UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

HARNESSING SOCIAL MEDIA USE IN JOURNALISM:

MANAGEMENT AND JOURNALISTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL MEDIA,

PROFESSIONALISM AND MANAGERS' ROLES

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

NGUYEN HONG VY LUONG
Norman, Oklahoma
2021

HARNESSING SOCIAL MEDIA USE IN JOURNALISM:

MANAGEMENT AND JOURNALISTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL MEDIA,

PROFESSIONALISM AND MANAGERS' ROLES

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
GAYLORD COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSITING OF

Dr. Peter J. Gade, Chair

Dr. Elanie Steyn

Dr. Glenn Leshner

Dedication

For my family, who never hesitate to give me the best education opportunities.

For my grandma, who unfortunately passed away just a couple of months before I finished my Master's degree.

Grandma always said I make my family proud with my educational achievements, and I should continue to do that. I hope that I still do.

Acknowledgements

I will forever appreciate the guidance and support of my thesis chair, Dr. Peter Gade. It has been my honor to have him as my teacher and my thesis chair. He has taught me a tremendous amount about journalism, media management, and research methods. With his knowledge, Dr. Gade helped me to better navigate my thesis work and research interests while also challenging me every day to improve my work. His teachings will always serve as guidance for me to be a better scholar in the future. He also showed me his passions in research and teaching, which has greatly inspired me to one day live up to those standards. I want to thank him for believing in me and giving me the best opportunities. His kindness and endless encouragement also helped me to believe in myself more and get to the finish line.

I also want to thank my committee members, Dr. Elanie Steyn and Dr. Glenn Leshner, for reviewing my thesis and giving me their valuable feedback, as well as working with me and my complicated schedule so as to give me the opportunity to finish this thesis. I was lucky to have a chance to learn about media management with Dr. Steyn and about research methodologies with Dr. Leshner. With their extensive knowledge, they have challenged my ways of thinking and my ways of writing, thus making me become a better student and scholar.

More than just supporting me through my thesis and my learning at the University of Oklahoma for my Master's degree, I also owe my committee my gratitude for supporting me through my educational and academic journey. They were always there for me and willing to give me the best advice and encouragement.

No words can be used to express my appreciation for my family. I don't think I've ever told them directly "thank you," but from the inside, I always appreciate everything they have done for me. Being teachers and educators, my parents always emphasized the importance of education and they never stop to give me the best educational opportunities. I would not be who I am today without them. While in our Vietnamese culture (or at least in my family) we do not usually express what we feel or tell each other details about what we do, I know that my family has sacrificed a lot to have me here in the U.S. over these years. Thank you for all your support, and I hope I make you proud.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Social media have changed the landscape of journalism by providing both opportunities and risks (Lee, 2015; Lee, 2016). While news organizations want journalists to incorporate social media into their work (Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Molyneux, 2015), journalists face the risk of termination if their social media activities are misaligned with the organization's values (Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Lee, 2015).

Managers play an important role in guiding news organizations, especially during uncertainty (Lowrey & Gade, 2012), but news managers are usually slow to adapt to change (Sylvie & Gade, 2009). Journalists are knowledge workers who do not want to be overseen, thus making it harder to incorporate journalists into the news organizations' missions (Drucker, 2008; Dal Zotto & Van, 2008). Through in-depth interviews with journalists and managers (n=22), this study explores the similarities and differences in perceptions of journalists and managers regarding social media use, journalistic professionalism, managers' roles, and the effectiveness of policies in managing journalists' social media use.

The study adds to the limited scholarship regarding the management of social media in the newsroom. The data shows there remains confusion and uncertainty among journalists and managers on how to use social media and how to manage those activities. Managers and journalists have different views on managers' roles as they perceive social media somewhat differently. The data also suggested journalists seek guidance from management to reduce uncertainty regarding their social media use, but managers are not always living up to those expectations.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The lack of clarity on the violations of the social media policy has made A.P. journalists afraid to engage on social media — often critical to our jobs — in any capacity. (Robertson, 2021)

The quote above is from an open letter penned in May 2021 by more than 150 journalists working at the Associated Press expressing their concern about the news organizations' social media policy and management after it fired one of its news associate, 22 year-old Emily Wilder, for violating social media policy. The AP managing editor said that a series of pro-Palstinian tweets from Wilder had shown bias on a controversial topic, going against the news organization's principle and values and subsequently resulting in her termination (Goldman, 2021). However, the AP editor did not disclose to the public nor Widler which specific tweets violated the policy (Bauder, 2021a). In the open letter expressing their concern regarding the AP's decision, the journalists expressed concern that while the AP editorial board was not transparent in making their decision, they still made Wilder's name public (Barr, 2021). With the lack of communication from management, the journalists also expressed how this event had created an uncertain environment where many felt there was potential for journalists to be punished without explanation (Barr, 2021). The AP editorial boards then issued an apology to their staff, but not to the public, saying they had made "mistakes of process, and not of outcome" (Barr, 2021). They also said that while their firing of Wilder was still the "right decision" (Barr, 2021), they would review their social media policy by September 2021 to clear up any uncertainties (Bauder, 2021b).

Wilder is not the only nor the first journalist who has been fired from a major

news organization for activities on social media. Over the last decade, several other

journalists have been fired from national news organizations such as *the Washington Post*

(Abrams, 2020), *New York Times* (Sharma et al., 2021), and *CNN* (Calderone, 2014).

Local news organizations like *WTAE-TV* in Pennsylvania (Sciullo, 2016) or *News 12* in

Connecticut (O'Neill, 2020) fired journalists for similar reasons. Some of these journalists

were cited as violating the organization's social media policy, but the managers did not

make any further comments to specify what part of the policy was violated or what

specifically constituted the violation (Abrams, 2020). In some of the other cases, the

firing news organization said that the decision did not have any connection to the

journalists' social media activities, even though the decisions were made right after the

journalists had made controversial social media postings (Sharma et al., 2021).

An AP spokesperson said that the AP recognized that other news organizations

might have made a different decision if they dealt with the same case as Widler based on

each organization's policy (Goldman, 2021). While National Public Radio used to restrict

its staff from expressing opinions, they updated their ethics code at the end of July 2021

allowing journalists to "express support for democratic, civic values that are core to

NPR's work" both in person and online (McBride, 2021). NPR outlined that support as

"the freedom and dignity of human beings, the rights of a free and independent press, the

right to thrive in society without facing discrimination" (McBride, 2021).

Explaining reasoning behind their policy change, NPR said that they want to

tackle the generation-old question of "Where does the journalist end and the citizen

begin?" especially when the digital age allows journalists to be more open about

themselves on social media (McBride, 2021). NPR's decision has been welcomed by several professionals, with some suggesting that other newsrooms should apply the same policies (Benton, 2021). However, some journalists and researchers raised concerns of how one can define which causes are permissible for journalists to engage in (Benton, 2021). In their policy, NPR said that journalists still need to consult their supervisors before they become involved in any activism activities (McBride, 2021).

With managers being the ones who decide which causes can be classified as pro-freedom and pro-dignity, it puts them in a complicated situation as there can not be a simple way to spell out those values in a guideline or policy (Benton, 2021, McBride, 2021). When it comes to discerning which causes are acceptable, Joshua Benton of the Nieman Lab (2021) pointed out that NPR's policy presents difficulties as classifying causes are not a straightforward process. One of Benton's examples pointed out that the policy could apply to the pro-choice movement as they support "freedom of choice" while those who are pro-life can say they support the "dignity of human rights." He asked if it is acceptable to protest for "freedom of carry" when they support gun rights, and is it also acceptable to protest for "freedom from violence" if you oppose it.

Those cases above are some of the few instances that have highlighted the clashes between social media use, journalism professionalism and management. It is important to explore how journalists and managers on how social media affects journalism practices and journalism professionalism, as well as the perception regarding manager's roles and the effectiveness of a policy.

Journalists serve in many roles such as disseminator of information, watchdog against the government and other entities, interpreter of current events, and populist

mobilizer — and their professional values consist of several aspects such as credibility, objectivity, independence, and the commitment to the truth (Beam, 1990; Deuze, 2005, Lowrey & Gade, 2012). Technology has changed the landscape of journalism by not only providing more opportunities for journalism practice but also creating more challenges to journalism standards and values (Lee, 2016; Molyneux, & Mourão, 2019). Social media have posed such an upheaval to the norms of journalism that the majority of traditional news organizations have shown a tendency to frame social media as presenting risks rather than opportunities for newsrooms, and management focuses more on what journalists should not do instead of how they can take advantage of this new medium of communication (Lee, 2016).

