents the basic ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying the research. As such, it informs about the philosophical oriented beliefs, which have influenced the research and shaped its focus as well as the choice of methodology and the analysis of the findings. In this study reality is viewed from a social constructivist point of view and studied through the construction of meaning among actors. In the following, this stand is further explained. It is not an attempt to engage in an extensive epistemological discussion, but merely a reflection upon some of the basic assumptions of the chosen research approach.

2.1 The Interpretive Research Approach

The study of institutional change is positioned within the interpretive paradigm (Burrell and Morgan 1979; Deetz 1996). That is, the overall framework of this study has been conducted within the interpretive discourse. Before I explain this stand further, a brief description of the historical development of the qualitative research tradition will be unfolded since the interpretive paradigm has been formed within that tradition and should be understood in that light.

2.1.1 The Practice of Qualitative Research

The qualitative research tradition has undergone essential changes from when it was first established in the early 1900s to the present. Denzin and Lincoln trace the qualitative research tradition back to the work of the sociological "Chicago School" in the 1920s and 1930s, which stressed the importance of qualitative inquiry. The field of anthropology defined the discipline during the same period through the work performed by Boas, Mead, Benedict, Bateson, Radcliffe-Brown, and Malinowski who

construct the outline of the fieldwork method. Denzin and Lincoln (Denzin and Lincoln 2000) outline the history of qualitative research in seven moments: the *traditional*, the *modernist*, the *moment of blurred genres*, the *crisis of representation*, the *post-modern*, the *post-experimental*, and the *future*. The table below is based on Denzin and Lincoln and presents the characteristics of the seven moments within the history of qualitative research.

Moment	Characteristics
The Traditional 1900 – 1950	Research conducted within this moment was concerned with offering real and accurate reports of the lives of the "other" under study. The role of the researcher is the observer and the period is rich of accounts about "the isolated field-worker". As such, the period gave birth to classic ethnography. The texts are still studied for what they tell about conducting fieldwork, taking field notes, and writing theory.
The Modernist 1950- 1970	Research conducted within this moment emphasized social realism. A formalization of qualitative research was sought. Canonical texts from this period combined open-ended and quasi-structured interviewing with participant observations and statistical analysis. The work clothed itself in the language of positivist discourse. Researchers ask no question about the agency of the researcher in producing knowledge about the social situation.
Blurred Genres 1970-1986	Research conducted within this moment had a full complement of paradigms, methods, and strategies. A criticism of the notion of social realism and objectivist knowledge was formed. A notion of interpretation was developed as a carrier of the production of knowledge. Research accounts are conceived as interpretive rather than objective. With Geertz in front social scientists turned to the humanities for models, theories, and methods of analysis.
Crisis of Representation 1986 – 1990	The consequences of Geertz' notion of 'blurred genres' was a strengthening of the interpretive turn within this moment. Objectivity was disputed and the validity of research was questioned with regard to the construction of reality. The role of the researcher was re-examined in this respect. As such, the term 'crisis' refers to a concern with the reflexivity on assumptions of the researcher.
The Post-Modern	Within this moment, the 'crisis of representation' was taken a

1990 – 1995	step further. New ways of composing ethnography were explored. Researchers struggled with the representation of reality. The idea that there existed not one, but several versions of reality made researchers replace narratives with local, small-scale theories fitted to specific problems.
The Post-Experimental 1995 – 2000 & Future?	According to Denzin and Lincoln we are experiencing the sixth and the seventh mode today. Researchers are experimenting with style. New styles such as fictional ethnography, ethnographic poetry, and multimedia texts are taken in. The representation of the "other" in an interpretive mode is again taken a step further and allows for experiments of style.

The seven moments as presented by Denzin and Lincoln differ with regard to the underlying understanding about the nature of reality, about the relationship between researcher and the "other" as the world and the objects under study. As such, the seven moments represents different research paradigms.

2.1.2 The Interpretive Paradigm

The next question is then, what is a paradigm? According to Denzin and Lincoln, it is "*… the net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises* …." (Denzin and Lincoln 2000) In other words, it is the framework, which guides the reflections and actions of the researcher.

This study is oriented within the concept of 'the interpretive paradigm' in order to stress a research focus where interpretation is an analytical core process. The interpretation process within this study is focused on the interpretation of the observations conducted within the field. It is an interpretation process where the actions of human actors in the field are under study. It is an interpretation of the change processes, which unfold as actors interact with new technology. It is an interpretation of actors as constructors of reality. The interpretive research paradigm is

here referred to as a broad understanding of important key concepts, dimensions, and discussions. They have informed this research approach as they convey a focus on interpretation as a core process. In the words of Denzin and Lincoln, the interpretive paradigm assumes relativist ontology. Reality is conceived as real only as a product of human actor's experience and interpretation of that; as a *social construction of reality*. As such, the interpretive paradigm of research emphasizes the social processes of everyday practice of human actors. Central to the interpretive paradigm is the idea of individuals as active agents in the construction of their reality. As such, the interpretive paradigm is anti-positivistic as it is a rejection of the understanding of 'reality' as something predefined and 'out there' to be studied independently of the interpretation of human actors. Instead, the interpretive paradigm builds on hermeneutics. It assumes that reality is gained exclusively through social constructions such as consciousness, shared meanings, and other artifacts (Klein and Myers 1999).

2.2 Meaning Construction

This research is thus based on the assumption that the human actor's construction of meaning, as they interact with new technology, is essential to understand the change processes unfolding at Financial Times. It inquires into the processes through which human actors construct new meaning and make sense out of the Internet technology. In Sensemaking in Organizations, Weick introduces a formula for the construction of meaning (Weick 1995). It suggests that the construction of meaning takes place when some sort of stimuli is related to a frame. In this context, new technology constitutes the stimulus which the actors try to place in a frame (the organizational context and the context of the established journalistic work practice) through a process in which they attempt to relate their actions with new technology to the taken-for-granted. The change process can thus be seen as a meaning construction process where human

actors generate change patterns as a consequence of their interaction with new technology. The construction of meaning is studied not from a cognitive point of view but from an action-driven point of view. Change processes are constructed through the social interaction between actors, actions, meaning, and technology. Human actors engage in interpretation of the meaning of technology as meaning construction. This is a study of the actions and work practice of business journalists as they adopt and construct new meaning out of new technology.

2.3 Implications of the Ontological and Epistemological Stand

This chapter has provided a brief outline of the basic ontological and epistemological assumptions that guide this study of institutional change processes. As such, it is research positioned within the interpretive research paradigm, with emphasis on the construction of meaning of human actors. The research focuses on the everyday activities of human actors in situations where they interact with technology as they interpret what the possibilities of the Internet and the Internet as object means to them and their work practice. The direct implication of this focus is that the construction of meaning of human actors plays a central role in the study of institutional change processes. The ontological background for the interpretive study is relativist as opposed to realist. It contemplates a view of reality as a social construction. Reality is understood from a relativist world view, where reality is defined according to the view and actions of the human actor. The implication of this assumption is that I do not search for the 'real' story about the unfolding of the change process of institutions. The story is understood as constructed from the interpretation of human actors. Thus, the story is a *construction*.

3 A REVIEW OF NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

Neo-institutional theory entered the organizational scene during the mid 1970's raising related questions about the world of organizations such as: *Why do organizations of the same type, located in scattered locales, resemble one another*? *How should we consider behaviour in organizational settings - does it reflect the pursuit of rational interests and the exercise of conscious choice*? *Or is behaviour shaped by conventions, routines, and habits*? *Why and how do laws and other types of regulative and normative systems arise - do individuals voluntarily construct rule systems that bind their own behaviour*? *Why do specific structures and practices diffuse through a field of organizations in ways not predicted by the particular characteristics of adopting organizations*? *And why do we as individuals and organizations conform to institutions*? (Scott 1995) (p. xiv). Scott argues in both 'Institutions and Organizations' (Scott 1995) and 'Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems'(Scott 2000) that the development of the neo-institutional theory could be considered a continuation of the intellectual revolution in the late 1960's that introduced the conception of the 'open system' to the study of organizations. The 'open system' idea transformed the existing approach to the understanding of organizations and their environments to the notion of a wider understanding of the environment as a constraining, shaping, and penetrating force on the individual organization (Scott 1995; Scott 2000). This review explains neo-institutional theory along three lines – *its history* in brief, the concept of *the institutional entrepreneur,* and its overall *contemporary outlook - according to Scott*.

3.1 The History of Neo-Institutional Theory

According to DiMaggio and Powel, institutional analysis is as old as Emile Durkheim and yet new as the term *neo* implies. Institutionalism represents a theoretical approach

to the study of social, economic, and political phenomena and yet it seems difficult to grasp exactly what it is. DiMaggio and Powell mentions that one of the reasons for the ambiguity of the theory could found in the casual way theorists have defined institutions (Powell and DiMaggio 1991). The institutional turn in the social sciences has been identified as an elaboration of the hypothesis that 'institutions matter' (Jessop 2000). However, within institutional theory there is wide variation in how institutions are defined, the respect in which they are held to matter, and the reasons for suggesting that they do. Jessop identifies three forms of analytical turns in the social sciences with point of departure in the notion of the importance of 'institutions': First, *the thematic turn* i.e. the hypothesis that institutional aspects of social life are included among the central themes of social enquiry. Second, *the methodological turn* i.e. the hypothesis that institutional aspects provide an entry point for explaining the social. And third, *the ontological turn* i.e. the hypothesis that institutions constitute the essential foundations of the social (Jessop 2000). In contrast to earlier emphasis on the technical environment, neo-institutional theory stresses the importance of the social and cultural environment. Selznick argues in 'Institutionalism 'Old' and 'New'' that:

> … institutional theory … is a voice of resistance to … short-sightedness" and that it "… offers guides to thinking about corporate responsibility, and brings into question the goal of *maximizing* profits …. Institutional theory speaks to issues of social concern and does so without accepting conventional models of organization or the unreflective premises of management. (Selznick 1996) (p. 272)

What the term *neo* adds to Selznick's image of institutional theory are both new insights and continuities of the 'old'. Among the new insights according to Selznick is the focus on legitimations as a driving force among organizational actors. As such, neo-institutionalism in organizational analysis has a sociological flavour. It emphasizes the ways in which action is structured and made possible through shared systems of rules. Yet, as mentioned by DiMaggio and Powell neo-institutionalism in organizational analysis is not old sociology in relabelled bottles, but diverges in systematic ways from earlier sociological approaches to organizations and institutions

(Powell and DiMaggio 1991). Organizational justification encourages institutional "mimicry", which is an emphasis on the influence of the organization's cultural environment within which it operates (Selznick 1996) (p. 273). Another new insight is the preoccupation with the organizational myth and rituals:

> The formal structure of an organization, it is said cannot be understood as a rational system for coordinating activities, nor can it be accounted for by a logic of transaction costs. Rather, the formal structure is institutionalized from without as well as from within …. (Selznick 1996) (p. 273)

Meyer and Rowan argue that: "… formal structures of many organizations in post-industrial society reflect the myth of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities" (Meyer and Rowan 1977) (p. 341). The unpacking of the neo-institutional argument is a complex task. Among the fundamental innovations besides from those mentioned here by Scott, Jessop, Selznick, DiMaggio and Powell, Meyer and Rowan is the notion that institutional rules have an effect on organizational structure. Neo-institutional theory has developed from the mid 1970's from across the social sciences. Until about 1980, contingency theory and the functionalist perspectives of Parsons and Selznick dominated organizational sociology. Neo-institutional theory emphasizes values, norms, socialization, and commitment as well as the organization's adaption to and negotiation with its environment for resources and legitimacy. Since then, this perspective has been supplemented and challenged by a variety of additional perspectives. All of these have disagreed but cohabited under the concept of 'institutional theory' within the sub field of organizational sociology (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997).

3.2 The Institutional Entrepreneur and Neo-Institutional Theory

The idea of the institutional entrepreneur was introduced by DiMaggio in 1988 (DiMaggio 1988). It has given rise to a controversy in neo-institutional theory which

focuses on the ability of actors to distance themselves from institutional pressures, suggest new institutional patterns, and act strategically to change institutions. DiMaggio's theoretical idea of agency is included here to understand the concept of agency within neo-institutional theory as the focus of the research is to elaborate on the paradox of embedded agency as a one-dimensional concept in neo-institutional theory. According to DiMaggio the institutional entrepreneur is an institutionally embedded actor. The question posed is whether an institutionally embedded actor can be innovative? The literature on institutional entrepreneurship emerged in response to the call for a better understanding of how and why institutions change. That institutions change is beyond doubt, but why and how they do is not entirely clear to the neo-institutionalist school. DiMaggio introduced the notion of institutional entrepreneurship in neo-institutional theory to address the issue of the role of agency in institutional change. He defined institutional entrepreneurs as actors who have an interest in modifying institutional structures and create new ones, and as actors who hold the resources to do so (DiMaggio 1988). DiMaggio emphasizes the role of actors and agency in institutional change processes. The notion of institutional entrepreneurship is a source of controversy among neo-institutionalists. It has to do with the fact that neo-institutional theory broke with the rational actor model and proposed that organizational behaviour is shaped by institutions and not by instrumental calculations (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Neo-institutionalist studies demonstrate that actors are institutionally embedded and that social systems change as a result of aggregated actions by institutionally embedded actors who behave in conformity with the given order. They challenged the assertion of rational actor models that individuals are free to set goals and pursue them. The problem with DiMaggio's definition of the institutional entrepreneur was that it could be considered a return to rational actor models. His definition gave rise to a controversy around the ability of actors to distance themselves from institutional pressures and to act strategically. An objection was that if actors are institutionally embedded, how can

they have interests that diverge from the institutional order? And how can they envision alternative options? One the one hand, the notion of institutional entrepreneurship is in contradiction with the core of neo-institutional theory. On the other hand, neo-institutional theorists have over the last 20 years devoted increasing attention to explaining institutional change. Though neo-institutional theory has refused the rational actor model, it struggles to explain how some actions count relatively more than other actions towards institutional change. The notion of the institutional entrepreneur offers an endogenous explanation of institutional change (DiMaggio 1988). This endogenous explanation seems promising, but it still struggles with the paradox of embedded agency. If institutional entrepreneurship is to obtain recognition as an endogenous explanation of institutional change, research must explain how actors can envision new institutional patterns and act in non-conformity with the institutions that supposedly govern their behaviour. The reason why DiMaggio's proposal of the institutional entrepreneur has given rise to a controversy is found in the traditional neo-institutional view on actors and actions. The following presents the different stands within the theoretical controversy.

Neo-institutional theory in organization studies is based upon Berger and Luckmann's work on the social construction of reality (Scott 1995) in which they define an institution as 'a reciprocal typification of habitualized action by types of actors' (Berger and Luckmann 1967). According to Tolbert and Zucker, "habitualized action" is to be interpreted as a set of …

> … behaviours that have been developed empirically and adopted by an actor or set of actors in order to solve recurring problems. Such behaviours are considered *habitualized* to the degree that they are evoked with minimal decision-making effort by actors in response to particular stimuli …. (Tolbert and Zucker 1999) (p. 174)

Accordingly, 'reciprocal typification' is to be understood as "*the development of shared definitions or meanings that are linked to the habitualized behaviours*"

(Tolbert and Zucker 1999) (p. 174). Tolbert and Zucker argue how institutions are procedures, practices, and their accompanied shared meanings enacted and perceived by members of an organization. Institutions come about as a result of social interaction between actors. The taken-for-granted quality of institutions is considered to be the essence of their power. It eliminates the need of explicit social control and justification and makes the institutions easy to transmit to newcomers, because institutional actions are considered to be carried out "naturally" (Jepperson 2001). Once an institution has gained domination, structures and procedures are assumed to go hand in hand with their "obvious" uncontested meaning. The observation is that within an institutionalized reality, social actors perceive, enact, and reinforce the habituated behaviours and their shared meanings. Max Weber pioneered the application of a rational action theory to the analysis of institutional emergence and diffusion. In Weber's argument actors act according to mental modes shaped by cultural beliefs that include conceptions of self-interest that are culturally bound by ideology and religion. This is seen in Weber's account of the diffusion of rational capitalist practices and institutional arrangements. Weber's 'Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' exemplifies an early application of rational action theory to the explanation of institutional emergence and diffusion (Weber 1930). The rational-actor model is one of the central keys to come to understand what is new in neo-institutional theory. The interest in context-bound conceptions of rationality where rational action is grounded in culture and relational structures integrates the idea of choice-within-constraints with macro studies of institutions. It enables sociology to move its focus from explaining large-scale transformation to change taking place at specific markets and organizational fields. The neo-institutionalism in sociology integrates context-bound notions of rationality with the macro level analysis. It employs a rational action theory that takes cultural beliefs into account. It assumes that self-interest cannot be understood apart from relational ties and concrete institutional arrangements. It extends Weber's emphasis on comparative institutional analysis, and introduces a

methodological tradition that examines the emergence, diffusion, and transformation of institutions as path-dependent change within specific settings. As argued by DiMaggio:

> Institutional theories of organization represent an important break with rational-actor models and a promising strategy for modeling and explaining instances of organizational change that are *not* driven by processes of interest mobilization.
> (DiMaggio 1988) (p. 3)

Since the publication of Meyer and Rowan's article 'Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony' (Meyer and Rowan 1977) and Meyer's article 'The Effects of Education as an Institution' (Meyer and Rowan 1977), and Zucker's 'The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence' (Zucker 1977), the organizational analyses based on a neo-institutional perspective can be said to have been born. These publications set out the central components of neo-institutional thought and provide the definition of what is 'neo'. DiMaggio and Powell outline the central similarities between the old and the new institutionalism in relation to a set of categories - to be specific, thirteen categories in total. Not all thirteen are summed up here, but the essence of the set of categories is considered. According to DiMaggio and Powell, both the old and new approaches share skepticism toward rational-actor models of organization and each views institutionalization as a state-dependent process that makes organizations less instrumentally rational by limiting the options they can pursue. That is, both emphasize the relationship between organizations and their environment, and both promise to reveal aspects of reality that are inconsistent with organizations' formal accounts. Each approach stresses the role of culture in shaping organizational reality (Powell and DiMaggio 1991). In other words, to neo-institutionalists institutionalization is considered a cognitive process (Zucker 1983) and the theory rejects the socialization theory. Not norms and values, but taken-for-granted rules and classifications are the stuff of which institutions are made. According to Hirsch and Lounsbury, a result of DiMaggio and Powell's scheme

action-oriented theorists who focus on dynamics, change, social construction, and values are referred to as 'old' institutional theorists whereas the structuralist-oriented theorists who focus on statics, outcomes, cognition, and continuity of the environment are referred to as 'new' institutional theorists. What becomes Hirsch and Lounsbury's main goal is to restore action to institutional theory and its increasing focus on structure offering modifications to DiMaggio and Powell's structural position and to highlight what they believe to be the major "*lacuna in new institutional theorizing: agency*" (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997) (p. 409). The argument is that by viewing institutional processes as primarily environmental, neo-institutional explanations tend toward a "disembodied idealism" (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997) (p. 410). With the support of Zucker, Hirsch and Lounsbury argue that to not address the interests of actors leads neo-institutionalism into "infinite regression" and "to higher levels of abstraction" (Zucker 1988; Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997) (p. 410). The concern about agency raised by Hirsch and Lounsbury (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997) in their critique of DiMaggio and Powell (Powell and DiMaggio 1991) is supported by Zucker (Zucker 1977; Zucker 1983; Zucker 1987; Zucker 1988). Zucker has responded to neo-institutional theory with a view of structure where change is generated on the basis of interest-based actions and taken-for-granted rules are considered less important (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997). Hirsch and Lounsbury suggest that "*The details of micro-level action are needed to explain how macro-level institutions change*" (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997) (p. 412) and draw parallels from their argument to Giddens (Giddens 1984) and Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1988) for the integration of action and structure. The argument is that attention is needed to sociological debates regarding the construction of more complex forms of explanations that opens up for both the micro and macro account (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997). Selznick also treats the action-structuralist dualism of DiMaggio and Powell's account of neo-institutional theory as problematic. Selznick argues that

when looking at organizations the task is to embrace the conflict between rational-choice and institutional models:

> No social process can be understood save as it is located in the behavior of individuals, and especially in their perceptions of themselves and each other. The problem is to link the larger view to the more limited one, to see how institutional change is produced by, and in turn shapes, the interaction of individuals in day-to-day situations.
> (Selznick 1957) (p. 4)

The movement from organization to institution is stressed in Selznick's work (Selznick 1996) and supported by Oliver (Oliver 1997). The view is that the commitment within organizations by the individuals to values and principles as a normative rationality legitimates organizational choices with reference to the organization's mission and values. DiMaggio and Powell's description of how the break away from actor preferences and socialization processes by the adoption of a cognitive language such as taken-for-granted rules and classifications is central. With this Hirsch and Lounsbury agree, but are not willing to agree that the cognitive turn in neo-institutional theory is inconsistent with the old institutional approach. And point out that: "*The problem that new institutional research has run into is that most empirical efforts have focused on environmental changes that are not effectively linked to the activities of individuals and organizations*." (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997) (p. 411)

An article by DiMaggio (DiMaggio 1998) is a survey of the field of neo-institutional theories in the social sciences. DiMaggio distinguishes three neo-institutionalisms: *a rational-action* neo-institutionalism, *a social-constructivist* neo-institutionalism, and *a mediated-conflict* neo-institutionalism (DiMaggio 1998; Nielsen 2001). The three neo-institutionalisms are considered originating from economics, sociology, and political science. The *rational-action neo-institutionalism* [RAN] stresses the way in which individual rational action is channeled by the 'rules of the game', including

legislation, organizational norms, forms, and cultures (DiMaggio 1998; Nielsen 2001). Change is conceived an effect of strategic action of individuals. Nielsen argues that according to DiMaggio behavior is considered instrumental or strategic within institutionally defined constraints (Nielsen 2001). DiMaggio observes that:

> …. RAN views actors as coherent and strategic, and interests as stable and exogenous. Its practitioners study institutions of all kind, but most frequently focus on formal political institutions or economic rules, employing such tools as game theory, evolutionary modeling, and transaction-cost analysis. (DiMaggio 1998) (p. 696)

The *social-constructivist neo-institutionalism* [SCN] stresses that all actors, interests, and preferences are socially constructed (Nielsen 2001). Change is conceived as a process of isomorphism or diffusion through mechanisms such as pressures to appear legitimate and normative schemes embedded in practice. Nielsen argues that behavior is considered routinized and the role of interpretation is stressed as a function of the outlook of the institutionalized individual (Nielsen 2001). DiMaggio mentions how "*SCN emerged as a critique of realist depictions of actors and agency, and of models that depicted formal organizations as characteristically rational.*" (DiMaggio 1998)(p. 697). And that:

> Its proponents emphasize how pressures to appear legitimate, environmentally imposed uncertainty, and normative schemes embedded in professional training and practice lead organizations to converge around short-term behavioral equilibria ….
> (DiMaggio 1998) (p. 697)

The third type, *mediated-conflict neo-institutionalism* [MCN], focuses on how institutions structure and mediate conflict. Nielsen mentions how "*... it studies change of the institutional setup in various contexts as a result of institutionally mediated political conflict*" (Nielsen 2001) (p. 506). Individuals are considered self-seeking and calculating based on their interests "*.... MCN depict political outcomes as resulting from conflicts among groups with distinctive interests as these are mediated by state structures and political institutions of civil society.*" (DiMaggio 1998) (p. 697).

DiMaggio identifies that social-constructivist neo-institutionalism distances itself from the rational-actor model, but that signs of rapprochement can be seen from SCN demonstrating that collective actors behave irrationally to explaining different conceptions of rationality (DiMaggio 1998). A shift of focus is perhaps possible to identify within social-constructivist neo-institutionalism towards an opening up to a synthesis between the three approaches. DiMaggio describes three areas of potential convergence, which are 'evolutionary approaches', 'constructed rationality', 'institutions and networks'.

	Actors	**Interests**	**Institutions**	**Change Mechanism**
RAN	individual action	exogenous	primarily formal	strategic action/ selection
SCN	constructed/ weak agency	endogenous	primarily informal and schematic	diffusion/ contagion
MCN	groups	exogenous	formal/informal organizational forms	political conflict

RAN: Rational-Action Neoinstitutionalism
SCN: Social-Constructionist Neoinstitutionalism
MCH: Mediated-Conflict Neoinstitutionalism

Table 1
Stylized comparison of three neo-institutionalisms (DiMaggio 1998)

First, new ideas about evolution promise advances in the empirical study of evolutionary change in institutional forms (DiMaggio 1998). The recognition is that the role of institutions cannot be reduced to a contrast between hard market constraints and soft bureaucratic constraints (DiMaggio 1998). Second, SCN's view that rationality, objective functions, understanding of means-ends relationships, and actors are all socially constructed. DiMaggio argues that this might suggest, "*SCN is less foreign to economic perspectives than it may seem*" because "*Most economist have*

always agreed that preferences are "exogenous" (DiMaggio 1998) (p. 700). The social-constructionist work most familiar to economists may be March and Simon (March and Simon 1958), which is an argument that stresses how variations in information cause variation in the organizational preferences. This, DiMaggio argues, moves scholars to ask not whether people act strategically, but under what conditions and how they do (DiMaggio 1998). Third, a SCN focus on 'institutions and networks' are likely to be a study of the informal relations and networks and the corresponding institutional performance patterns. DiMaggio argues that the important future task "... *is to identify the characteristics that distinguish effective networks from those that impede system adaption to environmental change.*" (DiMaggio 1998) (p. 702). Modern sociology pioneered the study of institutions and the idea of a system of interrelated constraints and has viewed institutions as socially constructed constraints on action (Nee and Strang 1998). The notion of the institutional constraint sets the limits of legitimate action and provides structure to the strategic choices of individuals and organizations. What is new in the neo-institutional approach is the aim to study the emergence, diffusion, and transformation of institutional arrangements. The convergence of the three typologies of neo-institutionalism argued by DiMaggio might speak in favour of integration and an opening of the sociological analysis. That is, of a convergence between what DiMaggio term the social constructivist and the rational-action neo-institutionalism - of sociological and economic analysis.

3.3 Contemporary Institutional Theory – According to Scott

The objective here is not so much to find the exact consensus, as it is to understand the most stable issues and concepts of neo-institutional theory. Scott provides readers and users of neo-institutional theory with the framework of *three pillars of institution* and *three carriers of institution*. This framework and its potential is the focus of this section.

To open up the core elements of contemporary neo-institutional theory the definition of institutions given by Scott is helpful:

> Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are transported by various carriers – cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction. (Scott 1995) (p. 33)

There are many contributions to how to best understand the different concepts put forward in Scott's definition of the institution. And no consensus can be said to have been reached within the framework of neo-institutional theory. Scott is perhaps the best reference to a conceptualisation of the whole theory. Scott conceptualises institutions as "… *multifaceted systems incorporating symbolic systems – cognitive constructions and normative rules – and regulative processes carried out through and shaping social behaviour.*" (Scott 1995) (p. 33). This conceptualisation with the regulative, the normative, and the cognitive element has been identified by Scott and by among others D'Andrade as a deterministic view on institutions. Scott himself quotes D'Andrade's observation: "… *overdetermined in the sense that social sanctions plus pressures for conformity, plus intrinsic direct reward, plus values, are all likely to act together to give a particular meaning system its directive force*" (Scott 1995) (p. 34). Important differences exist among institutional theorists. But as Scott argues, the debate centres on three themes: First, the variation of emphasis on institutional elements, second the variation of emphasis on carriers of institutional elements, and third, the variation of emphasis on levels of institutional elements. With regard to the first issue, various theorists stress one or several of the three pillars of the institutions given in Scott's definition. The three pillars of institutions are illustrated in table 2 below.

	Regulative	Normative	Cognitive
Basis of compliance	Expedience	Social obligation	Taken for granted
Mechanisms	Coercive	Normative	Mimetic
Logic	Instrumentally	Appropriateness	Orthodoxy
Indicators	Rules, laws, sanctions	Certification, accreditation	Prevalence, isomorphism
Basis of legitimacy	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed	Culturally supported, conceptually correct

Table 2
The pillars of institutions (Scott 1995)

3.3.1 The Regulative Pillar of Institutions

Scott argues that in general most neo-institutional theorists recognize the regulative aspect of institutions. Institutions themselves constrain and regularize behavior (Scott 1995) (p. 35). In stressing this pillar of institutions, emphasis is given to regulative processes such as, rules, monitoring, and sanctions. The regulative processes include the capacity to establish rules, to inspect or review conformity to the rules, and to manipulate sanctions to influence future behavior (Scott 1995). Scott argues that these processes may either operate through informal channels or may be highly formalized. The regulative element of institutions and institutional behavior is argued to be consistent with a social realist perspective in the sense that it presumes that actors have interests that are pursued rationally. This view stresses individuals as instrumentally motivated to make choices according to a utilitarian logic. This understanding is not encouraging a very process oriented focus on how institutions

emerge, but rather an understanding on how already established institutions operate in order to survive. Scott argues:

> Analysts working within this framework struggle a bit to explain why it is that institutions emerge… but once they are in place, they have no difficulty in explaining why rules are obeyed: It is the actor's self-interest to conform. (Scott 1995) (p. 37)

When operating and stressing the regulative pillar and how it affects institutions, the individual organization and its actors are considered under the influence of rules.

3.3.2 The Normative Pillar of Institutions

When considering norms as the resting of institutions the normative pillar of institutions is in focus. Scott argues, that the normative pillar stresses an analysis of the institution that introduces and focuses on prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimensions of the social life (Scott 1995). That is, both values and norms defined by Scott as:

> Values are conceptions of the preferred or the desirable together with the construction of standards to which existing structures or behavior can be compared and assessed. Norms specify how things should be done; they define legitimate means to pursue valued ends. (Scott 1995) (p. 37)

Values and norms are not considered predictions but rather prescriptions and become expectations as well. That is, expectations of what organizations and actors are supposed to do. Together, both the regulative and the normative pillar of institutions constitute external pressures to conform. However, the constraining characteristic of the normative pillar is also affected by the view that norms inform action instead of prescribing it. The restricted definition of rational behavior stressed as an essential characteristic of the regulative pillar is challenged. Scott argues:

> The normative approach to institutions emphasizes how values and normative frameworks structure choices. Rational action is always grounded in social context that specifies appropriate means to particular ends; action acquires its very reasonableness in terms of these social rules and guidelines for behavior. (Scott 1995) (p. 38)

In this view, choices and actions are structured and mediated by values and norms. Actors confirm not because it serves their rational interests, but because they are expected to confirm. When operating and stressing the normative pillar and how it affects institutions, the individual organization and its actors are considered under the influence of social beliefs and norms that are both internalised and externalised. With reference to Parsons, Scott argues, "… *shared norms and values were regarded as the basis of a stable social order*." (Scott 1995) (p. 40)

3.3.3 The Cognitive Pillar of Institutions

Scott refers to the cognitive elements of institutions as "…*the rules that constitute the nature of reality and through which meaning is made.*" (Scott 1995) (p. 40). The cognitive dimensions of the human are in focus. Scott quotes D'Andrade to illustrate this point: "*In the cognitive paradigm, what a creature does is, in large part, a function of the creature's internal representation of its environment*." (Scott 1995) (p. 40). Meaning is informed by symbols and to understand and explain action the analyst must take into account the subjective interpretation of symbols. The cognitive view emphasizes the coherence of social life through the creation of categories of individual and collective social actors: "*We instantly recognize, feel comfortable in, and are able to take meaningful action in relation to such familiar collective actors as schools, hospitals, and restaurants.*" (Scott 1995) (p. 44). The argument is that there is no given natural order and that the origin, maintenance, and diffusion of collective actors require explanation. Some of the key questions are why some organizations are

constituted as hospitals and others as schools? Where do the templates come from, and how are they produced, reproduced, and transformed? In their work, the sociologists and neo-institutionalists Meyer and Rowan (Meyer and Rowan 1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) illustrate how a wider belief system and cultural frames are adopted by organizations (Scott 1995). DiMaggio and Powell emphasize how organizations become *isomorphic* in their structures and activities in correspondence to wider cultural patterns in the environment. This mechanism of isomorphism as a mimetic process captures the cognitive pillar of Scott. The point is that organizations deal with uncertainty by imitating others:

> The concept that best captures the process of homogenization is *isomorphism*… isomorphism is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions.
> (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) (p. 149)

DiMaggio and Powell identify three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphic change occur: First, *coercive isomorphism* which is "*… formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society.*" (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) (p. 150), second, *mimetic isomorphism* which is defined as "*When organizational technologies are poorly understood, when goals are ambiguous, or when the environment creates symbolic uncertainty, organizations may model themselves on other organizations*", and third, *normative isomorphism* which is a result of professionalization and "*… as the collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work*" …. (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) (p. 152). The three types of isomorphism relate to a certain extent to the relation of an organization and its members to a wider cultural belief system and can therefore not entirely be viewed as parallel to the three pillars of the institutions as put forward by Scott even though there is a strong resemblance between the two models. Scott's model of the three pillars of institutions includes differences in underlying assumptions concerning the

nature of reality and the logic of social action. An analytical focus stressing the regulative pillar would tend to be a social realist focus with a rational outlook on action. An analytical focus stressing the normative pillar would tend to be close to the regulative analysis in its outlook but perhaps closer to the cognitive analysis where a social constructivist set of assumptions is in focus because the cognitive view holds a broader perspective of social action. The cognitive focus as noted underline the critical importance of constitutive processes by which actors, both individual and collective, are constructed. The cognitive focus stresses the social constructivist notion that human beings do not discover the world as it is, but invent and construct it. The invention and construction of the world is not arbitrary, but develops out of and is informed by the interaction with social arrangements and social belief systems. With regard to how actors make choices cognitive theorists stress the extent to which choice is informed by the ways in which knowledge is constructed. Scott argues:

> The social construction of reality is seen as ongoing, continuously, at macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. At the broadest levels, science, the professions, and the mass media operate to create new categories, typifications, and causal connections. At the intermediate levels, individuals operate within particular social arenas, such as educational, work, and family settings, which carry with them many codified cultural rules and social routines. And in everyday interaction, at the micro level, individuals appropriate and employ these broader cultural frameworks but also improvise and invent new understanding and interpretations that guide their daily activities.
> (Scott 1995) (p. 51)

General cultural belief systems as well as individual conceptions of one self are all considered social constructions. The analysis taking a cognitive outlook does not hold preferences as givens. Both ends and means are institutionally shaped.

3.3.4 The Carriers of the Institution

In Scott's account and conceptualization of neo-institutional theory he identifies three types of carriers of the institution: *cultures*, *social structures*, and *routines* (Scott 1995). These Scott argues can be cross-classified with the three pillars of institutions.

Carrier	Regulative	Normative	Cognitive
Cultures	Rules, laws	Values, expectations	Categories, typifications
Social Structures	Governance and power systems	Regimes, authority systems	Structural isomorphism identities
Routines	Protocols, standard procedures	conformity, performance of duty	performance programs, scripts

Table 3
The institutional pillars and carriers (Scott 1995)

In the development of the concept of institutional carriers Scott draws attention to the work by Giddens (Scott 1995) (Giddens 1984) to emphasize that structure in the terms of Giddens represents the institutionalized aspect of behavior (Scott 1995):

> Structures are both the result of past actions – social products – as well as the context or medium within which ongoing action occurs. For its part, action operates to produce – to reproduce … or alter – structure.
> (Scott 1995) (p. 52)

Thus, Scott's three carriers are viewed as involving both structure and action. Culture, as a carrier of the institution will be emphasized differently depending on which pillar of the institution is being stressed. An analysis of institutions which stresses the cognitive pillar will emphasize the importance of categories and typifications, whereas an analysis conducted from a normative point of view will emphasize values and expectations, and a theorist stressing the regulative pillar will emphasize rules and

laws. According to Scott, cultures are carriers that rely on interpretive structures: "*Such interpretive schemes inform and constrain ongoing behavior but are also reinforced and changed by these behaviors.*" (Scott 1995) (p. 53). The schemes may exist, according to Scott, at the environmental system level, the societal system level, and at the world system level or may apply very restricted to a specific organizational field (Scott 1995):

> Some types of cultural beliefs will be specific to a given organization or one of its subsystems, giving rise to a corporate culture. Other cultural systems will operate at a more general level, consisting of belief systems that are transorganizational and may be quite widespread. (Scott 1995) (p. 53)

The recognition that a cultural belief system is carried both in the minds and action at the actor level and at a wider level is an explicit stand which stresses the interplay between structure and action at the organizational level. Institutions can also be carried by social structures. Social structures as carriers of institutions are defined as a type of carrier that relies on expectations connected to a role system: "*Rules and belief systems are coded into structural distinctions and roles; structures incorporate ... institutional elements.*" (Scott 1995) (p. 54). That is, as with the cultural carrier, social structures both constrain and enable individual actors simultaneously. Individual actors are both being empowered to create new structures as well as being under influence and reproduced themselves by existing social structures (Scott 1995). And as it is the case with the cultural carriers of the institution, some social structures are widely shared creating isomorphic tendencies across organizational fields and some are considered distinct and connected to a particular organization. When social structures are considered restricted to a specific organizational setting they represent the local belief system (Scott 1995). As it is the case with the cultural carrier, different aspects of the social structural carrier will be emphasized depending on which of the three pillars of the institutions are stressed. Regulative and normative theorists would according to Scott's model have a tendency to consider social structures as

governance systems, which are creating codes and rules and thereby stressing the coercive and normative elements of the institution, whereas cognitive theorists would want to stress the creation of structural isomorphism. As argued by Scott, routines are also considered embodying and carrying institutions in the form of habitualized action. As such routines are carriers, which rely on how patterns can be reflected through tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge then represents not only patterns of action, but also habits and procedures based on knowledge and belief, which is unarticulated (Scott 1995). Scott argues that: "*Rather than privileging cultural systems, many early institutionalists viewed habitualized action, routines, standard operating procedures, and similar patterned activities as the more central features of institutions.*" (Scott 1995) (p. 54). The stabilizing role played by actors' skills and organizational routines has been pointed out by March and Simon as a central dimension to the issue of reliability of organizations (March and Simon 1958; Scott 1995). Regulative theorists stress the importance of protocols, standards, and procedure, normative theorist would stress conformity, and cognitive theorist performance programs.

Scott argues that the neo-institutional framework is a version of institutional theory that undermines the conventional distinction between organizations and their environment. In the neo-institutional understanding, organizations are penetrated by their environments to an extent not earlier seen (Scott 1995). The distinction between pillars and carriers put forward by Scott suggest that organizations are embedded in an institutional context and those organizations are supported and empowered by institutional mechanisms. The variables of institutions in form of the pillars and the carriers presented are applied and stressed most differently in institutional analysis. And as argued above there is a difference in not only the pillar stressed but also in the implications that choice has for the type of carrier emphasized. The level of analysis as identified varies in terms of whether the analysis is focusing on micro or macro phenomena. Given this complexity, Scott identifies six categories or dimensions as a

useful operational distinction: the levels of world system, societal, organizational field, organizational population, organization, and organizational subsystem (Scott 1995) out of which the level of most significance to institutional theory is that of the organizational field. Defined by DiMaggio and Powell an organizational field refers to: "*… those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products*." (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Scott 1995) (p. 148). DiMaggio and Powell mention that most institutionalists prefer to focus on the structure of environments, of the macro- to micro level effects, and the analytical autonomy of macrostructures and argue that it is important to stress both the macro level of institutionalism and the micro actor-models of institutionalism (Powell and DiMaggio 1991). Neo-institutional theory is based at both the macro and micro level of analysis, on an analysis of the effect of the institutional environment on the organizational field and on an analysis of practical action at the organizational level.

> Institutional change can proceed from the most micro interpersonal and suborganizational levels to the most macro societal and global levels. It can take place in relatively brief and concentrated periods or over time measured in decades or centuries. And it can take place incrementally, so that observers and participants are hardly aware of any change, or abruptly, in dramatic episodes that present large discontinuities with former patterns. (Dacin, Goodstein et al. 2002) (p. 48)

Some of the most recent studies performed within the framework of neo-institutional theory illustrate the variation of the analytical focus. According to Scott the institution is defined as:

> …consisting of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are transported by various carriers – cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction. (Scott 1995) (p. 51)

The argument is that no organization can according to neo-institutionalists be properly understood apart from its wider social and cultural context. These environments create the infrastructures – regulative, normative, and cognitive – that constrain and support the operation of individual organizations. One of the principal ways in which the varieties of neo-institutional theory differ is in the level at which they are applied in various analytical contexts.

4 NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND MODELS OF CHANGE

The previous chapter unfolded selected parts of the framework of neo-institutional theory *sui generis*. This chapter takes the presentation of the theory a step further and asks whether the existing analytical framework of neo-institutional theory provides a sufficient framework to be able to understand the characteristics of institutional change. The theoretical argument for proposing this question is the notion that neo-institutional theory seems to hold only a vague variation on the understanding of the effect of the *exogenous* shock to institutions. In this case it is 'Internet technology' which is the *exogenous* shock that causes a pattern of change to the institution of the business press. As demonstrated, institutional theorists, such as Scott, have developed a pattern of carriers of the institution. However, it is the assumption that neo-institutional theory has developed no central carrier of the institution that specifically embraces the potentials of technology. In Scott's account of the theoretical manifestation the closest he comes to a definition of technology is to say that technology is to be understood as, "…. *material artifacts within which are embedded knowledge and skills* …." (Scott 1995) (p. 61). This chapter seeks to push Scott's model a step further and propose a model of change in which technology is considered an *exogenous* shock, which becomes *endogenized* as embedded actors adopt it, interact with it, and makes it work to cause changes to taken-for-granted work practices. The goal of this chapter is to tackle the explanation why there seems to be a vacant spot in neo-institutional models of change on technology as a shortcoming and to suggest ways to expand institutional analysis. It is the argument that theorists of institutions in the field of organizational studies have mostly been stressing the importance of meaning, symbols, and cognition in institutionalization and that the empirical emphasis has been put mainly on the normative behavioural aspects of institutions. Thus, this review is structured along the three lines of – *the institutional vs. the technical system*, *models of change*, and *the notion of agency* in which agency

as a one-dimensional concept is viewed as multidimensional to elaborate on the paradox of embedded agency within neo-institutional theory.

4.1 The Institutional vs. the Technical System

A significant critique on neo-institutional theory has been formulated with regard to its focus on persistence of institutions and its inattention to the role of the *actor* and the interests of the actor in shaping and maintaining institutions. The critique is based on the fact that neo-institutionalists focus on the power of institutions and the resistance to institutions to change. That is, an outspoken interest in how things remain the same in contrast to how they change and why. The critique of the stand on the resistance to institutions has been carried out among several theorists, for instance, Dacin, Goodstein, and Scott (Dacin, Goodstein et al. 2002). The notion of change within neo-institutional theory has been accused of being both ambiguous and contradictory by Hira and Hira (Hira and Hira 2000). The argument of Hira and Hira is put forward from an economic perspective and the suggestion is that by setting up a model that explains institutional constraints the theory correctly points out the limits of the rational choice, but fails to explain the sources of modifications of the constrains and thus fails to explain change. Hira and Hira suggest that factors such as technology, culture, and ideology should be included as feeding institutional change (Hira and Hira 2000).

> … we find a patchwork of exogenous factors, such as technology, culture, and ideology, which feed into institutional change in unclear ways…. those factors for change should be examined directly, rather than through the proxy of institutions.
> (Hira and Hira 2000) (p. 271)

The proxy or authority of institutions is the key problem to Hira and Hira. The autonomy and restrictions of institutions and the fact that rules and shared rituals are

considered the primary explanations of institutions is a problem to Hira and Hira. From an economic point of view Hira and Hira argue that neo-institutional theory explain change in two ways. First, institutions change in reaction to new economic factors and second, entrepreneurs exploit openings within the institutional system, resulting in change (Hira and Hira 2000). But how the neo-institutional theory explains changes in the rules themselves and the institutions that embody them is according to Hira and Hira crucial and perhaps an important missing link?

> …. Individuals maximize their opportunities in a system given limited information…. Therefore, the incentives to innovate, which are critical to economic growth, are positively or negatively affected by the institutional environment. …. However, the new institutions must explain why some societies, seeing the inefficiency of their own institutions, do not simply imitate the more optimal institutions of their successful peers …. (Hira and Hira 2000) (pp. 273-274)

To Hira and Hira it is considered an incomplete explanation of the institution to refer to the shared symbols, the shared rituals, the shared meaning, and the resulting consensus of the institutional system. According to Hira and Hira, neo-institutional theory needs to explicitly explain and respond to sources of change in technology, knowledge and population, the informal constraints of ideology, norms, and culture to better understand these phenomena as sources of institutional change (Hira and Hira 2000):

> …. The new institutionalists tackle the problem of technological change in a limited and rather strange way…. The view of culture as "a series of focal points" hardly does justice to the many and ambiguous ways in that culture is defined…. It is the very ambiguity of cultural norms that allows for innovation, rather than a set of stable rules that opens the way for entrepreneurship. (Hira and Hira 2000) (pp. 277-278)

Hira and Hira's examination of the neo-institutional theory and its contradictory notion of change patterns is an argument that institutions are just proximate sources of change and that a host of phenomena, particularly technology, entrepreneurship,

culture, ideology, and norms are the factors that change institutions or show how institutions reflect stability at a given time. Thus, the concluding question for Hira and Hira is "*why not study these factors directly?*" (Hira and Hira 2000) (p. 278). In modifying the assumptions of rational choice models and introducing the seed of relativity, i.e., the relative uniqueness of situations, new institutionalism fails in its attempt to improve rational choice models. "*We are … led to call for an entirely new model of human behavior that incorporates, but goes beyond, the new institutionalism. Future models should explicitly define and delineate the true ultimate sources of institutional change*…." (Hira and Hira 2000) (pp. 279-280).

Neo-institutionalism does not constitute technology as its object of analysis. Some refers to this problem as the 'black box' problem (Button 1993; Knights and Murray 1994) and the question put forward here is why the theory of neo-institutionalism does not pay attention to technology *sui generis* in its attempt to reveal how institutions change and manifest themselves. The programmatic call for opening the 'black box' of technology has both conceptual and methodological consequences that might be useful in understanding the transformation of institutions from a neo-institutional point of view.

Part of the answer to the question *why* could be found in the distinction between the institutional and the technical system within organizational theory. The distinction between the institutional and the technical systems seems to have been that the technical system was driven by means-end rationality whereas the institutional system had to do with legitimacy. Scott argues how endogenous change seems almost to contradict the meaning of institution in highly institutional systems (Scott 2000) (p. 187). The answer to the question why neo-institutional theory does not pay attention to technology *sui generis* in its understanding of organizations, their persistence, and change should be found in the historical development of organizational theory from

Parsons (Parsons 1956) and Thompson (Thompson 1967) to Meyer and Rowan (Meyer and Rowan 1977). The theoretical development from 1956 to 1977, beginning with the work of Parsons and ending with the work of Meyer and Rowan, illuminates the distinction between the technical vs. the institutional system in organizational analysis.

