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Strategies of newsroom convergence: comparing UK and Chinese newspaper groups

Gu, Yu

STRATEGIES OF NEWSROOM CONVERGENCE:

Comparing UK and Chinese Newspaper Groups

YU GU

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ABSTRACT

This research examines media integration in China, choosing two Chinese newspaper groups as cases for comparative study. The study analyses the convergence strategies of these Chinese groups by reference to an Role Model of convergence developed from a literature review of studies of cases of media convergence in the UK – in particular *the Guardian* (GNM), Telegraph Media Group (TMG), the *Daily Mail* and the *Times*.

UK cases serve to establish the characteristics, causes and consequences of different forms of convergence and formulate a model of convergence. The model will specify the levels of newsroom convergence and the sub-units of analysis which will be used to collect empirical data from Chinese News Organisations and compare their strategies, practices and results with the UK experience.

The literature review shows that there is a need for more comparative studies of media convergence strategy in general, and particularly in relation to Chinese media. Therefore, the study will address a gap in the understanding of media convergence in China. For this reason, my innovations have three folds:

Firstly, to develop a new and comprehensive model of media convergence and a detailed understanding of the reasons why media companies pursue differing strategies in managing convergence across a wide range of units of analysis.

Secondly, this study tries to compare the multimedia strategies of media groups under radically different political systems.

Since, there is no standard research method or systematic theoretical framework for the study of Newsroom Convergence, this study develops an integrated perspective.

The research will use the triangulation analysis of textual, field observation and interviews to explain systematically what was the newsroom structure like in the past and how did the copy flow change and why.

Finally, this case study of media groups can provide an industrial model or framework for the other media groups.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

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chance to conduct my fieldwork and make contacts with my target editors. Additional, it was a great experience in my life to study at Guangzhou Daily and Southern Metropolis newspaper groups where I conducted my in-depth interviews with several senior editors and mangers. It should also be mentioned that Tang Nan, Zhang Jianjun, Mo Li, Zhang Chun, Gou Ye where invaluable in helping me arrange those meetings and visits during my field work in Guangzhou. Without their help, I could not fulfill my project so smoothly. For all their support I stand in grace and gratitude.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Westminster. The work is fully original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree. The thesis has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED: _____

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INTRODUCTION

Background and Context

UK media convergence started very early, which can be traced from 1990s. UK newspapers have begun to explore the road of media convergence since 2002. Instead of cases studies in academia, there are lots of significant literatures from annual World Editors Forum and International Newsroom Summit.

Currently new technology brings huge change to the reading devices and habits. And UK newspapers are in declining and transitioning by facing three main challenges: the first one is due to the societal transformation; the second is the rise of the Internet; the third is the appearance of new terminals.

UK newspapers seek of different strategies to maintain the loyalty of readers, as well as attract younger news market. So, today we can see, UK newspapers are running closely with markets and change very quickly to grasp any opportunity.

When new media challenges appearing, there is a saying like this: *Newspaper will die soon in the near future!* However, according to my study, I believe newspapers are still very attractive. Therefore, instead of saying newspapers are dying, my study will show how hard newspapers tried to survive and they did make great progress. As China's media practice of newsroom integration has just started, media convergence is a new term for both academia and the media industry in China. Thus, scholars are currently exploring the concept and business of integration while the media industry is also trying to design the way of newsroom integration. In this case, it is pretty curiosity to know what strategies UK newspapers use to make this happening. What aspects can Chinese newspapers learn from their UK counterparts?

Based on the context above, this thesis focuses on analyzing newsroom integration in

China, by choosing two Chinese newspaper groups as cases for comparative study. The study analyses the convergence strategies by reference to a role model of convergence, which develops from the literatures and UK cases. The role model abstracts the data which were collected from November 2012 to April 2014 during the fieldwork observation in four UK newspapers. This model enables to compare detailed aspects of newsroom integration between UK and Chinese news groups.

The Logic of the Research

The structure of the study basically follows the regular succession of findings, causes and implications. Therefore, in the literature chapters the first part shows how news used to be produced, and how, when digitisation happened, news organisations have begun to change how they produce news. The second part of the literature review looks at the role of the changing market, news formats and convergence to explain the reasons why those changes might happen. In this section I develop a role model by applying an Ideal Type method, showing the factors which may affect changes to specific aspects of news production.

In the Chapter Two and Three, I look at two types of literatures to analyse this topic. First, classic journalism studies literature, and second descriptive industry studies - from conferences, industry journals and even *"How to Write News"* books. By combining these two types of literatures, I aim to get the best out of both, using the analytical advantages of classic journalism studies literature and the detail of industrial literature to give a more comprehensive description of how news used to get made and how it appears to be changing under the impact of digitisation. At the end of Chapter Three I create a conceptual framework, which is my first contribution to the field, which can be used to form the role model of convergence and compare aspects of newsroom integration between British media organisations or worldwide (in this case Chinese) media organisations.

Research Objectives and Research Questions

This thesis focuses on analysing newsroom integration in China, choosing two Chinese newspaper groups as cases for comparative study. The study will analyse the convergence strategies of these Chinese groups by reference to the role model of convergence developed from the literature. The research will use this model of convergence to enable comparison between studies of media convergence in the UK –the *Telegraph Media Group* (TMG), *the Guardian, the Times* and *Daily Mail* –and detailed studies of newsroom integration in two Chinese news groups.

In formulating the model of convergence I review the academic literature describing the experience of UK media organizations. The model forms the basis for empirical research and comparative study in two Chinese newspaper groups. This empirical study focuses on the following two parts: Multimedia Integration Strategy (how to change the copy flow inside newsroom) and Marketing Strategy (how to keep readers and how to attract advertisers).

Specifically the research sets out to:

- establish the characteristics, causes and consequences of different role models of convergence.
- compare UK and Chinese media groups' content market facing in their local area and to see if the news market influenced the launching the media convergence strategies and changes to the news formats and copy flow.
- find and explain the similarities and differences between UK and Chinese models of news formats and copy flow.

Research Questions

Therefore, this study will attempt to answer the following main research questions:

- RQ1: How was news produced before digitisation (in more detailed terms I express this as: what were the traditional news formats and copy flows of newspapers?)

- RQ2: How is news produced following digitisation (what are the digital news formats and how does copy flow in today's newspapers?)

- RQ3: How have the UK and Chinese newspapers reacted to the challenges of convergence?

- RQ4: What are the similarities and differences between them?

- RQ5: What aspects can Chinese newspapers learn from UK models?

My conclusions will come from comparing the *Southern Metropolitan Newspaper* and *Guangzhou Daily*'s convergence strategies with the UK role models of newsroom convergence, in terms of news marketing and news formats (news value, news source, news selection and news beats).

Methodology: Applying the Model of Media Convergence to Empirical Study of Chinese News Organisations

This research employs a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to identify and measure data relating to the research questions derived from the model shown in the diagram. Field observation and interviews are used to explore newsroom design including the physical, structural and news flow of newsroom. Field observation was carried out over a period of two weeks for each media group, following the daily work covering news stories, staff training as well as attending editorial meetings.

Analysing the data

This study also adopts two further methods for data collection and analysis: the Ideal Type and the Case Study. The ideal type is the model developed in the literature review, and this is used to analyse the case studies. Chapter Three shows how the

ideal type is developed. In Chapters Five and Six this ideal type is used to analyse the case studies. Chapter Seven uses the ideal type to compare different models of convergence.

The case study chapters (Five and Six), use the units of analysis developed in the role model of convergence developed in the UK to describe convergence strategies, newsroom integration and copy flow in the two Chinese newspaper groups (*Southern Metropolis Daily* and *Guangzhou Daily*).

Research Outline

The research consists of seven parts with a conclusion and finding section:

Chapter 1: Media convergence - a literature review: explores the background of media convergence in Anglo-American newspapers. The main point is to show that current research on newsroom convergence which is too fragmented to help fully understand convergence.

Chapter 2: Comparing Newspaper Formats and Copy Flow: reviews and combines pre-digital formats and copy flow in Anglo-American newspapers. This chapter aims to answer my **first research question** – how was news produced before digitization. Secondly, this chapter shows how to use literature study to combine understanding of the relationships between news formats, copy flow and news beats together. This historical research, establishing the links between market changes, news formats and copy flows involved integrating findings from journalism studies and *How to Write News* books. This is the **first contribution** of the research to the literature.

Chapter 3: Digital News Formats and Copy Flow: looks at the literature covering the impact of changes in digital newspaper formats and copy flow. This chapter aims to answer the **second research question** – how is news produced

following digitisation – by developing a model which tries to show, based on a literature review, how market changes, digital formats and copy flow are linked. Therefore, at the end of this chapter, there are two diagrams demonstrate the Ideal Type framework which is used to analyse and compare different newspaper models in cases study and conclusion chapters. This historical research, integrates findings from journalism studies and "*How to Write News*" books to explain digital formats and copy flows and to develop the Ideal Type framework. And this is the **second contribution** to the literature.

Chapter 4: Methodology: shows how the research question and theoretical framework (the Ideal Type model) is translated into a research methodology (the comparative case study method), and into data collection methods (field observation, in-depth interview). This chapter also explains the reasons for the selection of the two main case study companies *Southern Metropolitan* and *Guangzhou Daily*. This chapter also identifies limitations of the study, since no study can cover everything.

Chapter 5: UK Case Studies: Newsroom Convergence in Four UK Newspapers: shows how four UK newspapers have changed from traditional to digital newspaper formats and how market changes and the media group strategy have influenced changes in news formats and the copy flow and the newsroom physical layout. This is based partly on interviews and observation at UK newsrooms and partly on secondary data which is published or online. This chapter aims to answer the **third research question** – how have the UK newspapers reacted to the challenges of convergence. This chapter also aims to test the Ideal Type framework against the data collected about the integration model they use in the UK newsrooms. This is the **third contribution** of the research by showing how to use the Ideal Type to try to describe, explain and address all the details of newsroom convergence in a role model.

Chapter 6: Empirical Case Studies of Chinese Newspapers: Southern

Metropolis Newspaper and Guangzhou Daily: presents findings of the empirical research from interviews and fieldwork observations, because there are not really many case studies of convergence of Chinese newsrooms. This chapter uses the model to try to describe and explain: market changes, formats, strategy, newsroom operations and copy flow at two different newspapers in China. This chapter answers **research question three** – how have Chinese newspapers responded to convergence – as well as the **fourth contribution** of the research to the literature.

Chapter 7: Comparing the Case Study findings with the Role Model: uses the model created for this study to analyse differences and similarities in newsroom digital convergence in the UK and China. It:

   a. compares UK models in terms of news format and copy flow;

   b. compares Chinese models in terms of news format and copy flow;

   c. compares UK models with Chinese models.

This chapter involves **testing** Ideal Type method against the evidence of case study data by looking at the cases. This chapter tries to see where the data shows if content market changes lead to digital strategies, changes in digital news formats and the integration of news copy flows. The chapter shows some evidence that market changes and changes in formats can help us understand the different ways newspapers respond to convergence by changing copy flows and newsroom integration. This is the **fifth contribution** to the research where the role models can explain similarities and differences in copy flows. But this chapter also shows that I have also found differences between the newspapers and the newsroom which the model doesn't explain so well. But this is also a **limitation** of the study and is a good area for future researches to address.

Conclusions and Findings of the Study: aims to answer the **final research question** what aspects can Chinese newspapers learn from UK models? Also, this section identifies and tries to explain a number of important differences between UK

newspapers and Chinese newspapers which didn't seem to be explained by the model. The culture and the political system may be important, but the theoretical framework wasn't developed to try to explain these factors. So this is another **limitation** of the study, and an area for future research.

Research Contributions

The literature review shows that there is a gap in the literature in comparative studies of media convergence strategies in the UK and China. Therefore, this project tries to close the gap and increase the understanding of China's media convergence. This is an applied research project, using empirical research methods (case studies and interviews), to compare the different multimedia strategies of different media groups under different political systems. The conclusions aim to provide a future development direction for media convergence for the media groups in mainland China.

Academic Achievement:

This study intends to use the triangulation analysis of textual, field observation and interviews to study systematically multimedia structure and strategies and provide an integrated perspective to achieve the following purposes:

   a. to further clarify the structure of "newsroom integration".

   b to establish a research approach and direction for newsroom integration study.

   c to provide a clear understanding of the process and essence of newsroom integration

Original Contribution:

I develop a new conceptual framework, to understand a very complicated process of newsroom, integration, which can be used to analyse other news organisation. I have historical research which integrates journalism studies and "how to" literature to describe the basic differences between traditional (print) and digital formats and copy

flow in western newspapers. I also contribute empirical studies of integration in four UK newsrooms and two Chinese newsrooms. Finally I contribute a comparison of UK and Chinese newsrooms which is rare in academic literature.

Social Contribution:

I hope that the case study of media groups can provide an industrial model or framework for the other media groups, especially those in China, if they want to conduct the practice of integration in the future.

Chapter 1 General Study on Media Convergence: a review of the literature

*'The arrival of the World Wide Web for the mass media, challenged the newsrooms journalistic work, its routines and its traditional assumptions and the consequences of online technologies for media companies have been enormous, both for the production and the consumption of news (*Miro-quesada, 2007, p1)'.

This chapter is a literature review to explore the background and context of media convergence in Anglo-American newspapers. However, it starts off by looking at two problems of the research about news convergence. The first problem is that the research lacks the unity and is too fragmented to help fully understand convergence. The literature review shows that the research is often case studies but not a conceptual model to help understand why newspapers are doing convergence in different ways. The other problem is the industry and academic researches are different. Then the academic research is sometimes about the business perspective on convergence and sometimes about journalism studies.

This thesis is about comparing convergence in UK newspapers and Chinese. So it needs a conceptual model to give the unity of the business perspectives and journalism studies to explain why the newsrooms are different in UK and China. This chapter is a general overview, the next two chapters will connect these two perspectives in order to develop a conceptual framework and better understand how newspapers introduce convergence to the newsroom and how it affects the copy flow.

1.1 The Case Study Approach to Convergence in Newspapers

Research on media convergence has recently become popular, especially in the West (Kawamoto, 2003; Gordon, 2003; Song, 2006). Much of the research on newsroom convergence however, consists of case studies of individual newsrooms, either from an industry or an academic perspective. For example, Thurman & Lupton (2008) examined the changing newsroom in terms of the shift towards multimedia and multiplatform news consumption and the impact on the working practices of journalists by looking at the process of production convergence in newsrooms at the BBC, Sky News, *The Guardian* and *the Financial Times*.

Alongside these case studies, there is some academic research, taken from a strategic point of view, that explores the process of media integration（Couldry, 2009; Curran, 2010; Davis, 2009; Fenton, 2010; Lee-Wright, 2009; Joanna 2010). Newsroom reform or integration has been a primary element of media organizations aiming to reach the goal of convergence (Quinn, 2002). Deuze (2008) provided a review of newsroom change and mentioned that almost three-quarters of these companies' integration strategies were planned or implemented around the 1990s.

This thesis tries to analyse why different news groups develop a particular convergence strategy and how implementing this strategy changes the news production. There is not, in the literature, any conceptual framework available to do this. The next two chapters review the literature in order to develop a conceptual model to describe and also explain the convergence strategies of news organisations and also how the implementation of newsroom integration changes the ways the news is produced.

1.1.1 Media Convergence and Multimedia Strategy

Convergence of British mainstream news media started in the 1990s. By 2002

several media companies, such as *The Financial Times, The Guardian, the BBC* and Sky News TV (Sky News, Europe's largest 24-hour news and current affairs television company), had begun to explore the road of media convergence (Gu, 2009). A structure of convergent multimedia news organizations has been emerging since the mid-1990s, with companies all over the world opting for at least some form of cross-media cooperation or synergy between formerly separated staffers newsrooms, and departments (Deuze, 2008, p8).

There have been lots of case studies of newsroom integration in UK. The most significant literature come from the WAN-IFRA (the World Association of Newspapers and IFRA) 9th International Newsroom Summit, which was held on 8-9 September 2010 in London and which gives a panoramic understanding what changes are taking place in newsrooms. According to the IFRA report, we can observe some integration models within the UK context.

Adrian Jeakings (2010) described how his publishing house had integrated its titles in recent years. He also pointed out there are two key points for the transformation; the first one is seen as the most significant change in newsroom culture; the second element of the process was the editorial system change (IFRA, 2010). Adrian is the chief executive of Archant Ltd. UK, which is a community media business with more than 70 newspapers, over 80 magazines and numerous websites and mobile channels. The most comprehensive research on the process of media group convergence is Campbell's (2008) panoramic study of TMG (Telegraph Media Group) which took us through the journey of transforming a traditional newspaper operation into a real multimedia publishing house. She explored various aspects of TMG from the pilot project, the Hub and Spoke newsroom, digital workflows in the integrated newsroom through to training programmes providing readers a model of media convergence.

Also from an industry perspective, the World Editors Forum (2008) global survey gathered data from more than 700 editors and senior news executives from 120

countries. The survey found that 86% believed integrated print and online newsrooms would become the norm; 83% believed journalists would be expected to be able to produce content for all media within five years (World Editors Forum, *et al*., 2008).

Academic research has analysed newsroom convergence from many different perspectives. Stephen Quinn has contributed a lot on media convergence business related studies since 2002. Taking the perspective of a business study, Quinn (2002b; 2005; 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2006d) is interested in various aspects such as knowledge management in the digital newsroom, news production, convergence technology, newsroom integration and news cycle changing. Also Francois Nel (IFRA, 2010) took a closer look at how the regional presses are conducting different digital advertising models. For example, in some of the traditional areas of display and classified advertising, there have been advancements, while in others, such as video and community engagement, they are lagging (IFRA, 2010).

The academic literature shows that convergence does not have a uniform definition. There are few articles that discuss media convergence from the perspective of strategy. From the limited literature Jenkins (2006) concluded that 'convergence refers to a process, not an endpoint' (p16). Some research focuses on the concept of convergence; among them many scholars have tried to give a definition of convergence strategy (*See* Kawamoto, 2003; Gordon, 2003; Song, 2006). Kawamoto (2003) believed that it is a difficult concept to define, instead, convergence is more refer to digital journalism, which can be considered as 'the use of digital technologies to research, produce, and deliver (or make accessible) news and information to an increasingly computer-literate audience' (p3). Gordon (2003) traced the meanings of "Convergence" by looking at the evolutionary process of the term; he found convergence has shown up in the business press in the 1980s and early 1990s. Through historical study, Gordon (2003) divided convergence into several levels: technological convergence, media organisational convergence, tactical

convergence and structural convergence. Gordon mentioned that traditional media companies in the late 1990s began engaging in tactical convergence mainly in three general aspects: content, marketing and revenue enhancement (2003). Lind (2004) focuses on the business strategy theory and concludes that '"Convergence" seems to be either useless epiphenomena deluding business management to pursue bad strategies, or an interesting concept yet to be analysed by economic theory' (p2). Lawson (2003) examines convergence as both a concept and a process which tries to use seven elements of convergence to study the strategy for media companies who conduct integration throughout their business units; communication, commitment, cooperation, compensation, culture, competition and customer. These elements may well become central to understand media convergence, as is the hope of Lawson, bringing about convergence as media organizations seek to position themselves strategically to face competitors.

However, it is still hard to give a precise definition of convergence which includes a variety of activities depending on the extent of media companies' practice. In my point of view, media convergence in this study is more referring to newsroom integration strategy which might be combined the perspectives from both academic and industry, including multimedia integration strategy and marketing strategy. Furthermore, multimedia integration strategy in my research focuses on analysing news formats and copy flow inside newsroom by looking at news value, news source, news selection and news beats. Marketing strategy is related to the different methods newspapers used to keep the loyalty of current readers as well as attempt to attract younger generations, which also aims to attract and maintain advertisers for long-term survival planning.

Considering the multimedia strategy, it seems that the implementation of convergence strategy is also little studied. Gordon (2003) referred to a concept of 'structural convergence' of media organizations, which can be understood as business integration based on industrial integration. That means 'the job of media

professionals, responsibility and media organization structure will change at the same time' (*Cited in* Song, 2006, p52). There are a number of well-known case studies of the structural convergence of media organizations (*See* Lin, 2003; Cai, 2007). Lin (2003) researched the case of the Tampa Tribune; Media General concentrated its Tampa Tribune, WFLA – TV and Tampa Bay Online in the same building and same press room (Lin, 2003). Tampa News Centre, located in the Tampa, Florida, USA, is recognized as a more successful model in the terms of integrated experiment. In 2000, the Group invested $40 million in Tampa and built a media building by moving "Tampa Tribune" (Lin, 2003).

As a major strategic change, however, the success of any convergence strategy will depend to some extent on the successful management of change. Hiatt and Creasey (2009) pointed out how to manage the change of organization. There are two perspectives which can be viewed in terms of improving management; the top-down manager's perspective on change is result-oriented, they concentrate on business issues and financial performance, and they would like to change it quickly. Conversely from the point of view of employees the focus is on bottom up change, which focuses on their daily job and is concerned with how change will impact individuals. If the change is not managed in a proper way, these different values will clash and result in adverse outcomes, for example, employees resist change or productivity declines.

Thus, along with the change, we also need to consider how to manage change as a convergence strategy. Dawson identifies 10 'general lessons' (1996, p27) from case studies of organizational change, and some of them can provide us with some useful change strategies, at least to an extent. For example, there are 'no universal prescriptions for how best to manage change; different people experience change in different ways; employees need to be trained in new methods and procedures, often overlooked; communication must be ongoing and consistent; change strategies must be tailored to fit the substance and context; change is a political process; change

involves the complex interaction of often contradictory processes (Dawson, 2003, p173-5)'.

Other areas of research look at convergence from the "journalism studies" perspective. Kolodzy (2006; 2013) and Quinn's (2005) work mainly focuses on convergence journalism. Kolodzy's works are about multimedia writing and reporting (2006) and cross-media storytelling (2013). Tutton's (2010) research on storytelling, recommended that publishers keep the following in mind when adding multimedia to their storytelling mix; it needs to be part of the newsroom system and workflow, remember staff training, start small and allow your facility to grow as the demand grows, begin with an IT-based system, only build a studio infrastructure as the business requires, take advice and keep it simple (IFRA, 2010). Stone and Bierhoff (2002) researched the *Financial Times* and BBC by introducing a typology of newsroom convergence and recommending continued industry action as well as outlining the various convergence activities in the newspaper industry.

This thesis tries to connect together the business and the journalism studies perspectives. This is to try to develop a better conceptual framework to analyse how newspapers introduce convergence and how it affects the journalists.   The literature is fragmented and lack unity of analysis, by which I mean the study would be better understood if it started from one media and analyzed the implementation of the strategy. The lack of unity poses problems for researchers trying to be precise in understanding this phenomenon in a real world context. The next sections of this chapter and all of the next chapter try to develop a unified conceptual framework to integrate the business factors and the journalism factors which are both involved in understanding why newspapers want to have convergence and how it will affect the way they do their journalism.

This circular diagram (see chart 1) explains the induced causes and transformation processes of media convergence against the background of marketing change
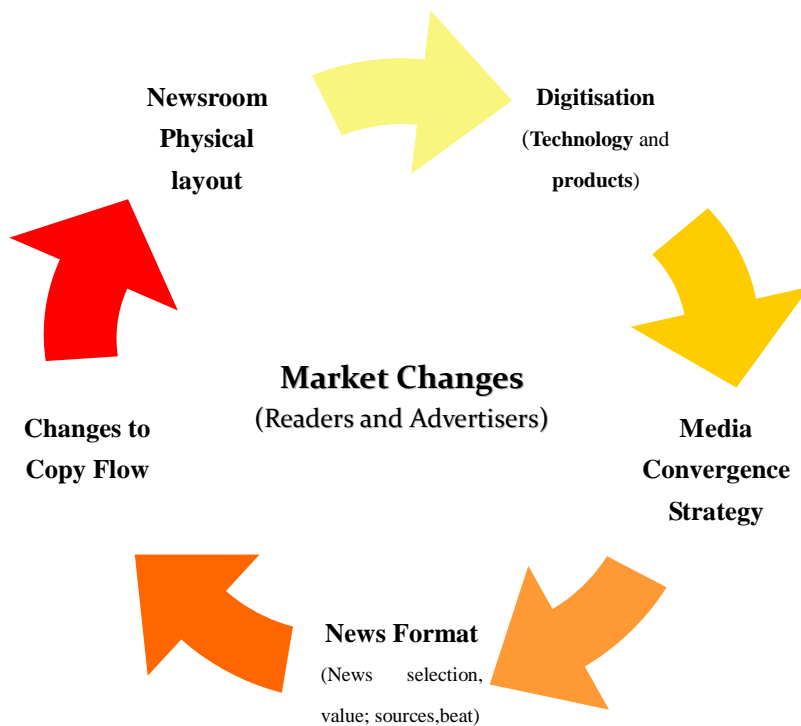
Chart 1 The basic logic of the research

In my hypothesis media convergence is a natural transformation in order to deal with the changing market conditions during the last two decades. As new technology brings about a revolution in reading habits, news consumers have chosen new media (product) as the main method to gather information. To a certain extent, this has fundamentally changed the traditional news format of newspapers in terms of new platforms (product) like online, mobile and so on. These changes have also affected news value, news selection, news flow and in the end newsroom physical layout.

This is a simple model to help understand a complicate and difficult process. It is too much in this study to try to say if all this is as a result of the changing format, or whether changes in copy flow or newsroom structure, is just the reaction to follow the tide and save the press. In addition, the methods the newspaper industry used as strategy to updated or save them in turn, to a certain extent, are promoting and

driving the market at the same time. So to try to show that all these things are affecting each other, this diagram is shown in a circle that is trying to say clearly what is the basic logic of my whole research and throughout my entire study.

1.1.2 Market Changes – Technology and Reading Habit

'The basis of current development for one or two decades is digitization of production systems, which enables content to travel across media boundaries' (Erdal, 2007, p52). That means, before the digitalization of the newspaper industry, text can only be published in newspapers, which is quite different from the current style of news production. Video and audio can be published on the Web, and text can transform to newspapers, Web and social media, even to mobile phones and portable terminal devices. This phenomenon is described by many media researchers as a "melting together" of information system which Erdal (2007) further interpreted as 'telecommunications and media technologies, on the one hand, and social and cultural convergence, on the other' (p52).

Newspapers and message delivery is transforming with the change in media terminal consumption by people. As Miro-quesada (2007) stated 'from the first printing press, to the fax machine, the computer, the internet, the personal music players, etc., the adoption of new media technologies altered almost every social institution, affecting the way we live, work and play '(p1). When the Blick-Group presented their integration strategy, Pascal Zemp pointed out how media consumption has changed during last twenty years (Miro-quesada, 2007). His presentation shows how media consumption is changing in relation to terminals, in other words, the technology is the driving force. For the newspaper, this all happened or began with the emergence of the internet. Figure 1 shows the trend and timeline of media consumption change from 1900 to 2020 as below:
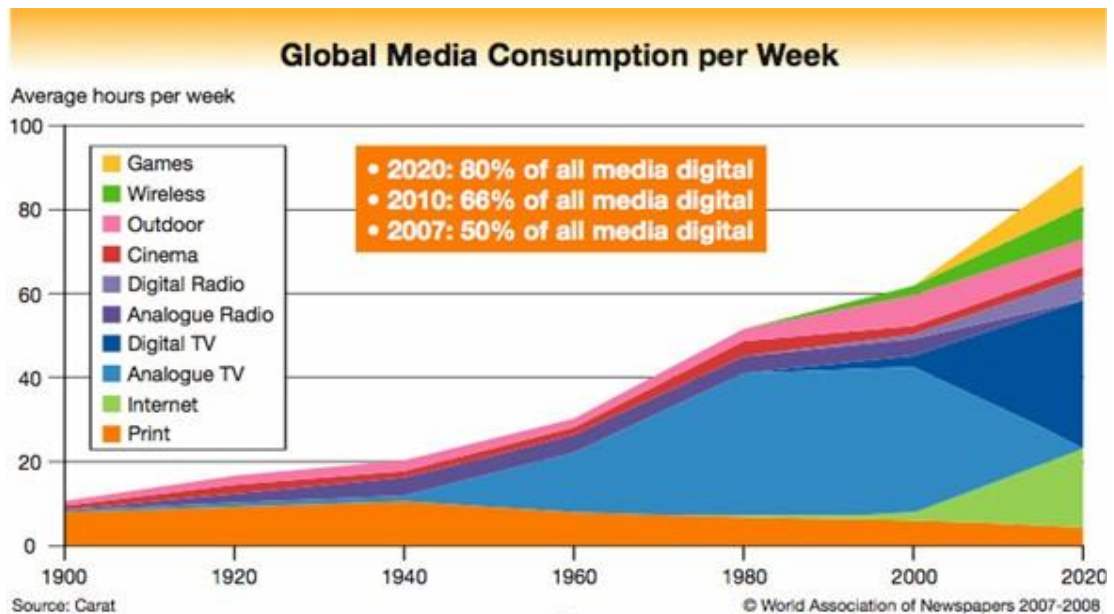
Figure 1 the timeline of media consumption trend[1]

The overall situation of the British newspaper industry over the past decade has showed a downward trend over the whole industry. Nel (2013) pointed out that, 'at the start of 2013 there were 79 daily regional titles and 1,083 weeklies, which over the following five years declined 15 and 23 percent, respectively' (p9). In terms of market and revenue of the newspaper industry, according to Nel 'the advertising share started slipping in 2005, worsened dramatically in 2007 with the advert of what has become known as the Great Recession – and continues to struggle into 2013' (2013, p9). Circulation, advertising revenue and profit margins have all fallen, taking staff numbers, and increasingly, entire operations down with them (Nel, 2013). Given such a recession Claire Enders (*Cited in* Brook, 2009), a leading industry analyst, said she expected up to half of local papers to close in the five years between 2007 and 2013. Statics published by Johnston Press, (see table 1) show the impact of digitalization on a variety of items:

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[1] Blanchard, O. (2012). Digital Media Usage Trends & Shifts: The Next 5 Years. [Online] Available from: < http://blog.tickr.com/?p=274> 〔Accessed 12 December 2013〕.

Items	current titles (2013)	percentage	previous titles (2007)	De/increase (2007)
Daily Newspaper Titles	13	-28%	18	-5
Weekly Newspaper Titles	214	-29%	300	-86
Digital Audience	10million	20%	8million	2million
Printing Sites	3	-75%	11	-8
Full-time Equivalent Staff	3960	-48%	7538	-3578
Full-time Equivalent Journalists	1558	-44%	2774	-1216
Print Advertising	£181.3million	-57%	£425.8million	-£244.5m
Newspaper Sales	£91.8million	-10%	£102.4million	-£10.6m
Digital Revenues	£20.6million	36%	£15.1	£5.5
Operating Margins	17.4%	-41%	29.3%	-11.9%
Operating Profits (before non-recurring items)	£57	-68%	£178	-121%

Table 1 the current situation of the newspaper industry Source: Johnston Press[2]

Titles Daily newspaper titles are down to 13 from 18 in 2007 when five titles switched from daily to weekly printing cycles. Weekly newspapers fell to 214 from 300.

Staff Full-time equivalent staff and journalists are down to 3,960 and 1,558 from 7,538 and 2,774 in 2007, respectively

Revenues newspaper sales and advertising revenues both fell by 10% and 57%. Only digital audiences and revenues saw positive increase, growing by £10million (20%) and £20.6million (36%) respectively.

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[2] NEL, François (2013) Pressed to Change: Business model innovation and integration in the British local newspaper industry. A case study for NEMODE, an initiative under the Research Councils UK (RCUK)'s Digital Economy research programme, April 2013. Preston: UClan, pp9.

As Mitchelstein & Boczkowski (2009) suggest, these kinds of changes indicate the broader changes in the market which are influencing the integration of newsrooms:

'Issues of profitability are directly related to revenue models. Online news organizations have straddled between resorting to traditional sources of income, such as advertising and subscription, and relying on new revenue generating strategies made possible by the Internet, such as e-commerce and targeting advertising according to consumer's profiles' (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009, p565).

1.1.3 Market Changes and Digital Technology in UK Newspaper Industry

Overall, UK newspapers are in decline and transitioning. Jasper Jackson (2013), Editor and chief analyst of *The Media Briefing* pointed out that from 2007 to 2013 the average daily newspaper circulation was declining year-on-year. If this downtrend continues in 2017 the total circulation would be half of that in 2013. Although this is a rough prediction, if things continue in this way last for the next five years, the trend is clear people will stop buying newspapers. The data below (see chart 2) shows the recent downward trends of newspaper circulation in the UK. From 2000 to 2012 the worldwide total national dailies paid circulation of households was also declining (see chart 3).
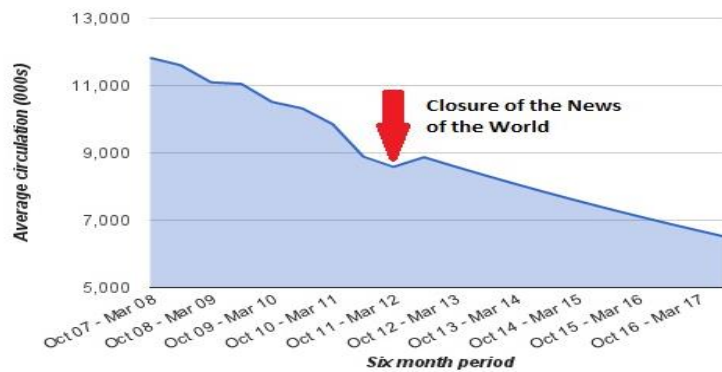
Chart 2 Past and predicted combined Sunday and daily decline in print circulation Oct07 to Sep17 [3]

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[3] Jackson, Jasper. (2013). Newspaper Decline and Transaction. [Presentation] London: the Times 14th November.

16. Total daily newspaper paid circulation as % of households, Canada, USA, and Great Britain's national dailies, 2000-2012
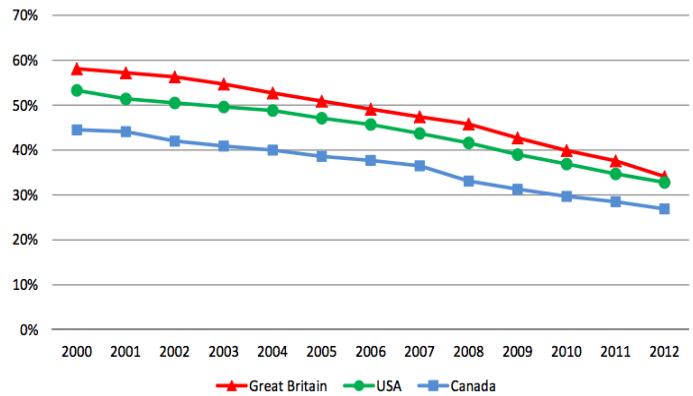
Chart 3 total daily newspapers paid circulation as % of households, Canada, USA, and Great Britain's national dailies, 2000-2012[4]

The whole newspaper industry in the UK has gone through three challenges in the past two decades. Ian King (2013), the Business & City Editor of *The Times*, indicated that the first challenge is due to societal transformation over the last 20 years which saw more people working for themselves and choosing to work at home. Previously newspapers were sold to news agents; people would grab a newspaper when they are buying cigarettes, now, newspapers need to think smartly how to distribute.

The second biggest change is the rise of the Internet. According to the figures (see chart 4) from comScore (Newspaper Association of America) news is presently only a small part of online life. More specifically, the Internet has changed behaviors around media consumption rather than just technology. Audiences are distracted by online video, games, news websites, social media, and so forth. Advertisers found that online advertising could reach much more audience than the print with cheaper price. Ian (2013) pointed out during the 1990s *The SUN* sold 4 million copies daily; now the circulation is only 2 million daily.

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[4] Jackson, Jasper. (2013). Newspaper Decline and Transaction. [Presentation] London: the Times 14th November.

Monthly digital uniques in U.S. (in millions)	
1 Google sites	228.1
2 Yahoo sites	210.6
3 Microsoft sites	175.9
4 Facebook	174.8
5 Amazon sites	147.0
6 Newspapers	141.0
7 AOL sites	130.6

Sources
comScore
Newspaper Association of America
© Reflections of a Newsosaur

Time spent on activity monthly average 2012 (comScore)
■ Total online ■ News/Information sites

2004.175

Engagement metrics: Average time and views

Site	Minutes Daily average	Views Per visitor
Facebook	29:56	14.25
AOL	6:33	5.32
CNN	5:16	3.27
NBC News	3:60	1.95
NYTimes	3:41	2.38
Time	2:41	2.48
Mercury News	2:27	1.52
PJStar.Com	2:07	1.83

Source
Alexa.Com
© Reflections of a Newsosaur

Chart 4 comScore figures about the rise of the internet and media consumption[5]

The third challenge for the UK newspaper industry is the appearance of new terminals. For example, iPads and Smartphones have diverted a considerable portion of people from print material to reading on their new devices which has further changed the reading habits of current customers. Ian (2013) pointed that in the past the entire revenue of newspapers was formed by 50 percent subscriptions and 50 percent advertising. In June of 2010, only a quarter of the revenue of *The Times'* circulation was from subscriptions, the rest depended on casual sale; now, in terms of circulation, 25 percent is from digital, 25 percent from print and the rest from casual sale (Ian, 2013).

1.2 Digital and Convergence Strategies in Newspapers

Although some of the literature describes digital services, there is not a clear analysis as to how these services establish the link between the readers and advertisers from the respective of strategy. How do news organisations monetise that massive online audience? That is the question to consider next.

"*If publishers do not get readers to pay for content online, advertising will not be*

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[5] Source: comScore Newspaper Association of America cited in Jackson, Jasper. (2013). Newspaper Decline and Transaction. [Presentation] London: the Times 14th November.

enough to offset future loss in print advertising." Axel Wiele (IFRA, 2010), director of BILD Gruppe Germany, said at the 2010 International Newsroom Summit. BILD realized that 'its advertising performs much better than conventional TV advertising due to its position as part in moving to a multi-channel company' (IFRA, 2010). Therefore, he believes iPads and other e-reading platforms offer the first real opportunity to publishers (IFRA, 2010). Media convergence provides each media organization an opportunity to create some new ideas in order to profit. For Wiele tablets offer 'four distinct opportunities to combine advertising of analogue and digital content presentation, cumulate circulation, cumulate reach and cumulate monetization' (IFRA, 2010).

Many media organizations try to find new ways to increase money. For this reason, the development of network platforms has become a profitable strategy. *The New York Times*' plan was to move to a metered model across its internet sites, which began in early 2011. People were able to charge free by accessing a set number of articles each monthly before they reach a certain amount, at 'which point they will be asked to pay the content if they want to read further' (Johnston, 2011). Media organizations have developed a series of business strategies to improve the market. Some through the partnership with mobile terminal equipment manufacturers, some through cross expansion investment.

Multimedia formation even changes the selection of advertising and the profit model for newspapers from those of traditional print. Advertising can be generated by packaging on different devices. Being able to reach large numbers of users by spreading content through various media also gives newspapers the huge advantage of developing value-added business for their advertisement clients. Content can be made pay-per-view via an app on mobile devices. At the same time, advertising clients have more options to promote through different platforms.

Online advertising has become the primary source of new revenue for news

organizations to balance costs as well as to make more profit and is generally considered as more important than digital subscriptions. Media convergence has brought with it increased multi-platform reach, diverse audiences and the opportunity to target valuable customers.

News organizations have therefore, begun to use cross promotion as an advertising strategy in order to attract more advertisers. As Witschge and Nygren (2009) stated, 'newsroom editors nowadays talk about *eyeballs, target groups*, and the *portfolio* the company offers the advertisers. New investment seems to follow profits, free newspapers proliferate and everything is done to defend the position in the advertising market' (p48).

Some newspaper organisations have begun to reconceptualise the news industry through convergence. Sulzberger, the chairman and publisher of *The New York Times*, said that 'the key to achieving profitability is establishing a link between the audience and advertisers through the provision of media services online and offline' (IFRA, 2010). At the 2010 International Newsroom Summit Sulzberger said, "*We are not in the news business; we are in the making-content-relevant business*" (IFRA, 2010). Sulzberger noted that story-telling should be interactive and developed according to the needs of creating an essential human connection. *The New York Times* is looking for ways to 'create bonds with readers that will encourage real engagement and which will be valued by both readers and advertisers through increased customer commitment' (IFRA, 2010).

According to this strategy, in order to attract more advertisers, media organizations should provide diverse services including online and offline as well as partnerships with other companies and other formats. Ultimately, the goal is to reach their audience as much as possible. By 2001, 'there were some 50 media partnerships or affiliations across the U.S. practicing convergence, and the lure for the media companies is increased advertising revenue brought about by higher ratings, more

subscribers, or more website traffic' (Lawson, 2003, p90). 'There is an economic and philosophical duality to the convergence goal for media organizations that seek to capture users and audiences for their online and offline business units' (Lawson, 2003, p91).

The culture of the newsroom and work routine developed along with the logic of copy flow in newspaper as well. 'The first clear indication of different editorial structures in the newsrooms of different countries came from Donsbach and Patterson' (Esser, 1998, p377). Based on survey results conducted at newspapers and with broadcast journalists in five different countries (Great Britain, Germany, the USA, Sweden and Italy), the author concluded that different countries have the different ways to organized their newsrooms. However, other studies have emphasised the similarities in the organisation of different newsrooms.

Summary

This chapter has been a review of the literature of newsroom convergence. First this chapter has shown that the literature is fragmented and lacks a unity. In particular there are many case studies of convergence but there is not an overall conceptual framework or model to compare or analyse these case studies. Also, secondly, there is a division between academic and industry research. And in academic research there is division between business studies and journalism studies. This thesis is about comparing newsroom convergence in the UK and China, so there can't just be case studies. To analyse the changes needs an overall conceptual framework which can show how the business reasons for convergence are connected with the journalism changes and how the way the newspapers develop their convergence effects the way that the journalists make news.

Also, this chapter has shown a diagram which starts to say how the business factors and the journalism decisions in convergence can be connected. Starting with the

market changes and then going onto the convergence strategy we can see how newspapers are adapting to changes in reading habits and changes in the market by developing their own convergence strategy. But this is not just a business decision. It is also a journalism decision. It is changing the type of newspaper they are and also the news they make for digital devices and online. The next chapter shows how we can describe the journalism decisions. The next chapter talks about the news format, the newsroom and the copy flow. These concepts are the way the model tries to show how the convergence affects the newsroom and the way of making news.

Chapter 2 Traditional Newspaper Formats and Copy Flow in the Western Papers

This Chapter shows how I review pre-digital news formats and the copy flow which aims to answer my first research question how was news produced before digitisation.

This chapter is based on a literature study of Anglo-American newspapers because there is no literature about these things for Chinese newspapers. Therefore, the chapter is organised in this way: the first part shows how the general UK print newspaper formats developed in the traditional newspaper. The second part looks at the copy flow of newspapers by relating news format in literature and industry descriptions of copy flow. To be specific, in this part I look at two types of literatures to analysis copy flow; firstly classic 'journalism studies' literature, and secondly descriptions of industry practice, from conferences, industry journals and "*How to Write News*" books. By combining these two types of literatures and using the analytical disciplines of classic journalism studies literature and the detail of industrial literature to give a complete description of how news was traditionally made and how it appears to be changing with the impact of digitization.

And at the end of this chapter, there is a section which shows how copy flow is related to the physical layout of the newsroom and critiques the traditional newsroom layout. And that is how I use literature review to combine key research terms news format, copy flow and news beats together in a logic way.

2.1 News Formats and News Market

The section above showed how the news market has changed. This section develops

this analysis showing how changes in the market shape newspaper formats, which in turn guide journalists in deciding which **news sources** they should use and how to **select news** in line with the **news values** of their papers following the **logic of copy flow**. Here, **news market** or markets newspapers in this thesis are tailored to, in particular reader markets (readerships/audience) and markets for advertisers (retailer, luxury or fashion coverage, car coverage, travelling coverage, etc) which decides and have an influence on the formats of newspapers. Therefore, the section below shows how newspapers developed according to the market changes from the historical literatures study. In turn, how the changing of news market determines the changes of the newspapers formats from traditional to digitized model.

Firstly, market changes require newspapers to choose a format to gain a profit. This format includes the news value of the press, which is the basic principle or rules underpinning the news work for each newspaper. Under the news value, editors arrange news sources and journalists understand what kind of source they should look for, as well as which one should be selected during the news work. Therefore, news value is a starting point for both news work and copy flow.

According to the historical newspaper formats study of Nerone & Barnhurst's (2003), after the segmentation of **readership** and **advertising market** a difference in the way in which content is organized for segments is divided, as is labour division inside the news office. This requires the newspaper to consider that what kind of **news space** or **beats** is needed to suit its copy flow and news work. Accordingly, there is a link between the news format and copy flow- complementary and mutual restraint.

Nerone & Barnhurst's (2003) study on the development of Anglo-American newspaper formats from the 18th to 20th centuries shows how newspapers have changed according to the market. Rather than format, they use the word "formation" - which includes **style** (visual characteristics; titles, pictures, front page, etc.), **type**

(machinery, business plan and division of labour) and **ideal** (what a newspaper is supposed to do). According to this typology they explained the development of broad types of newspaper formats across different eras from 1750 to 2000; the Printer's newspaper, the Editor's newspaper, the Publisher's newspaper, the Industrial newspaper, the Professional newspaper and the Corporate newspaper.

Nerone & Barnhurst (2003) then show how, in turn, newspaper formats influence which sources journalists will use to **select** stories, news values and **news products**. This enables them to analyse the characteristics of the dominant format of each era in relation to six key factors:

a. Market (audience and advertisers)

b. Newspaper format

c. News value

d. News selection

e. News source

f. News beat

The printer's newspaper 'was supposed to simulate the experience of a gentleman visiting a good London coffeehouse' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p436-437). They would browse the newspapers beginning with the most important, meanwhile, chatting with their peers, sharing ideas on current events. The second part in printer's newspapers era is the Revolution in which a newspaper was expected to simulate the deliberation that citizens could undertake in public settings and undertook the role of representing public opinion. The main task for the newspaper is to choose and arrange certain material to suit a particular clientele, 'usually members of a political and mercantile elite - "gentleman", in a word' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p436). Therefore, the format of the printer's newspaper is a newspaper or news sheet where in general and the printer is responsible for producing the content as well as the physical sheets. Thus, during this time, there is no such place as

so-called "newsroom" and many journalistic practices are absent; 'because their main occupation was "mechanical", printers could not specialize in reporting or editorializing; instead, they culled their material from texts that came to hand—letters and newspapers that came through the mail' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p436).

As the economic environment changed in the cities 'newspapers responded to rising **markets for advertising** and for news by increasing the frequency of publication' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p437). This led to the era of the **Editor's newspaper**. In terms of news selection and news values, 'party enthusiasts took over as editors of **party papers,** composing editorials and selecting material from other newspapers in order to promote a party line or boost the candidacy of a party leader' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p437). As a result, the editor's newspapers copied choice paragraphs from each other as well as using coordinated rhetorical information tactics. These market and format changes required a further division of labour within daily newspapers, and the emergence of recognizable journalistic work. However, there were as yet no professional journalists; 'the task of gathering information outpaced the occupational structure' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p438).

The **publisher's newspapers** brought further changes in newspaper format. They began to **follow market principles**, seeing themselves as general merchants and dressing their front pages like shop windows. Thus alongside the editor's voice and editorial matter at the center of the paper, other space was occupied by with alternative news and promotional matter (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003). Further division of labour appeared in this era 'by the 1840s, urban dailies routinely hired reporters and correspondents to produce news content and advertising and business managers to produce other kinds of matter' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p437). The early division of labour during this period also laid the foundation for the birth of the **newsroom**. In the 1850s the "newsroom" arose in some metropolitan newspapers, although at that time they did not call it a newsroom. Some large publisher's papers

separated the editorial and reportorial workers from the counting room and the mechanical department.

The development of the **advertising market** and the growth of display advertisements for large retailers prompted papers to increase the number of pages. This brought a change of format, with newspapers organized into sections for segmented readerships. According to the formats of the **industrial newspaper,** papers invited readers to browse through content organized into departments - pages, then sections along with advertisements for large retailers all prompted papers to increase the number of pages, add graphic capabilities, and some sections for segmented readerships which further drove the division into sections.   The modern newsroom **layout** and internal separation of the workspace appeared in the era of the industrial newspaper. The changing physical layout of the newspaper needed larger quarters to house increasingly expensive machinery and staff. Some daily newspapers even built showcase buildings in which there was an increasingly elaborate separation of spaces. This separation was a foundation of beats in the early newsroom.