Along with keeping some traditional norms, journalists have made notable changes to some of their practices in order to fit with the new platforms (Hedman, 2015). By reviewing available social media policies — mostly from well-known news organizations such as the AP, the NYT, and CNN — researchers have found that social media polices framed many boundaries like independence and impartiality as fixed but also provided some flexibility on other boundaries such as objectivity (Duffy & Knight, 2018). For instance, management has concerns that journalists' opinions on social media can negatively impact the news organization (Deuze, 2005).

Journalists have challenged objectivity norms through social media by passing along humor, opinions, and personal branding through posts on social media platforms (Molyneux, 2014). Some journalists might think retweets are just another way to share information without expressing support or criticism of the source while others have stated retweeting is a form of endorsement. Research has shown that most followers do not

distinguish between tweets and retweets, therefore, the audiences' perception of a journalist's objectivity might be influenced by these actions (Molyneux, 2014).

Social media have also affected the process of gatekeeping and created a risk of journalists passing along misleading information (Overhosler, 2009). News managers and editors used to play the main role in gatekeeping (Tandoc & Vos, 2016), but with the advent of social media journalists have become more independent (Molyneux, 2014) and can act as gatekeepers on their own social media platforms by choosing what to share. Research found that journalists' tweets are not or are not yet subjected to the layers of editing and filtering that finished news products are (Molyneux, 2014). Hermida (2010) also found that it is impossible for journalists and news organizations to both verify information and be the first one to tweet it out.

Journalists also need to keep their distance from sources and any other forms of influence to maintain their independent values (Molyneux, 2014). Social media have made the interactions between journalists and their audiences easier, therefore boundaries between professional and personal interactions can often appear blurry (Deuze, 2005). Journalists do not only need to report the news, but also need to connect with their audience, which may affect how they frame their stories as they get closer to their sources and audiences (Molyneux, 2014). In addition, journalists also use social media as tools to build their personal branding and make themselves more marketable (Schultz & Sheffer, 2012). To build their brand, journalists also have worked to become more personable with their audiences by posting about their personal lives and activities (Finneman et al., 2019; Schultz & Sheffer, 2012)

The uncertainty created by such dramatic professional shifts as those spurred by social media require news organizations to re-examine their missions and focus (Sylvie & Gade, 2009). During this time, managers play a vital innovative role as they not only set the visions but also develop strategies to achieve them through planning, organizing and training employees (Drucker, 2008, Kets De Vries, 1993). Managers are responsible for other people's work (Drucker, 2008) and how they lead in uncertain times directly influences how employees perform in the workplace (Kets De Vries, 1993). Journalists are knowledge workers, which means the bulk of their work is focused not on the performance of physical tasks but rather on the development of products and services based on their expertise. It is harder to integrate them into the organization's mission as knowledge workers prefer some form of autonomy and do not like to be overseen by managers (Drucker, 2008).

Managers perform several functions, including setting objectives and planning, organizing, motivating and communicating, measuring performance and developing employees (Drucker, 2008). Managers craft a policy to reflect the organization's values and objectives as well as establish targets and yardsticks for measurement (Drucker, 2008). Motivations can come from different forms, such as intrinsic factors where employees do something when they feel the action is gratifying in and of itself or extrinsic factors where employees prefer some separate outcome such as a raise or promotion (Benabou & Tirole, 2003). Rewards and punishments are the most common forms of incentives, and many researchers have looked into how effective they are in creating motivations (Przewoźna-Krzemińska, 2012). The majority argue that rewards are a better method, and punishment correlates with several types of fears, such as fears of

change or fears of risk-taking (Appelbaum, Bregman & Moroz, 1998, Przewoźna-Krzemińska, 2012). Drucker found that measurement could be the weakest form of management if managers just want to focus on controlling employees (2008). However, some also argue the effectiveness of those incentives depends on what types of organizations and the structure of each one, and that punishment also works in some organizations (Soss, Fording & Schram, 2011).

The use of social media in journalism has created tension between the control news organizations should have while expecting journalists to be active and engage with audiences on social media can simultaneously be active on social media platforms while also upholding their news organizations' values (Finneman et al., 2019). News organizations now need to develop a way to manage other activities on social media that journalists can consider as their personal activities, such as friending, liking, or joining groups (Lee, 2016). While many researchers have looked at journalists' use of social media, only a few have looked at the management of these activities. A regular thread among these topics is that researchers found a lack of consistent policies or homogenous attitudes toward implementation of policy to regulate journalists' social media activities (Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2015). Among those findings, journalists and managers have been shown to have different attitudes regarding social media and their roles in journalists' practices. A common theme among the research about the management of journalists' social media activities, or about social media policy at news organizations specifically, is that there is no universal rule and it varies based on each newsroom (Duffy & Knight, 2018; Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2015).

In 2010, the News Leader Association, a joint force of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Associated Press Media Editors, collected 15 social media policies from major newspapers across the U.S as well as several case studies regarding the management of social media activity. They suggested 10 tips on how to build a social media policy, with the first being "traditional ethics rules still apply online" (Hohmann, 2010). In 2013, SPJ began the process of updating its code to reflect the challenges that social media can create (Adornato & Lysak, 2017). Many organizations build social media policy based on SPJ ethics codes, even though the code is outdated to navigate social media activities (Leech, 2009), resulting in organizations still treating social media like legacy media (Hermida, 2010). Several international newsrooms still rely on editorial guidelines for mass media when navigating social media, indicating that social media are still treated as more of an addendum to legacy media than a new news platform (Bloom et al, 2016).

Adornato and Lysak (2017) found that 95% of TV stations in the U.S. have a social media policy with the majority in written form. Thirty percent of journalists surveyed in Norway said their organizations do not have a social media policy (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). The attitude toward the importance of a guideline also varies between journalists and managers, and individuals at different organizations also prompted different responses. Some managers said that they do not need a social media policy as journalists should have room to experiment (Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018) and they should understand common sense (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). On the other hand, some managers said social media are too risky and there is a need for a policy as well as oversight from management (Lee, 2016). While some journalists said they

appreciate guidelines on how to use social media (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014), others have described situations such as:

> My co-workers are afraid to ask for a Twitter account/Facebook account (yes, we have to ask for permission) out of fear they would do something accidentally that would get them fired. I wish I had more freedom to use social media more in my work. (Scultz & Sheffer, 2012).

Regarding incentives in management of social media activities, Adornato and Lysak (2017)'s research also pointed out that approximately 23% of news managers had policies that would result in disciplinary actions. A few newsrooms' social media policies state that failure to follow the guidelines could result in penalties, ranging from the switching of a reporter's beat if the reporter shows bias to termination (Duffy & Knight, 2018). Rather than involving social media values in news reporting or otherwise normalising the use of social media in newswork, some newsrooms have continued to frame social media usage as a problem requiring punishments to avoid potential problems (Duffy & Knight, 2018).

Research regarding the management of social media mostly focuses on social media policy and its content, but not the process of crafting, communicating and evaluating those policies. There is also little research focusing on other roles of managers in managing journalists' use of social media.With some news organizations still lacking a policy that addresses social media and others treating it more of a risk to guard against than a new reality to adapt to, it is unclear how news organizations and news managers come up with their decisions.

This research aimed to find out how managers and journalists perceive the opportunities and risks of those activities, how social media activities might impact journalists' professionalism, managers' roles in managing journalists' use of social media, and the effectiveness of social media policies. The research was conducted by in-depth interviewing members of ethics committees and board of directors of four professional journalism organizations: the Society of Professional Journalists, the Radio Television Digital News Association, the Online News Association and the News Leaders Association.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Social Media, the Double-Edged Sword

Before the age of the Internet, the audience was seldom an active part of news work. The media was considered as being one-way communication, with the information passing from journalists and news organizations to the audience (Lowrey & Gade, 2012). With the development of technology, the direction of information is changing from top down to side-to-side, and professional journalists' roles are continuing to evolve (Lee J., 2015). Technology has allowed audiences to have more choices of what content to consume, as well as provided more media choices (Chaffee & Metzger, 2001). The Pew Research Center conducted a survey in July 2021 showing that 48% of U.S adults get news from social media at a rate they classified as "often" or "sometimes," a 5% decline compared to 2020. Facebook is the most common news source, with 31% of Americans saying that they regularly get news from this platform. Only 23% of those who participated in the study use Twitter, but 53% of those who said they regularly get news from there. While less popular, users also get news from other social media platforms such as Instagram, Youtube, Reddit, Tiktok, Twitch, LinkedIn, Snapchat, WhatsApp (Walker & Matsa, 2021).