Meyer and Rowan's article ' Institutional Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony' (Meyer and Rowan 1977) offers a radical departure from conventional ways of thinking about formal structure and about the nature of organizational decision-making through which structure was produced. Meyer and Rowan's analysis argued how formal structures have symbolic as well as action-generating properties. The initial statement in the article stresses how emphasis is placed on the symbolic aspects of organizations and not technical relations:

> Formal organizations are generally understood to be systems of coordinated and controlled activities that arise when work is embedded in complex networks of technical relations and boundary-spanning exchanges. But in modern societies formal organizational structures arise in highly institutionalized contexts.
> (Meyer and Rowan 1977) (p. 340)

Meyer and Rowan decouple formal structure from action. A structure that has become institutionalized is one that has become taken for granted by members of a social group. Structure serves as an important causal source of stable patterns of behavior. Adoption of such structures can, according to Meyer and Rowan, occur regardless of the existence of specific and immediate problems:

> Organizations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized in society. Organizations that do so increase their legitimacy and their survival prospects, independent of the immediate efficacy of the acquired practices and procedures.
> (Meyer and Rowan 1977) (p. 340)

The determinants of structure are directed to external influences not linked to actual production processes, such as the passage of legislation and the development of strong social norms. Internal organizational characteristics traditionally considered sources of formal structures, such as technology is called into question. Meyer and Rowan contradict market-oriented and performance-oriented assumptions about the functions of formal structure: "…*Organizational success depends on factors other than efficient coordination and control of production activities.*" (Meyer and Rowan 1977) (p. 352). The implications of Meyer and Rowan represent a challenge to traditional explanations of structure:

> … formal organizations are often loosely coupled … structural elements are only loosely linked to each other and to activities, rules are often violated, decisions are often unimplemented or if implemented have uncertain consequences, technologies are of problematic efficiency, and evaluation and inspection systems are subverted or rendered so vague as to provide little coordination (Meyer and Rowan 1977) (p. 342)

4.2 Models of Institutional Change

Scott argues that change *does* pose a problem for institutional theory (Scott 1995). As pointed out above, the institutional system is about stability and order and *not* about change. Scott pops the question: "*If the nature of actors and their modes of acting are constituted and constrained by institutions, how can these actors change the very institutions in which they are embedded?*" (Scott 1995) (p. 181). The fact is that many recent research projects within the tradition of institutional theory have focused on change. The problem, according to Scott, is that: "*Much of this attention to change tends to privilege two moments: the formation of new elements and their diffusion across host forms*". (Scott 1995) (p. 181). This focus assumes that institutions are constructed and then "*exert their effects*" (Scott 1995) (p. 181) but are not subject to further change. Scott mentions how institutionalists, many using the language of Giddens, have begun to examine situations involving institutional change. Theorists

have focused on structuration processes and not so much on the processes leading to destructuration (Scott 1995) (pp. 181-182). Still, the micro-dynamics of institutional change have experienced an increase of attention within the neo-institutional theory (Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Barley and Tolbert 1997; Fligstein 1997; Hoffman 1999; Seo and Creed 2002; Campbell 2004). Scott reviews some of the studies that reflect the ideas and the concern with deinstitutionalization processes and examines the ways in which actors interact to construct and reconstruct institutions (Scott 1995; Dacin, Goodstein et al. 2002). Scott argues that much of the emphasis in the neo-institutional theory has been on the construction of institutions and on processes of change within the light of the institutional environment. He mentions Oliver who identifies three sources of environmental pressure on institutionalized norms or practices: *functional*, *political*, and *social sources* (Oliver 1992). *Functional* pressures arise from perceived problems in performance levels and Oliver argues that these pressures may be tied to broad environmental changes. Scott explains Oliver by mentioning the example of public schools in the US, suffering loss of legitimacy due to lower scores on standardized educational tests compared to children in comparable societies. This is an example of when institutional structures are found inadequate. They then become candidates for reform or replacement (Scott 1995) (pp. 182-183). *Political* pressures arise from shifts in the interests and power distributions that have supported and legitimated existing institutional arrangements. Scott provides the example of the reduction in membership in the American Medical Association, associated with the rise of specialty associations. This resulted in a weakening of the power and as a consequence, a reduction in professional control over the health care field (Scott 1995) (p. 183). *Social* pressures are associated with differentiation of groups, the existence of divergent beliefs and practices, and changes in laws or social expectations that make it necessary to change a practice. Scott provides the example of studies from Eastern Europe documenting contradictory logics experienced by citizens as an

example of a social world in which various domains were not integrated (Scott 1995) (p. 183).

Within recent studies of change the tendency in neo-institutional theory can be summarized to reconcile two explanations of institutional change: The *exogenous* and the *endogenous* explanation of change. The *exogenous* explanation suggests that institutional change occurs as a result of a 'shock', in the form of an external event, which alters the existing institutional order. Change is then a direct result of a reconstruction process that can take any form since no particular causal agent is involved. Here the process of change is context dependent. It is, however, considered difficult to develop generalizable accounts of institutional change on this ground. The *endogenous* explanation suggests that institutional change is motivated primarily within human interaction at the individual level, (Zucker 1988; Seo and Creed 2002), at the group level (Lawrence, Hardy et al. 2002), or at the organizational level (Holm 1995). Interaction is defined in the endogenous explanation as action either directed intentionally towards institutional change (Barley and Tolbert 1997) or as action, which initially had a different purpose (Lawrence, Hardy et al. 2002). Change within the endogenous explanation is related to a theoretical discussion on causal agents as actors. It is on this background that the concept of the institutional entrepreneur has been introduced. As argued by DiMaggio "*New institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources (institutional entrepreneurs) see in them an opportunity to realize interests that they value highly.*" (DiMaggio 1988) (p. 10). The interest in embedded actors as institutional entrepreneurs supports research of micro-dynamics as the explanation of institutional change. It provides the image of the rational actor who stands out from the institution and causes a change. Current efforts among neo-institutional theorists are directed at developing a micro-dynamic model of institutional change processes based on empirical findings. So far, no such model has been fully developed. Some models suggests how actors, institutions, and external

'shocks' that is, both *endogenous* and *exogenous* factors interact to bring about institutional change. These models are deducted from different theories and come up with different proposals. It is possible to identify four such conceptual models:

The Model of Institutional Change as Diffusion

One model of institutional change is global diffusion. This model suggests that institutions diffuse across fields and become 'new' institutions. The process is conceptualized as *diffusion* by DiMaggio and Powell (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and has been renamed as *travel* by Djelic (Djelic 1998), *carriers* by Scott (Scott 2003), and *transposition* by Sewell (Sewell 1992). The variety of terms reflects the degree of divergence about agency and causality among the theorists. That is, human agency is evoked when actors 'transpose' an institution. Institutions are assigned agency when they 'travel', and they are subjected to natural laws as they 'diffuse'. The disagreement on terminology reflects the degree of uncertainty on the mechanisms of institutional change and the role of the organizational actor. The idea behind *the model of institutional change as diffusion* is that once an institution has diffused, it is modified to fit the local context (Djelic 1998; Lippi 2000; Campbell 2004). DiMaggio argues, "… *central institutional forms will be subject to local modification. Such local modifications represent a pool of potential innovations that may themselves diffuse to organizations throughout the field*." (DiMaggio 1988) (p. 15). The process of modification as presented by DiMaggio is conceptualized as translation (Djelic 1998; Lippi 2000; Campbell 2004), hybridization (Pieterse 1994), bricolage (Campbell 2004), diffraction (Djelic 1998), allomorphism (Lippi 2000), or adaption (Zeitlin 2000). Translation suggests a reformulation of the original institution, while hybridization and bricolage imply that two institutions are combined with one another. Zeitlin (Zeitlin 2000) suggests that foreign institutions are adopted in small pieces while Pieterse (Pieterse 1994) suggests that hybridization occurs as forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms, then

forming new practices. The actual processes are left uninvestigated in these studies and they reflect uncertainty about the micro-level processes that underlie institutional change.

The Model of Institutional Change as Scripts

Another model of institutional change has been formulated by Barley and Tolbert. It proposes a model of institutional change in which actors develop new institutions by *revising scripts* (Barley and Tolbert 1997). Scripts are defined as "o*bservable, recurrent activities and patterns of interaction characteristic of a particular setting*" (Barley and Tolbert 1997) (p. 95). The model consists of four stages: 1) encoding institutions into scripts, 2) enacting scripts in practice, 3) replicating or revising scripts, and 4) externalizing and objectifying scripts. Accordingly, institutional change consists in revising scripts, which implies that institutional change consists in changing behavioral patterns. Barley and Tolbert suggest that intentionality of the organizational actor is more effective in causing change than is unconscious or unintentional variation from a script. They neither outline the process of script revision, nor the origins of actor intentionality. In addition, in 1986, Barley examined changes over a one-year period in the social structure of radiology departments of two community hospitals in Massachusetts (Barley 1986). In this work Barley argue that the impetus for change was the introduction of new diagnostic technology, computed tomography (CT) scanners, in each department, that lead to changes in the routine scripts and associated activities governing interactions of radiologists and technicians. Barley's study uses content analysis of interactions between organizational actors to describe the process by which institutional arrangements were disrupted by new technology and then replaced old scripts and routines. Barley's study emphasizes Gidden's structuration model, in which rules/schemas and activities/resources interact to produce structures which, over time, are reproduced but are always subject to change. Scott argues that to Barley, *"Institutional structures are medium and*

outcome: They shape and are themselves shaped by subsequent interpretations and activities." (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000) (p. 187).

The Model of Institutional Change as Metastructuring

The work reported by Orlikowski (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) elaborates on the 'technology structuring process' as it identifies another set of structuration activity: the metastructuring. This is not a study of 'activities of use' directly, but of *"... the shaping of other user's activities of use*...." (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) (p. 425). With the introduction of the theoretical concept of 'metastructuring', Orlikowski emphasizes that "*... interventions in users' use of technology occur frequently over time, in a variety of ways, and are often very influential*." (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) (p. 425). The argument of Orlikowski et al is that "…. *the use of electronic communication technologies in changing organizational forms can be facilitated by the explicit and ongoing adaption of those technologies to changing context of use*." (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) (p. 423). The process labeled 'metastructuring' by Orlikowski et al covers how the effectiveness of a certain communication technology (the conferencing technology) is influenced by the intervention of a few individuals who engage in technology-use mediation (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) (p. 424). The study of Orlikowski et al develop an empirically based frame of the influence of human agents as they adapt computer-mediated communication technologies and use it in contexts and change those contexts to accommodate the use of the technology (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) (p. 424). Thus, the argument of Orlikowski et al is that the technology-use mediation activity as it is conducted by human agents is a valuable mechanism in securing both the attention and the resources needed to contextualize technologies into organizational forms (p. 424). Hence, the activity of technology-use mediation is powerful when considering the context of the dynamic organization and institutional change patterns. It is the assumption that it enables rapid and customized

adaptions of the technology and its use to changes in both organizational forms and work practices (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) (pp. 425-426).

The Model of Institutional Change as Deinstitutionalization

A third model of institutional change is deinstitutionalization. Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings (Greenwood, Suddaby et al. 2002) suggest in their work that institutions are deinstitutionalized before a new institution is formed. The argument is that deinstitutionalization occurs because external 'shocks' affect the established institutional order. Organizational actors construct local innovations that are theorized afterwards. The concept of theorization is the formulation of new organizing principles for the field, defined as "…the *development and specification of abstract categories and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect*" (Greenwood, Suddaby et al. 2002) (p. 62). This model of institutional change consists of six steps: 1) the external 'shock', 2) deinstitutionalization, 3) preinstitutionalization, 4) theorization 5) diffusion, and 6) reinstitutionalization. This model implies that actors, who face uncertainty following a destabilization of the institutional order as a result of the external 'shock', construct new institutions from scratch. As such, new institutions are rational solutions to a field level problem.

The four models differ with regards to their conceptions of institutional change and with regard to the role of the embedded actor. The models agree on the change process as consisting of different sequences of events and disagree on whether institutional change results from modifications, importations, or new formulations. Change in the social structure of the radiology departments studied by Barley was triggered by the external event of introducing new technology. Change as studied by Greenwood et al primarily involved endogenous factors.

This study is an attempt to push these models of institutional change in a new direction by integrating the social constructivist approach to the study of technology and neo-institutional theory in suggesting that processes of institutional change can be viewed as a result of the interaction between the embedded actor and the technology. Scott mentions how new technologies have been identified by some scholars as initiating institutional change (Scott 1995) (p. 187). And sums up the new technologies identified by scholars to be "competence –destroying" technologies; management innovations, changes in political policies, employment rules, political upheavals; social reforms; economic crises; and shifts in cultural beliefs and practices (Scott 1995) (p. 187).

It remains that the conceptualization of the manner in which institutions are created and changed seems not very well developed. What do these models tell us about the *primary* sources or drivers of institutional change? What do they tell us about the *factors* that influence how organizations respond to organizational and institutional change? In particular, the focus of this research is to embrace both the primary drivers for change and to locate the factors that influence change.

The institutional models of change do not embrace technology as a component for change. Technology is kept an *endogenous* variable. This study seeks to introduce an understanding of technology as an *exogenous* variable to understand change patterns in the business press. The patterns of change as outlined in this research will be used to reconsider the role of embedded actors and their interplay with new technology as an *exogenous* carrier of institutional change. It will be argued and illustrated in the analysis that the ontology of change can be accounted for through a study of the interplay between actors, actions, and technology. It is the idea to study technology as an *exogenous* variable which pushes local practices in new directions. That is, to study how the qualities of a new technology becomes *endogenized* by actors. And to

confront the argument as put forward by Scott in the introduction to this review where he defines the role of technology as "…. *material artifacts within which are embedded knowledge and skills …*" (Scott 1995) (p. 61). In Scott, technology is accounted for as an *endogenous* variable for change. The analysis of this study is focusing on actors and on the practice of actors. And on a conceptualization of what happens to institutional practice in the interplay between human agency and technology. The following section introduces the concept of human agency and defines the concept of practice. Emirbayer and Mische's framework of agency offers an explanation of how it is possible for the *exogenous* factor of technology to become *endogenized* as human actors interpret its qualities in practice.

4.3 The Notion of Agency

The notion of agency is often used in social sciences. It is given different definitions, which renders it a vague term. It is associated with words such as motivation, will, purpose, intentionality, interest, choice, initiative, freedom, and creativity. Scott considers that agency refers to an actor's ability to intentionally pursue interest and to have some effect on the social world, altering the rules or the distribution of resources (Scott 1995). Sewell sees that to be an agent means to be capable of exerting some degree of control over the social relations, in which one is enmeshed, which in turn implies the ability to transform those relations to some degree (Sewell 1992). The definitions given by Scott and Sewell portray agency as a one-dimensional concept that can be represented on a continuum between high and low levels of agency. Such a one-dimensional definition of agency may tempt one to regard agency as a fixed individual attribute: some people have a high level of agency whereas others do not. This approach not only neglects that agency may vary depending on the context in which individuals find themselves and that it may evolve through time, it also makes it difficult to distinguish agency as an analytical category. That is, in distinguishing

between different dimensions of agency it might become possible to go beyond the one-sided-dimension and gain a sense of the dynamics of agency within different structural contexts of action. Viewing human agency as a one-dimensional concept is inadequate if the ambition is to overcome the paradox of embedded agency (Battilana 2004). It does not allow us to understand the interpretive processes whereby choices are imagined, evaluated, and reconstructed by actors in ongoing dialogue with the unfolding situations. Emirbayer and Mische have made the attempt to reconceptualize human agency as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past, oriented toward the future and the present. They have developed a multidimensional definition of agency (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Agency, they propose, is a:

> … temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its "iterational" or habitual aspect) but also oriented toward the future (as a "projective" capacity to imagine alternative possibilities), and toward the present (as a "practical-evaluative" capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment). (Emirbayer and Mische 1998) (p. 962)

Emirbayer and Mische define human agency as one in which actors engage in the social world through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment, thereby reproducing and transforming the environment's structures. The claim put forward by Emirbayer and Mische is that, through examining changes in agentic orientation, it is possible to chart varying degrees of maneuverability, inventiveness, and reflective choice shown by social actors in relation to the constraining and enabling contexts of action. Hence, they divide human agency into three constitutive elements: *iteration*, *projectivity*, and *practical evaluation*, also referred to as the chordal triad of agency (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Such a categorization gives analytical expression to the positioning of human actors within temporal passage, involving the continual reconstruction of their orientations toward past and future in response to emergent events. It incorporates the capacity for imaginative distancing in relation to habitual

patterns of social engagement. That is, the capacity of actors to critically shape their own responsiveness to problematic situations. Below is an illustration of the chordal triad of agency composed of the three analytically distinct dimensions.

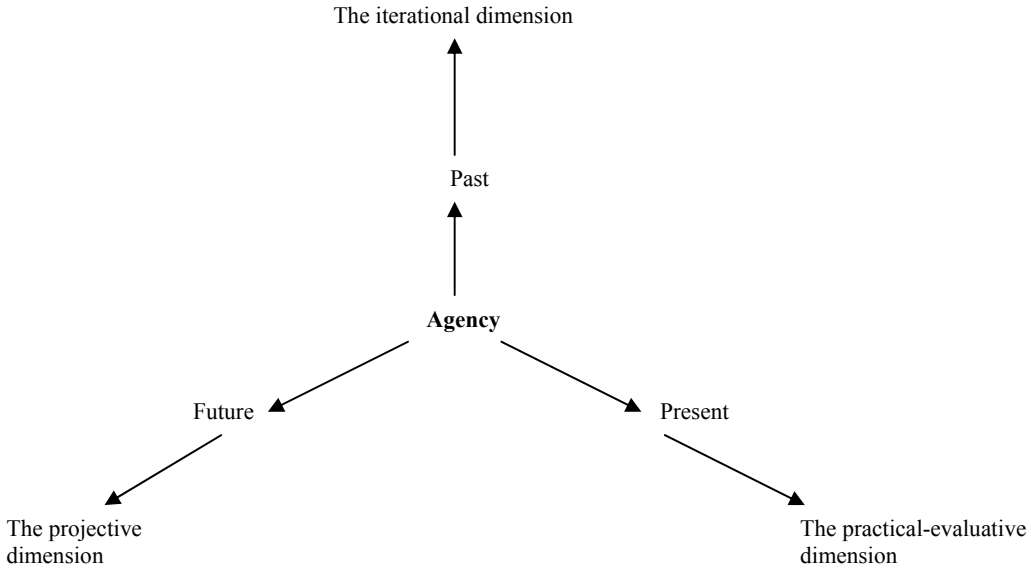


Figure 1
The three constitutive elements of human agency

The Iterational Dimension

Iteration occurs when actors selectively reactivate past patterns of thought and action and routinely incorporate them in practical activity. Iteration is a reproductive capacity that gives stability and order to social contexts and sustains identities, interactions, and institutions over time (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). The primary locus of agency for the iterational dimension, Emirbayer and Mische argue, lies in the schematization of social experience. It is manifested in actors' abilities to recall, to select, and to apply tactic and taken-for-granted schemas of action that they have developed through past interactions. The agentic dimension lies in how actors selectively recognize, locate, and implement such schemas in their ongoing and situated transactions. The concept of iteration is associated with routines, dispositions, preconceptions,

competences, schemas, patterns, typifications, and traditions. The key analytical concern is to locate the agentic dimension in routinized, prestructured forms of social action. The argument is that even relatively unreflective action has its own moment of effort; the typification and routinization of experience are active processes entailing selective reactivation of received structures within expected situations, and dynamic transactions between actor and situation (Emirbayer and Mische 1998) (p. 975). For the sake of greater specificity, the iterational dimension has been subdivided by Emirbayer and Mische into a number of interrelated components; each involves the engagement of a specific kind of schematizing process.

The internal structure of the iterational dimension	
Selective attention	The selective focusing of attention to single out the elements of response required to sustain a particular form of iteration.
Recognition of types	The identification of typical patterns of experience and the prediction of their recurrence in the future. Actors recognize the "sameness", "likeness", or "analogy" of an emerging experience with those of the past and assimilate new experiences to the old.
Categorical location	The identification of similarities between past and present types of experience and the location of these typifications in relation to other persons, contexts, or events within matrices composes of socially recognized categories.
The shade into the projective and practical-evaluative dimensions	
Expectation maintenance	Schematization provides actors with knowledge, which allows them to predict what will happen in the future. Patterns of expectation give stability and continuity to action.
Maneuver among repertoires	Routines and repertoires require maneuverability in order to assure the appropriateness of the response to the situation at hand.

The Projective Dimension

Projectivity encompasses the innovative ability of actors. Actors make use of projectivity when they imaginatively generate possible future trajectories of action that diverge from received structures of thought and action, in response to their hopes, fears, and desires for the future (Emirbayer and Mische 1998) (p. 984). Because human actors do not merely repeat past routines, they are the inventors of new possibilities for thought and action. The projective dimension focuses on the creative process of reconstruction within agency. Emirbayer and Mische argue that an imaginative engagement of the future is a crucial component of the effort of human actors. Actors respond to challenges and uncertainties of social life and distance themselves from the schemas, habits, and traditions that constrain social identities and institutions. This quality enables actors to reconstruct and innovate upon traditions in accordance with desires and purposes. The locus of agency here lies in the hypothesization of experience, as actors attempt to reconfigure received schemas by a generation of alternative possible responses to the problematic situations they confront. Actors construct changing images of where they think they are going, where they want to go, and how they can get there from where they are at present. The process of projectivity is thus located in a critical mediating juncture between the iterational and practical-evaluative aspect of agency. It involves a step toward reflectivity as a response to problems that cannot satisfactory be resolved by the taken-for-granted habits of thought and action that characterize the background structure.

The internal structure of the projective dimension	
Narrative construction	Narratives are not identical with project, but they provide cultural resources by which actors can develop a sense of movement forward in time. Narratives provide maps of action in that they can be used to experimentally posit new resolutions to emerging problems.

Symbolic recomposition	The projective imagination works analogue to create semantic innovation; it takes elements of meaning apart in order to bring them back together again in new unexpected combinations.
Hypothetical resolution	Actors are faced with the task of proposing hypothetical resolutions that will adequately respond to the moral, practical, and emotional concerns arising from conflicts.
The shade into the iterational and practical-evaluative dimensions	
Anticipatory identification	Identification is a retrospective engagement with one's prior "stock of knowledge" as stored in typifications, repertoires, and social narratives. It reveals the essential role of memory in the mapping of future trajectories of action.
Experimentation	This rests on the borderline between imagination and action, between the future and the present. Once scenarios have been examined and solutions proposed, the hypothetical resolutions may be put to the test in exploratory social interactions.

The Practical-Evaluative Dimension

Practical evaluation refers to actors and their reflective capacity to make practical and normative judgments in response to emergent demands, dilemmas and divergent trajectories of action in a given situational context (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). The primary locus of agency in the practical-evaluative dimension lies in the contextualization of social experience. The thought is that through deliberation with others (or sometimes self-reflexively) actors gain in the capacity to make considered decisions that may challenge received patterns of action. This process is a strong communicative process and is distinguished from the iterational dimension of tacit maneuver. By increasing their capacity for practical evaluation, actors strengthen their ability to exercise agency in a mediating way. It enables actors to pursue their projects in ways that may challenge and transform the situational contexts of action themselves. Practical evaluation is associated with many activities: with cognitive,

moral, and general modes of practical consciousness and action (Emirbayer and Mische 1998).

The internal structure of the practical-evaluative dimension	
Problematization	The first component is the recognition that the concrete particular situation is ambiguous and unresolved. Present reality is posing a challenge. Routines face new contingencies to which adjustments have to be made.
Decision	This is the resolution to act here and now in a particular way. In some cases it entails an explicit choice in other cases it blends into the flow of practical activity and is only clearly perceived afterwards. It points in the direction of action within the circumstances of the present and to engage into concrete empirical intervention.
Execution	This marks the capacity to act effectively within the concrete circumstance. The response at the right time, with reference to the right object, towards the right people, and with the right aim.
The shade into the iterational and projective dimensions	
Characterization	The problematic circumstances are related to principles, schemas, and typifications from past experiences by which they are characterized.
Deliberation	Choices are weighed in the light of practical perceptions and understandings against a broader field of possibilities and aspirations. This is a conscious search of how best to respond to situational contingencies in the light of broader goals and projects.

Emirbayer and Mische stress that these three dimensions are analytical distinctions. All three of these constitutive dimensions of human agency are to be found in varying degrees within any concrete empirical instance of action. According to Emirbayer and Mische, it is possible to speak of a chordal triad of agency within which all three dimensions resonate as separate but not always harmonious tones (Emirbayer and

Mische 1998). That is, one or another of the three dimensions might predominate. It is possible to speak of action that is more or less engaged with the past, more or less directed toward the future, and more or less responsive to the present. In other words, the three dimensions of agency do not correspond in any simple way to past, present, and future. Rather, Emirbayer and Mische argue that empirical social action is constructed through ongoing emergent events, rather than through a sequentiality of acts or stages of one act.

The principle of *iteration* as the reproduction of institutional structures is compatible with the role given to actors in neo-institutional theory. Institutions survive and continue to be taken for granted because actors reproduce dominant institutions in their field in a more or less circular pattern (Zucker 1988). The principle of *practical evaluation*, the choice of how to act in the present, is also compatible with the role of actors in neo-institutional theory. It is established that actors who encounter contradictory institutions stop taking institutional arrangements for granted (Oliver 1992; Clemens and Cook 1999; Seo and Creed 2002). They may chose to reproduce institutional pattern or not and they may chose among the contradictory alternatives. To exercise practical evaluation is when they decide what to do, taking into account the particular context in which they find themselves. The principle of *projectivity* is the main challenge for neo-institutional theory. DiMaggio might have endorsed actors' ability to exercise projectivity when he claimed that actors develop new institutional projects, but he did not explain how they are able to exercise projectivity despite the fact that they are embedded in a given institutional environment. It is still not clear how actors would ever distance themselves from the institutions that determine their world view, and what would motivate them to do so. Nor is it obvious that actors would spontaneously generate alternatives to the institutional order.

Emirbayer and Mische in Studies of Agency, Technology, and Institutional Change

Battilana's 2006 paper 'Agency and Institutions: The Enabling Role of Individuals' Social Position'(Battilana 2006) is an examination of under what conditions individuals are more likely to engage in institutional entrepreneurship. Battilana proposes that individuals' social position is a key variable in understanding how they are enabled to act as institutional entrepreneurs despite institutional pressures. In the discussion of how the organizational environment may facilitate the identification of new emerging models of organization that break with the dominant institutional logic in the field, Battilana refers to the 'reflective capacity' of human agency with reference to theory of agency put forward by Emirbayer and Mische and propose how: "*The higher in the organizational hierarchy individuals are, the more likely they are to conduct divergent organizational change.*" (p. 666). The study adds to the understanding of individual action and its relation to institutional change.

The work by Leca and Naccache; 'A Critical Realist Approach to Institutional Entrepreneurship' (Leca and Naccache 2006) is focusing on the traditional deterministic view that institutional pressures explain actor's actions and behaviors. Leca and Naccache address the issue of how to consider simultaneously the influence of both actors' actions and the structures in which they are embedded. Leca and Naccache outline a model of institutional entrepreneurship and open up for further discussions of how; "*... the model of institutional entrepreneurship can serve as a basis for analyzing how institutional entrepreneurs can combine several different institutional logics, and how they will articulate these combinations, depending on contextual factors.*" (p. 645). The study opts for further analysis of the complexity of contextual interactions between human agents who do not share the same values and aims – i.e. who do not support the same institutional logics and its implications to institutional change.

Boudreau and Robey support a temporal view of human agency in their study of the use of information technology. In their paper 'Enacting Integrated Information Technology: A Human Agency Perspective' (Boudreau and Robey 2005) they report on an interpretive case study of an ERP system after its implementation in a government agency. Their findings on how users avoided using the system (inertia) and later to work around the system in unintended ways (reinvention) opt for an explanation of change consistent with the enactment of information technology in organization and with temporal views of human agency. It is a contribution to the theoretical understanding of the role of information technology on planned organizational change. The study acknowledges the potential of information technology as a support organizational transformation, but evidence also points to the role of human agency in converting its potential into practice. It stresses the position of human agency as relatively free to enact technologies in different ways. Thus, the perspective of the study is opposing treating technology as a determinant to social change.

In a paper by Feldman and Pentland (Feldman and Pentland 2003), the traditional understanding of organizational routines as creating inertia in organizations is challenged. Their paper titled 'Reconceptualizing Organizational Routines as a Source of Flexibility and Change' challenges the conventional status of routines. Feldman and Pentland direct attention to the performative and improvisational aspects of routines. The potential for change within organizational routines lies, according to Feldman and Pentland, within their reproduction by human agents with different information, preferences, and interpretations. They introduce a theory of organizational routines that includes the role of performances and innovation in creating and shaping routines by the subjectivity and power of human agents. The study addresses the need for further research to answer what factors influence the

performative aspects of a routine. When are routines more likely to be stable or more likely to change? What are the conditions that promote endogenous change?

Greenwood and Suddaby support the idea that it is a mistake to overstate the lack of reflection and agency in social action (Greenwood and Suddaby 2006). According to Greenwood and Suddaby there is a paradox within institutional theory of embedded agency and its relation to the taken-for-granted prescriptions of institutions. In support of the possibilities for endogenous institutional change, Greenwood and Suddaby examine circumstances that enable firms at the center of a mature field to act as institutional entrepreneurs. The contribution of this work to institutional theory has been to provide an account of motivated endogenous change by focusing upon central organizations as the source of institutional change.

In contrast to the study of change conducted by Greenwood and Suddaby of macro processes, Reay et al (Reay, Golden-Biddle et al. 2006), have studied how individual actors institute changes in established work practices. The study of Reay et al focuses on embeddedness of actors as a provider of the foundation and opportunity of change rather than as a constraint of change. As such, the study is a challenge to the institutional argument that as patterns of work or other institutionalized activities become established and taken-for-granted, they become resistant to change. The argument put forward by Emirbayer and Mische that contextual factors shape and condition social action, but social action is never completely determined by context is in focus. The micro level of analysis observes actors who use their embeddedness as a source of opportunity to evaluate the potential success of specific new strategies.

Technology becomes Endogenized

In the following analysis, the use of Emirbayer and Mische's multidimensional construct of human agency is positioned in relation to the reviewed studies above by

investigating the change of work practices caused by embedded actors interacting with technology. It is a respond to recent calls for a better understanding of how agency may qualify institutional determinism and is also an attempt to combine this study with the study of the role of technology which is somewhat underanalyzed from the perspective of its relation to Emirbayer and Mische's human agency theory and neo-institutional theory. The proposal is that technology is an exogenous variable which gets *endogenized* as it is adopted and interpreted by actors within action. The established literature suggests that institutional change requires a precipitating jolt that destabilizes work practices. That is, an external event is required to transform actors into change agents. The studies reviewed in this chapter have shown that individuals can play important roles in institutional change. From a micro level of analysis, human agents are observed in this study as they provide an opportunity to consider the active role of individuals in their use of technology to change.

The point of departure is the ethnographic observations in the field on actors who develop changes to traditional work practices as they interact and interpret new technology. Technology becomes context dependent and the analysis is an illustration of this process where technology is *endogenized*. The framework of Emirbayer and Mische is thought to fill in the gap between the *exogenous* and the *endogenous* explanation of change within the neo-institutional tradition and explain *how* technology becomes *endogenized* and *what* happens as it does. As such, it is the motivation of this research to examine how dimensions of the paradox of human agency, namely the innovative capacity of embedded actors, can be linked to institutional change. And how institutional change must at first be considered caused by the external shock of technology and later causing a change from the endogenous perspective of its use. It is an examination of embedded individuals who came to conceive new work practices as alternatives to the institutional logic underpinning the institution of *professional and objective journalism* as a direct result of their

interaction with technology. As illustrated previously, it is the overall assumption for neo-institutional scholars that institutional logics are means-end designations that are so self-evident to actors that they are never fully or systematically articulated. The logical assumption is that institutions rely on routines that again rely on patterned action that reflect the tacit knowledge of actors (Scott 1995) (p. 80). In other words, institutional logics are very persistent to change (Dobbin 1994) because actors genuinely believe institutional logics to be objectively true (Dobbin 1994). Thus, alternative institutional patterns are means-end designations that have not previously been considered as a potential replacement for the institutional logic. This analysis draws out the most significant dimensions of the data and examines the process through which actors at Financial Times, in collaboration with each other, come to conceive of alternative means-end designations as a result of the interaction and interpretation of the Internet technology. It is consensus, among institutionalist scholars, that the institutional system and institutional rules operate to suppress innovation and to constrain change. The question is what makes institutions change? What might have the ability to change institutions besides from Scott's carriers? The analytical task is here to examine *if* embedded actors can exercise projectivity, and if they can, *how* and *why* they do it? The analysis and the conclusions of this study will return to the implications and models of change and offer a further explanation to the dilemma of change and the role of actors and technology.

5 METHODOLOGY

As previously stated with reference to Emirbayer and Mische (Emirbayer and Mische 1998), the analytical objective is to examine the innovative capacity of institutionally embedded actors as they interact with new technology. Since the term 'innovative capacity' is rather abstract and difficult to get a hold of, the definition of the term is repeated below. By the term 'innovative capacity', Emirbayer and Mische refer to the 'projective dimension' of human agency as:

> … the response of a desirous imagination to problems that cannot satisfactorily be resolved by the taken-for-granted habits of thought and action that characterize the background structure of the social world.
> (Emirbayer and Mische 1998) (p. 984)

It is the aim of the analysis to trace the 'desirous imagination', the projectivity or the 'innovative capability' of human agency in the context of 'taken-for-granted habits of thought and action that fail to satisfactorily resolve a problem'. The problem addressed is the integration of the Internet technology in work practice. The case of Financial Times has been able to document new work practices that diverge from those that have been institutionalized and are taken-for-granted in the field as a result of human actors' interaction with new technology. The innovative capacity and degree of projectivity of human actors is interesting in that their actions are supposed to be bounded by dominant institutionalized work practices and perceived structures. Using a case study design, this is a detailed investigation of actions and work practice. It is an investigation of how human actors generate alternative solutions to taken-for-granted schemes as a response to their use of new technology. That is, how human actors of the business press exercise their innovative capabilities or projectivity in actual journalistic work practice.

The methodology discussions of this chapter and the choice of research method as presented are based on the positioning of the study within the interpretive discourse of actors and actors in work practice as outlined in chapter 2. The ontological and epistemological assumptions presented in chapter 2 created an overview of how the change process is studied as a process, based on the actor's social construction of meaning. This chapter outlines the demands and impacts of this view on the research methodology. Within the wide range of the use of qualitative research methods (Marshall and Rossman 1994), this section recognizes the need to specify the methodological procedures of this study. Marshall and Rossman argue how researchers who have the ambition to conduct qualitative research face at least three challenges: 1) to develop a conceptual framework for the study that is thorough, concise, and elegant; 2) to plan a design that is systematic and manageable; and 3) to integrate these into a coherent document that convinces the reader that the study should be done, and will be done (Marshall and Rossman 1994) (pp. 5-6). Within this study, the attempt is made first to build the argument on how the study is supposed to contribute to the theoretical frame, second to demonstrate a clear strategy to become able to identify the results, and third to, through the choice of research methodology, illustrate the energy and potentials of the data set.

There are many textbooks on qualitative methods and they describe qualitative methods in a variety of ways (Andersen, Borum et al.; Janesick; Silverman 1973; Denzin 1978; Morgan and Smircich 1980; Ellen 1984; Kirk and Miller 1986; Adler and Adler 1994; Marshall and Rossman 1994; Yin 1994; Kvale 1996; Kvale 1996; Berg 1998; Geswell 1998; Lee 1999; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Hammersley and Atkinson 2000). Ragin argues how this variety of views follows from the emphasis on in-depth investigation and the fact that there are many different ways to achieve in-depth knowledge (Ragin 1994). Qualitative research methods are often identified with participant observation, in-depth interviewing, fieldwork, and ethnographic studies.

These methods are useful to uncover the meaning and significance of social phenomena for people in specific settings. As such, some of these techniques are also applied in this study of the interplay between human agents and new technology.

5.1 A Case Study

This study of institutional change processes is based on a case study conducted at Financial Times in London. This choice manifests my research interests which are empirically explorative and theoretically inductive rather than theoretically deductive and testing. Analytical induction means very different things to different researchers. Ragin mentions how it originally had a very strict meaning and was identified with a search for "universals" in social life (Ragin 1994). According to Ragin, the universal and simple minded use of the method of analytical induction today refers to "… *any systematic examination of similarities that seeks to develop concepts or ideas.*" (Ragin 1994) (p. 93). That is, the definition of the principle of induction is to view it as a research strategy that directs investigators to pay close attention to evidence that challenges or disconfirms the images universals develop.

As such, this study has been carried out within one single organization and focuses on change processes intertwined in this specific organization's context and work practices. The study can be characterized as a process oriented study with a high degree of context dependency and with a strong focus of actor's actions and their meaning. As outlined earlier, the scientific goal of conducting a case study has been to develop an understanding of technology as an *exogenous* variable of change that become *endogenized* by the actions of human actors which goes beyond the surface of this particular study (Van de Ven and Poole 2002). The narrative of the dissertation provides for the whole story of the observed change processes at Financial Times. The

methodological approach of collecting, interpreting, and analyzing data belongs to the qualitative research tradition.

To become able to examine change processes in practice, I made contact with Financial Times in London during a stay at Oxford University, where I was conducting theoretical studies at Säid Business School from January 2002 to August 2002. I was permitted access to conduct interviews at Financial Times for a period of five months, between March 2002 and June 2002. And I was provided with a clearance to conduct ethnographic studies within the editorial newsroom, between the 17th of June and the 24th of June 2002. The research strategy was to make the attempt to explain the development of change in local work practices to become able to, in the end, contribute with an understanding of institutional change processes within the theoretical framework of neo-institutional theory. The product is thus a conceptual framework of the change process which aims to provide new insight to the practice and understanding of institutional change processes. Financial Times was chosen as a research partner as they are considered among the 'best in businesses' and very much among the most progressive users of the Internet technology as part of expanding their business repertoire. I was given the opportunity to follow a very vivid and dynamic editorial environment where the integration of new technology was given substantial room. My aim was to study a contemporary real-world phenomenon, where the border between the phenomenon and its context was difficult to distinguish. The idea was to become able to explore the phenomenon from multiple sources and angles (Andersen 1997).

At the outset of the fieldwork I expected to follow a well-defined and strategically recognized project and its implications on the overall organizational setting. In other words, a top-down driven project and the direct implications of introducing the Internet technology to traditional newspaper production in the business press.

However, both progression in the fieldwork and the parallel theoretical study pushed for a different focus of research. Despite well-defined production patterns and a distinct infrastructure, the nature and structure of modern newspaper production is far from straightforward and simple and bottom-up processes and ad hoc decisions characterize the main production effort. Bearing the nature of the field in mind and with the variety of neo-institutional arguments on how institutions come about and its models for change in one hand and the debate among sociologists on the notion of 'the independent influence' of technology in the other, the scene was set for a much more complex object of analysis at the micro level of the organization. As such, the word '*project*' was soon replaced by '*process*' in my working memos.

5.2 Data Collection

The core of the data set gathered at Financial Times consists of ethnographic observations and interviews. The two short stories as presented in the narrative of this thesis are told primarily on the basis of both the ethnographic observations made in the editorial newsroom at Financial Times and on the interviews conducted among selected members of staff.

In selecting different sources for data collection, I have kept the concept of triangulation in mind. In line with Huberman and Miles (Huberman and Miles 1994), I regard triangulation as less a tactic than a mode of inquiry which demands that the researcher collect and double-check findings self-consciously using multiple sources and modes of evidence. The ethnographic observations and the interviews are considered the primary data sources. I have chosen to use the term data collection when referring to the discipline of conducting an interview; although I appreciate that I as the researcher have taken part in the construction of the interview as conversations. In Kvale's words:

> The interview is an inter-subjective enterprise of two persons talking about common themes of interest. The interviewer does not merely collect statements like gathering small stones on a beach. His or her questions lead up to what aspects of a topic the subject will address, and the interviewer's active listening and following up on the answers co-determines the course of the conversation.
> (Kvale 1996) (p. 125)

As such, the process of generating knowledge occurs in the interaction between the researcher and the researched during participant observation and interviews and between the data documents gathered and the analyzing researcher. Construction is an essential part of the research, both in the phase of collecting data and in the following interpretation of the data. This role of constructing and interpreting data has often been criticized by proponents of quantitative methods as being a contamination of the 'true data'. From an interpretive perspective the interactive construction of knowledge is inevitable, as the argument is that there is no such thing as true data to be discovered and reported objectively. According to the interpretive perspective, it is not possible to isolate the understandings of the interviewee from the interviewer, and it is equally impossible to present this understanding without filtering it through the lenses of the interviewer him- or herself.

The change processes of the institutional setting of the business press are studied from the perspective of human actors and their actions. They have been the primary informants in the field study. I have observed their mutual interactions and their interaction with technology. And I have talked to them informally and interviewed them. Occasionally, I talked to and also interviewed former and current members of the editorial management, but my primary groups of informants were those actors who constructed meaning out of their interactions with technology. As such, the observation of organizational work practices and editorial dynamics set the primary basis for the depiction of institutional work practices and their change. Searching for the construction of new work practices within the interplay between actors and

technology, I looked for "accounts" of the existence of institutionalized structures and observed the degree of a possible change patterns. I asked interviewees to account for practices and looked for spontaneous references of actors in relation to what they were doing and the meaning of their actions. Thus I relied both on "thick" descriptions of work practice (Geertz 1973), observations, and on individual accounts.

5.2.1 Ethnographic Observations

My objectives in spending time at Financial Times as an organization were a) to get to know the organization, b) to identify key members of the staff to interview, c) to become able to pinpoint which work practices to observe, and d) to experience how actors interacted with technology in general. In qualitative studies when one wants to understand complex situations or phenomena evolving over time, ethnographic observations are central to gain a full understanding by sharing the context and experiencing the actions at first hand rather than being told about them at second hand, as is the case with conducting interviews. By conducting ethnographic observations at Financial Times, I gained a familiarity with the organization that enabled me to further question specific events or actions which I would not have been able to identify had I not been allowed to experience them at first hand. In line with my previously stated epistemological and ontological standing, I did not expect to study the social context as facts just waiting for me to be observed and studied. Entering the field I very much had in mind an argument put forward by Schwandt, much in line with the argument of Geertz that: "*The task of ethnography is not observation and description, but the inscription or thick description of these meanings of human action.*" (Schwandt 2000) (p. 198). At Financial Times I was provided with full access to the editorial newsroom, with a desk at the main news desk of ft.com. I was invited to attend most editorial meetings, but conducted my observations primarily from the general conversations in the newsroom and during specific work

practices in which I was invited to sit in. All observations were recorded in a field diary. The field diary ended up containing a variety of data from the observations of conversations and actions of actors to my own preliminary interpretations of the observations (Maanen 1988).

5.2.2 Interviews

The interview is counted among the most preferred disciplines of the qualitative research method (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). The interview is based on conversations of every day life and takes the form of a professional conversation. Interviewing is neither an objective nor a subjective method. According to Kvale (Kvale 1996) the interview's essence is the inter-subjective interaction. It is through interaction between the participants of the interview that new knowledge is created. As a method of understanding, the interview produces situated understandings grounded in specific episodes of interaction (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Interviews can take many forms, e.g. individual face-to-face interviews, group interviews, and even surveys are treated as a form of interviewing. Another dimension to interviewing is the different levels of structure which characterize the interview. Fontana & Frey divide the discipline of interviewing into three categories: a) structured interviews, b) semi-structured interviews, and c) unstructured interviews (Fontana and Frey 1994) (pp. 649-656). Let me briefly unfold the characteristics of the three to position my own method of conducting interviews at Financial Times.

The Structured Interview

The structured interview is, according to Fontana & Frey, characterized by very little flexibility in the way the questions are asked or answered. The interviewer typically asks a series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response options. All respondents receive the same set of questions, asked in the same order or sequence, by

an interviewer who has been trained to treat every interview situation in a like manner. This type of interview is often used in survey research where the aim is to capture "… *precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behavior within pre-established categories* ...." (Fontana and Frey 1994) (p. 363)

The Unstructured Interview

The unstructured interview is, according to Fontana & Frey, placed at the other side of the scale as it is quite the opposite of the structured interview. According to Fontana & Frey, the unstructured interview is performed in an informal setting and takes the form of a conversation where the interviewer and the respondent both ask and answer questions. Typically, the interviewer has prepared some general topics which he or she wants to inquire about, but the interviewer uses open-ended questions and is willing to deviate from the topics to follow the respondent's line of thought. Fontana & Frey argues how the aim of the unstructured interview is "... *an attempt to understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry* ...." (Fontana and Frey 1994) (p. 366)

The Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-structured interview is a compromise between the structured and the unstructured interview. It is characterized by taking place in a more formal setting while still in the field. The role of the interviewer is according to Fontana & Frey somewhat distant (Fontana and Frey 1994). Kvale provides the following description of the semi-structured interview, which goes hand in hand with the description given by Fontana & Frey:

> It has a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. Yet at the same time there is openness to changes of sequences and forms in order to follow up the answers given and the stories told by the subject ….
> (Kvale 1996) (p. 124)

At Financial Times, in the study of change processes, I primarily conducted semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The largest numbers of interviews were unstructured and open ended and took the shape of conversations and even discussions of the processes happening. The focus and aim of each interview was to make the respondent provide me with rich information on the person's own experience with new technology. That is, how they *perceived* new technology, how they *understood* the role of new technology, how they *interacted* with new technology, and how they *recollected* the events they found important in the interaction with new technology. The purpose of this interview strategy was to collect individual stories of the transformation processes to be able to construct as rich a picture of the events as possible, and to prevent that anything of importance was left out as a result of too much formal structure to the interview.

Most of the unstructured and semi-structured interviews or conversations were recorded. And if not, they were summarized immediately after they took place. The information gathered through many of these informal interviews has been used as background information to be able to understand the organizational story, the set-up, the interests of actors etc. I was provided with limited access to the usual sources of background information on Financial Times as a company. Organizational charts and formal descriptions of strategic decisions were counted among the types of information, which I was not given access to. The result was that I had to conduct a whole series of interviews or conversations to get a hold of this type of information. It forced me to gain the information at first hand and not from reading documents and provided me with a rich idea of individual perceptions of new technology and its use in work practice.

5.3 Data Presentation

I have made the choice to present my data as a narrative. The narrative has been composed on the basis of ethnographic observations and on information gathered through the conduction of interviews. I have made the attempt to convey my experience in the field in the style of the narrative to provide the reader of this dissertation with as rich a picture as possible of the experiences and discoveries within the field. It is, however, a difficult task to convey the complex and rich content of the field work itself. Any written text will be a simplification of the field work based on the experiences from the field. It should therefore be mentioned that the text is independent of the actual field work itself.

It is not difficult to come across papers and publications which provide attention to the choice of methodology for data collection and data analysis, but the task of 'writing up' ethnography can be difficult to come across (Maanen 1979; Maanen 1988). Field workers have to construct the texts from which they draw their conclusions. Ethnographies therefore become a product of the field work and the culture under study. Maanen describes the task and necessity of writing up a narrative in the following words:

> Culture is expressed only by the actions and words of its members and must be interpreted by, not given to, a fieldworker …. Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation…. The fieldworker must display culture in a narrative, a written report of the fieldwork experience in self-consciously selected words. Ethnography as a written product, then, has a degree of independence (how culture is portrayed) from the fieldwork on which it is based (how culture is known).
> (Maanen 1988) (p. 3)

According to Maanen, it is the decision of the field worker which story is told. This decision is carried out before constructing the story as a representation of the culture

under study. The important question then becomes *how social reality is presented* and not how it is known (Maanen 1988). Different styles of narratives are used in different disciplines. Maanen presents three main categories of narratives; the realist tale, the confessional tale, and the impressionist tale. These can characterize either an entire narrative or parts of a narrative. Let me briefly clarify the characteristics of each of the three before I present my own choice of style.

5.3.1 Realist Tales

In the realist tale, the members of the culture under study are the centre of the text. The text focuses on what they do, say, and think. The author is almost completely absent and the structure of the text is following the topics and problems considered relevant for the field worker's interests. The tone is dry, flat, and focuses on the actual account and nothing else (Maanen 1988) (p. 48). The realist tale makes use of concrete references while being focused on producing the native's point of view. The main concern of the realist tale is how to best render the thoughts, theories, and worldviews of the members. The question is how member's perspective should be conveyed. In this sense, an observation "… *has given way to interpretation* …." (Maanen 1988) (p. 51). As such, the realist tale present one reading and emphasizes the facts which can support that reading. It does not report on error, pleasure, distaste or puzzlement of the field worker or any degree of self-reflection. It is not a multivocal type of text where event are given meaning in different ways.