Nerone & Barnhurst describe the format of the **professional newspaper** as 'streamlined in appearance and displaying clear hierarchy and segmentation, the modern newspaper looked like an authoritative representation of the social world, in the same way that modern professionalised journalists adopted values of neutral expertise (rather than authorship or story-telling) and modern photojournalism did the same' (2003, p439). During this era reporters would record facts with care and fidelity so as they could arrange the facts in a way that would comment on themselves.

The **corporate newspaper** is the modern form of a newspaper. Contemporary newspapers have become less interested in mass readership and more interested in high income and highly motivated subscribers (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003). Due to

the changing profit model the format of newspapers show a further **segmentation** of readership targeting them with **specific advertisements**, and they argue that this segmentation is the original form of the news beats in newsroom. 'Newspapers have become more sophisticated at targeting specific readership segments and packaging them for advertisers, who account for an increasing share of a newspaper's income' (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p439).

According to Nerone & Barnhurst (2003), they provide some timely considerations to the study of the newspaper; **news value, news sources, news selection** and **news beats**.

Nerone & Barnhurst (2003) divided the newspapers types and market as show in the diagram below:

Market	News Formats	News Value	News Sources	News Selection	News Beats
1700 Coffee house	The Printer's Newspaper 1 (Sheet)	Gentlemen - political & mercantile elite	the events of the times	choose and arrange certain material to suit gentlemen	None /printer
1770 Town meeting	The Printer's Newspaper 2 (Sheet)	Simulate the deliberation of citizen	Public settings	Share public Opinions	None /printer
1820 publication & advertising market	The Editors' newspaper (Paper)	Promote a party line or boost their candidacy of a party leader	party enthusiasts other newspapers	composing editorials and selecting material from	News Office
1850 Marketplace (merchandisers)	The Publisher's newspaper Paper (Pages)	Market principles	news & promotional matter	editor's voice;	Labor division
1880 Modern News Market	The Industrial Newspaper (Sections)	Advertising market, Content organized into departments	According to the needs of segmented readerships	News, ads, graphic capabilities in sections for	Elaborate separation; News beats/

				segmented readers and ads	spaces
1910 Modern News Market	The Professional Newspaper (Sections)	Neutral expertise	facts with care and fidelity	streamlined in appearance and displaying clear hierarchy and segmentation	newsroom
1980 Modern News Market & profit model	The Corporate Newspaper (Sections)	less interested in mass readership and more interested in high income and highly motivated subscribers	Further segmentation of the readership to target them with specific advertisements	more sophisticated at targeting specific readership segments and packaging them for advertisers	Newsroom / News beats

Table 2 Different Newspaper Types [Source: Adapted from Nerone & Barnhurst (2003)]

2.2 Print Newspaper Formats in UK

This section tries to combine general journalism studies literature with the model derived from Barnhurst and Nerone (2003) to describe and explain the formats of UK newspapers. This section also describes the elements which form a newspaper's format, which also defines its physical appearance, its tone or 'feel' and further influence the later stages of news production.

This literature shows that although newspapers around the world are facing the challenge of new technologies and new media, the newspaper's history is one of adapting technologically, economically and with social change (Harrison, 2006). Newspaper formats have changed as the news market changed. Content and the format (style and design) of newspapers have adjusted according to the challenges they have been confronted with when the emergence of other newspapers created an increasingly competitive and fragmented market for readers and advertisers (Franklin, 2008).

Journalism studies literature tends to analyse changes in newspapers in terms of news

markets, news values, news selection and news formats. Different newspapers try to attract different target markets and audiences by developing different formats. These formats reflect the news values and news selection practices used to determine their editorial contents.

Journalism studies literature has identified some general trends in the news values and formats of all newspapers which might be termed 'Tabloidisation'. Esser (1999) suggested that 'Tabloidisation is the direct result of commercial media, most often promoted by the pressures of advertisers to reach large audiences…when newspapers started adding sections emphasizing sports and entertainment, illustrations and sensations that appealed to wider audiences' (p291-292). Because of the embracing of popular culture, from rock and roll and soaps to celebrity, newspapers have changed just to keep up with social change not leading change (Franklin, 2008).

According to Franklin (2008), the broadsheet sector of the newspaper market had long embraced pictorial journalism, magazine style features, dealing with issues through people, and featuring celebrities, fashion and tends. The overall trend of designing papers is to use big photo on the front page with most photographs in newspapers being supplied by agencies.

Typeface has also changed. Previously 'the designer would draw on a piece of paper and this would be prepared for the printing press via a whole raft of crafts, from typesetter to "pasting-up" a page, to "plate-making"' (Tattersall, 2008, p197). Now designers can complete all these operations with their computers. Newspapers also use a mixture of typeface according to their tone. For example, 'serif faces are seen as more traditional and tend to be used for headlines in more staid newspapers while sans faces are considered "cleaner" and more modern, and are more commonly used for headlines in the bolder, brasher, usually tabloid newspapers' (Franklin, 2008, p197-198).

2.2.1 Red Tops

The *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Star* and the *Sun* constitute the 'national morning popular' papers or 'red tops' also known as tabloids. The Sunday newspaper market is similarly differentiated into 'national Sunday popular' (the *Daily Star Sunday, Sunday Mirror, People*.)

In Britain, red tops were named because of their tendency to use mastheads printed in red ink; along with reputation for low quality journalism, often placing scandal and gossip around celebrities on the front page, using large pictures with big bold characters and few words (Conboy, 2006). Tabloid journalism is a form of writing that emphasizes sensational crime stories, astrology, gossip columns about the personal lives of celebrities (focus on their sexual practices, misuse of narcotics, and the private aspects), sports stars, and junk food news (Conboy, 2006). Red tops tend to be written with a straightforward vocabulary and grammar, and their layout is more likely to give greater prominence to the picture than to the word. The writing style of red top tabloids is sensationalism.

The advantage of the tabloid newspaper format is that it is much easier to handle on public transport, needing less vertical and horizontal space. This often makes it difficult to separate different sections Sales of tabloid-format newspapers are often much better than sales of comparable broadsheet format newspapers in UK (Zelizer, 2009).

2.2.2 Mid-market

Tabloid newspapers can be divided into two main types: *red top* and *compact*. The *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail* are 'national morning mid-market papers' and the *Mail on Sunday* and *Sunday Express* are 'national Sunday mid-market'.

The Berliner format fits between broadsheets and tabloids, also called mid-market tabloids. They used to focus on the middle class and use big pictures, but smaller than the red tops, with captions and some also have life style sections aimed at female readership.

Historically, popular tabloids have played a wide role in the press. Esser (1999) has suggested that British tabloid journalism was more inclined to select scandals, crimes, celebrities and gossip in the 1930s. These papers, however, 'ignored established news values on politics and current affaires to concentrate entirely on celebrities, human interest stories, self-help news and fiction disguised' (Bird, 1992 *cited in* Esser, 1999, p295). According to Cridland (2010), modern mid-market tabloid in UK such as *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*, normally target their readership as affluent women, while sports supplements are aimed at the husband in order to broaden readership. Cridland (2010) pointed out that the *Daily Mail* is often lampooned by some for their over alarmist headlines, particularly about political asylum seekers and house prices.

2.2.3 'Serious' Newspapers

While the 'national morning quality' titles include the *Daily Telegraph,* the *Financial Times,* the *Guardian,* the *Independent* and *The Times* which also belong to serious/quality type in UK and the 'national Sunday quality' (*Independent on Sunday*, the *Observer*, the *Sunday Telegraph* and the *Sunday Times*)

The broadsheet type is referred to as a serious (or 'quality') newspaper format, which is identified by long page with a typical vertical length of 22 inches and made for upper and mainstream classes by paying close attention to political, business and other serious topics as its main target. Broadsheets are generally thought to be the pinnacle of high-quality journalism, but they are also large and cumbersome,

unsuited to reading on public transport (Zelizer, 2009). Therefore, broadsheets which are often folded horizontally to make sure that content remain vertical and page numbers are visible. Unrelated to the content style, several British quality newspapers choose to adapt to Berliner formats because its pleasant size could bring convenience to their readers (Zelizer, 2009). For example, *The Independent* began printing in Berliner format in 2005, *The Times* also in the format of tabloids after competing broadsheet newspapers had switched to the tabloid or 'compact' format (Zelizer, 2009). This strategy offered the same quality news reporting as well as the portability advantages as the tabloid format.

Broadsheet newspapers usually use their greater size to present stories in more depth with less sensationalist and celebrity stories. The distinction between broadsheets and tabloids can be seen on the front page, on which tabloids normally present single story with a big headline, whereas broadsheets allow two or more stories to be displayed, with the most important at the top of the page and make it stand out (Zelizer, 2009).

In terms of journalism writing type, broadsheets tend to have their own political leanings. For instance, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph* are broadly right-wing; *The Sunday Times* is centre-right.

For example, *The Times* was known as the paper of the establishment, even, advertising itself as the 'top people's paper as it was read by the political and professional classes and those close to government, particularly the Conservative government (Franklin, 2008). However, in the Murdoch era, *The Times* had to join the marketplace with a vengeance, implementing an aggressive price-cutting strategy to make profit. *The Times'* own research by Brian MacArthur showed that nearly half of compact (tabloid) readers are aged between 25 and 44 (Franklin, 2008). For this reason, Murdoch decided change *The Times*, to produce its compact version and place it on sale alongside the broadsheet version. This change in the format followed

the trend in the quality sector to carry information with more broad interest.

2.2.4 Summary of Newspaper Formats in UK

According to the classic journalism literature review above, the newspaper formats in UK can be summed up as below:

Market Segment	Newspaper Format	News Values
Popular/Mass The Daily Mirror, the Daily Record, the Daily Star and the Sun	Tabloid(Red Tops) large pictures big bold characters but few words	Sensationalism, scandal and gossip of celebrities; Crime stories, astrology, gossip columns; sports stars, junk food news; straightforward vocabulary and grammar
Mid-market, Middle class *e.g.: Daily Mail* mostly female readership; Daily Express, the Daily Mail, etc.	Berliner/Compact Big picture, captions,	life service, etc. (differs)
Elite/Quality political leaning Daily Telegraph, Financial Times, the Guardian, the Independent, The Times	Broadsheet Long vertical pages and large amounts of text	High-quality journalism; political, business and other serious topics intellectual in content; more depth with less sensational and celebrity stories;

Table 3 Newspaper formats in UK

2.3 'Copy Flow' in Traditional Print Newspapers

Barnhurst and Nerone (2003) argue that changes in news formats influence decisions about news values, sources, selection and beats. In this section I am going to look at two types of literature (classic journalism study literature, and industry literature from conferences, industry journals and *How to Write News* books) to try to extend the Barnhurst and Nerone (2003) model and to analyze how newsrooms are organised. To combine the two literatures I will incorporate the journalism studies terms (news values, sources, selection and beats) into the industry term 'copy flow'.

Here the objective is not to explain the political content, meaning or biases of news stories; instead the aim is to describe news production in the era before convergence. Rather than describing copy flow using terms from journalism studies (such as news value, news selection, news source and beats), industry literature describes copy flow practically through working phases and job titles. The aim is to try to analyse the journalism studies research in order to develop a more detailed conceptual model and relate this to industrial descriptions of copy flow.

By combining these two types of literature I am going to use the analytical advantages of classic journalism study and the detail of industrial terms to give a complete description of how news has traditionally been produced. This will enable me to extend the model developed above to show the relationship between market changes and forms of newsroom organization. Below I will review the literature to try to show how this model appears to be changing under digitization. This will enable me to develop a new conceptual framework to compare newsroom integration between British and Chinese media organisations.

Inside the newsroom, the traditional schedule can be summarized as planning, reporting, copy editing and distribution. Similarly the news flow in a newsroom can be summarized as follows:
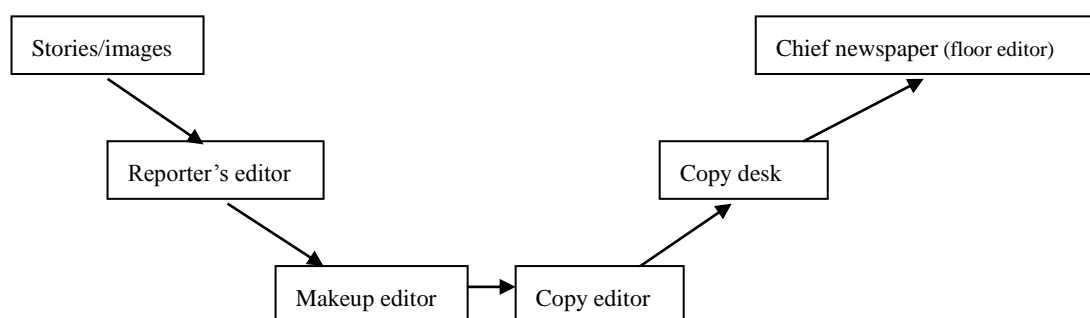
Chart 5 the news flow in newsroom

A story will pass through several hands before it appears in the paper. According to Fellow & Clanin (2007), when a story has been created by a reporter, this report will

give it to one of the reporter's editors, then to the makeup editor before handing to the copy editor; then the copy desk chief or slot editor will do the final check and hand over to production-floor editor before publishing. This process can be drawn as Chart 6:
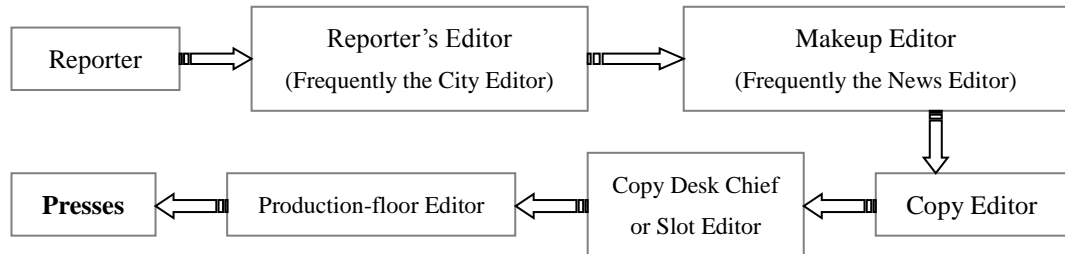
Chart 6 A single process of story creation

Generally, the process of copy flow is the responsibility of certain appointed personnel within a news organization to ensure that 'the contents of the paper go through a thorough fine-tuning process of "editorial surgery" and treatments before they are eventually reach the pages of the publication' (Hordhunharyhor, 2012).   All the designed and organized pages will then be sent to print; after which the dissemination of the finished products will place the newspaper in the consumer's hands.   In this traditional method, which originated in the print world, copy flow can be divided into general phases like:
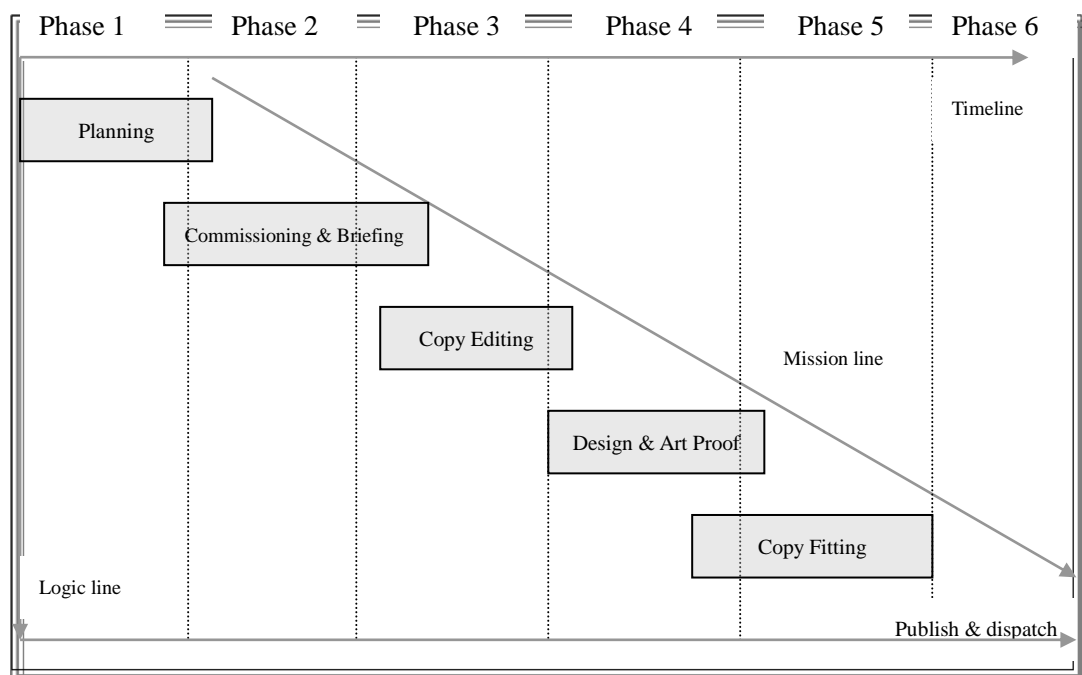
Chart 7 The Phase of Traditional Copy Flow

Although Chart 7 appears to show each task happening in a given order, in reality all these process are happening at once. Each phase of copy flow includes a series of news activities, guides by news format (market, audience, news value, etc.) and involves several different newsroom titles.

2.3.1 News Values and Story Ideas

Broadly speaking, previous accounts of news values tend to be of two kinds: the first examines news stories from the view of the working journalist; the second one attempts to take a broader method incorporating areas like ideology, cultural conditioning and technological determinism (Brighton & Foy, 2007).

Some studies show that journalism's work in the past has followed an objective model, 'where reporters gather authoritative data and then present it without explicitly taking a side in the discourse' (Berkowitz, 2009, p103). In the UK, reporters are not expected to provide an opinion of their own. The interpretation by reporters is limited to things such as descriptions of settings, numbers, crowd-size and what people said.

Reuters, in 1890, codified the list of events that would trigger their 'Special Service'. They were:

> 'the wreck of an ocean liner or steamship; A calamitous railway accident; A fire or explosion involving serious loss of life; A destructive earthquake, cyclone or inundation; Especially startling crimes and outages; Popular disturbances; An attempt upon the life of a monarch or statesman, or the discovery of some far-reaching plot. And some of these values tend to be taken as axiomatic and on face value by most working journalists' (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p14).

Galtung and Ruge (1965) proposed that most journalists operated according to a range of news values which they can use to describe news events: relevance, timeless, simplification, predictability, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, elite peoples, elite nations and negativity. Gans (1979) enumerates the following: importance, interest, factors of the product, novelty, story quality, story balance and competition. Stuart Hall (1981) focused on the linkage, recency and newsworthiness of an event/person. These criteria become metrics with which to judge news values.

Barnhurst and Nerone (2003) argue that the news format decided the house style which becomes the news value of the entire publication. Generally speaking, the journalist's work is to turn information from a source into an idea for a news story or some other items of news content. In this work, the journalist is guided by the news values implied in his or her newspaper's news format. **Therefore, news values will vary from different eras, markets and formats.**

Allan (2004) links the characteristics of the news event more closely to the organization of news production through the concept of the "news net". It is based on the notion of a geographic territoriality, organizational specialization, and topical specialization. A link is then made to a range of other influential factors: economic and profit pressures on the organisation; daily production schedules; routinizing the uncertainty of future happening is to fill story quotas; anticipation or pre-planning of news-as-an-event; and the role of new technology (Allan, 2004).

Sometimes, the differences between news values can be studied in the **news meetings** of different newspapers. Most mainstream news organisations will have something like a daily, sometimes twice or thrice daily, news meeting and most working journalists and their editors would recognize the vital role that their meetings play in terms of daily routine and news culture (Brighton & Foy, 2007).

2.3.2 News Format and News Sources

Once the newspaper's format is decided by the organization, the next logical step is to send reporters to find news sources to create copy which meets the needs of the format.

The role of the "Fourth Estate" is so important, many studies have analysed the work of Western journalists looking at the sources they use. Berkowitz (2009) has pointed out that 'sources tend to be male authority figures and do not belong to one of their society's minority groups' (p109). For example, in the United States, Berkowitz (2009) indicated that Latinos, Asian Americans and Native Americans rarely served as news sources.

Some of these studies have suggested that it is difficult for Western journalists to carry out their "Fourth Estate" role because there is an imbalance in the reporter-source relationship (Davis, 2009; Allen, 2004). Berkowitz (2009) stated that reporters are subject to their sources because reporters do not always lead the way, 'sources often proactively try to influence what becomes news through news releases, news conferences, planned events, and leaks that can jump-start the reporting process' (p109). If a source has a high level of power, then the effort of reporters to gather information can become frustrated. Other studies have suggested that the journalist may have more power than the source. High power reporters would collect more information from more sources (Berkowitz, 2009).

The power of reporters may be influenced by several factors. Berkowitz & TerKeurst (1999) believed that the news format will influence this power, as a quality broadsheet newspaper might have different power from a popular tabloid. Moreover, a reporter's power could be impacted by the covering sphere. A national newspaper is covering news that mainly impacts a small geographic community might turn out to affect more on an issue or event a local newspaper (Berkowitz, 2009).

For the purposes of this review, the focus here is not on the extent to which journalist uses of sources allows them to perform their fourth estate role. Here, the focus is on the use of sources as part of a process of creating the copy which meets the requirements of a newspaper format. The previous section described the elements which form a newspaper's format, which also defines its physical appearance and its tone or 'feel', and further influences which source should be used. Although different newspaper formats may influence journalists to seek different types of sources for news stories, the broader context of the media system in the UK (see previous chapter) means that there are some elements in the way journalists deal with sources, which are common to all formats of newspaper.

For some types of news stories, because of limited time and source availability, reporters learn how to find sources that are accessible and ready to be scheduled and who will provide them those information (Tuchman, 1973).

Berkowitz (2009) stated that 'some sources might not be cooperative for some stories or might not be available when needed, while some sources might wish to jump into the fray unexpectedly and reporters must deal with their input' (p104). As a result the collection of sources sometimes becomes a complicated task for both reporters and the organization. Ericson (1999) suggested that in practical terms reporters must manage their organizational limitations by routinizing their tasks. Because sources are not always instantly available scheduling of interviews becomes a task that demands time to accomplish and cuts into total working time until the deadline. Many reporters find that having a collection of known sources helps make this task easier, but sometimes new sources must be found (Berkowitz, 2009).

Once the scheduling of sources and interview has taken place, 'reporters can then shift to a new work mode, interpreting the information they have received, privileging some sources information over others, and crafting a news story that corresponds to the rules of the paradigm' (Berkowitz, 2009, p104).

2.3.3 News Format and News Selection

News selection mainly reflects on the role of **gatekeepers**. 'The job of selecting and shaping the small amount of information that becomes news would be impossible without gatekeeping' (Shoemaker, *et al.,* 2007, p73). Those items of information that are rejected or selected shaped and scheduled are the focus of gatekeeping studies. Concerning editors' work 'the traditional gatekeeping process viewed news selection as a linear process, rather than as a complex series of interrelated decisions made at many levels' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p134). Generally, an editor must consider three questions in deciding 'which stories to publish; what stories are available, which ones would appeal to an audience, and which satisfy the needs of the organization (space requirements, etc.)' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p104).

Those professionals who are working within news organizations 'have editorial responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information, including full-time reporters, writers, correspondents, columnists, news people, and editors' (Weaver *et al*., 2007, p3). As gatekeepers they should follow the rules of the organization for who they are working.

As a former newspaper reporter, Breed (1955) interviewed a sample of news workers at medium-sized newspapers to determine how they judge the appropriate way to handle their news selection. As a result, Breed identified that those newspaper publishers, in fact, only allow the gatekeepers to decide new content to ensure consistency with organizational policies (1955).

Many studies have shown that the changes in news format have been reflected in news selection by journalists. Franklin (2008) argues:

- 'newspapers seem less concerned to report news, especially **foreign** news, **parliamentary** and **political** news and **investigative** stories …

- news has been replaced by **views** with "celebrity" **columnists** commanding premium salaries above reporters and enjoying higher editorial priority; the "commentaries" are in the ascendancy…

- quality papers now report stories, typically focused on **celebrities**, which previously they disdained as merely "fit for the tabloids"…

- the emergence of newszak is also reflected in changes in format and style as well as content, with the old broadsheets are as likely as the red tops to use tabloid-style **banner headlines**, alliterative and punny headlines, **large print**, **less text**, **shorter words, bigger pictures, colour pictures and more of them'** (p14).

Although Breed focus on the single news transmission and social control in a newsroom, Donahue *et al*., (1972) emphasize that gatekeeping is a more complex process. The process involves a series of decisions about the amount of time/space allotted to a news event, where within a publication or news programme the story is placed, the use of graphics and number of stories about the event on one day or across days, and if the story returns in a cyclical pattern (Weaver *et al*., 2007). This can be observed on the front page of each newspaper which reflects their traits in format as well as how they handle their lead story following their news values. For example, in the case of the school teacher found guilty of having sex with a 14-year-old male pupil:

Newspaper and story title	Format	News selection
The Daily Mirror: the headline 'Schoolmistress who seduced boy, 14, is jailed'	Overlay a 400cm^2 photograph of the woman; the coverage ran to five-sixths of a tabloid page;	To be sympathetic towards the woman and her husband, inferring that the event was not especially horrifying; Daily Mail took a far more remonstrative tone;
The Times: headed 'Teacher jailed for sex with boy, 14'	Ran a small (20cm2) portrait photograph of the teacher and restricted its coverage to a quarter	The editorial tone is slightly harsher than that in the Daily Mirror by making of the fact the teacher is to be on the Sex

	page.	Offenders' Register for ten years;
the Guardian: the headline 'Teacher jailed for sex with boy'	its coverage in terms of column centimetres was virtually identical; right down to the image accompany the text	The Guardian carries a special weekly supplement dedicated to educationalists seems to align with the 'soft ride' that has been given to the teacher."

Table 4 the relationship between news formats and news selection of different papers[6]

While, the example again emphasizes that newspapers are written to meet the expectation of their readers, editors are responding to events, presenting them in a way which suits those who buy their product. When the newspaper's format is firmed and settled down, then the staff would know what kind of news source and news value they should go for.

2.3.4 News Formats, News Beats and News Jobs

Historical study on journalists work in the late 19th and early 20th centuries shows that inside newsrooms a journalist's job always divided into different roles. 'The division of labour between reporters (who do newsgathering) and rewrite men (copy editors, who write the final article) was driven by **commercial needs** in the last century' (Ornebring, 2009, p10).

The section reviewing Barnhurst and Nerone (2003) showed that these developments happened as news formats were developed in response to changes in the market. Newspapers, Barnhurst and Nerone (2003) proposed, under the pressure of new technologies such as the telegraph and later the telephone, needed to increase production speeds through the division of labour. Especially, when news organizations become larger, forcing them to have a division of labour along functional and geographic lines.

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[6] *Source from:* Brighton, P. and Foy, D. (2007). *News Values*. Sage Publications Ltd: Londo*n. pp55-56*

According to Fellow & Clanin (2007), in larger news organization the copy flow is normally organized into five departments divisions:

- editorial

- business - normally handled the finance of the newspaper or the whole paper group

- advertising - help to sell the space and advertising which has different styles and prices including classified ads, full-page or half-page ads, front page ads and so on

- production works on the ads as well; in addition, it oversees page production, creates the plats and runs the presses.

- circulation - delivers the newspaper, sells new subscriptions and fills the news racks.

In British newsrooms the journalists work is divided into at least four different professional groups - reporters, subeditors, leader writers and page planners/design subeditors (Tunstall, 1971; Hetherington, 1985; MacArthur, 1991; Negrine 1993 *cited in* Esser, 1998). Therefore, Esser (1998) states, we might require almost a dozen job labels to describe the members of a British newsroom.

If we take a closer look at the newsroom layouts of the past, the design of the newsroom is made up of separated news desks (beats) which show a high degree of division labour (Esser, 1998). Esser (1998) stated that newsroom is the central place where news is produced day by day following the daily news routine. From the perspective of overall structure, 'newsrooms have similar bureaucratic characteristics compared to other organizations. Responsibility is divided, authority is structured, and seniority is rewarded' (Esser, 1998, p376). It is the main goal of a media organization is to deliver news products, while the responsibility of the newsroom is to produce content within time and space limitations. As Esser (1998) stated to carry out this goal, 'a news organization must assign roles and develop a structure which allows its members to cooperate in an optimum fashion' (p376).

Within the British newsroom, news gatherers and news processors are divided as well; the gathers are divided into general reporters and specialists while the processors are separated into copy and design subeditors. 'Copy subeditors are in charge of checking, rewriting and preparing reporters' texts for publication and design subeditors layout the pages' (Esser, 1998, p381).

These studies suggest that, although, producing a daily newspaper is influenced by news formats, the general routine in the newsroom has some common features.

> 'Reporters, photographers and artists create the stories and images that appear in the paper each day. They are supervised by editors who are supervised by editors who report to the managing editors. The people writing the stories, taking the photos and creating the graphics are known to the public. Their names appear with their work' (Fellow & Clanin, 2007, p1).

The work in a newsroom is more specialized at larger papers. As Fellow & Clanin (2007) pointed out, 'there are more wire services to monitor, more pages to layout and many more stories to edit (layout editors also are called makeup or design editors) while other papers might combine the wire editors with the copy desk, or have the features editor also handle the religion pages' (p2-3).

Specialist Editors

Larger papers, with a large circulation, might have different editors overseeing the news beats such as education, government, business and criminal justice rather than have one city editor supervising all the reporters (Fellow & Clanin, 2007). According to Fellow & Clanin, there are often more than one news beat running at the same time, therefore, sometimes the title of the editor will go with the news beats; for example, the editor who monitors the sports report and sports journalists, then he/she

will be called sport editor who also take the duty of editing the copy, correcting stories and helping increase page flow (2007). For some large newspaper groups, different beats operate respectively with their beats editors working together and packaging all materials (text and pictures) for press.

Reporters and News Beats

'Journalists can be differentiated in terms of whether they are reporters or editors. Reporters are differentiated between those who do general assignment and those with specialized topic areas. News organizations are organized geographically as well' (Becker and Vlad, 2009, p60). Through a review of the literature on news beats, Tuchman has suggested that 'a beat is a method of dispersing reporters to organizations associated with the generation of news and holding centralized information' (*cited in* Becker and Vlad, 2009, p3). Fishman (1980) pointed out that news beats have a topical as well as territorial character. That means, 'Journalists talk about their beats as places to go and people to see and as a series of topics one is responsible for covering' (Becker and Vlad, 2009, p2).

However, Becker (2009) and his colleagues believed that beats are a form of job differentiation, from the view of the sociology of organizations literature. As Becker and Vlad further interpreted, it is seen as a way of putting people into positions in which they can work efficiently (2009). Therefore, newsrooms would be expected to create beats staff as they increased in size and quantity. Becker and Vlad (2009) also found that at the newspaper they studied, 'the editor has decided they needed a steady stream of copy from a geographic area, so they created a beat for that area to provide for a specific need of the newspaper' (p24). This was due to their desire to increase circulation in the region. Moreover, 'the newspaper wanted to satisfy the internal desire to be regional in focus' (Becker and Vlad, 2009, p24). 'The reporter assigned to the beat was expected to regularly suggest story ideas, and to regularly send in stories' (Becker and Vlad, 2009, p69).

In typical news copy flow journalists rely on traditional work routines, involving all the staff filling holes in the news format. During his time in the newsroom of *The Daily Times*, Ryfe (2009) found that the content production follows the editor's general rules for filling the news holes in pages of newspaper. Fishman (1980) pointed out that reporters find daily news stories by visiting particular locations and observing events themselves or talking with people who has observed the events; in this mode, most daily stories are about one-time events.

For example, the city editor of *The Daily Times* needed at least six new stories per day, consisting of three for the front page and three for the first page of the local section, in order to fill the front and local sections of the newspaper on his duty (Ryfe, 2009). The editor needs at least 42 new stories to fill the pages of the local section for the whole week. In this case, Ryfe (2009) described how the editor arranges the mission for the content as below:

> 'There are 11 beat reporters and four enterprise reporters available for the editor ["churches (one beat reporter), state and local transportation agencies (one beat reporter), hospitals (one beat, one enterprise reporter), schools (one beat, one enter- prise reporter), city hall and the statehouse (four beat reporters, state and local), police departments and court houses (two beat reporters), and finally, nearby county governments (one beat, one enterprise reporter). Beat reporters were required to produce three stories per week plus one 'weekender' (a story to run on Sunday or Monday)' (p670-671).

Enterprise reporters were asked to produce two stories per week, with every beat reporter being required to produce three stories each week. When the reporters complete their missions the city editor would have 42 articles to fill the news hole per week.

News formats and Copy-editors/Sub-editors

In terms of editors, there are variable titles in the newsroom. The employees who work behind-the-scenes on the copy desk (if compared to the news reporters and journalists) in the newsroom are the editors, who are sometimes referred to as copy editors, the news desk or "the desk" (Fellow & Clanin, 2007). Those people take the role of monitoring and sorting the wire copy, deciding which stories, photos and graphics will run in the paper and where they will run as well as editing stories, writing the headlines and captions (Fellow & Clanin, 2007). They should ensure that everything going into the paper is accurate and impartial; additionally, they are also responsible for the presses starting on time (Fellow & Clanin, 2007).

According to Fellow & Clanin (2007), 'copy editors are much more than simply proof-readers; besides editing stories for style, spelling and grammar, they question the accuracy of stories and improve the writing so the story is clear and concise' (p13). Additionally, 'other responsibilities of copy editors include writing the stories headlines, jump lines, photo captions, proofing graphics, monitoring wire service copy, laying out the pages, supervising the composing room while the pages are being built as well as proofing the paper after the press starts and chasing pages for corrections or story updates' (Fellow & Clanin , 2007, p17).

Editors will do these jobs alone, but sometimes 'the jobs might rotate among several people on the desk, with one person editing copy one day and laying out pages the next day. At some papers, one person, usually called the news editor, lays out pages. The news editor then gives the sketch of the page, called a dummy, to another editor, who edits stories and writes headlines and captions' (Fellow & Clanin, 2007, p2).

2.3.5 Integrating Concepts of Journalism Studies and Industry (How to Books)

According to the copy flow chart 6, there are phases corresponding to different news activities, logic and working titles. Normally, the news flow in the newsroom can be summed up as planning, commissioning and briefing, copy editing, design and copy fitting. Inside these processes, the logic of traditional copy flow is followed by news value, news source and news select. In each process, news work was guided by this logic. The copy flow and logic can be summed up as follows:

Industry Term	Academic Term	Stage in Copy Flow
Planning	News selection, News value - news source,	Top Editors (executive editor, managing editor, photo editor, copy editor, section editors, art direction)
Commissioning and briefing allocation to reporters, interview	News selection, News beats	Section Editors, journalists (writers, photographers)
Copy editing	News Format	Sub-editor, copy editor
Design and Art Proof Graphic design	News Format	Copy editor, art direction, etc.
Copy fitting Fill the gaps	News selection News Format,	Chief-sub editor, etc.

Table 5 Relationship between Industry and Academic Terms

Chart 8 shows how news format and news value run through all the phases of copy flow. News selection and news source cover the phases of planning, commissioning & briefing and copy editing. However, it is not one single sequence; things happen simultaneously. In general, the logic follows in this way:

- **News value** is the very beginning of all processes and is the guideline for each step decision-making;
- Then, according to the daily news event, editors will initially **select** which news sources and stories would be interesting and worth to report for the day.
- After an editorial meeting, **news beats** and tasks will be allocated to appropriate journalists and editors.

- After information gathering, journalists and editors, as gatekeepers, would go through the news and make a **selection** of stories guided by news values and format.

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5	Phase 6

Planning

News value

News source

News select

Commissioning & Briefing

Copy Editing

Mission line

Design & Art Proof

Logic line

Copy Fitting

Publish & dispatch
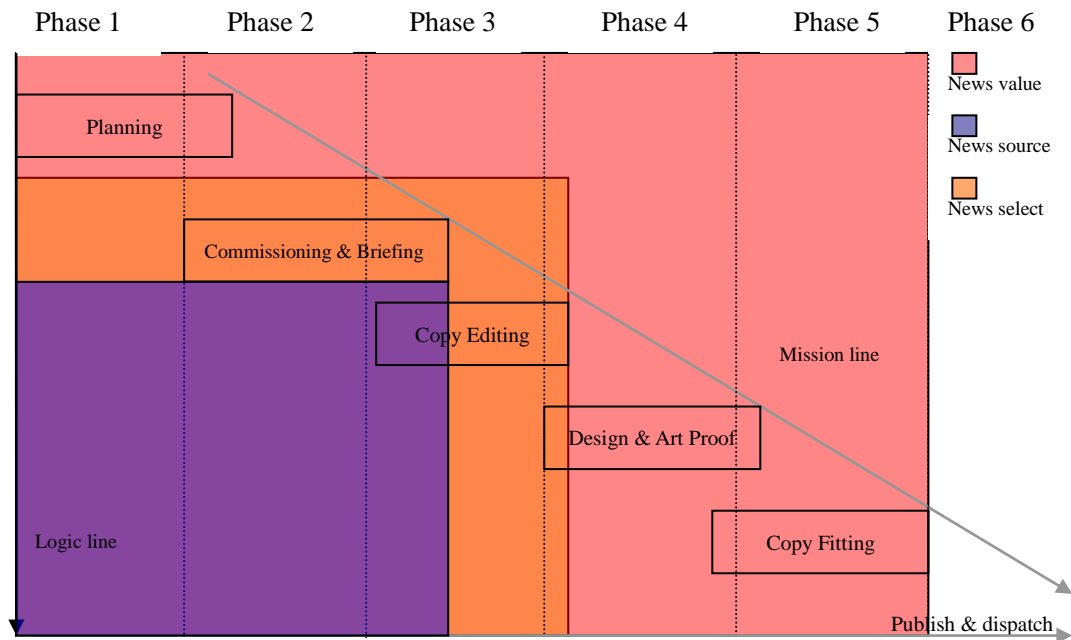
Chart 8 The logic of copy flow

When the stories are fully revised, they will be sent to the copy editor for extra work (subtitles, captions, etc.) before going on to the copy fitting stage. This is the whole logic and single sequence of copy flow, however, most of time, the logic of values, sources and selection will happen simultaneously in one phase, and the staff should go through each time and again to make the best choices (Morrish & Bradshaw, 2012). The logic seems simple to understand, but the whole process can appear complicated.

In order to understand the logic and phases of copy flow, the next section will show how decisions are taken in the daily schedule of news meetings. This section is based on a number of cases by Fellow & Clanin (2007) who described a typical day at Orange County Register, this I have combined with descriptions of classic journalism study concepts (news value, source, select) and industry descriptions (phases and job

66

titles) to give a better analysis of the copy flow.

2.3.6 Daily Sequence of Copy Flow

This section tries to underline the relationship between copy flow and daily news routines via a typical day/routine at Orange County Register[7]

9a.m News Sourcing: Monitoring the wires and preparing **syndicated features** that the paper receives electronically one or two weeks before publication.

News Format copy editors who handle page makeup (also called page layout), immediately start laying out pages for doing the **entertainment and features sections** of the next day's edition, editing stories and writing headlines, photo captions, jump lines and any pull-out quotes or other typographical elements that are needed for the page's design.

10:30am News Values News Selection - The morning meeting
Top editors (Critique today's edition and start **planning** the next day's paper) A story editorial meeting is attended by the **executive editor;** the managing editors; the **editors** in charge of the metro, features, entertainment, sports and business **sections**; the editors who oversee coverage of various news topics (government, politics, technology, higher education, courts, police and so on); the editor who oversees the **copy** desks; the editor who oversees page design; the **photo editor**; and the **graphics editor**. Editors also discuss which of this morning's news articles should be followed up in tomorrow's edition to update on developments or to fill in the details left out in the rush to make the deadline the night before; what other angles of the issue should be explored in tomorrow's edition?

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[7] Source from: Fellow, A. and Clanin, T. (2007).   Chapter of working on the desk in *Copy Editors Handbook for Newspapers*. Third Edition ©2007 [online] Publisher: Morton Publishing Company.: Available from: http://commfaculty.fullerton.edu/tclanin/comm332/book%20chapters/CHAP%2001.pdf pp4-8.

11a.m. News Sourcing and Selection: Editors who handle wire copy for news, business and sports start to compile story budgets from the various wire services.

3 p.m. News Sourcing and Selection: The Register receives stories from several news services and newspapers, including the Associated Press, *The New York Times*, Reuters News Service, McClatchy News Service, Knight–Ridder News Service, Bloomberg Business News, Cox News Service and the *Los Angeles Daily News*. A big part of the **wire editor**'s job is to compare stories from the various services and to pick the best story. If editors find inconsistencies among the stories or unanswered questions in a story, they call the wire service and ask for clarification. Sometimes the editor will combine elements from several stories to create one that is more detailed than any single story.

The other **news-desk editors** start arriving about 3 p.m. A few of them will be laying out pages, but most will handle copy-editing chores.

3:30p.m. News Selection - The Afternoon Meeting. The same editors who met in the morning get together again at 3:30p.m. in order to update the budget for tomorrow morning's paper. They go over the finalized story budgets to decide where the major local and wire stories will go in the paper.

5:30 p.m. News Selection: Some of the **top editors** meet after many of the stories are actually in hand or the lead paragraphs are written. After they read some of the stories, the editors make their final decisions about what is going on Page 1 and perhaps even what they would like the headlines to say.

2.4 Copy Flow and Newsroom Physical Layout

The description above tells of the authority and hierarchical structures of traditional

copy flow. When the job structure breaks down into a process in terms of activities, it's often related to physical spaces, who sits next who, that can be the main difference within a newsroom. Therefore, the logical process of copy flow is related to the physical processes.
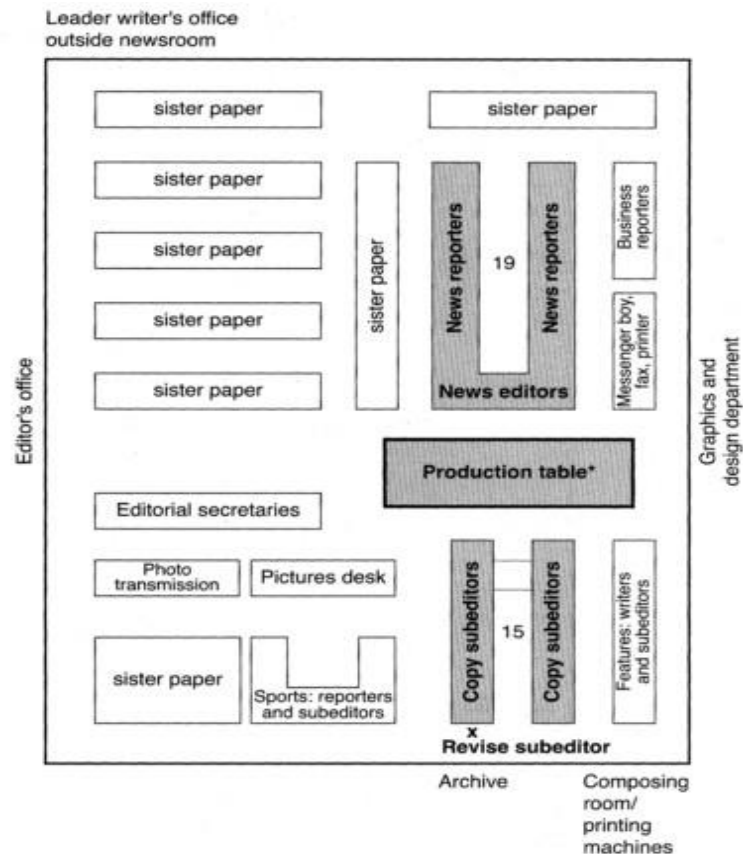
Figure 2 Traditional Newsroom layouts[8]

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) stated that 'the structure of a newsroom simply reflects where an organization chooses to allocate its resources and how it adapts to its environment' (p147).　However this review suggests, based on Barnhurst and Nerone (2003), that these decisions are influenced by a number of factors including the format of the newspaper.　Therefore newsrooms need to construct an

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[8] Figure from: Esser, F. (1998). Editorial Structures and Work Principles in British and German Newsrooms. *European Journal of Communication,* [Online]1998 (**13**): 387. Available from: < http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Frank_Esser/publication/238432201_Editorial_Structures_and_W ork_Principles_in_British_and_German_Newsrooms/links/00b7d53c18d4364132000000.pdf> 〔Accessed 21 December 2012〕.

organizational framework consistent with its functions: newsroom layout, news routine and regulations. 'This architecture and the basic mode of operation was basically the same globally before the appearance of digitization' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p147).

Esser (1998) found many similarities between British and US-American practices by comparing journalistic work in Anglo-American and German newsrooms. 'In Anglo-Saxon news departments, reporters and (sub) editors are usually two groups roughly similar in size' (Esser, 1998, p383). These newsrooms can be characterized by two specific organizational principles, the division of labour and the central newsroom. The central newsroom is unlike the concept we defined as the integrated newsroom today. This can be seen from the example of the *Birmingham Evening Mail* described by Esser (1998): the newsroom plan of the *Birmingham Evening Mail* shows the division of news beats into "gatherers" and "processors". 'Reporters and subeditors work in different departments with the production table in between (see tinted areas in Figure 2) and the two groups hardly meet although they are just a few yards apart' (p389). This design reflects a formal division into news and comment by separating the lead writer's office from the newsroom and keeping the features department separate from the news department.

Traditional newsroom layouts tend to allocate space around news beats. For example, 'at *the South Carolina, the State, the traditional Metro, State* and *Features* staff of the newspapers have been replaced by an organizational structure built around beats such as "quality life/ crime", "passages/learning", "community roots", and "government and city life"' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p148). *The Orange County Register* has experienced a similar way of allocating their space and resources by grouping their staff by topics (including Environment or Health) which consists of a cluster of reporters responsible for all aspects of health coverage (from research, to health delivery, to business).

Comparing to Anglo-Saxon papers, Esser (1998) also described a German regional daily newspaper's newsroom layout (see Figure 3). The Koblenz Rhein-Zeitung opts for a decentralized organization structure which has many more district offices and does not have a proper central newsroom, 'the various news departments are spread out…The news department consists in fact of 10 redakteurs [editors] but the room was divided up into separate areas. The desks work more or less autonomously and only meet in conferences. The branch offices produce complete pages ready to print' (p386).
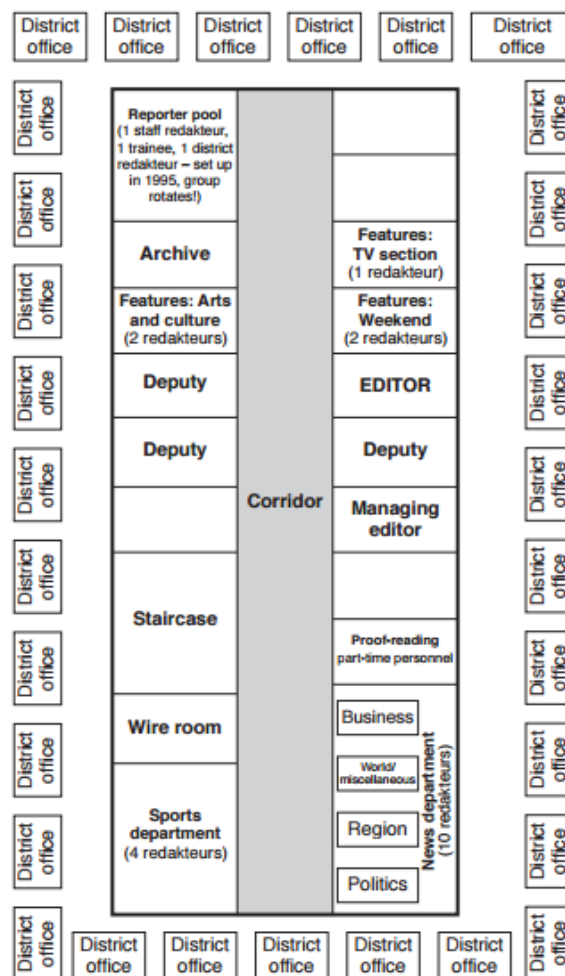
Figure 3 German regional daily *Koblenz Rhein-Zeitung* (circulation 246,000): main newsroom (19 redakteurs) and 31 district offices (116 redakteurs)[9]

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[9] Figure from: Esser, F. (1998). Editorial Structures and Work Principles in British and German Newsrooms. *European Journal of Communication,* [Online]1998 (**13**): 388. Available from: < http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Frank_Esser/publication/238432201_Editorial_Structures_and_W ork_Principles_in_British_and_German_Newsrooms/links/00b7d53c18d4364132000000.pdf> 〔Accessed 21 December 2012〕.

