Through the Printing Press: An Account of Open Practices in the Swedish Newspaper Industry

Claes Thorén
Uppsala University, claes.thoren@im.uu.se

Pär J. Ågerfalk
Uppsala University, par.agerfalk@im.uu.se

Mats Edenius
Uppsala University, mats.edenius@im.uu.se

Follow this and additional works at: https://aisel.aisnet.org/jais

Through the Printing Press: An Account of Open Practices in the Swedish Newspaper Industry

Claes Thorén
Uppsala University
claes.thoren@im.uu.se

Pär J. Ågerfalk
Uppsala University
par.agerfalk@im.uu.se

Mats Edenius
Uppsala University
mats.edenius@im.uu.se

Abstract

Organizational practices that foster a dialogic relationship between organizations and their constituent customers have created an arena for inbound and outbound innovation. At the nexus of this development occurring in the media industries, these flows are carried by various forms of digital, social media and an increasing digital presence in the form of dynamic websites with varying degrees of interactive capabilities. In this paper, we posit that the newspaper industry is torn between indifference and cautious apprehension caused by the difficulty in marrying the journalism profession's carefully guarded gatekeeping practices with the revolving doors of open innovation. Gatekeeping has emerged as a fiercely defended cornerstone for the industry and the profession of journalism itself is not enough to distinguish amateurs from professionals; for the segregation between professionals and amateurs to carry weight rather than being reduced to a hollow title, the segregation needs a practice that explicitly enforces gatekeeping—where actions speak louder than titles. Against this backdrop, we pursue the following research question: Why has IT-enabled open innovation become such a contentious issue in the context of the newspaper industry? Combining contextual in-situ ethnographic interviews and observation with an industry-wide content analysis of Swedish newspaper websites, we present an in-depth view of what IT-enabled open innovation means in the context of the newspaper industry. Results show that the process of legitimization inscribed by a particularly charged information technology—the printing press—continues to exert great influence in what constitutes open practice in the newspaper industry.

Keywords: Industry, Interpretive, Organizational, Empirical, Organizational Theory, Interviews.

Through the Printing Press: An Account of Open Practices in the Swedish Newspaper Industry

1. Introduction

Fueled by the rise of interactive technologies and social media, organizational practices that emphasize a cumulative, dialogic relationship between organizations and their constituent customers are receiving increasing attention (Briones, Kuch, Liu, & Jin, 2011). This development is particularly evident when it comes to challenging the role of producer and consumer and the nature of the traditional boundary that separates these roles (Romero & Molina, 2011). These practices have created an arena for inbound and outbound innovation (Chesbrough, 2003; Dahlander & Gann, 2010). Inbound and outbound innovation refers to, "the use of purposive inflows and outflows of knowledge to accelerate internal innovation, and expand the markets for external use of innovation" (Chesbrough, 2006) that increases people's access to each other, "to resources, and to projects" (Benkler, 2002, p. 377). In the media industry, these flows are carried by various forms of digital, social media and an increasing digital presence in the form of dynamic websites with varying degrees of interactive capabilities (Larsson, 2011).

We propose that the newspaper industry, as it finds itself at the nexus of this development (Holm, Günzel, & Ulhøi, 2013), is torn between indifference and a cautious apprehension caused by the difficulty in marrying the journalism profession's carefully guarded gatekeeping practices with the revolving doors of open innovation. At first glance, it seems obvious that the professional dissemination of news should easily thrive and benefit from the openness in open innovation (Chesbrough, 2003; Chesbrough, 2006; Dahlander & Gann, 2010) and commons-based peer production (Benkler, 2002). However, evidence points to the contrary. A paradigmatic shift from proprietary ownership to openness requires re-thinking value creation and value capture, particularly with regards to ownership for the "public good" (Chesbrough & Appleyard, 2007). Thus, it comes as no surprise that the newspaper industry has been slow or even reluctant to innovate in the multimodal and social media realm (Russial, 2009; Singer et al., 2011, Lowrey, 2011). If boundless and peer-to-peer dialogue is one of the tenets of social media and open innovation, there will be friction. For example, Plaisance (2000, p. 259) describes how journalists were provoked by being asked the apparently "volatile" question of who can or should define media, revealing a seemingly industry-wide attitude of conservatism. This attitude is also identified by Singer (2005, p. 179) who describes the newspaper industry as "the most opaque of industries" in which "professionals fiercely oppose any hint of oversight that might abridge their autonomy". The industry sees its journalists as being "the guarantors for maintaining the good argument in the service for democracy" (Flynn, 2004; Singer, et al, 2011). This sentiment appears to be in stark opposition to Holm et al.'s (2013) conclusion that user-generated news content "results in stronger ties to customers which now can become partners". In this paper, we offer a new perspective on IT-enabled open innovation by examining its current and disruptive impact on media organizations, and contribute specifically to the information systems literature on open innovation and practice theory by exploring how the concept of constitutive rules offers insight into how IT innovations are received and implemented in organizations.

As it relates to journalism, open innovation refers to the "outside" (e.g., readers) entering into dialogue with the "inside" (e.g., editors and reporters). However, attempts to bring the outside in, such as the case with readers' comments, have been met with organizational resistance and ethical difficulties that have culminated in firms reassuring their hierarchies and reinforcing their view that readers and journalists are not peers, which has triggered what we can describe as re-assertive organizational behavior that is harsh even by traditional journalistic standards. The inversion of the capital structure of information and culture production (i.e., where amateurs and professionals would become peers), caused by the declining price and wide access of computation (Benkler, 2002), has emerged as a threat to established hierarchies. Reader (2005) shows how senior editors' distaste for anonymity resulted in their automatically rejecting anonymous letters to the editor. Moreover, Hlavach and Freivogel (2011) show that newspaper organizations accepted offensive anonymous comments in their online editions, but rejected them in their print editions, rendering newsroom policies around source anonymity a contentious area of "cognitive dissonance" (Hlavach & Freivogel, 2011) and double standards. Hermida and Thurman's (2008) study of 12 national newspaper websites in the UK revealed editors' concerns about users' contributions damaging the newspapers' reputations. An

organizational disinclination to handle fallout from slanderous and offensive comments has resulted in large media ownership groups outsourcing their newspaper comment management to third parties, which has taken such comments entirely out of the hands of the newsrooms (MacMillan, 2007). Some newspapers have tried to make anonymous users more accountable for their comments by requiring users to register before they can post comments (Gsell, 2009); however, identities are often untraceable and difficult to verify.

A common association with bringing the outside in (i.e. the invitation of contributions to news content from the outside)—often labeled citizen journalism, participatory journalism, or civic journalism—is a practice that has been under considerable debate for a long time (Deuze, 2003; Singer, 2006; Hermida, 2010; Karlsson, 2011). This practice results in the flattening of hierarchies with respect to who gets to create, edit, and comment on news content (Karlsson, 2011). Deuze, Bruns, and Neuberger (2007) and Thurman (2008) notes that this kind of editorial interactivity has threatened journalists' sense of professional identity and their ability to be gatekeepers. In a study of four Spanish newsrooms furthermore, Domingo (2008) notes a "myth of interactivity" embedded "in the mindset and discourses" of journalists, who saw "audience participation as a problem to manage rather than a benefit for the news product" (p. 689). What is so guarded is the practice of gatekeeping (Lewin, 1943; White, 1950; Shoemaker et al., 2001) and the privilege of authority enjoyed by a profession whose job it is to decide what and how to inform the public, a practice that is quite contrary to citizen journalism.

Gatekeeping has materialized into a fiercely defended cornerstone for the journalism industry. The journalism profession itself is not enough to distinguish amateurs from professionals though; for the segregation between professionals and amateurs to carry importance in a way a mere title cannot, it needs to be accompanied by a *practice* of segregation, of gatekeeping, because segregating routines and actions would imbue the professional titles with meaning and purpose. As Boczkowski (2005) argues, the distinctive trait that allows "journalism to stand apart as a distinctive domain of activity is gatekeeping". Thus, in this paper, we propose gatekeeping as the utmost central process of journalistic legitimacy because of how the term semantically presupposes segregation between professionals and amateurs. Further emphasizing this segregation is the technology of the printing press, in and of itself a professional machine that requires significant financial capital and staff to operate. Deconstructing the gatekeeping practice, we argue that segregation comes as a direct result of a technology that has given birth to both the industry and the institution to such an extent that the printing press has become a material incarnation of gatekeeping, the process that, in turn, safeguards legitimate journalism. As such, gatekeeping militates against technological innovation that threatens the profession's supremacy. Against this backdrop, we pursue the following research question: "Why has IT-enabled open innovation become such a contentious issue?".

For the purpose of this study, we adopt the notion that innovation refers to a new idea, technology, artefact, or practice (Rogers, 2003), or to a recombination of old ideas that challenges the present order (van de Ven, 1986). Furthermore, innovation refers not merely to an outcome (a new practice, for example), but also to the process in which new practices emerge and are technologically supported (Gupta, Tesuk, & Taylor, 2007). If an innovation facilitates a dialogic relationship between an organization and its external stakeholders (i.e. if it facilitates an open and negotiated cumulative exchange of ideas and opinions (Kent & Taylor, 1998)), it constitutes an open practice and we refer to it as an open innovation, regardless of whether or not the open practice as such aims for innovation or is the result of an open practice (Carlile, 2004). The open practices of particular interest here are those enabled by information technology (IT), such as social media platforms.