5.3.2 Confessional Tales

In contrast to the realist tale, the confessional tale is an ethnographic style of writing, which is personalized to a high degree. The author of a confessional tale often attempts to demystify the fieldwork through focusing on actual practice in the field

and the factors which surrounds it. Van Maanen mentions how the confessional tale is often used in conjunction with the realist tale. The confessional tales are implications of interpretative procedures and much of confessional work is performed to convince the reader of the human qualities of the field worker. The character and habits of the field worker are presented. In addition, the confessional tales tend to stress the extent to which fieldwork is a matter of luck and *being in the right place at the right time* as it is a matter of talent or skill on behalf of the field worker. The confessional tale often describes the unplanned and random elements of conducting fieldwork in a dramatic style of writing. The confessional work rests on the stand that the social world should not be viewed as representing neutral and objective facts, waiting to be observed. Social facts are human constructions. The confessional tale stresses the extent to which fieldwork is an interpretive act which begins with, in the words of Van Maanen: "… *the explicit examination of one's own preconceptions, biases, and motives, moving forward in a dialectic fashion toward understanding by way of a continuous dialogue between the interpreter and the interpreted.*" (Maanen 1988) (p. 93). As such, the confessional tale attempts to combine a partial description of the social with the experience of fieldwork in itself. According to Van Maanen, it has become almost institutionalized to make use of the confessional style when writing up ethnography. The realist tale is most often supplemented with confessional parts and the two genres often make up the core of the same ethnography.

5.3.3 Impressionist Tales

The impressionist tale differs from both the realist tale and the confessional tale as it focuses on what rarely happens in the field as opposed to what usually happens during observation. What characterizes the impressionist tale is drama. The dramatic elements of the situation in the field are stressed. As such, the impressionist tale is an artistic form rather than a scientific form. There is no obvious link between the field

diary and the narrative from the field. Van Maanen mentions how the authors of the impressionist tales attempt to demonstrate: " … *that they were anything but simple scribes, absorbent sponges, or academic ciphers in their research worlds* …." (Maanen 1988) (p. 104). The form is novelistic and the objective is to build up a story line and a plot characterized by drama. These characteristics make it difficult for readers to judge whether the story is true or false. Instead, Van Maanen stresses how the standards of the impressionist tale is more about *interest* (does it attract?), *coherence* (does it provide the reader with clear indicators of connection?), and *fidelity* (does it seems true?) (Maanen 1988) (p. 105). As it is the case with the confessional tale, the impressionist tale is often included as part of either the realist tale or the confessional tale.

5.4 The Development of the Analytical Strategy

In this section, I will present the analysis strategy of the research and the operations that I have used to analyze the change processes as identified at Financial Times. Some of the process of reaching a strategy for the analysis developed parallel to the actual data collection. As mentioned, in the early phases of ethnographic observation I realized that the change processes at Financial Times was very different from what I had expected. During the data collection phase, my observations and the actor's comments contributed to a preliminary categorization of the data (Isabella 1990). Despite of the fact that I was only permitted to conduct my ethnographic observations from the 17th to the 24th of June 2002, the collection of ethnographic observations developed along two stages. This development was most outspoken in relation to the conduction of interviews. The early stages of the research were characterized by a high degree of open endedness where I pursued a broad variety of topics and issues, whereas later stages closed in on emerging categories of practice and I sought to gain more information about specific issues to compare the emerging categories of practices with new empirical findings.

The analysis focuses on the construction of changes within work practice as interplay between the interrelated components – *actors*, *actions*, and *technology* within two work practices under study; *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of publishing*. The role of organizational actors and their interaction with technology in work practice is the object of analysis. Several institutional theorists have focused on the construction of institutional logics. Sewell is one out of many. His contribution is interesting as he takes a close look at the meaning of structure. His theory of structure is an examination of how structural changes occur, considering the relationship between structure and agency. Sewell established that structures are changeable and believes that agency and structure overlap. As such, structures provide abilities to agents. It is not alone the patterns of practices that construct structures but the principles that pattern these practices (Sewell 1992). He refers to the underlying principles as the institutional logics, being the collective means-ends designations that represent shared understanding of what goals to pursue and how to pursue them in practice (Scott 1987; Scott 1994). Scott explains the view further:

> [Institutional logics] define the ends and shape the means by which interests are determined and pursued. Institutional factors determine that actors in one setting, called firms, pursue profits; that actors in another setting, called agencies, seek larger budgets; that actors in a third setting, called political parties, seek votes; and that actors in an even stranger setting, research universities, pursue publications.
> (Scott 1994)

In this study, the suggestion is that to be able to study the construction of meaning, one need to open up the 'black box' of the institutional logics and principles and study the work practices. Institutional theorists such as Sewell, Scott, and Dobbin are right when they argue that institutional logics are causal relations that actors collectively take to be rational and objectively true, but the emphasis here is to come to understand

the extent to which institutional logics are influenced by local constructions of meaning (Dobbin 1994).

In a cross-cultural analysis of governmental policies, Dobbin proves how institutional logics vary across fields and the extent to which they are persistent to change over time. Dobbin relates the level of persistency to the fact that actors believe dominant institutional logics to be objective representations of reality. As put forward by Scott, they are the taken-for-granted causal beliefs that guide the behavior of actors in a field (Scott 1995). In this capacity, the construction of institutional logics is the object of analysis but from the point of view of the agent as they are assumed reconstructed in work practice in the interplay with technology. In other words, the overall assumption is that:

The construction of institutional logics is guided by the local construction of work practice.

5.4.1 The Analytical Challenge

Because the dataset is a collection of information about an organizational process with the objective to conceptualize the role of the Internet technology as an exogenous variable in change processes, both the data collection itself and the final analytical structure was challenged from the beginning. The data were collected in real-time to capture the true nature of work practices and not post-rationalizations. That is, the dataset is a collection of actor's real-time interaction with technology. The immediate finding in the field was that when conducting real-time interaction of actors with the Internet technology one becomes the observer of not one simple straightforward work practice, but one of a high level of complexity and intensity. Practices that used to be separated in time and place had become intertwined and combined differently. It was

not possible to observe only one work practice dependent on, for instance, one hour of news production. Instead one hour of news production was an illustration of a complex reality of the interplay of many work practices where not only one, but many processes were compressed in time and place. And it immediate became obvious that actor's interaction with technology had changed the traditional idea of the journalistic production circle. One slot of production time had become enriched with a complex range of practices and decision making and it was not necessary to observe a full day's editorial work to cover a full circle of production.

For the actors in the field this had become part of their everyday, but for me as the observer in the field it caused frustrations, and for the study it brought on a series of analytical challenges. For one, it had become impossible to separate and prepare the dataset for analysis according to fixed categories as the categories seemed to reveal themselves in not only one, but within many different observations. The aim had been to be able to conduct a sequential analysis of independent work practices ordered according to the time of the workday. This was no longer possible or fruitful. Instead, the analysis needed to be structured around a selection of leads as condensations of meaning constructions within not only one, but many work practices. That is, slots of ethnographic observations and parts of interviews are implemented in the analytical structure as paragraphs of thick descriptions of selected work practices, conducted within different time and place. These illustrate the extent of disciplines compressed within one work practice and reveal what is to come in the analysis. That is, there is no strong divorce between description and analysis. Figure 1 is an attempt to capture the experienced frustration in the field, where the expectation was to be able to observe fixed sequences of work practices. This was replaced with the experience of a much more complex reality.

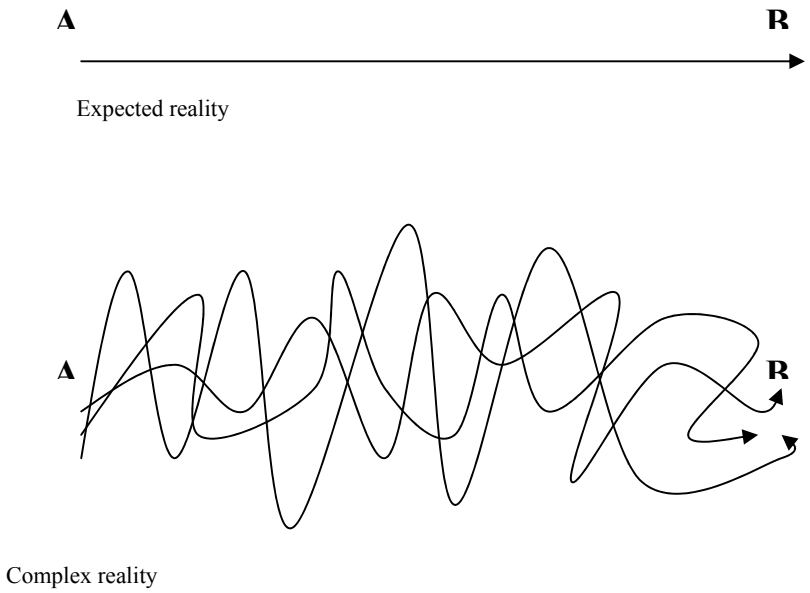


Figure 1
The expected reality of the field in relation to the experienced reality of the field

This study acknowledges the complexity of the field by applying a holistic approach which recognizes what Langley refers to as "… *general but banal insight that organizational processes involve opposing forces, non-linear relationships, and feedback loops*". (Langley 1999) (p. 694).

6 THE IDENTIFICATION OF WORK PRACTICES UNDER CHANGE

Observations from the field and the writing up of the narrative has made it possible to identify changes within three traditional work practices of newspaper production; 1) *the work practice of news gathering*, 2) *the work practice of news writing* and 3) *the work practice of publishing news*. These traditional work practices of newspaper production have been observed reduced from three to two work practices at ft.com; 1) *the work practice of surveillance* and 2) *the work practice of publishing news*. The observations from the field reveal not only the structural change where three distinct practices are narrowed down to become two, but internal changes to the nature of the work practices as well.

A central observation related to the nature of changes of work practices is the identification of the change of newsrooms actors. Traditionally, journalists occupied the main processes of producing news. In the integrated editorial newsroom of Financial Times, a new type of actor has been introduced; the Web Page Publisher. This chapter has the threefold nature to; 1) define the Web Page Publisher as the primary actor under study, 2) describe the traditional work practices *sui generis,* and 3) describe the observed change patterns to the traditional work practices. The changes within the three traditional work practices belonging to newspaper production are later identified in the analysis as outcomes of the adoption and interaction with technology at ft.com.

6.1 The Web Page Publisher

With the establishment of ft.com at Financial Times, the traditional team of editorial newspaper staff was expanded with the group of Web Page Publishers (WPP). The WPP function was invented in 1998 to maintain and secure the publishing flow of the news desks of ft.com. When identifying the nature of the new work practice at ft.com, the activities of the WPPs are central. The Web Page Publisher is a function, which is not possible to compare to a likely function at the newspaper. It was invented at ft.com to hold all functions of the traditional newspaper structure within its definition. The group of WPP's makes up the primary staff of the various news desks of ft.com and the profile was to begin with a journalist with expanded technical skills with regard to web based technology. Today, the WPP function has expanded its status and not just any journalist expressing an interest in web-based technology can fill out the function.

The competence of the WPP's is a condensation of traditional journalistic competences. As such, the WPP commissions, coordinates, edits, plan, write, sub-edits, works with graphics, coordinates link structures, publishes, and updates news material for ft.com. That is, the WPP is someone who at the same time, makes decisions about news material, produces it, and publishes it. The core competence of the WPP is a condensation of competences which was earlier distributed among different groups of journalists and technical staff. The recognition is that the impetus of change of work practices is to be traced within the activities of the WPP's.

6.2 The Old Work Practice of News Gathering

In his 1996 primer on the press (Hodgson 1996), Hodgson identifies *the work practice of news gathering*:

> A newspaper looks to its staff reporters for its main news content and to sources such as local correspondents, or stringers, who are, in effect, part-time contributors; freelance writers …., and news agencies which provides a continuous supply of national, provincial and foreign news.
> (Hodgson 1996) (p. 13)

The work practice of news gathering is traditionally a central first one to the process of constructing news stories. As such, it consists of a range of different activities and sources to be considered well performed. The work practice of news gathering traditionally consists of at least five classic but different sources of information; the *news agencies*, *freelancers*, *correspondents*, *press hand-outs*, and *official reports.* Besides from these sources, some news stories are known beforehand. These are known as *diary jobs*. Diary jobs are known news such as political speeches, election results, ceremonies or follow ups to known news situations. *Tip-offs* are yet another news source where the public or correspondents alert the news desk to the newsworthiness of a specific situation. In addition, a segment of news is the *unexpected* stories. This is based on information such as government changes, industrial trouble, accidents, abductions, death etc. It might be possible to expand the list with at least one or two sources of information more. But the main point is that *the work practice of news gathering*, as traditionally carried out by journalists, consists of a range of different but specific sources and activities.

The construction of the traditional work practice of gathering news has been to secure the best control over the amount and quality of the information and the likelihood of exclusiveness. That is, to be able to best assess a high level of 'news value' for the receiver. The practice is 'an investigation' on behalf of readers, listeners, and viewers performed by the journalist. It is an investigation into information 'out there' where the journalists makes use of professional competences about what information enters the actual construction of the news story. The work practice of news gathering is a first order sorting mechanism where one piece of information is 'picked up' by the

journalist and another ‘left out’ before the specific piece of information is undergoing further research and checked for facts. Each of the listed activities making up the work practice is equally sharing the time spent by the journalist. That is, traditionally, the investigation into what information should be ‘picked up’ and what should be ‘left out’ is equally dependent on, for instance, the activity of communicating with correspondents and freelancers, reading reports and diaries, and relying on information coming in from news agencies. *The work practice of news gathering* is an activity where the newspaper and its staff is identifying, collecting, and selecting news material that are generated as the result of a dynamic between the various activities mentioned. The close relation between the activities provides and secures a continuous supply of news.

6.3 From ‘News Gathering’ to ‘News Surveillance’

The conscious choice of terminology ‘gathering’ vs. ‘surveillance’ is motivated by the observed change patterns within *the work practice of news gathering* at Financial Times. The practice of actively gathering news drawing on various sources is substituted by a technology driven push of information into the editorial newsroom, which ends up restructuring the work practice according to two variables; *time* spent and *sources* in play. Not only are the traditional components of news gathering comprised to make up a lesser part of the work practice, in addition, the role of online news agencies makes up a higher percentage of the practice. None of the traditional activities within *the work practice of news gathering* have disappeared but the balance between them has changed.

The definition of traditional news gathering has changed at ft.com. The online delivered bulk of news from the news agencies to the newsroom is heavy and since news are pushed into the newsroom in real-time around the clock from around the

world, and across time zones, the newsroom is forced to pay much more attention to online delivered news than to, for instance, analogue press-hand-outs and communication with freelancers and correspondents. The existence of online news agencies pushes the traditional set of activities into the background and the original balance is disturbed. The journalists managing *the work practice of surveillance* at ft.com are constructing new ideas and criteria underlying what traditionally used to be 'an investigation' of information.

The work practice of surveillance has generated the need of more coordination and evaluation in the editorial newsroom. Hence, the editorial team of the ft.com main news desk has established additional two news conferences (the 07.30am and the 16.30pm) to the traditional two at the newspaper and copied the 11.00am conference structure at the main news desk of the newspaper (The Narrative from the Field, section 2.1). Two coordination meetings at ft.com have been constructed (the 11.30am and the 14.30am) as exclusively ft.com coordination with no parallel at the newspaper (The Narrative from the Field, section 2.1):

- the 07.30am, the 11.00am, and the 16.30pm news conferences at ft.com
- the 11.30am and the 14.30pm coordination meetings at ft.com

(See table 1 in section 2.1 of the appendix (the narrative) for an overview)

The 07.30am, the 11.00am and the 16.30pm News Conferences at Ft.com

At 07.30am: The London news desk of ft.com opens up at 07.00am. The London news desk takes over from the New York news desk. At the 07.30am news conference, the editorial team of ft.com shares what has been published by the New York desk during the night, what has been picked up at the wires, and what material might have the potential to become important FT news stories of the day. Each news desk of ft.com (the main, the world news, the home news, the market, the finance, the

TMT, and the Consumer and Manufacture news desks) (The Narrative from the Field) has performed surveillance of ft.com and the news wires and shares this information with the other desks and with the Deputy Editor of ft.com. The material is evaluated and then coordinated and distributed between the news desk and the production flow has begun.

At 11.00am: The motivation to match the 11.00am news conference at the main news desk of the newspaper is to follow up on what has been decided at the 1st news conference at 10.30am. The Deputy Editor and one representative of each news desk are present. Each news desk of ft.com is reporting and evaluating to the Deputy Editor, who coordinates this information with the consensus reached at the 1st news conference between ft.com and the newspaper.

At the 16.30pm: New York desk participates over the phone. On the background of surveillance of ft.com and the news wires, the London and New York desks share content. The New York desk takes over from 22.00pm, London time and is here updated on what have been the central news stories and what is thought to become central.

The 11.30am and the 14.30pm Coordination Meetings at Ft.com

At 11.30am: On the basis of surveillance of ft.com, at 11.30am, the editor addresses the news desks to discuss editorial matters with the team. The editor suggests changes to specific stories and contributes with a general critique of the material published during the morning.

At the 14.30pm: The motivation for meeting is coordination. Coordination is important at this hour and the occasion is the midday team shift. The meeting is called over email. Among several issues to do with *the work practice of publishing*, it is

discussed how to elaborate on new material. The meeting serves the purpose of maintaining control of the massive amount of both planned and unplanned material.

The ethnographic observations and the narrative from the field (appendix) make it possible to define the characteristics of *the work practice of surveillance* in relation to the following set of activities.

The activity of:

A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed
B) Surveillance of stock portfolios
C) Surveillance of online news agencies
D) Surveillance of stock markets
E) Surveillance of online competitors

Surveillance of ft.com and the FT-printed (A)
At the 1st news conference held by FT-printed at 10.30am, ft.com contributes with a summary of the night and morning's production at ft.com and a report on the top 10 most read stories. The top 10 list is generated during the night and is considered at the newspaper conference as a new editorial tool. The report answers the question; what has been of interest to the readership during the night? It distinguishes between what has been the top 10 most read corporate stories, market stories, world stories and so forth. In addition to the surveillance of ft.com own news production, part of the morning routine of the WPP at a given ft.com news desk is to monitor 'today's FT newspaper'. This is an activity in which the WPP identifies formulations such as: "today this or that will take place at …" or "today him or her will state this or that at …". The WPP then spends time to plan what should be published, when and how, from reading FT-printed and from performing surveillance of the online news agencies.

The Deputy Editor of ft.com is responsible for checking the balance between ft.com and FT-printed. Each morning he goes through ft.com to make sure what has been promised in the promotion boxes and web references in FT-printed has been carried out at ft.com. Accordingly, the Deputy Editor goes through the main homepages of ft.com to evaluate the material. He constantly emails WPP's to make corrections and update matters. During the late hours of the production of FT-printed, many editorial changes are decided on. The Deputy Editor is reading the 'hand over notes' and goes through the phases of changes. During the late hours of the production of FT-printed the main news desk of ft.com follows the development of the WHATPAGE. The demand on ft.com is to secure an editorial balance between the newspaper and ft.com.

Surveillance of Stock Portfolios (B)

The Deputy Editor of ft.com is responsible for generating information on traffic and on how much traffic can be counted for as subscription based traffic. The idea is to obtain knowledge about how many FT subscribers are making use of ft.com – when and how. The traffic report is supposed to reveal what the primary interests of subscribers are. At the market desk of ft.com, the editor of FT Investor monitors the traffic numbers twice a day. A monitoring tool informs the desk about 1) how many readers hold a stock portfolio and 2) what the portfolio consists of? The market desk of ft.com monitors and collects this type of information to meet both personal and professional readership demands. That is, to be able to publish information which adds value at a personal interest level as well as to the professional decision making process.

Surveillance of Online News Agencies (C)

The ft.com news team enters the editorial newsroom at 07.00am, London time. During the night, the New York desk has maintained and published to ft.com. The staff of FT-printed enters the editorial newsroom at 10.00am. At the 1st news conference at FT-

printed at 10.30am, attention is paid to the fact that ft.com has been running as a surveillance service from New York since the newspaper staff left the night before and during the morning. The level of editorial abstraction between ft.com and the FT-printed is different, but the editorial team of the FT-printed benefits from the amount of news material published during the night and morning. That is, the fact that, the production flow has been running from 07.00am at ft.com add to the amount of information accessed by FT-printed at 10.00am. Information has already been collected and identified by ft.com. At 10.00am it is possible for FT-printed to take already published information at ft.com to the next level which is to elaborate further on selected material and produce articles for FT-printed.

From 07.00am the morning routine at the market desk primarily consists of surveillance of the online news agencies followed by publishing, sub-editing, and republishing. The market desk delivers real-time news and makes use of various online news sources along with a close monitoring of the various stock markets during their opening hours. The news flow of the morning begins at the market desk, moves to the FT Investor site, then to the industry news desks of ft.com to end up reaching FT-printed. This makes the market desk of ft.com responsible for a heavy news feed between FT Investor, ft.com, and FT-printed.

Surveillance of Stock Markets (D)

The market desk of ft.com is responsible for running the FT Investor site. The site is UK based and follows the opening hours of the EU stock market. From 07.00am to 17.00pm the market desk monitors the EU market and performs a real-time coverage of the market. At 07.00am the market desk has already been publishing a high quantum of news as it has covered the results of the Asian stock market during the night, from the New York desk.

Surveillance of Online Competitors (E)

One the one hand, the news desks of ft.com feed off from Reuters and Bloomberg and on the other hand, they monitor the two as powerful competitors to their own level of news service. It is considered essential that neither Reuters not Bloomberg publishes important news material that ft.com did not. Accordingly, both Times online and the Telegraph online are monitored as part of the daily routine of the WPP's of ft.com.

6.4 The Old Work Practice of Writing News

Traditionally, *the work practice of writing news* is a withdrawn practice based on editorial and 'inner cabinet' consensus that the story should be produced and according to what sources the story should be written. An essential quality to the practice is that it is based on editorial planning and produced according to objective journalistic criteria. As such, the practice is often considered a time consuming practice and a practice characterized by thorough research. Facts are checked in reference books, archives, and newspaper cuttings files or by a telephone inquiry. These include the spelling of names and places, the style and titles of people, geographical information, business and literary backgrounds of people and information arising from references in previous news stories which are considered relevant (Hodgson 1996). In some editorial contexts, the journalists check the cuttings files in the newsroom library before leaving to cover a story and use reference books when filing the story. If the journalist cannot get back to the newsroom he or she can make a contact with a request for a particular fact to be checked by the subeditor. In seeking information, the journalist is expected to go to the people who are competent and qualified to give it. At the newspaper, *the work practice of writing news* is formalized at the daily twice-a-day news conferences held on morning and evening. At FT, the 1st news conference was held at 10.30am and the 2nd news conference was held at 17.00pm (see table 1 of appendix for an overview)

The 1st news conference is concerned with the news gathered during the morning and with features ideas. At FT the agenda of the 1st news conference was; briefing, evaluation, reporting, argumentation, and planning (Appendix - The Narrative from the Field). The agenda of the 2nd news conference was evaluation of the production of the day and a discussion of related matters as FT-printed was getting closer to a deadline (Appendix - The Narrative from the Field). In general, the 2nd conference is concerned with how the news production is taking form as the deadline is coming up. An important function of the two daily news conferences is that the executives are able to maintain control in detail about what is going on in the editorial newsroom. The morning news conference is where ideas are tested from *the work practice of news gathering* that have been conducted during the morning. The evening news conference is where journalists 'sell' to the editor the worth of the main news stories in writing and related pictures and where guidance is received on the choice of the page one story and headline.

6.5 The Old Work Practice of Publishing News

The work practice of publishing news is established and balanced at the evening news conference. The news material is delegated to the night editor and the main editing team, to layout, and type-setting teams. *The work practice of publishing news* involves staff who edits and projects news material. The term 'the back bench' is sometimes used to describe where the night editor sits, together with a deputy editor and a couple of assistants (Hodgson 1996). This is considered the control centre once the detailed editing and presentation begin. The night editor decides which stories are the most important and where they should be placed in the newspaper. The night editor is responsible for choosing the contents of page one, including leading stories and 'scoops' if it hasn't already been decided. Financial Times is a morning paper and the

night editor takes charge from about 4 p.m. The night editor and the deputy choose the main pictures to be used and draw rough designs for page one and the more important inside pages. The page plans are passed to the art desk or to a page editor who performs layouts and schemes in detail. In cooperation with the night editor, the page editor commissions graphics and sees to it that the finished copies of each layout are given to the back bench and the sub-editors. The detailed editing is carried out by the sub-editors of whom there might be up to twenty or more. The job of the sub-editors is to; check for facts, grammar and spelling, cut the text to fit a given space, reword the material to attain a required balance and length, check the story is legally safe, key in command instructions, provide captures for pictures, write the headline in the required type, and see to that the procedures are carried out so that the story is ready on time. As such, the day-to-day work and the daily practices at a newspaper is traditionally departmentalized under executives such as, for instance, news editors, feature editors, and picture editors and control over the work practices of producing and publishing are structured and formalized.

6.6 The New Work Practice of Publishing at Ft.com

Financial Times implemented the Internet into the editorial newsroom to increase the existing publishing strategy with an expansion of its presence – as an innocent wish to keep up with what happened in the field during the 90s. What happened next was that Financial Times were to experience not only an expansion at the external level of its current publishing strategy, but remarkable changes at the inner level as well.

According to the traditional circle of generating news, where *the work practice of news gathering* stops, *the work practices of news writing* and *publishing news* take over. That is, changes within *the work practice of news gathering* have observable consequences for changes within both *the work practice of news writing* and *the work*

practice of publishing news. The two last work practices became close to one and difficult to separate as two traditionally distinct work practices at ft.com. A central observation made in the editorial newsroom among the ft.com news desk is that the two traditional editorial processes are reconstructed as known elements are taken apart to be brought back together in new combinations. The WPPs are planning, writing, conducting research, checking facts, performing interviews, and coordinating news material with the deputy editor of ft.com in relation to publishing news. News for ft.com is still undergoing editing and sub-editing processes. The traditional components of writing and publishing are still present. However, the combination and the condensation of the activities have changed, to sit with not several journalists but within the jurisdiction of one WPP. As a result, it has become difficult to separate the activities from one another due to not only the condensation of competences of the WPPs but a condensation of the notion of production time.

The work practice of news gathering was exposed to a process of restructuring of this type. None of the traditional activities of the work practice were taken out but as a result of journalists interacting with new technology the traditional editorial tools were recombined in a new practice; *the practice of surveillance*. The same process of change is observed happening to the two work practices; *the work practice of writing news* and *the work practice of publishing news*. Both practices exist as identifiable practices at ft.com, but the relation between the two has been changed. And it has become difficult to identify when one stops and another begins. It is no longer possible to identify the one without it being interlocked with the other.

With reference to the ethnographic observations and the narrative from the field, *the work practice of publishing at ft.com* can be defined in relation to the following set of activities.

The activity of:

F) The 24-hour publishing flow
G) The real-time publishing flow
H) Condensed writing and publishing
I) The readership related publishing
J) The editorial coordination between ft.com and FT-printed

The 24 Hour Publishing Flow (F)

The ft.com main news desk opens at 07.00am, London time and takes over from the New York news desk, which has been maintaining ft.com since 22.00pm, the night before. The publishing flow at ft.com is 24 hour based.

The Real-Time Publishing Flow (G)

From 07.00am the market desk produces and updates news on the basis of activity at the EU stock market. The EU stock market closes at 17.00pm and this is also the time where the FT Investor site reaches a closure. That is the production of real-time EU stock market news does not occur after that hour. A 'New Centre' has been established at the FT Investor site. It is at the New Centre that real-time news gets published. The News Centre comprises types of real-time news such as; News Alerts, MarketPulse news, News Stories, and Regulatory news. News Alerts are published both as news headlines and short descriptions in real-time and as a news ticker, which constantly runs at the front page of the News Centre.

Online news agencies are monitored by the WPP and news is selected to be published real-time at FT Investor. From 07.00am the routine at the market desk is to monitor online news agencies and the news flow; writing News Alert headlines for the news ticker, sub-editing headlines, publishing headlines. The news flow is taking its start from online surveillance of the news agencies, moves on to the FT Investor site, then to the industry news desks of ft.com to reach the newspaper. From 08.00am the News

Alerts are reconsidered and elaborated on and developed from headline to story. The market desk continues to produce News Alerts during the day, but the massive amount of News Alerts and MarketPulse news is published during the morning.

The Condensed Writing and Publishing (H)

The WPP writes the news text in the Coyote system. As the final version is getting close, the WPP often changes the headline and deals with language issues in general. The text is then opened in the CC3 system (see appendix – The Narrative from the Field). The text is dressed up and ranked under the right section and industry sector. A content list is thought out. The content list is the editor's choice of link structure to follow the piece of news. The WPP searches the ft.com archive to find the suitable link combination. Sometimes the WPP considers other alternatives and creates an interactive chart to follow the text. The text is then published. The editorial process is often short, but observations from the field include incidents of a longer process as well:

> At the TMT desk a WPP is writing a news story. The story is based on information picked up at the online news service, News Edge. The WPP uses quotes from the News Edge text, which is the primary source to the story. The WPP consults the ft.com archive…. copies bits and pieces from an older story to cast light on facts within the story. The WPP continues to work in the Coyote system; writing and editing…. The story is closed…. The WPP consults the stock watch lists of News Edge, makes a few calculations …, and adds to the text. The WPP leaves the text and checks an incoming email…. The WPP is communicating with at reporter at the newspaper on a specific matter with regard to his piece…. The WPP returns to the story and adds changes…. Bloomberg.com[1] is monitored to make sure the version under construction adds more information to what has been published already at Bloomberg.com… The WPP reads through the story, adds the byline, copies the texts into word where he is offered a grammar and spelling check, and sends the story to a colleague, who sub-edits the story… The story is accessed in the CC3 system, and dressed up for final publication. This is left to consult a currency converter on the Internet. Corrections are made to the text. The WPP goes back to create the link structure … and ranks the story. The story is pre-published, re-read, and published…. The graphics didn't follow the story and the story is re-published. (Appendix - The Narrative from the Field)

[1] Bloomberg.com is counted among the main competitors of FT. Bloomberg.com assesses, reports, analyzes, and distributes financial news online.

Readership Related Publishing (I)

Both at the 1st and 2nd news conference, the Deputy Editor of ft.com provides the editorial team of the newspaper with 'the top 10 most read stories' list. It is the ambition that the top 10 most read stories are subscription based material. The list not only reveals what stories attract the most attention among readership, but what stories has made the most money during the day. The list is generated by ft.com and invited in at both news conferences at FT-printed as an editorial guideline to the planning (the 1st news conference) as well as the final settlement (the 2nd news conference) of how tomorrow's edition of FT-printed will turn out. Information on the behaviour of readership and access to the interests of readership sets off discussions at both the 1st and 2nd news conferences not only in relation to the discussion on the various news stories but also in relation to the inner dynamic between ft.com and the newspaper. In particular, at the 1st news conference editors argue why particular stories have been selected and in accurate terms and the story is 'sold' to the deputy editor who provides each editor with critique. The list of the top 10 most read stories at ft.com is a source of inspiration to this process of planning and arguing. The activity is about selecting information and ft.com provides knowledge about readership to be used in that process. Since ft.com often has been publishing part of a certain news story already, FT-printed and ft.com coordinate a publishing strategy for the day.

The Editorial Coordination between Ft.com and FT-printed (J)

At 11.00am a news conference is held at both the ft.com and FT-printed. The editorial teams are elaborating further on what has just been agreed on during the joint 1st news conference (10.30am). Three activities are identifiable at ft.com during this conference; evaluation, coordination, and planning. Coordination and planning is attempted across newspaper and ft.com. Much of what has been running on ft.com during the night and morning is considered by the newspaper. In particular, the planning of tomorrow's newspaper feeds into ft.com's morning production. The

morning production of ft.com is often an elaboration of today's edition of FT-printed. At the 1st news conference, the Deputy Editor of ft.com hands out a summary of the night and morning's ft.com production for the use of the editorial team of the newspaper. The overall publishing strategy is that all potentially major news material is shared by the two main news desk to secure that the newspaper does not loose track of what is going on and looses terrain in comparison to ft.com. If FT-printed can argue that a particular news story has qualities worth elaborate on in a printed article, the story goes to FT-printed. It is often the case, that ft.com, release part of the matter after 22.00pm to secure FT exclusiveness on the matter. Breaking news are published during the day at ft.com, but there is a difference between breaking news and 'scoops' – which is considered a news story where there is reason to believe no other newspaper has gained knowledge or where the specific angle to the story is considered unique. Timing is a key concept at the ft.com main news desk; timing of the daily flow and timing of the weekly scheduled material. For much the same reason, the team structure of ft.com varies from the team structure of FT-printed. With the introduction of a 07.00am – 15.00pm midday shift in contrast to the 10.00am shift at the newspaper, ft.com's contributes to the speed of publishing, of which FT-printed benefits.

The sum of t*he work practice of surveillance:*

A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed
B) Surveillance of stock portfolios
C) Surveillance of online news agencies
D) Surveillance of stock markets
E) Surveillance of online competitors

The sum of t*he work practice of publishing:*

F) The 24-hour publishing flow
G) The real-time publishing flow
H) Condensed writing and publishing

I) The readership related publishing
J) The editorial coordination between ft.com and FT-printed

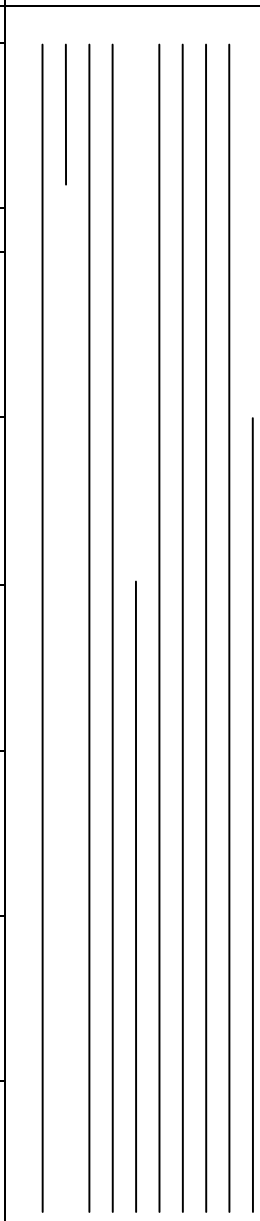
Time	Activities	News Conferences and Coordination Meetings		
	A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I,J,	**Ft.com**	**FT-printed & Ft.com**	**FT-printed**
07.00		Ft.com staffed		
		07.30am News Conf. **Input**: A,C,D,F G,H,I **Output**: G, I		
10.00				Ft-printed staffed
			10.30am 1st News Conf. **Input**: A,B,C,D,F, G,I **Output**: I, J,	
		11.00am News Conf. **Input**: B,C,D,F,G, I,J **Output**: I,J,		11.00am News Conf. **Input**: B,C,D,F,G,I,J **Output**: I,J,
		11.30am Coordination **Input**: A,C,D,F,G,H,I,J, **Output**: H,I,J,		
		14.30pm Coordination **Input**: A,C,D,F,G,H,I,J, **Output**: H,I,J,		
		16.30pm News Conf. **Input**: A,C,D,E,F,G,H,I,J, **Output**: H,I,J,		
			17.00pm 2nd News Conf. **Input**: A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I,J, **Output**: H,I,J,	
22.00pm	New York takes over control and maintains ft.com during the night			

Table 1
The editorial interdependence of the activities constituting the two work practices of surveillance and publishing at ft.com.

7 ANALYSIS

The analysis focuses on the identified changes within the two work practices; *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of publishing* and *how* they evolve. Foremost, the focus is on change, and what it looks like when human agents interact with new technology.

The analysis has led to the identification of two archetypes of change processes labeled; 1) *the discovery process* and 2) *the unsettled situation*. The two archetypes of change processes describe the analytical results. They play the role of facilitators to understand the characteristics of the findings within the analysis.

Archetype 1 - *The Discovery Process*
The discovery process is characterized by being a process of change which causes an indirect challenge to the institution. Human agents involved in the discovery process are future oriented in their actions and do not navigate according to a traditional rationale. Rather, they navigate almost exclusively within the mindset of the technology at hand. Thus, where the discovery process is in play, a momentum of change is identifiable and unfolding itself which does not involve a direct conflict between the old and new rationale of action.

Archetype 2 - *The Unsettled Situation*
In contrast to the discovery process, the unsettled situation is one in which there is an obvious and direct struggle between the old and new rationale of action. This struggle is constant as the introduction of a new work practice referring to a future oriented goal is identified. The old rationale is the taken-for-granted pattern of thought which guides action whereas the new rationale belongs to a current technological opportunity. The struggle between the two is over which will dominate and set the

future course of action and practice. Thus, the unsettled situation is one in which a new practice is negotiated between human agents and the negotiation is articulated as a conflict and a competition between the past and the future, between the taken-for-granted practice and the technological challenge to that practice.

By sketching the change processes in the light of more general models of development, it is the aim to become able to make a more precise characterization of the status of technology in the hands of human agents to institutional change. The two archetypes identified is the point of departure to be able to consider the role of new technology in the change processes of the two work practices and of the institution.

The *model of human agency* is applied in the analysis. It reconceptualizes human agency as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past, oriented toward the future and the present. That is, in accordance with the presentation of the model in chapter 4, the multidimensional definition of agency displayed in the model is used to structure the context of actions in the analysis within *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of publishing* as an orientation within the three constitutive elements of human agency as illustrated in figure 1:

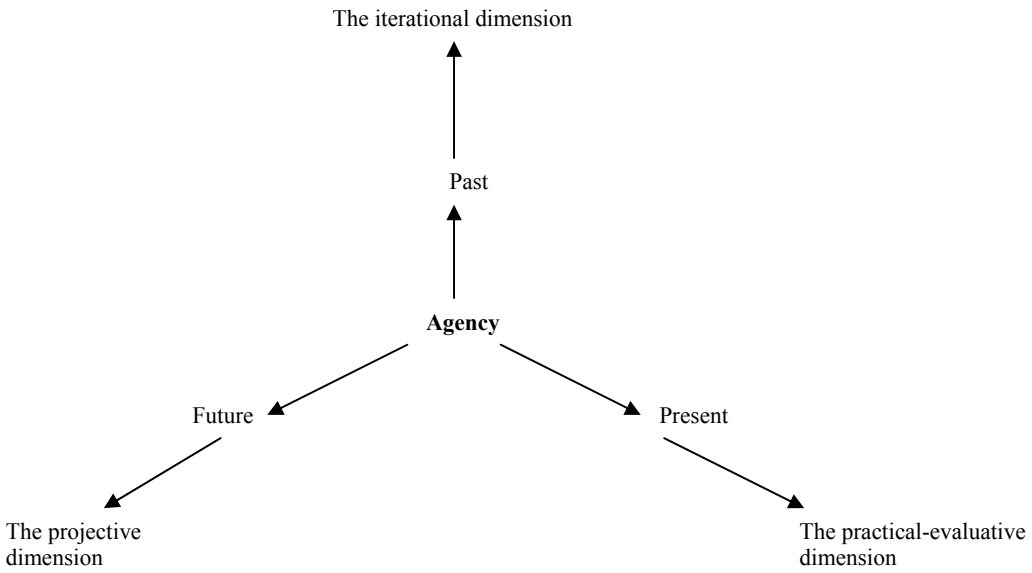


Figure 1
The *model of human agency* displaying the three constitutive elements of human agency

7.1 The Structure of the Analysis

The structure of the analysis is twofold. The analysis is structured along the two practices and the subsequent set of activities as identified in chapter 6. Each of the two practices; *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of publishing* is analyzed separately and according to a selected set of the identified activities belonging to each of the two practices.

The Work Practice of Surveillance
As identified in chapter 6, the set of activities belonging to *the work practice of surveillance* are the following:

A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed
B) Surveillance of stock portfolios

C) Surveillance of online news agencies
D) Surveillance of stock markets
E) Surveillance of online competitors

In the first part of the analysis, the activities of A) surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed, B) surveillance of stock portfolios, and C) surveillance of online news agencies are selected for the analysis. The reason for conducting an analysis where the activities of D and E are not included is motivated by the fact that the core of the analytical argument is thought to overlap between C, D, and E. Despite the fact that the activities of D and E have been identified as independent activities of *the work practice of surveillance* the activities are not considered to hold any substantial new information which does not come out of the analysis of C.

The Work Practice of Publishing

As identified in chapter 6, the set of activities belonging to *the work practice of publishing* are the following:

F) The 24-hour publishing flow
G) The real-time publishing flow
H) Condensed writing and publishing
I) The readership related publishing
J) The editorial coordination between ft.com and FT-printed

The activity of H) condensed writing and publishing is the object under analysis of the second part of the analysis. The reason for leaving out the activities of F, G, I, and J is motivated by the fact that the core of the analytical argument is, like it is the case in the first part of the analysis (7.2), thought to overlap with H.

Due to the close interrelatedness between both the practical and the analytical content of the activity of C) surveillance of online news agencies – belonging to *the work practice of surveillance* and H) condensed writing and publishing – belonging to *the*

work practice of publishing, the two are brought together in the analysis. In other words, the analysis of C is integrated with the analysis of H and conducted in section 7.3 of the analysis, *the work practice of publishing*.

7.2 The Work Practice of Surveillance

A) *Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed*

The activity **A**) *surveillance at ft.com and FT-printed* is analyzed along three sub-activities; A1) *surveillance of performance*, A2) *surveillance of readership preferences*, and A3) *surveillance of FT-printed*. The structure of the analysis of **A** is illustrated in the navigation box below.

A1) *Surveillance of Performance*

The work practice of surveillance

A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed
A1) Surveillance of performance
A2) Surveillance of readership
A3) Surveillance of FT-printed
B) Surveillance of stock portfolios
C) Surveillance of online news agencies
D) Surveillance of stock markets
E) Surveillance of online competitors

Navigation box of the analysis of *the work practice of surveillance*

The activity of surveillance of ft.com's performance was identified in chapter 6 as a constituent of *the work practice of surveillance*. As mentioned, the measurement of circulation and sale of a newspaper is traditionally the responsibility of the circulation department and not a natural part of *the work practice of gathering news*, but at ft.com, the activity entered the editorial newsroom together with the launching of

ft.com. As the field observations show, the editorial team of ft.com is held responsible for performing the activity by the editor of ft.com. The initial motivation to engage in an activity traditionally located in the circulation department was the immediate opportunity to generate traffic reports offered FT by the user interface of ft.com.

Since the implementation of online publication and the introduction of the subsequent interfaces and work tools, ft.com has been able to monitor its performance along three lines; number of users, user preferences, and user behavior[2]. This analysis of A1) *surveillance of performance* takes all three lines and their development into consideration.

The field observation below shows how the editorial team of ft.com is discussing the extent of the activity of conducting surveillance of performance with the editor of ft.com. The observational context is the 11.30am coordination meeting at the main news desk of ft.com. It is an example of an activity belonging to *the work practice of surveillance* as the discussion is growing out of the fact that ft.com monitors its performance through traffic reports. It functions as the analytical point of departure as it displays how the editor of ft.com modifies the use of technology to explore and experience its potentials as a surveillance tool.

> … the editor is not satisfied with the traffic reports she gets on ft.com. She wants more and better information and she wants it coming frequently. The deputy editor is asked to provide her with at weekly ft.com report, not only on ft.com traffic, but on how much traffic can be counted as subscription based traffic. That is, how many FT subscribers are making use of ft.com and when and why.
>
> Ft.com has recently changed base from a non-subscription based business model to one based on subscription. The editor wants control over what has happened to traffic, as a majority of ft.com pages is no longer free to access. The argument is that the traffic report is supposed to reveal what are the primary interests of the subscribers and what is the preferred ft.com reading. (Appendix, p. 198)

[2] In this section of the analysis (A1) the distinction between reader and user is made to stress the difference between the traditional activity of circulation measurements of newspaper readers and the current activity under study of online performance measured through the patterns of online users.

Traditionally, at the newspaper, any information about circulation was restricted to the circulation department and to information about the number of copies sold. At ft.com, the activity is located in the editorial newsroom, at the main news desk. The initial focus was to generate traffic reports, that is, traditional information about circulation; how many readers were using ft.com as a provider of financial news. Translated into a traditional newspaper setting this is information about the number of people who read the newspaper – or who is calculated to read the paper. At ft.com information about circulation is expanded to include information about the three lines of surveillance; number of users, user preferences, and behavior of users and measurements of what editorial content guides and structures a certain behavior.

By the time of observation, it was the ambition of the editor of ft.com to become able to direct readers from the free access news service to the subscription based news service at ft.com. In order to do so, she wants to obtain as much information as possible about what type of content guides readers in order to maintain and increase a flow of readership from the free to the subscription based area of ft.com. This is the primary concern which drives her to request more and better information at the 11.30am coordination meeting. From an accurate description of what type of content readers focus on at ft.com and during what hours of the day they do it, the team is able to either maintain or redirect the editorial line. To maintain a good news business online, it is necessary the editor is provided with as accurate as possible information about readership. This is the core ambition behind the observation under analysis. As such, traditional circulation information about the number of people who read the newspaper has been developing at ft.com into a new and joint category of information:

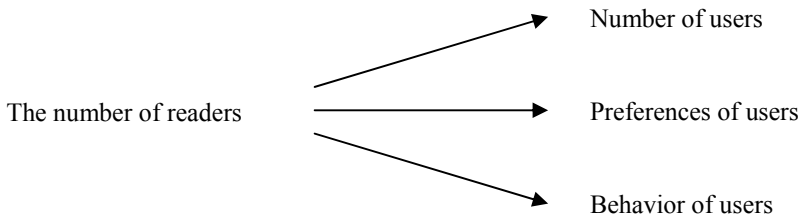


Figure 2
The development at ft.com of traditional circulation information

The progression leading up to the current observation is that initial traffic reports carried out at ft.com has ever since they first came into existence been the victims of constant refinement and adjustments as demands put forward by the editor of ft.com. In other words, the editor of ft.com has been elaborating on the traffic reports from the minute she had access to the first of its kind. The editor of ft.com has been the driving agent behind the development of new monitoring methods and their results since she first was given the opportunity. This is the point of departure: The initial traffic report and the attention it has been given by the editor. The observation at hand provides insight into how the editor of ft.com continues this process of development as she tests and discovers the boundaries of the technology and the results at hand. The progression at the main news desk of ft.com as it has been conducted by the editor before and during observation is captured as a development process. The editor of ft.com has continued to be the primary agent in the development process of the traffic report. By the time of observation, information about number, preferences, and behavior is improving with the wish to add the dimension of time i.e. what hours during the day are the busiest at ft.com. The result is that by the time of observation, ft.com was able to measure the number of online users, where at ft.com their preferred reading was located, what type of news they were most interested in, and finally how long users would stay at ft.com and during what hours of the day:

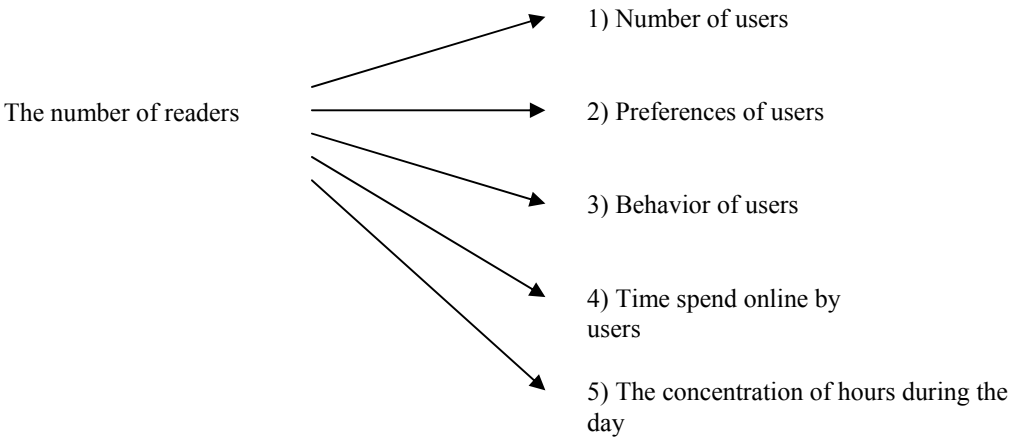


Figure 3
The progression of the development of the original traffic report at ft.com

The progression of the development of the original traffic report has been that information about the number of users was the first step taken by ft.com. The traffic reports were a central part of the beginning of the development of a new type and much more refined and enriched report. Gradually, information about the number of users was expanded to be combined with information about user preferences and user behavior and the whole measurement is being added the perspective of time spend online as the current observation was made.