Other newsrooms around the world also seem to have a decentralized structure in the past. In the early 1930s, before the move to the Forrest Centre, *the West Australian*'s address had been 125 St Georges Terrace, in premises building for the paper: 'all editorial sections there except photographic had been on one floor, Forrest Centre, which can be described as approximating an octagonal shape, offered less space per floor, and the departments were distributed over three floors. On the first were photographic and design, on the second business and features, and on the third were the editor, general (news), foreign, sport, the leader writer and the cartoonist' (Josephi, 1998, p169).

Section Summary Traditional Formats and Copy-flow

This section has combined two types of literatures, to analyze in detail traditional journalism. The first literature describes news produced in terms of hierarchy and structure related to job titles and copy flow phases. This describes the traditional authority structure as well as how the news is produced and who is in charge of whom. The second shows how news is produced by mapping some of the processes onto this hierarchy. By describing planning, briefing and commissioning we are able to move away from a description of the process in terms of traditional jobs, and describe the actual process of work done.

Using the industry description terms and related journalism study diagram, can help to analysis this process better. The above section simplified these processes and helped relate them to each other. The aim of this section has been to identify the phases of copy flow by what is happening, who is doing what, and how journalism studies help to understand this.

Within most media organizations there are three levels of employees:

- 'the front line employees, such as writers, reporters, and creative staff who are responsible for gathering and packaging the raw material…

- the middle-level employees, which consists of managers, editors, producers and others who coordinate the process and mediate communication between the bottom and the top of the organization…

- In a typical newspaper organization a publisher runs the entire organization, which comprises the news, editorial, advertising, circulation, and production departments' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p145).

According to the studies of newsrooms in the last century, newsrooms, 'all over the world, whether now newspapers, broadcasters or based online, all have similar backgrounds' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p102).

The literatures show that newsrooms in the past tended to have the following qualities:

- separated news desks or per department (or 'news beat')

- separate cubicles per reporter

- Chaotic workspaces: papers everywhere, cell and regular phones scattered across the desk, desktop computers, laptops in the background (Deuze, 2008).

- In traditional news formats, reporters gather the information and their daily task is to fill the news gaps in the print format. The routine for the staff is usually busy around deadlines, typically once or twice a day.   Due to the limited requirements of newspapers, reporters and editors only need to consider the needs of local readers through complying with the rules of their own organization also known as news values. Editors and reporters were seen as gatekeepers and agenda setters in the past. A journalist's job was arranged, differentiated and organized geographically according to different sections. Generally the traditional copy flow can be seen as a "filter system" for filling the news holes in the pages of the newspaper.

Chapter 3 Digital News Formats and Copy Flow

This Chapter looks at the literature covering the impact of changes in digital newspaper formats and copy flow which aims to answer the second research question – how is news produced following digitization. This chapter tried to do this by reviewing the literature and developing a model which tries to show, how market changes are linked to changes of digital formats and to changes of copy flow and newsroom physical layout.

The first thing the historical study of digitization and convergence shows is that the hypothesis of market changes and digital formats is not the only thing, and this is a limitation of the model. This chapter shows that digital copy flows are changing because newspapers want to make thing even more efficient than in the traditional copy flow. It will begin with a discussion of bottleneck in news format, and then come to what bottlenecks bring to the traditional copy flow and 'filter system' of newspapers.

The third section goes back to the model and shows what the digital news formats look like in response to the changing newspaper market and digitisation. The fourth section reviews the logic and digital copy flow of Anglo-American newspapers. The last section attempts to explain how news formats and copy flow guide industry to adjust the physical layout of newsrooms.

So this chapter tries to show how the model and the efficiency ideas work together in thinking how to integrate the newsrooms. Maybe it is the market changes happening which mean newspapers have to change – or they would have stayed the same. But then these changes also leads newspapers to adapt a digital copy flow to deal with the bottleneck and changing conditions of media market at the same time.

So at the end of this chapter, two diagrams demonstrate the framework which will be used to analyse and compare different newspaper models in case study chapters Five and Six.

3.1 Copy flow and Efficiency

According to the literature both from academic and industry, there are some critiques of the problems of traditional copy flow and these are summarized in this section to help better understand why newspaper organisation has to be changed.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) commented that at many newspapers the traditional organizational structure had failed to adequately address journalistic needs. Which 'leads to too many good stories falling through the cracks of a beat structure that looked better on paper than it worked in reality' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p148)

In the British newspaper offices, the process of content production follows the sequence or logic of copy flow. However, 'the sequence of "copy flow" is always fixed and often described as a "filter system". Many books on British newspaper practice contain diagrams depicting news processing as a fixed order of checking and editing instances' (Esser, 1998, p392).   Each news story is routed through a series of baskets, making it impossible for a reporters' story to get into the newspaper without going all through the required checking, revising and editing stages.

Esser (1998) gives a broad general description which suggests how British newsrooms have worked through the past hundred years (Figure 4):
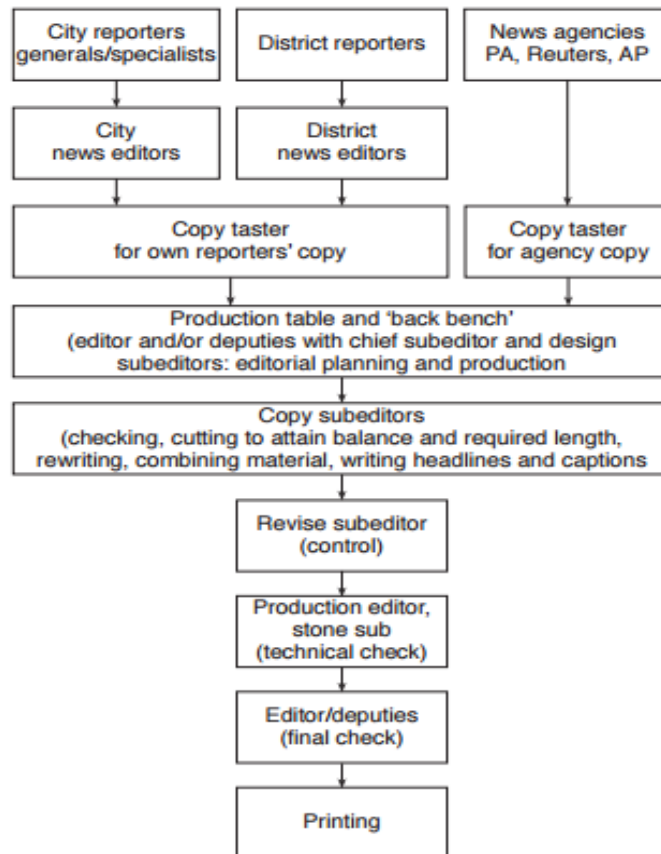
Figure 4 Copy flow in British regional dailies Birmingham Evening Mail[10]

'First, copy starts with a reporter, and then it might go to a chief reporter or a news desk. The news desk might rewrite it or revise it or ask for more information. Then it would be sent to the chief sub or the copy taster, who might then send it to a layout man to incorporate it into a page. Then it ends up in the hands of a text sub-editor who all too often sets about rewriting it again.... Back it goes to the chief sub or revise sub for a check and then at long last it will be dispatched to the typesetter. So each story was often handled five, six or even seven times' (Esser, 1998, p392-393).

What is known as "copy flow" starts with an organisation choosing to "cover" a

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[10] Figure from: Esser, F. (1998). Editorial Structures and Work Principles in British and German Newsrooms. *European Journal of Communication,* [Online]1998 (**13**): 393. Available from: < http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Frank_Esser/publication/238432201_Editorial_Structures_an d_Work_Principles_in_British_and_German_Newsrooms/links/00b7d53c18d4364132000000.pd f> 〔Accessed 21 December 2012〕.

particular issue – that is, choosing to allow information about that issue through an initial gate and to begin the flow towards its readers (Green, 1999). Within this kind of copy flow in the newsroom source will go through at least two filters, namely journalists and editors. At the first stage, the news source is selected by the journalists. Then at a number of points along the production process, a variety of journalists must make decisions about continuing or discontinuing the copy flow for each story (Green, 1999). Once the story is handed over to editors it enters the second stage of filter at this stage perhaps the most influential of gatekeepers are senior editorial employees-editors and sub-editors whose duty is to make decisions about which stories will get into the paper and what significance will be assigned to them. Green (1999) stated that 'copy tasters are a small subset of the editorial team in any newsroom, but that they clearly wield an enormous amount of influence in 'constructing reality' for a paper's audience and a paper relies on their judgment to an enormous extent in addressing its audience' (p23-24).

This style of copy flow apparently brings bottlenecks to different copy flow phases. As Morrish & Bradshaw (2012) pointed out 'imagine all those process (phases and logic of copy flow) happening at once; then how long does each task take, which jobs can be done simultaneously and who is under pressure at each stage? If you think about the timing of these activities, you should be able to see where production bottlenecks are likely to occur' (p201).

Schmidt (2013) stated that 'A **bottleneck** is a phenomenon where the performance or capacity of an entire system is limited by a single or limited number of components or resources' (p198). Bottleneck in the working process means limiting capacity and reducing the efficiency and capacity of the whole chain. Here, in the context of media study, a bottleneck refers to the stuck links in the copy flow. As the copy flow was designed by news format what then is the relationship between them, how does a bottleneck form during the work flow, that is the main concern to address in this section. Digital format or media convergence solved the crisis of inefficiency in

newspapers by changing the copy flow; in fact, the solution also brings the issue of quality management and the risk of quality deterioration.

3.1.1 Bottleneck Effect on News Values

In the traditional newsroom, the mechanical news routine sometimes makes journalists unclear about what is newsworthy (has news value) and what is not. Ryfe (2009) explained this problem in describing a reporter's routine at *The Daily Times*:

> 'They [journalists] attend to and become knowledgeable about the institutional activities that take place on their beats. They meet and gain the trust of individuals in these institutions. They digest information which is often technical in nature and make quick judgments about which of this information is newsworthy and which is not. They learn to write quickly and with accuracy about this information, and in ways that make it sensible to the ordinary person. Reporters rely on these routines – everything from making the rounds of public information officers to attending press conferences to negotiating with 'insiders' for information – to increase the likelihood that they will find enough stories to fill the newspaper every day. ……when reporters scan the variety of information they come across on their beats, **it is not always clear what is newsworthy and what is not'** (p671).

As the news value is the start point of copy flow, if either reporters or editors are confused about what is newsworthy, then the copy flow could get stuck in commission and briefing as well as the copy editing phases. Additionally, as the traditional news routine follows a mechanical fixed process, it makes it easy for a bottleneck to occur at any stage in the copy flow.

If we go back to look at the single story creation chart flow (see Chart 6), a bottleneck could happen when a reporter submits a draft to beat editor, or in the process of delivering to the copy editor and to the desk chief editor. A bottleneck may cause inefficiency by making each step go back to its last stage for additional revision or rejection.

With regard to a news story, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) point out that in the past newspaper stories were are often written in an inverted pyramid style, with facts listed in order of decreasing importance. 'Readers can stop after a few paragraphs, knowing that they've read the most important information; an editor can trim such stories from the bottom up to fit available space without having to rewrite the entire story' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p104).   This is because news value has changed over the last century. **In the past, news values depend on prediction by editors:**

'They predict what an audience will find appealing and important; and, in practice, they direct gatekeepers to make consistent story selections' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p106).

Therefore, in terms of news value, maybe it is not obvious that a bottleneck could appear at this point, however, like the very beginning of the copy flow, the judgment is the basic condition for the entire process.

After Gieber (1956) studied 16 Telegraph editors' work in Wisconsin, he found that traditional copy flow has several problems: For instance, perception of news values tended to be **vague**. For example, Editor B who worked for one daily newspaper in Wisconsin suggested that the copy routine was haphazard and in several situations, inside page wire copy was inserted serially without regard to news value (Gieber, 1956). In the traditional newsroom of News Agencies, based on this study, editors rely heavily on the press association whose news value will be their news value, in

other words AP set the news value for them. 'The wire editors accepted the AP as a reliable recommender of news and consistently used budget stories. The wire editors, working in a day-to-day frame of reference, rarely judged an item in the context of current events' (Gieber, 1956, p429).

As Gieber (1956) further points out, 'the editors in Wisconsin did consider their essential function to be that of providing the reader with "top news" of the day, however, the wire editors were little more than secondary recommenders.   Instead, the AP made the primary selection and the wire editors added whatever display cues were necessary before passing the stories on to the readers' (p430). Therefore, they were selecting items *about* specific groups, not what news did *to* or *for* the reader. The wire editors were not interested in providing news stories which explain the meaning of events. While in some newsrooms, news represents the editorial staff's judgment of the best and most important information of the day. Garzich (2001) pointed out that news is dropped on the reader's doorstep in such a manner that they have no control over the content; it is "pushed" on them.

Digital formats increasingly enable news values to be set by the audience through the introduction of social media (like Twitter, Blog, etc.).

3.1.2 Bottleneck Effect on News Selection

Although the literature review has suggested that the news format was formed by the news market; observations of journalistic routine suggest that traditional copy does not follow the market economic rules, but instead focuses on its own occupational and organizational considerations, without caring too much about the market or audience.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) found that studies of newsroom activity show that

occupational and organizational considerations far outweigh any constraints imposed by audience needs and interests. 'The low importance of audience-oriented routines in newswork can be seen in the attitudes of newsworkers toward their audience… Journalists write primarily for themselves, for their editors, and for other journalists' (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p111-112).

Additionally, in terms of **news selection** this dependency was mechanical and due to a lack attention about their reader or community. Wire editor F, a 27-year-old telegraph editor was dissatisfied with his job with his paper (8,000 Circulation) and disliked the community (Gieber, 1956). Some editor's news values were derived solely from years of experience on the desk rather than from any continuing contact within the community. The study of Gieber (1956) shows many editors lack contacts with the community; some editors even represented themselves as the 'voice of the newspaper' which reflected the conservative outlook of a prosperous but relatively isolated community. As a result, 'the reader, the ultimate consumer of the news, was not perceived clearly by most of the wire editors; some were not concerned whether or not the output of the wire desk was read by their audience' (Gieber, 1956, p431). During Gieber's interviews, some editors even confessed that they knew nothing about their readers and could only 'guess', and few editors bluntly said "I don't give a damn for the public" (1956, p431).

3.1.3 Bottleneck Effect on News Source

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) suggest that 'the media must obtain and process a "raw product" (news, comedy), usually obtained from "suppliers" (officials, playwrights) outside the organization, then deliver it to "consumers" (readers, viewers, and listeners)' (p104). According to the traditional news routine and copy flow discussed above, news sources come either from the beats in which the editors ask reporters to gather, or from some news agents such as wire editors and is cut from

other news source without much consideration of the audience.

According to Gieber's (1956) study, there are many problems revealed in the old newsroom: firstly, historically the most important drive in processing the news was getting the copy for newspaper. What concerned them most were the immediate details rather than the social arenas. They are the desk-bound and have little contact with the community.   Secondly, because news items coming from the AP and news values were elementary and broadly structured. The wire editor performs as a gatekeeper, but has become a mechanical robot when selecting news. Therefore, Gieber (1956) stated in the conclusion of his study that the wire editor at that time only focused on copy reading and editing. Thus, 'the selector or the real gatekeeper has become the press association and the wire editor evaluated the news according to what the AP sent him rather than having regular communications with their readers' (Gieber, 1956, p432).

Digitisation offers a wider range of news sources. The continual downward trend in newspaper circulation passes a strong message that the copytasters judgment could never meet the standards for any group. And the traditional copy flow is not suitable for the current demands for communication. Therefore, major newspaper groups, at least, have attempted to address the problem of bottleneck and try to define the needs and wants of their own organisation by integrating the newsroom.

3.1.4 Bottleneck effect on News Beats and Communication

Gillikin, J. (2011) stated that

'writers and columnists submitted their work as a Microsoft Word document, or as the body of an email. Section editors would put the work product in a special template in Word, then print it. The section editor would then mark up the printed piece, in any color except red or purple, then route it to the

copy chief. The chief would mark it up in purple, then route it to the editor in chief. The EIC would mark it up in red, and then return it to the section editor, who would then modify the Word document. Then, the section editor would draft a paper page dummy and get the EIC's approval. When the dummy was approved, the section editor would perform his own layout in InDesign, print the page, and then proof it in any color except red or purple. The proof went to the copy chief, then the EIC, and then back to the section editor for change entry. When the work was done, the section editor printed a final page proof, gave it to the EIC for an once-over, then put the InDesign file on a shared drive for the production manager. All marked-up copy had to flow with second-review pages, and then the final marked-up story went back to the writer to identify improvement opportunities.'[11]

We can see from the description above, there are eight section editors in one newsroom. Then one copy editor who functioned as managing editor without assignment duties and who along with the other editor in chief becomes the bottleneck in this organisation. And eight filters in sequence should be going through these two people, with the final the process having to be repeated twice which was the biggest complaint from the desks.

Traditional work routines not only bring about the problems of "bottleneck" which effects the production of news and work efficiency, but also block the communication between reporters and editors. The traditional newsroom was built around beats instead of sitting all together; the normal layout was different beats staff located in different layers of the building or different apartments and offices which resulted in difficult communication between each other and chaos when they need to cooperate.

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[11] Gillikin, J. 2011. Improving Newsroom Copy Flow. [online source]:
http://www.gillikinconsulting.com/2011/03/improving-newsroom-copy-flow/ [Accessed on]: 23rd,
Fed 2012.

Actually, in practical terms there are two areas of communication that are critical to mass media organisations. Green (1999) pointed out, firstly and most obvious is the mass communication between the organisation and its audience; the second is organizational communication between departments and between superiors/subordinates within the media organizations.

Generally, there are more than three layers between the editor and the copy-tasters. However, there could be even more organizational layers in some big newspaper groups. Therefore, it was easy for the copy flow process to hit a bottleneck.

In small newspapers, where the job of copy-tasting might be performed solely by department heads or staff in chief, the number of organizational layers can be reduced. However, even reduced the number and layers inside the organisation will not improve the chances of research recommendations being implemented unless other conditions occur. As Green (1999) further pointed out, one of those conditions is communication in the newsroom. Communication is the vital link that influences both individual motivation and group behavior in the newsroom.

One municipal reporter at the *Birmingham Evening Mail* said, 'There is no feeling among reporters that we should have a greater say in what's happening to our stories because it's not our job. I just provide my news editor with stories. And what he's doing with them is his job, not mine. I just report the facts' (Esser, 1998, p394).

3.1.5 Summary: Efficiency Problems of Traditional Copy flow

From fieldwork carried out in 2001 and 2004, Gillikin (2011) drew several conclusions about the efficiency of introducing digital copy flow:

- 'newsrooms should map the daily copy flow to identify potential **bottlenecks**;

- people are resistant to change until they see the benefits;

- electronic tools can make a huge difference in **efficiency**;

- **the editor** of each section should be allowed to **manage his own department** according to his prerogatives ;

- a copy flow improvement project cannot be successful unless there is a concurrent **quality improvement** project for the writers' .

This section has shown that studies of newsrooms have identified a number of efficiency and communication problems with traditional newsrooms which newspapers have attempted to address in developing digital newsrooms. Therefore, in addition to influences relating to changes in markets and formats, some of the changes in newsrooms are intended to address the existing problems with copy flow. In order to motivate staff, change the group behavior and encourage acceptance of change, an editor must communicate in a more effective way with his/her subordinates. Then in terms of copy flow and organizational layers it appears that the integrated newsroom is indeed needed.

3.2 Digital Newspaper Formats

The section above identified some of the efficiency problems of traditional copy flow. This section moves to look at the changes digitization has brought about in traditional logic and layouts of copy flow and the nature of the specialists' job. This section reviews the literature describing how newsroom digitisation has brought many significant changes to traditional newspapers in terms of news value, news source, news selection, journalist's work routines and news beats. It tries to show how newspapers have changed to develop digital copy flows to try to produce new digital formats as well as be more efficient.

3.2.1 Digital Formats and Copy Flow

From the point of view of Aviles and Carvajal (2008), there are three essential activities that take place within the value chain of any media business; information gathering, news production and content aggregation, as well as distribution. Newsroom convergence might be considered from each of these standpoints. This section attempts to describe digital copy flows using the same journalism studies terms used to describe traditional copy flow in chapter 2.

a. Digital Formats and News Market

In terms of the news market, digitization changed the way news is consumed. There are several main changes summarized below:

Firstly, new media changed the reading habit of readers which has had a significant influence on the mode of text transmission and presentation. In the traditional forms of spreading news, newspapers usually *pushed* the information to public. On the web, users *pull* in their information, choosing the news which they prefer. New media - web, mobile, pad, etc. - also depart from the printed newspaper in its scope of geography and time. These changes have pushed newspapers from their traditional role to become 24/7 content providers.

Secondly, due to the emergence of portable devices, new media allows different types of readers to personalize their news by customizing news content and navigating to a site or selecting particular topics and content areas, while carrying those in emails or portable devices. Because tablets, readers, wireless mobile devices and 3G technology are designed to be carried everywhere, they make reading news and listening to the radio a constant option. When the users connect to the internet, they will read anything which newspapers may provide continually online and updated 24/7 through the web. Readers can browse headlines and story summaries, and even full stories if they want to. Readers can select the types of news

or information they like and personalize the homepage or setup according to their own preferences.

Garzich (2001) pointed out that personalized news brings newspapers back into the push mode, but it allows readers to select what they want pushed to them. For example: 'MIT's experimental newspaper, FishWrap, goes beyond this premise by drawing from a large body of news sources, then creating a personalized, self-organizing news source for readers. FishWrap can be combined with the MIT Media Lab's PLUM, which adds relevant context to breaking news stories: A food of 250,000 acres of farmland in China is referred to AS if everything inside of Boston's Route 128 was under water' (Garzich, 2001, p7).   Together, they create a publication (News in the Future) that seems to individual reader as though it was written specifically with their preferences and background in mind.

Additionally, handheld devices present significant infrastructure challenges to newspapers because they encompass a wide variety of displays, which make the news more viewable on the terminal devices, and produce the news in a various form.

Newspapers have responded to digitisation by changing their news formats to provide news content to different devices. The new media and new receiving terminals allow newspapers to run continuously or to offer live coverage and analysis. It lets the newspaper depart from the print and go beyond the print to a multimedia platform.

Since mobile devices came out, newspapers have needed to be a content provider as well as radio and television in terms of online news presentation. If the traditional newspaper is still publishing in print only, after the emergence of the new media, they will find it is unable to survive and adapt to the new environment.

Multimedia forces the newspaper to move beyond print. The Telegraph's multimedia offers their services in both directions: Online and Offline. Readers are moving to the press; they use the online sources and services as well. Since 2007, TMG provides the main products and services: *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, and Telegraph.co.uk. Blackberry On The Go, Blogs, Desktop Alerts, E-mail bulletins, Mobile updates, Picture galleries, Telegraph audio, Telegraph PM, Your View, Telegraph TV and My Telegraph (Campbell, 2008). Unfortunately, 'the recent downsizing of some of our broadsheet papers has led to the death of the traditional front page picture; something that was always seen as the best way to sell the paper on the news-stand' (Franklin, 2008, p183).

Anders who work as executive editor of the Miami Herald (circulation: 240,000) pointed that in his newspaper, there are six products provided by current staffers in Herald newsroom: 'the print newspaper, the paper's website (miamiherald.com), an entertainment/leisure time site launched recently by the paper (miami.com), the local PBS station for which the Herald provides news content, a web-linked television operation owned by the paper and the Herald's instant news service' (PEJ, 2008, p16).

Swedish and British public service radio and TV have CMS (Content Management System) that 'give all journalists full access to content produced in the company, and which is used and reused indifferent formats, making it possible to increase output' (Witschge and Nygren, 2009, p44). Also, at regional newspapers, 'content is being reused in different titles and repurposed for web-TV and Radio' (Witschge and Nygren, 2009, p45).

Digitisation has therefore produced a number of pressures to organisation and has also offered news groups the potential to re-engineer their newsrooms to try to address the problems with copy-flow (bottleneck) addressed above. These are important reasons for the digital copy flow transformation which will be discussed in

the next sections.

The general rule is to offer multimedia content from flexible news gatherers, and to cover the news for different platforms through a 24/7 content provider; this will lead to new time schedules inside newsroom, including constant meetings instead of once a day.

b. Copy Flow- News Sources

Finding news sources becomes easier in the era of digitisation. The method of gathering information now is multiple through social media. The electronic nature of the World Wide Web and new technologies allow newspapers to use the tools to form of multimedia elements like video, audio, search engine and 360-degree photographs.

Reporters now gather news sources by using new media which means they can grab news material either personally or impersonally; new news formats change the concept that journalists must have a face-to-face interviews when gathering news, they have already switched to the role of flexible news gatherers.

Digitisation also allows audiences to become sources for stories. It is also gives reader a chance to get involved and talk back. For example, many newspapers publish a list of staff e-mail addresses on their sites, or include reporters' addresses with their stories. Some newspapers, however, provide staff information or even encourage reporters to set up their own Web pages. In this way, information could be come from many different channels.

Sometimes, even the readers themselves can become content providers. For instance, after the appearance of new media, the other major source of photographs for those newspapers will be the readers themselves (McCabe, 2008). As McCabe (2008) states, now everybody has a camera, albeit in a mobile phone, citizen photographers have already appeared.

Additionally, databases have become an important resource for both newspapers and readers. Computers have allowed reporters to search for relevant materials among large amounts of data on a website. Inside the newspaper, each news story can be saved as historical material in their database which can then provide for both the reporters and readers seeking relevant items. Or as a part of the business plan, those data can be reorganized and reused, and even be sold in the future.

However, convergence seems to have changed the situation with less **face-to-face** or **voice-to-voice communication** between reporters and their sources, with **email** filling the gap (Berkowitz, 2009). Pavlik (2004) pointed out **blogs** even indistinct the barrier between "who is journalism and who is a source". Finally, the practice of gathering **second-hand sources** from the internet has complicated questions about which source count and what degree of sourcing is sufficient (Berkowitz, 2009).

c. Copy Flow- News Values

As news formats have changed, accordingly, news values have had to adapt. Some traditional mind-sets have had to be amended or updated. It may be that the changes in format and news production practices described above are enabling changes to the news values of digital news. Firstly, in contrast with the traditional producing style, **new media has changed the way an individual recognizes and understands the external world**. News will eventually return to the way of individual-centered production and dissemination. Therefore, traditional news production seems to have failed in terms of providing more fresh and personalized variety to the audience, perhaps by always trying too hard to set the public agenda.

Differing from the traditional newspaper, **new media provides a platform for the interaction between readers and media by creating a personal news portal and social networks based on citizen journalism production and interactive modes of multimedia.** It has even established a monitoring and criticism system for the mainstream media organizations as well as a variety of value realization relationship

circles which largely compensate for the traditional transmission mode which often ignored communication with their audience.

Because of the importance of communication, therefore the convergence of the newsroom seems like necessary. 'If the messages are consistent with the audience's (uses and gratifications) needs, the audience will find them interesting and relevant, therefore they will continue to buy and read the newspaper in the future' (Green, 1999, p23). The traditional copy flow and newsroom layout seems to block the communication between departments inside the organisation and with their audience.

In summary, the right to news value judgment has been controlled by readers. New markets have formed a new conception that reader's interest is news value. The content which is present on different platforms is for producing different aspects of value. Therefore, the reporters and editor are working for the whole industry rather than work for the department; this requires them to have **newspaper-centric** thinking and news production-oriented thinking instead of only filling the gaps.

d. Copy Flow- News Selection

Because of the changes brought about by these new devices, there have also been changes in reporting in terms of deadline, news selection and so forth. There is an identity change for journalists and editors who are now content providers rather than gatekeepers. As for the selection of breaking news, content will now be selected and made fit into different devices and formats.   For example, newspapers need to make a headline or summary available for portable devices and then link to a full page or story on the Web, with an in-depth analysis in the print version. Therefore, the same event will be written in different ways for each device and should be judged slightly different in terms of information. For the newspaper, they need to put out their multiple versions of the same story in order to reach the entire range of devices (Garzich, 2001).

StarNet uses a similar level of involvement in what the print staff is doing. Bolton refers to 'the Web as extremely involved in the editorial planning process, spending at least two hours a day in newsroom meetings, discussing story plans and where stories are going to be placed' (*cited in* Garzich, 2001, p14).   Bolton stated that 'it's pretty time-consuming and a lot of times you'll sit through an hour meeting and the only useful part for us is five minutes out of that hour, but unless you're there, you miss it totally' (*cited in* Garzich, 2001, p14) .

Bolton also said that 'we try to get connected with the newsroom in the early planning stages, so we're able to, for instance, go out with the reporter on the interview and shoot some video or audio where that's warranted, and start the groundwork early on something that takes a while to do, like if a story needs a database with it' (*cited in* Garzich, 2001, p14).

To summarise, there has been a change in understanding about who is the gatekeeper. The new modes of news consumption have changed the role of news selection into a mixed gatekeeper. Agendas could formed by both reporters/editors and readers. Customers have the right to decide what they want to see in print. The platform should be a place for meeting the needs of readers.

e. Copy Flow- News Beats

Miro-quesada (2007) pointed out that 'media are evolving from a traditional hierarchical print newsroom where decisions follow a strong chain of command to online newsrooms that tend to be increasingly flexible' (p23). The digital news format no longer requires separated individual beats - in terms of news beats in the newsroom. Instead, a team from different areas is needed for comprehensive reporting and operation, creating an integrated newsroom formed of an integrated workflow/ copy flow and covering the news for different platforms. The general news copy flow (see in chart 9) can be summed as follows:
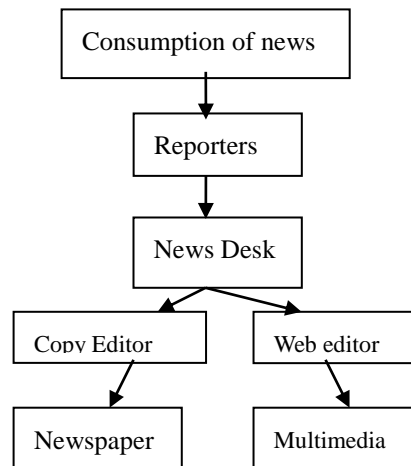
Chart 9 the general news copy flow

Reporters who are conducting multi-media reporting are referred to as "Backpack Journalists\Backpack Journalism"[12]. Backpack journalists need to provide news stories for different media platforms and some media groups now ask their staff to produce content both in text and digital versions for varies media terminals.

All newspapers need to be developed in the era of new media; therefore, new skills are necessary for current staff. 'Staff members, whoever responsible for the print and website, will need to have news judgment specific to different media. Similarly, knowledge of HTML and other technical issues become important for print staff in an integrated newsroom. Additionally, the ability to summarize a story effectively is highly useful for any staff member who will be assisting in new media output' (Garzich, 2001, p18).

At the same time, staff members may need to learn new styles of storytelling. News

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[12] "Backpack journalism" is the craft of one properly trained professional using a hand-held digital video camera to tell stories in a more immediate, more intimate fashion than is achievable using a team that includes camera person, sound person, correspondent and producer. "Backpack Journalists" do it all and in the field, shoots, acquires sound, produces, reports and interviews. Source from: Gentile, B. (2010). *Defining Backpack Journalism—Again*. [online] available from: http://billgentile.com/backpackjournalism/defining-backpack-journalism-again [Accessed 21 December 2011]

stories written for the Web are often created in "Chapters" or layers, which means that the traditional way of writing in an inverted pyramid doesn't necessarily work for today. As Harper (1996) pointed out that 'readers are able to move actively through a piece, selecting their reading experience through hyperlinks, rather than scrolling through a ream of text' (p18).

Newsroom integration changes journalists' work to some degree. Witschge and Nygren (2009) mainly focus on the change and adjustment of journalists work after newsroom convergence. They suggest that 'in most of Swedish journalism jobs advertised now, the demands are clear as the content analysis shows: you have to be able to work in different formats and to handle many types of technology. Journalists are already involved in most of the journalistic processes—many reporters are also editing for radio/TV or subediting the newspapers' (p44). Newsroom integration sounds like an ideal model for media organization, however, what does the change bring to the journalists and how do they adapt to the changing working environment? Witschge and Nygren (2009) further reported that 'British journalists expressed their concerns about multi-skilling for the quality of output. These negative attitudes towards multi-skilling may lie in the fact that it is mainly used by management to lower costs, and increase productivity rather than to provide journalists with new creative opportunities' (p44).

The introduction of digital news production systems altered the skills required of journalists —'they were asked to interview people, write quickly and deliver news stories before the deadline, however, now they are expecting to become more technically proficient and computer literate' (PEJ, 2008, p15). Journalists in the past needed to acquire essential skills like writing (normally in the inverted pyramid structure), oral communication and critical thinking. Compared to the traditional news production, 'reporters who once carried with them little more than a pencil, a notebook and their newspaper's first edition deadline time, are taking on new responsibilities at a dizzying pace' (PEJ, 2008, p16).

Other concerns from journalists include shifts in their professional identity, the changing culture, increasing workloads, extra skill requirements and working hours, job rotation, traditional mind-set & ideology, discomfort about sharing ideas, information or sources and over tension in some areas (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009; Deuze, 2008; Singer, 2004). Integrating different newsroom cultures has been the hardest part about convergence (Singer, 2004).

In the future, journalists may understand and comply with the logic of convergence. During the process of integration, however, training becomes an indispensable strategy for media organizations. Lack of training means fewer individuals can meet the new requirement of multi-platform reporting. In Singer's (2004) findings, 'journalists expressed the belief that they could readily handle the technology if only management would give them help in doing so—and free up time for them to learn' (p11).

3.2.2 Copy Flow-Daily Sequence

The 24/7 internet news cycle affects news routines and newsroom structures since newspapers need to adapt to the new time schedule. Miro-quesada (2007) states that at Le Monde's print version, 'the newsroom staffs meet once a day since they have a closing time and a daily deadline. On the other hand, Le Monde Interact staff obeys a different set of rules in which there are constant meetings (hourly ones) and staff has to be on duty anytime' (p24). Journalists work from website traffic data, 'more newsrooms now target de facto deadlines to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes, including 6-7am (as people wake up), 8:30-9am (as they get to work), around 11:30am (before they go to lunch) and around 2pm (when they return from lunch)' (PEJ, 2008, p18-20). However, with the increase of communication channels, today's editor also needs to consider where the news story goes, and to make the same content available through different channels.

3.3 Copy Flow – Newsroom Physical Layout

When the J-W (Journal-World, 6News and World Online) designed the new News Centre, the first thing they changed was the desk distribution in the News Centre – 'there are no more pods or seating together by beats, reporters- whether they are print or TV- now sit at any desk, there is no division by beat or by medium' (Miro-quesada, 2007, p76).

Newsrooms have traditionally been built around sections inside the media organization. The work routine is all about **newspaper-centric thinking** and **news production-oriented thinking**.

Studies of the introduction of digitisation have begun to show how newsrooms have encountered problems in dealing with the demands of online audiences and have further highlighted some of the problems identified with the traditional way of organizing copy-flow in the newsroom. The traditional layout of a newsroom was gradually unable to adapt to the new production methods of the newspaper. For example, there is a case from scholar Garzich (2001), the Rocky Mountain News.com wanted to find a way to cooperate with their colleges in the newsroom, even though they feel awkward sitting in different offices.

Noe believed that, due in part to physical location, online and print staffs are located on two floors of the same building (*cited in* Barometer, 2008). Currently, members of the online staff will go to print editorial meetings looking for opportunities and places to send a digital reporter (Barometer, 2008). Noe hoped the editorial part of online will eventually be in the same area as the print side (*cited in* Barometer, 2008).

Reporters write their stories at computer terminals at the same time the articles are spread through different sorts of devices. Stories are edited on computers and printed on papers, read on mobiles, and portable devices. As we enter into the era of new

media, our ways of seeking for information have already changed. Moreover, all those changes lead newsrooms from separation to integration in order to cooperate with the digital copy flow.

The Daily Telegraph Convergence Journey is an IFRA special report which conducted empirical research on TMG's newsroom integration process. Campbell (2008) states that before the integration of the newsroom in TMG their editors' conferences used to be held in 'rooms away from the action' (p4), now they sitting together and thinking multimedia all the time. After the integration, now TMG runs a 20-hour newsroom with the earliest staff arriving at 6 a.m. and the latest departing at 2 a.m.

Aviles and Carvajal (2008) also analyse the workflow of two media newsrooms in Spain: Novotecnica's newsroom operates in a flexible way with a flexible organizational structure. The news desk is at the heart of the whole system and takes charge of managing the news flow in order to provide information for different platforms such as the radio station, the television station and the newspaper with one assistant editor, one deputy assistant editor and four editors-in-chief in the duty of supervising all the assignments and stories. La Verdad's multimedia strategy is based on two separate buildings with the main convergence activity developed through the newspapers website. Obviously, newsroom integration, whether structurally or in news gathering, is a strategy for media organizations to increase their market share and fight competition.

The changing logics of news flow mean that the newsroom has to change its layout otherwise the logic remains frozen in specialist job types. Therefore, the integrated structure of the newsroom is aimed a pulling elements together so that the logic becomes separate from the physical job title.

Increasingly, UK newspapers have changed their organisation to try to overcome

problems which were brought about by traditional logic and to respond to the challenges of media convergence. At the information-gathering level, integrated newsrooms cover the news for different platforms and share information with their counterparts. There have been a number of academic and industry studies of the structural convergence of newsrooms. Researchers have dealt with diverse issues connected to newsroom integration from newsroom design and content management to journalists' management.

Summary: Comparing Traditional and Digital Formats and Copy Flow

Based on the description above, traditional news copy flow was influenced by logic and layout in aspects of news source, news value, news selection and news beats. The changes in technology and newspaper market led to dramatic changes to these processes.   The main differences are listed as follows:

News Format	Traditional Logic of Copy Flow	Digital Logic of Copy Flow
News Value /Story Ideas	House style (Journalists & Editors Follow rules of Organization) - Newspaper-centric thinking - Story ideas from reporters & editors: lack of communication with readers - Content only for paper	House style, but each platforms have different aspects of the same news story: - Multimedia thinking - Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest - Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms
News Source	According to news value (House style) to meet the requirements of a newspaper format: - News information from reporters & editors - Editors fill the gaps in page layout	According to news value (House style), but meet the requirements of platforms: - The method of gathering information is multiple through social media - Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) provider
News Selection	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (editor & reporter)** for filling the gaps	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: - Fitting into different devices - Adjusting in multimedia formation which

		changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper
News Beats	**Linear:** ● Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats**, division of labour **geographically** ● Decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles)	**Non-linear:** ● Multi-skilling, Teamwork, user generated center ● Centralized structure (Integrated layout, news hub, open working space)

Working Phases	Traditional Copy Flow	Digital Copy Flow
Planning	Fixed morning/evening meeting around newspaper deadline	Constant meetings (hourly ones), staff has to be on duty anytime (Miro-quesada, 2007)
Commissioning & Briefing	**Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow**: ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists ● Certain skills	**Web-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals (PEJ, 2008) with **rolling workflow**: ● **Rolling** working time 24/7 hrs; ● **Multiple** tasks: content provide for multiple platforms. ● Advanced skills: interview, write & deliver quickly, more technically proficient & computer literate
Copy Editing	**Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline	Content **Product- oriented**: ● editors fit same content into several news production & delivering to different channels ● target de facto deadlines (to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes)
Design & Art Proof	One style for newspaper	● individual-centered production & dissemination ● interaction mode (personal news portal, social networks)

Table 6 traditional and digital formats and copy flow

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This research examines media integration in the UK and China, choosing two Chinese newspaper groups as cases for comparative study.   The study will analyse the convergence strategies of these Chinese groups in reference to an role model of convergence developed from a literature review of studies of media convergence in the UK – in particular the Telegraph Media Group (TMG), the Guardian and the Times. The literature review will focus on the following two parts: digital news format and newsroom copy flow. The model will form the basis for empirical research and comparative study in two Chinese Newspaper groups.

Specifically the research sets out to:

- Establish the characteristics, causes and consequences of different models of convergence;
- Explore the ideal and real newsroom for the future;
- Compare UK and Chinese media groups' integrated structures;
- Evaluate these models in the context of their ability to deliver the aims of different convergence strategies for Chinese media groups.

4.2 Research Questions

This study will attempt to answer the following main research questions:

- RQ1: How was news produced before digitisation (in more detailed terms I express this as: what were the traditional news formats and copy flows of newspapers?)

- RQ2: How is news produced following digitisation (what are the digital news formats and how does copy flow in today's newspapers?)

- RQ3: How have the UK and Chinese newspapers reacted to the challenges of convergence?

- RQ4: What are the similarities and differences between them?

- RQ5: What aspects can Chinese newspapers learn from UK models?

Specifically speaking:

RQ1: How was news produced before digitisation?

- In order to answer this question, Chapter 2 looks at two types of literatures: firstly classic 'journalism studies' literature, and secondly descriptions of industry practice, from conferences, industry journals and "how to write news" books.

- By combining these two types of literatures and using the analytical disciplines of classic journalism studies literature and the detail of industrial literature to give a complete description of how news was traditionally made.

- Chapter 2 gives a description of pre-digital news formats and copy flow in Anglo-American newspapers, as well as how news format, copy flow and news beats link with each other based on literature study.

RQ2: How is news produced following digitisation?

- To answer this question chapter 3 develops a model which tries to show, based on a literature review, how market changes, digital formats and copy flow are linked.

- Chapter 3 gives a historical literature study on what are the digital news formats and how does copy flow in today's newspapers?

RQ3: How have the UK and Chinese newspapers reacted to the challenges of convergence?

- To answer this question Chapter 5 and 6 give the results of an empirical research investigation into each case of newspapers by looking at their digital news formats and copy flow. The chapters describe the UK newspapers and then the Chinese newspapers according to the integration model they use in the newsroom.

RQ4: What are the similarities and differences between them?

- The answer to this question is the conclusions of that are based on the findings of RQ1, 2 & 3.

- A conclusion (chapter 7) comes from comparing the *Southern Metropolitan Newspaper* and *Guangzhou Daily'* convergence strategies in terms of newsroom and copy flow with UK models.

RQ5: What aspects can Chinese newspapers learn from UK models?

- The answer to this question is the conclusions of the whole study based on the findings of RQ1, 2, 3 &4. This chapter is not just the academic findings of the data and the model, but also the empirical findings which don't seem to fit the model. This shows the limitations of the study, because no study can cover all things. This chapter is also about the recommendations of the Chinese newspapers if they want to develop convergence in the future.

4.3 Research Methodology: Ideal Type and Case Study

4.3.1 The Ideal Type

An ideal type is an analytical tool that serves the researcher as a measuring tool to ascertain similarities and deviations in concrete cases. Most importantly the Ideal Type provides a primary method for comparative study.

According to Max Weber (1968), abstract laws of the natural sciences would not work in the study of society. Therefore, Weber created a new form of concept which he called the Ideal Type. When Weber (1949) studied the phenomenon itself in various cultures and historical epochs, he found that industrial capitalism functioned best where individually rational factors were present in the economy in society. Then Weber put these elements together into a logically consistent whole (an ideal type) which develop as a measuring or interpreting model for researchers.

For this reason, and in accordance with the main purpose of my study, and to avoid abstract illustration, the best way to explain it is to form an Ideal Type for the model. Then, use this ideal type as a measure or interpretation to further conduct the comparison study. To be specified, Ideal Type is the methodological meaning of Role model, which is based upon the review of literature from chapters Two and Three. Further, the UK role model on digitization will develop in Chapter Five which used to apply it to Chinese case studies. The Ideal Type is laid out in Table 6 (chapter 3).

The ideal type is a methodological analysis structure for the copy flow strategy of each newspaper group (Weber, 1949). Through this analysis, I can compare the ideal with the empirical reality. As the reality is complex and contains a range of diverse experiences, including countless relationships and events, it is impossible to exhaust all the characteristics and conditions of researcher. Therefore, Ideal Type can reduce the experience to a pure concept which helps me to form the role model in case studies.

The Ideal Type is also a perfect example of the mindset logic which is not a copy and facsimile of empirical reality, nor an arbitrary fiction, but a comprehensive construction (Weber, 1949). The ideal type of my study is based on experience and extensive review of the literature. According to Weber's Ideal Type, there is essentially a four-fold process for the type:

a. **Differentiation**. This is the process of becoming aware of details in what was until then an undifferentiated general experience.

b. **Integration**. This is the process of systematically putting together parts of earlier experiences that have become sufficiently differentiated to stand out, and that can be related to each other in various ways.

c. **Abstraction**. This is the process by which characteristics of reality are separated from specific objects and recognized as qualitative aspects of many different situations.

d. **Generalizations**. This process involves the picking out of a large number of experiences with significant common meanings that persist and seem not to by change by additional experience[13] (UALR).

These characteristics are put together into a consistent, logical whole. Thus, the characteristics are "taken away" from the object or action and combined with others which form an ideal type as well as a method.

During my research, I will try to use the principles and practice of the Ideal Type combined with case studies to abstract the fundamental characteristics of each research item, and form a logical copy flow chart (Role Model) for each newspaper group.

Based on the literature review, the diagram specifies the levels of newsroom convergence and the sub-units of analysis which can be used to collect empirical data from Chinese News Organisations and compare their strategies, practices and results to that of the UK experience.

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13 UALR. *Weber's Ideal Type.* [online] University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Available from: <http://www.ualr.edu/jdrobson/idealtype.htm> {Accessed 13th Nov, 2012}.

4.3.2 Case Study

The case study method is another common qualitative research technique for social science. A case study 'uses as many data sources as possible to systematically investigate individuals, groups, organizations, or events' (Roger D & Joseph R, 2000, p124). For my Ph.D. project, I will study convergence strategies in two organisations in China who have already conducted the integration practice in their newsroom and layout.

To select the case studies I used the Chinese Media Convergence Pioneer List (report, 2010), selecting The *Southern Metropolis Daily* (ranked 5th, named 2nd among newspaper groups) and *Guangzhou Daily* (nominated 3rd as one of the first batch of practitioners). These two Chinese news organizations are a good test of the ability of the conceptual model to explain changes in news production because of their different formats and different ways in which market changes would affect each organization. This enables formulating and testing a hypothesis about how the two companies differ. For instance, the *Southern Metropolis Daily* tends to adopt a digital format that is close to the UK quality papers and its newsroom convergence strategy should be more similar to *the Guardian* and *the Telegraph*. *Guangzhou Daily* is more likely to choose the partly integrated model like *the Times* and *Daily Mail*'s. For this reason, these two Chinese cases are suitable cases to test the hypothesis that different news formats are associated with different types of copy flow and news production.

Additionally, based on the literature review, the diagram specifies the level of newsroom convergence and the sub-units of analysis which can be used to collect empirical data from Chinese News Organisations and compare their strategies, practices and results with UK models.

In each section, the Chinese company case studies will be compared to the convergence strategy of the model of media convergence in the UK:

a. comparing news formats with UK cases in terms of news value, news source, news selection and news beats.

b. comparing the digital copy flow with UK cases, what strategies did newspaper use to match its digitisation change.

c. analysing the differences and similarities in terms of news formats and digital copy flow between Chinese and UK cases.

4.4 Research Methods

This research employs a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to identify and measure the data relating to the research questions according to the model. Field observation and interviews are used to explore the newsroom design including the physical structure and copy flow. Field observation carried out over a period of two weeks for each media group will follow the daily work of covering news stories, staff training as well as attending editorial meetings. It was also possible to attend the planning meetings around big events and major news stories, such as political events or scandals, to observe how they carry out the integration and cooperation in the planning report.

My research data was collected during a period of 6 months between February 2013 and April 2014. The data collection process consisted of two stages: first using the literature review and methodological meaning (role model) of the Ideal Type to investigate the copy flow in the historically in both the UK and China. The second stage is focused on the convergence strategy in contemporary newspaper groups in the UK and China, which involved in-depth interviews and field observations. I will explain the details of each method I used in practice later in this chapter.

4.4.1 Field Observation

Although field observation is rarely used in mass media research, - Cooper *et al*,

found that 'only 2% of all published studies from 1965 to 1989 relied on observation - observation is useful for collecting data and for generating hypotheses and theories' (*cited in* Roger & Joseph, 2000, p111). Some field observation studies carried out in the area of mass media have showed the great outcomes. For instance, Gieber's (1956) classic study of gatekeeping in the newsroom and Epstein's (1974) description of network news operations in 11 Swiss radio stations.

For this reason, the choice to use field observation as one of the principal methods is based on the assumption that is a useful method to understand daily operations more fully and the copy flow at each newspaper group. In addition, field observation is a good way to gather information without too much interruption by the observer. For this study field observation was conducted at the Guardian Media Group in November 2012, Southern Metropolis Newspaper Group in February 2013 and April 2014, Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group in March 2013 and April 2014, the Times in December 2012, The Telegraph in December 2012 and November 2013, and the Daily Mail in November 2012. The outcomes are significant. In some of newspaper groups, I got the chance to talk to each editor in newsroom one by one and at some newspapers I was able to conduct in-depth interviews with their journalists and editors.