Based on a nationwide survey of open practices accessible through Swedish newspapers' websites and an in-depth study of one prominent Swedish newspaper corporation, this paper contributes to our understanding of IT's role in enabling open innovation by putting forth two arguments: first, that successful open innovation in the newspaper industry is contingent on the transformation in ontological status of a key piece of technology. The challenge is that the technology is heavily associated with institutionalized, regulative rules that militate against open practices. Second, this

central technology currently equips gatekeeping with very effective ammunition and a certain finality: at this point in time, without the printing press, there would be no newspaper industry to speak of.

The paper proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we review practice theory and the concept of "constitutive rule" in order to establish a theoretical framework for the empirical study. In Section 3, we describe the study's research design. In Section 4, we present and analyze the empirical findings. In Section 5, we discuss contributions to knowledge, and, in Section 6, we draw conclusions.

2. A Practice Theory Lens

The idea that any social structure (e.g., society, city, university) is constituted (enacted) by the combinations of physical artifacts and expressions that it irreducibly requires in order to perform an acceptable outcome resides close to practice theory and its focus on inherent relations and performative enactment. Practices have taken a prominent role with its own epithet "the practice turn" (Jarzabkowski, 2008; Schatzki et al., 2001). Scholars of practice theory have shown that organized activity is constituted of emergent human and material agency reciprocally engaged by means of a dialectic of resistance and accommodation called "the mangle" (Pickering, 1995) where "resistance (and accommodation) is at the heart of the struggle between the human and material realms in which each is interactively restructured with respect to the other". Pickering pinpoints the dialectic between resistance and accommodation and between the human and the material, and thereby effectively provides an outline for the role of constitutive practice in a temporal, organizational context. In scholarship of constitutive enactment and practice, certain patterns emerge. Raelin (2007) problematizes the dichotomy of theory and practice; Kuhn (2008) distinguishes between concrete and figurative texts. A common theme is an increased interest in practices, and, as practice scholars assert, "practices" form structures of action which in some way are treated by all kinds of social theories stemming from the tradition of action theory (Reckwitz, 2002).

Reckwitz (2002) defines practice as the regular, skillful "performance" of (human) bodies that encompasses modes of handling certain objects and "'intellectual" activities such as talking, reading, or writing. Practices necessarily imply certain routinized ways of understanding the world, of desiring something, and of knowing how to do something. When particular "things" are necessary elements of certain practices:

> subject–subject relations cannot claim any priority over subject–object relations, as far as the production and reproductions of social order(liness) is concerned. The stable relation between agents (body/minds) and things within certain practices reproduces the social, as does the 'mutually' stable relation between several agents in other practices. Moreover, one can assume that most social practices consist of routinized relations between several agents (body/minds) and objects (Reckwitz, 2002)

Routinized social practices occur over time and with repetition, which, according to Reckwitz (2002), implies that social order equals social reproduction. As such, we can define practice as recurrent, embodied organized human action and interaction. The nexus of practices are mediated by entities such as artifacts, humans, and things put into an intimate relationship with different structures (Vaast & Walsham, 2005; Schatzki, 2005; Reckwitz, 2002; Bourdieu,1990). In practice theory, the "breaking" and "shifting" of structures occur in everyday crises of routines and in the social constellations of interpretative interdeterminacy when an agent performing a practice is confronted with a "situation" (Reckwitz, 2002). Similarly, DeLanda's (2007) conceptualization of social structure—that of the assemblage—places particular importance on the way in which any society, institution, or interpersonal interaction is constituted by processes of territorialization that can be on the one hand expressive, and on the other hand material. The range between the two extremes elucidates that a process can be more or less expressive or material. Practices are simultaneously material and enacted (Schatzki, 2005) and practice theory places particular attention on the physical and habitual in terms of both practices and discourse (Swidler, 2006). Consider the gatekeeping practice of newspaper organizations. This central routinized practice that has endured for 150 years is sustained by two parallel processes working in tandem: a social, normative, and discursive process, and a

material process. These two processes territorialize both the gatekeeping authority of the professional newsmaking institution through the journalist code, and the printing press machinery. Both territorialize professionals, while deterritorializing amateurs, through possessions of capital, machines, knowledge, routines, and a particular shared worldview. Guarding the gate are the processes enacted by the artifact of the printing press that are expressed through journalism's professional code. The practice itself reproduces and sustains the structures it upholds by maintaining its exclusivity. Exclusivity is ensured by the early establishing of journalistic practice in special journalism schools.

Thus, we can see an organization as the result of a collection of material and expressive validating processes that, once established, exerts tacit, regulative influence over its structure, which, in turn, feedback into the organization as a whole. Indeed, "the main territorializing process providing the assemblage with a stable identity is habitual repetition" (DeLanda, 2007). Thus, so long as these material processes are necessary to maintain a bodily and mentally entangled routine, they are part of the social. In other words, it is the stable relation between the tangible and the intangible and potential things in a certain practice that the social reproduces (Reckwitz, 2002). The gatekeeping practice is a territorializing process that excludes amateur participation and includes professionalism; in other words, it increases the internal homogeneity of the newspaper profession by regulating who can contribute what content. This is in keeping with Searle (1995), who asserts that "social objects such as governments, money and universities are in fact just placeholders for patterns of activities". For example, the practice of gatekeeping in the newspaper industry consists of a discursive component—the rules and regulations that underpin the selection and filtering of news for publication—and a technological, material component—the printing press that creates the product.

Sewell (1992) argues that some structures and their associated practices are deeper, more fundamental, and more powerful than others. Fundamental practices that enact different constitutive rules (as part of structures) are anchoring practices. Practice is culturally constituted, and directly conveys meaning (Swidler, 2006), which becomes evident in how the gatekeeping practice is linked to printing press artifact. Gatekeeping as a legitimating practice is anchored in the fundamental necessity of the machine. This allows anchoring practices to be seen as enacted structures in general, but more specific practices operate as "enactments of constitutive rules" that acquire their power to structure related discourses and patterns of activity (Swidler, 2006). While a regulative rule characteristically takes the form of, or can be paraphrased as, an imperative (e.g., "do this, do that"), a constitutive rule constitutes an activity, the existence of which logically depends on the rule (e.g., how to play chess or conduct a marriage ceremony) (Searle, 1969). A constitutive rule can be said to describe a particular kind of cultural act that defines what shall count as what (cf. Swidler, 2006) (e.g., what makes a newspaper a newspaper).

3. Research Design

Our overall research design follows Yin (2009), in order to examine open practices in the Swedish newspaper industry. Sweden is of particular interest since it is characterized by both extensive Internet usage and high levels of newspaper readership (Carlsson & Facht, 2010). It also continuously ranks as one of the most innovative countries in the world (Dutta, Lanvin, & Wunsh-Vincent, 2014).

To both broadly and deeply understand the phenomena under scrutiny, the research design covered two phases: (1) a nationwide study of all 159 Swedish newspapers' websites, and (2) contextual in-situ ethnographic interviews of one corporation ("Nya Wermlands-Tidningen" (NWT)) to investigate open practices more deeply. Of the 4 main media corporations in Sweden, we chose NWT because of its financial success and regional status. Today, this politically liberal newspaper corporation represents 12 regional newspapers, including its eponymous flagship paper that mainly covers the county capital Karlstad. It is a fourth-generation family owned corporation that was founded in 1836, and, according to The Swedish Press Subsidies Council in 2011 and 2012 the most financially successful mainline newspaper corporation in Sweden (SPSC, 2011; 2012).

A frequent criticism of the case study methodology is that its dependence on a single case renders it incapable of providing a generalizable conclusion. Yin (2009), however, extended and complemented

this argument by proposing that there is a difference between analytical generalization and statistical generalization. In the present study, we achieved analytical generalization by using previously developed theory as a template to compare the empirical results (Lee & Baskerville, 2003).

3.1. Phase 1: Content Analysis, Nationwide Study

We conducted an explorative analysis of Swedish newspaper websites for features reflecting open practices. For example, we ignored content per se (e.g., articles) of a general nature, but included readers' comments. We saved a screen dump of each website, and inductively coded the main-page content of each website. In total, we analyzed a complete sample (n=159) of Swedish newspaper websites.

3.2. Phase 2: Contextual, In-situ Ethnographic Interviews

The ethnographic interviews at NWT focused on management, our assumption being that these are the people that articulate an organization's values, strategies, and ideologies, and therefore form the basis of every employee's conduct and attitude. With this reasoning, we can examine management in order to formulate an idea of the inner organizational discourse, which is critical for understanding how and why an organization operates. In order to show the depth of the interviews, we analyzed the actors. As such, those actors in positions that we targeted for interviews were the:

- Corporate manager (president), who represented the family members and owners group of the corporation with majority interest.

- Chief executive officer (CEO), who was exclusively responsible for the day-to- day maintenance of the organization. The CEO further appointed the management staff, who were also responsible for articulating, executing, and maintaining long-term corporate strategies.

- Managing editor, who had executive decision over the news director, whether something should be printed or not, and how much attention was given to a story.

- Legally responsible publisher, which was a purely judicial appointment as opposed to a set organizational position. This person was legally responsible for everything that was printed in the newspaper.

- Editor-in-chief, represented by a member of the owners group, and a family member with executive editorial decision making.

- Assistant editor-in-chief, who was responsible for day-to-day executive editorial decisions subordinate to the editor-in-chief.