Ft.com has been experimenting with tailoring the most interesting and beneficial information possible. It has constantly been seeking to improve performance of the activity. The traffic report alone was not considered useful knowledge in itself. The editor of ft.com has repeatedly been questioning how the results of the traffic reports could say more about the quality of the editorial line of ft.com. As the field observation displays, the editorial team of ft.com has reached a stage where information about the number of users has been combined with information about preferences in relation to content and behavior as they search for news online and its

timing according to the hours of the day and the duration of how long users stay at ft.com. The observation shows how the editor of ft.com is requesting an even better performance and a more refined level of information. The editor of ft.com has discovered how the combination of the points of measurements together provides her with new insight to be used directly in a constant sharpening of the editorial line and its quality. To be able to keep track of the number of users using ft.com is essential information since it is the editorial ambition to increase the number of subscription based users. During the time of observation, it was an editorial challenge to intrigue users at the free access level to read more and end up becoming subscribers of ft.com. Much of the editorial planning focused on creative and innovative ideas on how to increase the number of subscribers through the editorial strategy. The importance of information about the number of users goes hand in hand with the degree of importance of user preferences, behavior, and measurements of the timing of users. It all adds up to be essential information in order to further strengthen the subscription based business model of ft.com. The editor of ft.com has realized that any new type of information about ft.com users might end up being important. As such, she constantly seeks to take the level of information a step further. She pushes the editorial team of ft.com to improve both the number of reports she gets and the quality of the report itself, both along the lines of number, preferences, behaviour, and time spent online as well as opening up for yet not discovered new types of information to be combined with what she already knows.

The motivation for the editor of ft.com to attend the 11.30am coordination meeting and make this request is that recently, ft.com had gone from being a free-access deliverer of financial news to become a subscription based news provider. As mentioned in the narrative from the field, the attendance of the editor at the coordination meeting at the desk is not a daily routine. But since the change of the business model for ft.com is a recent decision it counts as the primary motivator of

both the attendance and the requests made by the editor of ft.com to improve the information she gets. What is new is the ambition of the editor to become able to combine information along new lines. She wants to know more about the number of users during the day in combination with what guides and structures the traffic. She wants to know more about how many online users navigate at ft.com and were they navigate to and why. These are new types of joint points of measurement she wants to improve. She wants to know much more about *how* many goes online, *what* time, *why*, and *what* they do online? The decision to convert ft.com into a subscription based news deliverer places new demands on not only the editorial line, but on the structuring of content. At the time of this observation, ft.com is experimenting with both how to select news stories and where to publish them at ft.com. The users are becoming the direct source to knowledge about the immediate success or failure of this work. The rationale of the editor of ft.com is that if it is possible to enhance the control in the form of improving the information of the number of users, their preferences, behavior**,** and timing, it is possible to maintain a good business. Thus, the editor of ft.com has an outspoken ambition to improve the level of information she is getting from the ft.com main news desk. She wants to improve the activity of surveillance of performance of ft.com at the level of improved and refined content and she want that content to be generated faster.

The primary agent in play within this observation is the editor of ft.com. The editor recognizes that it is possible to enhance a traditional newspaper activity and take it further at ft.com. Newspapers have always been interested in obtaining knowledge about themselves and to monitor their own performance in relation to business related decisions. What happens here is that the editorial team of ft.com develops the traditional interest in measuring and monitoring performance through an ongoing interaction with the technological opportunities provided by the Internet technology. Ft.com develops the interest to become more than merely a measurement of papers

sold. The number of online users is accounted for and information is added about user preferences, behavior, and the element of time. It is the wish to obtain more knowledge in accordance with what is technological possible to get a hold of. As such, the development process as it is pushed forward by the editor of ft.com is depending on an activity belonging to the past, but oriented in relation to a current performance and a future ambition. The activity is located as a traditional constituent of newspaper production. However, at ft.com the activity is taken in to continue to function in the present and as a consequence it develops to meet requirements of the future. The editor of ft.com discovers how traditional methods of measurements can be improved and continues to develop them as she requests a constant adding of value to the report. In sum, the traditional activity was first taken over to ft.com from the newspaper, second, developed into traffic reports, third, added the perspectives of preferences and behavior of users, and is now further explored by the editor within a future oriented attempt to improve the type of information in relation to time spend online by users and the concentration of hours during the day. The request to obtain more refined, better, and faster information about ft.com performance demonstrates the innovative and experimental ability of the editor of ft.com. There seems to be very few limitations to her working relation with technology. In the repetition of past and institutionalized activities lies the change of them as well. It is not repetition itself which provides for innovation, but repetition exposed to the new technological opportunities of the Internet. It is possible to for ft.com, since it operates on the technological platform it does, to meet the requests of the editor and to provide the editor with traffic numbers and develop from there refined information about the concrete evidence for the guidelines and structural motivation behind the facts and figures of the report. The traditional report is constantly challenged and the challenge put forward by the editor is what drives the development process.

Surveillance of Performance - a *Discovery Process*

The activity of surveillance of performance holds the characteristics of the discovery process. The editorial team of ft.com is reconstructing a traditional activity of readership measurement and developing this activity along new lines to hold never before experienced qualities. As such, the analyzed process causes an indirect challenge of change to the old practice since the field observations demonstrate no conflict between the traditional and the new practice from this new activity. The dashed arrows in *the model of human agency* below (figure 4) illustrates that there is an orientation within a past rationale but that the orientation is vague as the editor of ft.com continues to pursue future ambitions. The primary agent is the editor of ft.com. She continues to innovate the traditional activity further since the technology at hand provides her with the opportunity to do so. She is discovering the capabilities of the technology offered to her and to the editorial team. Each discovery takes her a step further to want to discovery more. The observation is a process of this type since she is not conflicting with the tradition but playing with the new opportunities provided her by a new technology. The boundaries of the traditional activity are both expanded and rearranged by the editor. The tradition fulfills the role of a taken-for-granted framework of understanding and is no obstacle to the discovery process. The result is a sophisticated and refined activity of surveillance of performance which holds new and detailed information about ft.com users and provides the editor with a new type of performance evaluation. As such, this observation of change as a discovery process draws on both the *iterational* and the *projective* dimension of agency, according to *the human agency model*. In this case, the dynamic between the editorial team of ft.com guided by the editor of ft.com and her interpretation of the qualities of the technology at hand shape the direction of change as a process of discovery.

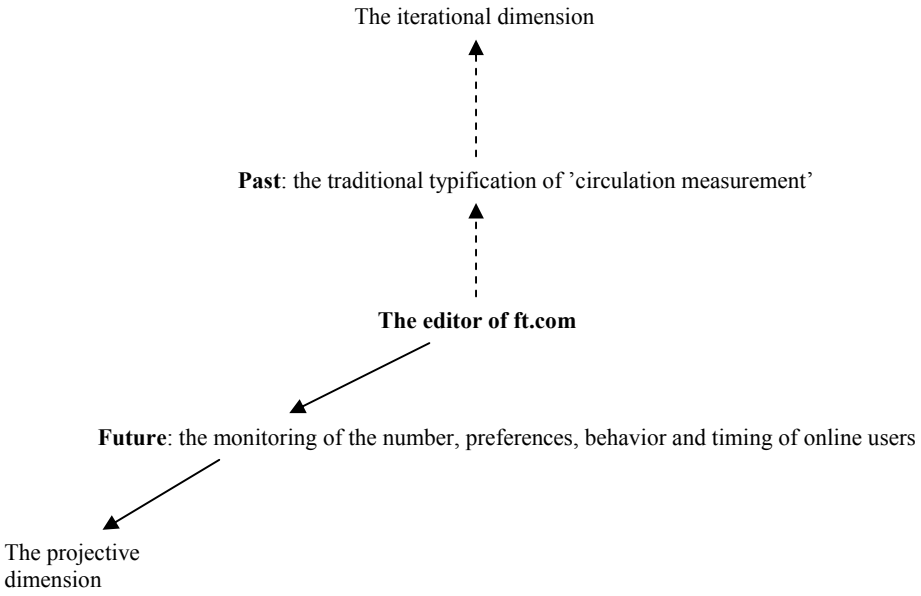


Figure 4
The *model of human agency* - the iterational and projective dimension of the agency of the editor of ft.com

A2) *Surveillance of Readership Preferences*

The work practice of surveillance

A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed
A1) Surveillance of performance
A2) Surveillance of readership
A3) Surveillance of FT-printed
B) Surveillance of stock portfolios
C) Surveillance of online news agencies
D) Surveillance of stock markets
E) Surveillance of online competitors

Navigation box of the analysis of *the work practice of surveillance*

As a continuation of the activity of monitoring performance, located as a continuing refinement and development of the traditional typification of circulation measurement, the preferences of users are monitored in much more detail at ft.com. At the 1st news conference at FT-printed the following was observed:

> … as the conference moves on to the ft.com's *report* on the top 10 most read stories, it demands the attention among the newspaper editors. The 10 most read stories are a list generated during the night by a database originally a marketing tool, which has now become essential to editorial decision-making. The deputy editor of the ft.com news desk is briefed every morning on the level of activity taking place at ft.com with regard to answering the question 'what has been of interest to the readership?' The announcement of the 10 most read corporate stories, market stories, and world stories at ft.com, marks the atmosphere at the conference. Information on the behavior of readership and access to the interests of readership on the basis of ft.com news material sets off a strategic discussion on the dynamic between ft.com and paper. The constant negotiation between content published at ft.com and the newspaper and how it should be divided shows it face.
> (Appendix, pp. 186-187)

The 1st and 2nd news conferences both make up a structural arrangement belonging to the tradition of producing a newspaper. The 1st news conference is held at 10.30am and since ft.com was first launched, the numbers of participants was expanded to include the deputy editor of ft.com. Within the framework of the 1st news conference at FT-printed, the editorial team of ft.com presents information about readership

preferences. The information is presented in the form of a list of 'the top 10 most read stories at ft.com'. The processes involved in the making of the list and the consequent editorial decisions are the focus of this second part of the analysis of the activity A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed. At the ft.com main news desk, the list of the 10 most read stories is generated during the night and early morning. The list and its results of the 10 most read stories at ft.com is immediately considered during the morning at the ft.com main news desk from 07.00am and is presented at the 1st news conference at FT-printed at 10.30am.

The agenda of the 1st news conference demonstrates its traditional status as the primary and central paper driven conference of the day. Ft.com is present, but the overall concern at the conference is to make FT-printed work. The list of the top 10 most read news stories changes the traditional focus of the conference. It constitutes not only the activity of surveillance of readership as an ongoing development of *the work practice of surveillance* at ft.com but adds new dimensions to the editorial decision making to the agenda of the conference of FT-printed. The deputy editor of ft.com hands out the list as the conference is about to begin. The list provides accurate information about what part of the news material published at ft.com the day and night before has attracted the most attention among readers. It is concrete evidence as to which stories have attracted most readers. In other words, which stories have already made money and have the potential to make more? It is a substantial new type of information placed within a traditional setting.

As mentioned, traditionally, it has been possible to generate a distant parallel to this type of information about readership preferences on the basis of the construction of readership profiles and calculations as to how many readers of a certain type would be interested in a certain type of information. In other words, ft.com's new type of survey navigates within a known mindset and fulfills a traditional purpose, but the result is

different and a break with known methods of collecting information about readership preferences and their results. Traditionally, newspapers calculate their strategic position with point of departure in readership analysis. Readership analyses traditionally are able to predict the number of readers per copy of newspaper and from this the numbers of the population that read a daily paper, but not information about the preferences for content among readers. At ft.com, the traditional analysis is brought to the next level with regard to how fast and easy the list is generated over night and with regard to the level of editorial specifications given. It contributes with new input into a new situation in which the editorial team of FT-printed will have to reconsider:

1) The editorial selection process of news material.
2) The editorial decision about how and where to publish news material.

That is, it offers new information to both editorial teams when they consider which news stories have the best potential to become powerful FT news stories and second, it stresses a new relation between FT-printed, ft.com, and FT readers. These are the primary reasons why the list of the 10 most read stories is given representation at the 1st news conference. Never before has it been possible to measure the direct implications of the editorial selection processes and the editorial decisions conducted the day before. Never before has it been possible to enter the mind of the reader and their attitude towards what was prioritized in yesterday's newspaper and the night and morning production at ft.com. The list establishes a situation of unrest in the editorial newsroom as a new type of debate among ft.com and FT-printed over how and on what ground to select and share news material identified as powerful and relevant to FT readers takes off. FT-printed acknowledges the existence of the list and makes the attempt to implement the list in the editorial selection process at the 1st news conference. The concrete evidence for that is the new circumstance that ft.com has

been invited in at the 1st news conference and the list of the 10 most read stories is represented at the conference agenda.

The reason why the list of the top 10 most read stories represents a situation of unrest and unsettlement is because it creates uncertainty at FT-printed. In an interview, the news editor of FT-printed articulates both enthusiasm as well as a feeling of uncertainty towards this new type of information. The news editor of FT-printed argues in an interview for a possible scenario of action at FT-printed as an adequate respond to the practical concerns arising from this challenge: *"It is a very good test on what the readers want to read about. Sometimes we get very surprised at the newspaper as we didn't realize the interest story x had among the readers."* (News editor of FT-printed) The news editor is uncertain and not articulating any specific goals of action, but is reflecting on the problem, which indicates a challenge to FT-printed. The news editor is clearly indicating that he has the ambition to pursue a particular course of editorial action even though he is not addressing the actual content of a new editorial direction: *"It is a major break through and we take it very seriously …. The top 10 lists have proven to us the need for more information on a certain issue."* (News editor of FT-printed) The list produces an unsettled situation where FT-printed is confronted with new knowledge about readership preferences and is experimenting with what to do with that type of information. As such, the 1st news conference provides, at the same time, for traditional scenery but also for a new meeting between a new type of information and a traditional editorial decision pattern and perception of the function of FT-printed. The 1st news conference has always served the purpose of planning the production of the day. At the 1st news conference the important editorial decision are settled and agreed on. It is still the case, but the point of departure for doing so has changed and thus, the activity of deciding the editorial course of the day is challenged. As it has always been the situation, each editor is given time to present his or her production plans for the day. The deputy

editor of FT-printed provides his ideas about the plans presented and sometimes an argument takes off. The goal of the conference is to secure an editorial agreement which support the overall editorial line of FT-printed and secure agreement among the entire editorial team of FT-printed. The list of the top 10 most read stories at ft.com challenges this process as it informs the process with a 'demand and supply' type of information. The question whether to focus on a specific line of content is no longer limited to be answered by the editors. The question is answered by the readers directly and this causes a new and insecure process of selection of news material and how the news are presented and argued.

A new type of dynamic relationship between the reader and FT is being established where traditionally internal and professionally guided editorial discussions are accessed by the reader. As such, the presence of ft.com and the list of the top 10 most read stories at the 1st news conference have a direct impact on how the editorial line of the day is settled. The process has developed from being restricted exclusively to the editorial team of FT-printed to involve both the editorial team of ft.com, the editorial team of FT-printed, and the new measurements of readership preferences. This marks the 1st news conference. The atmosphere is exposed as a struggle between ft.com and FT-printed. It is no longer possible for FT-printed to limit editorial decisions to the inner cabinet of its editors. Since the list not only displays, in a most accurate manner, which stories attract the most readers, it also emphasizes the potential of ft.com as a provider of financial news. Traditionally, the editorial selection process focused exclusively at producing FT-printed. FT-printed was the only player and the only product to be maintained. At the 1st news conference attention was directed at the various editors and the overall editorial line of 'tomorrow's newspaper'. Issues of control over content were limited to editorial concerns between the various editors and the deputy editor of the newspaper. But the presence of ft.com and the list of the top

10 most read stories at ft.com holds the potential to target a new type of decision making.

By the time of observation, editorial decision making at the 1st news conference is primarily focusing on what news are the central and why and how they could be shared between ft.com and FT-printed. It is about settling who brings what news stories and when. The list of the top 10 most read ft.com stories is a central constituent of this new type of decision making as it provides for a clear indication of what readers want and what it is naturally to follow up on. The editorial decisions taken at the 1st news conference are no longer based on and limited to journalistic and editorial assumptions about what is important information and of interest for the FT readers. It is expanded with a third party; the reader. The list adds new and precise knowledge as to the effect of the coordination effort of yesterday's news conferences among readers. The list of the 10 most read stories provides feedback directly from readers on yesterday's selection and planning of news, which is the primary function of the 1st conference. Before ft.com entered the editorial newsroom, FT-printed exclusively sat the pace. News was selected at the 1st news conference and nothing happened until the conference had settled the course of the production. Today, there is constant negotiation going on between FT-printed and ft.com in relation to 1) what stories are brought where and 2) if brought at both ft.com and FT-printed, what part of the story is published online before it gets printed the following morning. The immediate consequence of the list at the 1st news conference is a new type of editorial decision making which involves a new type of coordination effort. The traditional editorial coordination effort of the 1st news conference has become an ongoing editorial debate as to who is the dominant part. The list of the top 10 most read stories symbolizes the power of ft.com. Since it is possible to measure the immediate effect of yesterday's editorial decisions, it is possible to redirect the editorial line as a consequence.

The new relation with readership at ft.com marks a change. Information about interest and preferences of readers invites the reader 'to sit in' at the news conference. The editorial team of FT-printed is loosing its traditional editorial position of power. As such, the list of the 10 most read stories at ft.com connotes not only a break with the traditional lines of power of FT-printed as the only medium for publication, but also a break with traditional journalistic criteria of objective reporting. The traditional *work practice of gathering news* was not directed by knowledge about readership at this level. Literally, the readers have a say at the news conferences. Reader preferences are acknowledged at the core of editorial decision making. Traditionally, both *the work practice of gathering news* and *the work practice of writing news* is a withdrawn process. What has been and what might be the interest of readers have never been given room to the extent experienced at ft.com and editorial newspaper teams have never been consulting this type of knowledge in such a direct manner.

The list of the 10 most read stories is an innovative expression enabled by the technology at hand. It does only to a very limited extent draw on a traditional activity of the past. That is, past attempts to incorporate reader profiles into the overall editorial line provides for a very distant and non useable model for this type of new measurements. The editorial team of ft.com generates the list of the top 10 most read stories because it is possible. No other motivation is visible from the observations made in the field. It is a direct response to the fact that it is an option and that option is used without looking back. The activity generates new patterns of editorial selection and control at the 1st news conference in particular. In addition, it provides for new patterns of editorial decision making directed at reader demands. This initiates the development of a new type of editorial practice where decisions are made in close corporation with the end user's demands and needs.

Surveillance of Readership Preferences – an *Unsettled Situation*

The activity of surveillance of readership holds the characteristics of the unsettled situation. It is unsettled as it initiates an ongoing struggle between a traditional rationale of editorial selection and decision making and a new rationale of selection which could be considered an attempt to shortcut the tradition. Traditionally, the monitoring of performance was conducted as circulation measurement. The exclusive activity of generating the list of the top 10 most read stories is as such *not* a repetition of an activity belonging to the past. It is a break with the past as the editorial team of ft.com demonstrates how the technology at hand can be used to mold new editorial selection patterns. The analysis has provided information on the outspoken clash between traditional editorial control and a new activity where readership is given an editorial voice and traditional journalistic selection processes and its consequent decisions are reduced in importance. The relevance of traditional journalistic norms is directly questioned as the list of the top 10 most read stories highlights the potential new power-dependence relation between readership demands and editorial decision making to meet such demands. A reaction is observed among the editorial team of FT-printed which is a manifestation of the unsettled shaping of a new editorial dynamic where a third party, namely the reader is invited in. There is an obvious pressure issued on the traditional editorial selection activity following the actions of the editorial team of ft.com. This is a confrontation which is observed at the 1st news conference. The clash between traditional editorial control and a new activity where readership is given editorial voice, plays a central role in the analysis. It illustrates the distance between the nature of *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of gathering news*. Despite the fact that the activity in a very outspoken manner displays the *projective dimension* of human agency, the process is identified as an unsettled situation. The editorial team of ft.com introduces a new technology driven editorial tool as a competitive force to the traditional activity of performing editorial decisions. It opts for a re-arrangement of the old activity of targeting a certain type of

readers and to welcome as much knowledge about readers as possible rather than the development of a new activity.

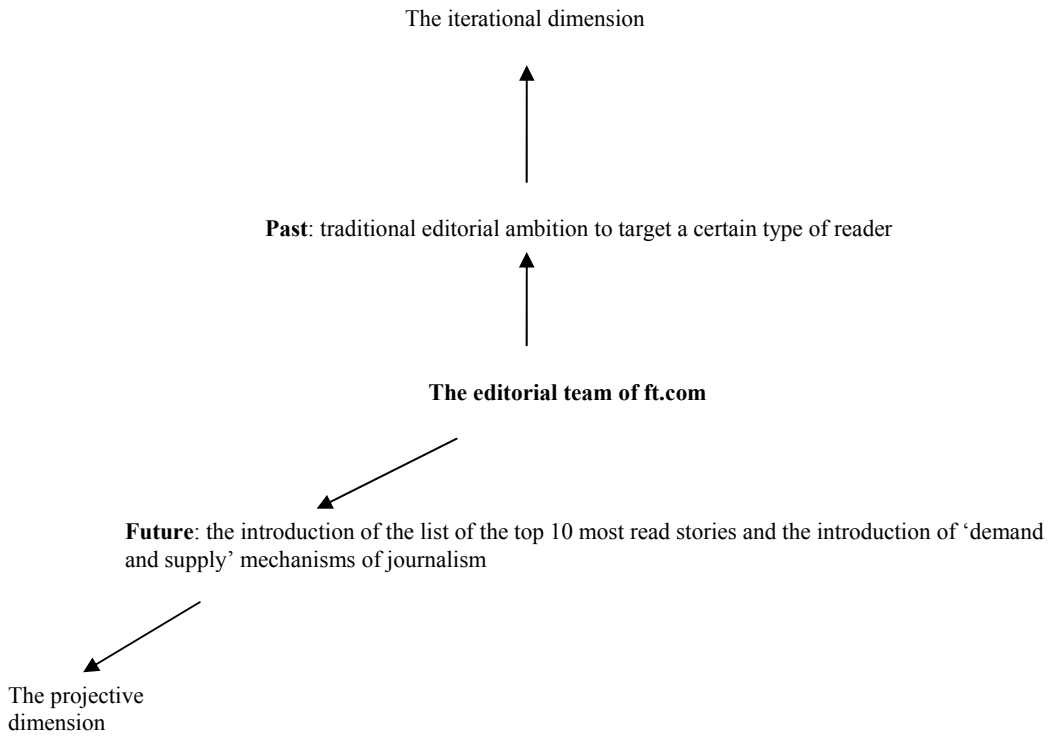


Figure 5
The *model of human agency* - the iterational and projective dimension of the agency of the editorial team of ft.com

A3) *Surveillance of FT-printed*

The work practice of surveillance

A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed
A1) Surveillance of performance
A2) Surveillance of readership
A3) Surveillance of FT-printed
B) Surveillance of stock portfolios
C) Surveillance of online news agencies
D) Surveillance of stock markets
E) Surveillance of online competitors

Navigation box of the analysis of *the work practice of surveillance*

The unsettled situation where FT-printed is provided with a new type of information about readership preferences through the introduction of the list of the top 10 most read stories and the subsequent challenge it causes for conducting traditional editorial decisions is not restricted to the 1st news conference. Editorial decision making is closely related to editorial coordination. The following section of the analysis focuses on the surveillance of FT-printed and what it generates of identifiable changes to editorial coordination.

The news desks of ft.com get staffed from 07.00am. Since the launch of ft.com, an essential part of the morning routine of the WPPs of ft.com is to monitor the morning edition of FT-printed. That is, the newspaper of the day. From 07.00am, the surveillance of the current edition of FT-printed serves the purpose of preparing possible updates and follow up on what is brought and shared in FT-printed at ft.com. At 07.00am at ft.com the following was observed:

> From 07.00am to 10.00am the routine of a web page publisher working at an ft.com news desk has the following three-fold structure: The first activity is to identify the stories in the day's version of the newspaper, which need to be followed up at ft.com. In particular the identification is guided by formulations in the newspaper like "today this or that will take place at …." or "today him or her will state this or that at …." The web page publisher

> spends time identifying stories like this because the possibility to follow up and publish right away is given by ft.com. The electronic news services provide the web page publisher with new information, which the reporter at the newspaper didn't have access to the day before… (Appendix, p. 207)

The editorial team of ft.com is continuing to be one step ahead of FT-printed. Already from 07.00am the team gets ready to elaborate on 'today's' newspaper. The point of departure is; 1) a monitoring and follow up on the written articles in FT-printed based on 2) a monitoring of the news agencies online. The news agencies online is the backbone of the activities of the morning as they provide the WPPs with the latest updates on specific issues. This is the point of departure; the WPPs occupying the various news desks of ft.com are present at 07.00am because it is possible already from that hour to gain new information and enhance the current products of ft.com and FT-printed. The situation is new and established as a consequence of new opportunities provided to the newsroom by the Internet. By updating and expanding news stories of the day's issue of FT-printed already from 07.00am, the WPPs strive to enhance the reader's conception of editorial coordination between FT-printed and ft.com. In other words, if the printed version of a news story has developed over night, ft.com provides readers with an updated version of the story the minute it breaks and is delivered by the online agencies. The observation displays how the WPP at the news desk is securing and strengthening the level of synergy between ft.com and FT-printed as decided on at the 1st and 2nd news conferences the day before. In other words, the WPP makes sure that what FT-printed promised will happen 'today', is actually being added to the printed story and brought online at ft.com.

What has changed? What is changing? There is nothing new in the practice of following up on news already published and there is nothing new in securing what is promised to be given editorial attention will get attention if it is considered relevant. This is considered the very core of the nature of performance of any news media.

Stories are written and published, and followed up if they continue to develop and become more relevant the next day or the following days. However, several parameters have changed at FT, which adds to a new situation of editorial coordination. With reference to the statements made by the news editor of FT-printed in the analysis of A2) surveillance of readership, FT-printed is experiencing a challenge of its traditional status. It is no longer possible for FT-printed to maintain its status as the primary source of news. Ft.com is taking over the role as the primary provider of news. At least it takes over the role as the primary provider of latest news. The new technology causes a process of discovery where FT-printed must find itself a new editorial stand in relation to ft.com, since already during the morning, the newsworthiness of the stories published in FT-printed seems to fade. It leaves the editorial team of FT-printed in a new situation as it has to reposition its focus and editorial stand. In an interview, the news editor of FT-printed commented on the unsettled editorial situation: "*The newspaper is benefiting enormously from the early day work done and the late night work done in New York. It helps prepare the stories in ways that are enormously beneficial*". (Interview 19.07.02 London) The editor is aware of the new dimension of speed and how stories have already been captured and elaborated on at the Internet before FT-printed gets a hold of the material. In addition, news selected the day before by FT-printed is likely to continue to 'be alive' the next morning at ft.com. The WPPs of ft.com are enhancing the level of information at ft.com from the activities of surveillance of FT-printed and the online news agencies. In addition, ft.com gets access to the recent top 10 list of most read stories during the morning and it is possible already to measure if a story continues to attract readers. If it does, the WPP is immediately able to act according to that information and if not, the story is likely to be ignored for further elaboration at ft.com.

The deputy editor of the main news desk of ft.com makes use of four surveillance sources to secure and maintain this new process of editorial synergy and coordination:

1) the morning's edition of FT-printed, 2) the morning's edition of ft.com, 3) the online news agencies, and 4) yesterday's hand-over-notes from FT-printed as the newspaper entered closure the night before:

> The deputy editor goes through the main homepages of ft.com in order to evaluate the work performed by the New York desk during the night. Afterwards, he prepares his feedback to the desk. He constantly emails WPP's to make corrections, update matters, and look into matters. During the late hours of the newspaper production, many editorial changes are decided on. These late hour decisions are written down in the Coyote system as 'hand over notes. In the Coyote system, the deputy editor of ft.com is getting the picture of all the phases of the changes made in the newspaper, as the deadline got closer. The night shift at the newspaper is adding changes to the final edition very close to the deadline. The 'hand over notes' in the Coyote system is a newspaper feature to keep track of all the changes and their rationale, but provides the ft.com main news desk with detailed information on various issues. The deputy editor of ft.com is gradually obtaining overview of not only the nights and the morning's ft.com production, but also all the late decisions made at the newspaper the night before.
> (Appendix, p. 214)

From surveillance of the FT-printed hand-over-notes, the deputy editor of ft.com is informed about the decisions behind some of the latest changes of FT-printed the night before. The deputy editor is allowed to elaborate on that and relate it to the focus of his current surveillance and the final decision regarding which stories are important to republish or update. The concept of the hand-over notes is a traditional FT-printed feature to keep track of the production during the day and share information between journalists and editors on the development of the various news stories. This coordination effort between FT-printed and ft.com is a new situation. Both old and new tools are used in this new coordination effort. Without the sharing of the traditional FT-printed hand-over notes and the new tool of the promotion boxes, FT-printed would perhaps have lost ground with the launch of ft.com. By the time of observation, promotion boxes are developed and placed at the end of each printed article where the synergy and coordination effect between FT-printed and ft.com is to be experienced the most. As such, an essential part of the monitoring of FT-printed

during the morning is to secure what has been promised in the promotion boxes in FT-printed is properly carried out at ft.com:

> He is going through ft.com to make sure what is promised in the promotion boxes and in the web references of the newspaper is carried through at ft.com ….
> (Appendix, p. 214)

This is happening simultaneously with access to another source; the top 10 most read stories report. In an interview, the news editor of FT-printed made an attempt to explain the changed function of FT-printed and the changed effort coordination as a result of the surveillance activity going on at ft.com:

> Today, the newspaper is a very different place. It is about to say 'today x will announce y and here is what it means'. Now we work on a basis where the readers know a lot about what happened yesterday. What is being published at the website today would have been suited to the old newspaper. It is a lot about 'today x will announce y' at the web. We have to go a step further at the newspaper to justify what we charge for the newspaper. The reader is today getting the old newspaper during the day and more as we break stories online as well. It is forcing the new FT newspaper to be much more dynamic, much more forward thinking, and much more related to breaking news.
> (The news editor of FT-printed)

The news editor is thinking in new terms of coordination and rests his argument on the borderline between imagination and action, between the future and the present. This sequence of thought of the news editor is related to the abilities of ft.com to monitor the moment and say something new about the future editorial line: "*Today, the newspaper is a very different place. It is about to say 'today x will announce y and here is what it means. Now we work on a basis where the readers know a lot about what happened yesterday*." (The news editor of FT-printed) The identity of FT-printed has changed its character. This is where he starts, where he defines the product, and from where the future editorial position of FT-printed and its coordination with ft.com effort is sought explained. The future position of FT-printed is related to the new opportunities which he is witnessing happening in the present. The present is taken in,

related to the past, and used to try to identify the future: *"What is being published at the website today would have been suited to the old newspaper. It is a lot about 'today x will announce y' at the web. We have to go a step further at the newspaper to justify what we charge for the newspaper."* (The news editor of FT-printed) The news editor moves forward in time and gives an idea about 'the plot' of the story in his mind. There is a beginning, middle, and an end. However, the end is still an experiment as the news editor of FT-printed is still uncertain about what the future will bring and what the future editorial role of FT-printed will be. From the understanding of the past and an acceptance of the present, the news editor becomes able to experiment with future actions and to posit new resolutions to emerging problems: *"The reader is today getting the old newspaper during the day and more as we break stories online as well. It is forcing the new FT newspaper to be much more dynamic, much more forward thinking, and much more related to breaking news."* (The news editor of FT-printed) The news editor is reevaluating the function of FT-printed on the background of how ft.com performs surveillance as he continues his reflections:

> What ft.com has enabled us to do is to provide service to FT readers 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Before the web came about we were really only able to service to our readers in terms of information, analysis, commentary and helping them to make sense out of an increasingly complicated world once a day. We are now able to have a different relationship to the readers. If something happened at midday the reader had to wait until the next day for us to help them to understand. Now, if something happens during the day say at 3 or 4 in the afternoon, the reader hopefully will think 'perhaps FT can help me' – 'it may be FT on the web' – 'it may be FT on the mobile phone'. It doesn't matter. Technology has enabled us to say there is a much greater degree of service to it.
> (The news editor of FT-printed)

It is a vague and indeterminate future horizon he draws out. The news editor is distancing himself from the traditional function of FT-printed and acknowledges that the landscape of news is monitored and handled on a different background at ft.com on the basis of *the work practice of surveillance* and its subsequent activities. This causes him to reconsider the position of FT-printed and to implement the changes

along two lines; 1) the inner level of coordination between ft.com and FT-printed exemplified in the surveillance effort of FT-printed at ft.com, the sharing of hand-over notes between FT-printed and ft.com, and the use of promotion boxes in FT-printed and 2) the relation to the reader who is given an editorial voice through the generation of the list of the 10 most read stories at ft.com.

Surveillance of FT-printed – an *Unsettled Situation*

FT-printed is experiencing a challenge of its traditional editorial status. As 'today's' edition of FT-printed is updated from 07.00am at ft.com its status of 'primary provider of news' is undermined. The well known situation of 'editorial coordination' at FT-printed is changing its character and its dimensions. The activity of surveillance of FT-printed holds the characteristic of an unsettled situation since it is possible to identify all three dimension of agency within the activities of 1) the WPP working at ft.com, 2) the deputy editor of ft.com, and 3) within the statements made by the news editor of FT-printed; the *projective,* the *practical-evaluative*, and the *iterational* dimension of agency. The WPP, the deputy editor of ft.com, and the news editor of FT-printed - all three are dealing and struggling with a changed pattern of coordination and necessary editorial reconfiguration of FT-printed, each from their own angle and position. The WPPs at ft.com are the drivers of the unsettled situation as they are experimenting with the amount of information in play. It is in the work practice of surveillance of the WPPs it all begins. The WPPs initialize the whole change process as they simultaneously perform surveillance of the online news agencies and update FT-printed. The deputy editor of ft.com is the one who discovers the editorial potentials of the surveillance and performs the necessary coordination initiatives in the form of making use of the traditional hand-over notes of FT-printed and in the initialization of the monitoring of promotion boxes. The deputy editor of ft.com is seeking to outline concrete qualities of the new editorial coordination effort. The news editor of FT-printed is experiencing how information is pushed into the

traditional editorial newsroom of FT-printed. The news editor is viewing the new situation from the perspective of the past and from the perspective of what it changes in relation to the traditional status of FT-printed. The traditional editorial stand and function of FT-printed is at trial in the present as the future is in the process of being discovered. This causes an unsettled situation as the publishing strategy and possibilities of ft.com causes an open struggle between a traditional position of FT-printed and a new and undefined future position. The WPPs at ft.com and the deputy editor of ft.com participate in the construction of changes to the traditional role of FT-printed as the technology at hand is used to change the planning, timing, production, and publishing of financial news. This has here been captured in the activity of the surveillance of FT-printed. The news editor of FT-printed has taken the new coordination premises in and tries to sketch out a future role of FT-printed. The traditional rationale that FT-printed is the prevailing and centrifugal force of FT is broken down as a new degree of coordination between ft.com and FT-printed is building up.

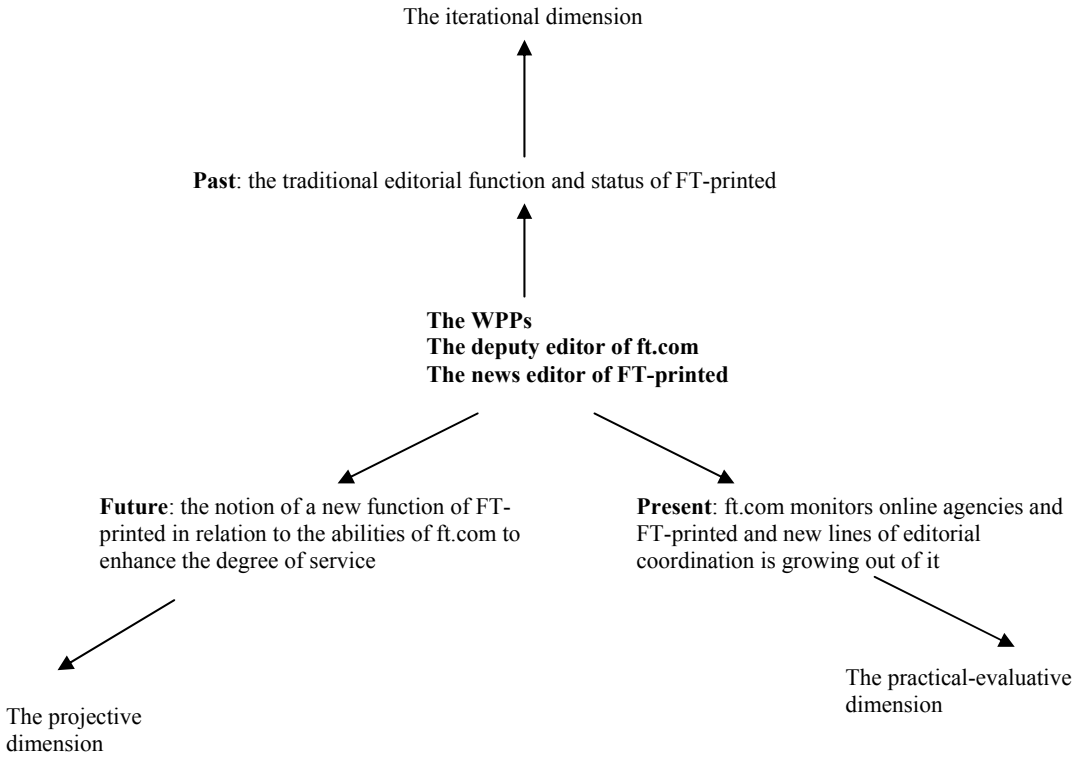
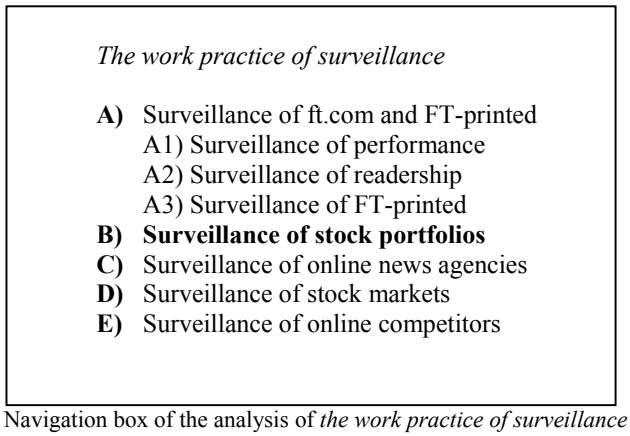


Figure 6
The *model of human agency* – the iterational, practical-evaluative, and projective dimension of the agency at ft.com

B) *Surveillance of Stock Portfolios*



Navigation box of the analysis of *the work practice of surveillance*

The activity of surveillance of stock portfolios is not to be confused with A1) the activity of surveillance of performance and A2) the activity of surveillance of readership preferences of ft.com. The surveillance of stock portfolios is conducted at the market desk and it differs from the surveillance activities of A1 and A2 conducted at the main news desk at ft.com. It is a different type of surveillance since it is not surveillance related to the outcome of the editorial line, but surveillance of personal and professional information about readers used as input to the process of settling the editorial line at the market desk and perhaps even suggesting a new type of financial journalism where the criteria for publishing is not 'newsworthiness', but 'usefulness'.

At the market desk of ft.com sits a front page editor. The front page editor maintains the front page of the Investor site at ft.com. The Investor site is a sub site of ft.com driven and maintained by the market desk. The front page editor has been appointed to maintain the FT Investor front page. He ranks market related stories and maintains the front page with updated information on news and services. By the time of observation, the FT Investor site counted 75.000 subscribers. The front page editor's job is to maintain a close contact with those 75.000 subscribers being responsible for performing three activities in relation to this group of readers: 1) to twice a day send

out an email to inform this group of readers about the three biggest news stories published during the morning and during the afternoon.

> At 10.00am and 15.00pm a daily email is send out to all subscribers of FT Investor from the market desk. The front page editor is in charge of this task. The FT Investor site counts 75.000 subscribers. The email is composed by the editor in word and distributed via a database management tool to all subscribers directly. The purpose is to highlight the three biggest news messages published during the morning. Two out of three are exclusive market related.
> (Appendix, p. 226)

The email is sent out at 10.00am and at 15.00pm. 2) To monitor the traffic number of FT Investor, and 3) to monitor the stock portfolios of readers. It is the latter of the three activities which is analyzed in this section:

> The editor monitors the traffic numbers of FT Investor. This is done twice a day through a tool called LARS. LARS informs the market desk about two pieces of information concerning the readership of FT Investor: 1) How many of the readers hold a stock portfolio and 2) What does that portfolio consists of? The market desk is granted access to information about personal interests of readership. LARS monitors both traffic and reader's preferences[3].
> (Appendix, p. 226)

The activity connotes a radical break with tradition along two lines: 1) the traditional notion of withdrawn objective journalism and 2) the traditional characteristics and considerations of what is considered of 'newsworthiness' and why. As argued in the analysis of both A1 and A2, the activities of surveillance as identified at ft.com to various extents holds similarities to the traditional calculation measurements of sales numbers and of the number of readers per copy of a newspaper, traditionally performed by the circulation department. This is again the case at the market desk where the type of surveillance conducted originates from the traditional circulation measurement of a printed newspaper. That is, the origin of the activity belongs to the traditional interest in building up profiles of current and future readership to survey

[3] During the performance of ethnographic observations and conducting interviews it was made clear that readers themselves had provided the newsroom with access to information concerning their stock portfolios. It was not further explicated how that access had been given or from what system the informations were subtracted.

the number of readers of the population that would read a certain type of newspaper. Hence, to want to learn more about readership along the lines of; lifestyle, carrier, economy etc. is a marketing strategy which is not new and not limited to the business of media. To 'surround' the end user and learn more about personal and professional preferences and competences is a well known feature of any marketing department in any organization. However, the type of surveillance of readership and the personal and professional interests of readership as observed at the market desk of FT is a radical development of not only the range of traditional measurement tools but also a development of the degree of detailed information concerning readership. As such, the use of collected knowledge about personal and professional preferences of readers as observed at the market desk is not a traditional part of the business of conducting objective journalism. Traditionally, the results of readership surveys and profiles would be taken into consideration at an overall strategic level. At the market desk of ft.com the results of the activity of readership surveillance is included at a very different level of performing news work. That is, a radical emphasis on surveillance is the point of departure to come to understand the motivation behind the observed activity of the front page editor at the market desk. The market desk is driven by surveillance of the Internet. As such, it is a different editorial environment marked by a different editorial atmosphere. The reason for the outspoken emphasis on the work practice of surveillance is that the market desk of ft.com produces financial news to 1) the market area of ft.com and 2) to the FT Investor sub site of ft.com.

It is at the market desk that new norms for gathering news have developed as an outspoken break with the tradition. The primary focus of the desk is to monitor what happens of importance to the stock market. During the opening hours of the various stock markets, online stock market lists and online renders of stock market related news are the primary sources in play. This development is outspoken during the morning. At 07.00am the following was observed:

> The News Alerts are published in real-time. The WPP's at the market news desk constantly monitor the news flow at the electronic wires to convert part of that flow into News Alert headlines ….To provide readers with this type of real-time news delivery, the market desk makes use of ADVFN.com, which is a website that feeds directly of the London stock exchange and the UKWIRE.com.
> (Appendix, p. 209)

One obvious norm under development is the degree of dependency between the desk and the actual market under surveillance. In other words, to be able publish in a real-time mode, it is essential to establish an effective activity of surveillance of everything that happens in the market. The surveillance of online news agencies follows every move in the market and makes sure nothing is left unnoticed. The market desk is staffed from 07.00am to secure that the high level of information published by online news agencies is captured by the desk. From the WPPs at the market desk is given notice on relevant market related news material to a news alert headline is published and available for FT readers approximately 5 minutes passes. It is difficult even to identify the degree of elaboration news are undergoing at the desk. It seems there is a full condensation of monitoring and publishing which makes it difficult to time and distinguish the processes in the first place.

As such, the external 'user' of news produced at the market desk are professionals within the business world. The desk structure at ft.com is primarily structured along areas of interest and not along geography as it is the case at FT-printed. Thus, the market desk exists at ft.com among the news desk of TMT news, Finance news, Consumer and manufacture news, UK news, and World news. The motivation behind the existence of the market desk is for ft.com to be able to publish close to real-time market related news to a defined group of readers with specific professional interests in the news themselves but also in the mode of delivery. Thus, the most intense hours of the day at the desk are the opening hours of the European stock market as the primary editorial focus of the desk is to deliver not only news with a high degree of

newsworthiness but to deliver news of usefulness as well. In other words, the desk feeds readers with 'useful' news only and strives to deliver *the* exact and precise piece of news targeted at *the* exact right individual in support of a specific requirement of 'usefulness'. It requires an outspoken level of surveillance and a high level of customization of news. In order to do so, the market desk combines the traditional concept of newsworthiness to a new concept of usefulness in its editorial focus. Financial news are not only published on the ground of their status as 'latest news' but just as much on the ground of their quality as 'useful' information to a specific group of actors in the world of business. The concept of 'usefulness' is brought into play at the desk as it publishes news in real-time and publishes news targeted to specific groups of ft.com readers. As such, at the market desk of ft.com the editorial focus is on fast performance and the constant search for the most effective tools to meet the demands of readers along the line of speed of delivery of useful information. Returning to the front page editor, the development of the interconnectedness of the concepts of 'newsworthiness' and 'usefulness' is unfolded. As the front page editor collects information about the stock portfolios of readers via a marketing tool, he is experimenting with how to operationalize the concept of 'usefulness'. In other words, the concept of 'newsworthiness' is provided with a more precise target. That is, the front page editor is seeking information to develop the concept of 'usefulness'; as news useful for someone. Via his marketing tool he is experimenting with how technology can help the desk prioritize the delivery of news and add value to the delivery of news. There is no sense of closure to his interaction with technology. He tests the potential of the technology at hand to enhance the overall editorial ambition of the desk; namely to be and to become a '*value adding news agency'*. As the market desk opens up for the exploration of how to operationalize the concept of 'usefulness', it displays an ambition to remain open as to how to add value and constantly improve the quality of online delivered news. Obviously, the Internet technology has made the front page editor of the desk realizes that they have been granted new opportunities to

improve the efficiency of the desk. The primary activity of the desk is surveillance of online news agencies and stock markets. The desk builds on this foundation to discover a new position; the position of the '*value adding news agency*'. The traditional concept of 'newsworthiness' is taken to the next level and added the value of 'usefulness' in relation to a specific group of readers, holding specific portfolios of stocks. The primary criteria for publishing a piece of news is no longer only its status as 'news', but its relation to the questions of 'for whom, how many and why?' By answering the question 'why', the desk enhances the element of service to its journalism. News is added value in relation to its useabilities. From 07.00am the market desk produces this type of service oriented journalism to its readership as it publishes real-time market oriented information to readers following the opening hours of stock markets.