4.4.2 In-depth Interviews

Although I used the field observation as the main method to gather the original materials, producing qualitative data is often associated with the use of interview guides. In order to understand the strategy in details, during the data collection period I used both standard structured interviews and semi-structured interviews. In order to standardize the interviews, using an interview guide means that the wording and order of questions were the same for each respondent (Clive, 2004). In a personal interview, all respondents are usually asked the same issues in terms of investigated items. At the same time, part of the interview is structured with a set of questions

asked sequentially while other parts are unstructured and are designed to explore the views of the interviewee in detail or in the event that more information was given by interviewees.

Interviews included semi-structured interviews with selected staff in each media, and in-depth interviews with the officer who directly participated in the planning, implementation and guidance of the process of integration in their organisations. The interview plan sample was as follows:

Table 8 Interviewees plan at Sothern Metropolis Daily, Guangzhou Daily and the Guardian

Sothern Metropolis Daily	Guangzhou Daily	The Guardian
Chief editor **Gou Ye**	Chief editor **Wang Jun**	Managing editor, guardian.co.uk **Sheila Pulham**
Copy editor of Guangzhou Edition **Mo Li**	Copy editor of Guangzhou Daily **Wang Jun**	Web news editors Rebecca **Allison/Jonathan Haynes**
		Editor's morning conference
one deputy editor and three journalists: **Mo li** **Zhang YanFen**	one deputy editor and **three journalists** **Tangnan**	Community manager **Laura Oliver**
		Data journalist **Simon Rogers**
		Media & technology editor **Dan Sabbagh**
Head of department of Human Resource **Chun Zhang**	Department of Human Resource	Editor of environment guardian.co.uk **Adam Vaughan**
Business Development Sector	Strategic operation department	Blogs producer **Paul Owen**
Chairman of South Press Media Group (**Fan YiJin**)	Chairman of Guangzhou Daily	network production editor **Celine Bijleveld/Jon Casson**
Chief editor **Gou Ye**	**Web editor**	Media & technology editor **Dan Sabbagh**
Ex-Chief-editor Fan YiJin	**Dai YuQing**	Community manager **Laura Oliver**
Multimedia strategy department	Marketing development	Managing editor **Lis Ribbans**

Additionally, in terms of the analysis of the UK cases I used both field observations and interview when visiting British Newspaper groups in London, including, *the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror* and *the Times*. During the visits, I chose to sit aside and to listen to the reports from chief editor or department editors. If possible I also used face-to-face interviews to ask questions to the editors in charge and staff. Although, it would be preferred, especially in terms of getting marketing numbers and data, it was difficult to acquire this often complicated and confidential, commercial information. This research is still trying hard to give a whole landscape of the developing status of newspaper in UK.

4.5 Limitations

The main concerns are twofold. Firstly, it appears no one has used Ideal Type to study the business model of media, nor used it to analysis such a complex issue in media studies field. Therefore, the choice of this method itself is a bold attempt which is also a risk in terms of its applicability, reliability and science.

The other concern relates to the UK case studies, especially the interviews. The first reason for that is the opportunities for accessing to media groups are more than enough since the media landscape in UK is changing all the time, I would like to spend a month-long observation on each newspaper group, however, I only got two or three days to attend editorial meetings and talked to some editors in 2012. And also I had an opportunity to revisit those newspapers again in 2013 and spent one day in each group. Therefore, it would not be able to represent the whole picture of media in UK in limited time and space.

Secondly, the depth of the contact is not enough, either as observers or interviews. Such as when I try to contact with such issues in the areas of operations and data, people often do not directly answer the question, or due to commercial secrets, could

not answer. This makes it difficult for this paper to reveal the whole story. Only the staffs at the frontline were able to provide vital marketing data and sources.

Additionally, there might be many people engaged in researching the field of media integration, but scholars who have undertaken cross-regional media business model comparisons are minimal. Although this paper is innovative in this way, it also presents challenge. Limitations are seen in the literature review due to very limited resources and related studies, which adds a lot of difficulties for this paper.

Chapter 5 UK Case Studies: Newsroom Convergence in Four UK Newspapers

The earlier chapters have conducted the review of the literature and shown the lack of unity in a way to analyse and understand newsroom convergence. This chapter uses the model to analysis the cases of newsroom convergence in the UK newspapers and tries to show how the UK newspapers have changed from the traditional to the digital newspaper and how the market changes and the strategy have been part of the changes in the formats and the copy flow and the newsroom physical layout.

This chapter is based on interviews and observation of UK newspapers and also articles of academics and industry professionals and on secondary data about the papers. The whole chapter has been divided into three sections: section one analysis content market, news formats and copy flow of *the Guardian*; section two is about *the Telegraph*; the last section combines *The Times* and *Daily Mail*. And at the end of each section, there shows each newspaper's Role Model in tables to explain how the model helps understand the changes to the formats and the copy flow.

5.1 The Guardian and Digital Guardian: A Case of Integration and Convergence at Strategy Level

5.1.1 Content Market and News Formats at the Guardian

This section and the next will check if the marketing and news format of the Guardian are the two main reasons for it to launch the media convergence strategies and change to the digital copy flow inside the group.

a. Content Market

As chapter 1 showed, with the rising of new technology, readership has been divided by new reading methods which has caused the formation of new reading habits and markets. Traditional newspapers found that they lost profits year on year. The newspaper market saw a significant decline in terms of newspaper print circulation sales and print advertising revenues according to Nel (interview, 2013). As media convergence has already become a modern trend all over the world, British media such as *The Financial Times* (FT), *Daily Telegraph* (TMG), *the Times*, *Daily Mail* (DM), BBC and Sky News TV began to explore the road of media convergence in 2002.

For *The Guardian*, Elisabeth Ribbans[14] (interview, 2012), the previous manager editor in GNM, suggested that the Guardian has experienced five-years of consecutive loss since 2005. The current market has already changed the way of consumption, reading habits, news formats, news flows and the operation of the newspaper.

Guardian News & Media (GNM) announced itself as a digital-first organization in 2011. GNM, publisher of the Guardian, has revealed plans to become a digital-first organization and placing **open journalism** on the web as its key strategy. As Andrew Miller, chief executive of parent company Guardian Media Group (GMG) said in 2011, "We are going to become a digital-first organization, and are at the beginning of a process of transformation to achieve that. The quality of our journalism, our long-term outlook, and the assets in GMG's portfolio, our unique ownership structure, our progressive approach to digital media and our fantastic people mean we can do this from a position of strength" (GNM Press, 2011).

The new strategy was 'a response to changes affecting the entire media sector, which

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[14] Elisabeth Ribbans, the previous manager editor in GNM, interviewed on Media Change in the Guardian on 13th Nov, 2012. London: the Guardian, King's Place.

has seen rapid growth in digital audiences, but also financial challenges for newspaper publishers' (GNM press, 2011). Alan Rusbridger said that the change in strategy was in response to 'inexorable trends' in media consumption (GNM Annual Report, 2012). Andrew Miller once said 'this major transformation at the newspaper including lifting digital revenues from an expected £47m in the 2011 financial year to £91m in 2015/16, as the Guardian and Observer lost £33m in cash terms in 2010, the chief executive of GMG committed the newspaper group to a "digital-first" strategy in which digital revenues would double to nearly £100m by 2016' (Sabbagh, 2011). At same time, the new strategy is aimed at further digital growth, and guaranteeing the Guardian's long-term financial sustainability. 'The company has already consistently led the way on digital innovation and showed year on year growth of 40 %' (GNM Press, 2011).

To a large extent, the market change was a big reason for the transformation of the Guardian. It was the initial drive force for the GNM, who invested large amounts of capital to support the transform of the whole media group in Kings. Now they have to maintain the newspaper market for their loyal audience, meanwhile, promoting online markets and improving new media business which is the market for the new Guardian.

Ribbans mentioned that journalists used to work in different buildings and spread everywhere on different floors, this result showed that it did not work out for us (interview, 2012). Therefore, at the end of 2008, the Guardian moved from their old Fleet Street premises to their new offices at Kings Place and started a new chapter in GNM's history by facing the multimedia market and transforming into a 24/7 international media business.

In addition, GNM also created a new intranet called "Spike", which could let staff access all the details they needed to know about their new building, with information updated almost daily. The site included a video walk through of the new building,

photos, frequently asked questions and the chance to post their own questions (Dempster, 2009). This new intranet went on to play a central role in keeping staff informed and engaged, with regular traffic to the site up by almost 100 percent since the new site launched (Dempster, 2009). According to Dempster GNM launched a network of plasma screens all around their new offices in Kings Place, which can publish messages, promote internal events and activities and highlight news stories that appear on Spike (2009). It seems that Spike in GNM is both a platform for internal communication and content distribution channels by providing information clues.

Picture 1 Homepage of GNM's intranet "Spike"[15]

b. News Formats

Media Convergence Strategy:

a. Multimedia operation, running news story with different point of time;

b. The Strategy of "Open Newslist to Newsdesks Live": readers engage in editorial decision-making process;

c. cut the length to fit it in for different platform, make readers read it as soon as possible.

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[15] Picture from: Dempster, N. (2009). *Guardian News and Media: Moving onwards and upwards*. 〔online〕 Available from: <http://news-business.vlex.com/vid/guardian-media-moving-onwards-upwards-67903851> 〔Accessed 05 May 2012〕.

In terms of the **news formats**, *the Guardian* belongs to the category of serious (or 'quality') newspapers, which target more traditional readers.

As Alan Rusbridger (GNM Press, 2011), editor-in-chief of GNM, told his employees that digital-first strategy took GNM beyond the newspaper, shifting its focus, effort and investment towards digital which would not only change the way in which journalist and editors worked, but would also transform the **mode of operation.** Rusbridger said: "Every newspaper is on a journey into some kind of digital future. That doesn't mean getting out of print, but it does require a greater focus of attention, imagination and resource on the various forms that digital future is likely to take" (GNM Press, 2011).

For GNM, the digital-first strategy refers to the major transformation of GNM from a print-based organization to one that is "digital-first in philosophy and practice".

Traditionally, the first edition of the newspaper comes out in the morning. However, Haynes found through his research that actually more people buy, on their way home or read at dinner. So he said the Guardian needed to think about how it changes the publishing time to one which is more suitable for the current reading habits of the market (interview, 2012). In addition, previously the paper will finish at the end of the day, so it can go the next very early in the morning. However, this is now very tricky. Haynes explained that "on the website we have a certain deadline for when we publish. Not for the paper, because of the Kindle or the iPad edition. So there are all these kinds of different outlets, but they have different requirements in terms of when we get the copy out" (interview, 2012).

The company said this 'new strategy would involve changes to its newspapers over time as print remained critical to GNM and investment in **digital initiatives** such as a new US operation based in New York and new mobile offerings' (GNM Press, 2011). GNM is still expanding into America and continuing to pioneer what they call 'open

journalism-editorial content which is collaborative and linked into and networked with the rest of the web' (GNM Press, 2011). The Guardian also changed the printed Monday to Friday newspaper to take account of changing patterns of readership and advertising, because of half the Guardian's readers read the paper in the evening, getting their breaking news form guardian.co.uk or mobile (GNM Press, 2011).

There is some evidence of success with the GNM's digital formats. According to the GNM Annual Report 2012, 'in May 2011, guardian.co.uk reached more than 50 million monthly unique browsers and 2.8 million daily unique browsers globally; … the latest figures show the Guardian's iPhone app has been downloaded more than 400,000 times and has generated 67,000 active subscriptions since relaunching in January, 2011; the Guardian.co.uk has seen access from mobile devices more than double in the last year to reach over 10% of its total traffic' (GNM Press, 2011).

Among this digital first strategy, the main point is that all content goes online first. However, the online source is totally free for audience, so why did the Guardian chose this strategy?   Haynes said they want as many people to read their journalists as soon as possible (interview, 2012). So the Guardian made it completely free for that reason. Also, they think that area of advertising is still the Guardian's best bet. So if *the Financial Times* were all straight journal when they did unique content which it can help them to make good cases to charge for it. For the Guardian, "because it is the whole general news we don't think people will be prepared to pay" (Haynes, interview, 2012).

The Guardian online aims at the same type people as the newspaper, in other words, they are in the same format. "Some of our competitors, such as the *Daily Mail*, their content are different between online and paper. For us, the content is the same. Online audience is younger. For the newspaper is more traditional, on the whole is teachers, those professional people who used to the Guardian" (Haynes, interview, 2012). Therefore, now there are about 3.8 million readers of the Guardian online

everyday which ranks second in the UK just after the Mail online. Globally, Haynes believes the Guardian is the fifth biggest English newspaper website as well as the third largest English newspaper in the world.

In practice, the Guardian online does see a large amount of audience gather around either individual writers or serious topics. Laura Oliver, Community Manager, once assessed the blog:

> *"They [Blogs] are very popular I don't have the exact figure with me. The most popular probably are daily blogs on the Euro-zone, the Business Crisis, our Politics' blog. And I think the part of the reason those blogs are so popular is: one, there are very topical things alive every day. They are very fast moving. And secondly, they [editors] all think of them [readers], they [readers] usually the same person most of the time, and our readers really see them [editors] as a focal point. ……Some of them [editors] they [readers] do listen to them, they [readers] ask question all the day, and they are very close and very loyal to that person [editor]. And this is the part of reason they [blogs] are so successful. So when we ask our readers for feedback on the blog, we get great response. So we ask them for ideas. Because they all treat that blog is very responsive. It is kind of fit that behaviour. So that probably makes it very popular in terms of news."[16]*

5.1.2 Copy Flow at the Guardian

a. *News Values – Open Journalism-News Sources*

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[16] [18] Laura Oliver, Community Manager in GNM, interviewed on Digital platform in the Guardian on 13th Nov, 2012. London: the Guardian, King's Place.

According to **news values** and **news sources**, journalists still prefer to gather information on first hand. Ribbans (interview, 2012) still believes that their reporters are a group of people with a pioneering spirit. However, with the development of the website and live-blog, journalists and editors found that it is a new and quite useful tool for information collection. At the same time, Ribbans suggested that they want to know what is the audience favorite interests and how could they do to satisfy their customers (interview, 2012). Therefore, the use of new media to interact with their readers might be a best way of both benefits for each other.

Now, *the Guardian* sees the live blog as a great way of gathering **news sources** and interacting with their audience, as well as a great new media product. Elsewhere on the site *the Guardian* has a very popular blog, a very long-running music site which consists of a very simple blog where readers recommend music which is very well received to the editors. Oliver noted that readers like recommending some things and those really well (interview, 2012). Therefore, in her eyes, it is completely different and very successful.

b. *News Selection*

The Digital First Strategy at GNM means that *the Guardian* requires everything to be published online first. There is paper editor and website editor who are responsible for thinking about how the stories work on those platforms. The paper editor chooses those they want and some of those pieces selected for the newspapers.

News selection has been influenced by "Open Journalism" **news values**. In October, 2011, the Guardian opened up its newslists to the public to let readers get in touch with their reporters and editors via Twitter and have an open newsdesk trial. Dan Roberts, the national news editor of *the Guardian* said "*the Guardian* was not the only newspaper to conduct such an experiment of opening up the news coverage" (interview, 2012). 'A Swedish regional newspaper called Norran has already been successfully using a blog and Twitter to engage readers in a conversation about the

editorial decision-making process' (Roberts, 2012). By conducting this experiment the Guardian's ask itself several questions: 'What if readers were able to help newsdesks work out which stories were worth investing precious reporting resources in? What if all those experts who delight in telling us what's wrong with our stories after they've been published could be enlisted into giving us more clues beforehand? What if the process of working out what to investigate actually becomes part of the news itself?' (Roberts, 2012). The Guardian launched an experiment in open journalism by publishing Daily Newslists of upcoming stories in October, 2011, by publish a carefully-selected newslists (national, international and business) on a daily blog in order to 'encouraged readers to get in touch with reporters and editors via Twitter if they had ideas to contribute' (GNM Press, 2011).

According to Dan Roberts (2012), the Guardian's approach is to allow readers to see what the reporters and editors were working on before publication so the readers could make suggestions or point out things that the staffs were missing.

Then alongside the newslist, the editor also began publishing the names of reporters assigned to cover each story, including the reporters' Twitter addresses, ensuring that readers could easily to get in touch with individual journalists. However, there is also remained a number of limitations, 'readers must use a simple grid and 140 characters to communicate all the complexities of the day's news with to outside audience' (Roberts, 2012). At the same time, the Guardian kept the list up which is updated automatically from their internal spreadsheet. However, the editors would not release their exclusives or embargoed content as well as 'being careful not to say anything legally sensitive or unsubstantiated' (Roberts, 2012).

'Everything from upcoming press conferences to stories we need help uncovering' (Roberts, 2012). There may be lots of routine things in the Guardian newslist that need responses from their readers in the future. Dan Roberts (2012) use a recent example 'If readers can see that we've got a reporter looking into the police killing of

someone with a Teaser, they might be able to direct us to other recent deaths or the definitive report on their safety risks'.

In the year of 2012 alongside experimenting with the open newslist the Guardian decided to start an experiment with Newsdesk Live, which they see as the logical next step. Newsdesk Live is based on the Guardian's live blogging platform and hosted by Polly Curtis, an experienced Guardian journalist who has successfully pioneered open journalism through the Reality Check Blog (Roberts, 2012).

Newsdesk Live incorporates the open news list, but also features a live comment thread allowing readers to discuss what is going on directly rather than having to do so via Twitter (Roberts, 2012). As the Guardian states on their own website, each day on the Newsdesk live blog, the Guardian's national news team will bring readers the news as they break it, explain how they choose what they report and why—and ask the readers to get involved by sending ideas, evidence and experiences to their staff and to help shape the coverage. Examples can be found at below:

The open newslist: Newsdesk Live—Monday 30 January, 2012

Sport Daily Grid : live summary	
	24/07/20
MORNING	Writer
Olympics	
Exclusive: Usain Bolt iv	McRae
Foot: Smith prepares for GB opener	McRae
Women's football's chance to go mainstream	Turner
Idowu fitness latest	
Pressers: Sailing, Gymnastics, Jamaicans	
What happened to GB's 19 gold medallists from Beijing	staff
Ashley Jackson, the Beckham of hockey	Hattens
From Atlanta to London: GB's incredible journey	Gibson
Team GB welcome ceremony at Village	

Guardian Newslist : web summary	
INTERNATIONAL NEWS	11/08/20
MORNING	WRITER
√UK to give £5m to Syrian rebels	Siddique
√Four Chinese police on trial for Gu cover-up	Branigan
√Kim Jong-il's sushi chef says N Korea great now	McCurry
√Japan furious at SK president Dokdo islands visit	McCurry
√How ordinary Iranians get caught up in sanctions	SKD
√Three US troops killed by shooter in uniform	Reuters
√Chinese mother released from labour camp	AP

Picture 2 the open newslist in the Guardian[17]

At the new Guardian, the participation of audience in open news desk and live blogging means they are both the **gatekeepers** as well as news customers, selecting top topics (**news selection**) and deciding the reporting direction (**news value**) for themselves. It was this that gave rise to the job title of Laura Oliver, who works as community manager and who manages a team consisting of moderators and community coordinators at the Guardian. And these two groups of people probably have the most contact with the readers on a day-to-day basis. The moderators look after all the comments on articles. Community coordinators are spread around different desks and they might be the readers' representative in the newsroom and representatives of the Guardian's readers too.

Therefore, as the community manager and production editor, Oliver and Jonathan will check on the website monitors which show articles in the network that are attracting attention, along with their ranking and rises and declines in trend. Then editors like Oliver and Jonathan will decide to remove or replace part of downward stories according to the favorites of their audience. That is the direct way of telling the *Guardian* which is my favorite and which story I do not care about, and which is also **news selection** by audience. The Guardian sees those readers as very important sources who are very involved and loyal. Thus, interaction with the audience is a serious job within the media group which has changed the way news was domination by news staff in the past.

c. *News Beats*

News beats are still divided by different topics and content provided, but this only works at the stage which news is gathered and written, not in the newsroom. To some extent, news beats were needed because of the different sections or editions of the newspaper both online and offline. In the new office, however, all the editors and

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[17]   Picture   from: *The   Guardian's   open   newslist.*   [Online]:   available   form: http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/series/open-newslist [accessed on]: March 14, 2013.

reporters do the same job, working together to fulfill the report. In the past, they are used to work separately, but now they work both for the print and website editions. The titles of editors' job have merged, such as news editor was sub-editor, beat editor, but are now combined by one name, news editor. The same is true of the production editor who was responsible for make-up, page design and sends it to print. "That's what we changed five years ago in reporters work. They are used to working separately but now they do the same" Haynes (interview, 2012) stated.

On the whole, each news beat now works together and their job is same. The subeditor will cut the length to fit the paper and would write the headline for the paper, the headline of the paper is different from the website. But in terms of the news story is probably similar. Therefore, for the journalists and reporters, the titles are not much different than before, except they work for the multimedia platform.

Digital formats have changed the relationship between news formats and news beats. Currently, at the Guardian there are several products which cope with the digital strategy including newspapers (*The Guardian* and *the Observer*), digital tabloids (iPad, Kindle) and mobile devices (IOS, Android). The newsroom content management technology means the stories can be created independently of the format the reader will receive them. News products are packaged to fit different digital devices according to different terminals.

Picture 3 the subscription packages of the Guardian[18]

5.1.3 Newsbeats and Copy Flow

The **flow** of news does not follow news beats precisely. Now the most practical thing for the editors' consideration is the news story. Haynes (interview, 2012) suggested that in terms of the news story creation, the news designer is not thinking this is the news for the paper or this is the article for website. They are just thinking about the stories.

The overall copy flow in the Guardian is like this, "The news desks ask reporters to write the story. Reporters write the stories. Then give it back to the news desk. The news desk will check the story in advance and give it to subeditor to publish on the website, they do production. And that story if you want it for the paper, the news desk want it to go to the paper, then there is another subeditor cut it for the paper" (Haynes, interview, 2012). The overall copy flow at the Guardian can be summed up as below:

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[18] Picture from:[online]available from http://subscribe.theguardian.com/?INTCMP=mic_231187 [accessed on] 17th Nov, 2014.
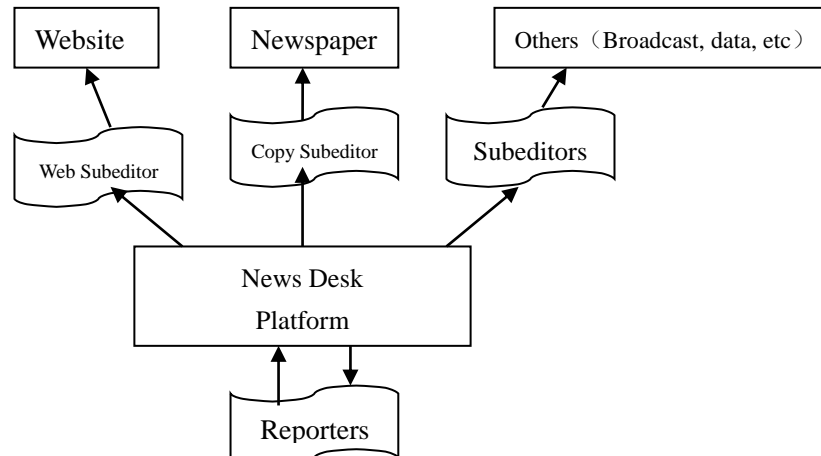
Chart 10 news flow in the Guardian

This copy flow is a great opportunity to break the traditional bottleneck (see Chapter 3) during the editing process. In order to remove delays in the production cycle, the Guardian has vertically integrated both their content production and publishing operations as seen in Chart 10. The news desk is worked as a news production platform as well as a multimedia editing centre, which can raise topics for reporters which reporters then send back to the desk. The desk then sends the content to subeditors who will consider where the stories go and add an appropriate headline before offering it to different media.

The design of news flow was aimed for interconnectedness in the newsroom when reporters completed primary stories, the platform can allow the multimedia editing to run smoothly before delivering or publishing in print and online.

In terms of how to decide which stories go online and which should be published in the paper, Haynes (interview, 2012) explained that they do not see it as separate. Now all the stories go online anyway in the Guardian, as they first publish online then they are published in the newspaper. So even when they are writing for the paper the content will use online before go to the paper. Reporters do not write for the paper, they write for the Guardian.

Therefore, when a story is submitted to the platform, on the whole, the news flow was the same: on the news desk, "the news designer isn't thinking this news for the paper or this is an article for the website. They are just thinking about the stories. And we have paper there and website editor there and they are thinking how the stories work on platforms" (Haynes, interview, 2012).

The mode of multimedia operation in Guardian is based on the Open Journalism and Newsdesk Live. The news desk will produce topics for both the reporters, editors and audience online. The basic facts will be sent to the reporters to write regular stories, as the events are rolling and updating online all the time, there would be new topic and new points for the desk, and then they will ask a reporter from a related field to fulfil the story. This might also be referred to as data journalism.

As we saw from Chart 10 , the Open Newsdesk created new relationship between reporters, editors and readers. News events no longer only belong to the journalists; the readers also participate in every step and work with the Guardian on the same platform. Additionally, the multimedia operation with its open platform has also changed the style of news selection, beyond news values, the readers are now also gatekeepers.

On the side of multimedia operation in the newsroom, Haynes explained that if they encounter a big story, they will consider running it in a team and through multimedia work (interview, 2012). For example the BBC crisis which occurred in 2012. "There are 8 reporters for general reports and they are doing live blogging, so doing the rolling story. And there are 4 different media reporters working on it as well, writing different stories. At the same time, political reporters are writing political reaction stories as well. So it is a big team runs with individual who responsible for each part and cooperate and link with multimedia" (Haynes, interview, 2012).
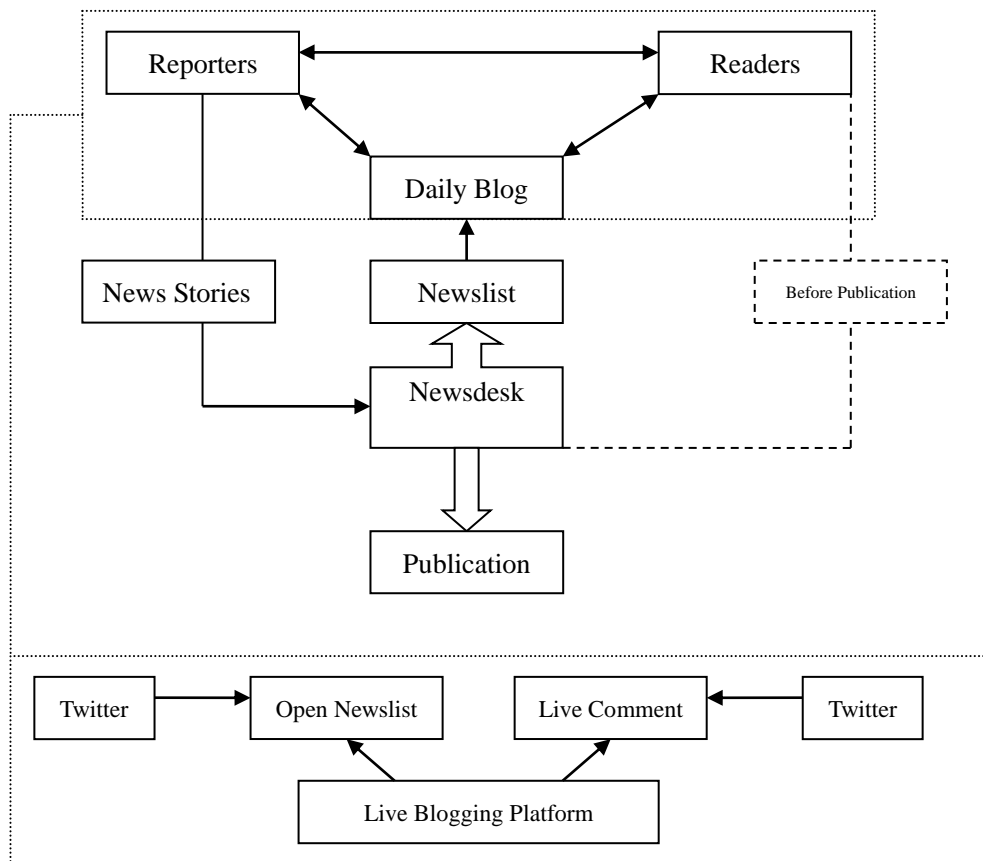
Chart 11 the flow of Open Newslist and Newsdesk Live

Haynes further explained:

"*On the Jimmy Saville Scandal, We have one general reporter, two picture reporter groups, 4 media reporters working on it. In terms of who is deciding they are writing. There is a head editor who responsible for the media coverage, there is national editor who responsible for the national media pad, and myself as the web media editor so in terms of putting the things on website. And also the paper editor and also head of news deputy responsible for the news. So five of us all involve in this story. Everything publishes online, and some of those pieces selected for the newspapers. That's how we doing now. The paper chooses those they want in there, but everything goes online first." (interview, 2012)*

For example, if we have the big story like the Jimmy Saville, the scandal, when do you write for the newspaper and when do you update online?

"Usually we have the reporters write straight away in the morning, and that might be the same reporter write on twitter and might be on live blogging. Other reporters will promote as well. The stories like Jamie Savills, there are general reporting doing in the early morning; but when in the evening the media. One of most experienced group will recommend it. So it gone through different people and that would be different version go with different point of time." (Haynes, interview, 2012)

Therefore, according to the analysis above, the Multimedia operation in the Guardian's newsroom can be drawn like this:
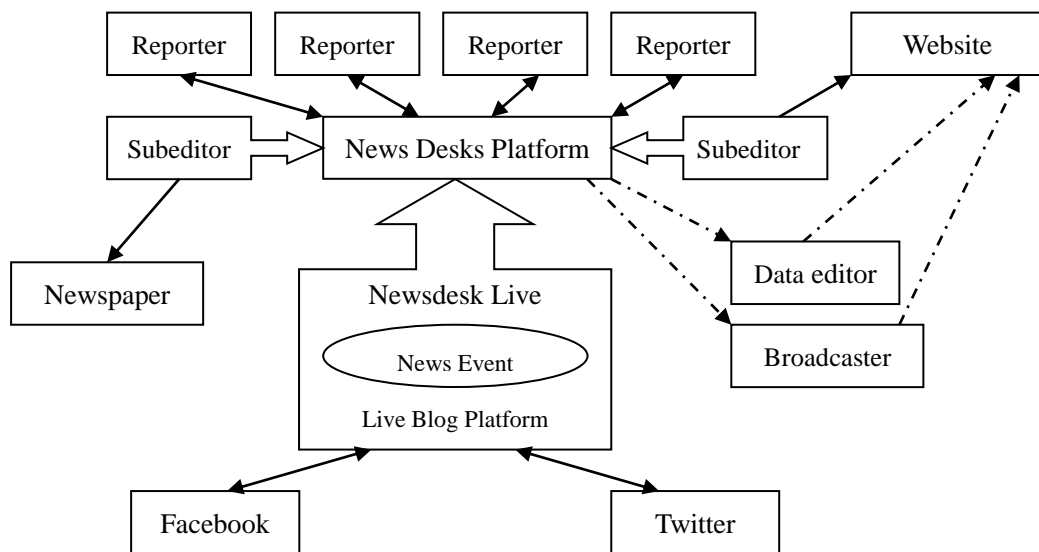
Chart 12 the Multimedia operation flow

Nowadays, visiting new media and interacting online is kind of every day routine for the staff in Guardian. New **copy flow** and the digital way of **news selection** forced writers to publish their blogs everyday by having the writers publish themselves. Like the columns in the paper. They are usually commission by the desk, with the news desk stating that there is going to be politics in someone's blog today or offering stories to the editors suggesting perhaps to post it on the security blog; as for

the writers, besides the commission allocated by the desk, they kind of seeing that as another tool or weapon they can use. Oliver explained more details about the flow on the blog as followed:

> *"If there is an issue you want to tag on. The blog will be seen as a part of that would be. You don't have to fill everything but you have done a news report, and it is kind of a hard factual report and you want it interrogates particulate question you use blog that. You want to encourage the discussion you might open the comments on the blog, read through about it or you may Twitter about it. It is kind of all different stages looking at how we can talk about the subject"* (interview, 2012).

5.1.4 Newsroom Physical Layout at the Guardian

GNM has become a multimedia world. *The Guardian* and *Observer* are active online as well as in print. Now GNM produces news, comment and features 24 hours a day, seven days a week and the newsroom has become a 24/7 multimedia production industry. In theory, the journalists work 8 hours' shifts. But in practice, it depends on the reporters and stories. On most stories journalists in GNM make the story once, and update it later depending on developments. On big stories, there would have some reporters writing at seven in the morning, with some reporters writing later.

Dempster (2009) described that the new design of the office as letting employees have the opportunity to work differently and collaboratively where everything is backed up by improved technology to support their new ways of working in GNM. But the most important thing for the layout was totally designed for the multimedia strategy and digital copy flow in the future.

At the end of 2008, after three years planning, GNM employees moved into the new

office in Kings Place at King's Cross in London 'signifying a fundamental shift in the way we would work in the future' (Dempster, 2009). Compared with the previously distributed layout, the new newsroom utilized a **Pod layout** (Yang, 2012). Overall, the design of the GNM's new newsroom basically flows around the need for digital copy flow. The desks from the working area could be 'scaled up and down according to the number of people who used them, numerous break-out and soft-seating areas for staff to have a short break and coffee, and plenty of meeting rooms' (Dempster, 2009). 'The new office was designed for around 3,000 people, gathered in three main areas: two oblong ranges and one cylindrical tower connected by internal glazed bridges' (Glancey, 2008).

Jonathan Haynes (interview, 2012), the web news editor of the Guardian, states that there are 600 journalists in total, but this includes the foreign correspondents like those in New York. In the new newsroom, the news desks would probably number 20 or 24 for the use of the news editors and product editors.

The design of the new office showed collaborative ways of working, backed up by the technology to support this. The entire building is Wi-Fi enabled, with laptops available for anyone who needs to connect to internet. TV and multimedia content is available on every desktop computer and employees have the opportunity to work differently, and more collaboratively, where project teams can come together easily, all backed up by improved technology to support their new ways of working (Dempster, 2009). 'There are places for staff to meet informally, spaces for them to hide away when they need to think, and an overall sense of interconnectedness' (Glancey, 2008). This design lets journalists work across platforms. 'In practice, this means being able to write a story, update it at appropriate intervals, publish it in print and online, and broadcast it, too' (Glancey, 2008).

Different to the old days at Fleet Street, the printing presses no longer rumble and roll beneath journalists' feet. In Kings Place, journalists have public space and

private offices in order to able to 'cure one of those mental blanks caused by staring too long at a computer screen with a shot of Schubert or a dose of Delius has a charm of its own' (Glancey, 2008).

To sum up, the table below shows the market change, digital formats, digital copy flow and newsroom layout at the GNM compared to the Role Model:

Terms	Model of Digital	GNM
News Market	Recession: circulation, advertising revenue and profit margin have fallen (from 2005 to now) (Nel, 2013). Only digital audiences and revenues (online source) saw positive increase. [see table 1, p14] ● making-content-relevant business (IFRA, 2010); ● Provide diverse services include online and offline (Lawson, 2003) ● Investment and content innovation [see p16]	five-year consecutive loss since 2005: ● digital revenues from £47m in 2012 to £91m in 2015/16 ● Face to the multimedia market ● promote online market and improve new media business ● Investment in **digital initiatives** such as a new US operation and new mobile offerings
News Format	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals; Content "Melting together" (Erdal, 2007): ● Text and picture can transform on Web, newspaper, social media and mobile; ● Video and audio can be published on the Web, social media and mobile.	● Transform to a 24/7 international media business; ● Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals all the content go online first.

Format	Traditional Logic of Copy Flow	Digital Logic of Copy Flow in GNM
News Value /Story Ideas	House style (Journalists & Editors Follow rules of Organization) ● Newspaper-centric thinking; ● Story ideas from reporters & editors: lack of communication with readers;	House style, but each platforms have different aspects of the same news story: ● Multimedia thinking: *run it in a team and multimedia work "digital first strategy";* ● Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest: *use the new media interact with their readers, a large amount of audience around either individual writers or serious topics;* ● Content reused and recycled adapted to specific

	● Content only for paper	platforms: *recreation for paper and website.*
News Source	According to news value (House style) to meet the requirements of a newspaper format: ● News information from reporters & editors	According to news value (House style), but meet the requirements of platforms: ● The method of gathering information is multiple through social media: *website and live-blog, journalists and editors found that it is a quite useful tool for information collection* ● Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) provider: *open journalism on the web; "Open Newslist to Newsdesks Live": opened up its newslists to public let readers get in touch with their reporters and editors*
News Selection	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (editor & reporter)** Editors fill the gaps in page layout Fixed morning/evening meeting around newspaper deadline	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: ● Fitting into different devices ● Adjusting in multimedia formation which changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper *open news desk and live blogging* *both the **gatekeeper** as well as news customers by selecting top topic (**news selection**) and deciding the reporting direction (**news value**) for themselves* Constant meetings (hourly ones), staff has to be on duty anytime (Miro-quesada, 2007) *see chart13*
News Beats	Digitization of production system (Erdal, 2007) **Linear:** ● Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats**, division of labour **geographically** ● Decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles) **Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow**: ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists	**Non-linear:** ● Multi-skilling, Teamwork, user generated center: *editors and journalists all work for multimedia platforms* ● Centralized structure (Integrated layout, news hub, open working space) ***Pod layout** showed collaborative ways of working, backed up by the technology to support this.* **Web-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals (PEJ, 2008) with **rolling workflow**: ● **Rolling** working time 24/7 hrs; ● **Multiple** tasks: content provide for multiple platforms. ● Advanced skills: interview, write & deliver quickly, more technically proficient & computer literate ● *writers to publish the blog everyday, news stories are usually commission by the desk, then the news ideas will post on live blog, rolling and updating all the day.*

	● Certain skills	
Copy Editing	**Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline	Content **Product- oriented:** ● editors fit same content into several news production & delivering to different channels: *news products are put in package and content are being fit in different digital devices according to different terminals; website monitor which shows articles network attention ranking with numbers and marking with rise and decline trend;* ● target de facto deadlines (to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes): ***publishing time** for each edition on the website does not have a certain deadline for when they publish (not for the paper, the Kindle or the iPad edition). There are kind of different outlets which have different requirements in terms of when get the copy out.*
Design & Art Proof	One style for newspaper	individual-centered production & dissemination: *Content Delivery Strategy:" The Right Information, in the Right Way, at the Right Time" the news designer is thinking this the news for the paper or this is the article for website. They are just thinking about the stories.* interaction mode (personal news portal, social networks)

Table 9 the GNM Multimedia Model

Therefore, even *the Guardian* still try their best to gain profits, however, the multimedia transformation is basically consistent to its digital copy flow, and the integrated layout of newsroom helps to some extent to form such a new copy flow. Currently, *the Guardian* and Guardian Online cooperate with each other to retain loyal readers.

5.2 The Daily Telegraph and Online: a case of embrace the new digital age at a long-term strategy level

5.2.1 The Content Market for the Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph is the biggest selling quality newspaper in Britain. In 2005, its circulation was just under 900,000 copies a day (Campbell, 2008). *The Daily Telegraph* is a daily morning broadsheet (quality) newspaper, published in London and distributed throughout the United Kingdom and internationally. According to a MORI survey[19] it had a daily circulation of 552,065 in early 2013 down from 634,113 in July 2011. *The Sunday Telegraph,* its sister paper is run separately with a different editorial staff, but there is some cross-usage of stories.

Even today, given the UK newspaper market which is tougher than most - with 11 national dailies, five of them quality, including the *Financial Times*, in the top market segment and at the same time dealing with the new media segment - *the Daily Telegraph* still makes profit. However, 'it was nevertheless faced with a reality where traditional display and classified revenues were declining at a rate of approximately four percent year-on-year, meanwhile, the Telegraph's online advertising was growing by nine percent a year' (Campbell, 2008, p5).

There is a recognition that the newspaper industry, the traditional newspaper industry, got 'fat and lazy and led by producer interests. It wasn't customer responsive; it didn't understand that people want stuff at a time that they want it, in a form that they want it, via a device that they want' (Campbell, 2008, p5). Telegraph editor William Lewis once said 'it was a case of waiting until the newspaper was published the next morning and if you were lucky enough to be able to buy a newspaper or have one delivered, you could read what we were offering' (Campbell, 2008, p5).

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[19] Source from:[Online] available from:
https://www.ipsos-mori.com/Search.aspx?usterms=newspaper [accessed on:] 14th March, 2014

UK national newspaper print circulation for July 2013 (source ABC) [20]

Dailies

Name of Title	Average Circulation	Year-on-year Change	Month-on-month Change
Tabloids			
Daily Mirror	1,040,148	down 3.87 per cent	up 0.13 per cent
Daily Record	249,733	down 9.36 per cent	down 1.15 per cent
Daily Star	544,811	down 12.63 per cent	up 0.73 per cent
The Sun	2,281,301	down 10.57 per cent	up 1.67 per cent
Daily Express	533,039	down 4.05 per cent	up 2.06 per cent
Daily Mail	1,781,968	down 7.25 per cent	down 1.36 per cent
Quality			
The Daily Telegraph	558,817	down 3.86 per cent	up 2.14 per cent
Financial Times	244,768	down 15.82 per cent	down 5.31 per cent
The Guardian	191,182	down 8.68 per cent	up 2.24 per cent
The Independent	72,271	down 13.57 per cent	down 1.08 per cent
The Times	400,245	down 0.95 per cent	up 2,38 per cent

Table 10

Matthew Hocking (2013) once stated that in the UK media landscape, standing still is never an option.[21] Therefore, for the Telegraph is not enough just keeping up with the current newspaper market, but they also need to consider long-term profit patterns.

After the Barclay brothers took over the Telegraph Group in 2004, Murdoch MacLennan, Chief Executive Officer, pointed out they had to take a long-term strategic view and plan how the company is going to embrace the enormous demands of the new digital age (Campbell, 2008). In terms of the audience, he further pointed out in 2005 that it might be too early to know the full effect of the online revolution; however, it was clear that the readers were on the move and the Telegraph had to move with them (Campbell, 2008). In October 2006, with their relocation to

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[20] Source from: Hollander, G. (2013). July ABCs: Most national newspapers see circulation boost compared with June in royal baby month. [Online] Available from: http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/july-abcs-most-national-newspapers-see-month-month-circulation-boost-royal-baby-month [Accessed 06 January 2014].

[21] Matthew Hocking, 2013. Advertising sale director in Telegraph. [Presentation] telegraph advertising conditions and new uploaded luxury channel, 13th Nov, 2013. London: the Daily Telegraph

Victoria, the company was renamed the Telegraph Media Group, repositioning itself as a multimedia company.

Now, 'the Telegraph define themselves more as content creator rather than a newspaper group which means leveraging the brand in order to provide content across all platforms in the right format, to be consumed by the audience at a time and in a way that suits them' (Campbell, 2008, p7).

"Where the eyeballs go, that's where the money goes too!" –Mark Challinor[22], Director of Mobile at the Telegraph Media Group in London, Vice President of INMA, who is also one of the industry's experts on the brave new world of mobile media, said on the 7th Marketing Conference in 2013. Now, for the TMG, where is the market, where is *the Daily Telegraph* and Telegraph online. The eyeballs, or what we call the market, is the drive for revolution inside the Group, and the logic of copy flow: news value, news selection, news sources and news beats all designed around the market. According to Challinor (2013)'s talk, the Telegraph targeted its convergence strategy on the aspects below:

    a. Market: Target on valuable people;

    b. News Format: Launch on new channels (Luxury, Men, Woman) caters to advertising market;

    c. News Value & News Source: put hard news, business and political news on Monday to Friday's quality papers; move more Travel, Gardening, Health, and Fashion content on Saturday newspaper to keep the eyeballs;

    d. Market: serve readers in the emerging diversified and digital media market;

According to Mark Challinor's report, in the near future, Mobile applications and platforms could be the most competitive business for newspapers (2013). As the

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[22] Mark Challinor, 2013. Director of Mobile at the TMG. [Presentation] telegraph mobile platform strategy and future blueprint, 13th Nov, 2013. London: the Daily Telegraph.

different platforms assessment below shows, it is a handy way to receive news through the day if compared to other application platforms. There is an increase in figures which show that customers will go to mobile, so the Telegraph should make sure, they are there as well (Matthew Hocking, 2013).

After serious marketing research on content consumed on different devices, TMG adjusted their content delivery strategy. According to a survey in 2013, The Telegraph found that in the framework of all ABC1[23] audience in TMG, there are 76% ABC1 Smartphone users with the average age of 35, 63% ABC1 users on its website average aged 39, iPad ABC1 readers account for 98% with an average age of

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[23] *NRS social grade definitions (UK): NRS stands for National Readership Survey (NRS Ltd). The NRS 'ABC1' demographics profiling system - often called 'social grade definitions' which have been in use for decades, mainly for audience profiling and targeting by the media, publishing and advertising sectors, and have become established as a generic reference series for classifying and describing social classes, especially for consumer targeting and consumer market research.*

Social grade	Social status	Occupation
A	Upper class	Higher managerial, administrative or professional
B	Middle class	Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional
C1	lower middle class	supervisory or clerical, junior managerial, administrative or professional
C2	skilled working class	Skilled manual workers
D	working class	semi and unskilled manual workers
E	those at lowest level of subsistence	state pensioners or widows (no other earner), casual or lowest grade workers

[23] [21] Mark Challinor, 2013. director of mobile at the Telegraph Media Group, [Presentation] the 7th Marketing

Picture 4 reader segment on different platforms[24]

50 and 88% ABC1 read newspapers with the average age of 51. In other words, younger generations go for digital to read rather than print. At the same time, people used more than one platform to access Telegraph content. The graph below (see in picture 5) shows how people use different platforms in a day.
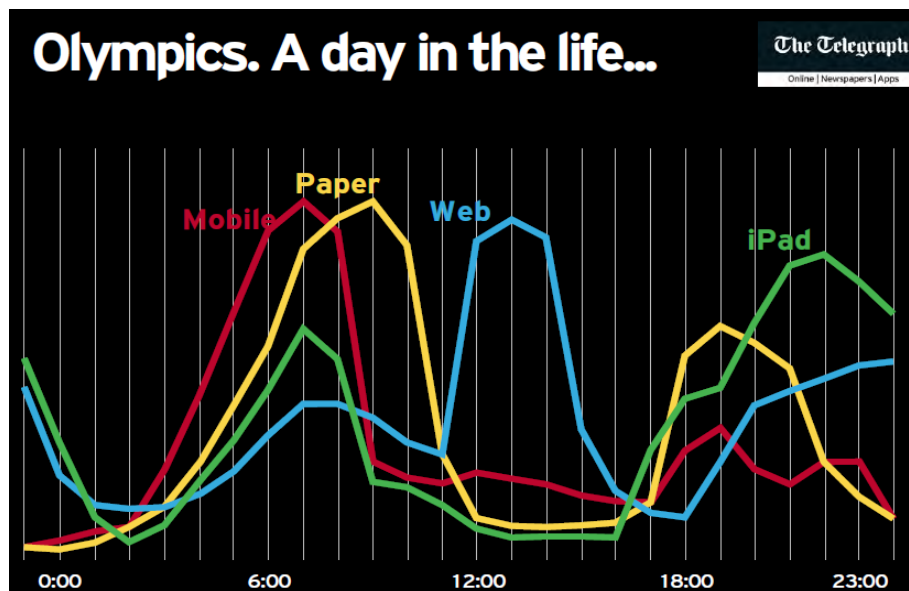
Picture 5 the use time of different platforms through a day during London Olympics2012[25]

Conference 2013, <available online >: http://www.marketingconference.co.uk/pdf/2013/mark-challinor.pdf

[25] *Source:* Mark Challinor, director of mobile at the Telegraph Media Group, Speech on the 7th

Additionally, in terms of different platforms, there is different user experience as well. The audience is not relying on print (only one platform) any more. Instead, people choose different times to pursue content according to different devices and habits. For example, in the early morning between 6:00 and 7:00, someone would likely wake up and check what is new for today by take a glance at mobile titles. Later in the morning, when the national qualities appear on the market, someone will probably read some of the titles they interested in or what the newspaper says about yesterday's issues. During work or breaks around noon, people could browse the website to follow news or to see updates, sharing with friends via Facebook, Twitter and email. Later in the afternoon, when the evening papers come out, on the way home, reading something new in the day. During the night around 22:00, people would like enjoy an Ipad version and lay on the bed. Data shows that 80% of female and 72% of male Telegraph readers has the habit of reading in bed with iPad (see in Picture 6).
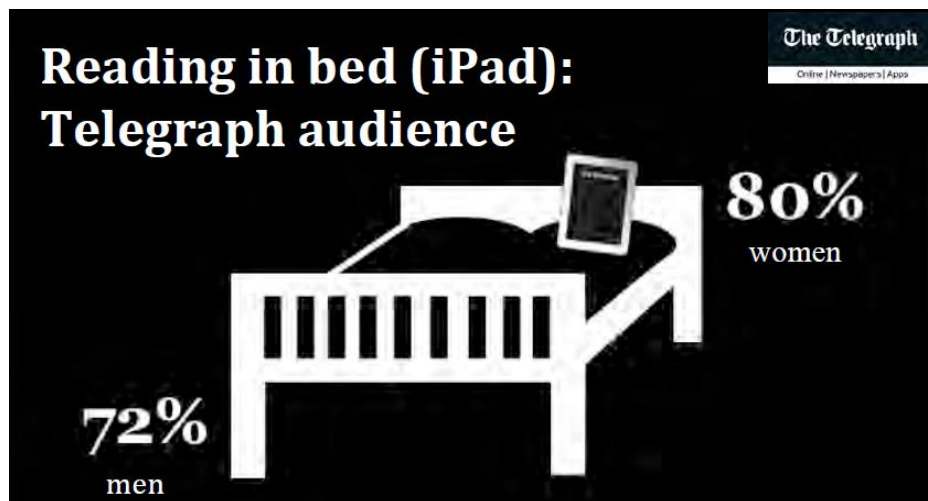
Picture 6 Reading in bed by iPad users of Telegraph audience[26]

Marketing Conference 2013, <available online >:
http://www.marketingconference.co.uk/pdf/2013/mark-challinor.pdf

[26] *Source:* Mark Challinor, director of mobile at the Telegraph Media Group, Speech on the 7th Marketing Conference 2013, <available online >: http://www.marketingconference.co.uk/pdf/2013/mark-challinor.pdf

Picture 7 the characters of different platforms[27]

Launching the mobile phone edition to attract the younger generation became a long-term strategy for the Telegraph. The aim was to package content relevant to the right audience age segments at the right time on the right platform. Challinor (2013) believed that what is the most important action for the Telegraph in the year of 2014 is called TLC, which stands for Time Location Context.   Everyday, there are three different content packages for the Telegraph's readers. The Web Pack is available to access on handsets, on which audiences can tag news lists and have unlimited web access for £1.99 per month or £20 per year. The second package, the Digital Pack, includes all the applications in Web Pack, but more options on iPad and costs £9.99 per month or £99 per year. The Print Pack is same as Web and Digital Pack, but includes a daily paper, and it is £7 per week. Challinor pointed out that what the Telegraph is trying to do is to make the price more or less the same for all of these services. Therefore, the price strategy for all those Packs, according to Challinor (interview, 2013), is "the bundle packages try to make it almost I will be mad at not to have this one!"