- News director, who was responsible for determining the news value of incoming tips and information. The individual acted as a first filter and gatekeeper, and decided what should be printed and what should be discarded based on assumptions of regional interest and newsworthiness. They also decided on the length and placement of articles in the newspaper, and assigned incoming stories to reporters.

- Web director, who managed the "web desk", or the online equivalent of the newsdesk, and its reporters, and decided where on the website a story ended up, and how much space it was given.' This person was furthermore responsible for developing the business side of the newspaper's online edition, including advertising strategies, social media strategies, and the website's general developing process.

- Director of workflow, who was responsible for interdepartemental development, collaboration and quality control.

- Regional director and editor-in-chief, who was responsible for one of the subsidiary newspapers with executive editorial mandate.

The total number of persons and positions interviewed was 10. As Kvale (1996) states: "Interview as many subjects as necessary to find out what you need to know". We wanted to reach a saturation of the material, where the researcher reaches a plateau and little or no new knowledge can be gleaned from adding additional interview subjects. The more homogenous the group, the quicker the material saturates. Kvale (1996) further states that the number of required interview subjects depends on the study, and, in our case, the statistical percentage of the managerial stratum can be said to be very high because we covered all members of the directorial level of managers. The actual number of interviews exceeded the number of respondents because we approached some respondents multiple times. The level of homogeneity among the subjects led to saturation in the interview data after approximately four interviews and four respondents. We performed interviews with an additional six respondents and the saturation persisted with one exception in each organization: the web directors. They exhibited unique insight and motivation regarding the Web, which makes sense, since they worked specifically on the platform.

Ethnographic interviewing is a form of interviewing where the researcher has

> *developed respectful, on-going relationships …including enough rapport for there to be a genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews to…[purposefully explore] the meanings [interviewees] place on events in their worlds.* (Heyl, 2001, p. 369)

The ethnographic interviews that comprise the main empirical foundation of this paper took place between February 2009 and April 2013, a brief initial contact with the chief executive officer at NWT in December 2008 when the purpose of the study was explained The aggregate result of the interviews and field notes reveals a collaborative relationship between the authors and NWT's management gradually built on trust and transparency over a four-year time period. The interview material stems from both formal and informal field visits. We orchestrated multiple formal meetings for the purpose of the study (such as scheduled interview sessions and meetings, and formal newsroom meetings where we reported back (and discussed at certain milestones) the study's emerging results), and we attended others (such as weekly editorial meetings). The informal field visits were social visits: conversations over lunches, coffee breaks, and impromptu lengthy chats in the hallway. In addition, we contacted several interviewees via email and phone at times, primarily for clarification.

In order to preserve some anonymity, and rather than using the real names of staff or positions, we divided managers into three conceptual management levels: upper manager (UM), middle manager (MM), and lower manager (LM) (see Table 1). We progressively designed an interview guide throughout the interviews in order to inductively capture new and important areas as they emerged over the course of earlier interviews. We accomplished the coding (i.e., the act of "condensing the bulk of…data sets into analyzable units by creating categories with and from [the] data" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996)) in part with the categories that had emerged from the content analysis, and in part inductively in order to remain receptive to any new insights on open practice that the interviews might have offered. We then paired the resulting categories with testimonials from managers, and, as DeLanda (2007) argues, "There are a variety of roles that linguistic components play in [interpersonal, social constellations], an important example of which is the shared stories and categories that emerge". Thus, these shared stories were instrumental in critically reflecting on the categories identified in Phase 1. In addition, we aggregated the resulting material from the ethnographic interviews with field notes from the guided tour offered by NWT, which was treated as in-situ observation.

Table 1. Specifics of the In-situ Ethnographic Interviews		
Designation	**Recorded interview time (primary interview)**	**Revisit(s)**
UM #1	1:05:34	1
UM #2	1:08:54	
UM #3	1:30:54	1
UM #4	1:15:13	
UM #5	32:37	
MM #1	55:53	>1
MM #2	1:30:11	
MM #3	N/A	1
LM #1	1:30:54	1
LM #2	48:10	>1

3.3. Observation of the Guided Tour as Communicative Genre

We studied the guided tour NWT offered as a way to further understand and clarify how the organization presents itself. This paper assumes that communication is central to the organizing process, and, like Orlikowski and Yates (1994), we see communication as an essential element in ongoing organizing processes through which social processes are produced, reproduced, and changed. Such a recursive relationship between action and structure is central to practice theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990) and grounded in the ongoing practical activities of human agents in particular historical, cultural, and institutional contexts. Empirical investigations guided by a practice perspective place particular focus on the recursive relationship between routine activities and the social structures that are the medium and outcome of these activities (Barley, 1986; Suchman, 1987; Orlikowski & Yates, 1994). Particularly useful is the investigation of practices using "communicative genres" enacted in a community (Orlikowski & Yates, 1994). Linell (1992, p. 239) broadly defines a communicative genre using an example. If members of a community have to solve repeatedly the same communicative problem, they "develop routinized ways of carrying out the interaction". This would allow a community to share knowledge of the routinized interaction and subsequently rely on already existing communicative patterns, rather than reinventing their communicative acts again and again. In other words, a communicative genre is a socially constructed, historically embedded problem-solving interaction pattern.

Pierroux (2010, p. 421) studied the guided tour as a semiotic resource and meaning-making activity in museums, and argues that "[g]uided tours may be considered a communicative genre in an institutionalized discursive setting", which, in Linell's (1998, p. 239) terms, is "originally interactionally developed, historically sedimented, often institutionally congealed, and finally interactionally reconstructed in situ". According to Pierroux (2010, p. 421), in the context of guided tours, speech is not only a mediating tool, but is, "in itself, an active reconstruction process, a "dynamic merging" of word and thought in socially situated communication and discourse". Therefore, although guided tours give the impression of being monological rather than dialogical, as a communicative genre, they also may be "more or less open" depending on unfolding activity in different situated social encounters (Linell, 1998). In other words, the guided tour as a show-and-tell event is a product of a particular institution at a particular point in time, and this enables the semiotics of the study visit in this study to be regarded as a dialogic event that, once observed and transformed into field notes, can complement the analysis from the semi-structured interviews.

Lasting approximately two hours, the guided tour of NWT's interior premises consisted of two parts: 1) the offices and newsroom, and 2) the press hall. The guided tour was preceded by an oral presentation given by the legally responsible publisher about the history and present values of the corporation, and future challenges. We documented the study visit using extensive field notes and photographs in order to gain insight into what was chosen to be shown and put on display (i.e., what

seemed to be prioritized and talked about, and what was noticeably skipped over or talked less about). That is, in the present study, attending the guided tour was an empirical strategy for gaining insight into and documenting the regulative, constitutive, and territorializing enactments of practices that were emphasized and/or downplayed; in other words, what aspects of organizational life in this organization is credited with the most legitimacy, and how legitimacy is parsed through expressive processes and material artifacts in the study visit.

Taken together, the two phases represent accumulated empirical data that can show and explain how and why the industry and representative NWT chose to implement and view IT-driven open practice and what open practice meant for these organizations.

4. Findings and Analysis

4.1. Findings of the Nationwide Content Analysis (Phase 1)

We identified seven main categories of open practices. The analysis shows whether these practices indeed are, as the expression goes, put into practice, or if they are merely token agreements. In that sense, the categories started out as inductively generated, empirical propositions to be analyzed and validated. Any potentially cross-boundary, dialogic negotiation from the outside-in, or the inside-out between amateur and professional qualified under the inductive lens of this study: practices that challenge traditional and new boundaries between content provider and consumer. We listed the categories that we identified in Phase 1 (the nationwide study) in order of prevalence. These categories were instrumental in for our coding the qualitative data in Phase 2.

The open practices we found in the websites we investigated were (n=159):

- Asking for news tips (SMS, phone, or email): 86%

- Presence on social media: 72%

- Offering blog platform: 62%

- Readers commenting on news stories: 58%

- Readers contributing photos: 32%

- Online readers polls: 30%

- Readers contributing text for publication (e.g., news stories, letters to the editor): 29%

For clarity, we briefly describe these categories in turn.

Asking for news tips (which 86% of all websites featured) is an example of stimulating an inbound-flow of ideas, akin to ideation, that provides the seed for development by professional journalists (i.e. what passes through the figurative gate of the newspaper institution are potential ideas for news stories provided by amateurs that need to be approved by the news director before they become "news").

Presence on social media (which 72% of websites featured) is an example of openness insofar as it provides an opportunity for newspapers to incorporate comments without hosting the comments, while directing web traffic to a particular article. Using a Facebook "sharing" plugin or "comment" plugin, the comments exist on only Facebook, and point to the article by reference. This is an example of inbound and outbound dialogue between readers. Participation in this discourse by the authoring journalist is a rare, if not non-existent, occurrence. The benefit of using Facebook is that readers appear with their names, which may have a positive effect on what type of comments are posted.

Offering a blog platform under the banner of the news corporation's brand (which 62% of websites featured) is an invite to provide content of a general type. We found blogs by both journalist-turned-bloggers and blogger-turned-journalists.

Readers commenting on news stories (which 58% of websites featured) represents perhaps one of the most controversial practices of inbound content. This category refers to a comment function on a newspaper's native website that usually uses the Disqus platform or a domestic variety native to the Newspilot CMS, the most common content management system for newspapers in Sweden.

Readers contributing photos (which 32% of websites featured) represents an inbound, "safe" type of content because the photos, which are allowed to be framed with text, are personal, feature-type content. Photos directly pertaining to news events are sent using email and treated as a potential seed for news and have to pass through the usual gatekeeping channels, and may be subject to manipulation.