The surveillance activity of the front page editor as he monitors readership interests and the composition of the email to subscribers connote an introduction of new editorial disciplines to market news produced at ft.com. Neither one bears any resemblance to traditional editorial disciplines at FT-printed. It displays a new way of thinking about readership introduced as the desk has implemented and discovered the potential of the technology at hand. As such, the front page editor of the market desk is not indulging in an unreflective activity where traditional patterns of thought and action belonging to traditional newspaper practice are incorporated. The surveillance of stock portfolios is not a reproduction of a stable order. It is possible with the intervention of technology to retrieve both personal and professional information about readership, in this case in the form of stock portfolios, and use this information to rethink and improve the editorial line of service journalism produced at the market desk.

Surveillance of Stock Portfolios – a *Discovery Process*

The activity of surveillance of stock portfolios holds the characteristics of the discovery process. Technological opportunities make the front page editor at the market desk retrieve and construct new knowledge about readership without any observable ideas about the direction he is going. The observation demonstrates a boundary free reduction of the stable and traditional journalistic norms with no or only a limited connection to traditional readership measurements. The front page editor is actively shaping a new type of information about readership used to operationalize the concept of 'usefulness' as a new dimension of the type of service journalism produced at the desk. However brief the observation is, its existence marks a difference of not only a new and critical editorial development but the development of a future editorial position as the '*value adding agent*' of financial news. On the basis of the combination of surveillance of both online news agencies and surveillance of stock portfolios of readers, the market desk is positioning itself as the provider of service and value added financial journalism. As such, the market desk displays a dynamic relationship between the actors, in this case the front page editor and the technology at hand. The activity of surveillance of stock portfolios is guided by a technological mindset and it causes a momentum of change not limited by tradition.

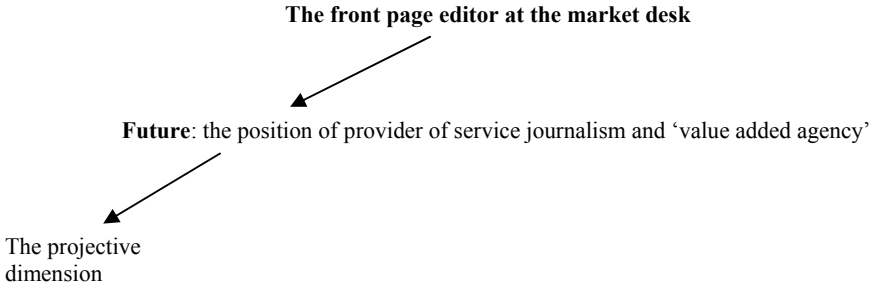


Figure 7
The *model of human agency* – the projective dimension of the agency of the front page editor

7.3 The Work Practice of Publishing

As mentioned in 7.1 the activities of C) *surveillance of online news agencies* and H) *condensed writing and publishing* is considered closely interrelated and thus analyzed together despite the fact that they have been identified each to belong to one of the two work practices under study as illustrated in the navigation boxes below. The activity of H provides the frame of this integrated analysis. That is, C is considered the subordinary activity to understand the change patterns displayed in the activity of H.

The work practice of publishing

F) The 24-hour publishing flow
G) The real-time publishing flow
H) Condensed writing and publishing
I) The readership related publishing
J) The editorial coordination between ft.com and FT-printed

Navigation box of the analysis of *the work practice of publishing*

The work practice of surveillance

A) Surveillance of ft.com and FT-printed
A1) Surveillance of performance
A2) Surveillance of readership
A3) Surveillance of FT-printed
B) Surveillance of stock portfolios
C) Surveillance of online news agencies
D) Surveillance of stock markets
E) Surveillance of online competitors

Navigation box of the analysis of *the work practice of surveillance*

As identified in chapter 6, *the work practice of publishing* for ft.com is a condensation of the traditional practice of writing news and the practice of publishing news. The two traditional practices are no longer separated in the work situation as two distinct practices as they both fall within the jurisdiction of the WPPs at ft.com. The focus of the integrated analysis of H) *condensed writing and publishing* and C) *surveillance of online news agencies* is on the construction of news – its writing and publishing and

the underlying activity of surveillance studied as one work practice. The central agents involved are the WPPs of ft.com. The activities and the range of competences of the WPPs are in focus as they demonstrate the integration between the traditionally distinct practices of gathering news, writing, and publishing news. Observations from the field consist of rich descriptions of the activities of the WPPs working at ft.com. The observations under study display how four traditional variables of conducting newswork are challenged; 1) the use of sources, 2) the time allocated to production, 3) the attitude towards old news and 4) the process of editing.

The Challenge to 'The Use of Sources'

The observation used as point of departure took place at 12.45pm at the TMT desk (the news desk concerned with technology, media, and telecom – p. 216 of appendix) of ft.com. A WPP is producing a news story. The observed process of writing and publishing at ft.com is performed within a time span of approximately 20 minutes.

> From the Coyote system, he (the WPP) writes the story up. The story is built on information found at the electronic news service, News Edge. In composing the piece, he goes back and forth from the Coyote system to News Edge. News Edge is used as the primary source and the WPP places News Edge quotes in his own text as he goes along.
> (Appendix, p. 220)

The point of departure is a thorough surveillance of online news agencies. The WPP becomes aware of the piece of news from conducting surveillance on the Internet. This is the point of departure and the information remains the primary source of the story. The use of sources is operationalized here to capture how many different speakers (voices) are found in a particular news story. The story, as it is rendered at News Edge, is quoted by the WPP and remains the backbone of the story for ft.com. In a traditional setting, the journalist would check the validity of the source before writing the story and second, expand the list of sources from one to at least two or three especially since the story is exclusively based on information provided by an online news agency as also observed by Kjær, 2005 (Kjær 2005). But at ft.com, the

online service provided at News Edge is considered a valid point of departure and remains the primary source throughout the work process. The new set of sources in play at ft.com primarily consists of a range of online sources in contrast to the old, which consisted of both the use of news agencies, freelancers, and correspondents. Observations of the activity of surveillance of online news agencies at ft.com display this break with the traditional use of sources. A WPP is working at the market desk at 07.00am. The observation adds to the illustration of the new set and number of sources in use:

> The News Alerts are published in real-time. The WPP's at the market news desk constantly monitor the news flow at the electronic wires to convert part of that flow into News Alert headlines …. To provide readers with real-time news delivery, the market desk makes use of ADVFN.com, which is a website that feed directly of the London stock exchange and the UKWIRE.com.
> (Appendix, p. 209)

The set of sources at hand for the WPP working at the market desk has developed to consists primarily of: 1) online news agencies to monitor planned as well as unplanned news material (Reuters, MULTITEX, Bloomberg, News Edge, Dow Jones), 2) online distributors (ADVFN.com, UKWIRE.com, stock list, currency lists), 3) broadcasters (CNBC Europe, CNN), and 4) online result lists of stock markets.

Back at the TMT desk, the WPP is commissioning the story to himself and immediately he begins to write. The activity of surveillance of online news agencies provides the WPP with a substantial amount of information which makes him take action the minute information is picked up. There is so much information coming in that it leaves him with no time to evaluate and coordinate matters with the deputy editor at the main news desk of ft.com. The distance between the two practices is short. From the 07.30am and 11.00am ft.com news conferences and the 11.30am coordination meeting, the WPP has captured the overall production plans for the day, which now leaves him with clearance to write and publish within the agreements

made between ft.com and FT-printed during the morning. The agreement to write and publish instantly as a result of surveillance is reached to secure a high level of, if not a real-time, then a fast information flow at ft.com. Ft.com publishes news instantly if no other agreements between ft.com and FT-printed have been made. The WPP seeks no clearance before he leaves *the work practice of surveillance* to turn to *the work practice of publishing*. As such, the Internet technology challenges the traditional pace of the editorial newsroom. Changes in the selection of new types and number of sources and agents in the news texts published at ft.com are indicators of changes in the journalistic work practice of writing news and the content of news. Ft.com news stories with only one source suggest that the journalist simply conveys messages from one actor to the public. The contrast is the traditional use of often multiple and explicit sources. This is associated with the journalistic autonomy of FT-printed, and indicates that the traditional journalist distinguishes between his or her own text and the claims made by the actors involved in the news. The change of the use of sources and agents in news texts at ft.com indicates a new structure of news. At ft.com the WPP is not concerned with individual actors involved in the news but rather with the activity of conveying as many news messages as possible to the reader. The focus at ft.com is to capture the overall arena or field that move in or out of news and not so much to capture an analytical notion of who claims what and why. The traditional set of sources is reduced in number as well as in type. The WPPs at ft.com rely very little on traditional sources such as correspondents, freelancers or press hand outs. The WPPs rely on online news agencies and their rendering of matters. The ambition to capture the field that moves in and out of news is supported by the organization of ft.com along markets instead of along the traditional FT-printed lines of geography. In an interview, the deputy managing editor of FT explained how the physical structure of the newsroom was challenged with the launching of ft.com:

> Before ft.com the newsroom was essentially just a classical and traditional old fashioned newspaper newsroom with different news desks, the main news desk, the world news desk, the home news desk, the international company news desk, and the UK company news desk

> working towards the news editor at the main news desk and then the reporting teams positioned either in London or abroad working with those news desks. We were just producing a newspaper for different markets.
> *The Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London)

Ft.com is organized along the sector lines of TMT, Finance, Consumer and Manufacture, World news and Market news.

The Challenge to 'Production Time'

News agencies strive to identify online markets for information and news. The main competition is not so much about content as it is about speed of delivery. The parameter of 'speed of delivery' is essential to the study of change structures at ft.com. The combination of traditional news agency performance with new technological networks has reformulated the character of *the work practice of news gathering* at FT. The circulation of news at the Internet has changed the core work practices of the entire editorial newsroom at FT. The fact that online news agencies has introduced real-time news services around the clock and around the world, across time zones has made it possible to conclude the production of a news story within minutes. At the main news desk of ft.com surveillance performed by the deputy editor at 16.30pm illustrates the 'speed of delivery' and its subsequent effects:

> The Deputy Editor of ft.com is monitoring the electronic news wires. He comes across information, which he finds important for ft.com to pick up and work on right away. He leaves the main news desk to get hold of a WWP at the relevant news desk. As the Deputy Editor addresses the WPP, she is in the middle of a sub-editing process. The Deputy Editor wants her to leave the sub-editing to focus on this new task.
> (Appendix, p. 231)

From the deputy editor came across the online input of the news material and until the story was published at ft.com, approximately 15 minutes passed. The main news desk of ft.com is getting access to a huge amount of news material, much faster and easier than experienced in the pre-ft.com days. Traditionally, news agencies did perform a

central role as input to news stories as their service was to collect and syndicate news. However, the current situation at ft.com is one where news agencies play a central role as the primary supplier of financial news. In other words, news agencies have developed to become *the* central carrier of performing news work at ft.com. The tendency in a traditional business newspaper is to carry fewer stories with no explicit sources, and more stories with several sources as observed by Kjær (Kjær 2005). Kjær found in 2005 that the two business newspapers Berlingske Tidende and Dagbladet Børsen downplay news stories with no or one source and carry more stories with two to five sources (Kjær 2005) (p. 24). The findings of Kjær's study of business newspapers do not include FT-printed, but it is notable when studying the condensed activities of surveillance, writing, and publishing at ft.com that the proportion of the use of a single source is predominant.

At ft.com emphasis is often on the individual firm and its specific economic or business related results. At FT-printed emphasis tend to be at industries and sectors as a whole and across physical lines – and on stories that emphasizes management decisions. The use of one and not several sources in ft.com news stories suggests a new journalistic model in use when subjects are presented as news at ft.com. Individual company results play a central role at ft.com and as ft.com reduces the use of number of sources, the individual company not only becomes the subject, but the speaker expressing a message as well. The establishment of a real-time news flow at ft.com and a close dialogue with readership as a result of the integration of the Internet technology to the work practices of surveillance and publishing has consequences for the presentation of subjects. Using the Internet it is possible for the WPPs of ft.com to capture another type of information through surveillance of online news agencies and for that to become the core of the story; such as results of online published stock watch lists. As previously argued in this analysis of A2 and A3, FT is in the process of discovering how the close interaction with the Internet technology produces changes

to 1) traditional editorial decision making and to 2) traditional editorial structures and coordination efforts. The observations included here support previous findings and highlight how a new emerging type of journalism challenges the traditional notion of the use of sources. In addition, a traditional editorial structure is challenged as the WPPs of ft.com perform surveillance, commissions, writes, and publishes within minutes and without further negotiation with the deputy editor or FT-printed.

The Challenge to 'The Attitude towards Old News'

At ft.com old stories are saved in an archive. The archive is a part of the ft.com website. Subscribers of ft.com have access to old news stories. The WPPs use the archive when they write and before they publish a story they link old stories to new stories if there is an obvious connection or if the old story includes relevant information. In this case, the WPP copies information from an old story into the new story instead of making a link which might as well have been his choice of action:

> The WPP consults the ft.com archive. He goes through an old story. The story is related to this new one. He opens up the relevant archive material and copy bits and pieces, which has to do with facts into the new story.
> (Appendix, p. 220)

The re-use of old stories is an editorial structure introduced by ft.com and a central part of the work practice of publishing. At ft.com it is possible to archive every story published since there are no space limits at the domain of ft.com. This makes it possible to re-use and invent new purposes for old news material. In this case, the old story is used by the WPP as an additional source of information concerning facts and figures. Ft.com not only produces news stories during the day and night to be published at ft.com. Old stories are re-used as readers are directed into the archive via links. The element of re-use of already published stories at ft.com is expanding the journalistic range and idea of the current story. The idea of creating a sense of

recognition among readers that news and old news could be considered in relation to one another from a variety of angles is an innovative editorial position taken at ft.com. The lifecycle of printed news have always been characterized by the humors phrase that '*yesterday's news is today's fish wrap*'. At ft.com this view is challenged as the editorial team is provided with the opportunity to archive old stories and thereby the opportunity to revive them in new combinations with 'real' news. As such, there is an element of unpredictability in *the work practice of publishing*. Anything 'goes' as long as there is established a sense of newsworthiness to it. The idea to give new life to traditionally 'dead' stories challenges the concept of newsworthiness. Newsworthiness at ft.com is everything that adds value to the readers despite the fact that it happened yesterday or the day before yesterday or a month ago. As such, the traditional sequence of newsworthiness is broken up and reconsidered at ft.com. The use of the ft.com archive in relation to writing and publishing news is an example of this development process.

> … The WPP closes the story up and reads it. The WPP goes back to check up on News Edge. He goes back to the original source to check out the matter himself and to make sure he didn't rely on incorrect information. He goes back to News Edge. This time he consults the stock watch lists of News Edge, makes a few calculations to figure out the actual share price of a specific company and adds that to the text. He leaves the Coyote system to check his email. He is expecting an email from one of the journalist at FT-printed. The WPP is communicating with a journalist on a specific matter with regard to the news story. The journalist is considered an internal expert in the field and the WPP is testing and checking his story through talking matters over with the journalist. The journalist contacts the WPP with suggestions to changes. The WPP returns to the story and adds the changes.
> (Appendix, p. 220)

The Challenge to 'The Editing Process'

As the observation above illustrates, the story has reached closure and is ready to be published. Now the WPP turn to perform a validity check on the original source. This choice is made late in the process since the story is already written by now and considered ready to publish. The WPP turns to make use of the traditional mindset; to check the original source – but the decision is made late in the writing process and

opposite of the traditional work strategy at FT-printed, where the validity check is performed before even considering writing the piece up. Three parameters seems to influence this change: 1) the speed of delivery of new information at the Internet, 2) the focused activity of surveillance of online news agencies at ft.com, and 3) the consequent ft.com publishing strategy to publish close to real-time. The priority at ft.com is first, to push information out and second, to reconsider its validity. Since the technology makes it an easy act to make corrections, update, and republish the traditional journalistic method of securing the validity of the primary source before writing and publishing is somewhat neglected and postponed at ft.com. The technological possibility to get a hold of information fast through the activity of surveillance and push information out fast at ft.com is the core of the argument why. As argued, writing for ft.com challenges the traditional handling of sources whether it is the number, its characteristics, and its validity. As the observation points out, the WPP ends up relying on a traditional routine check of the story and on his selected use of sources. He turns to share knowledge with a colleague at FT-printed as part of editing the news story. As such, the activity of editing seems unsolved at ft.com in the sense that the WPP displays the attempt to implement the traditional routine check of the story, but does not seem settled about when to do it and why. The relevance of the check has fallen into the background at ft.com. Information comes and goes fast as corrections and updates are published and republished with continuity. As such, the observation on how the WPP is interacting with a colleague at FT-printed concerning specific issues in the news story is an engagement with a traditional pattern of editing and subediting belonging to traditional newspaper production. There seems to be a degree of uncertainty as to what are the criteria for the WPPs at ft.com to edit and subedit stories on their own and as to what are the criteria to edit and subedit in collaboration with a colleague? As mentioned in chapter 8, the new central actor at ft.com, the WPPs, represents a condensation of the total circle of editorial competences: The WPP perform surveillance, commissions, coordinates, plans,

writes, edits, sub-edits, works with graphics, publishes, updates, and republishes. Past experiences of securing editorial balance from negotiating and checking content in collaboration with a colleague is challenged at ft.com. Obviously, this WPP reaches back to a past activity of securing editorial balance. Publishing for ft.com is a different experience from publishing for a printed newspaper. The pace is high and despite the fact that it is easy to update and republish matters, the above observations illustrates how the WPPs at the ft.com news desk sometimes hold on to the past. Ft.com is the representative of a high paced real-time publishing strategy. This is a publishing style with no roots in the past. An explanation as to why the WPP holds on to the past in this incident of editing could be seen as a reaction to the otherwise high speed of production and delivery carried out at ft.com. The clarification of goals and motives of the news story with a FT-printed colleague provides for a sense of stability and recognition for the WPP in contrast to the fast experimental mode, often with no points of identification attached to it. The explanation as to why the WPP reaches back to a traditional editorial activity of how and when to edit and subedit stories (as separate from the producer of the story) should be found in the discovery processes of ft.com. At ft.com, the WPPs are discovering the potentials of the Internet technology. Since information is easy republished and updated at ft.com it is not really necessary to hold on to the traditional activity. The writing and publishing for ft.com provides for a degree of uncertainty and experimentation and seems only to opt for momentarily importations of elements of stability from the past.

As identified in chapter 6 and identified in the analysis of A1, A2, and B, *the work practice of surveillance* is not only about identifying news stories. It is also about monitoring the preferences of readership to measure the immediate successes and failures of ft.com's level of performance. In close relation to monitoring the preferences of readership as a criterion of success, is the activity of monitoring the publishing strategy of online competitors:

> Bloomberg is considered a competitor to ft.com. The WPP enters Bloomberg.com to make sure his version of the story adds more information to what has been brought at Bloomberg.com.
> (Appendix, p. 220)

The monitoring of online competitors is an activity which is defined as belonging to *the work practice of surveillance* as argued in chapter 6. The WPP integrates the activity to the activities of writing and editing his news story. As such, it shows how short the distance between the two practices of performing surveillance and publishing is. One moment the WPP is writing and editing, the next, he is performing surveillance of Bloomberg.com. It doesn't take much effort for the WPP to visit Bloomberg.com. Within minutes he is updated on the level of information at Bloomberg.com and is able to edit his own story accordingly. The attempt to want to stand out and do it better or different than competitors is not new. What is new is to access the online part of one's competitors and to be able to immediate react and integrate editorial changes to the activities of writing, editing, and publishing according to that information.

> He reads through the story, adds the byline, and copies it into word where he is offered an extra check on grammar and spelling …. The story is opened in the CC3 system. In the CC3 system, the story is dressed up for publication. This he leaves to consult a currency converter on the Internet to make a correction in the text. Goes back to create the link structure in the form of the content list and ranks the story. The story is pre-published, re-read, and published. For some reason, the chosen graphics didn't follow the story to ft.com and the story is updated and republished.
> (Appendix, p. 220)

In order to meet the editorial demand to publish if not real-time then *fast* at ft.com, the WPP dresses up the story and publish the story himself. The story was written in the Coyote system. It is now imported into the CC3 system, which is software used to prepare stories for publication at ft.com. In the CC3 system the WPP is given access to dress the story up along various lines. The text imported from the Coyote system is

provided with the right format for publishing it at ft.com and it is ranked according to where at ft.com it is published. In addition, the story is provided with at content list. The content list is the list of links which goes with the story. The content list is made on the basis of the editorial preferences of the WPP. As mentioned previously, the WPP could choose to link the story to old news stories in the ft.com archive. Often the content list provides the reader with access to interactive feature at ft.com. It could be in the form of an interactive chart providing the reader with the opportunity to follow the development of the current company of the story by filling in information to a chart. In the CC3 system the WPPs are allowed to be creative and experimental on behalf of their story with very few limitations.

> The same morning, the WPP was informed that the newspaper is planning to work up a scoop based on information about the same company for tomorrow's edition of FT-printed….The WPP addresses the main news desk of FT-printed to consult the WHATPAGE. It turns out that FT-printed has planned to work up the scoop from a different angle and that the newly published ft.com story didn't overlap with any of those plans. The WPP emails the journalist at FT-printed, who is working out the scoop to inform him about the ft.com story and to have him go over the story as part of his preparation.
> (Appendix, p. 221)

To solve the editorial challenge of coordination between FT-printed and ft.com easier, the traditional editorial tool of FT-printed; the WHATPAGE is used to coordinate editorial agreements. The WPP is aware of the fact that substantial elements of the story has been 'given' to FT-printed during the morning conferences. A consensus was reached at the 1st news conference between FT-printed and ft.com on the matter. In between the 1st and the 2nd news conferences FT-printed and ft.com do not meet and the WHATPAGE functions as a knowledge sharing document and as a reminder of what has been agreed at the 1st news conference. The WHATPAGE is traditionally a newspaper owned document, which provides every journalist of FT-printed with the opportunity to be updated with the latest decisions made at the main news desk as the day takes its form after the 1st news conference. With the advent of ft.com, FT-printed

has changed the outlook of the WHATPAGE. Slots have been added to include editorial information about ft.com stories and their planning in relation to the planning of FT-printed stories. The current problem with the WHATPAGE is twofold: 1) the WHATPAGE continues to be a FT-printed owned document and 2) it is difficult for ft.com to maintain the WHATPAGE with the latest published information on certain issues as the pace of publishing at ft.com is too high to keep an exact record of issues published. The idea to update the WHATPAGE to include editorial information about ft.com can be perceived as an attempt by FT-printed to maintain control of what gets published at ft.com. The attempt manifests the urge by FT-printed to remain in control and to maintain the status as the FT channel where the most important issues are published first. The WPP is experiencing exactly this dilemma. He knew about the consensus made at the 1st news conference since he was briefed about it at the coordination meeting at the main news desk of ft.com at 10.30am. The observation displays the dilemma of working at ft.com influenced by the massive amount of information conveyed to the desk from *the work practice of surveillance* and yet, the WPPs are expected to stay in tune with FT-printed who are preparing the paper of the next morning. The WPP nearly made the mistake of publishing the issue before FT-printed and violate the consensus reached at the 1st news conference. Traditionally, FT-printed had the exclusive position to publish all major business related issues. With the kick start of production by the market desk of ft.com from 07.00am, FT-printed is in the process of discovering its new editorial position and identifying along what lines the Internet technology forces FT-printed to change. FT-printed stands on unsecured ground. The WPP was aware of the consensus and yet, he published his news story closely related to the 'rights' of FT-printed. The obvious schism concerns the extent to which it is possible to restrain the condensed activities of writing and publishing of the WPPs of ft.com. The two activities are the direct result of *the work practice of surveillance* and its massive impact on the speed of delivery at ft.com. The activities of writing and publishing at ft.com are both complex in reach. As the

analysis displays, the activities are impossible to study as isolated activities. There is a constant shift of focus from one practice and activity to another of the WPPs at ft.com. A central working premise for the WPPs at ft.com is the degree of condensation between traditionally distinct journalistic competences and the extent to which activities constantly overlap.

The Activity of Condensed Writing, Publishing, and Surveillance of Online News Agencies – an *Unsettled Situation*

The activity of condensed writing, publishing, and surveillance holds the characteristics of the unsettled situation. In the condensed activities of writing and publishing at ft.com *the iterational dimension* of agency is identified as both activities obviously are reproductions of traditional journalistic activities. The point of departure of the activities of writing and publishing is a reactivation of past activities. That is, the concept of iteration is associated with the dispositions, the preconceptions, and the core competences of the WPP at the TMT desk of ft.com as he writes and publishes his news story. The analysis shows that it is possible to locate an extent of prestructured action of the WPP. What marks a break with this iterational dimension of agency is that within the relatively unreflective action of the WPP as he writes and publishes lies explicit moments of effort belonging to both *the practical-evaluative* and *the projective dimension* of agency. The relation between the WPP and the Internet technology makes it possible to specify a number of new components and qualities to both activities. Each involves the engagement of the WPP with new opportunities of the Internet technology. The observations belonging to the practical-evaluative dimension of agency are the incidents where the WPP pursues his activity of writing in a way that challenges and transforms the situational context of the action itself. An example of such an observation is the WPP's use of sources. Instead of making use of multiple sources in support of his story, the WPP applies the one online delivered source he identified in *the work practice of surveillance*. It is a decision

where the WPP considers his received patterns of action of the importance of the use of multiple sources but decides to transform the pattern to fit the qualities of the Internet technology and the subsequent publishing strategy of ft.com. The WPP is bending the tradition to fit his present work situation where he writes in a different context; namely as a result of *the work practice of surveillance* where the amount of information and the speed of delivery of that information require a change of his use of sources.

Adding to the characteristic of unsettledness, is when the WPPs of ft.com decide to re-use and re-sell old news stories they generate a future trajectory of action that diverge from any of the received structures of thought and action belonging to the tradition. The WPPs do not merely repeat and elaborate on a past rationale. This is an invention of a new rationale and possibility for thought and action at ft.com. A crucial component of this creative process of reconstruction is the Internet technology. It is the Internet technology that provides ft.com with the opportunity to archive old news stories to re-use and re-sell them in combinations only limited by the imagination of the WPPs at the news desks. The WPPs at ft.com respond to the technological challenges given to them with and distances themselves from the tradition that would otherwise constrain a possible re-use of old FT-printed news stories. Thus, to re-use and re-sell old news stories at ft.com is a reconfiguration and an obvious break with the tradition and it is an observable innovation of an alternative editorial practice and revenue stream as a response to the possibilities provided actors by the Internet technology. It is an example of a collapse of a traditional rationale of thought which opts for a struggle in order to settle in. However, the WPP at the TMT desk of ft.com does not give any indications that he is aware where this action might take FT and ft.com. It is a remarkable process of both discovery and unsettlement located in between the *iterational* and *practical-evaluative* aspect of human agency.

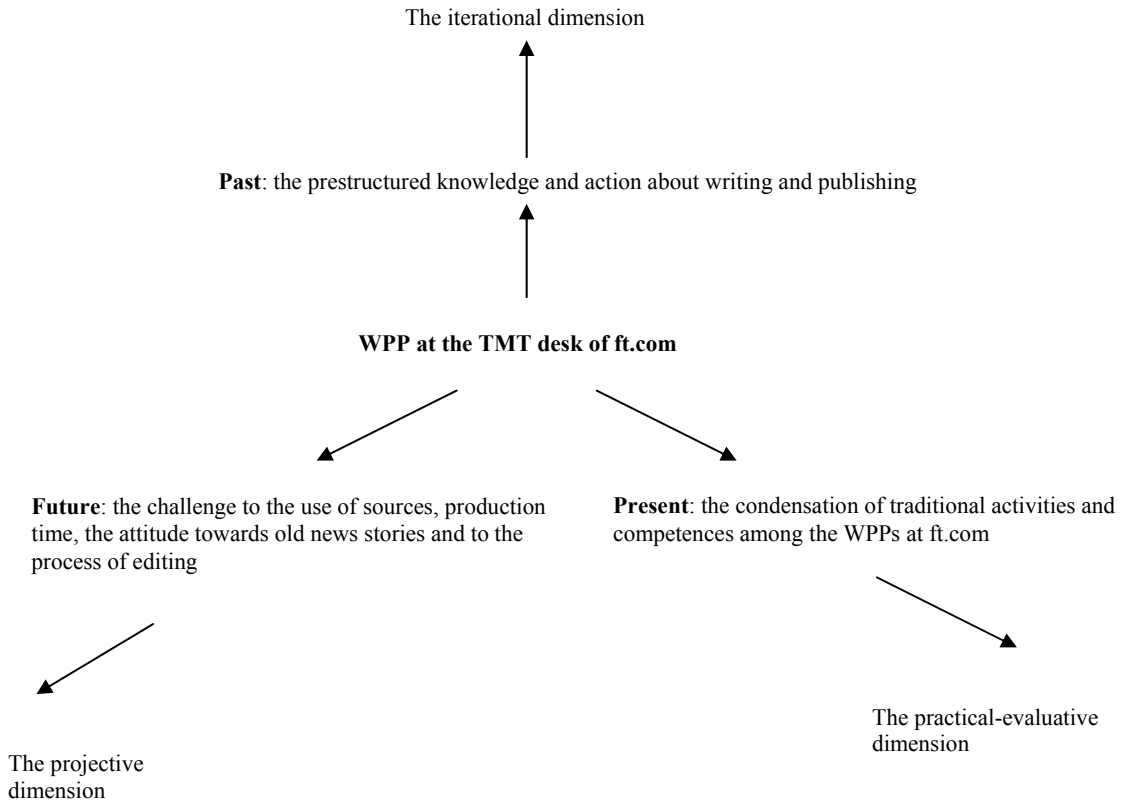


Figure 8
The *model of human agency* – the iterational, practical-evaluative, and projective dimension of the agency of the WPP at ft.com

7.4 Summary of Analysis

This is the summary of the analysis of changes within two journalistic work practices. These are;

- *the work practice of surveillance* and
- *the work practice of publishing*.

It is the summary of the analysis about *how* changes evolve and manifest themselves in a set of identified activities belonging to each of the two work practices. The focus of the analysis has been to identify the components of change and what they look like

when human agents interact with new technology. As such, the investigation of how changes evolve and manifest themselves has been analyzed as a consequence of the introduction of the Internet technology to the editorial newsroom at Financial Times.

The changes and their manifestations have been identified as belonging to one out of two different expressions of change. The two expressions of change have led to the formulation of two archetypes: Archetype 1 – *the discovery process* and archetype 2 – *the unsettled situation*. This summary addresses the definition of the two expressions of change and unfolds their characteristics in detail and in relation to how the analytical findings structure around them. Each of the two archetypes of change holds a distinct set of characteristics touched upon in the introduction to the analysis which is followed up here and further explicated to sum up the specific analytical results. The three dimensional *model of human agency* on the engagement of human agency has been used in the analysis to reconceptualize the actions of human agency. For each point of analysis the model summarizes the analytical results and displays the characteristics of the process of change. This summary seizes to capture the pattern in the models and structure the models as they belong to one of the two expressions of change.

Five activities have been analyzed belonging to one of the two work practices:

- *The work practice of surveillance*:

A1) *surveillance of performance*

A2) *surveillance of readership*

A3) *surveillance of FT-printed*

B) *surveillance of stock portfolios.*

- *The work practice of publishing*:

C and H) *the activities of condensed writing, publishing, and surveillance of online news agencies*.

A1) The Analysis of Surveillance of Performance

The Work Practice

The activity of surveillance of performance has been identified as belonging to *the work practice of surveillance* and has been analyzed accordingly. Taken together, the various analytical steps in the analysis of the surveillance of performance accounts for a new construction of performance measurements at ft.com.

The Archetype of Change as 'Discovery Process'

The analysis defines the emergence of a new construction of performance measurements as a discovery process of change. The principles of the traditional readership and circulation measurement provide for the distant framework of the development of new construction of performance measurements. New principles of measurement are generating which causes a challenge to the taken-for-granted and creates a future oriented momentum of change. The analysis illustrates how the new readership measurement builds on a new fixation of how to capture the number of users, the preferences of users, the behavior of users, the time spend online, and the concentration of online hours during the day of users. The analysis establishes this new fixation as a process of change where the human agents in play generate these new identifiable principles of measurement as a result of their interaction with the Internet technology.

The Model of Human Agency

The primary human agent in play is the editor of ft.com. The editor of ft.com innovates the traditional readership and circulation measurements as the technology at hand provides her with the opportunity to do so. She is discovering the capabilities of the technology offered to her and to the editorial team. Each discovery takes her a step further to want to discovery more. The outcome of the analysis emphasizes the projective dimension of the agency of the editor of ft.com since she is not conflicting with tradition but plays with the new opportunities provided her by a new technology. As such, the boundaries of the traditional activity are both expanded and reconstructed by the editor.

A2) The Analysis of Surveillance of Readership

The Work Practice

The activity of surveillance of readership has been identified as belonging to *the work practice of surveillance* and has been analyzed accordingly. Taken together, the various analytical steps in the analysis of the surveillance of readership accounts, on the one hand for; an initiation of an ongoing struggle between a traditional rationale of editorial decision making and on the other hand for; a new rationale of selection considered an attempt to shortcut the tradition.

The Archetype of Change as 'Unsettled Situation'

The analysis defines the struggle between a traditional and a new rationale of editorial decision making as an unsettled situation. The rationale of the traditional editorial process of decision making provides for the framework of the struggle. The rationale behind the introduction of the list of the top 10 most read stories by ft.com is new. It challenges the predominant and traditional editorial power balance between objective journalism and readership interests. The analysis illustrates how the list of the top 10

most read stories introduced by ft.com is 1) a direct confrontation with the traditional criterion of editorial selection of news material and 2) a call for a rethinking of the power of readership interests and demands. The analysis establishes how the editorial team of ft.com, with the introduction of the list of the top 10 most read stories, initiates a new molding of the activity of editorial decision making. The analysis provides information on the outspoken clash between traditional editorial control and a new activity where readership is given and editorial voice. The introduction of the potential new power-dependence between readership and editorial decision making is a manifestation of the unsettled shaping of a new editorial dynamic.

The Model of Human Agency

The primary human agent in play is the editorial team of ft.com. It is the editorial team of ft.com which issues the pressure on the traditional editorial selection and decision making processes. As such, the editorial team of ft.com illustrates the implications of the projective dimension of agency. The analysis documents that there is an outspoken clash of interests between the tradition and the break with tradition. The reaction observed among the editorial team of FT-printed represents the iterational dimension of human agency. As such, the rearrangement of the traditional editorial relationship with readers; readership interests and readership demands and its implications to editorial decision making illustrates makes it necessary to emphasize the distinction between the future and the past; between the projective and the iterational dimension of human agency.

A3) The Analysis of Surveillance of FT-printed

The Work Practice

The activity of surveillance of FT-printed has been identified as belonging to *the work practice of surveillance* and has been analyzed as such. The analytical steps of the

surveillance of FT-printed display a situation where the traditional activity of 'editorial coordination' is undergoing reconfigurations. WPPs at ft.com are the drivers of the unsettled situation as they are experimenting with how to incorporate the surveillance of online news agencies with FT-printed.

The Archetype of Change as 'Unsettled Situation'

The analysis of the surveillance of FT-printed unfolds the activities where WPPs at ft.com simultaneously monitors online news agencies and FT-printed to add to the content of FT-printed the minute it breaks online. Printed news is republished and updated at ft.com if and as they develop among the online news agencies. This activity of surveillance challenges the traditional editorial position of FT-printed. Ft.com develops the ability to enhance the degree of service to readers through a constant flow of updates to FT-printed news stories. This calls for a reconfiguration of traditional lines of editorial coordination. The news editor of FT-printed is confronted with the challenge of introducing new patterns of editorial coordination and perhaps a reconfiguration of the power position of FT-printed as the primary deliverer of news. As such, it is an unsettled situation in which FT-printed provides for the framework of development as it is challenged along the lines of editorial coordination. In other words, the surveillance activities conducted at ft.com opts for a rethinking of traditional editorial power relations and coordination.

The Model of Human Agency

The activity of surveillance of FT-printed holds the characteristics of an unsettled situation since it is possible to identify all three dimensions of human agency within the activities of 1) the WPP working at ft.com, 2) the deputy editor of ft.com, and 3) within the statements made by the news editor of FT-printed; the projective, the practical-evaluative, and the iterational dimension of human agency. These are the primary human agents in play. All three are struggling with the changing nature of the

pattern of traditional editorial coordination. However, the WPPs at ft.com are considered the drivers of the unsettled situation of change as they are introducing the newsroom to the 'technological experiment' of online surveillance and its implications.

B) The Analysis of Surveillance of Stock Portfolios

The Work Practice

The activity of surveillance of reader stock portfolios belongs to *the work practice of surveillance*. The analysis and its steps outline the nature of a radical activity of surveillance as a break away from any of the journalistic boundaries which characterizes the traditional relationship and power of readership.

The Archetype of Change as 'Discovery Process'

The analysis defines the emergence of a new construction of readership surveillance as a discovery process of change. As documented in the analysis, the activity holds no resemblance to past knowledge about readership profiles. New principles towards the acceptable degree of knowledge about readership are under construction. The front page editor at the market desk develops a new type of surveillance activity. He performs surveillance of the type of stock portfolios of ft.com readers. This creates a momentum of change delimited by the taken-for-granted as the activity has never previously been carried out. The front page editor retrieve and construct new information about ft.com readership as a boundary free reduction of the traditional journalistic norms concerning what elements constitutes the construction of news. The traditional journalistic criteria of 'newsworthiness' is elaborated on and expanded at the market desk to include the notion of 'usefulness'. On that background, the market desk is positioning itself as the provider of service and added value financial journalism as a '*value adding agent*'.

The Model of Human Agency

The primary agent in play is the front page editor at the market desk of ft.com. The front page editor constructs a new dynamic relationship between the news desk and its readership. The interaction between the front page editor and the technology at hand displays an outspoken projective dimension of his agency. As such, the activity of surveillance of reader stock portfolios is an activity guided by a technological mindset which causes a momentum of change not limited by tradition.

C and H) The Analysis of Condensed Writing, Publishing, and Surveillance of Online News Agencies

The Work Practice

The condensed set of activities of writing, publishing, and surveillance of online news agencies has been identified as belonging to both *the work practice of surveillance* and *the work practice of publishing*. Taken together, the various steps of the integrated analysis of the activities account for 1) obvious reproductions of traditional journalistic disciplines for conducting newswork but also for 2) the introduction of a new rationale behind the production of news.

The Archetype of Change as 'Unsettled Situation'

The analysis defines the clash between the reproduction of traditional journalistic disciplines and the introduction of new rationales of production as an unsettled situation of change. The analysis describes how the rationale behind the traditional work practices of gathering news, writing news, and publishing news is challenged. The WPPs at ft.com write and publish news stories based on surveillance of online news agencies. This challenges the use of sources; its number, its type, its validity, and the criteria of its selection. In addition new timelines of publishing are developing

at ft.com. The speed of delivery at the Internet causes the speed of delivery at ft.com to follow suite. As such, the writing, publishing, and surveillance at ft.com challenge both the traditional production and lifecycle of news. At ft.com news are produced faster and remains news for a longer period of time as old news stories are re-used at ft.com to an extent not experienced before at FT-printed. The re-use of old news raises new awareness about the development of the traditional concept of 'newsworthiness'. The concept is challenged as WPPs at ft.com allows for new principles of publishing to develop involving already published news material stored in the ft.com archive. Finally, the WPPs at ft.com challenge the traditional division of labor at FT-printed. WPPs at ft.com represent a condensation of competences traditionally divided between clearly defined groups of journalistic staff. As such, the WPP performs surveillance, commissions, coordinates, plans, writes, edits, sub-edits, works with graphics, publishes, updates, and republishes within one work flow. In sum, the condensed activities of writing, publishing and performing surveillance developing at ft.com identifies change as an unsettled situation.

The Model of Human Agency

This is an unsettled situation which draws the picture of a change process oriented within a three dimensional span of past, presence, and future. As such, the agency of the WPPs at ft.com is the primary agency in play and it documents the engagement of the iterational, the practical-evaluative, and the projective dimension of agency. The working relation between the WPPs and the Internet technology makes it possible to specify a range of new components and qualities to the traditional journalistic activities of writing, publishing, and gathering news.

The two archetypes identified in the analysis outline two different processes of institutional change identified as technology entered the field under observation; 1)

The discovery process and 2) *The unsettled situation*. The two are summarized in the following.

The Discovery Process – as Explorative Institutional Change

The discovery process as identified in the analysis and its subsequent set of *models of human agency* displays a certain set of characteristics. The discovery process is characterized by an outstanding stress on the projective dimension of agency within the three dimensional *model of human agency*. It displays institutional change as an exploration which is characterized by a re-interpretation of a taken-for-granted work practice. The analysis document that the interaction with technology by human agents provides for imaginative components as an effort of human actors to come to terms with and define the potential of the technology at hand. It outlines that human agents respond to the challenges and uncertainties of the implementation of new technology with a strong sense of experimentation, hypothesization, and exploration. The process is driven by actors who are capable of distancing themselves, at least partial, from a traditional rationale and its constrain of actions. This capacity enables the human agents involved to reconstruct and innovate upon the tradition in accordance with an evolving experience with new technology. As such, the discovery process is established within an interactive process between the actor and technology in which the future is explored as a result of the received potential of the new technology.

As such, the locus of action in the discovery process lies in the exploration of new technology. Actors attempt to reconfigure and reinterpret an existing practice interacting with the technological capabilities at hand. The analysis demonstrates both incidents where actors generate alternative work practices as they consider where the technology can bring them and incidents where actors go where technology brings them without considering if they want to go. As such, the discovery process is an explorative expression of institutional change where technology manifests itself as a

momentum of possible and remaining changes. The discovery process has been captured with varying degrees of clarity and detail in the analysis and the models demonstrate how it extends with greater or lesser reach into a future process of change. The discovery process is thus located in a critical mediating juncture between the iterational and practical-evaluative dimension of agency. The analysis demonstrates how the process is characterized by an outspoken stress on the projective dimension of agency as the response to the reach of technology is not being resolved within the taken-for-granted traditional rationale of thought and action.

The Unsettled Situation – as Traditional Institutional Change

The unsettled situation as identified in the analysis and its subsequent set of *models of human agency* displays a different set of characteristics from the discovery process. It is characterized by an overall dynamic interplay between all three dimensions of agency within *the model of human agency*; the iterational, the practical-evaluative, and the projective dimension. The contribution of the unsettled situation is that it displays a traditional expression of change. It conceptualizes that human agency embedded in interaction with technology are aware of the relation to the past and its habitual aspects, but are oriented toward the future as a capacity to imagine alternative and new possibilities of action. The present moment is considered to contextualize the past habits in future projects. Thus, the unsettled situation is an expression of change which captures the full complexity of change and a high degree of institutional inertia which represents the ingredients of traditional institutional change processes. It displays knowledge about how the degree of maneuverability and inventiveness of the human actor in interplay with technology is relying upon the social relation to the constraining components of the taken-for-granted context of action. As such, it displays the struggle between an old and a new rationale of thought.

The locus of action in the unsettled situation lies in between 1) a contextualization of activities with the tradition, the practical-evaluative dimension of agency, 2) a schematization of activities with the past, the iterational dimension of agency, and 3) a hypothesization of activities where actors attempt to reconfigure the technological capabilities by generating alternative activities, the projective dimension of agency. The unsettled situation is one in which change is expressed as a struggle between all three dimensions of agency. It is an expression of change where the capabilities of technology are undergoing negotiation not escaping any of the three dimensions. This analytical observation is what makes the unsettled situation unsettled. It does not rest within one of the three but actors struggle to integrate the rationale of the new technology at hand with the rationale of the traditional practice in play.

8 CONCLUSIONS

The dissertation is concluded with a summary of the research conducted. This is carried out within four concluding sections: 1) a revisit to the research question in play, 2) a summary of the identified processes of change, 3) a contrast to prior studies of importance, and 4) a review of the impact of the research.

8.1 Revisiting the Research Question

The dissertation is introduced with a quotation of Fligstein (Fligstein 1999) in which he questions the lack of sense making among new institutional theory concerning the emergence of institutions. Fligstein poses questions such as: Where do the opportunities of new forms come from? What role does the organizational actor play? And why do actors not always merely follow the institutional configurations as they are supposed to? This dissertation analyzes a selected set of micro dynamic processes between the interrelatedness of human agents and new technology to be able to answer the, among others, Fligstein inspired research question of the dissertation:

How are work practices affected by the adoption of a new technology?

This dissertation acknowledges that both theoretically and practically the work practices and the configuration of the institutional setting are interrelated. Hence, the hypothesis of the dissertation is that changes in the work practice patterns reconfigure the institutional setting. Thus, the hypothesis is that the change of the institutional setting departs from the work practices and from the actions of human agents as they adopt new technology within a taken-for-granted institutionalized work practice. The study of institutionalized work practices and the alleged change patterns were carried out in London at Financial Times. Financial Times is an intriguing environment to

study how this interrelatedness was established with the launch of ft.com. At ft.com institutionalized taken-for-granted journalistic work practices were transferred to a new context; the context of the adoption of the Internet technology for publishing financial news. Not only did Financial Times provide for a rich case where an old institution meets a new technology, but also for a case where the old technology behind newspaper publishing was not substituted with a new Internet based technology. Instead the old and new technology worked simultaneously. The parallel quality of the case is not only found in the presence of both the old newspaper technology and the new Internet technology but also manifested through the presence of two sets of work practices: 1) The traditional work practices belonging to FT-printed and 2) a new set of work practices in play at ft.com. As outlined in chapter 8, at ft.com three traditional journalistic work practices had been reduced to two:

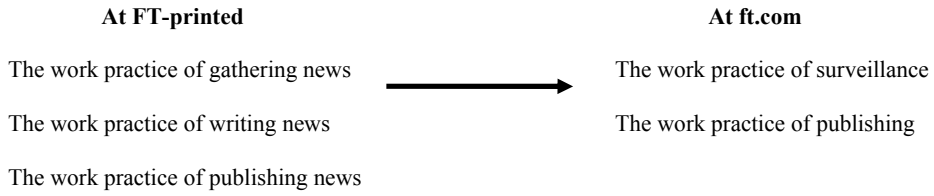


Figure 1
The reduction of the three traditional work practices to two at ft.com

The study focused on the two work practices unfolded at ft.com. Not only do they display a change through their existence, they also display how change evolves through the actions of actors as they relate to the new technology. In other words, the work practices at ft.com provides for a precise micro analysis of the interrelatedness of technology and agency to become able to answer the question as to *how* work practice is affected by the adoption of a new technology.