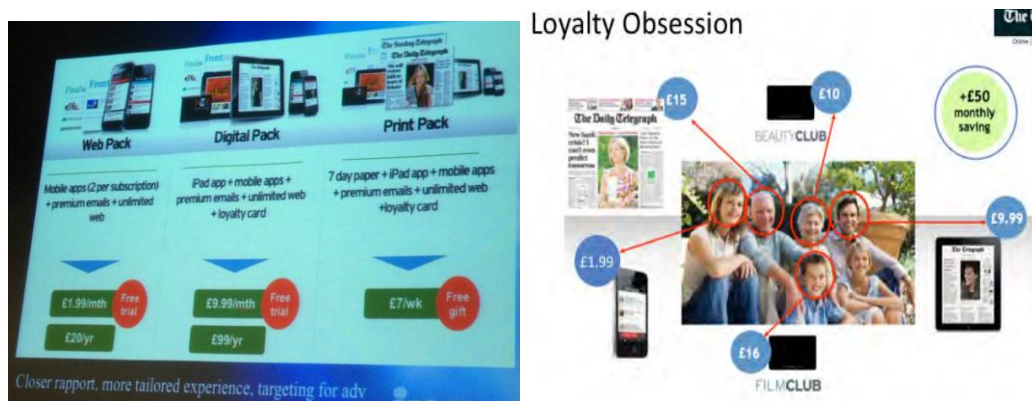[27] Source: Mark Challinor, director of mobile at the Telegraph Media Group, Speech on the 7th Marketing Conference 2013, <available online >: http://www.marketingconference.co.uk/pdf/2013/mark-challinor.pdf

Picture 8 the bundle packages in the Telegraph[28]

Additionally, the Telegraph also set a Free Trial for their reader that is a kind of Meter, allowing you to browse the news for the first three month for free, but after that or when you reach a certain usage of data, customers will be charged. Mark (interview, 2013) added that they found 90% of readers who have taken a free trial have renewed in the end. This would suggest that the Telegraph get the message that people will pay for the digital content if it is relevant and value.

5.2.2 Digital Formats of the Daily Telegraph

The main products and services provided by TMG by 2013 are as below (Campbell, 2008):

- Print: The Daily Telegraph, The Saturday Telegraph, Magazine
- Digital Products: e-paper (iPad & Smartphone) TV, radio, Telegraph.co.uk (Podcasts, Blackberry on the go, Blogs, Desktop Alert)

The Telegraph's website Electronic Telegraph (now re-launched as telegraph.co.uk) was the UK's first national newspaper online[29]. It includes articles from the print

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[28] *Source:* Mark Challinor, director of mobile at the Telegraph Media Group, Speech of telegraph mobile platform and strategy, 13th Nov, 2013. London: the Daily Telegraph

[29] Source from: Wikipedia. The Daily Telegraph. [online] available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Daily_Telegraph [accessed on] 26th September, 2013.

editions of *the Daily Telegraph* and *the Sunday Telegraph*, as well as web-only content such as breaking news, features, picture galleries and blogs[30]. However, different to its print version, the format of website is managed as **a tabloid** (see picture 9).
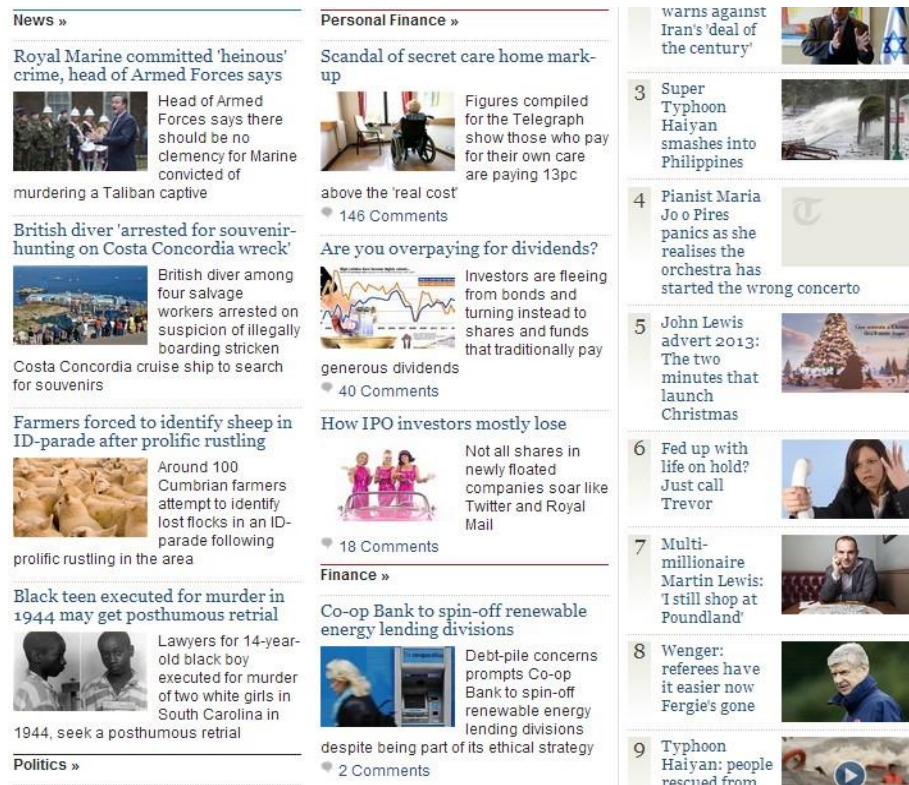
Picture 9 The homepage of http://www.telegraph.co.uk/ on 10th, December of 2013

The site has been the focus of the group's efforts to create an integrated news operation. '"Telegraph.co.uk" is now the third most visited British newspaper website with 1.7 million daily browsers compared to 2.3 million for "Guardian.co.uk" and nearly 3 million for "Mail Online" (Halliday, 2010)'.

After a serious and thorough research into the newspaper readers and online audience, the results showed that there is only a small overlap between the people who read the newspaper and people who use the website. There were also different characteristics between these groups in terms of demographics and above all, lifestyle and media usage.

'The Telegraph's own research also identified four key touch points during the day when audience particularly come to the online site for content:

- early morning, when they read the **paper**
- later morning
- lunch time

- early evening' (Campbell, 2008, p7)

5.2.3 The Logic of the Copy Flow

a. News Values

Although the Telegraph was the first British newspaper to set up a website, back in 1994, many of the newspaper journalists were still barely aware of its existence and therefore did not contribute to it in any shape or form. Although, the Telegraph was probably the first to react to the changing environment among UK national newspapers, it was considered to be a conservative group as the business had been quite satisfied his ways and had not changed for many years. 64% of Telegraph readers intended to support the Conservative Party in the elections, Neil Wallis, previous editor of *the Sun*, mentioned that change was seen as a bad thing within this company and they were really stuck in their ways; however, the media landscape has changed, they looked to the future and prepare when they noticed that change is the only answer in order to survive and grow business (2013).[31]

Meanwhile, 'as a quality national paper TMG's strength is still the content, "any part of our media offering is of the very highest quality, be it words, stills, moving pictures, sounds or a combination of the above" said William Lewis, chief editor of telegraph 2008' (Campbell, 2008, p7). According to the floor editor George Newkey-Burden, who has working for TMG for over 30 years, before each article is published on the platform, there is a group in charge of checking words and plagiarism, and making sure they are of good quality and meet house style (interview, 2013). Hence, the change of news value is not referring to the change of news writing or the form of writing.

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[31] Neil Wallis, previous editor of SUN. [Presentation] telegraph advertising conditions and new uploaded luxury channel, 13th Nov, 2013. London: the Daily Telegraph, Victoria.

The biggest change in terms of news values in TMG is the content consumption via digital formats, which has become more and more popular. Digital formats change the mindset of editorial staff in TMG by forcing the delivery of digital content on digital platforms to cater to and attract younger people. TMG proposed a Mobile and Tablet Strategy to build customer interaction, add data collection opportunities, facilitate content collection and distribution, and provide value to younger readers (Mark Challinor, 2013).

As noted above, the Telegraph found that its audiences tended to want "hard" news during the week, on digital devices, and "soft" news in the Saturday print paper.

b. News Sources

The changes in the news market have brought changes in the news sources used at the Telegraph. Now news resources refer to more than just the news story, it is also understood as content and even the newspaper brand. Therefore, the changing market caused the newspaper to make decisions, about which kind of sources they need to present to the audience and keep the loyalty, which is needed in order to attract advertisers.

"In the UK market, all of these changes should make sure we can continue to follow where is the advertising revenue goes, so that's why those changes happened, not just newspaper circulation or distribution, it's make sure we can pick up advertising revenue a long time" (Matthew Hocking, 2013).[32] Hocking pointed out that there are many challenges in the UK media market, particularly in relation to newspaper circulation and advertising revenue, meanwhile it creates lots of great opportunities to be really aggressive and move into new market (2013). Hocking believed that in the last 5 to 10 years, the Telegraph saw it should move into the new market a long-run plan rather than just staying with print. Therefore, targeting the potential

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[32] Matthew Hocking, advertising sale director in Telegraph. Speech of telegraph advertising conditions and new uploaded luxury channel, 13th Nov, 2013. London: the Daily Telegraph

market, the Telegraph added three new sources: Luxury, Women and Man channels all through the Telegraph's content platforms. Although, Matthew did not mention the details of the revenue, he said all of them have gained.

Picture 10 the homepage of Luxury channel on Telegraph website[33]

The Luxury Magazine and Luxury channel online are an example of the new channel products of telegraph. Ten years ago, if Telegraph wants to be big in the luxury market, it had to beat the Financial Times, which was virtually impossible. However, because of the digital content and digital devices, the Telegraph looked at it in the beginning of 2013, and decided they want to do a luxury channel using their regular market route; digital magazine online can grow a big audience very quickly as well as set up a high profile event: Big Gallery in London. According to Hocking (2013), the result of this is as below:

a.   Luxury became a very well produced magazine

b.   Luxury magazine earned twice money as the Telegraph just begin with it

c.   the website: Luxury Channel attracted advertisers in top luxury market

Additionally, there were two other big products launched in the year of 2013; the

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Woman Channel and Man Channel online. Woman Channel was traditionally a content area which 'belonged' to the *Daily Mail* or the Monthly magazine, which *the Telegraph* could not do within the newspaper. However, the digital platform gave the opportunity to launch the Woman Channel, and the Telegraph did the same with Man's Channel. The reason the Telegraph thinks they can do this is the sources in the newspaper and all platforms are run more quickly than magazines.

c. News Selection

Deadlines and copy flow needed to be set up around the four touch points which the Telegraph research had identified as contact points with the audience. The first thing to change was the idea of deadlines and this in turn changed news selection. The pattern was designed according to the newsroom activities and revolved around four touch points during the day. The meetings of the day changed follow approximately this pattern:

Time	Activity in Newsroom
8:00	The senior editorial team meets to review the morning's progress as well as look at what will happen during the day. This meeting is focused on the digital offerings.
The first one happens early in the morning, when people read news, either in the newspaper or online.	
9:30	Various desks, e.g. business, have their own conferences.
10:00	The morning's main news conference, led by the editor and deputy editor. All departments talk about what they are doing on all channels, plans are made for the remaining production process of the day.
The second touch point is later in the morning when they come back to the website, perhaps looking for multimedia material as well as just text.	
14:30	The city desk has another business conference with senior business staff, fine tuning the newspaper as well as reviewing the website. Other desks have similar meetings throughout the day.
The third one happens around lunchtime.	
17:00	The final editors' conference at the hub, when detail is added to the overall picture of the paper and adjustments are made to what is being done online for the evening and the next morning.
The fourth comes in the early evening, when people are on their way home.	

Table 11 The touching points and copy flow in the Telegraph (Source from: IFRA, 2008)

Each head of department is responsible for providing content across all channels, on all platforms, and with no particular priority given to the printed paper which means commissioning editors commission material for the paper as well as for the website (IFRA, 2008).

The Telegraph has also changed its news selection to try to attract its target market. The news selection was built on the base of market research, which is the first principle for newspaper to survive.

Ian MacGregor (interview, 2013), the chief editor of Saturday Telegraph said that the Telegraph started to find out that there is a different concept of news consumption between weekdays and weekends. It is the daily newspapers, published on Monday and Tuesday which are slightly declining. People who interested in reading news affairs Monday to Friday, are starting choose digital content on the website, iPad and mobile.

However, at weekends people are looking more for lifestyle, and that is the area which grows very well. He pointed out that what the Telegraph discovered is that the weekend market is growing, and the Sunday and Saturday print newspapers actually are doing very well.

Ian (interview, 2013) described how the Telegraph selects content for readers and adjusts strategy to win weekend news market. The Telegraph pays very carefully attention changes in the market, putting hard news, business and political news in Monday to Friday's quality papers. In terms of the content through the week, in the print side, Monday to Friday, people are more looking for hard news stories. To keep the eyeballs they move to more Travel, Gardening, Health, and Fashion content in

the Saturday newspaper.

In Britain, the weekend newspapers were referred to as "Kitchen Journalism" because the paper size is hard to read when you commute on a train, however, during the weekends, the paper can be lain on the kitchen table. The Saturday newspaper is a flagship print product of the Telegraph with multiple sections consisting of Travel, Gardening, Personal Finance, Luxury Magazine and two or three specials. Ian MacGregor (interview, 2013) said, the Saturday paper was famous for many years, and the size is getting bigger which is slightly counter the trend as everybody is thinking about the move to digital Ian remembered that five years ago, in the Saturday newspaper, there were only 3 pages of Travel, now there are 8 pages of luxury Travel and Holiday, and it will be probably grow to 12 pages.

Interestingly, even the selection of the publishing time of Saturday Telegraph is according to the market and competition as well. Ian MacGregor (interview, 2013) said rivals of weekend newspaper, for a long time *the Saturday Telegraph,* should face the big competitor of the *Sunday Times* (not the Saturday Times, because it is a small compact Saturday edition). Before the recession, people used to buy two papers, very often buying a *Saturday Telegraph* and a *Sunday Times*. With the recession, people decided to buy one paper. Obviously, the Telegraph newspaper was delivered on Saturday, one day ahead of the Times. Therefore, the market shares with the *Sunday Times* went down quickly.

Traditionally, in the UK, Sunday is very important for weekend newspapers. But in many aspects, what does the *Telegraph* see is that Saturday is the new Sunday for them. However, in the weekend sections, Saturday and Sunday papers will have a mix of political comment sections and lifestyle sections. Because of the Telegraph has integrated their editorial department, people who work for the print also writes articles for others.

d. News Beats

William Lewis described how developing digital copy flow was designed to achieve the strategy for digital formats and content designed to attract the target audience 'For us the **digital revolution is about putting the customer, the reader, first, and designing our operations around that'** (Campbell, 2008, p5). We can see that the digital copy flow was set up around digital operations at TMG. The whole strategy or convergence goal is two folds: the new or integrated Telegraph should serve readers in the emerging diversified and digital media market; this operation is based on optimal efficiency without sacrificing quality. According to the TMG, over the course of 2006, everything was to change: offices, work practices, job functions, skill sets, mindsets and attitudes. The Telegraph aimed at producing content for print and online from the same newsroom. They completed the relaunch during 2008 involving the use of the Escenic Content Management system.

5.2.4 The Digital Copy Flow in Newsroom

The copy flow was designed to provide content at the key touch points of the day. Now, the Telegraph runs 20-hour newsroom, with the online team arriving at 6 am, and the last journalists leaving at 2 am. We can see how the Telegraph operates the copy flow to the digital formats as below:

From tip-off to print and digital: integration in action

Telephone rings (news source) -huge story: Cabinet minister resignation (news value)	
Online news editor preparing online articles and publish online (the event)	Telegraph TV (a short bulletin: on why, and result-resigning matter)
Online update on minister's lengthy apology and pledge	Telegraph TV updated
At the same time: newsroom conference for detail operation	
News editor, deputy editor, picture editor, senior production journalist, political editor (news beats on air)	At the Hub: a. for print: 3 pages—3 photographs and one splash{article, profile and analysis by PE}

	b. online updating on twist
	c. Telegraph TV following

Chart 10 The Multimedia operation in the Telegraph's newsroom[34]

The digital copy flow also tried to deal with some of the inefficiencies described in traditional copy flow (in chapter 3).   In the old Telegraph newsroom, 'there were 25 different job titles…roles and responsibilities were fragmented and not defined which also resulted in a jungle of job titles' (Campbell, 2008 p6). This meant that previously, there are as many as nine people, or "pairs of eyes" that would read and check a story before it was considered ready for print

In the new newsroom, the whole digital copy flow has been designed around the different natures of terminal devices and that content should be delivering to the audience as soon as possible. The job titles and responsibilities have been integrated. Roles have been changed and every single job has been redefined with only three basic titles: reporter, editor and production journalist. Now, all reporters are responsible for filing material for the website (words, sound and video) as well as for the paper.

So some very good political journalists and column editors will write for all platforms.   For example, one political journalist at the Telegraph, will write a story for the newspaper and online as well. Then every morning, the readers can read the articles on their mobile phone and get his/her morning briefing. The readers could get another version at the end of the day from another political journalist telling them something else.

In the integrated newsroom there is a much simpler copy flow. The "News Grid", a transparent news list, is managed by the news editor and updated throughout the day,

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[34] Source from: Campbell, C. (2008). *The Daily Telegraph convergence journey.* IFRA special report. [online] p14-15 Available from: < http://www.ifra.com. pdf.>　〔Accessed 15 November 2011〕.

which all those authorized can see. Each head of section, for example, the sports editor, would be equally responsible for content online and in the newspaper. The commissioning of stories and their elements such as text for the printed and the digital edition, pictures and audio, are done for all media used to tell the story.

Each reporter should be capable of producing content in all formats, and should be expected to write for both the website and the newspaper. Reporters not only write text and record audio, they also write web headlines, suggest links to related stories and select pictures for the web which has become normal routine in current newsroom. 'When a reporter is assigned a story he or she is expected to think about how it could best be told in words, photos, audio, video, what scope it could bring for interaction with readers via the website or mobile, in other words, journalists are now required to think in multimedia terms all the time' (Campbell 2008, p11).

The digital copy flow has also tried to deal with the bottlenecks in traditional copy flow described in chapter 3. In the old Telegraph newsroom, the extended subbing process often caused mistakes to be made. In the new newsroom, it was imperative to get away from the extended subbing processes and to create a sense of page ownership. Rather than the traditional production line approach, there is no more Copy-editors/Sub-editors. Instead they are now all called production journalists and work in multi-skilled teams.

This is designed to solve the bottleneck problem. When an editor has checked and signed a story off, they need not rely on someone else to make yet another check. Now the production journalist, within each team, owns their assigned pages and sub edit and publishes web versions of the stories, and subsequently the layout for print. Production journalists handle pages from inception to delivery.

The layout and design team focus on complicated pages and support the production journalists where necessary.   Ian MacGregor (interview, 2013) said "the production

team is very small: in the Telegraph a production team works for the physical paper, and another small production team works on the digital sites; each team, headed by a senior production journalist, is responsible for processing stories for assigned web pages as well as a given number of print pages".

To summarise, the news beats were reorganized as a way to achieve two things. First, redefine job titles further simplifying the publishing process and smooth the copy flow in order to reduce the chance of bottleneck. Secondly, the multimedia mindset and operation inside the newsroom greatly contributed the digital copy flow.

5.2.5 Newsroom Layout in TMG

As noted above, at the old Telegraph operation in Canary Wharf, the editorial teams were based on four different floors. The news operation was on a different floor from the sports and business operation and the online department was also separated from other section teams. This caused efficiency problems.

The aim of the new newsroom layout was to improve communication between departments leading to faster decisions, rapid discussions and quicker and better content. William Lewis once said 'in an integrated newsroom it's about bringing people together so that they can be in constant communication. It's about breaking down barriers, not just within the newspaper organisation, but with the website and digital offerings too' (IFRA, 2008, p7).

Compared to the previous newsroom, the layout in the new integrated office at Victoria, put editorial closer together. The new newsroom was relocated on one floor in an open office environment in order to make all journalists can communicate in an easy way.

Picture 11 The Newsroom Layout of the Telegraph[35]

Now the newsroom layout was called "Spoke and Hub" (see picture 11). The new layout was aimed to enable the editors to all sit close to each other, which means decisions and issues can be discussed very rapidly without demarcations and meanwhile, the improved communication between departments. This has led to more cohesion in how the news is presented and delivered. Within the new layout, editors sit around a round table, driving operations from that central desk. The news hub is its core, from this round meeting table, desks beam out like spokes, arranged according to department with the Head of the department at the top of the spoke; the biggest departments such as News, Sport, City, etc., sit along the spokes going into the corners of the square office. Around them, the different departments: sport, features, city (business), foreign, digital support, news, news production (previously sub-editors), design and picture are laid out in spoke-like formations (Campbell, 2008).

To sum up, the table below shows how market changes, digital formats, digital copy flow and newsroom layout changed in TMG:

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35 Pictures: [online] available from:
https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=TMG+newsroom&espv=2&biw=1242&bih=585&source=ln ms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ei=PeorVfioKMTgaMf4gaAK&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAQ [accessed on:] 16th, March 2013

Terms	New Market (Anglo-American)	TMG News Market
News Consumption	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals	
Format	Content "Melting together" (Erdal, 2007): ● Text and picture can transform on Web, newspaper, social media and mobile; ● Video and audio can be published on the Web, social media and mobile.	all the content go online first
Copy Flow	Digitization of production system (Erdal, 2007) ● Computer ● Internet	Digitization of production system ● Transform to a 24/7 international media business
News Market	Recession: circulation, advertising revenue and profit margin have fallen (from 2005 to now) (Nel, 2013). Only digital audiences and revenues (online source) saw positive increase. [see table 1, p14]	● Traditional display and classified revenues were declining at a rate of approximately four percent year-on-year; ● Telegraph's online advertising was growing by nine percent a year (Campbell, 2008, p5). Market Change: declining in print circulation and advertising revenues Strategy: ● Mobile application and platform ● Bundle package strategy
Profit Model/ Business (Audience & advertisers Services)	● making-content-relevant business (IFRA, 2010); ● Provide diverse services include online and offline (Lawson, 2003) ● Investment and Content Innovation [see p16]	● Face to the multimedia market ● Provide diverse services include online and offline *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, and Telegraph.co.uk. Blackberry On The Go, Blogs, Desktop Alerts, E-mail bulletins, Mobile updates, Picture galleries, Telegraph audio, Telegraph PM, Your View, Telegraph TV and My Telegraph (Campbell, 2008). ● Investment in Mobile application and platform

News Format	Traditional Logic of Copy Flow	Digital Logic of Copy Flow in TMG
News Value /Story Ideas	House style (Journalists & Editors Follow rules of Organization) ● Newspaper-centric	House style, but each platforms have different aspects of the same news story: *before each article published on the platform, there is a group charge in checking words and plagiarism, and make sure which in good quality and in house*

	thinking ● Story ideas from reporters & editors: lack of communication with readers ● Content only for paper	style. ● Multimedia thinking: *digital formats change the mindset of editorial stuff in TMG by delivering digital content on digital platforms to cater and abstract younger people still loyal to its brand.* ● Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest: *Mobile and Tablet Strategy to build customer interaction* ● Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms: *content adjust according to the fact that people choose different timing to pursue content according to different devices and using habit;*
News Source	According to news value (House style) to meet the requirements of a newspaper format: ● News information from reporters & editors ● Editors fill the gaps in page layout	According to news market for making a wise decision: which kind of sources need to present to the audience and keep the loyalty, which is in order to attract advertisers. ● The method of gathering information is multiple through social media ● Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) provider as well as the potential target market
News Selection	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (editor & reporter)** for filling the gaps	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: ● Fitting into different devices ● Adjusting in multimedia formation which changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper *Example: Saturday Telegraph select content for the readers and adjust strategy to win weekend news market*
News Beats	**Linear:** ● Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats**, division of labour **geographically** ● Decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles)	**Non-linear:** ● Multi-skilling, Teamwork, user generated center: *editors and journalists all work for multimedia platforms* ● Centralized structure (Integrated layout, news hub, open working space) *'hub and spoke' layout for the newsroom to produce content for print and online editions*

Working Phases	Traditional Copy Flow	TMG Digital Copy Flow
Planning	Fixed morning/evening meeting around newspaper deadline	Constant meetings (hourly ones) at Hub and Spoken, staff has to be on duty anytime
Commissioning & Briefing	**Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow**:	**Web-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals (PEJ, 2008) with **rolling workflow**: ● **Rolling** working time 24/7 hrs

	● **Fixed** working time by deadline; ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists ● Certain skills	● **Multiple** tasks: content provide for multiple platforms: *the commissioning of stories and their elements such as text for the printed and the digital edition, pictures, audio etc., is done for all media used to tell the story.* ● Advanced skills: interview, write & deliver quickly, more technically proficient & computer literate: *each reporter should be capable of producing content in all formats, and should be expected to write for both the website and the newspaper.*
Copy Editing	**Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline	Content **Product- oriented:** ● editors fit same content into several news production & delivering to different channels: *each head of section would be equally responsible for content online and in the newspaper.* ● target de facto deadlines (to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes): *deadlines and workflow needed to be set up around four touch points*
Design & Art Proof	One style for newspaper	individual-centered production & dissemination: *"Time Location Context" strategy: package the content that relevant to the right audience at the right time on the right platform* ● interaction mode (personal news portal, social networks)

Table 12 the Multimedia Model of the TMG

5.3 The Times and Daily Mail: a case of digital operation but partly integration

"*There is no one answer for the problems we faced, the challenges we faced. But by delivering this change program, we feel that all past's papers are much better quick to be response to those particular digital changes.*" –Robert Hands, editor of *The Times*, November 12th 2013.

This section will try to describe how *the Times* and *Daily Mail* manage the digital challenges in their own way. The reason why I put these two newspaper organisations together in one section is that they both choose to partly integrate the newsroom, starting from a core editor team to conduct the integration. Therefore, I will describe their characteristics and practices in the same section for better understanding. However, each organisation has its own features; the content below is only for pointing out their main approach for comparison and reference.

5.3.1 Content Market

Lee (interview, 2013) believed that a newspaper is a package of content (politics, sport, share prices and weather) which is used to attract eye balls to advertisers. Unfortunately, for newspapers, the internet is better at delivering than newspapers and it is easier to search jobs and estate information on the web.

According to Phil Webster (interview, 2013), *The Times* had an average daily circulation of 393,978 in September 2013, and the Times' print subscription decreased by 4% year-on-year. However the major rivals of the Times (e.g. the Guardian) have a declining rate between 8% and 10% and in some cases even worse (Neil, 2013).
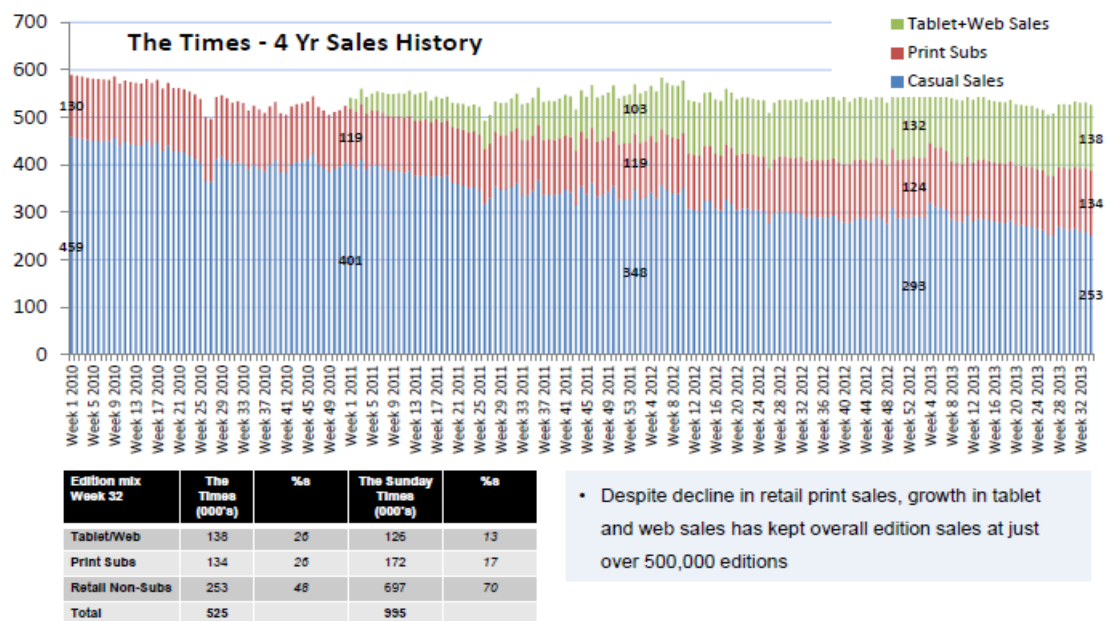
Picture 12 Times 4 year's sales history[36]

The recent trend of *the Times* is a declining circulation, but currently the profit is increasing.

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[36] Picture from: Suzan, 2013. the marketing director of the Times, [Presentation] the Marketing Strategy in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square.

Traditionally in Western, print advertising account as much as, and sometimes more than cover price in terms of profits. But the Internet has an effect on both advertising in print and paper sales, they are all going down (Neil, 2013). So *the Times* doing well to achieve revenue from both online advertising and paywall. These two parts together generate even greater profit than the website which relied on advertising alone. And the reason why advertisers have not been put off, as the millions of people came for print, it is the advertisers know these Times' readers are prepared to pay for the Times (Webster, interview, 2013).

The vision is at the *Times* and *Sunday Times* is about moving it from being a subscription brand, to be more about membership. The Times think they talk more about membership, and that is a more like membership brand and they can have a deep relationship which keeps the customers in the long-run. Now the news value for the Times is more focused on how to provide news and services for these people on the one side, with the other absorbing more digital customers to stay with *the Times*. Therefore, the convergence strategy can be summed as below:

a. The Times moving it from being a subscription brand, to be more about membership;
b. Digital Application
c. Bundle sales

The Times was the first national newspaper to introduce charging for online content as well as the first to have a pay wall. In the year of 2010, when Phil Webster (interview, 2013), who was a political editor of *the Times* for 18 years, became the editor of the Times' website, iPad and iPhone, he was confronted with a situation of a relatively sharp drop in the number of people coming to the website：millions of hits online per month became thousands, because of *the Times* charging for the first time. However, the Times won back readers in their own ways.

In terms of how *the Times* grow its subscription, Suzan mentioned that they are really caring about the marketing in her department (interview, 2013): the strategy is **Deliver Total Paid Sales growth: casual print sell + digital subscription sell.**

The introduction of a paywall means that the combined revenue from advertising and subscriptions, is now greater than when the website relied on advertising alone. To promote these sales in terms of subscriptions, the Times make different package and bundles available.

Picture 13 Three kinds of bundles [37]

The first is the web only pack which is just access to the website; the second is the digital pack which is tabloid pack of all editions along with the website and Smartphone; the last is the biggest pack which is the newspaper with the website.

In terms of marketing strategy, Suzan (interview, 2013) uses different approaches to sell the pack as below:

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[37] Picture from: Suzan, 2013. the marketing director of the Times, [Presentation] the Marketing Strategy in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square.

1. *Owned media – paper, online, social.*

   A lot of what they do is using the owned media. This means using space within the newspaper or website to sell subscriptions to the readers who are already interest in *The Times*. About 50% of Times' sales comes from that channel.

2. *Outbound telephone marketing*

   The Times also do a lot of telephone marketing encouraging people to call them to notify to get the subscription.

3. *Inbound telephone marketing*

4. *Digital sale*

5. *Live selling*

   The Times also do a lot of live selling which is the face-to-face selling and even knocking on people's doors to secure a subscription in advance.

Picture 14 the Subscriptions of the Times in 2013[38]

In 2013, for example, the target of sold subscriptions was 135,000, but only grew by 46,000 people, because the customers changed. So in total, Times failed to promote

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[38] Picture from: Suzan, 2013. the marketing director of the Times, [Presentation] the Marketing Strategy in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square.

99,000, and this amount in fact they need to grow. Therefore, in 2013, the whole sale is only from 342,000 to 388,000, because Times lose so many customers due to the cancel of subscription as customers cancel for numbers of reasons (Suzan, interview, 2013). This chart (see picture 14) basically shows that the growth of the subscription base in print and digital for 4 years. The total growth is relative stable. It is very important that in terms of the business, because the Times used to get it from print sales, now they have the phone sales.

Currently, Times have 200,000 subscriptions for this pack (classic) and there are around 156, 000 people subscribed to the digital pack (Suzan, interview, 2013).
The return of digital customers of 2013 is 40%, but in print it is only 80% (Suzan, interview, 2013). So for the Times, it is really important to keep the customers, which is as important as keep selling.

5.3.2 News formats at the Times

In general, the Times is a tabloid in terms of the compact size as well as a British daily national newspaper; however, according to the content, the Times is a quality paper.

Like the other newspapers, the website of the Times provides 24-hour, 7 days a week, 365 days a year coverage to their readers. Even on days when there are no papers, the Times' website is still working. Everyday the Times is available to their readers through website.

"In the Times, readers are announced as describer, which means they have rights to describe us, comments on stories, on websites" (Webster, interview, 2013). After a dramatically decline, the Times built up a quite big community of readers on the website. After introducing the pay website, the Times brought into iPad again with

the first paywall on the iPad, and then brought this to the Smart Phone as well.

Picture 15 old manage system in Times [39]

When the iPad came out in 2010, the Times was producing a print edition, an iPad edition, smart phone edition, a PDF version online of the paper and the Internet version.

Picture 16 multimedia in Times [40]

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[39] Picture from: Robert Hands, 2013. editor of The Times, speech on Newsroom 360 in the Times on 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square, London
[40] Picture from: Robert Hands, 2013. editor of The Times, speech on Newsroom 360 in the Times on 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square, London

What the Times doing now in 2013 is to promote the print, one kind of tabloid, and another tabloid, kindle, web, PDF and a range of Smartphone versions:

Picture 17 New manage system in Times [41]

Robert mentioned that because they don't know what is coming, they want to find the right system which could enable them to deliver to any platform they can find in a sensible way (interview, 2013).

5.3.3 Logic of Digital Copy Flow

a. News Value

As described above, the strategy of the Times is to target the type of people that advertisers want. Therefore, the news value at the Times is to target valuable people that the advertisers care about most. As Webster (interview, 2013) pointed out there is a certain kind of reader they might be reassembly well off, because they are paying their subscriptions when if they wanted to, they could have free news from BBC, or the Guardian, but they prepared to pay for this. And for these people, the advertisers

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[41] Picture from: Robert Hands, 2013. editor of The Times, speech on Newsroom 360 in the Times on 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square, London

are getting to know they are the Times' readers.
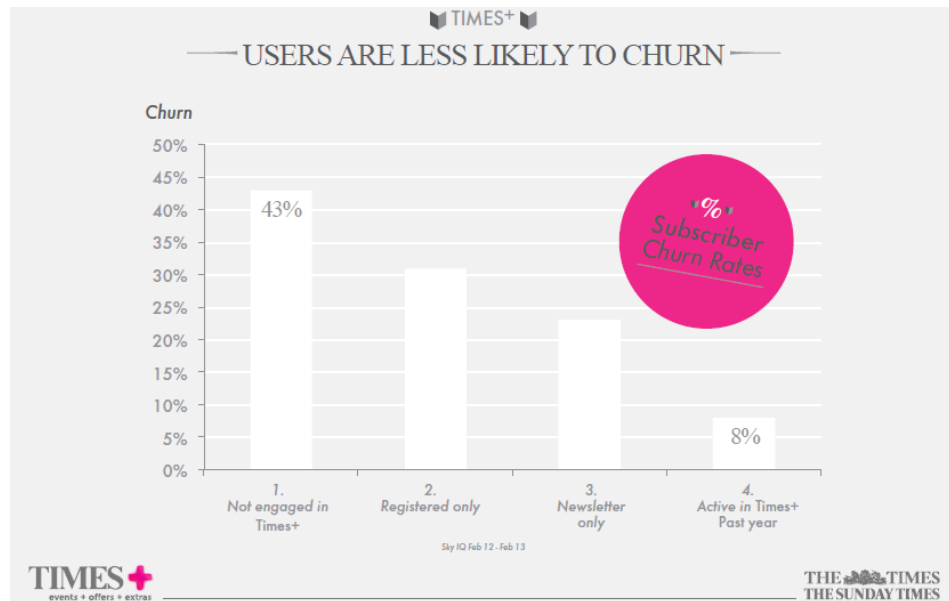
Picture 18 the subscriber churn rates [42]

According to the Times data (see picture 18), non-memberships is 43% to churn, but customers who already registered with Times+ and also active within Times+ and are then offered the chance to meet the journalists, the churn rates of them is only 8% in the year of 2013. The data shows that digital customers are very engaged in Times+. And that people who engaged in the club, are seen as the most valuable customers.

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[42] Picture from: Suzan, 2013. the marketing director of the Times, [Presentation] the Marketing Strategy in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square.
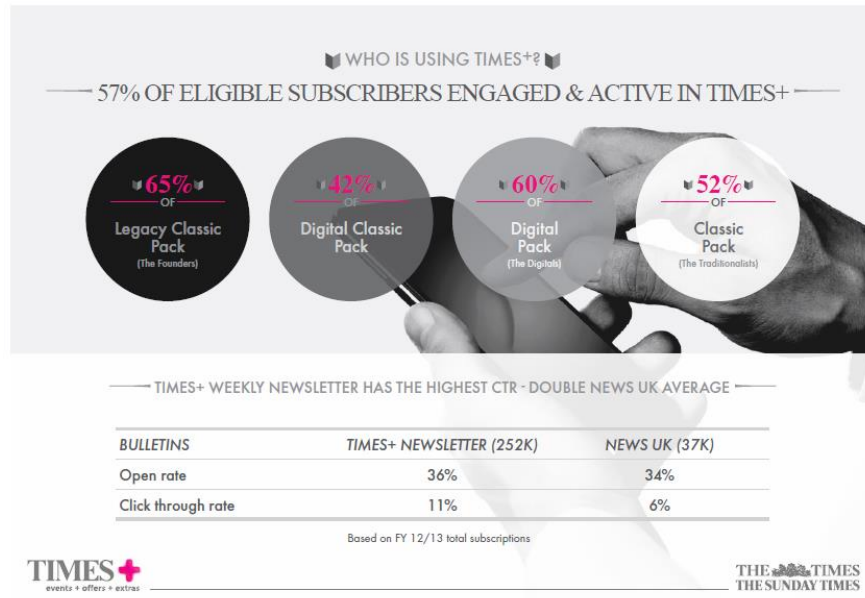
Picture 19 different packages and active in Time + [43]

Inside the Times, they are trying to create a distinct and differentiated proposition through 'Membership'. However, the challenge for them is to keep sales growing as well as keeping the customers the Times already has.

Picture 20 engagement drive retention[44]

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[43] Picture from: Suzan, 2013. the marketing director of the Times, [Presentation] the Marketing Strategy in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square.

[44] Picture from: Suzan, 2013. the marketing director of the Times, [Presentation] the Marketing Strategy in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square.

For the Times the first thing they learned is how to keep customers as long as possible and they know that they have to use their products. "**What we see is, obviously, the more product users we have, the more likely they will stay with us**" (**Suzan, interview, 2013**). So that people are, using their Smartphone more, the website more and tabloids more, and the more they are given encouragement to actually use the products, get involved in the products, the more customers are likely to stay with them. Therefore, the Times created the membership club for their subscribers which is called Times+ in order to develop customer experience and relationships.
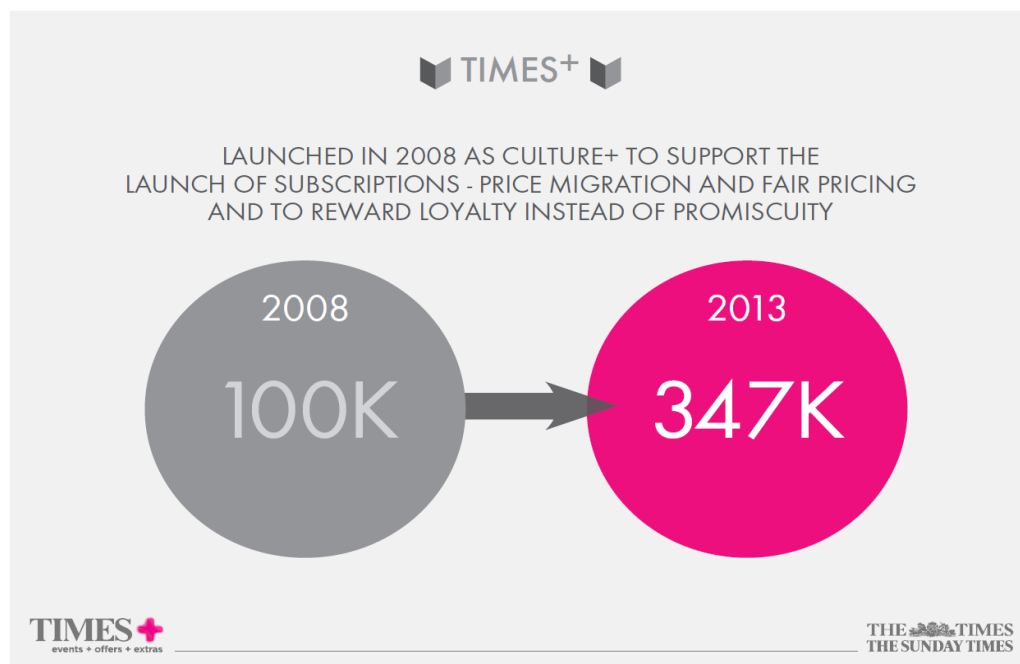
Picture 21 the amount of Time + [45]

Times+ is a mix of events, offers and experience for subscribers and only for them. "We know customers who engage in Time + are less likely to churn" (Suzan, interview, 2013).

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[45] Picture from: Suzan, 2013. the marketing director of the Times, [Presentation] the Marketing Strategy in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square.

b. News Beats

Webster emphasised that what *The Times* are trying to do with the digital products is not only to give their readers the best of what is in the paper, but to give them another reason to come to the website. Previously, they only needed two channels to bring those two together.   However, when the iPad was launched in 2010, it became apparent that the group needed to create a new team to be able to deliver the production of the Times on the iPad or other tablets.

Therefore, in 2011, the company launched a new project, **Newsroom 360**, which was aimed at not only changing the system they use to produce the papers across all the platforms, but also to look at the cultural change within the newsroom, and try to reeducate people in both how they should be delivering the news and new ideas about delivering the news.

The system the company selected, called Méthode, is made by an Italian company Product Media. Méthode arrived in the newsroom in July, 2013. There are three pieces of software: publishing package, a database of producing words, pictures, and a design package in this new system. The capabilities of Methode are as below:

 "At its heart is a publishing system called Méthode, which enables our journalists …

   To simultaneously produce pages in print, on tablets and on the web;
   To edit how stories are presented regardless of platform;
   To have the ability and flexibility to respond to changes in reader habits (to be better placed for future changes for both reader habits and the day changes in technology with new devices coming onto the market)" (Robert Hands, interview, 2013).