Online reader polls (which 30% of websites featured) represent a way to incorporate interaction and presence on a website by asking questions that either originate with a news article or are of a feature type. Nevertheless, these multiple-choice polls are treated as an inbound practice.

The least common category is readers contributing textual content for news purposes, including letters to the editor (which 29% of the websites featured). This category represents inbound innovation where an amateur selects, writes, and publishes a news story, which the newspaper then imports to its website. This is also a highly contested type of content, often demarcated with its own tab or clearly defined website space, which separates it from the professional sections and creates what Bowman and Willis (2003, p. 55) argue is a "closed-off annex where readers can talk and discuss, as long as the media companies don't have to be involved".

These categories represent the inductively generated findings from our content analysis in phase one. In order to critically engage with these categories, we conducted a deeper, qualitative study in one newspaper corporation (representing 12 of the 159). We describe the findings from that study in Sections 4.2 to 4.10.

4.2. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—The Guided Tour of NWT

This first category introduces the NWT corporation by combining findings from the guided tour with statements made in the interviews. We emphasize the meta-aspect of the organization itself, its history, and the embedded stories contained in artifacts, rituals, and routines and that are revealed during the guided tour. This category situates the ethnographic interviews institutionally and culturally in order to add a further dimension of interpretation.

The category opens with a quote relating to general corporate ideology—a sense of where the organization was going and defines the central gatekeeping process:

> *The tendency is clear. We're moving towards more closed way of working, perhaps not only content-wise, what to publish but also what is allowed in terms of opinion. Maybe we've seen the adolescent Internet—the Wild West. Now we're moving towards a more established and responsible approach (*MM #2)

Some of the tendencies already exhibited by Internet culture were perceived as a threat to integrity and quality control. This quality control was directly linked to the gatekeeping process. In order to understand this process and its importance for the industry in general, and NWT in particular, we need a semiotic reading of NWT to understand against what backdrop utterances from the empirical interviews were made; to understand the constituting practices, and the demarcations of the assemblage's territory; and to understand what processes stabilized and destabilized boundaries and IT's role in these processes.

The current NWT building (see Figure 1) opened in 1996. The exterior of the building suggests a fertile financial heritage. The overall interior aesthetic of the NWT building is nautical and grand and according to one of the respondents meant to be "a stimulating workplace of art and culture" (UM #3). The lobby's slate marble flooring, mahogany furniture, and leather chairs created a formal atmosphere that morphs art gallery, museum, and bank into one. Davis (1984, p. 277) uses banks and insurance companies to exemplify a design that is "conservative and formal, conveying an image of reliability and dependability", in itself an important ideological standpoint for a newspaper organization, which perhaps explains why the lobby of NWT in many ways does resemble a financial institution. The design strategy portrays the symbiotic relationship between the newspaper and the geographical region, incorporating elements of water with a decorative indoor waterfall in the lobby and an outside fountain, nautical vessels, and even covering one side of the building with ivy. One manager described the aesthetic:

> *The fish came with us from the beginning. So that had high priority with us. The artistic décor. And we hope that it benefits the employees if one surrounds oneself with good art and waterfalls.* [It] *probably increased creativity. Those who do editorial work by the waterfall say it's a pure delight* (UM #5)
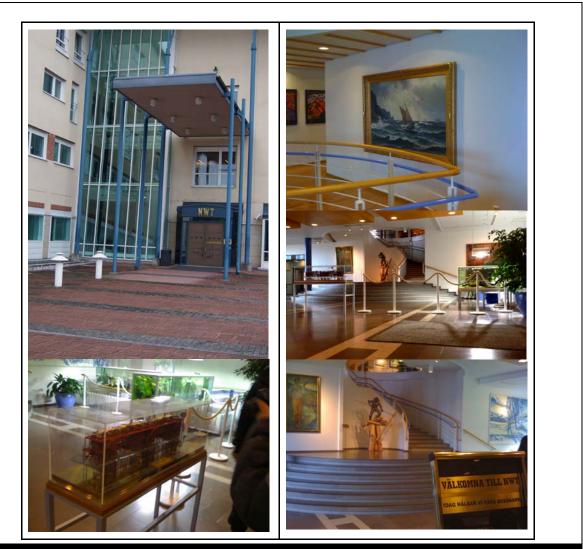

Figure 1. Entrance and Lobby of the NWT Building

Thus, it would seem that NWT has a deliberate strategy with the design aesthetic not only for visitors and for representational purposes, but also for their own employees. Furthermore, this is an aesthetic that expands for each local newspaper the corporate group has acquired. As NWT acquired small newspapers, it renovated the interior and put in the same type of ship-wood floor and contributed art in order to "boost morale and increase identification" (UM #3) with NWT's corporate culture. The "image" of the corporation was in each instance constituted and territorialized using selected materials for flooring and the presence of art. What is being territorialized in each instance is a sense of belonging and of being part of something successful and longstanding. This philosophy is evident at NWT's headquarters via the nostalgic centrality given to the old printing industry and the manual craft of printing. Antique printing equipment is put on display, and a scale model of the current printing press adorns the middle of the lobby next to a scale model of the building. A significant part of the guided tour was devoted to visiting the printing press, yet new information technology sections such as the Web department was not visited at all.

Figure 2. The NWT Printing Press

During the tour, the guide had memorized the press's performance facts. The group was visibly impressed, and visitors were encouraged to "smell the ink". Visually, the printing press building is a striking, rectangular structure with a slanted rooftop. The shorter sides are made entirely of glass, as is part of the roof. At night, the building is illuminated from the inside, its interior lights shining along with strategically placed exterior spotlights. Not only does it emphasize the Calvinist work ethic that a newspaper organization never sleeps, it resembles a church both in shape and size. What is revered and celebrated here is the machinery of the press. The act of reverence and celebration emphasizes that the newspaper organization was and still is a recursive product of the printing technology. The heritage and history (the successful longevity) is emphasized through the obsolete machines visible in and around the lobby. The emphasis on mode of production, including the materials used, becomes more evident with an upper manager who stated: "[The print edition]

will always be, but its circulation will decline. As long as there are paper mills that can deliver paper it can be done, I promise you that" (UM #5).

The constitutive, territorializing force of the printing press is strong, and the way in which the mode of production once became synonymous with the industry is a critical aspect as to why it is still important. Another manager answered "no" when asked whether the perfect digital business model would completely reinvent the production mode into laptops and cheaper, flexible rented office space, and explained further, "Without the capital, and the printing press house, it wouldn't be the same, really" (MM #2).

In other words, perhaps the reluctance to change the mode of production and downscale has less to do with capital and buildings, and more to do with what these social (money) and material (real estate and machinery) expressions and artifacts represent. Taken together, these statements paint a picture of an organization whose defining technological possession and skill is constitutive of authority. The territorializing aspect of the printing press, and its demand on capital, is by no means for anyone, and NWT's printing press house is a testament to that authority.

4.3. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—Asking for News Tips

The managers we interviewed saw reader participation as something positive, and were open for input (i.e., inbound knowledge flows) (Chesbrough, 2006), although where the primary end product is still filtered and manufactured by professionals. For example:

> *Readers have never been this much a part of the newspaper as they are today. We take in reader's photos, we ask their opinion on certain issues, we have fora in the paper, we've opened the paper up for e-mailing, texting. So there's an incredible amount of channels coming in to the paper. As open as we are today, we've never been. The journalistic method is something we're hopefully pros at. Sorting what's relevant, asking the right questions to politicians. That's our job. Picking out the news.* (MM #2)

Clearly there is a difference in the open, potentially collaborative practice characteristic of news tips, and the insular way in which news are made inside the organization. Ideas and input are encouraged and always has been as one upper manager stated:

> *Now there's the possibility to quickly comment either through SMS or e-mail and… We have so much faster communication today. And the feedback we get can be published the next day. In the old days you had to write a letter, post it, it had to get to us and then… It's a significant difference really. So the debate is faster and more alive in this way.* (UM #1)

What is implicitly said is that new technologies such as e-mail and texting provide the same kind of contribution by readers as before, no more innovative, and no more liberal in terms of readers being able to collaborate and contribute directly to editorial material. What is explicitly said is that the major change brought on by social media is speed, not participation.

The same respondent was acutely aware of the "enormously sensitive" nature of directly commenting on articles online, and said that there were discussions internally on how to deal with that, if at all. Staying with texting and e-mail circumvented what UM #4 called "the writing on the toilet walls", a real problem for the newspaper that they did not have the current resources to handle properly. Comments will be addressed further in Section 4.6.