To better serve the audience's needs when they move to social media to get news, news organizations start to adapt social media into their practices (Djerf-Pierre et al., 2016; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019). Journalists need to take on a new set of skills to better utilize social media in their work and several news organizations list social media skills as one of the requirements in their job descriptions for journalists (Guo & Volz, 2021; White, 2012). Social media have rapidly changed the landscape of journalism, which has

created both opportunities and risks for the field, and some have referred to its effect as a "double-edged sword" (Lee J., 2015; Lee, 2016).

Journalists have, overall, cited the use of social media as a significantly positive development on the ways in which they do their jobs (Weaver, 2016; Weaver, 2019). Journalists have integrated social media in many ways, such as through sourcing/information gathering, audience participation, information dissemination and personal branding (Barnard, 2016; Hermida, 2013; Schultz & Sheffer, 2012). Each of these is discussed in more detail below.

Sourcing and information gathering

Research shows that journalists have been using social media predominantly as information-gathering tools (Weaver, 2019). Previously, journalists' hunt for news stories has taken them into the field to meet with sources and gather information. While this method remains an integral part of newsroom culture, more and more of that information gathering has shifted to social media (Lasorsa, 2012).

Journalists use social media as search tools to find sources and gather the information that they can use in their stories, with each platform possessing the ability to bring in different types of sources (Zhang & Li, 2020). They can use social media to monitor official sources, trending topics, their competitors or just to keep up with breaking news (Tandoc & Vos, 2016; Weaver, 2019). Zhang and Li (2020) highlighted that social media allow journalists to get timely and on-site information even when the journalists are not at the scene of the story at the time it happens.

In addition, journalists have gradually seen more opportunities to collaborate with audiences in the news gathering process as a result of social media (Lowrey & Gade,

2012). Social media have become a network that journalists have increasingly reported using to obtain tips on breaking news and gaining potential sources by expanding their personal networks outside the local community (Diakopoulos, 2012; Tandoc & Vos, 2016). Social media also help journalists to find sources that are willing to talk about sensitive topics — situations where they cannot easily come out and ask people to share their opinions or experiences. For example, a journalists was having trouble finding a gay married couple to talk about the legality of same-sex marrigage. With the help of social media, he was able to find a couple who were willing to share their experience (Lee. A, 2015).

Consequently, a concern on sourcing news stories from social media platforms is the need to ensure that journalists are still able to produce accurate material despite the increased difficulty of doing so through social media (Hahn, 2013). With tips coming from online sources and with the potential for social media to break news before any reliable source can confirm the details, a journalist might find herself in the difficult situation of choosing to report on potentially breaking news or delay the reporting in order to verify the information (Armstrong & Gao, 2010, Zhang & Li, 2020). Using content from others requires journalists to verify, check for facts and monitor for copyright issues, which might be both time-consuming and costly (Lowrey & Gade, 2012).

Information dissemination

Social media have made the process of sharing stories with audiences easier for both journalists and news organizations (Lysak, 2012). A significant example is how newspapers utilize social media to work around their presstime. While in the past

newspaper reporters were required to work around a strict deadline associated with when they printed their publication (Lee A., 2015). This created situations where the opportunity to cover breaking news after the paper was published became difficult, if not pointless, as that coverage would have no place to be shared. With social media, journalists can now post news as soon as it breaks and become more competitive to TV or radio news (Lee A., 2015).

The audience can now access news in real time, leading journalists to have constant deadlines to update news on the Web and social media (Lowrey & Gade, 2012). Many use social media to break the news even before it is posted on their organizations' websites (Tandoc & Vos, 2016; White, 2012). Some organizations advise against this practice as they say their own website should be the priority (White, 2012).

Tandoc and Vos argue that the roles of journalists are changing and that they recently also have had to take on the role of marketers (2016). Journalists are expected or required to share their stories as well as other stories from the news organization on social media to reach a larger audience. Social media play an important role in gaining more traffic to the website and now promotion is not just considered part of the business side of journalism, but now also as a part of the journalism gatekeeping process (Tandoc & Vos, 2016).

Social media also provide new ways to share information (Lowrey & Gade, 2012). Many utilize social media to live-tweet updates of events. Social media also allow journalists to share stories not only from their own news organizations, but also from other sources. On Twitter, journalists challenge the objectivity norm by retweeting a modicum of news and instead choose to also pass along a mix of opinion, humor and

other content (Molyneux, 2014). Activities on social media could include friending, following, liking, etc. (Lee J., 2015). With the transparency of social media, audiences could challenge journalists' objectivity through what they share or who they interact with, even on their personal accounts.

Before the age of digital media, news managers and editors played the primary gatekeeping role in a newsroom (Tandoc & Vos, 2016), but with the advent of social media, journalists have become more independent (Molyneux, 2014) and can act as gatekeepers on their own social media platforms by choosing what to share. Molyneux found out that journalists' tweets are not or are not yet subjected to the layers of editing and filtering that finished news products are (2014). Many journalists try to be the first ones to tweet and break the news, which can make it incredibly difficult for them to verify information before sending it out on social media (Hermida, 2010). Journalists may face the situation where what they share on social media is misleading or not aligned with their news organization's values (Overhosler, 2009). In addition, the requirement or even the desire to post stories online leaves journalists less time for traditional tasks such as research or verifying information (Lowrey & Gade, 2012).

Audience participation

One of the more dramatic changes in journalists' habits is how social media have now expanded the ways journalists are able to engage with the public (Barnard, 2016; Zeller & Hermida, 2015). While the audience — the demographic(s) to whom the journalist is writing and tailoring her content to — has always been significant for journalism, social media creates something of a participatory culture around journalism in much the same way as it has in other forms of media (Barnard, 2016). Audience

participation is now coexisting with journalism practice at most organizations (Marchionni, 2015).

Compared to traditional ways in which the audience would only interact with news organizations through open editorials, letters to the editor and other means, social media now allows for real-time, instantaneous interactions and responses between audience and journalists. In the past, journalists did not feel the obligation to interact with the audience. Previously, any communication from the audience was filtered through the editors by choosing which letter to publish and answer (Marchionni, 2015).

In the early age of social media, journalists only used social media to push out information as a one-way communication tool. Realizing the benefit of interaction, journalists are more comfortable with utilizing social media as a two-way communication channel (Fincham, 2021). Journalists can now also facilitate the conversation with their audience by raising questions or encouraging them to share information with the journalists or the organizations (Tandoc & Vos, 2016).

Some journalists think that interacting with the audience is a great way for the audience to better understand the story (Bradshaw, 2008). In addition, being transparent on social media provides the opportunity for the audience to engage with journalists through a peer review process of sorts, helping to strengthen their credibility as the audience now has an opportunity to review and comment upon journalists' work shared across the mediums (Lowrey & Gade, 2012).

With the ability to get closer to the audience, the boundaries between professional and personal actions for journalists have also become blurrier (Deuze, 2005). Their job now is not just to report the news but also to connect with audiences and cultivate

relationships (Molyneux, 2014). This challenges their independence, as journalists appear to make decisions based on blending in with the social media crowd and in their own self-interest (Molyneux, 2014).

Personal branding

Branding is a concept that has always existed within the business and advertising sectors, and is a process used to distinguish a product or a company from other competitors in the market and to build relationships with customers (Aaker, 1996; Kolter 1991). Before the digital age when audience interaction is still limited, branding and marketing potential had always been developed on behalf of the news agency and there has been little for journalists to do (Finnerman et al., 2019). Applying the concept of branding, journalists also create their personal journalistic brand to distinguish themselves from others and to establish themselves as someone that audiences should pay attention to (Holton & Molyneux, 2018; Schultz & Sheffer, 2012).

Personal branding also helps journalists become more relatable for audiences now than compared to the limitations thy faced in the past, when audiences only knew about journalists through their headshot, bylines, voices, or appearance on TV (Finneman et al., 2019; Holton & Molyneux, 2018). While a less common occurrence among journalists in print, radio, and broadcast, personal branding was touched upon most in relation to broadcast journalists, as this concept of branding has already been an integral part of broadcast journalists' careers (Schultz & Sheffer, 2012). This practice has now allowed journalists to make themselves more marketable within the industry and more personable to their audiences, something that mass media has in some ways made possible (Schultz & Sheffer, 2012).