8.2 The Identified Change Processes within Work Practices

Emirbayer and Mische's (Emirbayer and Mische 1998) model of the three constitutives of human agency has provided the framework for the generation of what is referred to as *the model of human agency* in the analysis of the dissertation. Inspired by the theoretical work of Emirbayer and Mische and their model of the concept of human agency, change has been studied as an embedded process. In other words, change has been studied as a practice driven engagement by human actors with technology informed by the past as *iteration*, oriented towards a future as *projectivity*, and towards the present as *practical-evaluativity*. The interplay between the three dimensions and how this interplay varies within different work practical contexts as human actors make use of technology has captured a twofold nature of change. The dissertation identifies two change processes at the level of technology use by human actors that influence the generation of changes to the taken-for-granted work practices under study:

The discovery process

The discovery process is characterized as an explorative institutional change process. The discovery process of explorative institutional change is defined as the observable situation where human agents interact with new technology and generate an identifiable change process. The *discovery process* is defined as an archetype of institutional change where the projective dimension of agency is the core part of human action. The presence of the projective dimension of agency has proven to be where the old institution is challenged. That is, the outspoken degree of a unified pull of projectivity creates a challenge to the old institutional work practice. It is documented in the analysis how *the discovery process* displays human agents who are positioned at the projective dimension of agency and from

that position develop an outspoken capacity for the creative and critical intervention of the traditional institutional work practice.

The unsettled situation

The unsettled situation is characterized as a traditional institutional change process where a significant level of institutional inertia is experienced among actors. The identification of the unsettled situation supports the traditional institutional argument of the powerful self-preservation mechanism of institutions through a configuration of the institutional order through practice. This is documented through the simultaneous presence of the iterational, the practical-evaluative and the projective dimension of human agency. In contrast to the *discovery process* it is not possible to identify an outspoken projective pull away from the traditional work practice. Instead, the *unsettled situation* draws the picture of a change process which is oriented within a three dimensional span of past, presence, and future. The presence of all three dimensions of agency provides for a different orientation of human agency. The resonance of all three dimensions displays a change process engaged just as much within the past and taken-for-granted as within the future as the dominant tone of the process.

As mentioned in the introduction, the analytical objective of this dissertation has been to develop an empirically derived account of how embedded actors interact with new technology and bring about changes to the taken-for-granted. Changes understood as new work practices, new rules, and norms that transcendent the particular collaborative professional relation within the organization and may become institutionalized if they diffuse. As such, the interest of this dissertation has been to articulate when and how the particular kind of interrelatedness between human actors and technology, characterized as an ongoing intervention in the use of technology, generate identifiable changes to the taken-for-granted work practice. The

identification of the discovery process as an explorative change process of human actors displays the contours of a re-interpretation of the taken-for-granted. It documents that the interaction between human actors and technology provides for new and imaginatively components within the work practices as an effort of human actors to come to terms with and define the potential of the technology at hand. The discovery process have proven to be a process where human actors engage themselves in an ongoing adaption of the Internet technology which facilitates the changing conditions of the work practice under study. It is an exploration by human actors of the use of technology which articulates change. The research finding about the role of technology in the discovery process of change emphasizes how technology adds to the rules and resources of human actors when they engage in a work practice. The discovery process displays that in its use in a particular work practice, technology adds to the concepts, templates, configurations, interpretations, knowledge etc. of human actors who then accept, legitimize, and reinforce these to become institutionalized over time.

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, the use of technology by human actors happens in several ways – both as intended and unintended use (Markus and Robey 2004). The underlying focus of this dissertation was on the unintended and unexpected situations where the interrelatedness of human actors and technology causes an intervention of the taken-for-granted work practice not initially intended by management or actors themselves. However, the case of FT reveals a process of what might initially be characterized as unintended consequences develops to become intended consequences of the use of technology. This result is connected to introduction in chapter four of this dissertation of concept of the *endogenization* of the exogenous shock. FT was displayed to the exogenous shock of the Internet technology as it launched ft.com. It involved many actors, each of whom had a different expectation with respect to the effect of ft.com. The underlying focus on the

unintended consequences refers to the initial outcome of the Internet technology use that were not planned for or expected. The analysis of this dissertation came to focus on a different phase in which the Internet technology which was first a exogenous shock is becoming *endogenized* as embedded actors adopts it, interact with it, and makes it work to cause changes to the taken-for-granted work practices

8.2.1 Three Identified Changes of Work Practices

This dissertation has documented how institutionalized work practices of journalists have changed through the actions of human agents by incorporating a new technology. This directly contradicts one of the most central assertions in neo-institutional theory, as especially argued by DiMaggio and Powell – that human actors and their actions are themselves institutionally constructed. This dissertation addresses *how* the *endogenization* of technology by human actors fosters subsequent processes of changes to taken-for-granted institutionalized work practices. The research conducted in this dissertation provides for at least three distinct changes of journalistic work practices which hold implications for changes of the overall institution of the business press.

A New Type of Relationship between the Reader and FT

In line with the argument of Emirbayer and Mische, the actions of actors are documented in this research, for some of the time, as located simultaneously in the past, future, and present. In the unsettled situation of change, human agents continuously and simultaneously engage in patterns and activities located within the past, projected forward in time, and adjusted to the emerging context of the present. The unsettled situation displays the self-preservation of the institution as a result of its three dimensional character.

The analysis of observations conducted within the work practice of surveillance identifies several unsettled situations. However, one obvious example of an unsettled situation of change is the generation of the top 10 most read stories at ft.com and its relation to the traditional editorial decision making and selection of news material (A2 of the analysis). The generation of the top 10 most read stories at ft.com provides for a challenge to the predominant editorial power balance at FT along two lines:

1) The settlement of new criteria of editorial decision making and selection of news.
2) The rethinking of the position and power of readers over the editorial selection of news.

The list of the top 10 most read stories at ft.com establishes a situation of unrest in the editorial newsroom as a new type of debate among ft.com and FT-printed is initialized over how and on what ground to select and share news material identified as powerful and relevant among readers. The list of the top 10 most read stories provides the editorial team with a precise 'measurement of interests' among readership.

As such, the impact of the list is that a new relationship between FT and its readership is under construction where traditional profession driven editorial decisions are accessed by the reader as ft.com rates its news according to popularity and usefulness. This impact of readership on an otherwise withdrawn editorial selection process constructs the notion of unsettlement and change. The list provides feedback directly from readers on yesterday's selection and today's further planning of news. Issues of control over content are no longer limited to the newsroom. Readership is given both voice and a new type of power through the list as it provides for a precise indication of what readers want. The finding is in line with the outcome of section B of the analysis which addresses the substitution of the concept of *newsworthiness* with the concept of *usefulness*. The list of the top 10 most read stories is an indication of the interest of readers which is invited in and given a voice at the 1st news conference of FT-printed.

As such, the list provides the editorial teams of FT-printed and ft.com with a clear cut idea of what is considered useful new information. A professional journalistic competence of editorial decision making is shared with a third party; readership.

The outcome of the analysis of this observation is that it displays the presence of both the iterational and projective dimension of agency. Agents at both ft.com and FT-printed retrospectively assimilate this new experience to the traditional work practice of gathering news. From surveillance, ft.com makes it possible to perform surveillance on the preferences of readership. There is identification between both past and future going on which composes an ongoing debate and notion of unsettlement between the involved agents. The agents attempt to maneuver both within the taken-for-granted as an incorporation of this new situation within a traditional schema of action and at the same time, they realize that the application of the taken-for-granted falls short.

From Newsworthiness to Usefulness

This research also documents that there are times when human agents are more directed toward the future which creates an imaginatively and critical response toward the contextual structure of the work practice. The discovery process of change displays this as exploration of institutional change as agents interact with the Internet technology and as a consequence generate identifiable changes to the traditional work practice and thus challenge the old institutional template.

The analysis of observations conducted within the work practice of surveillance at ft.com documents how a new type of surveillance activity generates a new type of information about readership (B of the analysis). Access to new information about the stock portfolio of readers implies a change of the journalistic focus of 'newsworthiness' to the concept of 'usefulness'. As such, the market desk is positioning itself as a '*value adding agent*' as it has become able to provide readers

with a customized online delivered service rather than with a non personal objective piece of business news. Readers of business news are for the greater part involved in decision making as part of their professional life. The market desk of ft.com seeks to meet that demand through the development of a high level of customization of news. News is no longer just news because they provide readers with new information. News is news because they add value to personal and professional interests of readers. This implies a change of the traditional position of FT as a provider of business news. The actions of the WPPs at the market desk as they extract new information about readership out of the work practice of surveillance changes the context of producing FT news. The context is no longer tied to a set of traditional journalistic rules and norms about when and why information counts as news material. The context is tied to the interest and preferences of readers and their ideas as to when and why information counts as news material. The change is an introduction of a new position of FT – the position of the '*value adding agent*'.

The work practice of surveillance as it is displayed at the market desk illustrates the imaginative and projective capabilities of human actors as a response to the opportunities of a new technology. The actors do not repeat past patterns and activities. Instead this is an example of how human agents at the market desk of ft.com project the traditional journalistic notion of 'newsworthiness' forward in time as an imaginatively response to their interaction with new possibilities of the Internet technology. This is an example of an observation of inventiveness of human agents which indicates a break away from the constrains of the traditional institutional template of producing objective journalism. It is an example of how human agents are capable of a reconstruction of the conditions traditionally determining the specific work practice of surveillance. As such, it is an example of a break away from the routinized, taken-for-granted (or in Barley's terms 'scripted') knowledge and actions

that provides for the stability and resistance of the institution as the formative influence of the past is non existent.

A New Set of Sources

The integrated analysis of *the work practice of publishing* and *the work practice of surveillance* (C and H of the analysis) documents a new use of sources at ft.com. The analysis illustrates how the work practice of surveillance of online news agencies prescribes that the list of sources traditionally in use is narrowed down.

At ft.com, the online service provided by the news agencies is considered a valid source without further check and often remains the primary source throughout the work process. The new set of sources in play at ft.com primarily consists of a range of online sources in contrast to the old, which consisted of both the use of news agencies, freelancers, and correspondents. As such, it is a notable change when analyzing the condensed activities of surveillance, writing, and publishing at ft.com that the proportion of the use of a single online source is predominant. The WPPs at ft.com pursues the activity of writing for ft.com in a way that challenges and changes the situational context of action itself. Instead of making use of a set of multiple sources in support for a new story, the WPPs apply one online delivered source identified in the practice of surveillance. As the observations from the field document, the WPP considers his received patterns of actions and the importance of the use of a multiple set of sources, but decides to change that pattern. The changes to the received pattern of action fit the qualities of the technology at hand. The WPPs are ‘bending’ the rules, ‘bending’ the tradition to fit the present situation of work where they write in a different context; in the context of *the work practice of surveillance*. The amount of information and the speed of delivery require a change of the traditional use of sources.

These three identified changes of journalistic work practices document the degree of intervention of technology on the taken-for-granted work practices. The three changes have been identified as both discovery processes and unsettled situations of change. Two concluding points can be captured from these three findings:

1) The documented changes within journalistic work practice are the result of the *endogenization* by human agents of the exogenous shock of the Internet technology. The three findings document the unexpected situation where the interrelatedness of human agents and a new technology causes an intervention of the taken-for-granted work practices of journalism. They document how the use of technology at Financial Times has caused observable changes to at least three of the most traditionally based set of rules, values, and norms (the concept of *newsworthiness*, *the relation to readers*, and *the use of sources*) incorporated in the work practice of producing journalism.

2) Second but not least, the identified changes of journalistic work practices hold the potential to consider a change of the overall institution of journalism. A change of the criteria of what is and will be considered a piece of 'news' holds the potential to change the position and role of the institution of journalism. As the traditional concept of newsworthiness is added the dimension of usefulness it implies a new relation to readers and perhaps a new institutional position; the position of '*value adding news agent*' instead of provider of objective journalism. As stated in the analysis, the primary criteria for producing news will then perhaps no longer be its status as 'news', but its relevance and the answer to the questions; for whom, how many, and why?

8.3 Contrasts to Prior Studies

As mentioned in chapter four of this dissertation, various studies have considered the influence of human agents in relation to the organizational impact of technology. The

conceptualization of technology-use and its relation to human agents of Orlikowski et al (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) and Barley (Barley 1986) are emphasized here as central contributions and useful to positioning of this dissertation.

As outlined, both study the interaction of human agents and technology within the framework of structuration theory (Giddens 1984) and in particular how technology is structured by human agents in the context of its use. The relevance of the work of Orlikowski and Barley to the positioning of this dissertation is the assumption that the structuring of technologies in relation to human agents refers to processes of change. That is, processes through which human agents make technology fit the situation and thereby causing both reproductions and changes of the particular context within which the technology work. The studies of technology and structuring stress the interpretation made by human agents of their work, the organization, and the technology at hand. The argument is that human agents rely on existing institutional constituents in order to make use of the technology. Thus, within the studies of Orlikowski et al and Barley, it is demonstrated how technology is used to accomplish traditional tasks. Among the results of the study of processes of structuring the use of technology around institutional properties and the reinforcement of institutional properties, changes are observed. This result of the influence of human agents and their use of technology and its impact on the institution is, in Orlikowski's own terms "… *often unintended and unnoticed*." (Orlikowski, Yates et al. 1995) (p. 425.) In other words, the work conducted on 'technology structuring' by Orlikowski and Barley focus on the activities of human agents which shape the technology in use. As such, both Orlikowski and Barley's point of departure is to expand sociological thought on the connection between institutions and action.

Barley's ambition is to outline a theory of how technology might occasion different organizational structures by altering institutionalized roles and patterns of interaction.

Barley identifies how identical CT scanners occasioned similar structuring processes in two radiology departments and led to divergent forms of organization. What is interesting in relation to Barley is his argument on structure and institution:

> Structure can be viewed simultaneously as a flow of ongoing action and as a set institutionalized traditions or forms that reflect and constrain that action. More important than either realm, however, is the interplay that takes place between the two over time. Through this interplay, called the process of structuring, institution practices shape human actions which, in turn, reaffirm or modify the institutional structure. Thus, the study of structuring involves investigating how the institution realm and the realm of action configure each other.
> (Barley 1986) (p. 80).

As mentioned in the introduction, this dissertation is directed toward an integration of the theoretical understanding of the unintended consequences of technology and agency, between neo-institutional theory and the theoretical proposition on agency put forward by Emirbayer and Mische (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). The work carried out by Orlikowski and Barley is interesting to the position of this dissertation since they both recognize technology and its existence as an object of study in the realm of human actors. Both Orlikowski and Barley study technology and its incorporation into the everyday life of human actors of an institution. However, both work using the language of Giddens and examine situations of technology and evolving change from that perspective. As such, both Orlikowski et al and Barley focus on change from the point of view of a structuration process and not so much on the processes leading to change. This dissertation focuses on the processes of change and the argument is that some decoupling occurs between the institutional template and the actions of daily life as a result of the exogenous shock of technology. As such, the contribution of this study is to capture the occurring distance between the institutional template and the actions of institutional agents as processes of institutional change.

The identified change process of this dissertation, labeled *the discovery process* is characterized as such an incident where the institutional template and the work practice of agents reconfigure the traditional order as a direct result of the adoption and interplay with new technology. As such, the recognition of technology as an object of study and the focus to study technology in the realm of human actors is a recognition shared between Orlikowski et al, Barley, and this dissertation. The aim of this dissertation has been to study what occurs *after* the exogenous shock of technology. That is, what happens to the taken-for-granted work practice as technology becomes *endogenized* by human agents.

8.4 The Impact of the Research

The results of this dissertation document that the connection between traditional work practices and the institutional order is decoupled for a period of time as a result of the *endogenization* of the exogenous shock. In other words, the replication of institutional patterns departs from practice and eventually, changed practice patterns reconfigure the institutional setting which will then never return to "… *the way things are* ...." (Berger and Luckmann 1967) (p. 56). This is the displayed and documented effect of the exogenous shock as it has been studied from the perspective of human agents and their adoption of the Internet technology within their work practices; as a process of *endogenization* of the Internet technology at FT.

The primary driver of this dissertation has been to study changes of institutionalized work practices and its relation to the adoption of new technology. It is a different and new angle to the existent bulk of studies of institutional change and its motivation. The focus of work practices and how work practices get affected by the adoption of a new technology is what marks this research a new contribution to the neo-institutional school of thought.

The argument throughout this dissertation is that human agency and the interrelatedness between actions and the adoption of new technology needs to be recognized as a driver of institutional change. Intriguing research within the neo-institutional theoretical framework has been conducted which focus on institutional complexity and institutional variation and change. But the argument here is that it does not provide for an adequate understanding of the significance of the interrelatedness of human actions and technology as core constituents of changes of traditional work practice and eventually the overall institutional template. The critique of neo-institutional theory is based on the fact it tends to focus on the power of institutions and their resistance to change as often argued by Scott (Scott 1995). That is, there is an outspoken interest in how things remain the same in contrast to how they change and why. The notion of change within neo-institutional theory has been accused of being both ambiguous and contradictory by Hira and Hira (Hira and Hira 2000). And the critique of the stand on the resistance to institutions has been carried out among several theorists, for instance, Dacin, Goodstein, and Scott (Dacin, Goodstein et al. 2002). Hira and Hira's argue that studies of variation and change within the neo-institutional school of thought fail to explain the sources of modifications and thus fail to explain change *sui generis* (Hira and Hira 2000). Hira and Hira are the one's who suggest that factors such as technology, culture, and ideology should be included as drivers of change to future studies (Hira and Hira 2000). This dissertation is much inspired by the critique as it has been put forward by Hira and Hira. That is, neo-institutional theory *does* explain change, but tend to focus on 1) change as a reaction to external factors and 2) change as a result of entrepreneurs exploiting new openings within the institutional system. But how neo-institutional theory explains changes in the rules, norms, and values themselves and how they come about within the work practice of human agents is considered crucial to this study and perhaps an important missing link?

The examination of change of work practices is here conducted in relation to the interaction by human actors with new technology. The idea is to study the factor of technology directly and its impact on work practices. As captured in chapter 4, neo-institutional theory does not constitute technology as an object of analysis. Button and Knights refer to this as the 'black box' problem (Button 1993; Knights and Murray 1994). As such, this is an attempt to open up 'the black box' of technology to direct attention to how the change of institutionalized work practice manifests itself in relation to the implementation of technology.

Nor have the neo-institutional school of research provided for much qualitative work of how human agency interpenetrates with the old institution at the level of work practices even though the micro-dynamics of institutional change have experienced an increase (Powell 1991; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Barley and Tolbert 1997; Campbell 2004). The attempt to capture institutional change from the perspective of work practice is a qualitative research effort which adds to the often qualitative oriented neo-institutional bulk of research. As such, this research contends that a central key to understand institutional change is to understand the actions of human agents. The actions of human agents manifest the work practices within the institution which again configure or reconfigure the institutional template. Hence, the point of departure for this research is the acknowledgement that the glue of institutions is the repetition of the taken-for-granted without conscious planning. This dissertation supports the theoretical neo-institutionalist assumption that institutions are constituted through practice and that practice is developed and constituted through human agency. However, it offers a framework for thinking theoretically within the realm of neo-institutional theory about the interaction between technology and human agents and its consequences for institutional change.

Much of the debate in institutional analysis has been a debate about what explains institutions and what institutions explain. The concern of this research has been to break away from causal and contextual models of institutions and to study the process of construction as a process conditioned by the interaction between human agents and new technology. In sum, the perspective of this dissertation where the actions of human agents are studied in relation to the adoption of new technology provides new knowledge about institutional change processes and lays the basis for a richer understanding of the capacity of human agents and technology.

APPENDIX: THE NARRATIVE FROM THE FIELD

The richly description (Geertz 1973) of a social world is the function of this narrative in order to be able to identify the processes that construct and reconstruct this specific social world. It builds on the interest in the social accomplishment, among qualitative researchers (Gubrium and Holstein 2000), of order and meaning and its motivation. The concern of the narrative is the study of the interpretive practice and how reality is constructed among human actors and to shed light on how the social construction processes are shaped in interplay with new technology.

1 FT Background

It was during the summer of 2002, that Financial Times in London agreed to collaborate with me in a field study of the work practices of the editorial newsroom. The editorial newsroom of Financial Times had at that time been integrated to include both the production patterns behind publishing for ft.com and the production patterns behind the traditional printed newspaper [interview with Peter Martin, former editor of ft.com 12.03.2002]. As such, the editorial integration of the Internet technology had been in focus at Financial Times since the mid 1990's, where ft.com was first launched. The use of the Internet as a second channel for publishing financial news then was considered an editorial experiment at Financial Times. It was considered a facilitator to publishing financial news and never a factor for substantial changes. Thus, online delivered news was on the agenda at Financial Times, but the subsequent processes of change at the editorial level were not addressed and taken in at first. The change processes at Financial Times had primarily addressed the launching of ft.com as an extra channel for publication and had not included the work practices at the level of the editorial newsroom. A conflict came into existence between management

interests and actual work practice among journalists at the news desks. A dualism that created a dynamic editorial setting in which it was difficult for a dominant institutional reality to remain dominant. In other words, Financial Times held no clear picture of the impact of the Internet technology and its effects on actual journalistic production and its established value chain. In an Interview the Deputy Managing Editor of Financial Times expressed some of the initial intentions and ideas in the following way:

> …in the early days when ft.com was initialized in the minds of most of the journalists, ft.com was just a kind of little stepchild and occupied only a tiny corner of the newsroom …. We [at the newspaper] didn't understand what they were doing ….
> (Deputy Managing Editor at the Financial Times)[4].

The initial context was that FT represented an institutional system that had embedded a new technology without taking further notice. Soon after, human actors are actively getting involved in making the new technology work within a traditional production setting and filling in the gaps that came into existence in the definition of the institutionalized setting.

2 The News Conference

The conference exists in order to formalize daily editorial planning and initiate the content and production plans. It is considered a core structure of production. In the case of a newspaper organization, a twice-daily conference is held on morning and evening papers, or when needed on Sunday and weekly papers, at which subjects are discussed and directives given. These conferences are attended by the 'inner cabinet' and by the various departmental executives. In the case of daily papers the early news conference is concerned mainly with newsgathering and features ideas, the later one

[4] Own bracketing

with production. At the early news conference the editor might draw certain policy matters to the attention of executives, report on the circulation, and conduct an inquest on the previous day's paper, comparing it with rival papers. Praise or blame is handed out and the news and features programme for the day is then considered. The news editor, features editor, sport editor and pictures editor present their schedule of work and the likely balance of the paper is discussed. It might be decided to drop certain stories or increase coverage of others. An important function of the news conference is that the executives can find out and take responsibility of what the day's production look like in detail. It also allows ideas to be tested by discussion. When the conference breaks up, the departments embark on the jobs for the day and the editing of the paper begins.

As production work on and the main news pages draws near, the second news conference, the production conference, is held. This is a smaller meeting involving mainly executives concerned with news and production and its function is to 'sell' to the editor the worth of the main news stories and pictures for the later pages and to receive guidance on the choice of the page one story and breaking news of the day. Once these are agreed and a balance established the job of producing and 'bringing out' the paper is delegated to the night editor and the production team and the main editing layout, typesetting and make-up of the pages are carried through. Each page is slotted into a time schedule, page one being the last to be completed, leading up to edition time when the paper is ready to go to press (Hodgson 1996). The news editor is in charge of organizing the news gathering and news writing activity of the day by assessing information at hand, briefing reporters and local correspondents, planning the coverage of stores in the light of the day's known schedule of news, and checking the finished work before it is passed to the sub-editors (Hodgson 1996).

2.1 The Daily Conference Structure at Financial Times

The Deputy Managing Editor of FT-printed argues for some of the challenges the institutionalized structure of the news conference has already faced and is facing at Financial Times:

> I think that there is a degree where the newspaper is still the senior partner. I think over time we will see news conferences where the London daily cycle will still dominate the decision-making; a main morning London conference and a main evening conference in London, which will be the most important. But I think we will see developing a 24 hour news cycle possible with other news conferences going on very well with a later news conference in the US – five or six o clock in the evening US time and equally an early news conference dominated by Hong Kong which will take place six o clock in the morning London time…. That will have the effect evading the traditional newspaper dominance. There is still a degree to which the newspaper is the main driver because of the scale of it. There will be less and less distinction between the priorities of the newspaper and the priorities of ft.com. News decisions will be decisions based more and more on FT as a whole.
> *Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London)

On Monday the 17th of June I entered the editorial newsroom at Financial Times for the first time. Equipped with pencil, paper, and tape recorder I entered the field at 10.00am. The narrative is based on the observations made that week in London in June 2002. It is organized along structural lines and is not necessarily following a chronological order. However, every observation is marked with the precise date and time. On Monday the 17th of June in 2002 and the following week of observation, the daily news conferences at Financial Times had the structure as outlined in the schedule below.

FT-printed	**Ft.com**	**Character**
	07.30am	Morning briefing about material picked up primarily at the electronic wire news services

10.30am		1st news conference
	11.00am	Providing the ft.com news desks with information settled at the 1st news conference
11.00am		Providing the news desks of FT-printed with information settled at the 1st news conference
11.30am		Leader conference – a discussion of subjects for editorial comments
	11.30am	Coordination meeting
	14.30pm	Coordination meeting
	16.30pm	Afternoon briefing conference
17.00pm		2nd news conference

Table 1
The daily conference structure[5]

2.2 The Weekly Conference Structure at Financial Times

The daily conference structure is the one, which sets the pace at the editorial newsroom. The conferences, which take place during the day, are central as they direct a day's production. However, in support of the daily conferences are weekly news conferences. The weekly news conferences are interesting because of their withdrawn and yet rather important character.

FT-printed	**Ft.com**	**Character**
Tuesday 11.30am		The editorial team attends at meeting with

[5] In addition to the conference structure as unfolded in the scheme, the observations will reveal that the ft.com main news desk often calls for informal meetings during the day.

		the News Editor of FT-printed
	Thursday 16.00pm	The editorial team attends a meeting with the News Editor of ft.com

Table 2
The weekly conference structure

2.3 The 07.30am Conference at Ft.com

The morning news conference at ft.com is usually located at the ft.com main news desk. The editorial newsroom is empty. The newspaper staff has not come in yet and the ft.com staff needs not to meet in a conference room elsewhere. Present are the Deputy Editor and the morning shift of WPP's. Usually the Editor of Markets attend the morning conference, but this morning he was busy and send one of the senior reporters to take his place.

Each desk briefs to the group about the highlights of the morning. What has been picked up as central, what has been updated since the London desk took over from the New York desk, and what has already been spotted as the potential big news stories of the day? The Internet and its many news wires provide the ft.com desk with a lot of information. Each desk picks up material and shares it with the other desks. Sometimes one desk might have picked up on material in support of work performed somewhere else. This information is shared at the conference. The morning conference is primarily concerned with this type of activities since the material has not yet been distributed between the desks. Gradually the Deputy Editor gets the whole picture and distributes the workload between the desks. The day is beginning and the production flow has set in.

This photo visualizes the physical arrangements of the editorial newsroom. In front is the main news desk of FT-printed from which a view is offered towards the surrounding news desks of FT-printed.

2.4 The 1st News Conference at FT-printed

At 10.30am the 1st news conference at FT-printed takes off. Present are the Deputy Editor, the News Editor, the Features Editor, the Editor of International Companies, the Editor of UK Companies, the Editor of World News, the Editor of Home News, the Editor of Markets, and the Deputy Editor of ft.com. Besides from those, FT Germany is represented along with representatives of the central news desk staff. Thus, the news conference represents the structure of FT-printed and thereby the structural arrangements of news desks in the editorial newsroom.

The structure and tone of the 1st news conference is formal. The Deputy Editor sits at the end of a meeting table leading the conference and the editors are placed after rank or importance next to him. The Deputy Editor of ft.com hands out a summary of the following night and the morning's online production and publications. The news

conference is as mentioned a newspaper driven structure. Five activities are identifiable at the 1st news conference; briefing, evaluation, reporting, argumentation, and planning. All the responsible editors *brief* at the conference on central activities and potential news coverage picked up at the respective desk overnight and the current morning. Since the team structure at ft.com varies radically from the structure at FT-printed with the introduction of a 07.00am -15.00pm midday shift in contrast to the traditional 10.00am shift at FT-printed, ft.com's contribution to the briefing activity is noticeable. With a production start at 07.00am and with a morning conference at 07.30am, ft.com has kicked start the production flow. Obviously, FT-printed benefits from the work performed at the ft.com news desk during the morning. Attention is paid to the handout and to the ft.com deputy editor's briefing. All editors take notes and address the briefing with additional questions to the material. On a Monday, the 1st news conference at FT-printed is also an *evaluation* of the weekend edition of the paper. The evaluation activity always focuses on yesterday's edition. The Deputy Editor, who picks up on the specific coverage of news stories and its argument in relation to, for instance, how the same story has been covered elsewhere among competitors, gives the evaluation and critique. The evaluation also holds the purpose of testing whether or not FT has paid enough and the right attention to a story or if it should undergo further elaboration. Ft.com is often not included in the Deputy Editor's evaluation. It is a very comparative newspaper-to-newspaper oriented critique on content and tone. Ft.com might not play a central role in the evaluation activity, but as the conference moves on to the ft.com's *report* on the top 10 most read stories, it demands the attention among the editors. The 10 most read stories are a list generated by a database originally a marketing tool. The Deputy Editor of the ft.com news desk is briefed every morning on the level of activity taking place at ft.com with regard to answering the question 'what has been of interest to the readership?' The announcement of the 10 most read corporate stories, market stories, and world stories at ft.com, marks the atmosphere at the conference. Information on the behavior of

readership and access to the interests of readership on the basis of ft.com news material sets off a strategic discussion on the inner dynamic between ft.com and paper. The negotiation between content published at ft.com and FT-printed and how it should be divided is initialized. After the report on readership put forward by ft.com, the editors of FT-printed continue their reports from the morning. These reports contain information on what has been scheduled to be produced on the basis of research performed from 10.00am when the first newspaper shift came in and is a further elaboration on the first briefing. Everybody takes notes as the activity of reporting gradually takes the form of *argumentation*. The Deputy Editor kick starts the argument by giving feed back on the reports with regard to what has already been brought in related newspapers on the issue. This sets off the argumentation as a central activity where the FT angle is sharpened. The atmosphere is vivid. Each editor argues why the individual story has been picked up and formulates rather accurately what the main FT argument is likely to be in a final version. Some of the editors take a lot of time providing the conference with extensive summaries of their material and their line of thought. The Deputy Editor constantly interacts and gives precise feedback to inform the editor of missing and necessary points to be included in the material. Underlying the activity is the natural choice of selection. If the argument of the editors doesn't hold water, the story will be left out. Thus, each story of importance is carefully folded out and the argument includes thematic issues, headline possibilities, and sources – nothing of importance is held back from the group. That is, the material unfolded in this manner is key stories and perhaps front-page material. This testing of the material also includes reflections on its weight with regard to its nature and the strategic planning of the material. Maybe there are strong reasons for further investigation on the matter; reasons strong enough for FT-printed not to publish the story tomorrow and instead bring ft.com in play revealing only part of the matter later today. In general, there is an obvious contrast between the abstraction level at FT-printed and ft.com. Where the editors of FT-printed unfold their material and argue in

every possible direction, the ft.com team indirectly enhances its status as surveillance service for FT-printed through its brief manner. The fact that the 1st news conference is a traditional newspaper structure might play a role in this respect. The day is *planned* at the 1st news conference. And if possible, material is split for FT-printed and ft.com to synergize. To the extent possible, the management of references and links are discussed with regard to timing and ranking of the material. The atmosphere is production oriented with focus on the final deadline and how to get there in time with a strong idea of how tomorrow's FT look.

Both FT-printed and ft.com produce weekly diaries. The weekly diary contains the production plan for material possible to schedule in advance. The week is planned in diaries respectively at meetings at the ft.com main news desk and at the main news desk of FT-printed. The weekly diaries are always included in the 1st news conference to the extent that the production of the day relates to the weekly schedule. And the Deputy Editor makes sure that all material included in the diaries is properly followed during the week and argue how the daily news coverage might support the weekly production plans. That is, 'coherence' is a key concept; as coherence between FT-printed and ft.com, as coherence between daily production and weekly schedules, and as coherence between the week and the weekend editions of FT. To secure coherence a lot of effort is put on synergy wherever possible across both channel structure and news material. The 1st news conference is over. People split up into the many desks at the editorial newsroom. The atmosphere is busy.

2.5 The 11.00am Conference at Ft.com

At 11.00am an informal meeting is set at the ft.com main news desk. The occasion is the news conference at the ft.com main news desk. The Deputy Editor and one representative of each area of the Web Page Publisher's desk are present. At ft.com

the overall work force consists of Web Page Publishers. The function and role of the Web Page Publisher is unfolded in another section of this narrative. The Web Page Publisher is an ft.com invention. His or her competences are an expansion of the traditional journalist competences. The Web Page Publisher has become a central object of observation. The 11.00am ft.com conference is a meeting directed by the Deputy Editor of ft.com. Each desk is given time to report and evaluate to the Deputy Editor.

This photo illustrates the informal character of this conference and its pace, as people don't find time to take a seat.

The Web Page Publisher's desk consists of a variety of desks. That is, the ft.com and FT-printed are organized along different lines. FT-printed works primarily according to the geographical lines of Europe, the US, Asia, and the world. Ft.com is organized along the sector lines of TMT, Finance, Consumer and Manufacture, World news and Market. The argument for the difference of structure is that ft.com is a channel with an international reach and as most industries and corporations are global the geographical categories makes less sense online. The argument in support of the difference with

regard to structure is that it gradually has becomes difficult for FT-printed to create stories and share stories with readership because of its geographical focus. Ft.com doesn't experience that as a result of its globalization strategy along sectors and areas of expertise.

Present at the 11.00 news conference at the ft.com main news desk are the Web Page Publishers who represent the five ft.com news desks. It is often the most experienced Web Page Publisher who attends the news conferences at the main news desk. Three activities are identifiable at this conference; evaluation, coordination, and planning. The ft.com main news desk *evaluates* the morning and what has already been running at ft.com and how that fits in with the strategy settled at the 1st news conference. That is, as the Deputy Editor presents the results and the agreements made at the 1st news conference to the ft.com news desk *coordination* is attempted across FT-printed and ft.com. Much of what has been running on ft.com during the morning will be taken over by FT-printed and elaborated on for pieces in the paper. The daily strategy of ft.com is thus settled partly driven by ft.com's own morning production and partly driven by the strategy set at FT-printed at the 1st news conference. Implicit at the conference is awareness of the overall FT strategy. Breaking news is brought all day by both ft.com and FT-printed. It varies who brings the stories and it is often negotiated as they occur. It is different with the stories referred to as scoops. A scoop is a news story, which there is reason to believe no other newspaper has become aware of. A scoop is different from 'breaking news' with respect to the exclusiveness of the matter. The policy not to publish scoops at ft.com until after 22.00pm has been settled to protect the story from being brought anywhere else. Even close to 22.00pm, FT-printed is often capable of running scoops, but most often ft.com release part of the matter after 22.00pm. Nevertheless, it is an issue and a reason to negotiate between ft.com and FT-printed. The result of negotiation is often that if it is a scoop, which is found unlikely to elaborate more on in the next day's newspaper, ft.com runs the story

immediately. If FT-printed can argue that the story has elements worth elaborate on in a printed article, it goes to the paper and ft.com waits a day in order to keep pace with the newspaper. Thus, coordination is attempted at this conference, but is going on constantly during the day as issues arise that will need negotiation between ft.com and FT-printed. After the Deputy Editor has presented the results from the 1st news conference, each ft.com desk accounts for the attempted *plan* of the day. The planning of the production at ft.com is thus dependent of at least two parameters; 1) the incoming flow of news and its weekly and daily schedule and 2) the strategic negotiation between ft.com and FT-printed. That is, timing is a key concept at the ft.com news desk; timing of the daily flow, timing of weekly scheduled material, and timing in relation to yesterday's production. In relation to timing, another concept is central to ft.com; ranking. That is, a lot of effort is put on discussing how to rank the material at ft.com. That is, how to promote it in accordance to its importance. The issues of timing and ranking strongly depend on the result of the negotiation at the 1st news conference with FT-printed and the negotiation taking place during the day.

At the ft.com morning conference on Wednesday the 19th, the Editor of ft.com attends the conference. However, the Deputy Editor is still leading the meeting. There does not seem to be a pattern with regard to when or for what reasons the Editor of ft.com sits in at the morning conference at ft.com. But the effect is obvious. The level of abstraction is higher. Some of what so strongly characterize the behavior of the crew of FT-printed at the 1st news conference is suddenly present at the ft.com desk. Each editor carefully unfolds the argument of the ft.com material as the analytical skills of the ft.com team are tested or at leas tried out by the Editor.

This morning the Editor of ft.com, besides from adding to the level of abstraction at the desk, informs the desk about a new publishing system, which is planned to be introduced to the editorial newsroom late 2002. The new system has been developed

to ease the integration plans between FT-printed and ft.com. On the 24th, the first try out of the physical integration of the editorial newsroom was planned to take place. The two news desks are planned to become one on that day. The Editor informs the group on the latest news on the matter.

Before closing the conference, the Editor suggests that ft.com takes over the stock lists from FT-printed. She discusses the issue with the Deputy Editor and what might the possible effects of an online version of the stock lists? The suggestion is to take over the newspaper product and integrate it with the Investor site at ft.com. The Deputy Editor notes the idea and the conference closes.

2.6 The 11.00am Conference at FT-printed

At 11.00am the main news desk of FT-printed calls for a news conference. As is the case at the ft.com main news desk, this conference has the character of an informal meeting. Present are the News Editor of FT-printed, one representative of each of the news desks of FT-printed, and the Page Editor, who is the person in charge of what is referred to as the 'WHATPAGE'. This news conference has one purpose; to coordinate the workflow at FT-printed in relation to the production plans as set at the 1st news conference. The idea is to follow up on each story as presented at the 1st news conference and to put into effect the production plan of the day.

The WHATPAGE is a newspaper driven document, which is evolving constantly during the day and is not closed down until close to the deadline of FT-printed, which is at 22.00pm at night. A WHATPAGE is created for every page of FT-printed, but the front and back pages are in focus; the front and the back of the UK, Europe, US, and Asian edition of the Financial Times newspaper with regard to breaking news, their headlines, the catch lines, and their ft.com references. The WHATPAGE gives

an overview of the connection between FT-printed and ft.com. That is, if a piece of news story, regardless of its nature, gives reason to create a reference to ft.com or if an ft.com promotion box is printed in the FT-printed, the WHATPAGE provides the overall picture as illustrated in the fragment below.

```
  CATCHLINE                          AUTHOR(S)                          ETA    WORDS
1.  Deutsche Telekom will not grant share options to its board members
 and cut the share options plan for managers in a reaction to the slump
 in its share price,
X-ref   vodafone                        Page - ASI      USA       EUR       LON
webref                                 www.ft.com/ telecoms

 benoit                                                                   4pm     500
```

Fragment of content from a WHATPAGE

On the front and back page as well as on several of the front pages of the different sections of FT-printed, there are placed promotion boxes and references to ft.com. The creation of the promotion boxes in FT-printed is an attempt to create internal advertisement between FT-printed and ft.com. Readers are informed each time FT-printed and ft.com share content. The below example of a web reference is a fragment of FT-printed on the 24th of June 2002. The fragment illustrates the work and function of a web reference at the end of a printed article. This web reference offers insights into on what grounds FT-printed and ft.com share content. The headline of the printed article is '*Palestinians fear full West Bank takeover*' and is a piece on some of the latest military actions of the Israeli army on the West Bank and its consequences of fear and uncertainty among the Palestinian population. The article is a piece of news on the latest developments and on the arrest of another Hamas leader. This is where the article ends. And instead of leaving the reader here, ft.com offers additional reading on the matter. The unlimited amount of space at ft.com provides readers with access to several regional reports and with the opportunity to dig much deeper into the matter and catch up on the conflict as a whole.

m President
e
l said.

an officials
f seeking to
er the entire
to crush the
hority. Yas-
Palestinian
a document
uted by the
lling locals
must [now]
ot the Pales-
".
fensive has

announced it would capture Palestinian territory after every attack, there were growing signs inside Israel that the military operation could indeed be evolving into a wider takeover of the Palestinian territories.

Yedioth Ahronoth, the Israeli daily, reported that the Israeli army had returned to the territories "without a date of exit".

The road to a Palestinian state, Page 22
For regional reports, www.ft.com/mideastafrica

FT Monday 24th of June 2002 – example of web reference

On the 26th of May 2002 a document was issued on the matter by the WHATPAGE manager and distributed to the editorial news team at FT-printed. Apparently, the WHATPAGE was redesigned around that date.

> To help provide more accurate cross-refs and webrefs, the WHATPAGE templates have been redesigned to provide room for the precise location of related material. Instead of, for example, writing x-ref ICN there will be room to say Fiat sales and the precise page. There is also space to include the page strap and the folio/s through all editions. This will be most relevant and helpful for the outside pages but there is plenty of opportunity to encourage greater reader movements between sections by flagging up related stories….
>
> It is in everybody's interest to provide as much information as possible about cross-refs as we are failing readers if we conceal related material and assume they will search through the paper. We are also failing out writers if we don't tell the readers where their stories are …
> *WHATPAGE Manger, 26th of May 2002*

Even though this document mostly focuses on how readers find their way around FT-printed and its sections and the promotion of newspaper writers, the web reference is mentioned as an issue of importance. The following month a more elaborate document was issued by the WHATPAGE manger and distributed in the editorial news room:

> A good cross-ref saves readers time and effort finding material and encourages them to get the most from the FT. Give them the facts, show them the figures and then reveal the analysis and arguments. We cannot assume that they will be familiar with the FT; indeed we must

always bear in mind on of the basic rules that we have to explain the subject, albeit in an adult way.

Reporters and news editors have a vital role in ensuring copy has as many links as possible before it reaches the subs. Most reporters should know whether the story is part of a wider package, will have and editorial comment, Lex, or diary note and can include that fact as a note in their copy.

News editors should ask reporters what other material is available on a particular subject and can incorporate that in WHATPAGE – and as a not in the copy.

Reporters should familiarize themselves with the web page dealing with their beat and include that webrefs at the end of their copy….
WHATPAGE Manger, June 2002

This second document is both a statement with regard to politics and a guideline on how to actually carry out the references in practice during production. Even though this next piece might not be considered traditional FT material, it is an example of content sharing and its promotion. On the 18th of June 2002 Financial Times published material, which was effectively promoted and shared between FT-printed and ft.com. The material was related to the music industry and to the work of Diane Warren. It was planned to be a many sided story. Thus, a story fit to become a multi media story. The promotion box placed at the left corner at the bottom of the front page of FT-printed made the strategy clear.

Example of content sharing between ft.com and FT-printed

- The material was planned to appear as a feature. That is, it was given the status as something special and somewhat prominent in nature.

- The feature was planned to be published in the section Creative Business of FT-printed. The title of the feature was 'Song of praise'. FT-printed unfolded the professional profile of Diana Warren, her production, and offered readers insights on her skills as a businesswoman.

- Ft.com offered the other side of story. Under the headline 'Why music industry bosses love Diane Warren's one-woman hit factory' the material published on ft.com had a more personal tone to it. Ft.com provided a richer picture of the person, her background, and critique given by the industry bosses in that respect. The catchline on ft.com was 'Diane Warren – The most important songwriter in the world?' as the link to the full picture at www.ft.com/creativebusiness.

Later on Monday the 17th of June I followed the Deputy Editor of ft.com at work. This gave me insight into how the ft.com main news desk operates in creating the promotion boxes for FT-printed. The time was 14.00pm. The Deputy Editor of ft.com sent out an email to the various ft.com news desks. He needed responds from the entire ft.com news team on a matter concerning a promotion box for FT-printed. The promotion box was destined to the front and world page.

In order to create the final draft of the promotion box the Deputy Editor draws on the information given on the planned top stories at the 1st news conference, information running on the wire services, the weekly diaries, and finally the news team and their feedback.

The promotion box tends to hold a different status than the web reference. A web reference is placed at the end of an article to guide the readers towards more information provided by the ft.com. The promotion box, as the word suggests, promotes information of a more elaborate character than the web reference does. The web reference is more likely to give reference to information, which is more or less running at ft.com anyway, whereas the promotion box is thought to communicate a

more distinct message and to make readers follow up on a story at ft.com. In other words, the promotion box is often promoting exclusive ft.com news material, whereas the web reference is the reference at the end of a newspaper article to ft.com and access to additional material on the matter. The Deputy Editor visits the various news desks to chat with the news team on the matter. This gives him a picture of the actual production flow and gives him the final input as to how the promotion box ends up. It is of importance that ft.com delivers what the promotion box promises.

Promotion of the overall ft.com profile

At 14.45pm the Deputy Editor at ft.com checks his email to make sure if any of the desks have sent him additional input as the promotion box now enters its final fase. He consults the main news desk of FT-printed about his ideas and in particular the page editor of FT-printed, who is in charge of updating the WHATPAGE. The page editor holds the overview of tomorrow's newspaper and thus provides the clearest picture of the newspaper with regard to the actual wording of the promotion box and is the person to talk to if anything should change at this stage.

At 16.30pm the picture desk makes a draft of the final promotion box, dressed up in the newspaper format. This is handed over to the ft.com Deputy Editor and to the

main news desk of FT-printed. Finally both news desks accept the promotion box and the Deputy Editor of ft.com informs the various ft.com news desks on the outcome. The promotion boxes are handed back to the picture desk.

Promotion of ft.com and its coverage of the EU summit

As illustrated, the WHATPAGE is the central document at the 11.00am conference. That is, ft.com and FT-printed share through the WHATPAGE a sort of production plan, whereas the WHATPAGE traditionally belonged exclusively to FT-printed. The attempt is made to share content between FT-printed and ft.com and the WHATPAGE provides the tool to keep track of that coordination. The WHATPAGE remains a central document to the 11.00am news conference of FT-printed, but as illustrated its purpose has been expanded to include negotiation and coordination with ft.com material and its timing. These redesigns of the purpose of the WHATPAGE to not only embrace the production plan of FT-printed, enhances the notion of ft.com presence at the 11.00am newspaper conference. It could perhaps be suggested that the 11.00am newspaper conference and its agenda reveals an explicit redefining and revision of FT-printed in relation to the potentials of ft.com.

2.7 11.30am Coordination Meeting at Ft.com

The Editor of ft.com addresses the ft.com main news desk to discuss some overall editorial matters with the team. The overall editorial style of ft.com is the fist issue on the Editor's agenda. The Editor has been going through ft.com and enters the desk with suggestions to change on specific stories and a general critique of the editorial

standard. In relation to a content related discussion with the desk, the Editor presents the team with new plans on an ft.com special report. The special ft.com reports will be unfolded in another section of this narrative. The Editor presents the theme, its timing, and deadline to the desk.

The Editor addresses the Deputy Editor on a control and quality matter. The Editor is not satisfied with the traffic reports she gets on ft.com. She wants more and better information and she wants it coming frequently. The Deputy Editor is asked to provide her with at weekly ft.com report, not only on ft.com traffic, but on how much traffic can be counted as subscription based traffic. That is, how many FT subscribers are making use of ft.com and when and why. Ft.com has recently changed base from a non-subscription based business model to one based on subscription. The Editor wants control over what has happened to traffic, as a predominantly number of ft.com pages is no longer free to access. The argument is clear. The traffic report is supposed to reveal what are the primary interests of the subscribers, what is the preferred ft.com reading? The future strategy and refinement of the current ft.com editorial profile is user-guided. That is, because of access to information about readership, it is possible to adjust the editorial line to match a demand and support interests.

2.8 11.30am Weekly News Conference at FT-printed

The weekly news conference at FT-printed is lead by the News Editor. Present are all editors in charge of the main areas of FT-printed, the Deputy Editor at ft.com, one PR personnel, the Link Manager, and one representative of FT Deutschland. The agenda is fixed; the weekly news conference at FT-printed is all about coordination and planning. That is, the weekly conference is taking the daily 1st news conference to a higher level. It focuses on the weekly diary and on the overall production strategy on behalf of FT-printed for the coming week. Thus, the document of attention is the

weekly diary, which is issued as a hand out at the beginning of the conference. It is the interest of the weekly news conference to give time to discuss content, quality, deadlines, timing, and organizational issues. The tone of the conference is vivid and informal and yet serious and sometimes harsh.