4.4. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—Presence on Social Media

NWT use Twitter as a complement to the online edition to "broadcast" incidental news. Twitter was formalized into the organization in 2009, when Twitter took over the news reporting and became the medium of choice during a localized power-out in central Karlstad where NWT keep their offices. One NWT respondent recounted what happened, and also touched on how Twitter was being used in the organization:

> *We sat down and said "we need a social media strategy", quite simply. For our own sake. So in the fall* [of 2009] *we began Tweeting. Yeah, so when we had a power-out for instance, we went to Twitter as an emergency solution, and after that we made it permanent. We Tweet manually all the time. So the web editors have it in their job description to Tweet—not all the news, but a few per day. A few things you can point to and recommend that are on the website. Then readers started flowing in. So we also have reader's participation there. If the power should go out again, we can at least reach them.* (MM #1)

Thus, by and large, NWT viewed Twitter as primitive but quick and effective in terms of transmitting links to longer news items on the website, in much the same way that the website points to the print edition. At NWT, there is an image of "old media" as primary sources of news that then propagates to online editions, and onto social media platforms. At NWT, the flow of news aims for the print edition. Twitter is at the bottom referring to the online edition, which, in turn, refers to the print edition:

> *I think that this whole—all discussion on Twitter and Facebook, and on blogs and so forth, is founded on the fact that somewhere in the background there is this sorting and filtering of information by traditional media. So that it is from there you get your impulses, your ideas and your need to express opinions. You get your inspiration from CNN or from NWT. They drive what you see on Twitter. Analyze everything that is published on these anarchistic channels and you'll see that it has its beginnings in the filtered newswork that we provide.* (LM #2)

The Twitter and Facebook feed that NWT promoted and embedded on its website was primarily used for one-way transmission of real-time news, which is consistent with the quote above describing how NWT views traditional media as the foremost suppliers of "first-thoughts" that on Facebook or Twitter become discussions and public opinion. Comments are allowed on these platforms because they occur "outside" the formal organization:

> *Facebook was a major change on the Web, I'm not sure people realize that. In the grand scheme of things, it means that 4 million people are online with their names, and that's of course a huge advantage.* (MM #2)

Thus, Facebook with its members appearing with names represents, for NWT, a type of distributed openness, where potentially controversial commentaries can be raised outside the organizational perimeter without potentially damaging the newspaper's brand, a concern that Hermida and Thurman (2008) found to be common among newspaper executives.

4.5. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—Offering Blog Platform

Newspaper blogs are side-texts that are oftentimes non-related to the newspaper's actual stories and mostly contain personal musings by readers, members of the editorial staff, or freelancing commissioned writers. As such, comments are always allowed on these blogs because the subject matter is relatively "soft" and non-confrontational. As a result, bloggers are not subject to editing by the journalists, which we can label as an open practice that draws people (potential readers and opinion makers) into the realm of the newspaper—in essence, captivating blogs drive traffic to the news website, and, in so doing, generate advertising revenue. In our study, 62 percent of Swedish newspapers hosted an array of blogs. In NWT's case, 24 commissioned bloggers (the website does not publicly provide the feature to "start" a blog on your own under the domain of the newspaper) covered various thematic areas such as fashion, interior design, sports, and studying abroad. In a study of user-generated content on newspaper websites, Hermida and Thurman (2008) describe blogs as:

> *posts laid out in reverse chronological order* [where] *most allow readers to comment on the entries. Blogs are explicitly authored by one or more individuals, often associated with a set of interests or opinions, and can include links to external websites.*

Hosted blogging represents a sequential combination of outbound (feeding bloggers with information) and inbound (bloggers discuss the information) open practice, where certain selected people can contribute content. Gassmann and Enkel (2004) use the term "absorptive capability" to call attention to a firm's ability to recognize, absorb, and assimilate new information and apply it to commercial ends and to new, innovative revenue models—in NWT's case: drive and redirect Web traffic. The blogs' territorializing force is apparent in their non-political and non-controversial nature, and in how NWT selects its bloggers:

> *We have several people blogging on our website. Special interest stuff. Cooking, pets, and of course sports, and that's one of our own journalists. It creates activity, community and drives traffic. A lot of our traffic comes from Google.* (UM #3)

Importantly, it is content that, when done well, drives traffic without threatening what the journalists do. In other words, the blog platform emerges as a community-building activity that is separate from the editorial content, deterritorialized in the editorial sense but territorialized in the financial sense. Hermida and Thurman (2008) note in their study of U.K. newspaper's blogs that "while endorsing blogs, [there were] reservations about the long-term value of blogs, reflecting general concerns about how blogging fits within a traditional journalistic framework. [The editor of the Telegraph] described blogs as "massively overrated" and as 'a bit of fun'". This strategy exemplifies another concept of Gassmann and Enkel (2004:13)—namely, that of "multiplicative capability related to inside-out processes". In other words, the networking or engagement of an outside "appropriate partner" in which a firm can "codify and share its knowledge" (Gassmann & Enkel, 2004, p. 13). Thus hosting a blog platform is an example of NWT's ability to multiply and transfer its knowledge to the outside world while packaging it in such a way that it is non-disruptive. Soft blogging remains non-disruptive because soft blog posts do not "sell out" what is for sale but rather create interest and drive traffic to and around stories that may be, or may become, news items.

4.6. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—Readers Commenting on News Stories

Readers commentary has emerged as one of the most "sensitive issues" newspaper organizations are struggling to deal with (UM #1). Commentary is similar enough to editorial text; it has to be moderated, and cleaned-up because of its tendency to degenerate into aggressive behavior and "trolling". This risk has always made it a difficult issue with newspapers, and has contributed to reader's comments having been likened to "writings on toilet walls" (UM #4), "opening up for crazies" (MM #3), and "open season for dogmatists" (LM #1). Therefore many newspapers choose not to implement this practice at all, or to do so on a very restricted basis. In this study, 58 percent of newspapers permanently enabled comments on the front page. As three respondents from each of the investigated managerial levels said:

> *The web is a technology, and we should use it in a way that is appropriate to us, not as it is appropriate to what we feel is the somewhat lesser side of it all. We decide that on our own. We definitely have nothing against the Web as such. It is a positively splendid way to distribute news, but it is the offshoots we need to be wary of, not the technology. We're incredibly careful with the "writing on the toilet walls" as we call it. We have seen what happens…and we only open for commentary when we feel it is an interesting subject and we have control over it. Otherwise it unequivocally turns into racism and religion.* (UM #4)

> *We only opened for comments on a few articles. We've seen, and felt that this is really a difficult area. Precisely because there's so much comments written that are protected by anonymity. It's like turning on a faucet, these xenophobic postings just pour out.* (MM #5)

> *Freedom of the press and freedom of speech are basic values for us, but there are such things as slander, I mean there's online bullying and things like that, and we have to take that into consideration.* (LM #2)

Thus, entering into a dialogue with the reader is difficult, and the control aspect of editorial content is not easily relinquished. Forming a social bond with the reader is seen by NWT as central to the industry. However, equally important is filtering, selecting, and verifying the content that is ends up as formal news:

> *This new technology has allowed for the possibility for immediate reaction, and we've had a long and arduous discussion about how to handle that because of course there are problems. We need someone that moderates.* (LM #2)

Perhaps not surprisingly, the speed and "immediacy" of Web technologies become difficult to manage when incorporated into a traditional organizational newspaper setting that primarily functions according to the 12-24 hour delay production logic where the final deadline for the print edition is at 10:30 PM for the next day. The fact that social media does not conform to office hours may be a factor when previous studies find that handling comments that that come in around the clock 7 days a week is "more effort than it is worth" (Hermida & Thurman, 2008). In reality, comments become difficult to reconcile with demands of full control over content. Nearly half of all Swedish newspapers have decided not to use the commentary function, and evidence from NWT suggest the reason is a lack of resources to continuously moderate comments, and/or an unwillingness to publish unmoderated material online. One respondent said:

> *The responsible publisher has said that we have to pre-moderate comments. And, well then you have to allocate resources for that. So for that reason we have decided to not do it, if we ever are going to. We think it should be fair, you shouldn't be able to write just anything on the Web, not under our banner at least.* (MM#1)

Thus, as an inbound/outbound open practice, the commentary function is seen by NWT at best as risky, and newspapers tend to outsource commentaries to other platforms such as Facebook and Twitter (referring either to a lightly moderated official Facebook page, or to a link-generating "share" button), where controversy is not as much of an issue. This gives an indication as to why 42 percent of all Swedish newspapers chose not to use commentary on their websites.

In conclusion, it seems that, in keeping with Singer (2009) and Nielsen (2013), there is a strong "trigger of for reassertion of territoriality" (Nielsen, 2013). Our study points toward unchanged editorial routines around social media in general and commenting in particular, and a rather strengthened territoriality where the problematic comments are either not implemented or outsourced. That in itself may constitute an open practice of sorts, but one that by no means challenges or changes the existing paradigm of professional gatekeeping.

4.7. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—Readers Contributing Photos

A minority of the Swedish newspapers in our study employed Instagram (12 percent). Instagram is typically used by the newspapers to invite readers to contribute photos and tag them (based on subject or geographical location) to create thematic galleries usually organized around public events and places. Photos in general are treated as less transgressive and risky, and they are somewhat less likely to be fabricated than textual accounts, and therefore easier to filter and handle:

> *I think we open more for reader participation in one way. That they have this unique picture or that they come with these minutes from a meeting, stuff like that. I think we'll see more of that. Actually. But that we'd use them to do journalistic work... I don't think so. Because we can't be there all the time. But with pictures we do it.* (LM #3)

Revealed in the above statement is an inbound knowledge flow logic that presumes that photos are safer than text, a sentiment modestly shown in the nationwide study (32% accepted reader's photos, and 29% accepted any kind of textual creation including letters to the editor). Again, the newspapers often treated submitted photographs as a seed for a potential news story to be investigated, written,

and published by an in-house journalist, and also as feature material—as a way to let readers share photos of the newspaper's local area and events.