In a way, audiences expect a transparent and personal appearance, putting

pressure on journalists to share more about themselves on social media. To build their

brand, journalists usually share with the audience their personal lives and personalities

through pictures and updates of their life outside of work such as being on vacations,

attending weddings, or their personal appearances (Finneman et al., 2019).

On the other hand, management still expects journalists to be professional on

social media and help maintain organizational credibility (Holton & Molyneux, 2018).

News organizations consider journalistic branding as an extension of organizational

branding (Lowrey & Gade, 2012). Journalists have been struggling to balance between

the audiences' expectations and news organizations' expectations when they need to find

and redefine their boundaries of personalization and professionalism (Holton &

Molyneux, 2018).

Some journalists noticed that they have less freedom to work on their individual

brand when their news organization is involved in setting what they should share and

what they should not share, described as "identity loss" (Holton & Molyneux, 2017).

Those requirements range from posting less about their personal life and not sharing

work from other journalists that are from a different newsroom to needing to represent

the organization more by sharing links to their website or talking up the organization.

While some news organizations specify the guidelines and requirements, some journalists

still think that their news organizations use general and broad statements to describe what

they want (Holton & Molyneux, 2017).

Another challenge that journalists find themselves facing when building their

brand is online harassment. With the spoken and even unspoken expectations from

managers and audiences regarding building a personal brand, some journalists feel that they are obligated to share their personal lives online along with engaging with others and receiving personal comments. Thus, sharing content about their personal life might make them a subject for body shaming, especially for female reporters. However, several female reporters said that their news organizations do not provide them with a safety protocol or resources to deal with those threats. (Finneman et al, 2019).

Challenges of adapting to social media practice

Research found that news organizations have begun to notice the advantages of social media, thus encouraging and even requiring the utilization thereof (Lysak, 2012, White, 2014). In news organizations, journalists seem to be ahead of their managers in adapting to social media (Lewis & Molyneux, 2019). In the early age of social media, some few journalists cited that they are "non-adopters" and still reject social media due to various reasons (Djerf-Pierre et al., 2016; While, 2012;). Many said that they do not have enough time to tackle additional tasks on top of what they need to do. Others said that hey do not use it as their organizations do not expect them to. Some journalists think that social media is too complex. Others journalists and management are still skeptical about the benefits of using the new platforms (White, 2012; Fincham, 2021). However, journalists and news organizations now are more open to social media and normalize social media into their journalism practices (Duffy & Knight, 2019; Fincham, 2021; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019).

Newsroom transformation through the adoption of social media is not an easy process, where journalists attempt to normalize the new platforms and adopt technologies to suit their old practices instead of changing the way they work (Singer, 2015; Lasorsa et

19

al., 2011). Other research found that besides keeping some traditional norms, journalists in fact change some of their practices in order to fit with those new platforms (Hedman, 2015). Journalists are tackling new roles to utilize social media in their work, to monitor not only their activities on social media but also their audiences' activities. Social media have also created a constant deadline for journalists, challenging the amount of time they have to complete their reporting tasks (Lowrey & Gade, 2012).

The majority of journalists have cited the use of social media as a positive force to their work, but also noticed the negative impact of the new platforms to their values (Weaver, 2019). Journalists' social media activities also impact the audience's perception. For instance, the audience will have more positive views of journalists who interact with them more on social media compared to the ones who do not. However, the audience will have negative associations with the professional values of those journalists who are more active on social media. Journalists' active liking and leisure conversation on social media violate the professional expectations of the audience (Lee J., 2015).

As mentioned above, while bringing many benefits to journalists' work, activities on social media also challenge their professional values such as objectivity, credibility and independence. Through content analysis of major news organizations' social media guidelines, Lee found news organizations framed social media more as risks to guard against than opportunities to take advantage of (2016). In some research, managers also said they let go of their employees for violating their social media guidelines (Anthony & Lysak, 2017).

Several journalists have been fired due to their activities on social media. Some of them garnered public attention as they were working for commonly-known news

organizations. In May 2021, almost 200 journalists of the AP signed an open letter asking for clarification on the decision to fire a journalist. Emily Wilder was fired for her pro-Palestian social media activity, but the AP executives did not specify what post resulted in their decision (Bauder, 2021a, 2021b).

With the spread of misinformation on social media, news organizations have also begun to take action to ensure their journalists provide truthful information to the audience. In November 2021, Newsmax removed its White House correspondent, Emerald Robinson, from their airtime after she posted misinformation about COVID-19 vaccine (Papenfuss, 2021). Robinson tweeted that the vaccine contained a marker that can track people. Newsmax later released a statement saying that COVID-19 vaccines are safe, dismissing her claims (Papenfuss, 2021; Polus, 2021). Besides losing her on-air position, Robinson also got banned permanently from Twitter, losing her account with more 400,000 followers (Polus, 2021).

Expressing opinions or reactions through social media can affect a journalist's job. While covering an Israeli missile attack on Gaza, CNN's correspondent Diana Magnay said she was harassed and threatened by Israelis cheering on the attack (Calderon, 2014). After the interaction, Magnay took to Twitter and expressed her anger through a tweet, saying that the people who cheered on the bomb and threatened to destroy her car were "scum." She was then removed from covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and reassigned to covering Moscow (Calderon, 2014).

Another example is the case of CNN's former senior Middle East editor Octavia Nasr. After having worked for CNN for 20 years, Nasr was fired for a tweet expressing sympathy for the passing of Grand Ayatollah Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah — a

religious leader who was instrumental in the founding of the terrorist group Hezbollah, yet was also recognized for some of his more progressive stances within the religion of Islam. Nasr's simple 140 character tweet — "Sad to hear of the passing of Sayyed Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah. One of Hezbollah's giants I respect a lot" — received backlash almost immediately on the platform, with commenters criticizing her sympathy on account of the lives lost to Hezbollah's attacks (Walker, 2010). In an internal memo, it was expressed that Nasr's credibility in covering Middle Eastern affairs was completely undermined as a result of the incident and the organization ended up firing her. In reflection, Nasr admitted it was a lesson in "why 140 characters should not be used to comment on controversial or sensitive issues" (Walker, 2010).

In January 2021, *The New York Times* fired Lauren Wolfe, a freelance editor and reporter, after she tweeted she had "chills" watching President Joe Biden's plane landing outside of Washington D.C. ahead of the 2021 Presidential Inauguration (Sharma et al., 2021). *The New York Times* did not explain further the reason for her suspension. They said that they do not fire someone for a single tweet, but with the timeliness of the decision and with Wolfe having deleted the tweet, many people still suspect she was let go due to the perception of her tweeting pro-Biden sentiments (Sharma et al., 2021).

NFL reporter Bart Hubbuch of the *New York Post* is another case of a journalist getting fired over sharing opinion on social media. On his Twitter feed in January 2017, he compared President Trump's inauguration to the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the attack on Pearl Harbor. While he said that his tweet was "insensitive" and he "shouldn't have done that," he still believes "Donald Trump becoming President of the United States is a national tragedy" (Tornoe, 2017).

What journalists share is not the only issue news organizations need to keep an eye on when they use social media. When they share it is also a factor to consider. In January 2020, the *Washington Post* suspended its reporter, Felicia Sonmez, after she shared an article regarding Kobe Bryant's sexual assault allegation just hours after his death (Abrams, 2020). The *Post*'s executive editor sent her an email critical of the move:

> A real lack of judgment to tweet this. Please stop. You're hurting this institution
> by doing this. (Abrams, 2020)

Journalistic Professionalism

Professionalism has been an important concept for journalism, and there are many ways that scholars define professionalism, ranging from acceleration to ideology and values (Beam, 1990). Journalists are more likely to prioritize their identity as a professional in the field of journalism and put their association as a journalist working for a specific news organization as secondary (Russo, 1998).

Professionalism can be defined as a set of principles for an occupation, which is based on the knowledge base, values, norms and purpose of professionals in a given field. On the other hand, professionalism can be defined by standards and membership to professional organizations such as law or medicine. Other professions, including journalism, reject those formal definitions and take traits, attributes and functions into consideration (Lowrey & Gade, 2012). Many consider journalism as a semi-profession, as the entry criteria is not legally mandated and connected with a professional knowledge base (Beam, 1990; Lowrey & Gade, 2012).