Hands (2013) showed their old systems as below, and which now almost have been replaced across the Times (see picture 22).
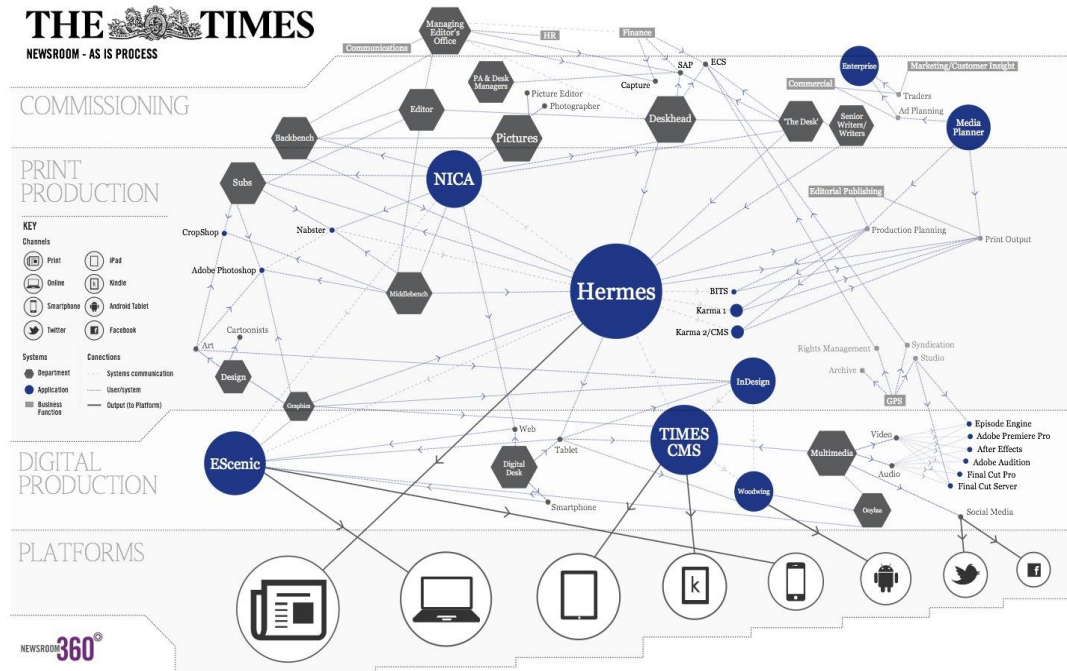
Picture 22 old producing system in Times [46]
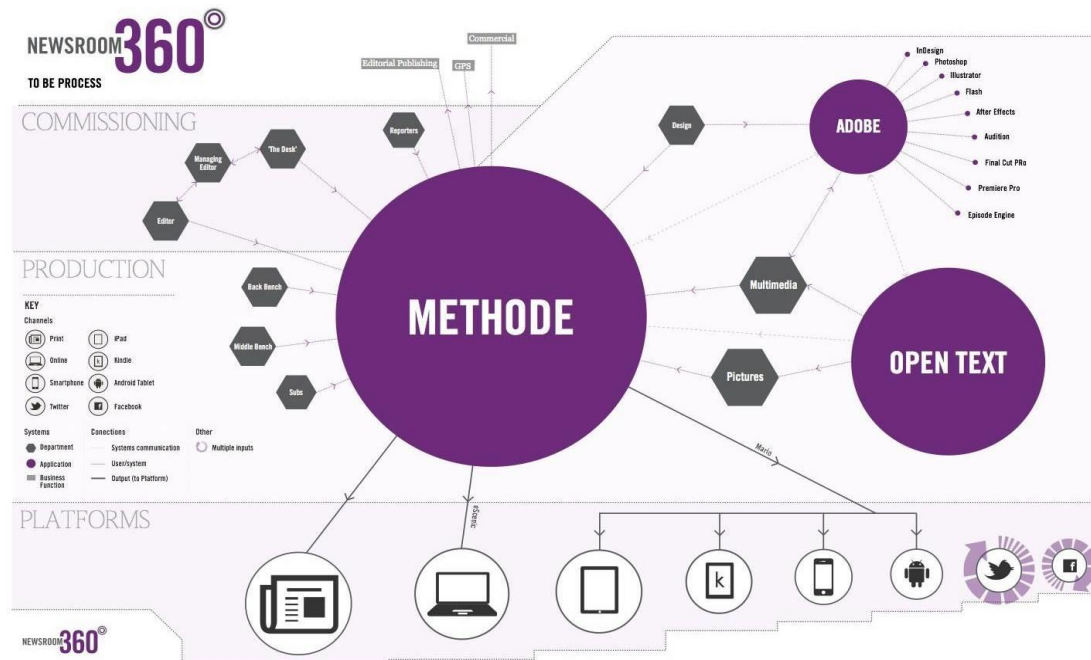
Picture 23 Méthode system in Times[47]
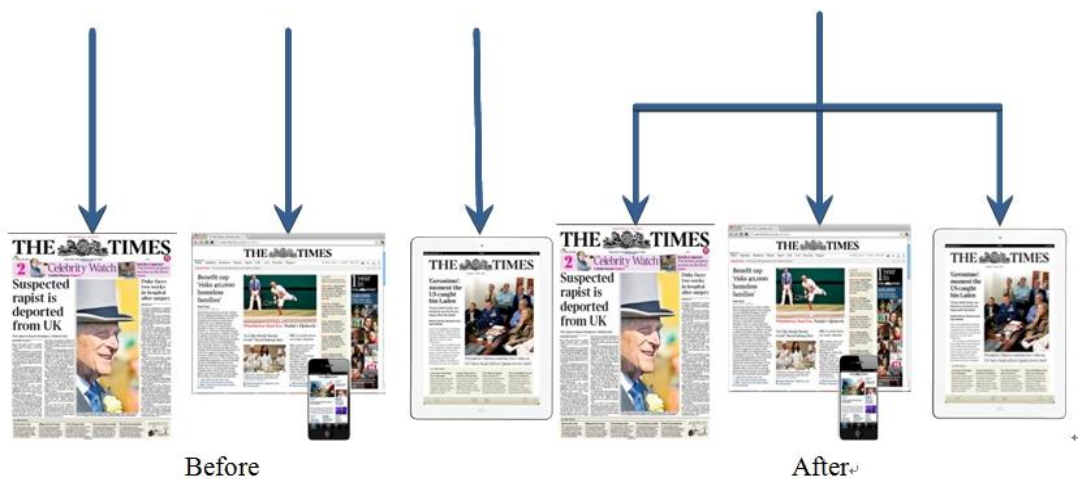
Picture 24 Méthode System in Times [48]

The aim was for editors, reporters and sub-editors to have the tools that put them in control.

> "The core reason is they got this ability is the tools to be able to deliver what we looking for. Now we are in a hugely competitive era of the media and an era of structural change what we don't quite know how the shift from the print, digital; how quickly it going to go, and where our resources need to be most even 3 months 6 months done the line. The change of software and the change of how people think does not give us everything, there is no one answer for the problems we faced, the challenges we faced. But by delivering this change program, we feel that all past's papers are much better quick to be response to those particular digital changes" (Robert Hands, interview, 2013).

In order to coordinate with the new project, The Times has provided a huge range of intensive and detailed training; for instance, master classes for wider groups of journalists, NR360 Leaders' Programmes, advocacy schemes for journalists, and

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[47] Picture from: Robert Hands, 2013. editor of The Times, speech on Newsroom 360 in the Times on 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square, London

[48] Picture from: Robert Hands, 2013. editor of The Times, speech on Newsroom 360 in the Times on 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square, London

talks and events open to the whole newsroom.

In terms of job titles in newsroom, at the Times, they are only divided into editors, reporters and production reporters. In the new newsroom, **editors** have complete responsibility for their title's journalism across print and digital.

"Because their responsibility is much greater, they can now see more readily. By the time we get to December (2013), they should able to see pretty much completely what their sections look like in print, on the Web and on the tablet, almost the entirely publish, not the phone, because they are slightly different link where the phone presented. But they can see those three channels in printable before published" (Robert Hands, interview, 2013).

"And it became increasingly clear to both the Times and the rest of the company that what we really needed was a thorough look at the system we use to produce the paper which will be able to drive great sense of change to allow the same people in principle to produce the Times on any platforms (Robert Hands, interview, 2013)."

The aim was to create a multidisciplinary workforce:

"Mainly the production teams have been completely retrained, so they are not just doing the print, they have been trained across all the platforms" (Hands, interview, 2013).

The idea was to develop high-calibre digital editors:

"What we tried to look at as part of this process is the re-engineering of our really bright prospects to think better about digital. I think now we have a much quicker team, built to deliver digital content. And our readers are

increasingly expecting us to provide the same quality as seen in the print edition for the last hundred years" (Hands, interview, 2013).

But in practice editors and journalists tend to stick to one format:

> "In principle, it means they could be doing each platform at the same time. In practice, it slightly different, because of the pressures of deadline, they need to hit the specific deadline of print, because it has to go out by a certain time, so as it can be printed and delivered. But the tools out there are able to do that. I would expect that at some point it will suit the future if we were look at a different approach to tablet editions, they may not just be the printed paper overnight, but maybe an edition during the day, maybe in the evening papers for a specific type of going home commuter" (Robert Hands, interview, 2013).

So, unlike *the Telegraph* the journalists are generally specialists in producing for different **news formats**. For the **website**, Phil has a team of editors, sub-editors and reporters, a small team of 12. There is another editor to cover through the day as well as through the week. There are sub-editors who also work for the paper and come to the website at different times during the week. Phil has just two dedicated reporters who work only for the website to cover moving stories as they happen. The reporters now agree that they are working harder than before; the demands of news are greater than before as well.

To produce the **iPad** version requires a 9 person team on the side of production, and there are additional staff since The Times brought out the iPad edition; there are 6 or 7 people required each evening to produce the iPad edition, for which they don't have to write any story, they just have to put the stories into the iPad.

5.3.4 Digital Copy Flow in the Times

We can compare the path of a story at *the Telegraph* with *the Guardian* and with the traditional copy flow (see chapter 2). The aim of the digital copy flow in *the Times* is to guide and support the website, the iPad, and the iPhone have their own responsibilities. In order to better understand how this team works, Phil Webster (interview, 2013) set out the example below:

> "The crime correspondent is there in the old Bailey, covering a daily trial. He or she will be expected to write a big story for the paper for the next day. But as the trial happens during the day, they will send me small stories at different times during the day."

He gives another example:

> "So this story, for example, was an exclusive as written by an Indian correspondent and the paper comes out at 10:30 last night, so at 10:30 p.m. this story went to the website. And what the website has, the iPad has, both with the addition of videos and audio. "[49]

In terms of working time, Phil Webster (2013) mentioned that the whole idea around integration of staff is in a sense of reporters are expected to work for the website of Times as well as working for the paper so that Times have the people all day long in different places 24 hours a day to be providing copy for the website. So as the editor, at The Times Phil works from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m., with the night editor coming in at 4pm and working until 1a.m. And from 1 a.m. to 7 a.m. there will be somebody who covers that shift, the all night shift in the office; they are covering everything around the world during that period.

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49   Phil Webster, the editor of the Times' digital department (website, iPad and iPhone), speech on the Transforming on Reporting in the Times, 12th Nov, 2013. London: the Times, 3 Thomas More Square, London.

Stories are produced by journalists for the paper, and if it is not an exclusive, they will put on the website during the day. If journalists have a good exclusive for the paper, the news desk of paper will say to Phil please don't put it up yet, because they want to make a splash at 10 p.m. (the deadline of newspaper at The Times).

The Times also tried to solve some of the efficiency problems of traditional copy flow. Previously, there were three teams from the sub-editing and the copy editing responsible entirely for editing; now, one system has the ability to do it in principle across all platforms. This means there is simultaneous subbing across all platforms.

The aim is that production becomes faster and easier:

"We've heard already *the Metro* which is the free newspaper produced in this country, is looking at the afternoon tablet edition and I would like expect us to think very hard about that early next year. And the reason we can now do it, is because the production has become faster for us and easier for us. Once the new software beds down and people feel more a little bit fluent with it we will reap the benefit of that. Clearly, at the moment, it is still coming to terms with different way of doing it, but once they settle to it, our production will become very expert" (Hands, interview, 2013).

5.3.5 Newsroom Layout

As noted above, prior to the iPad version, the Times had two separate platforms with journalists working in the same team if they were not in the software. In 2007, The Times managed this in simple terms: "just sit together! Sit next to each other" (Robert Hands, interview, 2013). With the iPad version they created a new team. The start of integration was to make the editorial desks of the website and the iPad sit along side the editorial desks of the newspaper. "We talk together all the time. I told

them what is putting up, we will put up any story happens during the day, and everything moves goes up as it happens" (Webster, interview, 2013).

We can say, for *the Times*, they have partly integrated their newsroom in order to coordinate the digital strategy inside their company.

5.3.6 Digital Formats at Daily Mail

Here are the current products provided by the Daily Mail:

Picture 25 various products of Mail Online [50]

The home page of the Sport channel at Mail Online is as below:

[50] Picture from: Various products of Mail online. [Online] 5th of Feb, 2014. Available from: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/article-2024169/Get-Daily-Mail-MailOnline-anytime-.html [accessed on] 5th Feb, 2014.

Picture 26 the homepage of Mail Online [51]

The result is 'a site which reaches as many as 100m unique browsers a month worldwide without doing any discernable harm to print sales, which remain among the most buoyant in the industry' (Ponsford, 2012).

More and more readers are migrating online so the Daily Mail decided to focus on their digital platform. In 2012, Lee Clayton (interview, 2013) said that the Daily Mail invested 135million in their journalism.

Instead of expending time to fit an article in newspaper and creating an interview, Lee Clayton is trying to compete with the BBC and Sky TV everyday in order to bring news instantly and actively (interview, 2013).

Clayton questioned why people pay 60 pence for a newspaper when Mail Online gives the content online for free (interview, 2013). The strategy is packaging the story in different ways to draw a different audience. The data shows there are 61% of

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[51] Picture From: Sports homepage of Mail Online. [Online] 5th of Feb, 2014. Available from: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/index.html. [Accessed on] 5th Feb, 2014.

55+ people who still stay with the paper, while on the side of Mail online 55+ are only account 22%. In the past 2 years in China, the growth is 97% (Clayton, interview, 2013).

However, the homepages of Mail Online have a high consumption worldwide. Lee (interview, 2013) shows the growth of mail online in last 6 years is 1151%; In September 2013, the growth rates are 40% year-on-year, 1.46 billion people online per month. If Mail Online keeps this growth rate at 40% during the next year, then in the September of 2014, the number will be 2.1billion per month. The market share in the US is 48%, and in UK is 32%; and the market share in UK is greater than the rest of the UK national newspapers altogether; the visiting on website and apps grows by 49% year-on-year (Clayton, interview, 2013).

Following research which indicated that people don't want to read the words, but want to look the pictures;

"Our strategy is to give the content free online and attract advisers and manage the business in that way" (Clayton, interview, 2013). The key for this is the homepage. The homepage dominates the Mail Online and Sports is the biggest channel on Mail Online. Different homepages and videos are displayed according to different places in the World, so that the company can sell the advertising to local advertisers. On the other side, Lee added that people are drawn to the website from Facebook and this grows 232% year-on-year; from Twitter the number is 170%. "Our view is when we've got them to the homepage, we've got them. Partly because it is so long and so much out there, so when you come, you stay and stay, and stay" (Clayton, interview, 2013).

5.3.7 Digital Logic of Copy Flow in Daily Mail

a. News Values

The Daily Mail belongs to tabloids in terms of its compact size as well as being a British daily national newspaper, but the Daily Mail is known as a mid-market, middle class newspaper.

"Mail Online is basically ask for news, fast news, energy, drama, chasing numbers, and trying to get traffic, breaking stories, making noise" said Clayton (interview, 2013), head of sport of Mail Online and Daily Mail.

There was a trial in 2013, when the biggest story in sport of the year, was David Beckham retiring from playing football. He signed a 20million pound deal with SKY Television to work as an ambassador. This was an exclusive story of Mail Online, and Lee decided put this story online first and Daily Mail followed up the exclusive story next day. And this is a new trial; the sports team breaks the story by publishing first online and then sells analysis to people for 60 pence every day that follows.

What does the Daily Mail find out is that they discovered they can appear the story on Daily Mail and change the style and presentation in digital delivery, which is the way to conquer the long-term declining of the print media. "The result shows that one does not threat the other" (Clayton, interview, 2013).

b. News Source:

In a very short space of time, Clayton says, "we have to build our company, which was not an international company, into an international one" (interview, 2013). The Daily Mail has an office in New York, in London and in L.A. Very soon, they will spread their office to Australia and India. Recently, the Daily Mail also had conversations with China.

Now Lee is thinking about how to deal with the news sources which will make it work actively online together with the paper.

The existence of the integrated sports department is to be used as a beginning to prove whether or not this method works.

Therefore, both for the Daily Mail and Mail Online, this reorganization of the news, bringing together online and offline provides mutual benefits for both.

c. News Selection

Traditionally, in newspapers, the editor always decided what is on page one and what is the spread. With Mail Online, the editor still has the final decision but they also have a good tool to help the editor make that decision. The tool called **The Real Time Analysis**, which tells staff what readers are consuming, what they are enjoying and which kind of stories they like anywhere in the world (Clayton, interview, 2013). Once the story published, the RTA will show how many people read it in last 30 minutes.

For example, there is a story has been changing position from number 2 to number 1, or how many people reading the article as well as watching the video; now the editor compares with how many people were reading this article last week; now editors compare how many people were reading it 6 weeks ago.

At Mail Online the staff can look at those pages for all their channels and can also see how many people were reading it this morning from India, and even from China. Therefore, picking or selecting news for the readers is just about managing traffic.

"With this tool there is nothing hidden from us, we know what is a good time and what the bad time is for us" (Clayton, interview, 2013).

Clayton (interview, 2013) draws the conclusions on the management of the Sports as below[52]:

1. We are no.1 in the UK, and making massive progress in the US.
2. Mail Online has become the Crown of this company.
3. Mail online has proved that the newspaper company can has a future in a multimedia era.
4. We have created a product which is not just dominating the home market, we are going to attract the audience anywhere people can understand English.

Product can truly have a global scale and become one of the biggest brand ever exist in global news.

d. News Beats

When the Daily Mail thought about integration, the department of Sports was taken as a trial inside the company. The Sports department was the first integration arrangement at the Daily Mail.

Paul Baker, the editor in chief of the Daily Mail newspaper decided the best way for a department to think about online was to take the head of the newspaper department make them the head of the online department. Therefore, for Lee Clayton, he has to learn new skills so does his staff.

In terms of structure in the current Sports department, quite like at the Times, it is partly integrated with journalists working for both formats.

The Mail Online which has become the successful 'by going against industry

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[52] Lee Clayton, the editor of the Sports Department in Mail Online and Daily Mail, speech on the integration in Daily Mail, 12th Nov, 2013. London: Daily Mail, Northcliffe House

orthodoxy and investing in its own dedicated team of 100-plus web-only journalists'
(Ponsford, 2012).   There are 150 people in the department of Sports (40 reporters, 3
editors, 5 people in middle team of management, and the production team has 20
people work for online, 25-30 people for the paper, the rest are all reporters). The
structure of the Sports department for both the paper and online is described by Lee
Clayton, another editor on site and an editor for newspaper; "We work closely with
each other to decide when to publish, online first or how to present on paper. So
underneath the editors, we have production teams: production team for the website
and production team for newspaper, however the journalists are shared by both"
(Clayton, interview, 2013).

In terms of journalists work, Clayton mentioned that journalists/reporters have seen
the biggest change, because they have been trained to think differently (interview,
2013). So he has to remind to tell them everyday, journalists do not just work for
newspaper. There is no extra pay, but he has to make them proud when they have a
story online, as they would have been with the story in the newspaper. Resistance to
these changes at the Daily Mail is minimal, interestingly, last year the best people for
newspaper are the best people online this year.

Overall, Clayton concluded from the experience they have had since the Daily Mail
launched the integrated Sports team, that the success of the website, Mail Online, in
fact, prevented the further decline of the newspaper, secondly, the revenue earned
through the website can be invested in paper, helping to launch the new technology
and training their staff. Therefore, the good name of Mail Online helps to sell the
products, as every year the revenue from Daily Mail is up to 80 million pounds.

To sum up, the table below shows the market changes, digital formats, digital copy
flow and newsroom layout and at The Times and the Daily Mail:

Terms	New Market (Anglo-American)	T/DM News Market
News Consumption	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals	
Format	Content "Melting together" (Erdal, 2007): ● Text and picture can transform on Web, newspaper, social media and mobile; ● Video and audio can be published on the Web, social media and mobile.	all the content go online first
Copy Flow	Digitization of production system (Erdal, 2007) ● Computer ● Internet	Digitization of production system ● Transform to a 24/7 international media business
Revenue	Recession: circulation, advertising revenue and profit margin have fallen (from 2005 to now) (Nel, 2013). Only digital audiences and revenues (online source) saw positive increase. [see table 1, p14]	● the Times' subscription was decrease by 4% year-on-year; ● more and more readers are immigrating to online; ● Daily Mail decided to focus the digital platform and invested 135million in their journalism. ● The Times adopt ***Deliver Total Paid Sales growth strategy: casual print sell + digital subscription sell***
Profit Model/ Business (Audience & advertisers Services)	● making-content-relevant business (IFRA, 2010); ● Provide diverse services include online and offline (Lawson, 2003) ● Investment and Content Innovation [see p16]	● Face to the multimedia market ● Provide diverse services include online and offline: *The Times provides The print edition, the iPad edition, the smart phone edition, a PDF version online of the paper and the Internet version; Daily Mail provides paper, Mail Online, e-paper, Kindle, Daily Mail App, Mail Online Apps.* ● Investment in digital platform and paywall

News Format	Traditional Logic of Copy Flow	Digital Logic of Copy Flow in T/DM
News Value /Story Ideas	House style (Journalists & Editors Follow rules of Organization) ● Newspaper-centric thinking ● Story ideas from	House style, but each platforms have different aspects of the same news story: ● Multimedia thinking ● Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest as well as advertisers' interest: *the Times is to target on valuable people that the*

	reporters & editors: lack of communication with readers ● Content only for paper	*advertisers most care about* ● Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms: *the Times create the membership club- using the Smartphone more, use the website more and tabloids, and more readers give encourage, actually use the products, get involve the products, the more customers are likely to stay with the brand*
News Source	According to news value (House style) to meet the requirements of a newspaper format: ● News information from reporters & editors ● Editors fill the gaps in page layout	Daily Mail and Mail Online, the news source is a kind of reorganized and different packed strategy for the market and the company which is combining the online and paper together in order to get the mutual benefit ● The method of gathering information is multiple through social media ● Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) provider as well as the potential target market
News Selection	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (editor & reporter)** for filling the gaps	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: **The Real Time Analysis** ● Fitting into different devices ● Adjusting in multimedia formation which changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper: *Mail Online use Different homepages and videos are according to different places in the World, so that the company can sell the advertising to local advertisers.*
News Beats	**Linear:** ● Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats**, division of labour **geographically** ● Decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles)	**Non-linear:** ● Multi-skilling, Teamwork, user generated center: *editors and journalists all work for multimedia platforms* ● Centralized structure (Integrated layout, news hub, open working space) *'partly integrated'*: The Times 360 newsroom, Daily Mail Sports Team

Working Phases	Traditional Copy Flow	T/DM Digital Copy Flow
Planning	Fixed morning/evening meeting around newspaper deadline	Constant meetings (hourly ones) at editorial desks, the website and the iPad staff has sit along side to be on duty anytime
Commissioning & Briefing	**Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow**: ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to	**Web-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals (PEJ, 2008) with **rolling workflow**: ● **Rolling** working time 24/7 hrs: *reporters are respected to work for the website of Times as well as working for the paper so that Times have the people all day long in different places 24hr a day to be providing copy to the website.*

	journalists ● Certain skills	● **Multiple** tasks: content provide for multiple platforms: *Stories are produced by journalists for the paper if it is not exclusive, they will put on the website during the day* ● Advanced skills: interview, write & deliver quickly, more technically proficient & computer literate
Copy Editing	**Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline	Content **Product- oriented:** ● editors fit same content into several news production & delivering to different channels: *Sports department for both the paper and Mail Online* ● target de facto deadlines (to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes): no *deadlines for online*
Design & Art Proof	One style for newspaper	individual-centered production & dissemination: *"Time Location Context" strategy: package the content that relevant to the right audience at the right time on the right platform* ● interaction mode (personal news portal, social networks)

Table 13 the Multimedia Model of the Times and Daily Mail

According to the above content, there are similarities and also differences between the *Daily Mail* and *The Times.* Basically, in the journey of media integration, they are both targeting a potential and valuable market, and by leading the profit or the development of the print on its digital. For *The Times*, the paywall did not crush the print sales, while at the *Daily Mail*, the digital first principle also did not harm the print sales. Therefore, the digital strategies in both groups, in fact, complement each other to a certain degree and the results show that even though this can not prevent the decline in print, it is still profitable overall. They both choose the digital team as the leader in the newsroom, and partly integrated their editorial on this basis, which does not mean that in the future they will hesitate to integrate the whole group, like the Telegraph does, however for both of them, the leading team was a best trail for now.

Chapter 6: The Empirical Case Studies of the Chinese Newspapers: Southern Metropolis Newspaper and Guangzhou Daily

This chapter is the research from interviews and observing at two newspapers in China. Eventually we will be able to compare what is here with the other cases described so far and see the differences and also similarities. That will lead to the conclusions. But in this chapter it is needed to use the conceptual model to understand the empirical data collected in the field about why these two news groups made decisions about newsroom convergence. First will be *the Southern Metropolis* newspaper and then the *Guangzhou Daily*.

6.1 The Southern Metropolis Newspaper: A Case of Walking between the Ideal and Reality

Southern Metropolis, officially established in 1997, is one of the series of newspapers that belong to Nanfang (Southern) Daily Press Group.

Southern Metropolis is known as an investigative Chinese newspaper and its purpose is to be the best newspaper in China. In 2003, *Southern Metropolis* was the first newspaper to uncover the scandal of "Sun Zhigang incident"[53] and to report the SARS. The newspaper's investigation report forced Guangzhou government to admit the finding of a suspected SARS case in Guangzhou in December 2003, and released the truth to the public in the first place.

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[53]In the evening of March 17, 2003, a youth named Sun Zhigang Hubei, working for a company in Guangzhou, while on his way to the cafe, he was arrested and repatriated to the Guangzhou asylum transit station because of the lack of a temporary residence permit. The next day, Sun Zhigang was sent to an asylum officer shelters. Here, Sun Zhigang was brutally beaten by resettlement staff, and died on March 20, 2003. This event was known as the "Sun Zhigang incident."

6.1.1 Market Changes for the Southern Metropolitan

The newspaper is the main income of the Nanfang group. For example, in 2012, the revenue of the newspapers (subscription and advertising), was close to 90% of the whole revenue of the entire group (Gou, interview, 2013). The rest came from the advertising of website and digital applications (free subscriptions).

The main news market of the *Southern Metropolis* is Guangzhou and Shenzhen. This paper is also distributed in Pearl River Delta[54] and available in Hong Kong and Macau. Guangzhou news market is traditionally dominated by three large newspaper groups: Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group, YangCheng Evening Newspaper Group and NanFang Newspaper Group. This makes the market very competitive. Every year, three newspaper groups are competing with each other to attract audience and advertisers. According to the report of 2011 World Newspaper and News Publishers Association (Nandu, 2014), the *Southern Metropolis* ranked No. 18 on the list of Top 30 World Daily Newspaper Circulation (see Chart 13), with 1.91 million circulation. *The People's Daily* ranked 12, 2.381 million circulation and *Guangzhou Daily* ranked 30th, 1.65 million circulation.

Although the *Southern Metropolis* still takes up a large share in Guangzhou news market. Recently, this paper noticed that the news market is starting to change. The first market change has been the slightly declining in circulation. The average daily circulation of the *Southern Metropolis* is 1.8 million copies, and now the circulation

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[54] The Pearl River Delta (PRD), in Guangzhou Province, People's Republic of China. It is the low-lying area surrounding the Pearl River estuary where the Pearl River flows into the South China Sea. It is one of the most densely urbanised regions in the world and one of the main hubs of China's economic growth. This region is often considered an emerging megacity. The PRD is a megalopolis, with future development into a single mega metropolitan area, yet itself is at the southern end of a larger megalopolis running along the southern coast of China, which include large metropolises like Chaoshan, Zhangzhou-Xiamen, Quanzhou-Putian, and Fuzhou. The nine largest cities of PRD has a combined population of 57.15 million in at 2013 end, however, their population growth is modest at 0.45% year over year, comprising 53.69% of the provincial population. According to the World Bank Group, the PRD has become the largest urban area in the world in both size and population.

名次	国家	报名	发行量(万份)		名次	国家	报名	发行量
1	日本	读卖新闻	995.1		16	英国	每日邮报	211.7
2	日本	朝日新闻	770.3		17	韩国	东亚日报	210.0
3	印度	印度时报	388.5		18	中国	南方都市报	191.0
4	日本	每日新闻	347.6		19	印度	美丽马拉雅拉报	190.3
5	中国	参考消息	313.6		20	美国	今日美国	182.9
6	日本	日本经济新闻	301.1		21	中国	扬子晚报	181.0
7	印度	天眼太阳报	299.2		22	日本	东京体育报	178.0
8	英国	太阳报	292.9		23	日本	体育日本	177.0
9	德国	图片报	290.0		24	印度	赖布尔报	175.0
10	印度	觉悟日报	279.5		25	印度	印度斯坦报	169.9
11	日本	中日新闻	268.9		26	中国	齐鲁晚报	166.8
12	中国	人民日报	238.1		27	日本	日本体育报	166.7
13	韩国	朝鲜新闻	230.0		28	印度	今日报	165.7
14	韩国	中央日报	220.0		28	日本	产经新闻	165.7
15	美国	华尔街日报	211.8		30	中国	广州日报	165.0

Chart 13 the first 30 world newspaper circulation list[55]

is between 0.7 to 0.8 million (Gou, interview, 2013). In the past 15 years (from 1997 to 2012), the circulation kept rising but this figure started leveling off to 1.85 million in 2013, then fallen to 1.84 million in 2014. According to Gou (interview, 2013) the daily average circulation data from 1997 to 2012 can be showed as below:
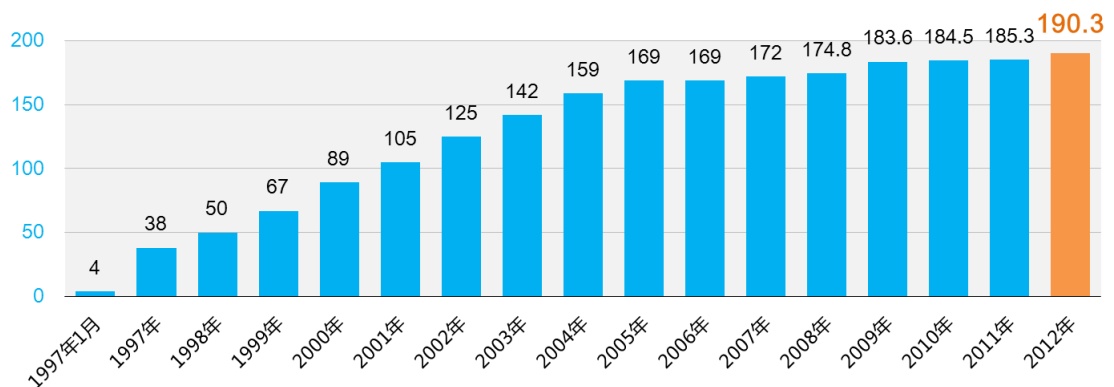
Chart 14 the daily average circulation data of the Southern Metropolis (1997 to 2012)[56]

Secondly, the overall advertising revenue is declining. Although the advertising is gradually distributing to websites and digital applications, the Southern Metropolis's

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[55] The first 30 World Daily newspaper circulation list, Source from: Nandu.com. [Available Online:] http://www.nfmedia.com/zt/ndqmt/201211/t20121119_358452.htm{Accessed on :} 23rd June, 2014.
[56] Data from: the Issue Department (Guangzhou) of Southern Metropolis Newspaper, Guangzhou, P.R. China

annual advertisement revenue is still good (Zhang, interview, 2014). However, the paper has to be aware of the change concept from the traditional consumptive idea of putting advertisement on newspaper to low-cost and high return received Internet-based platforms.

Thirdly, the penetration rate of mobile devices (iPhone, Android & iPad) is rising at present. The Southern Metropolis saw this potential market as future profit battle field, however, the data traffic (incomplete Wi-Fi coverage in China) does not meet the popularity degree of mobile application.

The market changes are not as severe as those in the UK. The profit of Southern Metropolis is basically stable (the advertising revenue still accounts for 90%). However, Gou worried about the current revenue structure will bring risk for the group because of the paper takes up the largest share, but the advertisement will distribute to other platforms very soon (interview, 2013). Gou feels that now they do not want to put all the risk on the paper. Therefore, Gou is exploring the diverse development which includes digital business, multimedia applications and copyright sales (interview, 2013). All of these are taking into account of Southern Metropolis' Media Convergence Strategy which includes newspaper clusters, digital media and value-added business.

As an important part of Media Convergence in the Southern Metropolis, value-added business has become an extension of its value chain.

> "*In the trends of media convergence, if the Southern Daily Press Group wants to truly expand well- from a single media [newspaper] into multimedia operation- it is necessary to establish an integrated media production system, ability to form and improve the viability of media convergence*." Yang Xingfeng, the President of the Southern Newspaper Media Group said in 2009.

Southern Metropolis was the first newspaper which brought up a complete strategy of media convergence. The Southern Newspaper Media Group (SMG) took this exploration as an "experimental field" for the whole company. According to the planning, Southern Metropolis wants to be the first flagship and to ensure its leadership in the newspaper industry. Therefore, the Southern Metropolis takes the cross-region newspapers strategy as the first step and key procedure of media convergence which aims to achieve full coverage of its brand in urban areas.

Cross-region strategy is also named newspaper clusters, which aims to target on mobile users and value-added business in related urban news market, in order to expand the newspaper's influence. Zhang estimated that the Southern Metropolis would complete the entire media strategy in the year of 2020 (interview, 2014).

The diagram below shows how SMG organises the entire media convergence strategy: from one newspaper to region newspapers and further to form the newspaper clusters, and then develop to a multimedia brand in year 2020.
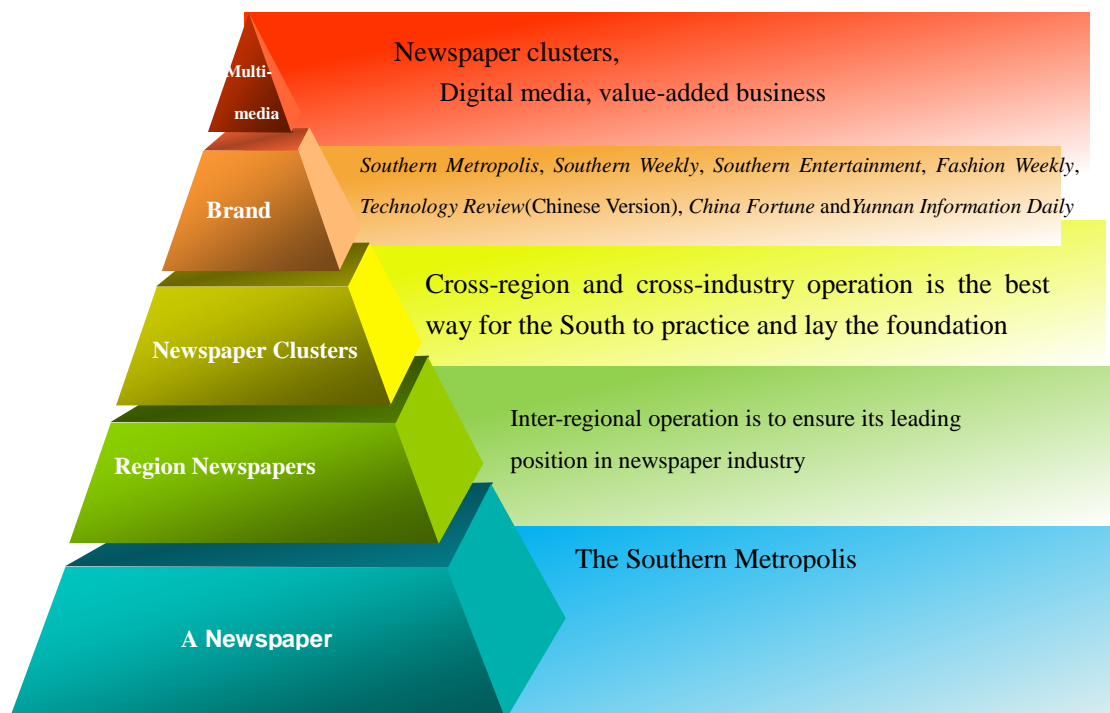
Picture 27   SMG Media Convergence Strategy: from a Daily Paper to Newspaper Cluster[57]

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[57] Source from: Cao, k. et al. (2009). *The Idea of the Southern Metropolis Daily's media cluster.*

Inside the newspaper clusters, there are the *Southern Metropolis*, *the Southern Weekly*, *the Southern Entertainment*, *the Fashion Weekly*, *the Technology Review* (Chinese Version), *the China Fortune* and *the Yunnan Information Daily*.
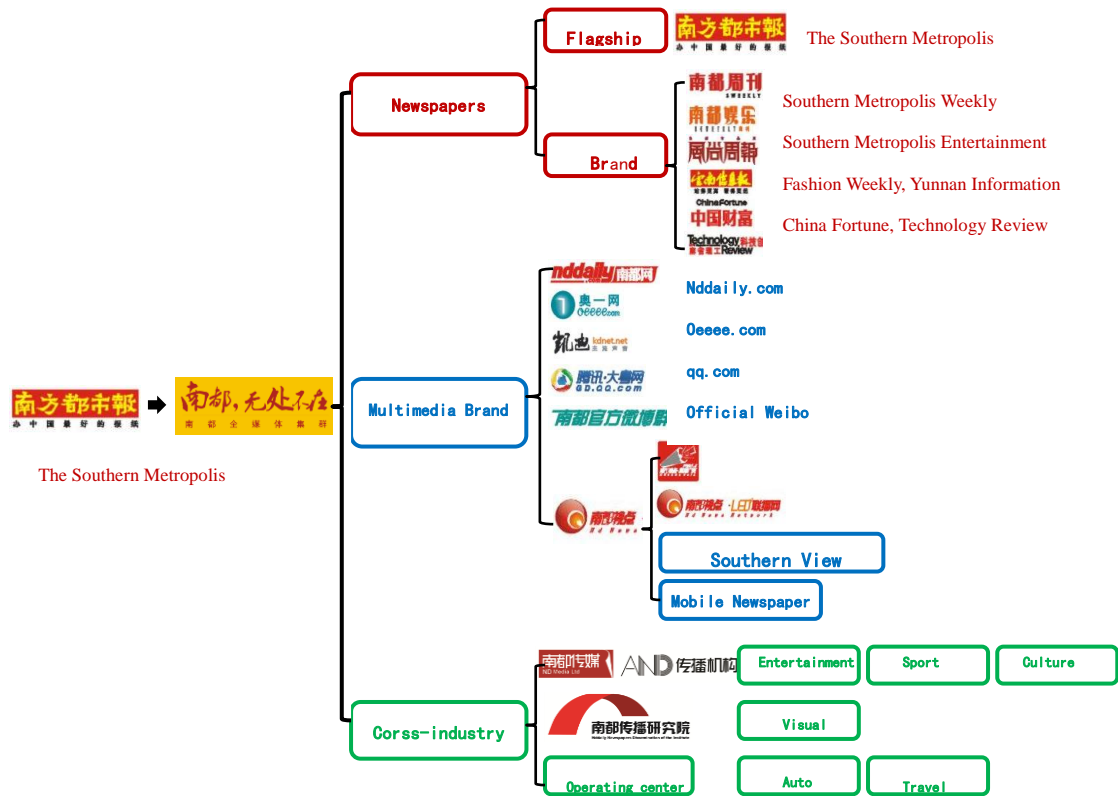
Chart 15 digital formats of the Southern Metropolis[58]

The president of the South Press, Yang Xingfeng (interview, 2013), said that this strategy needs to build an integrated newsroom: *"the Southern Metropolis has to fully achieve media production capacity, has the ability of crossing various platforms, before eventually building up the multimedia system"*.

〔 online 〕 Available from :<http://media.nfdaily.cn/cmyj/23/03/content/2010-04/27/content_11442721_6.htm> 〔Accessed 02 January 2012〕.

[58] Source from: Cao, k. et al. (2009). *The Idea of the Southern Metropolis Daily's all media cluster.* 〔online〕Available from :<http://media.nfdaily.cn/cmyj/23/03/content/2010-04/27/content_11442721_6.htm> 〔Accessed 02 January 2012〕.

The CEO of the Southern Network Yi Haiyan introduced that the network revenues reached tens of million (RMB) in 2010; in the same year, the Southern Newspaper's income grew by 17% (Gao, 2011). She believes this result proves that by integrating diverse platforms with marketing promotion, digital media has not hinder the development of traditional newspaper business, on contrary, it further benefit the whole group (Gao, 2011).

6.1.2 Digital Formats at Southern Metropolis

a. News Formats
Southern Metropolis has developed several new sections by transferring content on websites to print in order to attract audiences and advertisers to newspaper. These include:

- **Mesh** a new section on newspaper which concerns major and funny news on other series Southern newspapers and Southern websites.

- **Guangzhou Breakfast** on the local news section is another example, two pages everyday with some hot topics from Weibo[59] which is relating to local hot figures, comments and ideas.

- **Data Reading** which publishes on the Pearl River Delta section is news from the perspective of data analysis.

- **Polls** In 2011, the Southern Metropolis planned a section on newspaper-"Polls", which is a big reform of traditional journalism. These are based on

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[59] Weibo, refers to Microblogging in China, or China-based microblogging services, including: NetEase Weibo (launched by NetEase), People's Weibo (launched by People's Daily), Phoenix Weibo (launched by Phoenix Televison), Weibo (company), Sina Weibo (launched by SINA Corporation, weibo.com, the most visited Chinese weibo service and sometimes simply referred to as "Weibo"), Sohu Weibo (launched by Sohu), Tencent Weibo (launched by Tencent Holdings).

small-scale surveys and data collection (around a few hundred questionnaires), aims at exploring current hot topics in local area. Editors are no longer sit and wait for reporters to give them news stories to fill the gaps in the paper, instead, editors and reporters can take the initiative to investigate and plan topics based on data.

Picture 28 Topics of the "Polls" section on Southern Metropolis[60]

For example, the diagrams above show two topics of the "Polls" section on the Southern Metropolis. The first picture (on the left) was published on 8th August, 2013 shows the net poll results of 22 government agencies in Dongguan (a city in Guangdong province). "Poll" section editor sent a team to collect data about people's satisfaction with those government departments through questionnaires in terms of working conditions, attitudes and efficiency in Municipal Public Security Bureau Hall. The second one (on the right) was published on 19th July, 2013 shows the Southern reporters' survey of senior private clubs in Foshan (a city in Guangdong

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[60] Source from: NanDu Network, from Nandu.com. [Available Online:] http://epaper.oeeee.com/K/html/2013-07/19/content_1898709.htm.{Accessed on:} 22nd June, 2014.

province), intended to reveal the true face of senior clubs and what kind of problems clubs' "privacy protection" brought to the regulators.

b. Mobile Formats

Mobile reading terminals will be the future battle ground for the media in China. Gou (interview, 2013) stressed that the Southern must not disregard this field and should put all effort on this platform.

The Southern Metropolis developed their own mobile version on apps and android. Everyday there are three versions: morning mobile news, lunch reading and evening news through MMS and SMS. The Southern Network takes the responsibility of publishing its mobile version three times daily. Now, the mobile version mainly provides breaking news, political news, entertainment and fashion news to users.

Now *Southern Metropolis* has 1.1 million fixed mobile subscribers (Gou, interview, 2013). The *Southern Metropolis Daily* iPad version was launched on June 8th in 2011, after one month, this digital product was ranked second on the list of free Chinese digital media products, named after Sina. com; in September of 2011, this product was on the top of the list (Gou, interview, 2013). At the same time, the iPad product has already begun to have advertising revenue through advertising agency (Gou, interview, 2013).

Southern Daily on iPad has over two million readers (Gou, interview, 2013). Recently, over a million customers who downloaded the apps have been counted.

Southern Metropolis is also planning to launch the *Southern Metropolis Daily* English version on apps in 2014, which faces to overseas readers. Gou (interview, 2013) found lots of overseas readers are very interested in Southern Newspapers' reports, but many people do not read Chinese; therefore, the group is considering of

launching the English version for those readers. However, the English version app, unlike the Chinese one which is basically free, will adopt the pay wall strategy which Gou call it 'micro-payment mode'. The micro-payment mode will be running like this: when you read one reporting or article on app, you will be only charged for a penny. Many a little makes a mickle, Gou believes this strategy could cover the cost effectively. However, in China, the copyright protection is relatively weak, so the pay wall strategy is a bit risky in news market.

c. Social Media Formats

Gou believes media convergence or multimedia operation, in fact, makes the demand of media is much higher than before (interview, 2013). Therefore, besides the mobile version, there is a Southern official Weibo available for 24/7 all year round. In this case, the entire department could coordinate with each other and rapidly response to breaking news at anytime (Mo, interview, 2013). Now (in the year of 2013), the official microblogging's active users are more than 4 million daily (Mo, interview, 2013).

d. Crossmedia Content Sales

Many large portals (Sina.com, Yahoo.com, etc.) in China, if they have news sections, they will purchase content from the Southern News Group (Gou, interview, 2013).

However, the Group also has a strategy to achieve more content sales across other media like TV and Radio. The Southern has achieved the experience of how to effectively transfer print content made into audio and video program. Since 2009, Southern has been gaining industry and market awareness in the field of channel content partners in radio and television.

These content sales are based on the Southern Official Network, which combines

Unicom network[61], broadcasting, wireless, mobile, outdoor text, audio and video together. Now this Network is used as a hub for the digital services as well as digital business (Gou, interview, 2013).

For example, in 2009, Southern Metropolis worked with Guangdong Radio News Channel to make a program: "Southern Viewpoint, Live Guangdong". This was only a half hour program each day, but was a trial product of crossmedia content sales. The same year, in December, Southern strengthened its cooperation with TV stations and signed an agreement with ChaoSheng TV[62] to film "The Merchants Journey" documentary. At this point, the Southern's crossmedia content sales business stepped into TV industry.

Also, the *Southern Entertainment Weekly* and the Southern Network are fully cooperating in entertainment sections with Tomato Network. Through this integrated market and entertainment channel, profit comes from the output copyright and content trading with other media as a newsagent.

Now, in terms of the digital copyright sales, Southern is relatively in the lead in the Chinese newspapers market (Gou, interview, 2013).

6.1.3 Copy Flow in Southern Metropolis

a. News Values

In terms of content and news values, generally speaking, the *Southern Metropolis* is a daily tabloid, similar to *the Times* in UK, while the content has some sections (Women, Sports and Family) more like the *Daily Mail*. Compared to other Chinese

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[61] Unicom network is one of the two major Chinese telecom operators, the other one is China Telecom.
[62] Chaosheng TV is an officially TV Station registered in Hong Kong, which faces to Chinese and Cantonese, features Chaoshan culture by focusing on Chaoshan merchants and their cultures. The television media organisation headquarter is in Hong Kong. The website address is www.cstv.hk.

newspapers, *Southern Metropolis* has more western news values because the newspaper is more focused on investigative reporting (for example the "Sun Zhigang" incident and SARS reporting in 2013). At the same time, like all print media, Southern is under the censorship by local government and this limits its news reporting and this also limits the news values it can have.

Its readers are mainly between 25 to 44 years old with higher education background and white collar in China who are the targets of advertisers. These audiences pay more attention to the quality life, valued brand and high quality products. They are positive customers and very interested in real estate and automotive products.

Gou Ye, the CEO of Southern Metropolis Media Transformation, currently says, journalists still hold newspaper-centric mindset and put more effort on general reporting (interview, 2013). Gou (interview, 2013) feels that media convergence is not just a business, but also a "Media +Platform" strategy. Gou believes that in a successful digital model, "media" should be always put in the first place. On the other hand a "platform" should have utilities and industrial properties which can be developed and grown bigger and stronger in news market.

The basics news values of the *Southern Metropolis* are not changing – they are more catering to **local readers' interests** and **social responsibility**. The *Southern Metropolis* takes its news values and social responsibility as the first principle when running the multimedia platforms. Therefore, the generalization of core values has not changed. For the Southern Metropolis, its **core value** is to be "a recorder of social process, an opinion expresser, a modern society breeder, an advisor as well as a civic consciousness enlightener."

There is some evidence that reporters wish they could follow more like Western survey style or **investigative type** of news values (Gou, interview, 2013). Gou also says reporters would like to transit from general news stories reporting to current

affairs reporting and comment writing. Gou (interview, 2013) emphasized that the most crucial thing for the transformation in the *Southern Metropolis* is the ultimate mission of responsibility for social values and social enlightenment.

Gou summed up three transforming directions in terms of news value:

The first news value he wishes to change is the **speed** of reporting:

> "*Today, we are in the era of the information is more and more developed. All the information if you left it until the next day, it has been 24 hours later to see it, does it still make any sense to you?* " Mo Li, Editor of Guangzhou news department (interview, 2013)

The second news values which is also changing, is an increasing focus on **entertainment**. For example "Mesh" section which concerns major and funny news from other newspapers and websites has different news values from previous.

Thirdly, Gou (Interview, 2013) believes that in the future, the *Southern Metropolis* needs more so-called **citizen journalists** to help breaking news reporting. Because, Internet and BBS network (Bulletin Board System) as mass media obviously have advantages, which cannot be ignored by any media organization, particularly in terms of content producing and **interaction** compared to newspapers.

b. News Sources

Due to the social-media (Facebook, Twitter, Weibo, Weichat) is more and more popular, in terms of spreading speed, newspapers lost the advantages of breaking news reporting (Gou, interview, 2013). Sometimes, without the citizen journalists' help, newspaper reporters are difficult to show the whole picture of the breaking news, not to mention the exclusive coverage.

Media convergence has brought two changing aspects of news source in *Southern Metropolis*. Previously, reporters were assigned to interview and write general news stories for the newspaper. Now, editors and reporters **interact** with **citizens** who would like providing **perspectives** (news value) and **clues** for the story.

Secondly, multimedia platforms help the *Southern Metropolis* to find new clues (news source) on the Internet. For example, stories on "Guangzhou Breakfast" are some sources collected from Weibo. "Data Reading" is a new section based on online journalists' data analysis – also known as data journalism.