The Deputy Editor of ft.com does not bring the ft.com diary. The conference is the newspaper's at it is and ft.com takes part in the planning in order to present and refine the ft.com tactic in relation to the diary of FT-printed. At this conference much focus is given on one particular event, the EU summit in Seville and on its planning and timing. The promotion box above illustrates the strategy as settled. FT-printed makes sure to cover the event through articles, which cover the political debate and issues concerning the agenda, whereas ft.com publish real time latest news and provides readers with large amounts of analysis, reports and full interview transcripts. The Seville summit is a good example of a how the channel strategy works in practice. In relation to the planning of the Seville event, the resources at the ft.com desk are discussed to provide a clear picture of whether or not the ft.com desk is dressed up for the job of supporting FT-printed and its rather heavy coverage on the matter? In other words, the conference focuses very much on how to plan the material in coordination with actual resources.

Issues from this morning's 1st news conference are brought up at the weekly conference as well. Some coverage might be worth taking a step further. That is, some stories told this week hold the potential of turning into more next week. And if that is the case, the argument is planned and the issue is discussed in much detail. In turn, the editors argue for their plans of the week and the News Editor provides for the critique and makes certain that every plan is carefully thought out. If the News Editor approves of the matter, the editor is safe to provide for the job. That is, it is the News Editor who in the end holds the responsibility for content and ethics of a story.

Therefore, it is often the News Editor who pushes the editors with respect to 'how far to go' on a matter and makes sure that the argument as thought out by the editor is tried out at the conference at its full length.

After having tried out the argument of the weekly material, the Link Manager, as the reader's advocate on navigation, is given time to refine the reference policy. The Link Manager's work is informed by research performed on readership and readership behavior carried out by the FT research unit. The overall attempt is to provide the reader with a 'complete FT experience'. By bringing the reader closer to the editorial process and planning, the Link Manager's job is to make sure that as many FT products as possible are included in the FT link policy. In order to carry out the link policy, the Link Manager evaluates last week's edition of FT-printed with regard to how successful the link policy was carried out. How well did the editorial team manage to link between one section and another and how well was the planned dynamic between FT-printed and ft.com established through links? In relation to ft.com the strategy is fairly clear; it is about driving as much traffic as possible to ft.com in order to continue FT consumption, it is about promoting ft.com and exclusive ft.com material, and above all it is about attracting more subscribers through best practice. It is discussed how to improve the management of links as no one is satisfied with the way it is currently organized. In other words, the issue of how to standardize the matter is discussed as it is considered an essential part of the overall FT Integration Policy. The News Editor is against nominating one person whose job it is to check FT-printed for cross references and links and argues that the task should be part of everybody's daily routine.

2.9 14.30pm Coordination Meeting at Ft.com

In between the institutionalized conference structure, unofficial conferences occur. Especially at the ft.com main news desk the need to meet frequently is outspoken and the tendency is that the ft.com main news desk calls for short meetings of this kind anytime during the day. The motivation is often coordination. The coordination is important at this hour and the occasion is the first midday team shift where also the Deputy Editor is leaving the desk for the day at 15.00pm. Monday the 17th of June 2002, the Deputy Editor of ft.com called for such a meeting at 14.30pm over the email.

Present is the entire editorial team of ft.com along with more or less the same group of WPP's as present at the 11.00am ft.com news conference. At this meeting the Deputy Editor of ft.com needs to coordinate the activities at the various desks for at least four reasons: 1) to coordinate between the first midday shifts at 15.00pm on what has been published during the first midday shift and how important material will be handed over to the next ft.com team, 2) to coordinate what has been and what is planned to be brought on the UK, EU, and US front pages of ft.com, 3) to coordinate the publishing of important material, its timing and ranking, and 4) to discuss the elaboration of material coming in from the wires. Because of the work pace at the ft.com news desk, coordination serves not only the purpose of planning the work load between team shifts, but serves also the purpose of maintaining control of the massive amount of material planned at weekly and daily conferences as well the unplanned and constant news flow running at the wires to the mail boxes of the ft.com news team. Coordination is perhaps a key word at the ft.com main news desk. The team shift structure at ft.com is different from the newspaper. Because of the length of the ft.com

workday, the day has been fragmented into five team shifts. This is done to secure constant surveillance and production at ft.com from 07.00am to 22.00pm.

2.10 16.00pm Weekly Conference at Ft.com

The weekly conference at ft.com is concerned with planning and at the same time functions as an update on strategic matters. The conference is exclusively editorial and the WPP's does not attend. Present are the Editor of ft.com, The Deputy Editor, the Editor of Markets, the editorial team at ft.com, and a representative of the IT staff.

The agenda varies as matters evolve at the editorial level. This conference is concerned with issues such as; the new publishing system, the link policy at ft.com, the integration of the news desks, the editorial line at ft.com, and e-business.

The Editor provides the latest news on the new publishing system and its capabilities. The system is obviously a big issue at the editorial level since it is going to have a direct effect on the production cycle at both FT-printed and ft.com. The Editor of Markets raises a link issue. He is concerned with the effects of making use of external links at ft.com. What are the effects on ft.com? And what are the effects on the overall FT link policy? It is proposed that whenever ft.com makes use of external links, the preparation of the reader should be careful. The link reference and link issue is a delicate matter. FT-printed is gradually learning and getting use to operate with the concept and what should then happen to the reader at ft.com? Should they be driven away or held back? The Editor informs about the arrangement she has made with the Deputy Editor to create weekly ft.com traffic reports. The future will be centered on driving traffic to ft.com and to get the really devoted FT-printed readers to also make use of ft.com.

2.11 The 16.30pm Conference at Ft.com

Just before the third midday shift at ft.com, the third and final ft.com news conference is held. Present are the Deputy Editor, the editorial team and the WPP' representing the various news desks. At this conference the New York branch of ft.com participate over the phone. From 22.00pm to 07.00am the next morning, the New York office takes over from where the London desk left matters. Since the New York desk has just opened it need to prepare the take over through a briefing on the London production of the day. After that, the US desk informs the London desk on which matters have occurred to be on the production agenda in New York. In order to produce and follow up on matters from 22.00pm London time, the New York desk needs not only briefing on exclusive ft.com issues, but it needs to be given the full picture which includes briefing on what has been settled to run during the day at FT-printed at the 1st news conference and where ft.com and FT-printed has managed to share content to the extent exemplified above. Thus, the promotion boxes are brought up, confirmed by the ft.com main news desk again, and the full picture is handed over to the New York desk on the matter. This afternoon, three promotion boxes have been produced for FT-printed; one for the front page, the back page, and one for the second front page. This information is shared with the New York desk.

Another central issue which needs to be settled not only in relation to the work flow at the London desk, but especially in relation to the hand over to the New York desk is briefing on scoops. That is, are there any very important stories, which ft.com should bring after 22.00pm and if that is the case, the New York ft.com desk needs to be given the full picture on the matter?

2.12 The 2nd News Conference at FT-printed

At 17.00pm the 2nd news conference takes off. Present are the Deputy Editor, the News Editor, the Features Editor, the Editor of International Companies, the Editor of UK Companies, the Editor of World News, the Editor of Home News, the Editor of Markets, and the Deputy Editor of ft.com. Besides from those, FT Germany is represented along with representatives of the central news desk staff. And as it is the case at the 16.30pm conference at ft.com, the US desk is listening in on the phone. It happens that the 2nd news conference is lead by the Executive Editor instead of the Deputy Editor. The Executive Editor is in charge of production and the two editors take turns in who sits in at the 2nd news conference.

The structure of the 2nd news conference is formal as is the case at the 1st news conference. Everybody gathers around the same meeting table and place themselves more or less after the same rank, as is the case at the 1st conference. The Deputy Editor is the leader of the meeting. The atmosphere is one of concentration. Everybody is in the middle and some near the end of today's production and their minds are set at their work. The pace is high – and people talk fast.

The agenda is obviously evaluation on today's production and discussion on related matters. The page editor hands out the WHATPAGE. At this hour, the WHATPAGE is more or less complete and is the document which sums up and gives a rough idea of what tomorrow's newspaper might look like. In turn, all editors present their work, its argument, focus, and difficulties. While constantly consulting the WHATPAGE, the Deputy Editor is carefully participating in refining the material and adding what he considers is of relevance.

Like at the 1st news conference, ft.com provides the group with a hand out of an evaluative character. That is, an overview of what has been produced at the various news desks, what has been settled as promotion in FT-printed, and finally an outline of the top 10 most read stories during the day.

Top ten:
Andersen verdict gives boost to Enron probe
Lucy Kellaway: Beyond parody - (re Monday: farce) - **subscription**
FTSE swings back above 4,700 on US gains
Raffarin confirmed as French prime minister
Europe set to shed 150,000 engineering jobs
China opens Shenzhen to foreign investment
Tougher life for European chief executives
Wall St bulls pin hopes on corporate news
Philip Coggan: Emerging markets back
Argentines sue leading Spanish banks

Example of the list of the top 10 most read stories at ft.com

These two hand outs, the WHATPAGE of FT-printed and the ft.com review with special emphasis on the promotion boxes and the top 10 most read stories, provides the frame for discussion on the current production along the lines of further elaboration of newspaper stories and the related ft.com timing of material. Besides from that, the list of the 10 most read stories also reveals what stories on ft.com makes money. That is, the ambition is that the 10 most read stories are published as subscription based material. The day constantly reveals news developments and as the 2nd news conference is closed it becomes clear that what has been settled at the 1st news conference might have changed and been renegotiated many times at the various news conferences during the day.

3 The Editorial Production

The production circle at ft.com as it is unfolded in this narrative is based on unstructured observations. The aim was to observe as many routines as possible in order to cover the full circle of production. The timetable reflects this attempt, in the sense that the observations have been scattered out during most of the working hours to cover most of the production at ft.com. In contrast, the narrative on the news conferences, this story builds on observations from the whole week. To create an image of work practice, not one, but many practices have been observed as they all fall out differently and display different aspects of production. The Deputy Managing Editor of FT told me the story about how the editorial newsroom changed its structure with the decision to deliver news online:

> Before ft.com the newsroom was essentially just a classical and traditional old fashioned newspaper newsroom with different news desks, the main news desk, the world news desk, the home news desk, the international company news desk, and the UK company news desk working towards the news editor at the main news desk and then the reporting teams positioned either in London or abroad working with those news desks. We were just producing a newspaper for different markets.
> *The Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London)

In the first phase of integration of the editorial newsroom, ft.com copied the desk structure of FT-printed, but divided news coverage along markets instead of geography. As such, ft.com consists of a main news desk, a world news desk, a home news desk, a market news desk, a finance news desk, a TMT news desk, and a consumer and manufacture news desk. Deputy Managing Editor explained that process to me in the same interview:

> … Physically when you looked into the newsroom the entire mentality of the organization was oriented to producing the newspaper. And in the early days when ft.com was initialized

> in the minds of most of the journalists ft.com was just a kind of little stepchild and occupied only a tiny corner of the newsroom ….We didn't understand what they were doing. It was a strange little thing that people didn't take seriously in the first year or two. As much as a physical thing in the newsroom it was a question of mentality among the financial times journalists. Even in the mid 90's …. Ft.com was still something people were sceptical about. It was not considered a serious sister to the newspaper and there was still a lot of separation between ft.com reporting and editing and the FT newspaper's reporting and editing. You could say that they were still largely separated. We did quite a lot of what you could call nominal integration. We put people who produced the world news for ft.com next to the people who produced the world news for the newspaper. There was a certain amount of integration. There was a separate news desk established for ft.com. We appointed a number of reporters who were reporting for ft.com.
> *Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London)

3.1 07.00am at Ft.com

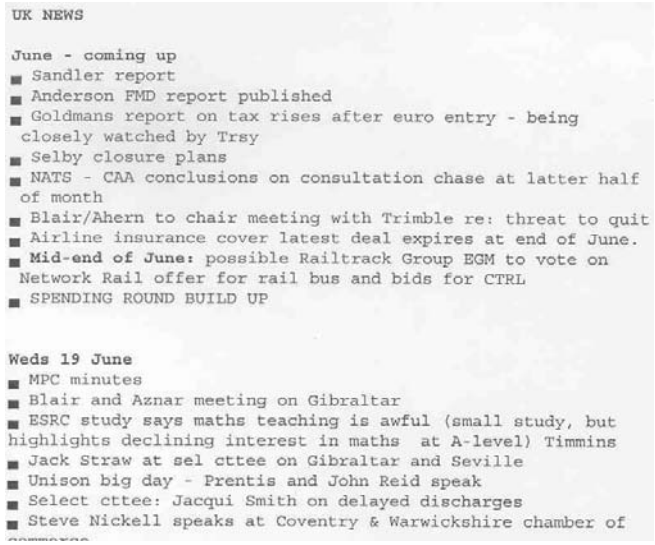
A Morning Routine of a Web Page Publisher …

The group of Web Page Publishers (WPP) makes up the various news desks of ft.com. The WPP's commissions, coordinates, edit, plan, write, sub edit, work with graphics, coordinate link structures, publish, and update news material for ft.com. The WPP profile was to begin with a journalist with expanded technical skills with regard to web based technology. Today, the WPP function has grown with regard to competences and not just any journalist with an interest in web-based technology is granted the title. The Web Page Publisher is a function, which is not possible to compare to a likely function at FT-printed. The Web Page Publisher was invented at ft.com and holds almost every function of the traditional newspaper structure within its definition. In the same interview as referred to earlier, the Deputy Managing Editor made the attempt to define the competences of the WPP as an ft.com invention:

> In a sense the role is much more fluid that it is on the newspaper where there is a clear distinction between the news editors, who are commissioning and making the strategic decisions on what stories to run and the subeditors, who only process and edit. The WPP is somebody who is commissioning, making the strategic decisions about the stories, and publishing it. That would never happen on the newspaper side. It was around 1998 where Peter Martin invented that role and that structure. In the future, the WPP's will most likely be

> liberated from many of the publishing tasks with the introduction of a new publishing system and be able to focus much more on journalism.
> *Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London)

This definition is best illustrated through studying the actual routines. At 07.00am the morning team of Web Page Publishers comes in. From 07.00am to 10.00am the routine of a Web Page Publisher working at an ft.com news desk has the following three-fold structure. The first activity is to identify the stories in the day's version of the newspaper, which might need to be followed up on at ft.com. In particular the identification is guided by formulations in the newspaper like "today this or that will take place at …." or "today him or her will state this or that at ….". The Web Page Publisher spends time identifying stories like this because the possibility to follow up and publish right away is given by ft.com. It is possible to take today's newspaper to the next step already and provide readers of FT-printed with additional information in the form of latest updates. The electronic news services provide the Web Page Publisher with the information, which the reporter at FT-printed didn't have access to the day before. Second, the Web Page Publisher consults the weekly diaries as they have been produced at the weekly ft.com news conference. The weekly diaries provide the Web Page Publishers with a daily production guide. Each ft.com desk keeps track of its own diary and the week is planned ahead on that ground. It is primarily information given at the electronic wires, which inform the weekly diaries. The electronic news services provide detailed information on planned events once a week. Together, the daily FT-printed and the weekly diary set off the Web Page Publisher. Third, the Web Page Publisher does most of the work himself, but a central part of the morning's routine is to commission reporters to cover specific stories. Production has started.



UK NEWS

June - coming up
- Sandler report
- Anderson FMD report published
- Goldmans report on tax rises after euro entry - being closely watched by Trsy
- Selby closure plans
- NATS - CAA conclusions on consultation chase at latter half of month
- Blair/Ahern to chair meeting with Trimble re: threat to quit
- Airline insurance cover latest deal expires at end of June.
- **Mid-end of June:** possible Railtrack Group EGM to vote on Network Rail offer for rail bus and bids for CTRL
- SPENDING ROUND BUILD UP

Weds 19 June
- MPC minutes
- Blair and Aznar meeting on Gibraltar
- ESRC study says maths teaching is awful (small study, but highlights declining interest in maths at A-level) Timmins
- Jack Straw at sel cttee on Gibraltar and Seville
- Unison big day - Prentis and John Reid speak
- Select cttee: Jacqui Smith on delayed discharges
- Steve Nickell speaks at Coventry & Warwickshire chamber of

Part of a weekly ft.com diary

Ft.com employees take turns in order to cover the different team shifts. And the reason why there are several midday team shifts is to create as many overlaps as possible during a day's production. The team shift routine has the following structure:

07.00am – 15.00pm a midday shift
08.00am – 16.00pm a midday shift
09.00am – 17.00pm a midday shift
10.00am – 18.00pm a midday shift
14.00am – 22.00pm the late shift
22.00pm New York takes over

Work at the Market News Desk …

The market news desk of ft.com is responsible for running the FT Investor site of ft.com. The FT Investor site is UK based and follows the 'opening hours' of the EU market. From 07.00am to 17.00pm the market desk is busy producing and updating news to ft.com on the basis of activity at the EU market. At 17.00pm the EU market is closing down and so is the FT Investor site of ft.com. That is, no production and updating are occurring after that hour or during the night. The FT Investor site of ft.com has a life and a structure of its own. At FT Investor a News Centre has been established. The News Centre of FT Investor publishes real-time news. As part of was

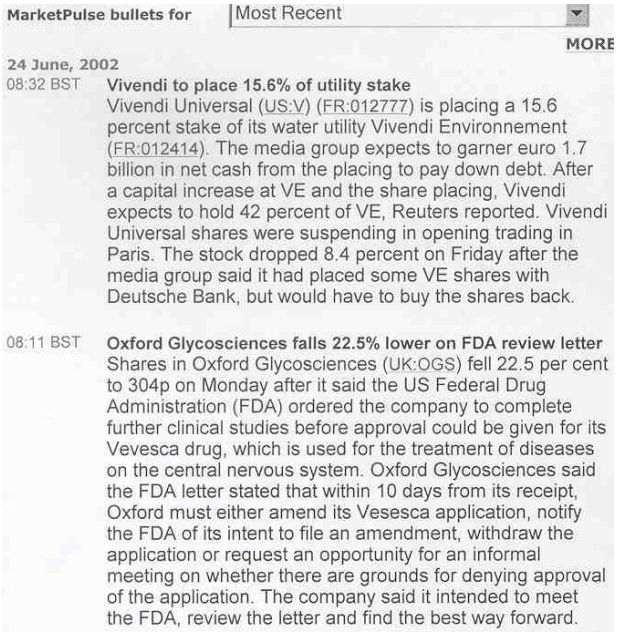
has been called the ‘News and Commentary’ section of FT Investor, the News Centre publishes news under the categories of: News Alerts, MarketPulse, News Stories, Regulatory News.

The FT Investor News & Commentary section with access to the News Centre

The News Alerts are news headlines listed according to the hour of its publication. Due to the special character of the News Alerts, they are published in the format of a news ticker, which constantly runs at the front page of the News and Commentary section of FT Investor. The News Alerts are published in real-time. The WPP’s at the market news desk constantly monitor the news flow at the electronic wires to convert part of that flow into News Alert headlines. From 07.00am and most of the morning the routine at the market desk consists of four exercises carried out in the following order: surveillance of the electronic wires, creating News Alert headlines, sub-editing News Alert headlines, and publishing News Alert headlines to the news ticker. Because of the high pace of work at the market desk, the WPP’s sub-edit each other’s headlines. The atmosphere is tense as the morning hours between 07.00am and 08.00am are where the news ticker is updated. To provide readers with this type of real-time news delivery, the market desk makes use of ADVFN.com, which is a website that feed directly of the London stock exchange and the UKWIRE.com. Along with the surveillance on the Internet, the market desk is provided with CNBC Europe TV broadcasting. In order to be able to publish in real-time, the market desk

makes use of a different publishing tool than the CC3 system. It is called the WORD AUTHERIN (WAT) system.

News Alerts at FT, Investor



The result of an elaboration of News Alerts into MarketPulse bullets

3.2 08.00am at Ft.com

Shift of Focus at the Market Desk …

At 08.00am the market desk has already published a high quantum of news messages and been covering mostly every result from the Asian market, which closes down at 07.00am London time and is turning to the European market, which opens at 08.00am London time. The senior reporter at the market desk briefs the desk on matters decided on at the 07.30am morning news conference at the ft.com main news desk. After having conducted the briefing of the desk, he turns to the wires to help the team of WPP's out in publishing News Alerts. That is, from 08.00am the market desk gradually shifts its focus from publishing News Alerts to create real news stories. That is, to maintain the news flow at FT Investor to focus on publishing market related news to ft.com in general. At 08.00am the bulk of news material has been communicated from the electronic news wires to FT Investor as News Alerts. The production of News Alerts for FT Investor continues during the day, but most effort is put to its publication during the morning. The news flow is planned to take its start at the wires and move to the FT Investor, then to the industry news desks of ft.com, and finally reach FT-printed. In an interview, the Deputy Managing Editor stated that: "*The newspaper is benefiting enormously from the early day work done and the late night work done in New York. It helps prepare the stories in ways that are enormously beneficial*". *Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London) In support of the change in production focus, the market desk is gradually expanding in number. At 08.00am a WPP and a reporter turns in. News Alerts are now converted into news stories, which after having been dressed up in the CC3 system gets published at ft.com under the market headline and further distributed according to sector.

Work at the Market Desk …

The WPP who just attended the market desk logs on ft.com and briefly goes into conference with the senior reporter of the desk about what first to update at ft.com. The market desk holds a special status at ft.com. Due to the coordination and responsibility of running FT Investor, the market desk has kicked started the production at ft.com. The surveillance performed by the market desk as part of the production of the News Alerts is the key to get an effective start at many of the industry desks of ft.com. The WPP at the market desk updates a story, dress it up, preview it, and publish it. This particular update is conducted on the basis of a news summary performed by the senior reporter of the desk earlier that morning. Some News Alert headlines are obvious for further elaboration and the senior reporter of the desk often take notice of that and prepares a small summary to speed up a later News Story on the matter. The market desk is in this sense responsible for a heavy news feed between FT Investor, ft.com, and FT-printed. The WPP goes back and forth from ft.com to FT Investor to monitor what material to use to create a News Story for ft.com. She enters the software used for creating News Alert headlines, updates and republishes the headlines if necessary, cut it out into the CC3 system of ft.com, informs the desk via email about the choice, write it up, dress it up, and publish it at ft.com. The preferred list of sources for a WPP at the market desk is the currency market, stock lists, and Reuters. From the CC3 system the WPP now updates a news story, sub-edits the story, add more changes, add the time, updates the headline, preview it, publish it, and notifies the ft.com main news desk in an email. From a Tokyo correspondent, the market desk has been notified about a story for ft.com. The WPP enters the Coyote system to take over the story, finish it up, and publish it. The WPP turns now to go through the market pages of ft.com to make sure everything is in order. She goes through all the market pages looking for areas of possible changes and updates. News stories, which have been given a high rank, have to be removed from this position manually. Only stories with a low rank are automatically pushed down

the pages as new stories gets published. The market desk has been granted its own editorial position in the form of an editor. The Market Editor is in charge of both FT Investor and for running the market desk. He is usually at the desk from 07.00am together with the morning shift to attend the morning news conference at ft.com, but this morning he comes in just after 08.00am.

3.3 09.00am at Ft.com

The Production of a Real-Time Reportage …

The world-cup match between England and Brazil is being monitored and updated at ft.com in real-time from the main news desk. The editorial newsroom is empty, except from the ft.com main news desk, where activity boils. Four WPP's and the editorial team consisting of the News Editor and the Deputy Editor works at the desk. At the ft.com main news desk a television is always running. At this hour, the broadcasting of the world-cup match is followed from the desk. The front page of the morning's edition of FT-printed brings a promotion box to create awareness to the ft.com coverage of the match in real-time and the following comments and analysis.

Promotion of the real-time coverage at ft.com

The choice to report in real-time from the match demands a high work pace. The WPP's and the editors follow the match on the television and publish reportages at ft.com simultaneously. The editorial idea is to create a type of live reportage, which is the closest you can get to the match next to being at the stadium. To cover the match

at a satisfactory level, a micro site of ft.com has been established. The site has been established in cooperation between ft.com and sports.com. All aspects of the world-cup tournament are covered at this site, besides from this real-time coverage of England's match. Both ft.com and sports.com generate information at the site in the form of real-time reportage, news coverage, background, interviews etc. The team working at the main news desk this morning is working in the CC3 system directly to be able to update and publish new information the moment it happens. At another floor away from the editorial room, another group of people are at work. This is the graphics department, who at this hour follows the activity at the ft.com main news desk closely. The graphics team follows the updates on ft.com and talks over the phone with the editorial team to produce news pieces of graphics, which visualizes some of the most important latest updates written.

3.4 09.50am at Ft.com

The Deputy Editor of ft.com Plans the Day …

This morning's edition of FT-printed brings an interview with a reference to ft.com. The reference is to a full interview transcript and its status is considered important. The New York desk was given the responsibility to make sure ft.com delivered on the matter. And it turns out, that the desk has failed on the issue. The transcript is not there. The Deputy Editor gets upset and commission a WPP to get the matter straightened out. He continues to check if the balance between FT-printed and ft.com is carried out as planned the night before. He is going through ft.com to make sure what is promised in the promotion boxes and in the web references of FT-printed is carried through at ft.com. This is a central morning procedure and is performed to secure the editorial responsibilities of ft.com as well as getting the picture of the production, which has been running from 07.00am. He leaves ft.com and turns to his email. From his mail tool he is given an idea of the amount of published material as

well as its status. At least one WPP sits in at the ft.com main news desk during the morning to assist the editorial team. Most often the assisting WPP is experienced and chosen from the world news desk. The Deputy Editor goes through the main homepages of ft.com in order to evaluate the work performed by the New York desk during the night. Afterwards, he prepares his feedback to the desk. He constantly emails WPP's to make corrections, update matters, and look into matters. During the late hours of the newspaper production, many editorial changes are decided on. These late hour decisions are written down in the Coyote system as 'hand over notes. In the Coyote system, the Deputy Editor of ft.com is getting the picture of all the phases of the changes made in FT-printed, as the deadline got closer. The night shift at FT-printed is adding changes to the final edition very close to the deadline. The 'hand over notes' in the Coyote system is a newspaper feature to keep track of all the changes and their rationale, but provides the ft.com main news desk with detailed information on various issues. The Deputy Editor of ft.com is gradually obtaining overview of not only the nights and the morning's ft.com production, but also all the late decisions made at FT-printed the night before.

3.5 10.00am at Ft.com

A WPP is Preparing Stories for ft.com …

At the market desk, a WPP is working on a story. The story is about H&M. From surveillance of the electronic news wires, ft.com was able to plan this piece several days in advance. The H&M story was scheduled in the weekly industry diary of ft.com. H&M has come out with its latest third quarter company results. Since H&M as a company is located in Sweden, the story has been written by a Stockholm correspondent during the morning. The London desk has taken the story over to prepare its publication on ft.com this morning. The H&M story is one out of several stories, which the WPP is pushing through the systems: from Coyote, to CC3, to

ft.com. She works her way through the texts one by one. The texts are read through in the Coyote system and corrections are added if necessary, then dressed up in the CC3 system to match the layout at ft.com, and finally published. Within minutes the stories are up and running at ft.com.

3.6 10.15am at Ft.com

A WPP in the Process of Publishing …

From the Coyote system, a WPP is composing a text. A final version is getting close. The headline is changed. Language issues are dealt with. The text is send to the CC3 system. The WPP is now dressing the text up and placing it within the right category under the right section and industry sector. A content list is thought out. The content list is the editor's choice of link structure. The WPP searches the ft.com archive to find the suitable link combination. She finds it difficult and gets a better idea. Instead of creating a traditional content list, she creates an interactive chart to go with the story. The interactive chart functions as a comparison for the reader to make to other companies. The interactive chart is a link to another ft.com page where the reader is granted access to play with a piece of graphics, which allow the reader to create a personal visualization of a company comparison.

3.7 11.30am at the Ft.com Main News Desk

The Integration Policy is discussed …

The integration of the editorial newsroom has gone through several stages as already indicated. According to the Deputy Managing Editor it wasn't until in the late 1990's with the appointment of the first ft.com editor, that the editorial staff of FT-printed realized the seriousness of ft.com.

> In 1995 people realized that an online version of the Financial Times in some form was to be taken seriously. But still, even as late as 1997 I would say, ft.com was still regarded by most of the journalists as a sort of stepchild that people didn't take tremendously seriously. And certainly if you had said to a reporter, a mainstream newspaper reporter at that time, that he should write an article for ft.com as well as doing what he was doing for the newspaper, he would react rather negatively. The appointments of Peter Martin as ft.com editor as well as being deputy editor of the newspaper, made people understand that the concept had changed. The new concept was that what we produce is what is called Financial Times journalism and we have now different ways of distributing that journalism; one way is the traditional way, but certainly there is also this new way of delivering Financial Times journalism, which is the web site, the ft.com. And that time people began to realize this was a serious part of the future. The symbolism of Peter Martin's position was that he was reporting to the editor of the newspaper, Richard Lambert and by making him editor of ft.com it became clear that Richard Lambert who was the editor of Financial Times was also ultimately the editor of ft.com. This was a clear statement being made that ft.com was going to be an intake or part of the Financial Times overall editorial operations.
> *Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London)

He explained the future integration plans to me as:

> What we are working towards now is a situation where you have teams of reporters for example covering the media industry, and their responsibility is to produce for ft.com and the newspaper. They will have to work out within their team how that is done. Any person within such a team may any moment be working on a story for ft.com or a story for the newspaper or for both.
> *Deputy Managing Editor* (10.07.02 London)

Present at the ft.com main news desk are the News Editor of ft.com, the Deputy News Editor of ft.com, and the Financial News Editor of ft.com. The three editors discuss the implications of the announcement that the News Editor of ft.com has stepped down to focus solely on the integration plans of the editorial newsroom and the introduction of a new publishing system[6]. The decision has direct effect on the work processes at ft.com. At the time approximately ten reporters work for ft.com in London, one in Paris, and one in Frankfurt. Besides from the number of reporters, the ft.com main news desk has a crew of approximately eighty Web Page Publishers (WPP) and graphics people working full time for ft.com. The idea behind the

[6] The ft.com main news desk and the newspaper's main news desk were later integrated physically on the 24th of June 2002.

integration plans in a final version is that there should is no distinction between the reporters of ft.com and FT-printed with regard to where they belong. In the future, all FT reporters are thought to work for both FT-printed and ft.com.

> The idea behind the integration of the newspaper main news desk and the ft.com main news desk is to make sure that news operations are really coordinated and that all decisions around stories are made on the ground of what the FT priorities are and deciding coverage on a strategic basis and then making decisions on what stories appear when and in what form on the two channels. We want to make sure that we have a structure that allows us to make decisions about story priorities for the full staff under the direction of the news editor. There will only be one news editor and not someone who is ft.com news editor. Of course there will be on the main news desk reporters whose job it is to deliver stories for ft.com and reporters whose job it is to deliver stories to the newspaper, but they will be making decisions together in an integrated way about the FT's priorities overall. And there will be individuals who will play a role in both.
> *Deputy Managing Editor* (19.07.02 London)

The current production circle at Financial Times has the following integrated structure, which it is the plan to enhance further in the direction of an even stronger notion of integration between ft.com and FT-printed[7].

07.00am	ft.com morning news conference
07.00am	● News editors and reporters begin assessing likely news stories and review that morning's FT in comparison with its competitors
07.30am	● First news conference of the day
09.00am	News editors and reporters begin assessing likely news stories and review this morning's FT in comparison with its competitors

From this time onwards and throughout the day, the FT's integrated writing teams file stories for ft.com

10.30am	Main news conference of the day – discussion of likely stories for ft.com and FT-printed for tomorrow's edition

[7] The activities marked with a ● are new arrangements.

11.00am	news conferences at the main news desks of ft.com and FT-printed
11.30am	Leader conference – discussion of subjects for editorial comment
13.00am	Shift of focus from ft.com stories to printed articles
14.30am	Night shift sub-editors begin to work, reporters start to refine and file stories. First early deadline pages finished and sent to printers
16.30pm	ft.com afternoon news conference
17.00pm	Final news conference of the day – Front page story lists and illustrations agreed for all editions: night editors briefed on possible late developments
20.15pm	Last pages for first edition sent to print sites in Asia and the US
20.35pm	Last pages for first edition sent to print sites in Europe
21.15pm	Last pages for first UK edition sent to print sites. New York first edition updated to include US Stock market close
23.30pm	Second UK edition sent to print sites
00.00	Asia-based correspondents begin their working day and file stories on early developments in markets for late editions
00.50am	Second US edition sent to print sites
01.30am	Final UK edition sent to print sites
03.00am	Optional fourth UK edition, depending on news developments

Updating and Surveillance …

The main news desk at ft.com constantly updates and ranks most news pieces at ft.com according to surveillance of electronic news services such as News Edge,

Reuters[8], and Bloomberg. It is the responsibility of the main news desk to keep the front page of ft.com updated both in relation to its content and to its status as the page directing the reader to content elsewhere on ft.com. The team of editors working at the main news desk of ft.com is therefore not writers, and focus on monitoring, updating, and coordinating news material. To maintain control, ft.com has introduced a policy on the timing of updating ft.com, which is supposed to ensure a certain degree of predictability of publishing routines. In accordance, there is a morning update, midday update, and an afternoon update of ft.com. The various news desks at ft.com email the main news desk each time they perform updates or publish news material at an ft.com site. As soon as a news story has been published or an old one has been updated, the main news desk updates the Home UK front page accordingly. To keep track of this process and to be able to coordinate matters, the team of editors at the ft.com main news desk constantly shifts from mail tool, to surveillance of the wires, to updating the front page and back again. The updating policy has been introduced to provide some idea of order in what otherwise seems a chaotic publishing routine.

3.8 12.30pm at Ft.com

A WPP Updates a Story …

Ft.com is waiting for an entire new piece to replace an old piece on the same matter. A reporter is producing the new piece. To let readers know that ft.com is on the matter, a WPP is updating the old piece with additional information. The source is the electronic news wires. Here the WPP is able to get an overview of the latest developments fairly easy and fast. The WPP copies the story from the news wire and add to it background material taken from old news stories found in the ft.com archive. This is supposed to give the reader the ideas that "while we are waiting for the real

[8] Ft.com has made agreements with a variety of electronic news services on how to share content. The agreement is that ft.com can run for instance Reuters stories, but has to credit Reuter with a byline each time.

update, feel free to catch up on the background". The piece is written, dressed up in the CC3 system, and published at ft.com.

3.9 12.40pm at Ft.com

A WPP Commissions Graphics …

In lack of graphics, the WPP at the TMT desk contacts the graphics department. This is urgent. There is nothing of use in the database. All pieces of ft.com graphics are in-house productions carried out by the FT graphics department and commissioned by the WPP's. This particular story needs a particular piece of graphics. While waiting the story is published with a piece of graphics considered doing an acceptable job.

3.10 12.45pm at Ft.com

A WPP Produces a News Story …

The TMT news desk of ft.com covers technology, media, and telecom. The newspaper equivalent to the TMT news desk is the UK Companies desk and the International Companies desk. At the TMT news desk a WPP is producing a news story, which falls under the media area. From the Coyote system, he writes the story up. The story is built on information found at the electronic news service, News Edge. In composing the piece, he goes back and forth from the Coyote system to News Edge. The News Edge text is used as the primary source and the WPP places News Edge quotes in his own text as he goes along. The WPP consults the ft.com archive. He wants to go through an older story, which he remembers as related to this new one. He opens up the relevant archive material and copy bits and pieces, which has to do with facts into the new story. He continues to work with the story in the Coyote and the News Edge system, writing and editing at the same time. He closes the story up and reads through the whole thing. Finally, the WPP goes back a step further to check up on News Edge.

That is, he goes back to the original source to check out the matter himself and to make sure he didn't rely on incorrect information. He goes back to News Edge. This time he consults the stock watch lists of News Edge, makes a few calculations to figure out the actual share price of a specific company and adds that to the text. He leaves the Coyote system to check his email. He is expecting an email from one of the reporters. The WPP is communicating with a reporter on a specific matter with regard to the news story. The reporter is considered an expert in the field and the WPP is testing and checking his story through talking matters over with him. Later again, the reporter contacts the WPP with suggestions to changes. The WPP returns to the story and adds the changes. Bloomberg is considered a competitor to ft.com. The WPP enters Bloomberg.com to make sure his version of the story might add more information to what has been brought at Bloomberg.com. At ft.com an interactive chart has been published where subscribers are given the possibility to create a three-year prospect on specific company results. The WPP consults the charge to add more information to the story in that respect. He reads through the story, adds the byline, copies it into word where he is offered an extra check on grammar and spelling, and sends the story off to another WPP, who sub-edits the story. After the story has been sub-edited by himself and his colleague, the story is opened in the CC3 system. In the CC3 system, the story is dressed up for publication. This he leaves to consult a currency converter on the Internet to make a correction in the text. Goes back to create the link structure in the form of the content list and ranks the story. The story is pre-published, re-read, and published. For some reason, the chosen graphics didn't follow the story to ft.com and the story is republished. The WPP emails the ft.com main news desk with the publication message and the URL address of the story. This morning, the WPP became aware, form attending the 1st newspaper news conference that the newspaper is planning to work up a scoop based on information on the same company for tomorrow's edition of FT-printed. A newspaper scoop is usually worked out on the basis of exclusive interviews and careful analysis, whereas a regular ft.com story is

often based on elaborated facts as transmitted at the electronic news wires. The WPP addresses the main news desk of FT-printed to consult the WHATPAGE. It turns out that FT-printed has planned to work up the scoop from a different angle and that the newly published ft.com story didn't overlap with any of those plans. The WPP emails the newspaper reporter, who is working out the scoop to inform him about the ft.com story and to have him go over the story as part of his preparation. The newspaper reporter might do two things with this information: 1) Choose to ask the WPP to add more information to the ft.com piece to add to the story a promise of more in tomorrow's newspaper or 2) take the ft.com story into account and leave the matter. The choice depends on the character of the scoop. This time the reporter finds that the two stories lack interplay. What is worked out as a scoop in tomorrow's newspaper has no direct link to the published story at ft.com.

3.11 13.00pm at Ft.com

A WPP Dresses Up and Publishes a News Story …

A WPP at the TMT desk is performing surveillance at Reuters on the Internet. He comes across information, which he would like to write up for ft.com and addresses the ft.com main news desk to check whether the story has been picked up by anyone else. It turns out that FT-printed is working on the story. The WPP address main news desk of FT-printed to get information on the character of the piece. The WPP argues that the Reuter's piece to some extent is breaking news and that FT should comment on the piece right away. An agreement is reached between the WPP and FT-printed on how to share the material and what to publish at ft.com right away. As the strategic negotiation about the rank of the material has been settled the WPP writes up the story. The text is then moved from the Coyote system to the CC3 system to get dressed up for ft.com. The WPP focuses on graphics. He talks to another WPP about his final choice, as he is not satisfied. He tries out several different solutions and

decides to go for one of them for now as he can always return to the matter and change the decision in a later update. The WPP ranks the story, sub edit, and publish it. After the story has been published, the WPP sends an email to the ft.com main news desk, where the Deputy Editor monitors ft.com. A few minutes later, the Deputy Editor addresses the WPP and wants him to change a few formulations and republish. This example of the process of production reveals a pattern where the WPP commissioned the story to himself, negotiated with FT-printed, produced the text in the Coyote system, dressed the text up for ft.com format in the CC3 system, sub-edited the story, pre-published the story, published the story, notified the ft.com main news desk, and republished.

BUDGET AIRLINES `RISKING PASSENGERS' LIVES'

By Nick Mead, PA News

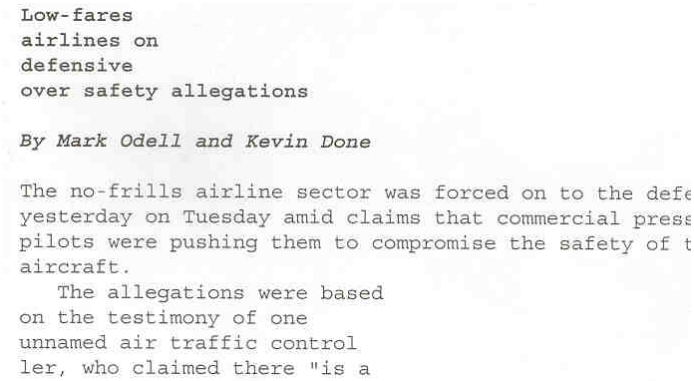
Pilots from at least one budget airline have been accused of putting passengers' lives at risk by ignoring orders from air traffic controllers as they bid to meet tight deadlines, it was reported today.

The allegation came in a report from an unnamed air traffic controller received by the industry's Confidential Human Factors Incident Reporting Programme, known as Chirp.

The Times reported the controller said pilots were approaching airports too fast and sometimes had to abort landings because they were too close to the plane in front.

They were also accused of ignoring longer flight paths set up to cut down on noise disturbance and instead taking shorter routes over nearby houses.

A fragment of the News Edge text



Low-fares
airlines on
defensive
over safety allegations

By Mark Odell and Kevin Done

The no-frills airline sector was forced on to the defe
yesterday on Tuesday amid claims that commercial press
pilots were pushing them to compromise the safety of t
aircraft.
The allegations were based
on the testimony of one
unnamed air traffic control
ler, who claimed there "is a

A fragment of the text being produced in the Coyote system

FT.com FINANCIAL TIMES Business.com The Business Search Engine™ Search for Business Information: Search

Tuesday Jun 18 2002. All times are London time.

Home Global | UK | US
World
Business
Markets
Industries
Aerospace & defence
Autos
Basic industries
Consumer industries
Drugs & healthcare
Energy & mining
Financial services
IT
Insurance
Internet

Industries

Print article | Email

UK low-cost airlines defend safety record

By Mark Odell
Published: June 18 2002 13:07 | Last Updated: June 18 2002 13:07

Low-cost airlines were forced to defend their practices on Tuesday amid allegations that commercial pressures on pilots were pushing them to compromise the safety of their aircraft.

Ryanair was forced to deny its pilots were involved after the Times newspaper claimed a report by an unnamed UK air traffic controller "principally" refered to the airline's operations at its base in Stansted.

The company said: "Ryanair nor any other low-fares airline is named in this extremely subjective report from one air traffic controller, which has no basis in fact whatsoever."

A fragment of the text dressed up and published at ft.com

3.12 13.30pm at Ft.com

Reporter Working at the Market Desk …

The reporter is performing a surveillance of the electronic news service called MULTITEX.com. The choice of electronic news service depends upon the hour of the day and what type of information the desk needs. That is, certain news services provide certain types of information according to its profile. The reporter at the market desk is aware of this and exploits the use of news services accordingly. The reporter turns to perform a general check on ft.com to make sure that the market desk has been involved in all news stories concerning news of the world's markets. At the same time he performs a check on the link structure between FT Investor and ft.com. He discovers an incorrect link and emails a WPP on the matter. Right after he comes across an ft.com story, which he finds of interest to link to from FT Investor. Besides from the mail tool, the desks in the editorial newsroom are given the opportunity to communicate urgent messages in a different tool. This tool they often use for urgent editorial messages, whereas the mail tool is used for basically everything. From the monitoring of ft.com, the reporter turns to monitor Reuters and Bloomberg, the two most powerful online competitors to ft.com. It is considered essential that neither Reuters nor Bloomberg possess important news material that for some reason ft.com

didn't get a hold of. The reporter also checks out Times online and the Telegraph online, which are considered running up online competitors that ft.com keep an eye on. The reporters and the WPP's don't always find the time to go through the online services of the main competitors, but if time allows it, it is considered part of the daily routine at the market desk. The Market Editor prepares the desk for the opening of the US market, which will happen during the afternoon.

A WPP and a Reporter Interact in Production …

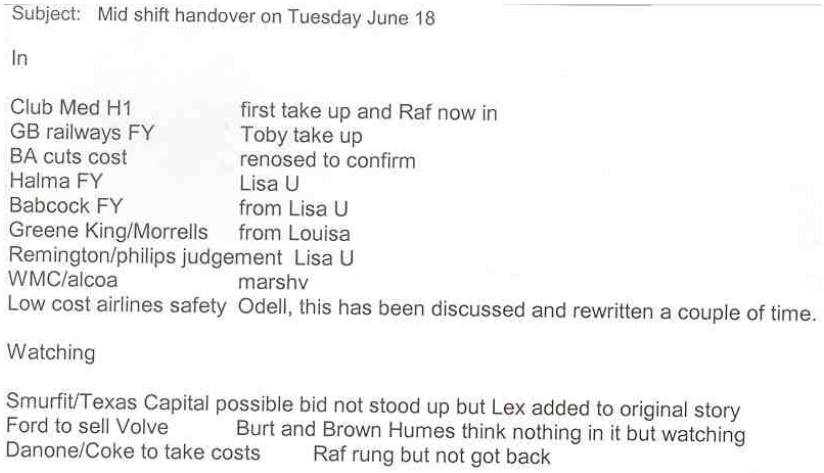
Many of the reporters at FT are considered experts in their fields and hold a considerably amount of knowledge in specific areas. This is often of assistance to the work of the WPP, since this group does not own expertise to the same extent. For that reason, the WPP's often interacts with reporters when they commission material, dress up stories, and sub-edit. At the TMT desk, a WPP is working in the CC3 system, adding changes and dressing the story up. He is constantly in contact with a specialist-reporter, who assists him as he is in the process of both sub-editing and dressing the text up. The sub-editing part happens over the phone in close corporation. It is the reporter who calls up the WPP to talk over some recent changes to a specific formulation. It is about the use of a source and the protection of a source and how he is referred to in the text. The consequences of not getting this right could be serious allegations against ft.com. The WPP agrees to the observations made by the reporter on the issue and makes the changes as they speak.

3.13 14.00pm at Ft.com

A WPP Hand Over …

A WPP is constructing a hand over note to the ft.com main news desk. A hand over note is a document, which provides the main news desk with a brief summary of the

day's production. The note is emailed to the ft.com main news desk and to the WWP taking over at the 14.00pm late team shift.



Subject: Mid shift handover on Tuesday June 18

In

Club Med H1	first take up and Raf now in
GB railways FY	Toby take up
BA cuts cost	renosed to confirm
Halma FY	Lisa U
Babcock FY	from Lisa U
Greene King/Morrells	from Louisa
Remington/philips judgement	Lisa U
WMC/alcoa	marshv
Low cost airlines safety	Odell, this has been discussed and rewritten a couple of time.

Watching

Smurfit/Texas Capital	possible bid not stood up but Lex added to original story
Ford to sell Volve	Burt and Brown Humes think nothing in it but watching
Danone/Coke to take costs	Raf rung but not got back

Part of a hand over note

3.14 14.30pm at Ft.com

A Reporter Hands over a Story to a WPP …

A reporter has produced a news story. For some reason the piece is uncommissioned. Neither the reporter nor the WPP, whom is taken over the story, know at this stage whether the story should be brought at ft.com, in FT-printed or at both channels. The WPP makes the decision to publish the story at ft.com. The story is taken from the Coyote system, to the CC3 system, where it is dressed up and published at ft.com. The reason why the WPP makes the decision to publish the story at ft.com without consulting either the ft.com main news desk or the main news desk of FT-printed, is to be found in the nature of the story. The story is a rather long interview. It is close to being a full transcript of an interview. Full transcripts of interviews are published at ft.com. The unlimited amount of space at ft.com makes this a natural choice. And most often, both printed articles and ft.com news stories take advantage of this. It is considered to be useful information to most written articles and online delivered news

stories to relate to full transcripts of interviews or full lengths reports published at ft.com.