Journalists become professionals through education, training and by working in a professional newsroom (Lowrey & Gade, 2012). In 1904, Joseph Pulitzer promoted the

professionalization of journalism through "better education and training" (Beam, 1990, p. 3). In the U.S, entry into the field of journalism almost always comes with the requirement of a university degree (Becker & Vlad, 2012).

With the appearance of the Internet, it is harder to distinguish a professional journalist from a citizen journalist, or those who just want to share news and information (Lowrey & Gade, 2012). Some define the difference based on professional journalists having access to many resources that others do not, such as a system of quality control like newsroom structure, economic structure, workflow, and commitment to professional values. Others say it stems from journalists working as members of the same occupation community who share the same ideology on how their profession works (Lauk & Harro-Loit, 2017).

Several researchers associate the concept of professionalism with professional standards and ideologies, such as objectivity and truth or impartiality (Beam, 1990). Weaver compared the journalism ideologies between 21 countries and found that the characteristics of journalists are widely similar over the world (1998). However, journalists apply and define those characteristics differently (Deuze, 2005). With several disagreements on norms and values, it is hard to conclude any universal standard for journalism (Hohman, 2011; Weaver, 1998).

U.S journalism's values are defined based on the idea of "human rationality, free expression, the relationship between government and citizens, and the relative importance of freedom and social responsibility" and those values include commitment for truth, objectivity, independence and fairness (Lowrey & Gade, 2012, p. 31). After reviewing

literature regarding professionalism, Deuze (2005) categorizes journalism ideology into five main values: public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics.

Public service

Journalists serve in many roles such as information disseminator, watchdog, interpreter and populist mobilizer (Weaver, et al,. 2007; Deuze, 2005), and they are aware of their roles in society and how their work can impact the public (Deuze, 2005). They are also recognized as sharing a mission of serving the public, representing the status quo of their audience, who "vote with their wallet" by subscribing to the newspapers, watching the newscast or visiting the website (Deuze, 2005, p. 447).

Ferrucci suggests four themes for public journalism: journalists should engage the community, allow people to help set news agendas, make the news product easy to understand, and report on issues that reinforce the community (2015). Journalists should not only inform, but "frame things from citizens' perspective and help with the problem solving, not the blaming" (Rosen, 1999, p. 148). Some argue that since technology fragmentizes the audience and reduces their attention span, journalists' ideas are moving away from informing people with what they need to know toward amplifying the existing conversation (Deuze, 2005).

Objectivity

Objectivity is an ever-evolving concept and defined differently depending on individual cultures and countries. In the U.S, it means that journalists must keep their opinions separate from what they work on and only cover the facts (Lee J., 2015). This value can also be referred to as neutrality, which can be defined as "a faith in facts," "a distrust of values" and "a commitment to their segregation" (Schudson, 1978, p. 132).

Objectivity can also be known as "fairness," "professional distance," "detachment," or "impartiality" (Deuze, 2005, p. 448). The role of journalists in society has, at times, been referred to as one where journalists serve as non-partial mediators between the audience and the events (Lee J., 2015).

Objectivity reflects several other values which journalists should maintain. Those include *factuality* – reporting based on facts; *balance and fairness* – providing a big picture of the story with different viewpoints and perspective; *non-biased* – keeping their own opinions away from their work; *independence* – maintaining their loyalty to the public over any other interest; *non-interpretation* – staying away from their interpretation of facts; and *neutrality* – remaining distant from any external influences (Thomas, 2019).

While objectivity was, at one time, considered one of journalism's essential professional values, overtime agreement on the importance of objectivity in journalism has waned (Thomas, 2019). Several argue that it is impossible to achieve objectivity because all human beings have their own biases. Some think that being subjective could add into their reporting to make them more relatable (Thomas, 2019). On the other hand, some say that objectivity and subjectivity can mutually exist and not contradict each other, but rather be different elements of journalists' professional identity (Deuze, 2005).

Autonomy

Autonomy has been considered an important factor of journalistic credibility. Journalists value their autonomy by maintaining independence from external elements such as their sources, politics and economic pressures, and newsroom culture, thus maintaining their loyalty to the public (Lauk & Harro-Loit, 2017). Autonomy can be achieved on many levels: individual, organization and media systems. At the individual

level, journalistic autonomy means the freedom to define and shape journalists' own

work, act on their judgment and be responsible for their decisions. At the organizational

level, news organizations should be independent from political factors and business

factors like commercials. At the system level, or society level, media should be free from

any type of censorship (Lauk & Harro-Loit, 2017).

Independence gives journalists a certain level of trust and authority from the

perception of their audiences (McQuail, 2010). To maintain autonomy and independence,

journalists usually keep distance not only from their sources but also from any other

source of influences (Molyneux, 2014). When journalists have a relationship with

sources, it can affect their apparent objectivity as these relationships could influence

journalists' selection of news or the tone of their coverage (Lee J., 2015). However, some

argue that autonomy can be a barrier to block journalists' identity. Keeping autonomy

makes it harder for journalists to interact with the audience, thus not receiving the support

from the community (Deuze, 2005).

Immediacy

The work of journalists reporting news centers around the concept of immediacy,

thus, they need to act fast and be able to catch up in real time (Deuze, 2005). Immediacy

revolves around the speed of reporting the news. Journalists should fulfill the audience's

demand for news and information and their work needs to maintain their relevance

(Alexander, Breese & Luengo, 2016). Journalists perceive immediacy as both essential

and problematic for their work with the deadline now extending to 24/7 under the

influence of technology and the Internet (Deuze, 2005).

Omar et al. (2020) identified several elements regarding the concept of immediacy. Firstly, immediacy brings both physical and psychological closeness between the events and the audiences. Secondly, immediacy allows the audience to be involved with the news with the journalist reporting the event as it unfolds. Immediacy allows the audience to feel that they are "there" with the news story (Omar et al., 2020).

Ethics

When discussing journalism in the U.S, people tend to focus on the right to publish granted by the First Amendment in the Bill of Rights, however, the topic regarding the ethical obligations of journalists usually does not receive enough attention (Brown, 2020). Journalists are obligated to distribute information, thus they might face ethical dilemmas regarding whether they should pursue and publish the story if the actions might cause harm to others (Brown, 2020). As the profession of journalism can not be legally monitored, journalists have a higher sense for standards of conduct (Foreman, 2011).

Ethics codes for journalists in the United Statesdate back to the 1920s, serving as guidelines for journalists and news organizations to make decisions when dealing with ethical dilemmas (Brown, 2020; Foreman, 2011). The codes layout journalism values as discussed above such as objectivity, commitment to the truth and independence, and also outline other values like transparency and accuracy. SPJ codes, updated in 2015, focus on four main principles, which contain several values in each category: to seek truth and report it, to minimize harm, to act independently and to be accountable (Brown, 2020; "SPJ ethics code", 2015). RTDNA's code of ethics, updated in 2014, highlights the

values of public trust, truth, fairness, integrity, independence and accountability (Brown, 2020; "RTDNA ethics code", 2014).

Transparency is a new journalism value that has gained attention in the era of social media (Gade, et.al, 2018). Journalists practice transparency by engaging citizens and revealing the process by which news is processed as well as inviting the audience to participate in those processes (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005; Ward, 2014). Being transparent means that journalists will disclose the principles they hold, the process they follow and the person they are (Mitchell & Steele, 2005). In journalism, transparency reinforces trust in the public, minimizes deception, encourages conversations and mutual understanding (Berggren & Bernshteyn, 2007; Craft & Heim, 2008; Ward, 2014). The SPJ code links this value with accountability, while RTDNA links it with independence (Merrill, 1997, "RTDNA ethics code", 2014; "SPJ ethics code", 2015).

Roles of Management in Change

Managers perform several functions in the organization, including setting objectives and planning, organizing, motivating and communicating, measuring performance and developing employees (Drucker, 2008). When dealing with uncertainty, management is responsible for crafting a response (Schein, 1985). During uncertain times, managers play a vital innovative role as they not only set the visions but also develop strategies to achieve these visions through planning, organizing and training employees (Drucker, 2008, Kets De Vries, 1993). In fact, the uncertainty created by such dramatic professional shifts as those spurred by social media requires news organizations to re-examine their missions and focus (Sylvie & Gade, 2009). Managers are responsible

29

for other people's work (Drucker, 2008) and how they lead in uncertain times directly influences how employees perform in the workplace (Kets De Vries, 1993).