4.8. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—Online Readers Polls

Polls are less destabilizing because while it encourages interaction by giving readers a sense of contributing, at the same time, it allows the newspaper to control the outcome by providing a set of predefined answers such as "yes", "no", and "maybe". Polls are examples of mimicry from the print edition where readers answer questions that are selected, discussed, and published by the editor-in-chief in the "letters to the editor" section. Polls are perhaps the most constrained form of interaction, where answers are already given; however, they give "reaction" the illusion of being "interaction". Detached as polls are from anything having to do with editorial content, they represent a safely implemented open practice created by the printing press paradigm. Asking readers for news tips is a similarly seemingly interactive feature. In reality, it is a one-way channel where readers submit news and wait for approval. If the tip becomes a legitimate story, it is credited to the journalist writing the story. The reward is seeing the end result in the paper:

> *I think this reward system that when someone tips us about something and they see the fruits of that in the paper, that "Bloody hell, it pays off to call* [the local paper], *they actually do something with what I tell them!" I think that then you can get this interest. That "this is my paper, I want it!"* (LM #3)

The purpose of polls and letters to the editor is to strengthen the homogeneity of the newspaper organization by being firmly in control of online content while making readers feel part of a community, although not an author of texts, but as a helper. The segregation between content producer and consumer is thereby left intact.

4.9. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—Readers Contributing Text for Publication

The primary open practice to be nearly completely deterritorialized was reader's news—absent in 71 percent of the Swedish newspaper websites we studied. The newspapers were unwilling to allow readers to contribute text because they wanted to maintain control over content:

> *We encourage people* [to send in news stories]. *But we "wash" it after. And we publish what's interesting. We scrutinize it carefully. That's why this thing with direct publishing... Without* [scrutiny] *there are one or two lunatics out there, as you may call them, that would... It would be heaven for these crazies to be published. All the dogmatists, and whatnot, I mean if they were allowed to reign free, we'd... It's the relationship we have with sources that you have to somehow take with you, to keep yourself legitimate. If you don't have legitimacy in what you publish then it would be really strange. Then it's more of an entertainment site.* (UM #1)

In other words, Swedish newspapers professionalize amateur news before publishing it, which legitimizes it; makes it "clean" via source verification and editorial refinement. This type of editorial refinement occurred even with "soft" news such as minutes from public office meetings:

> *We delete personal opinions, stuff like that. Often positive ones. "Thanks to the bus driver" and "Elsa Peterson served the delicious wheat buns", stuff like that. We usually delete that. Pure opinion. It should show who thought what and it doesn't in those kinds of texts. But it's popular with the one's that were there.* (UM #3)

This practice is consistent with the traditionally segregated producer/consumer dichotomy territorialized by the printing press. Reader's news or "citizen journalism" may be appreciated in theory, but only partly implemented in practice. This carefulness might be why merely 29 percent of the Swedish newspapers offered the possibility of submitting news stories of any kind (including feature material). It seems then that the printing press paradigm, as it always has, segregated the

professionals from the amateur masses by inscribing practices of relentless control over content. In NWT's 2011 annual report, when discussing the developments on the Web in a philosophical afterword, is the following somewhat bleak picture of the future (NWT, 2011):

> *There is no turning back. Digitization has forever changed the media landscape. Old media will be replaced by new, and the new will turn out to be inadequate. The change is not only bad; the Web gives publishers great opportunities to reach new groups of readers, with innovative services. It is not only of good either; the quantities online overshadow quality. The infrastructure of the knowledge society crumbles when the masses become the new elite. Hierarchies are shaken.*

The annual report perhaps prematurely mourns the loss of control that, for text, inevitably leads to a reduction in quality, but NWT also realizes that IT-driven open innovation could be a good thing when new audiences are reachable in a way not possible before. The annual report's rhetoric clearly speaks from the vantage point of the gatekeeping, professional minority, and indicates that openness does not necessarily mean retrofitting the gate with a revolving door.

This position might offer an explanation as to why only 29 percent of Swedish newspapers have implemented this open practice. Domingo et al. (2008, pp. 339-340) performed a study of participatory practices on a sample of 16 European and North American newspaper websites, and point out in the concluding remark that, even though receptiveness to open practice differed depending on specific organizations and national context, the main identified pattern was that "core journalistic culture had remained largely unchanged…as professionals kept their decision-making power" and that "journalists are retaining the traditional gatekeeping role in adopting user content on their websites" (Domingo et al., 2008, pp. 339-340). Our study exhibits a similar pattern: Swedish newspapers have defended gatekeeping and maintained power. While Benkler (2006) envisioned the Internet as having unprecedented potential for empowering users, users are still, as in the case of Nielsen (2013), in theory and practice primarily treated by the newspaper organizations as consumers.

4.10. Findings of the In-Depth Study (Phase 2)—The Constitutive Nature of the Printing Press

The one artifact that stands out with its constitutive, legitimizing authority over practices was identified in the guided tour and in the interviews, as the printing press and its ancestors. Expressively, or socially, the second clearest impression is the material manifestation of financial success and cultural refinement. The printing press was furthermore revealed as particularly important in the expressed primacy of the print edition:

> *I think the print edition, as a product, is terribly strong. If you consider the evolution of circulation in Sweden on, among other things, print editions, it's declining but at the same time it isn't down as much as it should be given the impact of the web. So there still is an interest in turning the pages of a paper. The paper isn't just news, but it's also context. With the Monday edition you get what a newsroom has selected – these are the interesting things that happened over the weekend, or yesterday. It's hard, actually, for a reader to make that selection for himself.* (MM #1)

What this statement means for the NWT, and by extension the industry, is that, given that the printing press is bestowed by management with such central influence, and because the press is directly responsible for the print edition, the print edition and its anchoring practices become the embodiment of journalism as a profession. In other words, maintaining that journalists first of all write print news (implicitly saying that in the print edition you find proper journalism). This statement furthermore emphasizes the print edition as a constitutive, embedded habitual repetition with a strong history. The values inscribed in the artifact of the "printed newspaper" are carried by professional selection, packaging, and context (i.e., the gatekeeping practice). The same respondent subsequently pointed out how much the current organizational structure owed to the print edition (and by extension the printing press):

> *Then again we are very organized after the print edition really. The Web has become a little supplement to the print edition.* (MM #1)

In other words, the culture of Web production, and the work practices that set online news apart from print news, were difficult to realize in NWT's current organizational structure. Another respondent described the importance of the print edition:

> [The print edition] *is what we call our "premium" product. That's the one we have to support by having a good website. If that makes the website more of a marketing instrument, or if it also should be a source of income, can be discussed.* (UM #2)

Thus, the online edition was (and still is) struggling to territorialize its own domain and claim resources as its own. The Web department seems to be left to borrow conceptual resources from the print edition, haunted by the general perception that the Internet inevitably cannibalizes print; that the more quality content is published online, the more the print edition will suffer. This perception has lead to publishing policies that segregate "high-end" content away from the digital realm.

In addition to the print edition and the materiality of its production mode pushing aside the online edition, there are also hints of the importance to the professional identity at NWT of the size of the building that houses the printing press, and the capital invested in it, and the organization in general. When asked whether going purely digital (if a business model could be found that would generate sizeable profits) would mean selling the printing press and downsizing the locales, one respondent answered: "without the capital, and the printing press house, it wouldn't be the same, really" (MM #2). This statement suggests that professional legitimacy is linked to a power relationship between those that write (journalists) and those that read (readers), at least in part enabled by possessing abilities (a journalism degree), and resources (capital and machinery). Without some of the more powerfully symbolic resources such as the building and the printing press, the profession would lose some of its professionalism.

This explains why the building and the printing press were such a tremendous source of organizational stories of cultural capital at NWT, and one well-known story illustrates this point. There are several sources that retell this legendary myth in more or less detail, but one particularly illuminating example is found in the book *Discover the art in Karlstad* (Svensson, & Jofjell, 2011). Printed and published by the Karlstad City Council, it is an official, for-sale tribute to the town's various artistic sculptures and artifacts. Sculpture number 24—entitled The Rafter—depicts and describes a commissioned bronze statue in front of the NWT building that is interestingly introduced with the following paragraph:

> *The New Wermlands-Newspaper (NWT) was founded in 1836 and is since 1915 owned by the Ander family. The corporation publishes 16 newspapers in Sweden and Norway. For over thirty years the NWT main offices were located at Herrgårdsgatan* [Manor Street] *in Karlstad. The new newspaper house in the Härolden* [Herald] *quarter was finished in 1995 and cost 400 million Swedish crowns to erect, including the new modern printing presses. It can be added that the owners paid for the entire investment in cash.* (Svensson & Jofjell, 2011)

It is remarkable that the authors chose to make a special reference to the transaction that paid for the building, particularly when the book itself is not about the building as an artifact, nor about financial transactions. Rather, the purpose of the section is to introduce a statue outside the building, which was commissioned in 2001, six years after the building was finished. Sixteen years later, the cash payment is obviously still a story worth reiterating, and it shows the impact of the building and the printing press not only on the organization itself, but on the city it resides in.

The primacy of the printing press was also evident during the study visit. Ample time was used to discuss its speed, efficiency, and how much it cost to acquire and maintain it. The scene in the press hall where the printing press resides during the study visits is not unlike a scene of young males

gathered around a sports car, doors and hood popped open, loud music playing. Just as in the press hall, the crowd flocks around the exposed engine of the machine where its "newspaper per second" speed is discussed. However, no other item or artifact is discussed more than the building itself, even though it's clearly subordinate to the press, especially when considering the press building is made partially out of glass, which shows off the printing press with nighttime illumination. The building is obviously designed to show off and accentuate the printing press, much like its internal organizing structure is designed by the press. As such, at NWT, the printing press is the most influential material artifact, and thus the most important source of legitimization.