Gou (interview, 2013) said this is probably the future of traditional or professional media-- in the future: *Southern Metropolis* has to be a **mass (citizen) media**. Gou (interview, 2013) gives some ideal transformation ideas of news sources, although those ideas are still under planning. The first is "do something but not everything". For example, Gou (interview, 2013) said in the future, "if we complete the transformation, ideally we could only choose major affairs and **broken news** to report instead of asking people to gather everything back, in this case there are more reporters available working in the back-end, processing and verification stories".

c. News Selection

Digital formats (Weibo) have changed the publication cycle. For example, when the news event comes out, the first choice is to put it on the newspaper's official Weibo site. At the same time, other digital media (Network, radio online and Wechat) will spread this out immediately. Gou (interview, 2013) stressed that now Southern Metropolis has more than 4 million followers on Weibo.

As noted in the section on news values, in China traditionally, newspapers have limited opinion space and editorial freedom. And this heavily affects the publish time and freedom on those investigative reporting (the official ban will cancel the particular reporting on the print whenever Chinese government gives the order).

However, this situation has changed in the multimedia era. Now, if there is a sensitive story, the editors will assess its risks for the newspaper. If most of the editors believe this article should not be reported on the paper, then it will be published **online only**. This means even some sensitive issues come out, stories could be open to the public without intervene from regulatory authorities.

For example, a social media like Weibo has helped the *Southern Metropolis* releasing news stories before the paper received the official ban. Mo (interview, 2013) explained that when the propaganda department reported a ban order, the paper chose to publish the message via Weibo immediately: "Even I do not know if Weibo will be blocked in the future, but typically there will be a few hours before the ban order issued, usually at night, we will spread news in short message or long story before the ban sent down."

Another example, in 2012 is the "House Uncle" Case. This was about Mr. Cai Bin who was the former commissar of Guangzhou City Management Comprehensive Law Enforcement Bureau Panyu Branch. He was exposed on an Internet, as owning more than 20 sets of real estate and bribery of 2.75million RMB during his tenure. He was suspended and sentenced to eleven and half years. In this case, Mo (interview, 2013) said editor assessed its risks, "we judge this article to see it should be reported on the print or not, and estimate the ban will come, so we prefer to publish this reporting on Weibo first."

In China, there was an official ban of withdraw or postpone some sensitive reporting before the print get published. In the previous, there is a lot of things had to be hidden in dark. However, the appearance of digital media means that although the print is still under the government's control, digital media has changed and promoted the Freedom of the Press in terms of news selection with greater editorial freedom. "Because of the multiple methods to publish, now we can find out basically there is no story can be hidden away" Mo said (interview, 2013).

6.1.4 News Beats and Copy Flow at Southern Metropolis

Southern Metropolis experienced significant difficulties in integrating its newsroom. The original idea was, based on multimedia publishing system, to put the content from news call center, real-time monitor, social media, paper, the Southern Network and the journals into a central database. By converging content into database, the print, websites and periodicals could extract any content from it. Editors could re-edit raw content into news products according to different output platforms.

Also, the idea plans to concentrated administrative systems & data, human resource management (employee information), advertisers' resources data, experts' data, brand resources, the South Campus and reader database, etc., into this database.

According to the planning, the first stage would be the access of editing system, the second stage is the access of financial system, and the final stage is the access of administrative system (Cao et al, 2010). However, Southern Metropolis (SM) only has established new departments. Like *the Times* and *the Daily Mail*, SM established a separate New Media Department, rather than complete the entire database. The New Media department includes a Weibo team, a network team and two video teams. New digital formats, like the Polls, SM established a Research Projects team for it.

In Zhang's department (Media Strategy Department), a very important task is to provide reports on group's development proposal and research for senior managers. For example, recently the Southern is planning to set up a Polling Center, then the research team has to study about the "Poll", such as how to do Polls in the American media (literature search, propaganda and how to design the framework). Then the next for Zhang, is to build up a very good relationship with editors, talk to them, exchange views and share experience, which could provide some specific

suggestions and recommendation for the *Southern Metropolis* (Zhang, interview, 2014).

In the Local News Department, there are 75 reporters: 13 people are editors, another 24 are politics reporters, the rest are social and outburst reporters (Mo, interview, 2013). Two thirds of the staff in local news department can be considered as multimedia reporters who could send the articles online or write short information for Weibo initially (Mo, interview, 2013).

The Chart below gives a description of the current copy flow at the *Southern Metropolis* which shows there are two types of copy flows coexist in newsroom: traditional and digital:
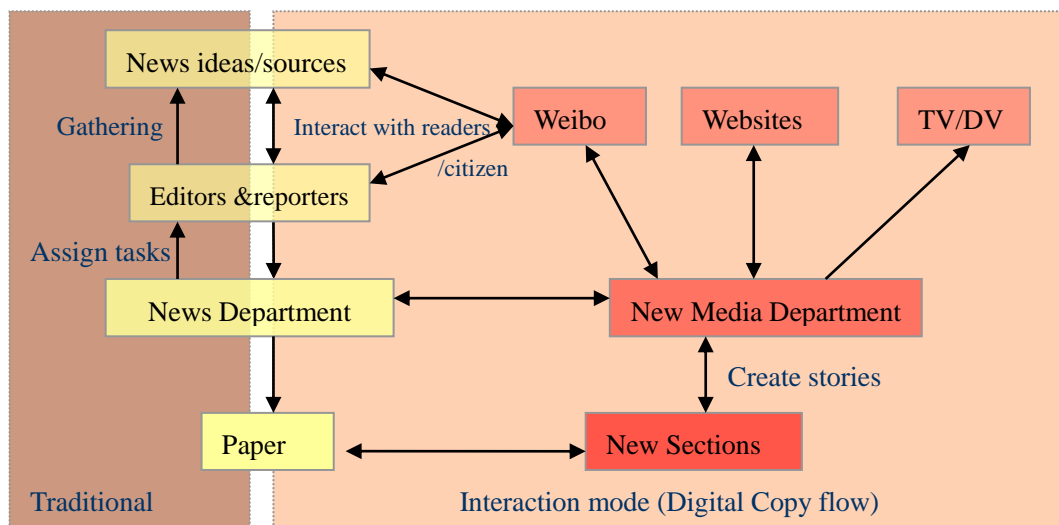
Chart 16 the current copy flow at Southern Metropolis

The **print** news team follows quite closely with the traditional copy flow described in chapter 2. But, there have been major changes to the process of news production compared with traditional copy flow. Editor Mo Li comments that:

"To be honest, before digitisation, network has little influence on newspaper. Because, most of the time, I used be a reporter in the front. Before some

important topics come out, I probably would have written the general framework in advance. **We only need to fill the gaps** like who he/she is, where, when and what is the result. As long as the event comes out, we can send the news story immediately via our mobile phone. " (interview, 2013)

But now news departments proactively need to communicate with new media department. In principle, editors require reporters to send fresh information on **Weibo first**, and then follow up after; newspaper will cover more detailed story. Weibo updates all the time and keep eyes on new broken information; print editor prepares news story or commentary for next day's paper. This process of conducting news production activities to a series of deadlines is shown below:

Traditional deadlines for the print in newsroom

Titles	Activity	Time
Editors (departments)	Assignment and sub-editing	Start from 14:30 or 15:00 to 20:00
Reporters	Submission news stories	16:30/17:00
Reporters and editors	Final submission	20:00
Editor in chief, art editor and production editor	Final editing and art work	23:00

Table 14 Traditional deadlines for the print in newsroom (Gou, interview, 2014)

All the editors in *Southern Metropolis* generally start to work around 14:30 or 15:00 in the afternoon. When they coming into the office, the first task is to organize the titles and prepare to **fill the gaps**. Some reporters will write stories at the office at the same time, and then they will work with editors to compare local newspapers and assess the merits of the manuscript.

Then there is a daily editor meeting from all news departments on the 8th floor. Therefore, reporters should submit the title of news story to their editors from 16:30 to 17:00, at least.

Finally, all the copy (articles, pictures, commentary) will be submitted at 20:00. In this traditional copy flow, the deadline for the newspaper is 20:00, because the editors will start editing work around 23:00.

A story in practice Breaking News Reporting on Weibo[63]

	Print	Digital (Weibo)
News Source	Telephone rings (news source) – a message from witness	
News Value	Breaking news	
Planning	Print team verify the truth and preparing interview	Weibo news editor publish short story online and keep updating
Commissioning	Relative department send reporters to follow up	Weibo Team (updating news)
News Beats	Print team record the interviews for online team	rolling news online
Copy Flow	News editor, deputy editor planning for the next day long story	News Department Meeting: a. for print: 1 page—2 photographs b. online updating on Southern Network and Weibo

Table 15 A story in practice Breaking News Reporting on Weibo

As the appearance of Weibo, its effectiveness requires more accelerated. "So when we know that the next day there might have a major event, we will remember to remind our reporters to send a short story on Weibo. When the Weibo team found something interesting (new sources), weibo team will call news department to make sure if anyone (a reporter) near the spot. If the sources make sense, reporters will be sent to interview and write stories" (Mo Li, interview, 2013).

Now, in the *Southern Metropolis* there is a reporter in Weibo team who responsible

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for calling attention to the clues (news source), for example this reporter received an education news clue online (news beat), he/she will immediately tell reporters to follow (news value) and updating on time. Editor in education department will send reporters to follow up.

In the local news department, editor Mo Li said she will recommend some important topics to the new media department; they might be able to add a special reports online (network, mobile version or Weibo), as some news might be look better than presenting on papers (interview, 2013). For example, Mo will remind them (new media department), and deal with some issues like which article needs Weibo team to spread immediately, and which article needs Weibo to collect readers' comments online. Whenever the paper needs to enhance the influence of reporting, Weibo will make more and more people online getting involved.

Print and Digital Copy Flow during 2013 PC and CPPCC[64] reporting

	Print	Digital
News Source	Telephone rings (news source) - 2013 PC and CPPCC[65] reporting	
News Value	Huge story	
Commissioning	Print team preparing interview (invite guests)	Online news editor preparing special reporting subject and publish online (the event)
		Weibo Team (updating news: on conference discussion topics)
News Beats	Print team record the interviews for online team	Southern TV do video interview
Copy flow	At the same time: newsroom conference for comments and in-depth coverage	
Staffs involved and	News editor, deputy editor,	News Department Meeting:

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[64] PC refers to "People's Congress" was held on 5th of March in 2013; CPPCC refers to "Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" was held on 3rd of March in 2013.
[65] PC refers to "People's Congress" was held on 5th of March in 2013; CPPCC refers to "Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" was held on 3rd of March in 2013.

Outcomes	video editor, new media team, political editor (news beats on air)	a. for print: 7 pages—2 photographs and 5 splashes{articles, profile and analysis} b. online updating on Southern Network and Weibo c. Southern TV program

Table 16 an example of a news story operates in practice (Mo Li, interview, 2013)

The table above gives an example of cooperation reporting by the print and digital media in the year of 2013. When the Two Sessions (PC and CPPCC) began, "we will put our plan in advance and give these two teams a copy, so they can prepare a number of activities based on the reading habits of our readers (Mo, interview, 2013)."

Thus, on the day of the event (PC and CPPCC), news department was on the duty of inviting members of CPPCC or represents come to the newsroom; local news department responsible for interviewing and record the conversation. Then video team recorded the whole process and processing the programme. At the same time, reporters sent their records to Weibo and Network team. Therefore, at the editors meeting around 5pm on the 8th floor, they discussed on the splashes. Mo said after publishing the papers, "exclusives will put online immediately" (interview, 2013).

Picture 29 Training Posters in Southern Metropolis[66]

At this stage, reporters in the *Southern Metropolis* have to get to know this copy flow system. Because, there are a lot of application terminals available on Smartphone. Once the news gathering system complete, reporters will feel very convenient to use. The system will continue telling reporters some news clues-- what happens right now on the Web or other media, through the SMS alerts on reporters' mobile phone. As Gou planned, reporters just need to complete news gathering, writing and uploading; at the Backend, editors are on the duty of content production. The aim of this system is to let reporters to carry and write the news in a purposeful way.

Compares Previous and Future Copy Flow in Southern Metropolis

	Previously (Currently)	**Future (Transforming)**
News Values	Mass Media	Citizen Media
	Mostly General Reporting Little Investigative Reporting	Less General Reporting More Survey, Investigative Reporting and Comment Writing

	Social Value and Social Enlightenment	Social Value and Social Enlightenment
	Operate as a million print	Operated as a ten million medium
News Sources	Interview almost everything	Major theme & Broken news
	The print censored by government	The print censored by government Digital media forms a role of "**Information Monitor**"
News Selection	Limited Opinion Space (print)	Expand Opinion Space (digital media)
	Editorial Freedom under censorship (print)	Greater Editorial Freedom (in multi-methods)
	Deadline: the print at 20:00, non 24/7	Deadline: the print is similar, but digital media such as Weibo start to run as 24/7
Copy Flow	No central information management system	Build up a content management system

The next step in the Southern Newspaper Group is to build up a centralized information multimedia platform, similar to the content management systems described at the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph*. Gou describes the future digital copy flow like this, "originally, the newspaper will processing at night. In the future, we will gather all the content (articles, pictures, video, audio, etc.,) into our central management system. Once, this system has been completed they [reporters] can upload all the information through an entrance, which can be used for a variety of publishing terminals" (interview, 2013).

For example, a reporter wants to prepare a news story, when he/she enters in this system, the website will automatically grab a variety of information related to this topic online through keywords searching. Gou believes this will be a culture change in traditional newsroom.

Gou pointed that "If we build up a center console [news hub], we will conduct the three shifts (8 hours per shift) duty in the newsroom. So we will focus on how to

complete the production of the content in each duty period and shift (interview, 2013)."

In terms of the journalists' job, the *Southern Metropolis* believes in the future reporters are not working for the papers, but working around the periods. For example, the reporters have to work for that period of time, no matter what platforms are going to present the content product in the end. And the assessment methods will change according to this as well, Gou said "we will not consider newspaper only, reporters have to take responsibility of producing content for all platforms" (interview, 2013).

6.1.5 Newsroom Layout

Now, in the *Southern Metropolis*, offices of different departments are still distributed in different floors from fourth to ninth.

However, Gou said the rebuild project of newsroom will be finished in the future two years (interview, 2013). As the Media Convergence Strategy Plan showed, the whole rebuild plan includes central management system, editing room, database, poll department, operation and business department. In terms of the newsroom, the Southern plans to reorganise the eighth floor of the building, make it as a "Multimedia Integration Centre", which will look like the "News Hub" as the Westerns.

The layout of the Centre was planned to separate the center console into a variety of different regions, and these regions need to coordinate with each other. According to the planning (Cao et al, 2010), the central space will be a news hub, the function is like a command district as the "Central Army", where the "commander" set the whole plan, and the "Corps" sit beside him, shape it as a semi-circular. "On one side

is a monitoring area, one side is the information area, the other side is the observation district" (Gou, interview, 2013). At same time, there will be a digital wall round the whole newsroom, visual and worldwide channels can be found there.

6.1.6 Summary: Comparing Southern Metropolis to the Model

Terms	Anglo-American Newspapers	Southern Metropolis
News Consumption	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals	
Market Changes	Recession: circulation, advertising revenue and profit margin have fallen (from 2005 to now) (Nel, 2013). Only digital audiences and revenues (online source) saw positive increase. [see table 1]	Overall advertising is declining, because of the ads are distributed to websites and digital media (Zhang, 2014). Newspaper revenue accounted for more than 90% of the entire organisation income In 2012, the revenue of paper only was close to 90% of the whole revenue, the rest came from digital media and digital applications.
Strategy Business Model	Making-content-relevant business (IFRA, 2010); Provide diverse services include online and offline (Lawson, 2003) Investment and Content Innovation	SM profit is stable: ● Face to the multimedia market ● Promote online market and improve new media business ● Investment in **digital platforms**: (e.g. mobile version on iOS and android)
Format	Content "Melting together" (Erdal, 2007): ● Text and picture can transform on Web, newspaper, social media and mobile; ● Video and audio can	Content began to melt together Digital formats include: ● newspaper clusters ● digital media formats (Mesh, Polls etc.) ● Value-added business.

News Formats	Traditional News Formats	SM Digital (current) News Formats
	be published on the Web, social media and mobile.	

News Formats	Traditional News Formats	SM Digital (current) News Formats
News Value /Story Ideas	Journalists & Editors follow organization value rules) • Newspaper-centric thinking • Story ideas from reporters & editors: lack of communication with readers • Content only for paper	Journalists & Editors follow organization value rules) but transforming to multimedia operation mode: • **Newspaper-centric** thinking in large extent, but try to transfer to **Multimedia** thinking • Story ideas can be **interacted** with readers • Journalists & Editors Follow **Readers' interest** caters to **local readers' interests** and **social responsibility.** • Develop social media and **citizen journalists**; • Content **reused** and recycled adapted to specific platforms • Content recreated for paper, website and Weibo
News Source	House style to meet the requirements of a newspaper format: • News gathering by reporters & editors • Editors fill the gaps in page layout	House style, but meet the requirements of a newspaper format and Weibo: • News gathering methods **multiple** through **social media**: website and Weibo • **Readers** provide **content**: editors and reporters **interact** with citizens who could provide **perspectives** (news value), sources and valuable analysis on breaking news
News Selection	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers** (**government** & editor & reporter) for filling the gaps; limited **opinion space** and **editorial freedom**	Stories were selected and edited by gatekeepers: **Paper under censorship,** social media has Greater Editorial Freedom Digital products more face to **audience & advertisers interests**

Terms	Traditional Copy Flow	SM Current Copy Flow
Commissioning & Briefing	**Newspaper-centric** thinking **routinized, workflow** ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists ● Certain skills	**Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow but Weibo-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals with **rolling workflow**: ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists ● Certain skills ● **Users** also provide content (text, pic, video, audio)
News Beats	**Linear:** Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats;** Division of labour **geographically** in newsroom.	**Linear:** Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats;** Division of labour **geographically** in newsroom.
Copy Editing	**Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline	**Editorial department** still **Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline **New media department web oriented** ● web editors fit same content into website & Weibo ● several deadlines throughout a day
Design & Art Proof	One style for newspaper	No individual-centered production & dissemination ● **interaction** mode (Weibo)
Newsroom Layout	linear, decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles)	linear, decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles)

Table 17 compares Sothern Metropolis to the Model

Although according to the Multimedia Planning, the strategy seems perfect to the *Southern Metropolis*, there are lots of operations in practice do not match the model.

The digital copy flow in the Southern Metropolis has similarities with the print copy flow. Journalists who working on digital formats say their job is mainly "working around the newspaper, and put too much effort on papers" (Zhang, interview, 2013).

Digital copy flow is under the transformation. For example, some reporters will consider about digital platforms in the first place, have this awareness of sending breaking news to official Weibo first. However, generally speaking, this is not a culture inside the group.

The idea of Central Management System is considered too idealistic. Zhang (interview, 2014) said "if there is one thing or system could bring everything [publishing system] together, could achieve all the functions that would be absolutely brilliant". However, the problem is, currently, this developed system is not exactly what they want. This is partly due to technical problems. Many databases have not been established; for example, the reader database has just created. Moreover, lots of information since the Southern Metropolis gets published is still not put into database yet. Therefore, the construction of the database encounters a lot of troubles.

There are also resistance from editors and journalists. The company has been organizing much digital related training. This includes internet development and communication, social media industry and academic reports in China and the Western. Zhang introduced a MIT Summit which was held in 2013. She invited a social media doctor from MIT Media Lab, he brought a test project called "Find out 50 balloons", which is very useful for them to understand how powerful the social media is. The training for staff in the *Southern Metropolis* started in 2009, and the training program was dedicated by professional trainers. Every week, there are several lectures available for everyone inside the Group to attend.

Many of the journalists are not willing to use new system. For example, the editorial

system: editorial staff does not want to use it. The editors refused to use it because the design of this software has not reached the requirements as it was planned at the beginning. Instead the editors refused to let the software replace the current one (Zhang, interview, 2014). Therefore, inside the group it is hard promote the new system to all.

Due to the incentive system is still under discussion, so reporters' enthusiasm of writing for Weibo is not high (Mo, interview, 2013). Currently, in the *Southern Metropolis*, if the news story has been published on the newspaper which also adopted by app version, journalists still got the same wages. In other words, the appraisal system now is considered based on newspaper only.

But this is going to be changed in the near future. Gou (interview, 2013) emphasized that the appraisal system is a very important task for the *Southern Metropolis* after launching the multimedia editing system. Originally, the assessment is mainly about newspapers, but this is about to change. However, the details of the appraisal system are still under discussing. Gou (interview, 2013) believes they need to establish their own evaluation standard; for example, instead of simply counting the words each department will evaluate the manuscript by their own. Generally speaking, one Weibo message will be paid by 30 RMB, which has to be a timely message; the price also depends on its significance (Mo, interview, 2013).

There have also been some issues of leadership.　There has been some contradiction between the reform and administration. In the Southern, participation and administrative changes will directly affect multimedia processes (Mo, interview, 2014). The group's leadership opinion, executive personnel changes, and unified views inside the team are all the factors that directly lead to constant changes to the multimedia planning. Each time a new person takes over the leader's position, they advance their own ideas and try to put them into practice, which may halt or significantly alter the previous process, making the entire media reform inconsistent

and confusing. Zhang pointed out those personnel changes in the past two years resulted in a few original team members leaving (interview, 2014).

6.2 The Guangzhou Daily Newspaper: A trial for media convergence

6.2.1 Content Market

Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group is the first Newspaper Group in mainland China, which founded in 1996. Guangzhou Daily is one of the largest circulation national newspapers in China, with the average daily circulation of 1,850,000 copies. In the early 21st, this Group owns 1 main newspaper (*Guangzhou Daily*), 15 series newspapers, 5 magazines and 2 websites. The whole Newspaper Group is composed by Guangzhou Media Holdings Ltd., Guangzhou Newspaper Distribution Company and Guangzhou Dayoo Industrial Co., Ltd.

As a national daily newspaper in southern China, it has advantages from accumulated communication resources and a relatively easy competitive space in order to develop multimedia market. Guangdong is the most active economically developed province in China; GDP ranked first in nationwide. The development of digital publishing has a strong economic base in Guangdong. Guangdong has the country's largest population of Internet users, at the end of 2008, network users reached 45.54 million, accounting for 15.3 percent of national Internet users which ranking the first in the country; at the same time, from January to August in 2009, the data showed that the total number of mobile users in Guangdong Province reached 120 million; digital publishing value has over 10 billion, accounting for 1/5 of the total number in the country and mobile phone penetration rate has over 80 percent (Liang, 2009).

Newspapers in Guangdong region are the most powerful media who provide high quality information for audience and advertisers. Although *Guangzhou Daily* is new

to the multimedia market, it shares the inherent market advantage.

Advertising Sales

In terms of multimedia integrated advertising marketing, *Guangzhou Daily* provides value-added services for customers. For advertisers, ads on newspaper is not just means a few print ads pages but also includes App, Weichat, Weibo and other platforms. Multimedia advertising marketing is an all-round, three-dimensional and multi-channel publishing service.

One important difference between the UK newspapers and Guangzhou is that now the newspaper is still making money and takes a big amount in its total income (Zhang, interview, 2013). So although the digital media has a certain influence on the print, it is different from the UK.

Convergence Strategy

According to Huang (2014), in order to coordinate the development of multimedia strategy in the Group, *Guangzhou Daily* launched the repositioning strategy to build wireless platform, develop new media products and explore multimedia profit model. This strategy includes: industrialization and market segmentation; second, advertising platform which is in order to achieve a comprehensive channel; thirdly the database.

In 2009, new media was formally incorporated into the main business of Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group. At the same year, the group invested 150 million RMB to develop hardware, improve content, promote business and brand. As the internal

report[67] shows in 2009, Guangzhou Daily news portal became the top site in southern area with 13,63 million monthly cover number and 1,79 million high-educated users; mobile phone users has reached more than 5.5 million.

Brand Value

After Guangzhou Daily bought digital industry into the group and also some asset restructuring, Guangzhou Daily became the most profitable media group in China. The brand value reached 7.2 billion in 2009 and the total advertising reached 2.15 billion RMB (Liang, 2009). In 2010, when the Anglo-American newspaper industry under depressing, Guangzhou Daily once again lead the domestic trend growth, the brand value reached 8.1 billion with an increase of 12.6%, because of the success of digital formats and mobile application.[68]

Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group Brand Value 2004-2014[69]

Year	Brand Value (RMB)	Ranked (in Chinese Newspaper Groups)
2014	18.539 billion	2nd
2013	16.568 billion	2nd
2012	12.627 billion	3rd
2011	9.936 billion	2nd
2010	8.135 billion	2nd
2009	7.226 billion	
2008	6.475 billion	
2007	5.530 billion	
2006	4.868 billion	

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[67] Liang, zhenming. (2009). Deputy Ads director of the Guangzhou Daily. Internal Report.

[68] Guangzhou Daily (2012). *New media is the main development for the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group.*[online] gzdaily. Available from: <
http://news.dayoo.com/about/201107/13/107012_18039983.htm > {Accessed23rd July, 2014}.

[69] Guangzhou Daily (2014). *Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group Brand Value Data* [online] gzdaily. Available from: <http://gzdaily.dayoo.com/html/2013-06/27/content_2298394.htm> {Accessed 13th Nov, 2014}.

2005	4.760 billion	
2004	4.617 billion	

Table 18

In 2014, the brand value of Guangzhou Daily was ranked second 18.539 billion RMB in the Chinese newspapers (Huang, 2014). There are more than 7 million Weibo users and near 0.2 million Weichat users on its official account (Huang, 2014). According to the back stage data, the Guangzhou Daily' social media followers have two features: *localization*, almost half of the followers are Guangzhou citizens; *younger*, most of them are between 18-28 years-old college students and high school students (Che, interview, 2014).

The new formats has launched by *Guangzhou Daily* can be summed up below:

a. Acceleration **breaking news** release on Weibo;

b. Develop Guangzhou Daily Wireless Platform;

c. Find new clues, plan topics: e.g. new sections on website & mobile "Neighborhood View";

d. Turn the valuable content into TV program: Live Room (Studio) and Live Coverage on Website (text, pictures, audio and video).

The blueprint of the future: Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group still commits to implement the multimedia which is called Excellent Newspaper Strategy, in order to enhance brand's influence and widen market share. The main directions in the next five years can be summed below (Liang, 2009):

a. *Accelerate newspaper transformation.* This is based on the construction of multimedia editing platform and gradually achieve the goal of "gathering once, multi-platform publishing" as well as "integrate readership database system and call center";

b. *Develop new mobile products*; Improve two-dimensional code, mobile clients service and user interactive participation; meanwhile, continue to strengthen the influence of social media;

c. *Explore multimedia profit model.* Actively trying to extend the advantages of traditional content, shift traditional editorial operation to multimedia operation and also continuously explore new profit model.

6.2.2 Digital Formats

2009, *Guangzhou Daily* enhanced its brand by combining mobile, Internet and video with newspaper in order to create new news products. The overall products and services in Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group can be summed up:

Formats	Type	Titles
Newspaper	Main Newspapers	*Guangzhou Daily*
	Series Newspapers	*Football; Guangzhou Moring; Lingnan Youth; Elderly; Information Times; Stage and Screen; Basketball Vanguard; Gourmet Herald; Guangzhou Digest; Win Weekly; Financial Daily; Yacheng Metro; Fashion; Panyu Daily; Zengcheng Daily.*
	Magazines	*Modern Painting; South Wind; World View; Great Eastern; Resonance.*
Website	News Portal	Dayoo.com
	Job Market	VRHR
	Weibo	Guangzhou Daily
Mobile	MMS	Guangzhou Daily Information Times
	Weibo	Guangzhou Daily
	Weichat	Guangzhou Daily
Client Software		IPHONE; OPHONE; IPad Windows/ Mobile/ Symbian; Guangzhou Daily Visual Search

Table 19 the overall architecture of products and services in Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group

Guangzhou Daily Wireless Platform has covered three major domestic telecommunication operators in China (China Mobile, China Unicom and China Telecom). Currently, the MMS mobile newspaper has more than 1.36 million subscribers and the PV (page view) is more than 15 million everyday (Guangzhou Daily, 2012). The local Wechat Channel was established in 2014, as a part of the mobile wireless strategy. This channel targets younger readers, therefore, which mainly about eat, drink and local information. Through Editor Zhang Dan's back operation system, the graphic analysis tool shows that everyday this Wechat account can reach a mount of 10,000 readers in March, 2014 (Zhang, interview, 2014).

Sometimes Guangzhou Daily also combines holidays and important dates for customers to plan the special version.

Here are some samples of the cover and edition of mobile newspapers:

Picture 30 samples of covers and editions on mobile platform[70]

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[70] Guangzhou Daily (2012). *New media is the main development for the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group.*[online] gzdaily. Available from: < http://news.dayoo.com/about/201107/13/107012_18039983.htm > {Accessed23rd July, 2014}.

Picture 31 samples of client software on mobile platform[71]

Guangzhou Daily • 3G portal is a website on mobile. This product has been very successful and realized the 7/24 news rolling reporting with live pictures, text, video and audio. Now the daily visits are more than 15 million, the daily active users are over 0.7 million, and there is also a 10% monthly growth rate (Guangzhou Daily, 2012).

Picture 32 The covers and editions of Dayoo Ebook application on mobile platform[72]

Another success mobile application is Dayoo bookstore, which is a mobile based

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[71] Guangzhou Daily (2012). *New media is the main development for the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group.*[online] gzdaily. Available from: <
http://news.dayoo.com/about/201107/13/107012_18039983.htm > {Accessed23rd July, 2014}.
[72] Guangzhou Daily (2012). *New media is the main development for the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group.*[online] gzdaily. Available from: <
http://news.dayoo.com/about/201107/13/107012_18039983.htm > {Accessed23rd July, 2014}.

e-commerce site. At the moment, the average daily traffic is more than 3.3 million, daily active users are over 0.43 million and the monthly growth rate is about 8%.[73]

In video formats, "Today Soup" is a weekly cooking program describes how to make popular soup by inviting host. This program has income from advertising already.

A future plan for the Guangzhou Daily is to develop new mobile products. It includes improve two-dimensional code, mobile clients service and user interactive participation. The further plan is to continue to strengthen the influence of social media.

6.2.3 Copy Flow at Guangzhou Daily

a. News Values

Previously, Guangzhou Daily adopted traditional professionalism news values. News was produced according to print deadlines. Breaking news appeared on the next day newspaper. In Multimedia Center, editors are still following some of traditional news values of the paper.

However, the introduction of digital formats has brought a change to copy flow. The most significant change in news value is editors will pay more attention to **online audience's needs** on Wechat and Weibo. Previously, news value on print page reflected the values of the editor and house style, now Wechat can track the values of the readers.

The leader of the rolling news department, Chen (interview, 2013) believes that now the rolling news is more focus on interesting, entertaining, practical and **interactive (news value)**. Nowadays, reporters often could not get on the spot first, so the Citizen Journalists would like to publish what they saw through Weibo.

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[73] Liang, zhenming. (2009). Deputy Ads director of the Guangzhou Daily. Internal Report.

Chen argues that in the future, news will more consider meeting the requirements of readers. Reporters should have more diverse perspectives and visions than before. But now, they still stick to traditional house style in terms of news value and news writing because of the whole digital copy flow is under probing without a clear direction and decision.

As mentioned above since the content went to Weibo first, therefore editorial opinion can be more open and free than before. Sometimes this will be a distinctive contrast between Weibo and newspaper. This means the news value of house style can not unified (Chen, interview, 2013).

Inside Jiang's operation system, there is a graphic analysis tool (see in picture 33) which can see the statistics of reading situations such as reading ranking in March, 2014: the graphic shows basically food is the most popular for readers; others like breaking news and weather are also very popular:

"The main task for me is to integrate information online about eat, drink or life service material into an interesting article" (Zhang Dan, interview, 2014).
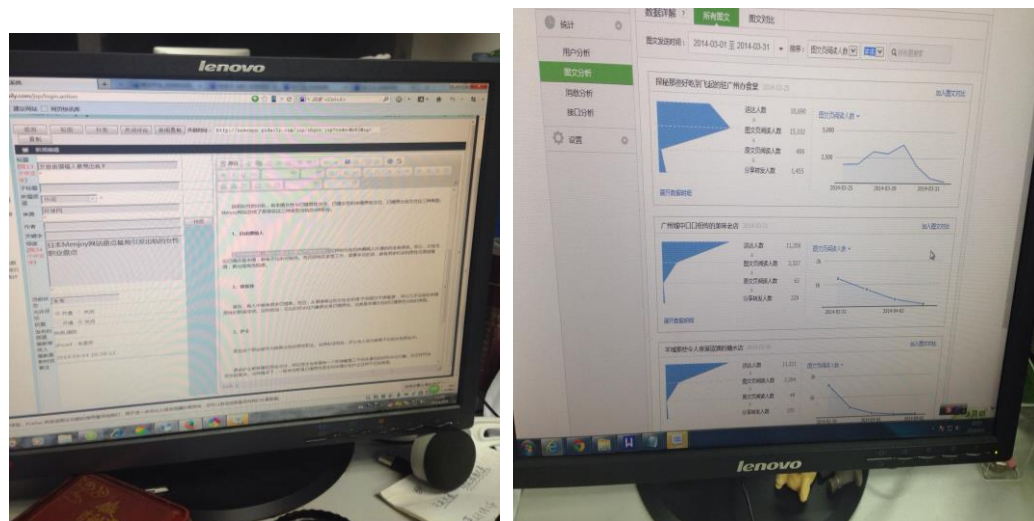
Picture 33 Weichat Account Back Operation System

Although most of time multimedia center uses the same news story from the print, news on Wechat platform should be **shorter** than newspaper. For example, editor Jiang deletes much dialogue on the manuscript from daily newspaper and only leaves the major points for online readers. He also cut the length and make sure the story is less than 1000 words. But, some short breaking news will be released right away without amending.

b. News Sources: newsgathering, plan topics

Jiang referred that the main duty for him is to provide reading reference in a paragraph and interact with Wechat readers everyday. After his reading or research, he will recommend some books or favorite paragraph on Weibo platform. Each news story will be controlled at 140 words. However, during the night, there are less people who will focus on serious news; therefore, he will change it to recommend readers for some soft reading to kill time. Jiang believed that the **interaction** with the readers can increase the popularity, because their audience will not think there are robots running the account.

The copy flow of each day can be described as 'when editors arrived to office, the first thing is to read through *Guangzhou Daily* and then find out if there is any big news or serious topic can be followed. After that, Jiang Fengfeng (interviewed 2014), Multimedia Editor of Guangzhou Daily, will surf online and find out what information has been released on other platforms and which one seems more attractive'.

Before conducting the rolling news department, news source was only provided for the print (normally news source is provided by editors from news agencies, hotline, website, news beats, etc.). However, now the rolling news department finds some news sources for *Guangzhou Daily* **through internet**.

For example, some clues are coming from users on **Weibo**. Weibo editors contact breaking news team and send reporters to the spot to check if it is true. If the news clue is true, reporters will send back updating news to rolling news department, editors put those information online first to satisfy public's curiosity. At the same time, readers (**user generated content)** are encouraged to upload picture and video which might be became news story in the end.

c. News Selection

Before 2007, editorial meetings select news for the print, to make sure news is in line with the House Style (CCP national newspaper). The website of *Guangzhou Daily* only use those articles sent by editors without considering what does online audience needs. It is still the case, on the print side, news is still selected by convention because it should be under control of local government to make sure the format and news selection are comply with the requirements of the Communist Party.

However, since the mobile, Weibo and websites platforms have been launched after the establishment of rolling news department on 2007. Web editors are gradually having a certain degree of **freedom** to choose topics according to the needs of audience on different platforms.

For example, "Neighborhood View" is a new channel, launched by rolling news department on website and mobile. Readers could ask questions or tell editors what they want to know (mainly concern the hot topics in daily life rather than breaking news), then *Guangzhou Daily's* reporters will be ready to follow up.

"Neighborhood View" is also the new channel on Dayoo.com which receives average hundreds topics from website users each day. Web editors will select some typical topics (reader suggestions which are comply with House style as well as livelihood issues that cater to public interest and concern) and send reporters to investigate, interview and writing for the print and website. Topic on "Neighborhood View" is

from readers, but selected by editorial team in *Guangzhou Daily* but more concern the needs of local readers. Now, "Neighborhood View" has become a brand on *Guangzhou Daily*.

The picture below shows that the audience resource of *Guangzhou Daily* comes from three aspects: club & activity (60%), readers (33.33%) and feedback (letters & comments) (6.67%). Before the establishment of rolling news department, nearly 90% feedback and interaction with readers comes from club and membership activities. Now, readers could get involved in the process of news produce by given suggestions in news selection.
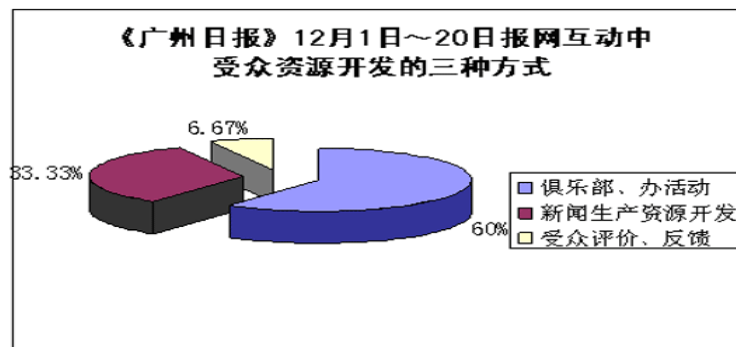
Picture 34 Three methods of audience resource development in Guangzhou Daily[74] (Data was gathered from 1st Dec to 20th Dec, 2008)

Now in the Multimedia Center, Che (interviewed, 2014), the editor of the official Weibo and app backstage operator, referred that in terms of news selection, there is a whole year practice in 2013, Weibo team is starting to form its own readership and solid audience; editors get to know what kind of things they like and which type of content has a high forwarding rate, for instance, local news, soft news, entertainment and Cantonese. Most of audience on Weibo are students who born after 1980s.

d. News Beats and Copy Flow

Currently, the amount of rolling news requires each editors release at least 40

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[74] Chen, Fu, Fang and OUYang (2009). The Audience Resource Development in the Interaction between Newspaper and Website--- Case Study: Guangzhou Daily and Qianjiang Evening. [online] Media People,com.cn. Available from: < http://media.people.com.cn/GB/137684/10624556.html > {Accessed 19th Jan, 2015}.

messages for Weibo each day. The Group asked their reporters provides articles and feedback at the first time to ensure digital media could release news with a number of 50 to 60 daily. And this is a new way to approach productivity and to meet the needs of web platforms.

Before 2007, Guangzhou Daily was still under the traditional operating. A story was produced around print deadline. Reporters were sent out to spot or interview in the morning and they will submit the articles to editors by 5p.m. The whole editorial department was working around the deadline for newspaper only.

In 2007 June, Guangzhou Daily established the Rolling News Department, as a trial of multimedia operation, which is responsible for the linkage dispatching for digital media (mobile and websites) and newspaper. Rolling News Department is a strategic initiative for the group to explore media convergence between traditional newspapers and digital media.

After 2009, the news operation has changed, especially because of the increased importance of breaking news. The New Media Business department, established in 2009, is responsible for operating and expanding digital media business, including implementing the necessary investment cooperation and enhances digital media development. Rolling news department set up a Live Room for video interviews, specializing in the production of audio and video programs for websites. Based on this, *Guangzhou Daily* is able to rely on its website to launch the 7/24 workflow and provide a more efficient content and service to readers.

The Rolling News Department was a coordinated department in order to connect traditional media and digital media inside the Group. Most of the working duty in this department is to ask for news stories from reporters, and passed those to the staff in Rolling News Department before they are published on papers. Those articles will be put on website first. In 2014, the Rolling News Department changed to

Multimedia Center, which is still exploring how to work well with traditional editorial department.

The paper also launched a series of new editorial staff incentive mechanisms and appointed a news deputy editor as the coordinator in multimedia department. Each reporter is required to submit 7 to 8 stories to rolling news department every week.

The director of Rolling News Department, Wu Guohua explained that the characteristic of rolling news is fast which is able to get rid of the restriction of deadline and publish circulation, and able to grab the first publish right to readers through website, mobile and wireless platform (Zeng, 2007).

However, Wang Dan (interviewed, 2014) who is working as the editor of official Weibo account, said now there is not a strong sense among reporters who would like to complete the task for print as well as for the digital. Thus, Wang said "we need to remind them contact with us and provide news for us. Keep in touch with reporters in the front tightly is very important, but now each reporter has to provide 5 articles per month to Multimedia Center" (interviewed, 2014).
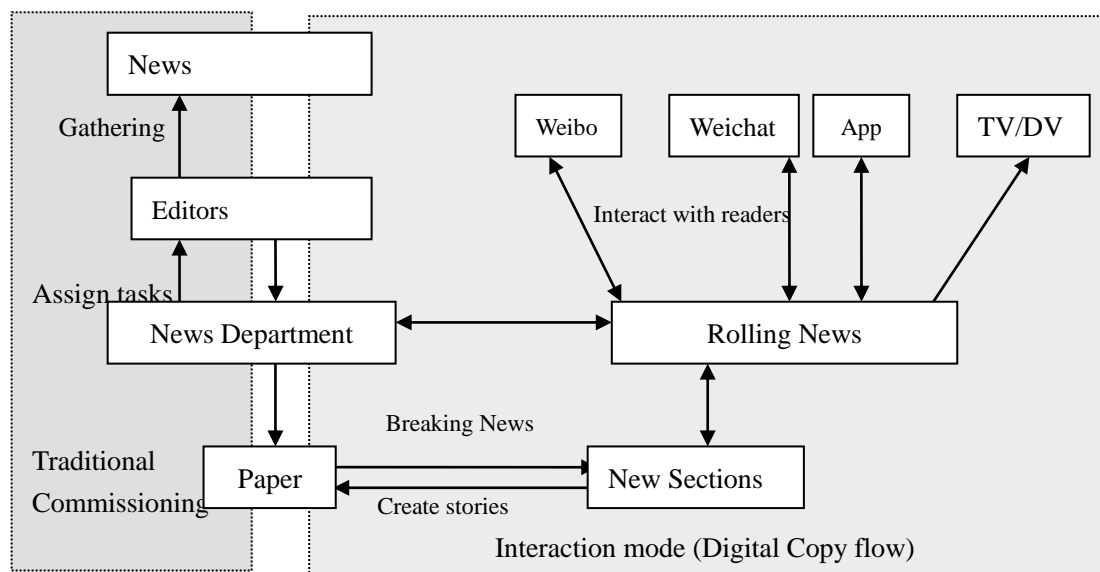

Chart 117 the current copy flow at Guangzhou Daily

Guangzhou Daily still has to put the breaking news on the next day newspaper, but roll the updating information on digital platforms.　The **traditional copy flow has continued in the print newsroom**. Job titles in the traditional editorial newsroom are still generally divided into reporters (or senior reporters) and editors (sub-editor, senior editor, chief editor, art editor). All the reporters work around the print's deadline and conduct general news reporting: normally it is 5 p.m. for reporters and 11 p.m. for the editors.

Now in the Multimedia Center, all the staff are called editors who are only work for digital platforms (deadline various). There is one director, two deputy editors and 25 editors include daytime (from 7:30a.m. to 3:30 p.m.) and overnight (3:30 p.m. to 12 p.m.) editors who are responsible for three platforms running for the Guangzhou Daily: Weibo, Wechat and App.　During the daytime, the duty is to produce content for these three platforms, and the general deadline is afternoon around 5p.m. to 6p.m.

In terms of the workload, each editor of Weibo account has to publish one news story for every 15 minutes. There are three Wechat accounts: Guangzhou Daily Official Wechat account and two Local Wechat accounts; Official Wechat account only releases once each day with 7 to 8 long news articles and the working time is from 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Additionally, editor has to publish 30 messages for App version each day (Wang Dan, interview, 2014). There is no deadline for App, it will be updating all day long.

In Jiang's Weibo team, the publishing rhythm of Weibo is: one message for every 15 minutes in the morning; one message for every 20 minutes during 12 a.m. to 2 p.m; in the afternoon is one for every 15 minutes. He said because news on Wechat can only be seen as a title at first glace by receivers (on mobile), therefore, he will re-edit the title which is obviously different from newspaper's. Those titles will be handled according to the different features of different Wechat accounts.

There is one special job in the rolling news department. Chen (interview, 2013) introduced that if the newspaper conduct an important interview, the rolling news department will invite the relevant guests to do interviews in the studio, meanwhile his words and manuscript will pass to relevant text reporter to inform news story for newspaper, at the same time, live video will broadcast through the website with live text and audio.

Picture 35 Studio inside the rolling news department

Example Story: **Jiujiang Bridge Boat Collision**

Comparing to the model, the table (figure 6) demonstrates the copy flow of a news story in practice to the concepts in the model using the example of Jiujiang Bridge Boat Collision in June 15th, 2007.

The details of the story are: on June 15th 2007, a reporter of Guangzhou Daily received a report [**news source**] from the centre of a boat collision in Jiujiang Bridge around 6a.m.
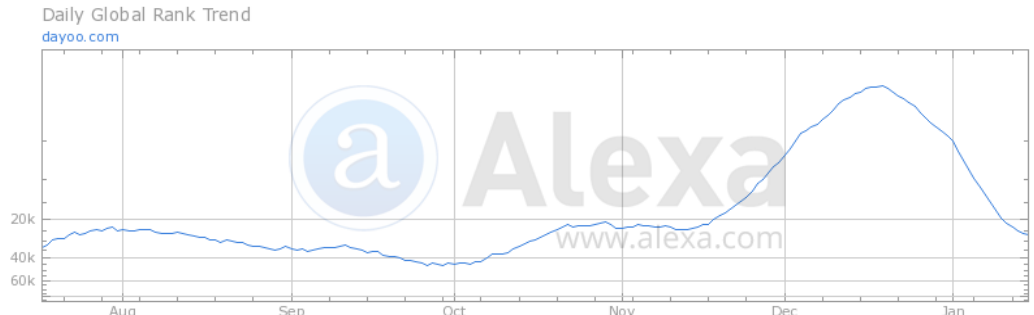
The breaking news team informed rolling news department about this, and sent a reporter to the scene. He rushed to the spot and started to gather initial conditions of this event. Then he called the editor in the rolling news department to pass the new information back for the rolling reporting online.

At 9:40 a.m., Guangzhou Daily's official website was the first one released this news online and continued to roll-out up-to-date news.

News source	00:60 a.m. Telephone rings – (Eye witness)	
News value/selection)	**Breaking News**	
	Print Format	**Digital Formats**
News Gathering	00:60am Reporter gets the information from the source and travels to the spot (the event) 01:30am Arrives at scene	Rolling news department running rolling report on website (updating news)
News Beat	Reporter continues to send news back to rolling news department (news value)	09:40am Release news (Guangzhou Daily official website) 09:55am Released on domestic portals 10:00am Published on "Guangzhou Daily Wireless Platform" by SMS Updating news on web and mobile platforms
		14:00pm **UGC/Interactivity** Special reporting (large accident report) is prepared by the website team and ready to release online This content received more than 2,000 comments and interactive feedback
Copy Editing – sub editing	News editor, deputy editor, website editor, new media team	Rolling News Department
Print Publishing (Digital updating)	Print publication: 3 pages 1 page photographs 2 page splashes{articles, profile and analysis}	Online updating on Dayoo Network and special reporting column Mobile Version following

Figure 5 A story in practice Jiujiang Bridge Boat Collision (source: Chen, interview, 2013)

The Rolling News Department achieved the success of this story through the analytics of their sites. After the major domestic portals (http://news.qq.com/, www.sina.com) also reported the Boat Collision through forwarding, the CTR (Click Through Rate) of the official website started to rise rapidly. According to the Alex Traffic Ranks[75] and SEO[76] (Search Engine Optimization) analysis, Jiujiang Bridge Boat Collision reporting on Dayoo.com achieved a daily average PV (Page View) of about 195,840 and each search engine has a high record on Jiujiang Collision Reporting home page. The table below gives some basic data on the homepage of Jiujiang reporting:

Jiujing Reporting on Dayoo.com Website	
Dayoo.com-6.15 Jiujiang Bridge Boat Collision	
ALEXA Rank	Word Rank:5,807 Traffic Rank:27117 Daily Average IP≈40,800 Daily Average PV≈195,840
Domain IP	59.42.241.190[Guangdong Guangzhou ADSL]
Domain Age	14 Years
Search Engine Record	Baidu 7.23 million; Google 1.38 million; 360 1.47 million; Sougou 55.57 million
Daily Global Rank Trend	

[75] Alexa (2014). *How Popular is Dayoo.com?*.[online] Alex,com. Available from: < http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/http%3A%2F%2Fnews.dayoo.com%2Fguangdong%2Fgb%2Fnode%2Fnode_8523.shtml > {Accessed 3rd Jan, 2015}.