Managing change is hard but there are little agreements on what is important in the transformation process (Sirkin et al., 2005). Simon introduced bounded rationality, saying that in an uncertain environment, people who are in charge of making decisions are less likely to use logic in their decision making process, but rather use rules of thumb (1976). Newsroom managers and staff usually adopt "tried and true routines and conventions to deal with uncertainty" (Lowrey & Gade, 2012, p. 8). Another aspect of bounded rationality is that decision-makers have different access to knowledge and information, as well as different motivations and aspirations (Nooteboom, 2000).

Innovation is a process of taking advantage of opportunities and turning those into new ideas for practice. Innovation management is not just about generating new ideas, but also about organizing those activities effectively. The process of innovation management is complex, in which managers need to utilize resources from internal sources in the organization and external sources like customers, suppliers and other education and scientific institutions. Managers also need to work cross-divisionally, requiring them to have authority across departments or knowing people with authority in other departments (Dal Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008). In the 1990s, newsrooms were introduced with the concept of convergence to extend the newsroom structure, which encouraged the collaboration between staff and fallen hierarchies (Lowrey & Gade, 2012).

During the innovation management process, managers are not only generating ideas, but also need to pay attention to evaluate and implement those new ideas (Dal

Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008). However, in news organizations, managers are slow to adapt to change (Sylvie & Gade, 2009). On top of that, journalists are knowledge workers, which means the bulk of their work is focused not on the performance of physical tasks but rather on the development of products and services based on their expertise. It is harder to integrate them into the organization's mission as knowledge workers prefer some form of autonomy and do not like to be overseen by managers (Drucker, 2008, Dal Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008).

With their knowledge and abilities, journalists want some autonomy in their organizations and want to contribute to organizational autonomy. Managers constantly face conflict with employees as they have different goals. Managing innovation requires managers to find a balance between themselves and the journalists, working toward a shared goal (Dal Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008). Innovative managers use their employees' abilities to help with the change process. Managers should encourage individuals to contribute by giving them some power, thus creating new opportunities and ideas for the organizations (Kanter, 1983). In addition, to effectively manage innovation, managers should pay attention to creating a specialized team rather than relying on their authority or individual employees (Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008).

To better integrate employees into the change process, managers also need some skills such as persuading others about change, managing problems with team and employee participation, and understanding how change is structured (Kanter, 1983). Kets de Vries emphasizes the importance of building a psychological contract between employees and managers, citing that a manager should set the vision, communicate the

vision, build networks, empower employees, make decisions that might be tough and painful, and keep track of employees (1993).

Kotter (2012) highlighted the importance of vision development and communication to process change in organizations. This vision identifies why people should strive to create change. Vision has three major purposes in a change process: clarifying the direction of change, facilitating change and aligning individuals. Establishing a vision is also important to motivate workers (Kotter, 2012).

Managers craft a policy to reflect the organization's values and objectives as well as establish targets and yardsticks for measurement (Drucker, 2008). Policy plays an important role in an organization, especially the one with complex systems. A policy is not itself a decision making process, but serves as an information mechanism that managers can use as reference when making a decision (Maullo & Calo, n.d). A policy serves three main purposes: "to refine processes, to resolve conflicts among concurrent processes and to establish processes in time" (Maullo & Calo, n.d, p. 14). Policies can have several forms depending on what they aim to establish: principles, goals, practices, targets, guidelines or rules. Policy management is a process of establishing the policy, communicating, executing and maintaining it (Maullo & Calo, n.d).

After establishing a vision, it is vital to communicate with employees as change cannot effectively be made with only a small group of people (Kotter, 2012). Effectively communicating vision consists of several elements, including: simplicity, examples, multiple forums, repetition, role models and two-way communication (Kotter, 2012). In news organizations, managers have access to several ways of communicating: face-to-face, phone, email, meeting and online conference with the development of remote work

(Khanom, 2021; Sylvie & Gade, 2009). Communication plays a role in not just delivering the messages about the organization's vision, but also gathering input and feedback so the organization can adjust their direction of change (Gade, 2004). Communication can also reduce uncertainty during change and increase the understanding of the goals and reasons for change (Gade, 2004).

Motivation can come from different sources, such as intrinsic factors where employees do something when they feel that it is enjoyable or extrinsic factors where employees prefer some separate outcome such as a raise or promotion (Benabou & Tirole, 2003). Rewards and punishments are the most common forms of incentives, and many researchers have looked into how effective they are in creating motivations (Przewoźna-Krzemińska, 2012). The majority argue that rewards are a better method, and punishment correlates with several types of fears, such as fear of change or fear of risk-taking (Appelbaum, Bregman & Moroz, 1998, Przewoźna-Krzemińska, 2012). Drucker also found that measurement could be the weakest form of management if managers just want to focus on controlling employees (2008). However, some also argue the effectiveness of those incentives depends on the type of organization and its structure, and that punishment also works in some organizations (Soss, Fording & Schram, 2011).

Several factors can affect journalists' motivations, ranging from autonomy, authority, and control of work to job security, income and organizational structure (Pollard, 1995, Stamm & Underwood, 1993). The policy and management style of the organization are other factors that can affect their motivation and job satisfaction. With news organizations trying to balance between journalism and business, Stamm and Underwood found that journalists have less job satisfaction if the news organizations

focus more on business than journalism values (1993). If journalists are comfortable with the newsroom policy, they are more satisfied with their job while they are more dissatisfied if the newsroom is more authoritarian (Stamm & Underwood, 1993). Lack of job satisfaction can lead to journalists leaving the job. In a survey conducted in the mid-1990s, the Newspaper Association of America found that besides factors such as stress and long hours, journalists left newspapers due lack of advancement, low morale and inequality in pay and promotion (Gade, 2004).

Newsroom management of social media

With many challenges that journalists face when integrating social media into their work, conflict may arise if management notices that journalists cross their standards (Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2015). While there is extensive research regarding how journalists adapt to social media, very little was found specifically on social media policies and research on how effectively these have been put in place to control journalism practiced over social media (Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018; Leech, 2009). Social media in general are not always accessible for study and reference (Fincham, 2021). The overall theme of study regarding how newsrooms manage social media is that there is no universal approach and Among those findings, journalists and editors have different attitudes regarding social media and its roles in their practices (Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018; Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2015; Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014).

In a survey of local reporters and managers in the southeastern U.S., White (2012) found that the majority of participants claimed there were social media guidelines in place at their organizations. The percentage of respondents who said their newsroom has

a guideline differs significantly, depending on their position, with a higher percentage of managers saying they have such guidelines in place (White, 2012). White also explored what type of social media guidelines are in place and found four themes: having no policy, using traditional TV/Print guidelines, mandating social media quotas and having a spelled-out policy (White, 2012). Other researchers also looked into social media guidelines at different types of organizations in different regions, and their findings also reflect these four themes.

Adornato and Lysok (2017) found in a survey of over 500 media managers, 95% of U.S broadcast newsrooms do employ a social media policy of some sorts. However, they also found that as many as 17% of newsrooms in the U.S. have an unwritten social media policy and that other newsrooms had shortcomings in the ways in which they chose to interact with staff members on social media policy — including a significant amount of communication occurring through email briefs as opposed to interactive meetings or forums on the topic (Adornato & Lysok, 2015). Providing an international perspective, in Norway 1613 journalists took a survey, which drew results that 30% said their organizations do not have a guideline regarding social media uses (Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018). Some editors said while there is no written document regarding social media policy, there are a number of implicit rules which everyone should know (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). Some journalists said that they do not have any training regarding how to use social media (Bloom et al., 2016).

The News Leader Association, formerly known as the American Society of Newspaper Editors, collected 15 social media policies from major newspapers across the U.S. as well as several case studies regarding the management of social media activity.

They recognized that there is no simple answer on what managers should do and what social media policies should cover.

From their analysis, they suggested 10 key takeaways on what to include in a social media policy, with the first being "traditional ethics rules still apply online" (Hohmann, 2010). Social media policies overall still want journalists to maintain their professionalism and values such as fairness, independence, accuracy, transparency. Journalists need to keep in mind that everything they write online is public, and still need to act online like how they would act in person. Journalists also need to be careful on social media, treating it as a tool for their work and not "toys."