We can surmise, then, that NWT is constituted by a few strong components: the material component of the printing press, of the antiques, the interior design and the majestic building that is designed to—both literally and figuratively—highlight the printing press and the expressive component of gatekeeping. Because the organization's strongest territorializing processes were bound to the materiality and expressivity of traditional newspaper production, it comes as no surprise that managers expressed that the organization was structured around the print edition. NWT was also characterized by the absence of significant investment in online technologies; indeed, the advertising department (which was toured during the study visit) admitted that print advertising was preferred to digital advertising, which was "not something they are terribly comfortable with" (UM #1). The main territorializing force of NWT remains the printing press, and the gatekeeping practice of legitimization is territorialized and a part of the same process. Gatekeeping as a routinized, historically embedded recursive practice consists, in turn, of the printing press and the expressive regulative rules of gatekeeping. After having established the printing press as the primary, material driver of organizational structuring and restructuring, we can embark on analyzing how the printing press does this.

Our findings shed light on two kinds of ontological dynamics: (1) the deterritorializing processes, which manifest as material and expressive components that disturb the balance and that promote change and alteration (i.e. increase the internal heterogeneity of the assemblage); and (2) the territorializing processes, the processes of inclusion that strengthen the internal homogeneity of the established assemblage. These two variations assume that the filtering process of any legitimating process is subject to a multitude of simultaneous territorializing forces. The way in which open practices are treated in a particular setting should offer some insight into the inner workings of that context's particular legitimating processes.

We conclude this section with a quote that sums up the relationship between materiality and structure, between the Web and print, and between change and inertia:

> *It is always the case that a present structure, irrespective of company, influences how... How you change. That's how it is. Then again it's... I mean, newspaper production and the Web are two completely separate things.* (UM #4)

Therefore, at NWT, and in Sweden's newspaper industry in general, gatekeeping is simultaneously enacted through publishing policies and materialized in the printing press. With these arguments in mind, the question about new media and journalism take a twist. NWT maintains a conservative position to what constitutes professional journalism (e.g., how to write, how to open practices, etc.) not because of conservative ideas constituting opinions and actions, but because they are part of the printing press era and its closely related material outcomes and discourses. The practices surrounding the printing press are anchored in the enactment of constitutive rules about what a printing press means in terms of authority.

5. Discussion

Because of the separation between amateurs and professionals, gatekeeping is—using Swidler's (2001) and DeLanda's (2007) terminology—simultaneously an expressive, enacted, and material process that constitutes what the industry can and cannot do; the printing press is the ultimate constitutive rule that has become a regulative rule because it has become synonymous with the gatekeeping process. This offers hints as to the treatment of open practices by the newspaper

industry when they are firmly anchored in processes that pertain to the printing press and gatekeeping. Swidler (2006) argues that establishing new social practices that are anchored in larger, societal practices requires visible, public enactment of new patterns so "everyone can see that everyone else has seen that things have been changed" (p. 86). This is precisely what has not happened in journalism. The visible presence of the printing press rather reassures the public that things are still the same. As Swidler (2001, p. 85) stresses:

> *the crucial things about social practices—and the feature that differentiates them from most habits—is that they are the infrastructure of repeated interactional patterns. They remain stable not only because habits ingrains standards ways of doing things, but because the need to engage one another forces people to return to common structures.*

Breaking habits requires organized intent that reinvent routines and create new practices.

Professional, journalistic practice (related to semi- or closed innovation) is anchored to, or reproduced by, constitutive rules that relate to the value of authorship. These rules seem to live in symbiosis with the printing press both as enacted material practices, and (as described by management) as a cultural act that firmly anchors the way professionals work. An important point is that the printing press has progressed from producing anchored regulative rules (how basic operation constrains output for instance) to constituting the newspaper institution. This shift in ontological status from artifact to institution is an important part of explaining why the industry reacts the way it does in order to preserve its legitimacy. The printing press was (at the time of its invention) and still is an expensive, large, and complicated piece of equipment that requires a large capital investment and a staff of workers to operate. The characteristics and limitations of the press dictates the evening deadline, the work routines leading up to final copy, and the rate of editions printed per day. For this reason, print emerges as the utmost physical representation of "good journalism" because the material properties of paper are the inevitable result of a machine that segregates professionals from amateurs. Thus, materiality does not only exert constraining and enabling influence on organizing itself, but also implements a value system on organizing along with routinized "best practices" (cf. Turner, 1994). For example, while the printing press is, for the newspaper industry, the central matter that dictates the plasticity of the organization when it comes to the ability and inclination to think about and implement change, it also dictates that print as a medium is inscribed with more legitimacy than a website.

The open practices in question, when existing in an assemblage dominated by territorializing processes that continuously require certain legitimacies to maintain homogeneity, openness will always be subordinate to practices governed by that legitimacy and therefore only viable when: (1) reproducing already existing legitimating processes, and (2) not interfering with (i.e., existing separate from) existing legitimating processes. A form of outbound innovation newspaper organizations seem to have reconciled with is the outsourcing of comment moderation to third-party organizations, a solution that manages to resolve the judicial aspect while retaining the comments that add value and constructive dialogue. Thus, openness can be exercised and experimented with as long as the experimentation does not interfere with critical, legitimating practices. The scarcity by which some aspects of transgressive practices have been implemented is a reflection of the fact that newspaper organizations see openness as a potential threat to legitimacy and their historical embeddedness. The decoupling of the online edition that follows as a result of this resistance is a way of following along in the development without too much at stake.

The rise of the Web has perhaps given the industry an explicit reason to keep the system closed and "gatekept" (White, 1950) for reasons that were always there, but had been left unarticulated—reasons that were implicitly declared by the material limitations and constraints inherited by the physical characteristics of the printing press. Now, the Web has created an explicit reason: the maintenance and fostering of the very same practices that once were technologically determined are now the cornerstones of accuracy and quality assurance. Technology, therefore, in the form of the printing press, has become synonymous with quality, which symbolizes the reification of quality. Thus, printing on paper is a material by-product of an important legitimating process; the same processes

that were once put in place because the technology demanded them now dictate quality. The link between materiality and quality is thence defined.

The conceptualization of "open" as contingent on the critical values and material artifacts that territorialize the newspaper assemblage is novel and could potentially help increase precision when discussing IT-enabled open practices in domains other than the newspaper industry. A potentially fruitful continuation of this work would be to contrast this study's findings with those of other that explicitly address open initiatives, such as open source software and open innovation in other industries. For example, a study on open sourcing (Ågerfalk, & Fitzgerald, 2008) identified the practice of "outside contributions" as something rare but desirable in company-led hybrid open source projects, which we mirrored in our study by the newspapers' hesitance to accommodate readers' text contributions. This suggests that the accommodation of open practices and open innovation initiatives does not necessarily depend on an organization's disposition towards openness in general. Instead, it suggests that openness may mean different things in different contexts depending on existing expressive and material practices and how openness and willingness to change are able to manifest in those practices.

6. Conclusion

Several studies have examined openness, and what we in this paper refer to as open practice, on newspaper websites. Several of those earlier studies have reached a similar conclusion as our study: that newspapers strive to reassert authority and the gatekeeping process, leaving readers as readers and professionals as content providers. The present study goes beyond description and offers an explanation as to why these patterns emerge.

Paradoxically, it seems newspaper organizations think they are more open than they in fact are and, at the same time, they are more open than they think—but unintentionally so. They do, for example, make use of new media and contemporary IT services to enable outbound open innovation when relocating comments to Facebook using the Facebook comment plugin on their websites. This, however, emerged from the perspective of the newspaper organization as a convenient necessity to cope with issues surrounding moderation and slanderous comments on articles. Furthermore, the outsourcing of comment moderation to third-party organizations (another example of an outbound open practice) was also out of necessity, sprung from scarcity of resources to moderate in-house. Neither of these initiatives were deliberate attempts to be more open. On the other hand, when it comes to "being open to amateur contributions", the interpretation of the industry is that they were already open in terms of story seeds (i.e., ideation, not letting amateurs produce text for articles, along the "we write—you read" dichotomy) (Karlsson, 2011; Deuze, 2003; Singer 2006). Hence, remarks from interview subjects that argue that SMS, email and Twitter is equal to "open". However, referring to these practices as "open" is arguably a bit of a stretch given the "washing" practices that were in place. Thus, the gatekeeping practice—and the integrity of the profession—is left intact, but the process is still seen as "open". It appears as if newspapers tend to be open when they intend not to be, and are not that open when they do intend to be. It follows that IT-enabled openness to newspapers is a different concept than openness in the usual sense when referring to open innovation and open practice, which, at least to the layman, is often equated to inbound open innovation and commons-based peer production.

References

Ågerfalk, P. J., & Fitzgerald, B. (2008). Outsourcing to an unknown workforce: Exploring open sourcing as an offshore sourcing strategy. *MIS Quarterly*, *32*(2), 385-409.

Barley, S. R. (1986). Technology as an occasion for structuring: Evidence from observation of CT scanners and the social order of radiology departments. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *31*(1), 78-108.

Benkler, Y. (2002). Coase's penguin, or, Linux and the nature of the firm. *The Yale Law Journal*, *112*(3), 369-446.