[76] SEO (2014). Jiujing Bridge Boat Collision Reporting on Dayoo.com. [online] seo,Chinaz.com. Available from: <http://seo.chinaz.com/?host=http%3a%2f%2fnews.dayoo.com%2fguangdong%2fgb%2fnode%2fnode_8523.shtml> {Accessed 3rd Jan, 2015}.

Figure 6 Data on Jiujiang Bridge Boat Collision reporting homepage

After this, rolling news department released the news through "Guangzhou Daily Wireless Platform" by SMS to thousands of its mobile subscribers and also updated the latest news (on Weibo and Dayoo.com) in time. At the same time (June 15th, 2007), in the editorial office, the website team was preparing to produce a particularly large accident report ("6.15 Guangdong Jiujing Bridge Boat Collision Reporting"[77]) on Dayoo.com, which received more than 2,000 comments and interactive feedback from readers on that day.

6.2.4 Newsroom Layout

Guangzhou Daily has no plan of building up an integrated newsroom (like *the Guardian* and *the Telegraph* in the digital model (see chapter five). Rolling news department or multimedia center is separate from others in the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group. However, in terms of function, news will be gathered in multimedia center, which is a bridge between different news departments. **Now in multimedia center, the main task is to shift traditional content into something new, and then presented new content on the newspapers (Chen, interview, 2013).**

In terms of writing news story, this is generally still done by reporters. However, if the multimedia center requires reporters to write for Weibo, the center will operate as an information integration center. Chen (interview, 2013) explained that these decisions are taken "sometimes according to leaders' needs, sometimes according to the judges of news value by our own. If reporters in the news spot call us, our editors will record the latest information and update the news through Weibo".

In terms of the news publishing system, the multimedia center still use the old one;

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[77] The reporting is available on: http://news.dayoo.com/guangdong/gb/node/node_8523.shtml

however, editors in the center are allowed to access to image and text database according to actual needs. For example, if an editor needs to publish a series of pictures today on Weibo, so he will go to the image library to pick up the pictures. But there is no such an integrated publishing operation platform for multimedia center (Chen, interview, 2013). Here are some figures comparing the current copy flow with the old one in the table below:

	Previously (before 2009)	Currently & Future (after 2009)
News Value	Non-rolling Stick to deadline	Digital first 24/7 rolling online
	Breaking news appears on next day newspaper	Breaking news rolling online
	Generally reporting	New media more focus on interesting, entertaining, practical and interactive
	Professionals	Citizen journalists get involved
News Source	Interview almost everything	Interact paper with internet (hot topics)
	The print only	Readers get involved (upload pic and video online)
News Selection	The print only	Interact paper with internet (hot topics) turn valuable news source into TV or audio program

Table 7 Changes in News Values, Sources and Selection in Guangzhou Daily

News Formats	Traditional News Formats	Digital (Current) News Formats in GD
News Value /Story Ideas	Journalists & Editors Follow Organization rules) **Newspaper-centric** thinking - Story ideas from reporters & editors: lack of communication with readers - Content only for paper	House style, but transforming to multimedia operation mode: **Newspaper-centric** thinking in large extent, but try to transfer to Multimedia thinking - Some story ideas can be **interacted** with readers - Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest: Weichat and Weibo - Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms - Content recreation for paper, *Weichat and Weibo*
News Source	According to news value (House style) to meet the requirements of a newspaper format: - News information from reporters & editors - Editors fill the gaps in page layout	According to news value (House style), but meet the requirements mainly for the print and Weibo: - The method of gathering information is multiple through social media: *website and Weibo* - Readers began provide content (text, pic, video, audio): *editors and reporters **interact** with **citizens** who could provide **perspectives (news value), sources** and **valuable analysis** on breaking news*
News Selection	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers** (**government** & editor & reporter) for filling the gaps; limited **opinion space** and **editorial freedom**	Stories were selected and edited by gatekeepers: **Paper under censorship,** social media has Greater Editorial Freedom Digital products more face to **audience & advertisers interests**
Copy Flow	**Traditional Copy Flow**	**Current Copy Flow in GZ**
Planning	Fixed evening deadline for newspaper	Similar to traditional copy flow, but rolling news department running totally separate from paper editorials

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Commissioning & Briefing	**Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow**: ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists ● Certain skills	Newspaper-centric thinking with routinizing workflow but Weibo-first thinking on breaking news and visuals with rolling workflow: ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; (except app and Weibo) ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists ● Certain skills
News Beats	**Linear:** ● Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats**, division of labour **geographically** ● Decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles)	**Linear:** ● Job differentiation: Journalists' job follows **news beats**, division of labour **geographically** ● Decentralized structure (separate department, separate cubicles)
Copy Editing	**Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline	**Editorial department still Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● Work around newspaper deadline Rolling news department running separate from other departments: ● editors fit same content or recreate content into Weibo and Weichat ● several deadlines throughout a day
Design & Art Proof	One style for newspaper	Individual-centered production & dissemination ● interaction mode (Weibo & Weichat)

Table 21 compares digital and traditional copy flow at Guangzhou Daily

If comparing to the Anglo-American Ideal Type Model, the logic of copy flow in Guangzhou Daily's Rolling News Department can be summed up as above.

Director Wu believed that although the strength of the rolling news department is small, its influence was astonishing because it succeeded in combining traditional newspapers with digital media by taking the advantage of human resource of the Guangzhou Daily (Zong, 2007). In this way, multiple aspects of news event could be spread to readers through website and mobile on time. This makes Guangzhou Daily breaks the restriction of time and space, which can be said, rolling news department is a bridge between traditional media and new media.

Compared with Southern Metropolis, Guangzhou Daily has established an incentive system to promote changes in journalists practice. From the end of 2008, the newspaper established a new incentive policy for releasing news stories on digital media in order to encourage reporters to send their manuscript to multimedia center. This incentive policy runs in this way: Guangzhou Daily reporters who provide one article can get 30 RMB reward, one picture can get 30 RMB, ups to 600 RMB for each person (Chen, interview, 2014). This played a good role in promoting reporters

However this has not actually changed the resistance of the journalists. In practice, reporters do not want to shoot video, still prefer the traditional way to interview with a recorder. Chen (interview, 2013) argued that they do not have multimedia concept, on one side there is no related training in school, on the other hand there is no restriction on the institutional level. First of all, multimedia reporter is a false concept (Chen, interview, 2013). In practice, reporters tried to do an interview by text, writing newspapers, while shooting video and pictures for digital platform. However, in fact, reporters are unable to fulfill this task.

Second, even if a reporter can complete the task, it is not high quality and unprofessional. The characteristics of each platform are not same, not mention to the release time. Also each source needs post-processing and editing. Text may be synchronized, but it requires very high quality for each reporter.

So even with an incentive system, it is not enough to change the journalists' attitudes. There may be something else, not included in the model, which is influencing how far newsroom integration can go. It may be that the main problem facing for the Guangzhou Daily is journalists' ideology is stuck in traditional way and there are no institutional constraints on that. These issues will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion.

In the future Guangzhou Daily plans to accelerate transformation of the newsroom. This is based on the construction of multimedia editing platform and gradually achieve the goal of "gathering once, multi-platform publishing" as well as integrate readership database system and call center; shift editorial operation to multimedia operation.

From the recent two years' practice, rolling news is efficient in reporting, and providing words, pictures and video information to readers, which rose up a certain degree of competitive power in the market (Cheng, 2009).

But the market and format changes are not enough to need a full integration. Chen (interview, 2013) interpreted that now in this newspaper group, the level of development has not reached a degree that they have to turn over totally, because currently this is enough for the productivity.

Chapter 7: Comparing Different Models with Role Model

This Chapter sets out to show how the thesis has tried to answer the research questions in Chapter Four and to explain: what are the main features of media organization in terms of choosing convergence strategy; what are the differences and similarities between different models. The most important is what aspects Chinese newspapers can learn from UK role models.

The main research questions of this thesis are:

> *RQ1: How was news produced before digitisation? (Chapter 2)*
>
> *RQ2: How is news produced following digitisation? (Chapter 3)*
>
> *RQ3: How have the UK and Chinese newspapers reacted to the challenges of convergence? (Chapter 5 and 6)*
>
> *RQ4: What are the similarities and differences between them? (Chapter 7)*
>
> *RQ5: What aspects can Chinese newspapers learn from UK models? (Chapter 7)*

Chapter 2 and 3 has answered research question 1 and 2 by reviewing and comparing traditional and digital formats and copy flow. This research involved integrating findings from historical research of journalism studies and how to write news books to show how market changes, news formats (news values, news source, news selection and news beats) and copy flow may be linked with each other. Therefore, through the literature study, the conceptual model (see *Table 6*) has been established and used to analyse different newsroom digital convergence in the UK and China cases. This section of the research has tried to answer the general questions RQ1 and RQ2. This historical research and Ideal Type model are the first contributions to the literature.

Chapter 5 and 6 tested the Ideal Type model against the case study evidence and the key findings are summarised in tables. In terms of the UK cases, the model of *the Guardian* has been shown in Table 9, the model of *the Telegraph* is in Table 12 and *the Times* and *Daily Mail'*s model can be seen in Table 13.   On the side of Chinese cases, the model of *the Southern Metropolis* has summarised in Table 17; *the Guangzhou Daily*'s model is in Table 21.These chapters have tried to answer research question 3.

Therefore, this chapter is mainly about answering research questions 4 (comparison study) and 5. It divided into three sections: the first section compares the content markets and digital formats in each newspaper by using and testing the established links between market changes, news formats and copy flows. The second section gives comprehensive analysis on the potential learnings from UK role models. The last section outlines some limitations of the study and suggestions for future work.

7.1 Using the Model to Compare Convergence in News Organisations

7.1.1 Content Market: Comparing Different Models

This section is to look at the content market facing by different newspapers in their local area and to see if the news market influenced the media convergence strategies and digital copy flow. As noted in the literature review Mitchelstein & Boczkowski (2009) suggested, these kinds of changes, that indicate the broader changes in the market, are the reason and basic logic for the integration of newsrooms. Therefore, the influence of the news market, can be analysed through the relationships between five parts of the model:

- News Consumption, refers to how news was consumed on which terminals.
- Revenue, indicates recent profit situation and profit structure.

- Convergence Strategy, shows target advertisers and audience' services, as well as future profit plan.
- Digital Format, means the current content delivery strategy.
- Copy Flow, refers to digital/traditional copy flow in current newsroom.

Here are the main changes in UK newspapers' content markets, according to cases study of this thesis (see in table 22):

	GNM NEWS MARKET	TMG NEWS MARKET	T/DM NEWS MARKET
News Consumption	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals
Revenue	Five-year consecutive loss since 2005 Declining print circulation and advertising revenues; Digital revenues from £47m to £91m in 2015/16	Traditional display and classified revenues declining at 4% year-on-year; Online advertising growing by 9% a year (Campbell, 2008, p5).	Subscription decrease by 4% year-on-year;
Convergence Strategy Face to the multimedia market	Investment in **digital initiatives** such as a new US operation based in New York and new mobile offerings (GNM Press, 2011).	Investment in Mobile application and platform	Daily Mail decided to focus the digital platform and invested 135million in their journalism. The Times adopt *Deliver Total Paid Sales growth strategy: casual print sell + digital subscription sell* Investment in digital

			platform and paywall
Digital Formats	Diverse services include two main titles *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, one official website, three tablet editions (iPad, Android and Kindle Fire) and two mobile live news apps (iPhone and Android).	Diverse services include online and offline *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, and Telegraph.co.uk. Blackberry On The Go, Blogs, Desktop Alerts, E-mail bulletins, Mobile updates, Picture galleries, Telegraph audio, Telegraph PM, Your View, Telegraph TV and My Telegraph (Campbell, 2008).	Diverse services include online and offline: *The Times provides The print edition, the iPad edition, the smart phone edition, a PDF version online of the paper and the Internet version; Daily Mail provides paper, Mail Online, e-paper, Kindle, Daily Mail App, Mail Online Apps.*
Copy Flow	Transform to a 24/7 international media business	Transform to a 24/7 international media business	Transform to a 24/7 international media business

Table 22 compares UK newspaper content markets, formats and copy flow

In terms of UK news market, most of the newspapers have experienced a downward trend in subscription and advertising. The case studies in this research suggest that, turning to multimedia operation is for considering about the long-term profit pattern. Previously, *The Guardian* had experienced a five-year consecutive loss since 2005. However, even though *The Guardian* was facing a revenue loss, the group still decided to invest money on digital platforms to keep its loyal readership (Ribbans, interview, 2012). Like the other UK national newspapers, the Telegraph Group faced the task of developing a strategy to secure its future. Although *the Daily Telegraph* still makes a profit, it was nevertheless faced with a reality where traditional display and classified revenues were declining at a rate of approximately four percent year-on-year (Hocking, interview, 2013).

On behalf of *The Daily Mail*, because more and more readers are immigrating to online, and newspaper package will be departed, digital strategy is to interact with newspaper as an integrated operation for the brand. So *Daily Mail* decided to focus

on the digital platform which is famous for investing £135million in their journalism.

The Times' subscription was decreasing by 4% year-on-year because of the development of digital platforms especially for the mobile. According to current news market situation, *the Times* changed its profit model to combining revenue from paywall, advertising and subscriptions, rather than depending on advertising alone.

Based on the above analysis, **Media Consumption** changed during last twenty years (media consumption is changing with the terminals), in other words, the technology is the driving force (Miro-quesada, 2007). In response, UK newspapers have launched various products to match the consumption changes. The cases support the view of Erdal's (2007) this changed is not only due to telecommunications and media technologies, social and cultural convergence are also matters.

Now we can compare this with the situation in Chinese Newspapers' content markets. The main points have been shown as below:

	GUANGZHOU DAILY	**SOUTHERN METROPOLIS**
News Consumption	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals	Newspaper, website, social media, mobile and portal terminals
Revenue	The profit of *Guangzhou Daily* is basically stable and growth year-on-year: The overall advertising is declining, because of the ads are distributed to websites and digital media. But newspaper still makes money. In 2009, new media was formally incorporated into the main business scope	The profit of *Southern Metropolitan* is basically stable: The overall advertising is declining, because of the ads are distributed to websites and digital media (Zhang, 2014). Newspaper revenue accounted for more than 90% of the entire organisation income; In 2012, the revenue of paper only was close to 90% of the whole revenue, the rest came from digital media and digital applications.

Convergence Strategy	Invest 150 million RMB to build new media hardware, improve content, develop business as well as promote brand	Promote online market and improve new media business Investment in **digital initiatives**: developed their own mobile version newspaper on apps and android.
Digital Format	Content began to converge: Digital formats include: newspapers, digital media, mobile and value-added services. Provide news portal (Dayoo. com), multimedia e-paper, mobile paper, Guangzhou Daily 3G portal, Dayoo mobile version, digital TV, tablets and software products Develop Wireless Platform, develop new media products and explore multimedia profit model.	Content began to converge: Digital formats include: newspaper clusters, digital media and value-added business.
Copy Flow	Non-digitization production mode, but computer and Internet-based system	Traditional copy flow

Table 23 compares two Chinese newspaper content markets

The Southern Metropolis takes newspaper as its main business and income of the group; newspaper revenue (subscription and advertising) accounted for more than 90% of the entire organisation, the rest came from digital media and digital applications. However, the ads are distributing to websites and digital media year on year, which results in a very strict control in human resource. Overall, the newspaper still makes money and the brand still occupies a large amount of local market share in Guangdong Province.

Guangzhou Daily is a national daily newspaper which focuses on the upper and middle-class audience as well as advertisers. According to its internal report, the

brand value was assessed as 18.539 billion RMB in 2014. Although *Guangzhou Daily* is very new to digital market, newspaper still makes money and occupies a large amount of local market share in terms of subscriptions and advertising.

Comparing Chinese and UK models, if the news market (technology and culture change) is a direct cause of newsroom convergence, is this also true in the Chinese newspapers? As the two Chinese cases study showed in Chapter Six, technology did bring changes in media consumption terminals, and these resulted in the case study companies developing various digital news formats in the market. Generally speaking, in China, the broad situation is no different with the situation in UK. However, there are some significant differences between the changes in the UK and in the Chinese news markets:

- First we can see that the **market changes** in China are not so great as in the UK so the pressure to improve **efficiency** through copy flow may not be so great.

- Secondly, in China, digital terminals did not become the main reading terminals. By looking at the main stream in Chinese news market, newspapers are consumed by large amount citizens who are above 35 years old with a traditional reading habit. Mo Li (2013, interview) suggested that the big reason behind this is **cultural differences** between the UK and China. At the moment there is nothing in the model really (apart from through market changes) to explain how cultural differences affect news markets so this is a **limitation of the research** conducted here and could be a good place for other researchers to start.

- These cultural differences are also important, on the other hand, inside the newsroom. In the Chinese cases, market changes did not affect reporters and editors' work routine as much as in the UK. Because, in other words, there is no **digital culture** in newsroom. Therefore, the traditional news system hinder the

overall development of media convergence in China.

- This situation may not last forever. People in the industry agree that media convergence is an irreversible trend. "We can say that at present the market for digital news in China is currently immature" (Mo, interview, 2014).

7.1.2 Comparing Digital Formats (News Values, News Source and News Selection)

a. Digital Formats

Generally, *The Daily Telegraph* is a daily morning broadsheet (quality) newspaper, published in London and distributed throughout the United Kingdom and internationally. According to the classic journalism study frame, *Guangzhou Daily* belongs to serious and quality broadsheet in China, which target on elite market with clear political leaning (Communist Party newspaper) and upper & mainstream classes. *Guangzhou Daily* provides high-quality journalism which mainly covers the areas of political, business and other serious topics. Therefore, *Guangzhou Daily* chooses more depth stories and comments on its long vertical pages which are more similar to *Daily Telegraph, Financial Times, the Guardian, the Independent* and *The Times* in UK.

The Times adopts tabloids type but considered to be a British daily newspaper. Overall speaking, *Daily Mail* also belongs to tabloids as well as British daily national newspaper; however, according to the content, *Daily Mail* is known as a middle class newspaper.

The Guardian belongs to the category which is called serious (or 'quality') newspaper which target on teachers and those professional people who get used to read *the Guardian* in the past few years.

Although *the Guardian* has to meet the needs for younger generation, the format of newspaper and website is broadly the same type. With the development of website and live-blog, journalists and editors found that it is a quite useful tool for information collection as well as a good way gathering **news sources** and interact with audience.   In the new Guardian, the news products are put into package to fit in different digital devices according to different terminals. Currently, *the Guardian* provides two main titles, one official website, three tablet editions (iPad, Android and Kindle Fire) and two mobile live news apps (iPhone and Android).

'Electronic Telegraph' has been re-launched as telegraph.co.uk which was the UK's first national newspaper online. It includes articles from the print editions of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph*, as well as web-only content such as breaking news, features, picture galleries and blogs. However, different to its print version, the format of website is managed as **a tabloid**. The main news products in the Telegraph are *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Saturday Telegraph*, Magazine, e-paper (iPad & Smartphone), DT TV, Radio 7 Day Guide, Telegraph.co.uk (Podcasts, Blackberry on the go, Blogs, Desktop Alert).

New **formats** in *the Telegraph*, such as Luxury Channels, Men and Woman Channel on digital devices are helping redesigning the revenue models. So *the Telegraph* seems more driven by market changes than *the Guardian* which is more focused on the creativity of journalism.

The Times launched the new system in 2013, and provided news products such as paper, tabloids, Kindle version, website, PDF and Smartphone applications to customers. Currently, news products are provided on several terminals includes newspaper, tablets, kindle, mobile and websites.

The Southern Metropolis belongs to berliner/compact if compares to the tabloids types in UK, such as *Daily Express*, *The Daily Mail* and *Morning Star*. Different with *Guangzhou Daily*, *Southern Metropolis* more favour to the taste of mid-class in China. Therefore, in terms of news value, *Southern Metropolis* chooses more pictures and provides more lifestyle topics to service their local readers.

According to the Southern Metropolis's multimedia strategy report, in terms of the digital platforms, *the Southern Metropolis* has three websites, one official Weibo and two mobile newspapers (apps & android).

Currently, digital products in the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group include news portal (Dayoo. com), multimedia e-paper, mobile paper, *Guangzhou Daily* 3G portal, Dayoo mobile version, digital TV, tablets and software products.

In terms of **digital formats** there are lots of different types but overall maybe not very significant difference in UK and China. Basically news was distributed on the platforms such as the print, website, Smartphone and tabloids. Therefore, it seems like, as long as, there are new reading terminals appearing in the market (new technology), they would provide news products on that platforms.

b. News Value/Story Ideas

MODELS	NEWS VALUE/STORY IDEAS
Digital	House style, but each platforms have different aspects of the same news story: • **Multimedia thinking** • Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest • Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms
Southern Metropolis	House style, but transforming to multimedia operation mode: • **Newspaper-centric thinking** in large extent, but try to transfer to Multimedia thinking

	- Partly story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest: *develop **social media** and **citizen journalists**; cater to **local readers' interests** and **social responsibility**.* - Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms: *recreation for paper, website and Weibo*
Guardian	House style, but each platform has different aspects of the same news story: - **Multimedia thinking**: *run it in a team and multimedia work "digital first strategy"* - Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest: *use the new media interact with their readers, a large amount of audience around either individual writers or serious topics* - Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms: *recreation for paper and website*
Telegraph	House style, but each platform has different aspects of the same news story: *before each article published on the platform, there is a group charge in checking words and plagiarism, and make sure which in good quality and in house style.* - **Multimedia thinking**: *digital formats change the mindset of editorial stuff in TMG by delivering digital content on digital platforms to cater and abstract younger people still loyal to its brand.* - Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest: *Mobile and Tablet Strategy to build customer interaction* - Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms: *content adjust according to the fact that people choose different timing to pursue content according to different devices and using habit;*
Guangzhou Daily	House style, but transforming to multimedia operation mode: - **Newspaper-centric thinking** in large extent, but try to transfer to Multimedia thinking - Partly story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest: *Weichat and Weibo* - Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms: *recreation for paper, Weichat and Weibo*
Times/ Daily Mail	House style, but each platforms have different aspects of the same news story: - **Multimedia thinking** - Story ideas can be interacted with readers: Journalists & Editors Follow Readers' interest as well as advertisers' interest: *the Times is to target on valuable people that the advertisers most care about* - Content reused and recycled adapted to specific platforms: *the Times create the membership club- using the Smartphone more, use the website more and tabloids, and more readers give encourage, actually use the products, get involve the products, the more customers are likely to stay with the brand*

Table 24 compares news values with different models

In UK cases, currently journalists and editors are required to bear multimedia in mind, story ideas are adapted to specific platforms and follow the interests of readers.

In *The Times* and *Daily Mail*, there is a leading editorial desk who manages the multimedia operation in newsroom. Journalists and editors are trained to be a multimedia practitioner. Story ideas are discussed by both editors and readers (encourage using the products and getting involved in the products).

As shown in the table above, in *the Guardian* and *the Telegraph*'s newsroom, editorial team runs news story in a multimedia pattern and thinks in multimedia way. Instead of writing for a specific platform, journalists provide content for all platforms. In *the Guardian*, **story ideas** are led by Open Journalism/ Newsdesks Live, and all of the news will be only cut the length to fit in different devices without re-writing. In *the Telegraph*, news values are influenced by the **marketing survey** of using habit on each platform, and the delivering digital content on digital platforms is for catering and abstracting younger ABC1. So the **market changes** seem to have more effect on the news values change in the Telegraph than the Guardian who is more influenced by its digital strategy and traditional news values.

In contrast, the *Southern Metropolis* is under the transformation to multimedia operation. The editorial departments are still **newspaper-centric** thinking, because journalists and editors only work for paper and separate from new media department. But the Wechat and Weibo are more focus on **interactions** and this is a change in news values.

Different from British role models, in *Guangzhou Daily*, multimedia operation is only available in rolling news department. In other words, the editorial departments are still **newspaper-centric** thinking. Reporters are still following traditional copy

flow, so multimedia thinking is not a necessity in the newsroom.　However, news value in rolling news department has changed. Because editors work closely with hotline, so in this department, breaking news could be published on online in time.

c. News Source

MODELS	NEWS SOURCE
Digital	According to news value (House style), but meet the requirements of platforms: ● The method of news gathering is multiple through social media ● Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) providers
Southern Metropolis	According to news value (House style), but meet the requirements mainly for the print and Weibo: ● The method of news gathering is multiple through social media: *website and Weibo* ● **Readers** began provide content (text, pic, video, audio): *editors and reporters* **interact** *with* **citizens** *who could provide* **perspectives (news value), sources** *and* **valuable analysis** *on breaking news*
Guardian	According to news value (House style), but meet the requirements of different platforms: ● The method of gathering information is multiple through social media: *website and live-blog, journalists and editors found that it is a quite useful tool for information collection* ● Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) provider: **open journalism** *on the web; "Open Newslist to Newsdesks Live": opened up its newslists to public let readers get in touch with their reporters and editors*
Telegraph	According to news market for making a wise decision: which kind of sources need to present to the audience and keep the loyalty, which is in order to attract advertisers. ● The method of news gathering is multiple through social media ● Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) provider as well as the potential target market
Guangzhou Daily	According to news value (House style), but meet the requirements mainly for the print and Weibo: ● The method of news gathering is multiple through social media: *website and Weibo* ● Readers began provide content (text, pic, video, audio): *editors and reporters* **interact** *with* **citizens** *who could provide* **perspectives (news**

	*value), sources and **valuable analysis** on breaking news*
Times/ Daily Mail	Daily Mail and Mail Online, the news source is a kind of reorganized and different packed strategy for the market and the company which is combining the online and paper together in order to get the mutual benefit ● The method of gathering information is multiple through social media ● Readers become content (text, pic, video, audio) provider as well as the potential target market

Table 25 compares news sources with different models

In UK models, basically editors and readers are both getting involved in filling the gaps (news stories in page layout and other platforms). Newspapers in UK are more focusing on catering and respecting their readers in order to keep the loyalty and help with the quality of content.

In *the Guardian*, readers participate in its working process which make the process of investigation actually becomes part of the news itself. Readers become gatekeepers by participating daily Open Newslist and Newsdesks Live. News source gathered both from reporters and readers who also contribute to the improvement of the story.

In contrast, there are limited channels to interact with readers in *the Southern Metropolis*. Basically, editors interact with readers through one or two official Weibo account and one Wechat account. Comparing to the Guardian's open newslist, interaction in *Southern Metropolis* is trapped inside new media department. So the cultural difference in China means interaction with readers is not as easy or as developed as in the UK papers.

In the *Daily Mai*l and Mail Online, sports department works with website interact with newspaper to conquer the long-term declining of the print. News source is a kind of reorganized and different packed strategy for the market in order to get the mutual benefit by combining the online and print.

Rolling news department in *Guangzhou Daily* runs as a hotline center which aims to find news stories and help topics planning for the print. At the same time, newsroom acts like a news agency, readers are encouraged to update and upload pictures and video through Weibo platform. However, rolling news department faces the same problem with *the Southern Metropolis*- **interaction exists in a limited space and scale** (only in rolling news department) instead of spreading to the entire newsroom.

d. News Selection

MODELS	NEWS SELECTION
Digital	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: ● Fitting into different devices ● Adjusting in multimedia formation which changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper
Southern Metropolis	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers:** ● **Paper under censorship,** social media has Greater Editorial Freedom ● Digital products more face to **audience & advertisers interests**
Guardian	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: ● Fitting into different devices ● Adjusting in multimedia formation which changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper *open news desk and live blogging: both the **gatekeeper** as well as news customers by selecting top topic (**news selection**) and deciding the reporting direction (**news value**) for themselves*
Telegraph	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: ● Fitting into different devices ● Adjusting in multimedia formation which changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper *Example: Saturday Telegraph select content for the readers and adjust strategy to win weekend news market*
Guangzhou Daily	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers:** ● **Paper under censorship,** social media has Greater Editorial Freedom ● Digital products more face to **audience & advertisers interests**
Times/ Daily Mail	Stories were selected and edited by **gatekeepers (audience & advertisers, editor & reporter)** for: **The Real Time Analysis**

	- Fitting into different devices - Adjusting in multimedia formation which changes the selection of ads & profit model for newspaper: *Mail Online use Different homepages and videos are according to different places in the World, so that the company can sell the advertising to local advertisers.*

Table 26 compares news selections with different models

In terms of the news selection in UK newspapers, basically, in the traditional model stories were organised and edited by editors for readers. Now, **readers and advertisers both become gatekeepers.** Some editors choose to cut news fit into different terminals, some of them will re-edit it and targeted different groups.

In *the Guardian*, even though it did not launch any specific program for the digital platforms, but its open news desk and live blogging, in philosophy and practice, is the way to attract news customers by selecting top topic (news selection) and deciding the reporting direction (news value) by themselves. In this way, *the Guardian* wants to guarantee to keep readers' loyalty as well as keep potential advertisers.

In *the Telegraph*, the news selection strategy is to cater to potential revenue market. Once *the Telegraph* realizes what are their readers want to read, editors will add more content for them rather than shrinking pages of the print. And all the decision was built on market research which is the first principle for Telegraph to survive in UK news market.

Now *the Southern Metropolis* saw itself as a **social information monitor**. Although paper is still under censorship, social media has a greater editorial freedom (news selection) than before. Because Weibo helps the group sending out news at the first time and getting rid of official ban order (avoid government censorship/propaganda).

In *the Daily Mail*, mail online uses different homepages according to different places

in the world to attract local advisers and manages business by providing free content. The Real Time Analysis is a tool which actives with editorial team to select potential content to cater to local appetizers (advertisers and audiences).

Guangzhou Daily uses the contacts and content resources of the newspaper turning valuable content into an interview video program in rolling news department. This is a strategy to select topics interact with the print. As a trial, this method could work for some specific topics, but it did not change the traditional copy flow.

Guangzhou Daily is more focused on using social media for stories which used to get censored in the print paper. *The Southern Metropolitan* is the least developed, using social media to look for news clues - it cannot respond quickly because of its copy flow. This shows that the links in the model between copy flow and news values are important. And at *Guangzhou Daily* and *the Southern Metropolitan* the changes to copy flow do help change the news values.

7.1.3 The Digital Copy Flow: Comparing Chinese Cases with UK Cases

DIGITAL COPY FLOW	SOUTHERN METROPOLIS	THE GUARDIAN	THE TELEGRAPH
Planning	Similar to traditional copy flow, but developing the centralized information platform for editorial	Constant meetings (hourly ones), staff has to be on duty anytime (Miro-quesada, 2007) *see chart13*	Constant meetings (hourly ones) at Hub and Spoken, staff has to be on duty anytime
Commiss ioning & Briefing	**Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow but Weibo-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals with **rolling workflow**: **Fixed** working time by **deadline**;	**Web-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals (PEJ, 2008) with **rolling workflow**: **Rolling** working time 24/7 hrs;	**Web-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals (PEJ, 2008) with **rolling workflow**: **Rolling** working time 24/7 hrs

	Editors assigned fixed tasks to journalists	**Multiple** tasks: content provide for multiple platforms.	**Multiple** tasks: content provide for multiple platforms: the commissioning of stories and their elements such as text for the printed and the digital edition, pictures, audio etc., is done for all media used to tell the story.
	Basic skills	**Advanced skills**: interview, write & deliver quickly, more technically proficient & computer literate: *writers to publish the blog everyday, news stories are usually commission by the desk, then the news ideas will post on live blog, rolling and updating all the day.*	**Advanced skills:** interview, write & deliver quickly, more technically proficient & computer literate: each reporter should be capable of producing content in all formats, and should be expected to write for both the website and the newspaper.
Copy Editing	Content **Journalism- oriented** Editors fit copy in paper once Work around newspaper deadline New media department running separate from other departments Web editors fit same content into website & Weibo Several deadlines throughout a day	Content **Product- oriented** Editors fit same content into several news production & delivering to different channels: news products are put in package and content are being fit in different digital devices according to different terminals; website monitor which shows articles network attention ranking with numbers and marking with rise and decline trend; Target de facto deadlines (to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes): **publishing time** for each edition on the website does not have a certain deadline for when they publish (not for the paper, the Kindle or the iPad edition). There are	Content **Product- oriented** Editors fit same content into several news production & delivering to different channels: each head of section would be equally responsible for content online and in the newspaper Target de facto deadlines (to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes): deadlines and workflow needed to be set up around four touch points

		kind of different outlets which have different requirements in terms of when get the copy out.	
Content delivery	No individual-centered production & dissemination	Individual-centered production & dissemination: Content Delivery Strategy:" The Right Information, in the Right Way, at the Right Time" the news designer is thinking this the news for the paper or this is the article for website. They are just thinking about the stories.	Individual-centered production & dissemination: "Time Location Context" strategy: package the content that relevant to the right audience at the right time on the right platform
	Interaction mode (Weibo)	Interaction mode (personal news portal, social networks)	Interaction mode (personal news portal, social networks)

Table 27 compares digital copy flow with different models

According to the table above, after digitisation, traditional newspapers pay more attention to transfer into digital copy flow which is more content product-oriented; writers and columns become newspaper brand; news is written for the whole group. Readers are considered to engage in news producing process. The news production become team work instead of just filling the gaps by editors.

In *the Guardian*, the overall features of digital copy flow in its newsroom can be described as content product-oriented. Editorials are famous for its writers and open blogs. Because *the Guardian* has other branch offices in other countries, news are rolling 24/7 and reporters write for all platforms, so the deadlines are de facto based on users' habits of different devices. As table shows, each stage of digital copy flow was designed according to match its digital formats and logic of copy flow.

In *the Telegraph*, copy flow was considered to be content product-oriented. Basically, the working time in newsroom is 20/7 (London office), and content should be provided and edited for all platforms. The whole digital copy flow has been designed around different natures of terminal devices, and leveraging the brand in order to

provide content across all platforms in the right format. **So in this case the model shows quite well the transformation of the copy flow to suit the different platforms.** But the strategy is different from each other. *The Telegraph's* journalists are more like the model because they are expected to be more multitasking, able to produce video content etc. *The Guardian* is more about text for blogs and online.

However, *the Southern Metropolis* is still stick to the traditional working time and copy flow: reporters and editors work around the print's deadline. According to its current copy flow, editorial working flow not matches the requirements of digital formats which *Southern Metropolis* have already launched. So here the model is not too good at predicting. Why does the *Southern Metropolis* not transform copy flow to the formats? Here it seems the model could say either the market pressure is not so great, or the strategy is different. But it maybe also that China's culture is different or it is because of the political system. These issues will be covered in third section of this chapter.

DIGITAL COPY FLOW	GUANGZHOU DAILY	TIMES/DAILY MAIL
Planning	Similar to traditional copy flow, but rolling news department running totally separate from paper editorials	Constant meetings (hourly ones) at editorial desks, the website and the iPad staff has sit along side to be on duty anytime
Commiss ioning & Briefing	**Newspaper-centric** thinking with **routinizing workflow but Weibo-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals with **rolling workflow**: ● **Fixed** working time by deadline; (except app and Weibo) ● **Editors assigned fixed** tasks to journalists	**Web-first** thinking on breaking news and visuals (PEJ, 2008) with **rolling workflow**: ● **Rolling** working time 24/7 hrs: *reporters are respected to work for the website of Times as well as working for the paper so that Times have the people all day long in different places 24hr a day to be providing copy to the website.* ● **Multiple** tasks: content provide for multiple platforms: *Stories are produced by journalists for the paper*

	● Certain skills	*if it is not exclusive, they will put on the website during the day* ● Advanced skills: interview, write & deliver quickly, more technically proficient & computer literate
Copy Editing	**Editorial department still Journalism- oriented**: ● Editors fit copy in paper once ● work around newspaper deadline Rolling news department running separate from other departments: ● editors fit same content or recreate content into Weibo and Weichat ● several deadlines throughout a day	Content **Product- oriented:** ● editors fit same content into several news production & delivering to different channels: *Sports department for both the paper and Mail Online* ● target de facto deadlines (to make sure fresh content is up for periods when traffic spikes): no *deadlines for online*
Design & Art Proof	Individual-centered production & dissemination ● interaction mode (Weibo & Weichat)	individual-centered production & dissemination: *"Time Location Context" strategy: package the content that relevant to the right audience at the right time on the right platform* ● interaction mode (personal news portal, social networks)

Table 28 compares digital copy flow

In *the Times*, Newsroom 360 is the project to bring the print and digital devices together. This is also a system for producing content across all the platforms and a culture change within the newsroom. Different with other newspapers, the online content could be totally different products from the print in order to give readers another reason to come to the digital.

Daily Mail, sporting channel operates as a multimedia trial in the newsroom. Unlike other national newspapers in UK, *Daily Mail* only integrated editors and some sports journalists together; this team leads by a chief editor who has to make wise decision on digital first strategy. However, the whole idea of digital copy flow is to make online active with the print.

Editorial team provides content for all platforms in practice. So even though lots of things are different between the UK newspapers there are also some things are same. Online is becoming more important and the work of journalists is changing. In some ways all newspapers may be making the same strategy.

The rolling news department in *Guangzhou Daily* is more similar to *the Times* and *Daily Mail*, where it is not the traditional copy flow or the digital one but is in regard of **combining** traditional with digital media copy flow. The whole digital copy flow has yet to be established. Only editors in the multimedia center conduct rolling workflow (but not for 24 hrs), the other news departments run totally separately.

7.1.4 News Beats: Job Titles and Newsroom Physical Layout

After digitisation, most of the UK newspapers try to avoid linear physical structure inside the newsroom. *The Guardian* and *Telegraph* cases follow the role model is quite clearly. These case studies showed that these newspapers adopted a digital copy flow in newsroom to cooperate with current news production situation.

In *the Guardian*, the titles of editors' job have merged. For example, "sub-editor", "beat editor" and "copy editor" now combined into "news editor"; "make-up editor" and "design editor" are called "production editor"; however, for the journalists and reporters, the titles are not much different than before, except they need to work for all platforms. The newsroom adopts a "Pod" layout, which is an entirely integrated working area in order to fasten the communication.

In *the Telegraph*, newsroom has only three basic titles: reporter, editor and production journalist. There is no more Copy-editors/Sub-editors in *the Telegraph*; instead, they are all called production journalists and work in multi-skilled teams. "Spoken and Hub", is a fully integrated new layout newsroom in Telegraph where editors sit around a round table, driving operations from that central desk. This

structure gives the chance to break down the barriers (copy flow bottleneck).

In *the Times*, there is a partly integrated news desk in order to coordinate the digital strategy. Newsroom 360 runs as a start of integration which is to make the website and iPad editorial desks sit along side the newspaper editorial desks. In terms of the job titles, on news hub, there are only editors, sub-editors and reporters who work for the paper and website during the day.

Very similar to *the Times*, *Daily Mail* only takes a trial on its Sports Team. Sports department is partly integrated with several editors. The leader of Sports department for both the paper and online is Lee Clayton, and there is another editor on site and one editor for newspaper who work closely with each other to decide when to publish the exclusive story, online first or how to present it on next day's paper.

Title	News Beats	Newsroom	Layout Features
The Guardian	**Non-linear**: websites, tabloids, blogs, mobile **Teamwork**, user generated center (Integrated Structure)	The Pod: Central News desk and rolling editor conference help for multimedia operation	**Pod layout**
The Telegraph	**Non-linear** : websites, tabloids, blogs, mobile **Teamwork**, user generated center (Integrated Structure)	serve readers in the emerging diversified and digital media market;	"Spoke and Hub"
The Times	**Non-linear** : websites, tabloids, blogs, mobile **Teamwork**, user generated center (Partly Integrated Structure)	Newsroom 360 in Times;	1. Simultaneous subbing across all platforms 2. More efficient production process 3. Opportunity for savings 4. Total editorial

			control
Daily Mail	**Non-linear** : websites, tabloids, blogs, mobile **Teamwork**, user generated center (Partly Integrated Structure)	Integrated Sports Team in Daily Mail as a trial	Take the head of newspaper department make it the head of the online department
The Metropolis	**Non-linear** : websites, tabloids, Weibo, mobile **Traditional layout** but set up the New Media Business Center; integrated layout under planning	New Media Department: Weibo team, network team, video team	Staying in planning stage, no real action on that.
The Guangzhou Daily	**Non-linear** : websites, tabloids, Weibo, mobile (app) Multimedia Department separates from other departments; **Non-integrated** layout;	New Media Department: Rolling news department/Multimedia Center: New Titles: 25 new media editors; 1 director; 2 deputy directors	Hesitate to make a physical change. Hard to revise the whole copy flow inside the group. Traditional mindset blocked the way of media integration.

Table 29 compares news beats

Currently, *the Southern Metropolis* still distributed offices in different floors in one building. In Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group, multimedia center located in a separate floor apart with other departments. The main task is to shift traditional content into something new, and then present online sources on the newspapers. Recently, *Guangzhou Daily* has no plan of building up an integrated newsroom.

So, the models show that market changes and digital formats did not bring big changes to news beats and digital copy flow in Chinese newspaper newsroom. If the Chinese newspapers want to learn from their UK counterparts, there are several aspects can be referenced as below.

7.2 The Potential Learnings from UK Role Models

In the last section, the main features (content market, news formats, copy flow and news beats) of British and Chinese newspapers have been compared individually. I have tested the model against data from the UK and it has shown where the model can explain changes in copy flows. This section outlines some aspects and features that Chinese newspapers could learn in the future from UK role models.

News Values in the UK

Overall in terms of **news values**, UK newspapers still mainly stick to the "house style" which is partly due to the long historical culture and partly from the reason of early market competition and positioning. Each newspaper has a considerable amount of fixed readers (social class), and also political leanings.

In terms of the market changes each used different strategies which consist with current development stage by facing to the digital future and reducing the loss of subscription and ads from the print. The UK cases show that their strategy is connecting the journalism to the changes in market conditions and reading behavior. And this is changing some of the **news values.** The UK newspapers are now targeting at potential revenue market, and catering to the needs of readers as well as advertisers.

The digitization could be the start of a big change in news values and news selection for the Chinese papers. Digital terminals give a great chance to break the news ban from the government by publishing news "online first". In other words, digital news practice brings a new era for Chinese news landscape and press freedom, and the media would be the real information monitor in the future. In terms of Chinese cases, newspaper needs to find a way to transform the traditional operation into digital. Although there are some big events or special topics will run in a multimedia mode,

different departments run separately in the newsroom. Therefore, Chinese newspapers need to bring various kinds of information together to form the multimedia product.

Digital Formats, Interaction and News Selection

The practical method common to most of UK newspapers is to launch multiple digital formats on different platforms, such as websites, mobile (apps, android) and tablets. As long as what kind of reading terminals appeared on the market, there will be such formats launched at the same time.

However, the difference between the **formats** is that some of them face the customer groups by only keeping eyes on potential ads market, such as *the Telegraph*. Some of them choose to stick to the traditional "house style" by just fitting content into different platforms, like *the Guardian*.

In this way the formats are relate to the **copy flow** because some of newspapers will be re-edit content specially for that terminal, some even replacing most of the content in order to position the digital readership. Some of them will only **repurpose** the content to make it fit into different platforms.

In terms of the **news source**, UK newspapers pay more attention to the interaction with readers and market position. For example, *the Guardian* launched the open newslist, bringing readers in its news practice, which in fact get readers involved in the process of digital copy flow, to be part of it. By enhancing the sense of participation, in turn, newspaper keeps its readers' loyalty to the brand. *Times* reward and keep its readers by setting up the membership and get the feedback in time. *The Telegraph* receives data through the digital terminals and improves its data report; also make custom content and service for readers and advertisers. This is a change of digitization because in the literature review we could see that the traditional copy

flow of the Anglo-American newspapers was not too concerned with the audience and more following the traditional news format and news values. After digitization, UK newspapers are more consider about readers and have a strong sense of service.

For the Chinese newspapers, though, newspapers provide most of the content for different platforms, but it seems like competitive procedures. This is why the **formats** have changed but the **copy flow** doesn't. Therefore, Chinese newspapers should find a effective way to break the barrier, and choose a strategy to thoroughly revolute the copy flow in newsroom. Overall speaking, the digitization has not made such a big change in Chinese newspapers compared with UK newspapers.

Newsroom Integration of Beats and Copy Flow

UK newspapers are almost totally turning into a non-linear team work model. But most newspapers in China set up a new media department to cater to the new market, they did not break down the traditional structure like UK newspapers. The strategy is even more different at *Guangzhou Daily* where some senior editors hope its rolling department could play a role of "leader sheep". But we could see that this strategy hasn't been developed by all the editors for the whole newspaper.   So, in reality the whole organizational system is not built up for the digital copy flow. Without a convergence strategy, therefore, the whole digital transform cannot be completed by only one department in the group.

The copy flow and newsroom physical layout changes in the UK newspapers were fairly similar. So we could conclude that much of this aspect of newsroom integration is a common thing in all the UK newspapers. This means that newsroom layout and news beats don't seem to be much different depending on the **market conditions** or the **news formats.**

Some of these similarities in the UK (and the differences in China) seem to come

down to one main factor, there is a pattern overall that each one was top-down integrated into the overall copy flow regardless whichever department or digital format.   It seems like Chinese newspapers need to reconsider a non-linear copy flow, set up a real digital culture from top to bottom.

Chinese Newspapers' Future Integration strategy

Finally, because I want to make this thesis a practical project as well as an academic research I have tried to say what the Chinese newspapers can learn from the study of convergence in the UK. Because the conclusions focus on the importance of strategy then the practical learning also focuses on strategy.

a. Carefully study UK digital models, learn the experience and lessons from every British newspaper; (the role model of each British newspaper has been studied in Chapter 5)

b. Take the UK digital copy flow as reference in order to construct integrated copy flow in their own groups; (the main outcomes of UK role models can be found in Chapter 5 and 7)

c. Learn from the experience of failure and comply with UK newspapers to discuss potential strategic measures; (for example, visiting targeted newspaper in UK and have a look at the newsroom)

d. Estimate the reform cost and time, considering the integrated structure of newsroom which intends to consider for the future design; (redesign the media convergence planning)

e. Take UK models and test in a local market, and then assess the effect of the test.

Decision-makers can consider the greater good and be responsible for the future. Chinese newspaper managers can continue to explore business model and applied to their own newspaper development. The whole idea of this strategy is to build and stick to brand loyalty and credibility through the reform.

7.3 Limitations of the Study and Places for Future Researches

This research has found differences which the model does not explain so well. Although the Model is a **contribution** of the study to the literature, it is also a **limitation** of the study and is therefore an area for future research to address.

According to this limitation, it is important to address a number of important reasons for the differences between UK newspapers and Chinese newspapers which this study has found in terms of digital copy flow. They are summed up as below where I suggest that the culture and political system may be important, but my theoretical framework was not developed to try to explain these factors.

National and International Content Markets

The model only looks at the national or local content markets as newspapers have always been national or local in their history. But this study has shown that as UK news markets have declined, digitization has also meant that UK newspapers can try to reach readers outside the UK. They could be considered as international news organisations and they are reaching an international news content market. This is a big market change which affects the digital formats and also explains why the digital copy flow was running in a 24/7 mode. There is no such deadline for the newspaper, but there might be deadlines running for different platform publications. However, news copy flow keeps rolling and updating all the time.

But for Chinese news groups, they are mainly catering to a local or national content market, which is so far not declining. They can still make money from print and are mainly focused on print.

Content Markets and Digital Culture

The effect of the content market changes is different in the UK and China because of the difference in digital culture. Digital devices have made big changes to the news

market in the UK and people are more used to a digital culture. For people over 35 in China this change is not so pronounced. Digital media are increasingly popular in China, but far away from maturity. Digital applications are popular but still at an early stage. Multimedia culture is still not well developed in the newsrooms of Chinese newspapers; there is a lack of expertise about the digital market.

Convergence Strategy and Political Leadership

Political leadership level issues always exist in Chinese media. Multimedia transformations can not be fulfilled without top-down decision-making in politics and regulation both from government and media group. Because the problems in Chinese news media system, such as news censorship, regulation and public trust are more or less comprehensively affect the progress and maturity of Chinese digital industry. This explains why Chinese news groups still have a more cautious attitude towards multimedia.

Convergence Strategy and Business Leadership

British newspapers operate independently which react to market faster than others. Although in the UK there are confrontations with the traditional newspaper inertia, generally, whatever kind of terminals market has, UK newspapers will launch such a digital format first, just to capture the market opportunities.

In China there is a conservative approach to reform and change. The attitude to the reform for most of Chinese newspapers, Chen (interview, 2013) described it as "Wait and See" which means some newspapers want to take a look at others' reform results first. Moreover, other issues inside Chinese newspaper system also led to the reform can not precede along with the established track, such as frequent leadership change, the uncertainty of the reform program and policy-makers lack of consistency.

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