Journalism codes of ethics in the U.S. were first introduced in the early 1920s with the purpose of enforcing social responsibility in the newsroom (Duffy & Knight, 2018). In 2013, the SPJ began the process of updating their code to reflect the challenges social media can create (Adornato & Lysak, 2017). The RTDNA also updated their guidelines to reflect the use of social media and blogging, with the newest version being approved in 2020 (RTDNA). While SPJ codes consist of the foundation that was put into place decades before the age of social media, some organizations build social media policy based on this (Leech, 2009), resulting in organizations still treating social media like mass media (Hermida, 2010). Several international newsrooms still rely on editorial guidelines for mass media, indicating that social media are an add-on rather than a new news platform (Bloom et al., 2016).

Several newsrooms have established positions for digital media managers or social media managers to govern journalists' social media use, as well as hold informal training to discuss social media best practices (Sacco & Bossio, 2016). While there are

social media policies, the policies were built around the idea that journalists should not embarrass the organizations. Journalists are expected to understand and apply "common sense," such as not posting anything online that they would not say in person (Sacco & Bossio, 2016, p.9). Sacco and Bossio (2016) suggested that social media policy was used as a management procedure to ensure social media use aligns with the organization's purposes rather than as a guideline for editorial purposes.

In a study about how social media frame audience interaction, Fincham (2021) found that polices at some major news organizations in the U.S. and Europe provide guidelines on what journalists should and should not do when engaging with audiences. However, one of their findings show that news organizations focus more on their own organizational reputations and the commercial side of journalism, rather than journalism practice (Fincham, 2021). Regarding building personal brand, some journalists said their organization want to control what they they post about the organization and even about their personal lives, but those guidelines come from broad expectation statement rather than being spelled out (Holton & Molyneux, 2017)

Some newsrooms require journalists to post a specific number of posts per day, which White (2012) refers to as social media quotas. The purpose of the quota is to make sure journalists share the news and interact with the audience. However, some newsrooms use a quota to limit the number of posts a journalist can post a day, claiming that too much activity on social media can be harmful (White, 2012). In some newsrooms, editors send out a list of what is trending for the day as well as other suggestions on what to post throughout the day, encouraging journalists to share those on social media (Tandoc & Vos, 2016).

Rather than involving social media values in news reporting or otherwise normalizing the use of social media in newswork, some newsrooms have continued to frame social media usage as a problem requiring punishment to avoid potential problems (Duffy & Knight, 2019). Several national news organizations in the U.S and Britain frame social media as risks to guard against, which highlight the potential harm to journalists' reputation and values rather than the ways social media can be considered as an opportunity to take advantage of (Lee, 2016). In research that looked at the social media policies of several national news organizations, Opgenhaffen and d'Haenens concluded that several policies addressed the issue of non-partisanship, gatekeeping and transparency (2015). Adornato and Lysok's research (2017) pointed out that approximately 23% of news managers had policies that would result in disciplinary actions if journalists were to violate those policies, which suggest that it would be important to ensure that those newsrooms would employ measures to make these policies clear. Some newsrooms' social media policies outline that failure to follow the guidelines could result in penalties, ranging from switching a reporter's beat if they show bias, to termination (Duffy & Knight, 2018).

Researchers found different views of both managers and journalists on the importance of social media (Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018). In their research of Norwegian editors, Ihlebæk and Larsson found that some do not develop a policy, saying that it is important for journalists to engage and experiment (2018). They also said that instead of trying to prevent the problems by setting the rules, they would rather deal with the problems as they occurred (Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018). However, other findings showed that newsrooms have attempted to make it clear that social media are too risky for

journalists to handle by themselves, therefore they have been encouraged to consult management within their organizations for advice on social media activities (Lee, 2016).

Several editors who developed a set of written policies said that the impact of those were somewhat limited. They said that with the development of social media, they need to deal with new challenges all the time (Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018). A small majority of the journalists thought it was unnecessary for their employer to issue a document and common sense should be implemented (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). A smaller number of journalists appreciated guidelines in order to provide some direction (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014).

Literature also shows that the content policies cover varies among news organizations. In the case of addressing online harassment, Fincham (2021) found that major news organizations recognize those issues and provide safety procedures. However, when interviewing female news anchors, Finneman et al. (2019) found more than 80% of the newsroom policies they studied did not tackle these issues. They also found that journalists prefer that they receive some guidelines to respond to those negative interactions. Additionally, some journalists also said that since their organizations do not have a clear guideline, they have instituted personal guidelines. Others said that they found it troublesome that there are no guidelines as there are some gray areas with practicing journalism on social media (White, 2012).

Research Questions

Social media have changed the landscape of journalism by providing both opportunities and risks for journalism practice (Lee, 2016). Journalists have integrated social media in several ways, ranging from gathering and sharing information to interacting with audiences and building their personal brand (Barnard, 2016; Hermida, 2013; Schulz & Sheffer, 2012). Those activities have been a positive force for journalists in conducting their jobs (Weaver, 2016), but also challenge several professional values such as objectivity, independence and credibility (Deuze, 2005, Lee J., 2015; Molyneux, 2014).

Social media practices are encouraged and required in newsrooms, but many journalists think there are a lack of guidelines on what the best practices are (Schultz & Sheffer, 2012). Several news organizations frame social media use as a risk rather than an opportunity, with their guidelines focusing on what journalists should not do or are not allowed to do (Lee J., 2015). Several journalists were fired for what their organizations defined as inappropriate or controversial activities on social media, with those activities being cited as not aligning with the organizations' values.

Managers have many roles in organizations, including setting objectives, planning, organizing, motivating and communicating, measuring performance and developing employees (Drucker, 2008). During uncertainty, managers are in charge of crafting a response (Schein, 1985) and their work influences their employees' performance (Kets De Vries, 1993). Change in news organizations is a challenge as news managers are usually slow to adapt to change (Sylvie & Gade, 2009). In addition, journalists are knowledge workers, making it harder to incorporate them into their

organizations' missions (Drucker, 2008, Dal Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008). Journalists prefer some autonomy within their news organizations, thus managers constantly face conflict with journalists as they share different goals (Dal Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008)

Little research has looked into how newsrooms manage social media use. The findings of existing research show that there is no universal policy and approach to manage these activities. In addition, journalists and managers have different perceptions on whether or not social media activities should be managed, and whether their organizations need a policy to guide those activities. Thus, this research will explore the following research questions:

RQ1a: What are the perceptions regarding the opportunities associated with journalists' social media use?

RQ1b: What are the perceptions regarding the risks associated with journalists' social media use?

RQ2: How has journalists' use of social media impacted journalists' professionalism?

RQ3: What are the perceptions regarding managers' role in managing journalists' use of social media?

RQ4: What are the perceptions regarding the effectiveness of social media policies?

RQ5: What should management do to guide journalists' use of social media into the future?

Chapter 3: Methods

In order to study the impact of social media on journalism practices and management's roles in guiding and setting directives for social media use, this thesis aimed to find out what the perceptions are of managers and journalists are and what the similarities and differences between those perceptions are. The study used a purposive sample including professionals and managers with specialized expertise, knowledge, and experience of the topics. The researcher did not focus on generalizing the responses, but prioritized the gathering of rich and detailed data about the phenomenon instead. Thus, in-depth interview is an appropriate method for the sample and the goal of the research, as the specialists included in the sample are able to provide more comprehensive information regarding their own experiences (Berger, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017; Lindlof & Taylor, 2017; Trochim & Donnelly, 2001; Wimmer & Dominick, 2013). The in-depth interview approach works as a conversation between the researcher and the participants, allowing for a much more thorough evaluation and understanding of the differing viewpoints of those interviewed (Berger, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017; Lindlof & Taylor, 2017; Wimmer & Dominick, 2013).

The study was conducted in a semistructured form with a predetermined set of interview questions to explore and answer the research questions. The semistructured format also allows the researcher to ask follow-up questions based on interviewees' responses. In addition, the researcher was able to direct the conversation to a specific topic, as well as probing with additional ideas as the interviews progressed (Trochim & Donnelly, 2001). This method should ensure a more comprehensive understanding of the respondents' viewpoints on the questions being asked and can provide significantly more

depth, detail and direction (Berger, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lindlof, 2017; Wimmer & Dominick, 2013). Through in-depth interviews, participants can go into as much detail as they wish in answering the questions and researchers can avoid obtaining only "yes or no" answers (Wimmer & Dominick, 2013).

Population and Sampling

Perspectives on the best practices for social media, along with ideas on how closely activities conducted over social media should be managed have been shown to differ between newsroom managers and journalists (Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018). Thus, the researcher included a mixed population of both managers and professionals to determine the extent of their agreement and differences on the topic. The population included individuals who have experience and knowledge about social media practices in journalism, as well as interests in professional values and ethics.