Benkler, Y. (2006). *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Boczkowski, P. J. (2005). *Digitizing the news: Innovation in online newspapers*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bowman, B. S., & Willis, C. (2003). We media: How audiences are shaping the future of news and information. *The American Press Institute*. Retrieved February 2, 2014, from http://www.hypergene.net

Briones, R. L., Kuch, B., Liu, B. F., & Jin, Y. (2011). Keeping up with the digital age: How the American Red Cross uses social media to build relationships. *Public Relations Review*, *37*(1), 37-43.

Carlsson, U., & Facht, U. (2010). *MedieSverige 2010: Statistik och analys.* Gothenburg, Sweden: Nordicom.

Carlile, P.R. (2004). Transferring, translating, and transforming: An integrative framework for managing knowledge across boundaries. *Organization Science*, *15*(5), 555-568.

Chesbrough, H. W. (2003). The era of open innovation. *Sloan Management Review*, *44*(3), 35-41.

Chesbrough, H. W. (2006). *Open innovation: The new imperative for creating and profiting from technology*. Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing.

Chesbrough, H., & Appleyard, M. (2007). Open innovation and strategy. *California Management Review*, *50*(1), 57-76.

Coffey, A. J., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary research strategies.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dahlander, L., & Gann, D. M. (2010). How open is innovation? *Research Policy*, *39*(6), 699-709.

Davis, T. R. (1984). The influence of the physical environment in offices. *Academy of Management Review*, *9*(2), 271–283.

DeLanda, M. (2007). *A new philosophy of society: Assemblage theory and social complexity*. London: Continuum.

Deuze, M. (2003). The Web and its journalisms: Considering the consequences of different types of newsmedia online. *New Media and Society*, *5*(2), 203–230.

Deuze, M., Bruns, A., & Neuberger, C. (2007). Preparing for an age of participatory news. *Journalism Practice*, *1*(3), 322-338.

Domingo, D. (2008). Interactivity in the daily routines of online newsrooms: Dealing with an uncomfortable myth. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *13*(3), 680-704.

Domingo, D., Quandt, T., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Singer, J. B., & Vujnovic, M. (2008). Participatory journalism practices in the media and beyond. *Journalism Practice*, *2*(3), 326-342.

Dutta, S., Lanvin, B., & Wunsh-Vincent, S. (Eds.) (2014). *The Global Innovation Index 2014: The human factor in innovation*. Geneva, Switzerland: WIPO.

Flynn, J. (2004). Communicative power in Habermas's theory of democracy. *European Journal of Economic Theory, 3*(4), 433-454.

Gassmann O., & Enkel E. (2004). *Towards a theory of open innovation: Three core process archetypes.* Paper presented at the R&D Management Conference, Lisabon, Portugal.

Gsell, L. (2009). Comments anonymous. *American Journalism Review*, *31*(1), 16-17.

Gupta, A., Tesuk, P., & Taylor, S. (2007). Innovation at and across: Multiple levels of analysis. *Organization Science*, *18*(6), 885-897.

Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the news. *Journalism Practice*, *4*(3), 297-308.

Hermida, A., & Thurman, N. (2008). A clash of cultures. *Journalism Practice*, *2*(3), 343-356.

Heyl, B. (2001). Ethnographic interviewing. In P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, A. Coffey, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), H*andbook of ethnography* (pp. 369-383). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hlavach, L., & Freivogel, W. H. (2011). Ethical implications of anonymous comments posted to online news stories. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *26*(1), 21–37.

Holm, A. B., Günzel, F., & Ulhøi, J. P. (2013) Openness in innovation and business models: Lessons from the newspaper industry. *International Journal of Technology Management*, *61*(3-4), 324-348.

Jarzabkowski, P. (2008). Strategy-as-practice. In D. Barry & H. Hansen (Eds.), *New approaches in management and organization* (pp. 364-378). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Karlsson, M. (2011). Flourishing but restrained. *Journalism Practice*, *5*(1), 68-84.

Kent, M. L., & Taylor, M. (1998). Building dialogic relationships through the World Wide Web. *Public Relations Review*, *24*(3), 321-334.

Kuhn, T. (2008). A communicative theory of the firm: Developing an alternative perspective on intra-organizational power and stakeholder relationships. *Organization Studies*, *29*(8-9), 1227-1254.

Kvale, S. (1996) *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Larsson, A. O. (2011). Interactive to me—interactive to you? A study of use and appreciation of interactivity on Swedish newspaper websites. *New Media and Society*, *13*(7), 1180-1197.

Lee, A. S., & Baskerville, R. L. (2003). Generalizing generalizability in information systems research. *Information Systems Research*, *14*(3) 221-243.

Lewin, K. (1943). *The problem of changing food habits: Report of the committee on food habits 1941-1943.* Washington DC: The National Academies Press.

Linell, P. (1998). *Approaching dialogue: Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: J. Benjamins Publishing Company.

Lowrey, W. (2011). Institutionalism, news organizations and innovation. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(1), 64–79.

MacMillan, R. (2007). MediaNews uses Topix for online newspaper comments. *Reuters.* Retrieved February 28, 2014, from http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSHO72369020071127

Nielsen, C. E. (2013). Coproduction or cohabitation: Are anonymous online comments on newspaper websites shaping news content? *New Media & Society*, *16*(3), 470-487.

NWT. (2011). *Annual report 2011, Nya Wermlands-Tidningens AB 175 years.* Karlstad.

Orlikowski, W., & Yates, J. (1994). Genre repertoire: The structuring of communicative practice in organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *39*(4), 541-574.

Pickering, A. (1995). *The mangle of practice: Time, agency and science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pierroux, P. (2010). Guiding meaning on guided tours. In A. Morrison (Ed.), *Inside multimodal composition*, (pp. 417-450). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Plaisance, P. L. (2000). The concept of media accountability reconsidered. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *15*(4), 257–268.

Raelin, J. (2007). Toward an epistemology of practice. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, *6*(4), 495–519.

Reader, B. (2005). An ethical "blind spot": Problems of anonymous letters to the editor. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *20*(1), 62-76.

Reckwitz, A. (2002). Towards a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *5*(2), 243-263.

Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations*. New York: The Free Press.

Romero, D., & Molina, A. (2011). Collaborative networked organisations and customer communities: value co-creation and co-innovation in the networking era. *Production Planning & Control*, *22*(5-6), 447–472.

Russial, J. (2009). Growth of multimedia not extensive at newspapers. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *30*(3), 58–74.

Schatzki, T. R. (2005). The sites of organizations. *Organization Studies*, *26*(3), 465-484.

Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sending, O. J., & Neumann, I. (2011). Banking on power: How some practices in an international organization anchor others. In E. Adler & V. Pouliot (Eds.), *International practices* (pp. 231-254). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sewell, W. (1992). A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(1), 1-29.

Shoemaker, P. J. (2001). Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *78*(2), 233–246.

Singer, J. B. (2005). The political j-blogger: "Normalizing" a new media form to fit old norms and practices. *Journalism*, *6*(2), 173–198.

Singer, J. B. (2006). Stepping back from the gate: Online newspaper editors and the co-production of content in campaign 2004. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *83*(2), 265–280.

Singer J. B. (2009). Role call: 2008 campaign and election coverage on the web sites of leading US newspapers. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *86*(4), 827–843.

Singer, J. B., Hermida, A., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Quandi, T., Reich, Z., & Vujnovic, M. (2011). *Participatory journalism: Guarding open gates at online newspapers*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

SPSC. (2011, 2012). *Presstödsnämnden.* Retrieved February 25, 2014, from http://www.presstodsnamnden.se

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing.

Suchman, L. (1987). *Human-machine reconfigurations: Plans and situated action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Svensson, A., & Jofjell, S. (2011). *Discover the art in Karlstad.* Karlstad: City Tryck.

Swidler, A., (2001). What anchors cultural practices. In Schatzki, T. R., Cetina, K. K., & Savigny, E. (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary society* (pp. 83-101). London, UK: Routledge.

Swidler, A. (2006). What anchors cultural practices. In T. R. Schatzki, K. Cetina, & E. Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (pp. 74-92). New York: Routledge.

Thurman, N. (2008). Forums for citizen journalists? Adoption of user generated content initiatives by online news media. *New Media and Society*, *10*(1), 139-157.

Turner, S. (1994). *The social theory of practice: Tradition, tacit knowledge, and presupposition*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Vaast, E., & Walsham, G. (2005). Representation and actions: The transformation of work practices with IT use. *Information and Organization*, *15*(1), 65-89.

Van de Ven, A. H. (1986). Central problems in the management of innovation. *Management Science*, *32*(5), 590-607

White, D. M. (1950). The "gate keeper": A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *27*, 383-396.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

About the Authors

Claes THORÉN holds a PhD in information systems and is senior lecturer at the department of informatics and media at Uppsala University, Sweden. His primary research interests lie within areas of information systems and social ontology, materiality, and the impacts of digitization.

Mats EDENIUS is Full Professor of Information Systems at Uppsala University, Department of Informatics and Media, Sweden. His research interests lie within the areas of information technology, knowledge and management.

Pär J. ÅGERFALK is Full Professor and holds the Chair in Information Systems at Uppsala University, Sweden. He received his PhD from Linköping University and has held fulltime positions at Örebro University, University of Limerick, Jönköping International Business School and Lero – The Irish Software Engineering Research Centre. His research on open source software, globally distributed and flexible software development, information systems development methodology and conceptual modelling has appeared in a number of leading information systems and software engineering journals, including *MIS Quarterly*, *Communications of the ACM,* and *Information and Software Technology*. He is currently a co-editor of the *European Journal of Information Systems* and Dean of the Swedish Research School of Management and Information Technology