At the Front Page Editor's Desk …

As FT Investor is maintained from the market desk, so is the front page of the site. As it is the case at ft.com, the task is carried out the best if one person is appointed to do the job, as it is a full time task. The editor of the FT Investor front page maintains the page manually. At 10.00am and 15.00pm a daily email is send out to all subscribers of FT Investor from the market desk. The front page editor is in charge of this task. The FT Investor site counts 75.000 subscribers. The email is composed by the editor in word and distributed via a database management tool to all subscribers directly. The purpose is to highlight the three biggest news messages published during the morning. Two out of three are exclusive market related. The editor turns to monitor the traffic numbers of FT Investor. This is done twice a day through a tool called LARS. LARS informs the market desk about two very important pieces of information concerning the readership of FT Investor: 1) How many of the readers hold a stock portfolio and 2) What does that portfolio consists of? In other words, the market desk is granted access to information about personal and professional interests of readership. And the front page editor is the first to admit how this type of knowledge might influence editorial decision making at the market desk. LARS monitors traffic and reader's preferences. LARS has become an essential editorial tool in this respect.

3.15 15.00pm at Ft.com

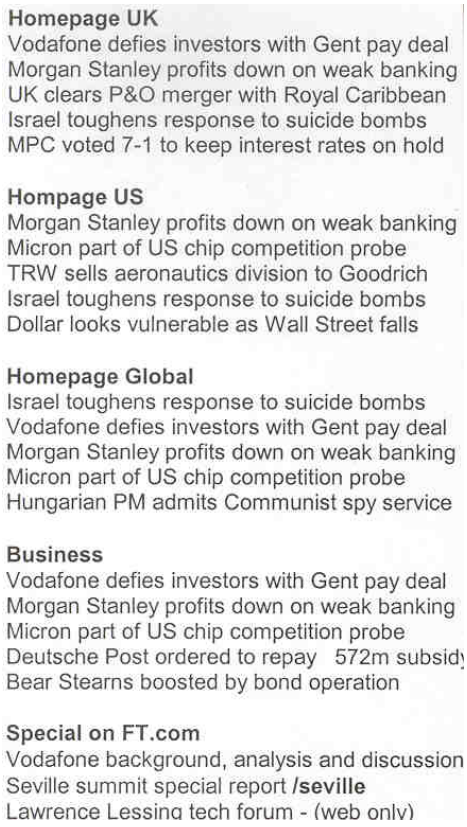
Updating of the FT Investor Front Page …

As new stories are published to ft.com UK home, the editor of the FT Investor makes sure to update the front page of FT Investor accordingly. Another source is the News Centre of FT Investor. The front page of FT Investor is supposed to highlight the most

essential news coverage of the News Centre. It is a puzzle to maintain the front page of FT Investor. The editor monitors most himself, but is also provided with information from the desk teams whenever new material of value for front page promotion is published. Each time the front page has been updated, a preview is made ready for the Market Editor to sub-edit before the front page gets published. The second daily email to subscribers of FT Investor is released. An external company, who owns the database, distributes the email via a database in both a text version and a HTML version.

Team Shift at the World Desk …

The world news desk of ft.com produces and publishes news at the world pages and the UK pages of ft.com. Approximately one hour before the official team shift takes place, the new team of WPP enters the news desks. This routine has been settled to prevent any disturbance of the work and publication flow at the desks, and to secure that the new team is given a fair change to get the picture of production of the day. The new WPP at the world news desk addresses the WHATPAGE of FT-printed to get updated on the planned stories at FT-printed, enters the Coyote system, the CC3 system, ft.com, and logs on to the electronic wires. In the form of an email, the WPP is provided with a hand over note, which gives her a rough idea of the morning and midday's production flow.



Example of part of a hand over note from the world news desk of ft.com

3.16 15.30pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

Team Shift …

A reporter turns in at the ft.com main news desk. She consults the WHATPAGE of FT-printed from the Coyote system to get an idea of what has happened during the day and what has been planned to take off during the night at FT-printed and ft.com. The reporter is primarily interested in the display of the WHATPAGE of the front and the back of FT-printed, the front of the second section, and the front of the UK section. She takes the plans into consideration. A lot of the information provided by the WHATPAGE is not of direct relevance, but it renders an idea of the direction of production. The reporter gets more interested in the UK news section as it is displayed in the WHATPAGE. She thinks that ft.com has a tendency to neglect the coverage of UK home news and decides to focus on the production of UK home news during the

night at ft.com. Today is Monday. And at Monday, the weekly diaries of both the newspaper and ft.com are in focus. Every Monday, FT-printed publishes part of the weekly diary to provide readers with an idea of what to expect of FT-printed in the week to come. The published list provides the reporter with more insight and adds more information for her to plan the production of the night. In addition, she prints out the weekly diary for ft.com. At this hour the 07.00am morning shift is for the most part leaving for the day. The new team will cover ft.com production until 22.00pm. At this hour, the London main news desk is closing down and the New York main news desk takes over. The New York desk maintains production responsibility until 07.00am the following morning where the London desk opens again. At every team shift, the editorial team provides itself with a briefing of the day. What has been published of importance, what is in the process of being published, and what is under surveillance? As the 2nd news conference of the newspaper is getting closer, the list of the ten biggest ft.com stories is generated. This is also a central part of the briefing of the new editorial team. The Deputy Editor of ft.com came in at 10.00am and stays until after the 2nd news conference at the newspaper. That way he has attended both the 1st and 2nd news conference and has been able to coordinate and carry out all production plans as they have been settled at the 1st news conference. The main news desk of FT-printed addresses the ft.com main news desk. The matter is the planning of a 22.00pm scoop. FT-printed is working on material categorised as a scoop and wants to negotiate with ft.com on how to promote the scoop after 22.00pm at ft.com. The promotion is discussed and an agreement is settled. The ft.com main news desk prepares a presentation of the scoop for the 2nd news conference. As the Deputy Editor of ft.com looks back on the day he considers the top ten most read ft.com stories. He evaluates the list on grounds of content, genre, timing, and rank. The ranking of ft.com material has become a central issue to FT as management is constantly struggling and testing the effect of various ft.com business models. Ft.com has been organized along three levels: The free access level, subscription level 1, and

subscription level 2. The free access level includes the following services: FT news and data, portfolio and emails, and money and careers. At subscription level 1 FT offers: Exclusive FT news and comments, industry specific insights and analysis, surveys and in-depth reports, a power search tool providing access to a five year FT archive, a view print edition of FT-printed, and a personal office tool. At subscription level 2 the reader is offered the services of level 1, added two professional research and monitoring tools: World company financials and world press monitor.

The Deputy Editor of ft.com evaluates the top ten most read stories in order to answer how many of them have been published as subscription based material and what has been the nature of the material: news, background, reports, specials etc.? FT-printed correspondents from all over the world has invented a new type of FT journalism which often occurs on the top ten most read list. The genre is a diary. The diaries have become popular among ft.com readers as the stories invite the reader in on the life in the field. Most often the reader is given the full picture in areas of conflict. The nature of the genre and because the diaries are followed by pictures and running updates, has made it popular ft.com material. Some of the FT correspondents have produced price-winning journalism in this way.

3.17 15.45pm at Ft.com

A WPP is Sub-editing and Updating …

At the TMT desk of ft.com a WPP is sub-editing. She is working in the CC3 system, reading through the story and goes through the body of the text to correct any mistake and error. Lexis Nexis is a database, which the WPP consults many times during sub-editing as she checks for both language and facts in question. All the news desks at ft.com are organized to secure and welcome interaction between the WPP's. The WPP addresses a colleague about a formulation as she plays around with words in the body

text. The problem is not only about making use of a correct language, but has to do with the CC3 system and its demands to the format. The CC3 system offers a set of strict criteria to the lengths of the texts to match the ft.com layout. The layout of ft.com leaves no choice for the WWP. In general, a lot of effort is generated by the WPP's to fulfill the demands on the lengths of the news texts and there is constant interaction at the ft.com news desks between the WPP's on language issues. Finally, she is ready to publish a preview. She goes back to focus on the content list. The headline to the content list is 'Editors Choice' as opposed to the automatically generated list of links, which follows. The WPP is careful when she performs the editorial choice of the content list. After sending the story to the ft.com main news desk, she turns to FT-printed. At the main news desk of FT-printed, she reads the piece aloud to the editorial team to check if the tone is consistent with the piece for the paper and to make sure she is not overlapping with tomorrow's edition of FT-printed on the issue.

3.18 16.00pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

The Effects of the Newspaper Parallel …

The WHATPAGE at FT-printed is growing with regard to the level of its detail and is consulted by more and more people and at this hour also by the ft.com editorial team. Ft.com's growing interest in the expansion of the WHATPAGE is due to the demand on ft.com to create correlations between tomorrow's paper and the night's edition of ft.com. Information about changes to stories in FT-printed runs in at the ft.com main news desk. The ft.com editorial team makes use of this information to create an editorial balance between FT-printed and ft.com. FT-printed is getting closer to a closure and ft.com must consider that to prevent repetition that will make tomorrow's newspaper look 'old'. A parallel to tomorrow's newspaper is being created section by section to provide ft.com with as much information as possible on its final outlook.

3.19 16.30pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

The Ft.com Main News Desk Commissions a Story …

The Deputy Editor of ft.com is monitoring the electronic news wires. He comes across information, which he finds important for ft.com to pick up and work on right away. He leaves the main news desk to get hold of a WWP at the relevant news desk. As the Deputy Editor addresses the WPP, she is in the middle of a sub-editing process. The Deputy Editor wants her to leave the sub-editing to focus on this new task. He wants her to either do the work herself or commission a reporter to do the job. The choice is hers to make. The WPP leaves the sub-editing behind to get the picture of the story. She performs research on the Internet to get an idea of the character of the story and decides to commission a reporter to the story. After making the choice which reporter to commission, she calls him up and fills him in on all the detail.

The Deputy Editor Calls for Afternoon News Conference …

As the hour of the afternoon news conference at ft.com is getting near, the Deputy Editor of ft.com walks through the editorial room asking the WPP's to join the main news desk as soon as possible …

After conference, The Deputy Editor of ft.com works out the hand out for the 2nd news conference. He goes through the business pages, the world pages, and the market pages of ft.com. And he generates the list of the ten most read ft.com stories of the day.

3.20 17.30pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

Planning at the Desk …

The Deputy Editor has left the desk for the day. A reporter, who came in at 14.00pm is taking over the role of the Deputy Editor. After having gone through the latest updates of the WHATPAGE, he sends out an email to the various news desks. The email concerns the promotion boxes in tomorrow's paper. It is time to coordinate the effort between FT-printed and ft.com and to get the promotion boxes settled. After consultation with the main news desk of FT-printed, the reporter in charge issues another statement to the news desks of ft.com concerning the production plans of the night. At this hour, it is possible for FT-printed to make plans concerning how to split up news coverage with ft.com. By now, the main news desk of FT-printed has a fairly good idea of the status of the production. From now on, the reporter in charge is concerned with getting minor matters out of the way and published. The main news desk of ft.com has to be prepared to take on two types of workloads: 1) Newspaper leftovers to be converted into a suitable ft.com material and 2) Scoop preparation to be published after 22.00pm at ft.com. As the reporter in charge is getting a hold of the night's production through communicating with the main news desk of FT-printed, he publishes a number of headlines for the news ticker at the UK home page of ft.com. The ticker is updated in a system called Scroll Maker and allows the main news desk of ft.com to promote upcoming material.

3.21 18.00pm at Ft.com

Publishing ...

From now on, all ft.com news desks focus on getting minor issues published to focus on the planned stories for the night. At the main news desk of FT-printed, reporters focus on breaking news and last minute changes. The atmosphere is tense at both main news desks. The reporter in charge at the ft.com main news desk enters the Coyote system. He contributes the WHATPAGE with the latest web references. An updated version of the WHATPAGE is distributed to all news desks of the editorial newsroom.

3.22 18.30pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

Publishing ...

The editorial team of the ft.com main news desk contributes to the publication flow. In between, the reporter in charge makes sure to coordinate the effort of the various news desks, as he goes through all the emails coming in from the WPP's. The emails provide him with the latest updates with regard to the publishing pattern and flow.

3.23 19.00pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

Coordination ...

The reporter in charge is publishing a headline for the ticker service in the Scroll Maker system. The headline is promoting a story on the verge of being published at the world news desk. He turns to re-rank a few stories through the CC3 system, as he goes through the front pages of ft.com. He consults the WHATPAGE of FT-printed and updates the ticker again with another headline. He then leaves the ft.com main news desk to visit all the news desks of ft.com. He talks to almost all the WPP's and gets a detailed picture of what to expect to be published within the next few hours. As he returns to the ft.com main news desk, a first draft of tomorrow's FT-printed has been distributed. At this stage of production, it is the editorial idea that ft.com produce a parallel to FT-printed and coordinates its production in relation to the drafts of FT-printed. By the time FT-printed hits the streets, ft.com is supposed to match the editorial line primarily on its top stories. The equivalence is soon undermined by ft.com's morning production, but the starting point is that the two channels match each other. FT-printed keeps producing drafts for ft.com during the late hours of production. At 02.00am in the morning there is an unformatted feed from FT-printed into ft.com. All of the latest news as they have been produced at FT-printed is

published at ft.com automatically. The consequence is that ft.com publishes a lot of duplicates. These are removed first thing in the morning at 07.00am.

3.24 20.30pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

Coordination …
A new draft of FT-printed is released at the main desk. This issue includes drafts of various sections such as the EU section, the US, and the Asian section. The editorial team makes the necessary adjustments to ft.com to follow the agenda set by FT-printed.

3.25 21.00pm at FT-printed and at Ft.com

FT-printed is Closing up …
The reporters are leaving for the day. The technical staff takes over the remaining part of the production. Besides from the technical staff, the sub-editors set in. They sub-edit it all. The reporter in charge of the ft.com main news desk monitors the electronic news services. Since the FT-printed staff has left production ft.com takes over the responsibility of publishing possible breaking news. A new draft of FT-printed is released and distributed. The reporter in charge of ft.com goes through the draft and notifies the world news desk of ft.com. The draft of FT-printed includes a piece for the world desk of ft.com to elaborate on and perhaps even expand the extension of with a few ft.com exclusive features. CNN live broadcasts a speech by the American president. The speech is considered important. The New York desk of ft.com is producing a real-time coverage of the speech with comments, analysis, and additional reports on the issue.

3.26 21.45pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

The Production of Scoops …

The scoops of the day are prepared to get published at ft.com. It is the responsibility of each of the news desk to produce the stories if they fall under its jurisdiction. The ft.com main news desk coordinates the publication of scoops and gives the final 'go'. The timing of scoops is handled with most precision.

Handing Over the Desk …

The editorial team of ft.com is preparing to close down the desk. Just before leaving the team updates the four front pages of ft.com, makes sure that ft.com fulfills what the promotion boxes in FT-printed promises and what the front page of ft.com is advertising for.

3.27 22.00pm at the Ft.com Main News Desk

Last Minute Changes of the FT-printed…

The ft.com main news desk is communicating with the New York desk. The issue is the coverage of the presidential speech. The reporter in charge of ft.com finds the issue relevant to the extent that he chooses to contact a reporter at FT-printed. Since FT-printed staff left an hour ago, he makes contact over the phone and fills him in on the issue. The reporter at FT-printed decides to produce an article as a last minute change, this time to match the full coverage running at ft.com during the night.

The Scoops are Published …

The reporter in charge gives his 'go' to the WPP's to publish the produced scoops. The New York desk is notified and given full responsibility of ft.com during the night.

REFERENCES

Adler, P. and P. Adler (1994). "Observational Techniques." 377-392.

Andersen, Borum, et al., Eds. Om kunsten at bedrive feltstudier - en erfaringsbaseret forskningsmetodik.

Andersen, I. (1997). Den Skinbarlige Virkelighed: Om Valg af Samfundsvidenskabelige Metoder, Samfundslitteratur.

Barley, S. R. (1986). "Technology as an Occasion for Structuring: Evidence From Observations of CT Scanners and the Social Order of Radiology Departments." Administrative Science Quarterly **31**: 78-108.

Barley, S. R. and P. S. Tolbert (1997). "Institutionalization and Structuration: Studying the Links between Action and Institution." Organization Studies **18(1)**: 93-117.

Battilana, J. (2004). Foundations for a Theory of Institutional Entrepreneurship: Solving the Paradox of Embedded Agency.

Battilana, J. (2006). "Agency and Institutions: The Enabling Role of Individuals' Social Position." Organization **13**(5): 653-676.

Berg, B. L. (1998). Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.

Berger, P. L. and T. Luckmann (1967). The Social Construction of Reality - A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. New York, Doubleday Anchor.

Boudreau, M.-C. and D. Robey (2005). "Enacting Integrated Information Technology: A Human Agency Perspective." Organization Science **16**(1): 3-18.

Bourdieu, P. (1988). "Viva la Crise! For Heterodoxy in Social Science." Theory and Society **17**: 773-787.

Boyd-Barret, O. and T. Rantanen (1998). The Globalization of News. London, Sage Publications.

Burrell, G. and G. Morgan (1979). Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis. London, Heinemann.

Button, G. (1993). Technology in Working Order: Studies of Work Interaction and Technology. London, Routledge.

Campbell, J. (2004). Institutional Change and Globalization: Exploring Problems in the New Institutional Analysis, Princeton University Press.

Clemens, E. S. and J. M. Cook (1999). "Politics and Institutionalism: Explaining Durability and Change." Annual Review of Sociology **25**: 441-466.

Cook, T. (1998). Governing with the News - The News Media as a Political Institution. Chicago, Chicago University Press.

Croteau, D. and W. Hoynes (2001). The Business of Media. California, Sage Publications.

Dacin, M. T., J. Goodstein, et al. (2002). "Institutional Theory and Institutional Change: Introduction to the Special Research Forum." Academy of Management Journal **45**(1): 45-57.

Deetz, S. (1996). "Describing Differences in Approaches to Organization Science: Rethinking Burrell and Morgan and Their Legacy." Organization Science **7**(2): 191-207.

Denzin, N. K. (1978). The Research Act. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, N. K. and Y. S. Lincoln, Eds. (2000). Handbook of Qualitative Research. London, Sage Publications.

DiMaggio, P. J. (1988). Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory. Institutional Patterns and Organizations: Culture and Environment. L. G. Zucker. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger**:** 3-21.

DiMaggio, P. J. (1998). "The New Institutionalisms: Avenues of Collaboration." Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics **154**(4): 696-705.

DiMaggio, P. J. and W. W. Powell (1983). "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." American Sociological Review: 147-160.

Djelic, M. L. (1998). Exporting the American Model: The Postwar Transformation of European Business. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Dobbin, F. (1994). Forging Industrial Policy. The United States, Britain, and France in the Railway Age. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Doz, Y. L. (1996). "The Evolution of Coordination in Strategic Alliances: Initial Conditions or Learning Processes?" Strategic Management Journal **17**: 55-83.

Ellen, R. F. (1984). Ethnographic research: a guide to general conduct. San Diego, Academic Press.

Emirbayer, M. and A. Mische (1998). "What is Agency?" Amercan Journal of Sociology **103**(4): 962-1023.

Feldman, M. S. and B. T. Pentland (2003). "Reconceptualizing Organizational Routines as a Source of Flexibility and Change." Administrative Science Quarterly **48**(1): 94-118.

Fligstein, N. (1997). "Social Skill and Institutional Theory." American Behavioral Scientist **20**(397-405).

Fligstein, N. (1999). Social Skill and the Theory of Fields. Berkeley.

Fonsmark (1996). Børsens Danmarkshistorie 1896-1996. København, Børsen Bøger.

Fontana, A. and J. Frey (1994). Interviewing. Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln. London, Sage Publications**:** 361-376.

Geertz, C. (1973). The Interpretation of Cultures. New York, Basic Books.

Geswell, J. W. (1998). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design, Thousand Oaks.

Giddens, A. (1984). The Constitution of Society. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Greenwood, Suddaby, et al. (2002). "Theorizing Change: The Role of Professional Associations in the transformation of Institutional Fields." Academy of Management Journal **45**(1): 58-64.

Greenwood, R. and R. Suddaby (2006). "Institutional Entrepreneurship in Mature Fields: The Big Five Accounting Firms." Academy of Management Journal **49**(1): 27-48.

Gubrium, J. F. and J. A. Holstein (2000). Analyzing Interpretive Practice. Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, Sage.

Hammersley, M. and P. Atkinson (2000). Ethnography - Principles in Practice. London, Routledge.

Hansen, H. K., R. Langer, et al. (2000). Political Communications and Managerialism - Building City Identity and Image. The 4th International Conference on Corporate Reputation Identity and Competitiveness, Copenhagen Business School.

Hira, A. and R. Hira (2000). "The New Institutionalism: Contradictory Notions of Change." American Journal of Economics and Sociology **59**(2).

Hirsch, P. M. and M. Lounsbury (1997). Ending the Family Quarrel, Toward a Reconciliation of "old" and "new" Institutionalisms. American Behavioral Scientist. S. Christensen, P. Kanøe, J. S. Pedersen and F. Dobbin, Sage Periodicals Press. **40**.

Hodgson, F. W. (1996). Modern Newspaper Practice: A Primer on the Press.

Hoffman, A. J. (1999). "Institutional Evolution and Change: Environmentalism and the U.S. Chemical Industry." Academy of Management Journal **42**(4): 351-371.

Holm, P. (1995). "The Dynamics of Institutionalization: Transformation Processes of Norwegian Fisheries." Administrative Science Quarterly **40**: 398-422.

Huberman, M. A. and M. Miles (1994). Data Management and Analysis Method. Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, Sage.

Isabella, L. A. (1990). "Evolving Interpretations as a Change Unfolds: How Managers Construe Key Organisational Events." Academy of Management Journal **33**(1): 7-41.

Janesick, V. J. The Dance of Qualitative Research Design - Metaphor, Methodolatry, and Meaning**:** 209-219.

Jepperson, R. L. (2001). Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism. The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis. W. W. Powell and P. J. DiMaggio. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Jessop, B. (2000). Institutional (Re)Turns and the Strategic-Relational Approach. Lancaster.

Kirk, J. and M. L. Miller (1986). Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. California, Sage Publications.

Kjær, P. (2005). The Evolution of Business News in Denmark 1960-2000; Context and Content. Working Paper. Copenhagen.

Kjær, P. and R. Langer (2000). Business News as an Institution - An historial Analysis of the Danish Business Press. København.

Klein, H. K. and M. D. Myers (1999). "A Set of Principles for Conducting and Evaluating Interpretive Field Studies in Information Systems." MIS Quarterly **23**(1): 67-93.

Knights, D. and F. Murray (1994). Managers Divided: Organisation Politics and Information Technology Management. Chichester, John Wiley and Sons.

Kvale, S. (1996). Interviews - An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing. London, Sage Publications.

Kvale, S. (1996). Interviews - The Plurality of Interpretations. Thousand Oaks Sage.

Langley, A. (1999). "Strategies for Theorising from Process Data." Academy of Management Review **24**(4): 691-710.

Larsen, P. F. and X. Lin (2005). Nyheder til salg - Den globale revolution i finanspressen. København, Børsen Forlag.

Lawrence, T. B., C. Hardy, et al. (2002). "Institutional Effects of Interorganizational Collaboration: The Emergence of Proto-Institutions." Academy of Management Journal **45**: 281-290.

Leca, B. and P. Naccache (2006). "A Critical Realist Approach to Institutional Entrepreneurship." Organization **13**(5): 627-651.

Lee, T. W. (1999). Using Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Lippi, A. (2000). "One Theory, Many Practices. Institutional Allomorphism in the Managerialist Reorganization of Italian Governments." Scandinavian Journal of Management **16**: 455-477.

March, J. G. and H. A. Simon (1958). Organizations. New York, John Wiley.

Markus, M. L. and D. Robey (2004). Why stuff happens: explaining the unintended consequences of using IT. The past and future of information systems. K. V. Andersen and M. T. Vendelø. London, MPG Books.

Marshall, C. and G. B. Rossman (1994). Designing Qualitative Research. California, Thousand Oaks.

Meyer, J. W. and B. Rowan (1977). "Institutionalized Organisations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." American Journal of Sociology **83**: 340-363.

Morgan, G. and L. Smircich (1980). "The Case for Qualitative Research." Academy of Management Review **5**(4): 491-500.

Maanen, V. (1979). "The Fact of Fiction in Organizational Ethnography." Administrative Science Quarterly **24**(4): 539-550.

Maanen, V. (1988). Tales of the Field. On Writing Etnography. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Nee, V. and D. Strang (1998). "The Emergence and Diffusion of Institutional Forms." Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics **154**(4): 707-715.

Nielsen, K. (2001). "Institutionalist Approaches in the Social Sciences: Typology, Dialogue, and Future Challenges." Journal of Economic Issues **XXXV**: 505-516.

Oliver, C. (1992). "The Antecedents of Deinstitutionalization." Organization Studies **13**: 563-588.

Oliver, C. (1997). "Sustainable Competitive Advantage: Combining Institutional and Resource-Based Views." Strategic Management Journal **18**: 697-713.

Orlikowski, W., J. Yates, et al. (1995). "Shaping Electronic Communication: The Metastructuring of Technology in the Context of Use." Organization Science **6**(4): 423-444.

Palmer, M., O. Boyd-Barret, et al. (1998). Global Financial News. The Globalization of News. O. Boyd-Barret and T. Rantanen. London, Sage Publications.

Parsons, T. (1956). "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations." Administrative Science Quarterly **1**(1).

Parsons, W. (1989). The Power of the Financial Press - Journalism and economic opinion in Britain and America. Aldershot, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Pettigrew, A. M. (1997). "What is a Processual Analysis?" Scandinavian Journal of Management **13**(4): 337-348.

Pieterse, J. N. (1994). "Globalization as Hybridization." International Sociology **9**(2): 161-184.

Pool, I. D. S. (1978). The Social Impact of the Telephone. Cambridge, MIT Press.

Pool, I. D. S. (1983). Forecasting the Telephone: A Retrospective Technology Assessment of the Telephone. Norwood, NJ Ablex.

Powell, W. W. (1991). Expanding the Scope of Institutional Analysis. The New Institutionalism of Organizational Analysis. C. Powell and P. DiMaggio. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Powell, W. W. and P. J. DiMaggio (1991). The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Ragin, C. C. (1994). Construction Social Research. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications.

Reay, T., K. Golden-Biddle, et al. (2006). "Legitimizing a New Role: Small Wins and Microprocesses of Change." Academy of Management Journal **49**(5): 977-998.

Schwandt, T. (2000). Three Epistemological Stances for Qualitative Inquiry: Interpretivism, Hermeneutics, and Social Constructionism. Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln. London, Sage Publications.

Scott, R. W. (1994). Conceptualizing Organizational Fields: Linking Organizations and Societal Systems. Systemrationalität und Partialinteresse. H.-U. Derlien, U. Gerhardt and F. W. Scharpf. BadenBaden, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Scott, R. W. (1995). Institutions and Organizations. London, Sage Publications.

Scott, R. W. (2000). Organisations: rational, natural and open systems.

Scott, R. W. (2003). "Institutional Carriers: Reviewing Modes of Transporting Ideas over Time and Space and Considering their Consequences." Industrial and Corporate Change **12**(4): 879-894.

Scott, W. R. (1987). "The Adolescence of Institutional Theory." Administrative Science Quarterly **32**: 493-511.

Scott, W. R., M. Ruef, et al. (2000). Institutional Change and Organizations: Transformation of a Healthcare Field. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Selznick, P. (1957). Leadership in Administration. New York, Harper & Row.

Selznick, P. (1996). "Institutionalism "Old" and "New"." Administrative Science Quarterly **41**: 270-277.

Seo, M. G. and W. E. D. Creed (2002). "Institutional Contradtictions, Praxis, and Institutional Change: A Dialectical Perspective." Academy of Management Review **27**: 222-247.

Sewell, W. H. (1992). "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation." American Journal of Sociology **98**(1): 1-29.

Silverman, D. (1973). "Interview talk: bringing off a research instrument." Sociology **7**(1): 31-48.

Thompson, J. D. (1967). Organizations in Action. Classics of Organization Theory. J. M. Shafritz and J. S. Ott, Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Tolbert and Zucker (1999). The Institutionalisation of Institutional Theory. Studying organization: theory and method. C. Stewart and C. Hardy. London, Sage Publications.

Van de Ven, A. H. and R. M. Engleman (2003). "Suggestions for Studying Strategy Process: A Research Note." Strategic Management Journal **13**: 169-188.

Van de Ven, A. H. and M. C. Poole (2002). Field Research Methods. The Blackwell Companion to Organizations. J. A. C. Baum, Blackwell.

Weber, M. (1930). The Protestant's Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York, Scribner's.

Weick, K. (1995). Sensemaking in Organizations, Sage Publications.

Whittington, R. (2001). What Is Strategy - and Does It Matter?, Thomson Learning.

Yin, R. K. (1994). Case Study Research - Design and Methods. California, Sage Publications.

Zeitlin, J. (2000). Introduction: Americanization and its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Managment in Post-war Europe and Japan. Americanization and its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-war Europe and Japan. J. Zeitlin and G. Herrigel. Oxford, Oxford University Press**:** 1-52.

Zucker, L. (1977). "The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence." American Sociological Review **42**(5 (Okt., 1977)): 726-743.

Zucker, L. (1983). Organizations as Institutions. Research in the Sociology of Organizations. S. Bacharach. Greenwich CT, JAI Press**:** 1-47.

Zucker, L. G. (1987). "Institutional Theories of Organizations." Annual Review of Sociology **13**: 443-463.

Zucker, L. G. (1988). Where do Institutional Patterns Come From? Organizations as Actors in Social Systems. Institutional Patterns and Organizations: Culture and Environment. L. G. Zucker. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger**:** 23-49.

TITLER I PH.D.SERIEN:

2004

1. Martin Grieger
Internet-based Electronic Marketplaces and Supply Chain Management

2. Thomas Basbøll
LIKENESS
A Philosophical Investigation

3. Morten Knudsen
Beslutningens vaklen
En systemteoretisk analyse of moderniseringen af et amtskommunalt sundhedsvæsen 1980-2000

4. Lars Bo Jeppesen
Organizing Consumer Innovation
A product development strategy that is based on online communities and allows some firms to benefit from a distributed process of innovation by consumers

5. Barbara Dragsted
SEGMENTATION IN TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATION MEMORY SYSTEMS
An empirical investigation of cognitive segmentation and effects of integrating a TM system into the translation process

6. Jeanet Hardis
Sociale partnerskaber
Et socialkonstruktivistisk casestudie af partnerskabsaktørers virkelighedsopfattelse mellem identitet og legitimitet

7. Henriette Hallberg Thygesen
System Dynamics in Action

8. Carsten Mejer Plath
Strategisk Økonomistyring

9. Annemette Kjærgaard
Knowledge Management as Internal Corporate Venturing
– a Field Study of the Rise and Fall of a Bottom-Up Process

10. Knut Arne Hovdal
De profesjonelle i endring
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

11. Søren Jeppesen
Environmental Practices and Greening Strategies in Small Manufacturing Enterprises in South Africa
– A Critical Realist Approach

12. Lars Frode Frederiksen
Industriel forskningsledelse
– på sporet af mønstre og samarbejde i danske forskningsintensive virksomheder

13. Martin Jes Iversen
The Governance of GN Great Nordic
– in an age of strategic and structural transitions 1939-1988

14. Lars Pynt Andersen
The Rhetorical Strategies of Danish TV Advertising
A study of the first fifteen years with special emphasis on genre and irony

15. Jakob Rasmussen
Business Perspectives on E-learning

16. Sof Thrane
The Social and Economic Dynamics of Networks
– a Weberian Analysis of Three Formalised Horizontal Networks

17. Lene Nielsen
Engaging Personas and Narrative Scenarios – a study on how a user-centered approach influenced the perception of the design process in the e-business group at AstraZeneca

18. S.J Valstad
Organisationsidentitet
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

19. Thomas Lyse Hansen
Six Essays on Pricing and Weather risk in Energy Markets

20. Sabine Madsen
Emerging Methods – An Interpretive Study of ISD Methods in Practice

21. Evis Sinani
The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Efficiency, Productivity Growth and Trade: An Empirical Investigation

22. Bent Meier Sørensen
Making Events Work Or, How to Multiply Your Crisis

23. Pernille Schnoor
Brand Ethos
Om troværdige brand- og virksomhedsidentiteter i et retorisk og diskursteoretisk perspektiv

24. Sidsel Fabech
Von welchem Österreich ist hier die Rede?
Diskursive forhandlinger og magtkampe mellem rivaliserende nationale identitetskonstruktioner i østrigske pressediskurser

25. Klavs Odgaard Christensen
Sprogpolitik og identitetsdannelse i flersprogede forbundsstater
Et komparativt studie af Schweiz og Canada

26. Dana B. Minbaeva
Human Resource Practices and Knowledge Transfer in Multinational Corporations

27. Holger Højlund
Markedets politiske fornuft
Et studie af velfærdens organisering i perioden 1990-2003

28. Christine Mølgaard Frandsen
A.s erfaring
Om mellemværendets praktik i en transformation af mennesket og subjektiviteten

29. Sine Nørholm Just
The Constitution of Meaning – A Meaningful Constitution?
Legitimacy, identity, and public opinion in the debate on the future of Europe

2005

1. Claus J. Varnes
Managing product innovation through rules – The role of formal and structured methods in product development

2. Helle Hedegaard Hein
Mellem konflikt og konsensus – Dialogudvikling på hospitalsklinikker

3. Axel Rosenø
Customer Value Driven Product Innovation – A Study of Market Learning in New Product Development

4. Søren Buhl Pedersen
Making space
An outline of place branding

5. Camilla Funck Ellehave
Differences that Matter
An analysis of practices of gender and organizing in contemporary workplaces

6. Rigmor Madeleine Lond
Styring af kommunale forvaltninger

7. Mette Aagaard Andreassen
Supply Chain versus Supply Chain Benchmarking as a Means to Managing Supply Chains

8. Caroline Aggestam-Pontoppidan
From an idea to a standard
The UN and the global governance of accountants' competence

9. Norsk ph.d.

10. Vivienne Heng Ker-ni
An Experimental Field Study on the

Effectiveness of Grocer Media Advertising
Measuring Ad Recall and Recognition, Purchase Intentions and Short-Term Sales

11. Allan Mortensen
Essays on the Pricing of Corporate Bonds and Credit Derivatives

12. Remo Stefano Chiari
Figure che fanno conoscere
Itinerario sull'idea del valore cognitivo e espressivo della metafora e di altri tropi da Aristotele e da Vico fino al cognitivismo contemporaneo

13. Anders McIlquham-Schmidt
Strategic Planning and Corporate Performance
An integrative research review and a meta-analysis of the strategic planning and corporate performance literature from 1956 to 2003

14. Jens Geersbro
The TDF – PMI Case
Making Sense of the Dynamics of Business Relationships and Networks

15 Mette Andersen
Corporate Social Responsibility in Global Supply Chains
Understanding the uniqueness of firm behaviour

16. Eva Boxenbaum
Institutional Genesis: Micro – Dynamic Foundations of Institutional Change

17. Peter Lund-Thomsen
Capacity Development, Environmental Justice NGOs, and Governance: The Case of South Africa

18. Signe Jarlov
Konstruktioner af offentlig ledelse

19. Lars Stæhr Jensen
Vocabulary Knowledge and Listening Comprehension in English as a Foreign Language
An empirical study employing data elicited from Danish EFL learners

20. Christian Nielsen
Essays on Business Reporting
Production and consumption of strategic information in the market for information

21. Marianne Thejls Fischer
Egos and Ethics of Management Consultants

22. Annie Bekke Kjær
Performance management i Proces-innovation
– belyst i et social-konstruktivistisk perspektiv

23. Suzanne Dee Pedersen
GENTAGELSENS METAMORFOSE
Om organisering af den kreative gøren i den kunstneriske arbejdspraksis

24. Benedikte Dorte Rosenbrink
Revenue Management
Økonomiske, konkurrencemæssige & organisatoriske konsekvenser

25. Thomas Riise Johansen
Written Accounts and Verbal Accounts
The Danish Case of Accounting and Accountability to Employees

26. Ann Fogelgren-Pedersen
The Mobile Internet: Pioneering Users' Adoption Decisions

27. Birgitte Rasmussen
Ledelse i fællesskab – de tillidsvalgtes fornyende rolle

28. Gitte Thit Nielsen
Remerger
– skabende ledelseskræfter i fusion og opkøb

29. Carmine Gioia
A MICROECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS

30. Ole Hinz
Den effektive forandringsleder: pilot, pædagog eller politiker?
Et studie i arbejdslederes meningstilskrivninger i forbindelse med vellykket gennemførelse af ledelsesinitierede forandringsprojekter

31. Kjell-Åge Gotvassli
Et praksisbasert perspektiv på dynamiske
læringsnettverk i toppidretten
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

32. Henriette Langstrup Nielsen
Linking Healthcare
An inquiry into the changing performances of web-based technology for asthma monitoring

33. Karin Tweddell Levinsen
Virtuel Uddannelsespraksis
Master i IKT og Læring – et casestudie i hvordan proaktiv proceshåndtering kan forbedre praksis i virtuelle læringsmiljøer

34. Anika Liversage
Finding a Path
Labour Market Life Stories of Immigrant Professionals

35. Kasper Elmquist Jørgensen
Studier i samspillet mellem stat og erhvervsliv i Danmark under 1. verdenskrig

36. Finn Janning
A DIFFERENT STORY
Seduction, Conquest and Discovery

37. Patricia Ann Plackett
Strategic Management of the Radical Innovation Process
Leveraging Social Capital for Market Uncertainty Management

2006

1. Christian Vintergaard
Early Phases of Corporate Venturing

2. Niels Rom-Poulsen
Essays in Computational Finance

3. Tina Brandt Husman
Organisational Capabilities, Competitive Advantage & Project-Based Organisations
The Case of Advertising and Creative Good Production

4. Mette Rosenkrands Johansen
Practice at the top
– how top managers mobilise and use non-financial performance measures

5. Eva Parum
Corporate governance som strategisk kommunikations- og ledelsesværktøj

6. Susan Aagaard Petersen
Culture's Influence on Performance Management: The Case of a Danish Company in China

7. Thomas Nicolai Pedersen
The Discursive Constitution of Organizational Governance – Between unity and differentiation
The Case of the governance of environmental risks by World Bank environmental staff

8. Cynthia Selin
Volatile Visions: Transactons in Anticipatory Knowledge

9. Jesper Banghøj
Financial Accounting Information and Compensation in Danish Companies

10. Mikkel Lucas Overby
Strategic Alliances in Emerging High-Tech Markets: What's the Difference and does it Matter?

11. Tine Aage
External Information Acquisition of Industrial Districts and the Impact of Different Knowledge Creation Dimensions

A case study of the Fashion and Design Branch of the Industrial District of Montebelluna, NE Italy

12. Mikkel Flyverbom
Making the Global Information Society Governable
On the Governmentality of Multi-Stakeholder Networks

13. Anette Grønning
Personen bag
Tilstedeværer i e-mail som interaktionsform mellem kunde og medarbejder i dansk forsikringskontekst

14. Jørn Helder
One Company – One Language?
The NN-case

15. Lars Bjerregaard Mikkelsen
Differing perceptions of customer value
Development and application of a tool for mapping perceptions of customer value at both ends of customer-supplier dyads in industrial markets

16. Lise Granerud
Exploring Learning
Technological learning within small manufacturers in South Africa

17. Esben Rahbek Pedersen
Between Hopes and Realities:
Reflections on the Promises and Practices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

18. Ramona Samson
The Cultural Integration Model and European Transformation.
The Case of Romania

2007

1. Jakob Vestergaard
Discipline in The Global Economy
Panopticism and the Post-Washington Consensus

2. Heidi Lund Hansen
Spaces for learning and working
A qualitative study of change of work, management, vehicles of power and social practices in open offices

3. Sudhanshu Rai
Exploring the internal dynamics of software development teams during user analysis
A tension enabled Institutionalization Model; "Where process becomes the objective"

4. Norsk ph.d.
Ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur

5. Serden Ozcan
EXPLORING HETEROGENEITY IN ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIONS AND OUTCOMES
A Behavioural Perspective

6. Kim Sundtoft Hald
Inter-organizational Performance Measurement and Management in Action
– An Ethnography on the Construction of Management, Identity and Relationships

7. Tobias Lindeberg
Evaluative Technologies
Quality and the Multiplicity of Performance

8. Merete Wedell-Wedellsborg
Den globale soldat
Identitetsdannelse og identitetsledelse i multinationale militære organisationer

9. Lars Frederiksen
Open Innovation Business Models
Innovation in firm-hosted online user communities and inter-firm project ventures in the music industry
– A collection of essays

10. Jonas Gabrielsen
Retorisk toposlære – fra statisk 'sted' til persuasiv aktivitet

11. Christian Moldt-Jørgensen
Fra meningsløs til meningsfuld evaluering.
Anvendelsen af studentertilfredshedsmålinger på de korte og mellemlange videregående uddannelser set fra et psykodynamisk systemperspektiv

12. Ping Gao
Extending the application of actor-network theory
Cases of innovation in the telecommunications industry

13. Peter Mejlby
Frihed og fængsel, en del af den samme drøm?
Et phronetisk baseret casestudie af frigørelsens og kontrollens sameksistens i værdibaseret ledelse!

14. Kristina Birch
Statistical Modelling in Marketing

15. Signe Poulsen
Sense and sensibility:
The language of emotional appeals in insurance marketing

16. Anders Bjerre Trolle
Essays on derivatives pricing and dynamic asset allocation

17. Peter Feldhütter
Empirical Studies of Bond and Credit Markets

18. Jens Henrik Eggert Christensen
Default and Recovery Risk Modeling and Estimation

19. Maria Theresa Larsen
Academic Enterprise: A New Mission for Universities or a Contradiction in Terms?
Four papers on the long-term implications of increasing industry involvement and commercialization in academia

20. Morten Wellendorf
Postimplementering af teknologi i den offentlige forvaltning
Analyser af en organisations kontinuerlige arbejde med informationsteknologi

21. Ekaterina Mhaanna
Concept Relations for Terminological Process Analysis

22. Stefan Ring Thorbjørnsen
Forsvaret i forandring
Et studie i officerers kapabiliteter under påvirkning af omverdenens forandringspres mod øget styring og læring

23. Christa Breum Amhøj
Det selvskabte medlemskab om managementstaten, dens styringsteknologier og indbyggere

24. Karoline Bromose
Between Technological Turbulence and Operational Stability
– An empirical case study of corporate venturing in TDC

25. Susanne Justesen
Navigating the Paradoxes of Diversity in Innovation Practice
– A Longitudinal study of six very different innovation processes – in practice

26. Luise Noring Henler
Conceptualising successful supply chain partnerships
– Viewing supply chain partnerships from an organisational culture perspective

27. Mark Mau
Kampen om telefonen
Det danske telefonvæsen under den tyske besættelse 1940-45

28. Jakob Halskov
The semiautomatic expansion of existing terminological ontologies using knowledge patterns discovered

on the WWW – an implementation and evaluation

29. Gergana Koleva
European Policy Instruments Beyond Networks and Structure: The Innovative Medicines Initiative

30. Christian Geisler Asmussen
Global Strategy and International Diversity: A Double-Edged Sword?

31. Christina Holm-Petersen
Stolthed og fordom
Kultur- og identitetsarbejde ved skabelsen af en ny sengeafdeling gennem fusion

32. Hans Peter Olsen
Hybrid Governance of Standardized States
Causes and Contours of the Global Regulation of Government Auditing

33. Lars Bøge Sørensen
Risk Management in the Supply Chain

34. Peter Aagaard
Det unikkes dynamikker
De institutionelle mulighedsbetingelser bag den individuelle udforskning i professionelt og frivilligt arbejde

35. Yun Mi Antorini
Brand Community Innovation
An Intrinsic Case Study of the Adult Fans of LEGO Community

36. Joachim Lynggaard Boll
Labor Related Corporate Social Performance in Denmark
Organizational and Institutional Perspectives

2008

1. Frederik Christian Vinten
Essays on Private Equity

2. Jesper Clement
Visual Influence of Packaging Design on In-Store Buying Decisions

3. Marius Brostrøm Kousgaard
Tid til kvalitetsmåling?
– Studier af indrulleringsprocesser i forbindelse med introduktionen af kliniske kvalitetsdatabaser i speciallægepraksissektoren

4. Irene Skovgaard Smith
Management Consulting in Action
Value creation and ambiguity in client-consultant relations

5. Anders Rom
Management accounting and integrated information systems
How to exploit the potential for management accounting of information technology

6. Marina Candi
Aesthetic Design as an Element of Service Innovation in New Technology-based Firms

7. Morten Schnack
Teknologi og tværfaglighed
– en analyse af diskussionen omkring indførelse af EPJ på en hospitalsafdeling

8. Helene Balslev Clausen
Juntos pero no revueltos – un estudio sobre emigrantes norteamericanos en un pueblo mexicano

9. Lise Justesen
Kunsten at skrive revisionsrapporter.
En beretning om forvaltningsrevisionens beretninger

10. Michael E. Hansen
The politics of corporate responsibility: CSR and the governance of child labor and core labor rights in the 1990s

11. Anne Roepstorff
Holdning for handling – en etnologisk undersøgelse af Virksomheders Sociale Ansvar/CSR

12. Claus Bajlum
Essays on Credit Risk and Credit Derivatives

13. Anders Bojesen
The Performative Power of Competence – an Inquiry into Subjectivity and Social Technologies at Work

14. Satu Reijonen
Green and Fragile
A Study on Markets and the Natural Environment

15. Ilduara Busta
Corporate Governance in Banking
A European Study

16. Kristian Anders Hvass
A Boolean Analysis Predicting Industry Change: Innovation, Imitation & Business Models
The Winning Hybrid: A case study of isomorphism in the airline industry

17. Trine Paludan
De uvidende og de udviklingsparate
Identitet som mulighed og restriktion blandt fabriksarbejdere på det aftayloriserede fabriksgulv

18. Kristian Jakobsen
Foreign market entry in transition economies: Entry timing and mode choice

19. Jakob Elming
Syntactic reordering in statistical machine translation

20. Lars Brømsøe Termansen
Regional Computable General Equilibrium Models for Denmark
Three papers laying the foundation for regional CGE models with agglomeration characteristics

21. Mia Reinholt
The Motivational Foundations of Knowledge Sharing

22. Frederikke Krogh-Meibom
The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology
– A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press – the Case Study of Financial Times

TITLER I ATV PH.D.-SERIEN

1992

1. Niels Kornum
Servicesamkørsel – organisation, økonomi og planlægningsmetoder

1995

2. Verner Worm
Nordiske virksomheder i Kina
Kulturspecifikke interaktionsrelationer ved nordiske virksomhedsetableringer i Kina

1999

3. Mogens Bjerre
Key Account Management of Complex Strategic Relationships
An Empirical Study of the Fast Moving Consumer Goods Industry

2000

4. Lotte Darsø
Innovation in the Making
Interaction Research with heterogeneous Groups of Knowledge Workers creating new Knowledge and new Leads

2001

5. Peter Hobolt Jensen
Managing Strategic Design Identities
The case of the Lego Developer Network

2002

6. Peter Lohmann
The Deleuzian Other of Organizational Change – Moving Perspectives of the Human

7. Anne Marie Jess Hansen
To lead from a distance: The dynamic interplay between strategy and strategizing – A case study of the strategic management process

2003

8. Lotte Henriksen
Videndeling
– om organisatoriske og ledelsesmæssige udfordringer ved videndeling i praksis

9. Niels Christian Nickelsen
Arrangements of Knowing: Coordinating Procedures Tools and Bodies in Industrial Production – a case study of the collective making of new products

2005

10. Carsten Ørts Hansen
Konstruktion af ledelsesteknologier og effektivitet

TITLER I DBA PH.D.-SERIEN

2007

1. Peter Kastrup-Misir
Endeavoring to Understand Market Orientation – and the concomitant co-mutation of the researched, the researcher, the research itself and the truth