Four professional organizations were identified from which to recruit members for the study: the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), the Radio Television Digital News Association (RTDNA), the Online News Association (ONA) and the News Leaders Association (NLA). Members of the SPJ and RTDNA work professionally in different fields of journalism or are managers of their news organizations. Members of ONA are professionals and executives with interest in digital journalism. The NLA is a joint force of two organizations, the American Society of News Editors and the Associated Press Media Editors, and has members who are newsroom managers across the country.

In addition, these organizations were chosen as they have contributed to the establishment and promotion of guidelines for journalists' social media use. After publishing the ethics codes that the majority of news organizations use as their newsroom

codes and guidelines, the SPJ and RTDNA have several sessions in their codes to reflect journalists' social and news organizations' use of media. In 2010, the NLA formed an ethics committee and issued guidelines on how to use social media effectively. ONA is an organization for digital journalists that promotes and educates on technology and innovations, and also has their own ethics code regarding the practice of digital journalism.

As social media are outlined in the ethics guidelines of those organizations, the researcher first identified an ethics committee of those four organizations and included their members in the sample. If there is no ethics committee, members of their executive board are included instead. The population included 76 participants: 9 members of the SPJ board of directors, 10 members of the SPJ Ethics Committee; 21 members of ONA's board of directors, which also include members who serve on their committee of Legal Affairs, News Ethics, and Standards Committee; 16 members of the NLA board of directors; and 20 members of the RTDNA executive committee and board of directors, which also includes members who serve on its ethics committee. The participants do not represent their organization, but they were recruited to either represent the population of journalists or the population of managers.

The researcher obtained the participants' email through the organizations' websites and sent out a recruitment message with a follow-up message a week later. After recognizing the responses from journalists were lacking, the researcher sent another message targeting those in the population who are journalists. There are 22 participants agreed to join the study.

Measurements

To explore the research questions, the researcher measured five concepts: journalists' use of social media, perceptions of managers' roles, the opportunities and risks of social media practices, the effectiveness of social media policy, and journalists' professionalism. The researcher measured *journalists' use of social media* by asking questions regarding how social media have changed journalism in the past decade; why social media use can be controversial in journalism; what news organizations expect to see from journalists on the use of social media; and how journalists can get off track in the use of social media in their work. Regarding *perceptions of managers' roles*, participants were asked questions on what they think are news managers' roles in managing journalists' use of social media; whether their organization provides guidelines on the use of social media; and how practices in social media use are shared across the newsroom, as well as whether social media practices and analytics should be elements of employees' annual evaluations. To measure *the opportunities and risk*s associated with journalists' use of social media, the researcher prompted questions on what the advantages and risks are of journalists using social media in journalism work; what opportunities journalists could better take advantage of in their use of social media; whether the nature of social media conflicts with the professional ethos of journalism. To measure *the effectiveness of social media policies*, participants were asked whether they think social media policies are necessary and effective; what they think key components of a policy should be; and who should be involved in crafting that policy. *Journalists' professionalism* were measured by asking questions regarding how journalists can be engaged in social networks and maintain their independence; whether objectivity can

maintain its professional value in a social media world; how journalists can maintain their credibility and build their personal brand at the same time; and which professional values can be enhanced through social media use. Finally, to measure the *perception regarding the future*, participants answered questions on what managers can – or should – do to guide journalists' social media use into the future.

Each interview was conducted in a semi-structured format (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). The interview protocol included 21 questions (see Appendix), and the researcher had the ability to ask follow-up questions based on the participants' response to better understand their perceptions. The researcher participated in a pretest interview with a radio station manager prior to the recruitment participants in order to receive feedback on the order of the questions, the wording of each question and timing of the interview. The interviews were conducted through Zoom or through phone with the average length of 32 minutes.

Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the data using the constant comparative technique (Wimmer & Dominick, 2013). First, the interviews were automatically transcribed using Zoom's auto-transcription feature. After reviewing the transcriptions for accuracy, the researcher arranged the data based on the order of interview questions, with each piece of information coded for sources. The researcher then reviewed the transcriptions to identify key terms and phrases, as well as repetitive themes that emerged in the data to describe the concepts outlined in the research questions (Trochim & Donnelly, 2001; Wimmer & Dominick, 2013). Preliminary categories of data were identified through those themes and phrases related to the concepts, and the researcher organized the responses to each

category. When a new category emerged during the data analysis process, the researcher compared it with the existing categories. If the data did not fit any category, the researcher assigned it a new one. If the data fit into more than one category, the researcher recoded it where relevant. Throughout the process of data analysis, the researcher compared the units and identified themes and connections among them (Wimmer & Dominick, 2013).

Chapter 4: Results

Twenty-two participants (n=22) agreed to join the study, with the interviews conducted from Oct. 31 to Nov. 17, 2021. The average length of the interview was approximately 32 minutes, with the shortest interview lasting approximately 26 minutes and longest one lasting for 43 minutes. Participants were recruited to interview when the data reached a saturation point and no new theme emerged (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006). Among the 22 participants, 12 are managers (n=12) and 10 are journalists (n=10). Ten participants currently work or previously worked in print journalism, 2 work at digital-only platforms and 10 work or previously worked at broadcast stations. Among the 12 managers, four of them are no longer active in managing newsrooms but are now working in academia or journalism professional organizations. Among the 10 journalists, one of them is working in academia and one of them is not actively reporting but is now working at a professional journalism organization.

There are 12 males and 10 females who participated in the study. Their age ranges from 24 to 75 years old, with four participants 35 years old or younger and the rest being over 40 years old. Their professional experience ranges from 2 years to more than 40 years.

Research question 1a inquired about the opportunities social media creates for journalism work. These opportunities are outlined in the literature as gathering information and sources, information dissemination, audience engagement, and personal branding. From the data, five themes emerged: sourcing, real-time publishing, multi-platform storytelling, audience engaging, and journalistic branding.

Both journalists and managers highlighted social media as powerful tools for *sourcing*, activities participants described as finding sources to interview for stories, monitoring social media channels for potential stories and trending topics, and having individuals reach out to them with specific tips. The participants said it is easier for them to find sources as they can just post on social media to ask for people's willingness to share their stories with journalists or ask via social media for photos or videos. One participant discussed how social media platforms such as Twitter or Facebook allow for journalists to crowdsource, thus reducing the amount of time it would take to find sources for a typical man-on-the-street perspective. By simply allowing a journalist to make a static post that individuals could continually respond to, the participant highlighted how journalists no longer needed to spend time making numerous calls or walking the streets to gain those vital perspectives.

Several participants cited how social media presented the opportunity for journalists to seek sources from more diverse communities, as it became easier to seek out individuals within specific demographics for more topical and relevant perspectives for stories involving race, gender, sexuality, and similar topics. When it comes to sources reaching out to journalists with potential tips and stories, participants said that social media made the process significantly easier. As journalists are more accessible through their social media accounts, potential sources seeking to share tips can now send direct messages instead of needing to obtain the journalists' contact information or reach out directly to the newsroom. A participant described this as:

> Having access to social media has really expanded the way that journalists can get in contact with sources. And I think it's twofold. It's really helped sources have

this transparent way to contact a journalist directly by having things like personal

Twitter profiles and Facebook profiles and Instagram profiles, instead of reaching

out to the news organization where they don't know who the face behind it all is

As for monitoring social media for trending topics and news, the majority of participants referenced how this had become a significant part of their job and one of the primary ways journalists are now finding leads for their next stories. Not only does social media allow journalists to see what kind of topics are trending, but also to see what other journalists are reporting on — which one journalist cited as a more convenient way to discover topics that could be localized and made relevant for their local community. Other participants spoke to the impact of social media on sourcing as:

You don't necessarily want to run a story that was already done, but [social

media] makes you aware of something that you might not have been aware of. So,

in a way, it's become the modern scanner that tells you about something that you

may not have known about in such a handy way.

You can find someone's background on social media. You can find stories you

can use for interviews on social media, again, like do your research and you can

become well informed about something you're interested in.

Participants also discussed how social media has provided them with the opportunity to engage in *real-time publishing* and the output of news content in a much more timely fashion . With social media, news organizations have the ability to share news as soon as it breaks, post stories when journalists finish them — without having to wait for the publication of a newspaper or the airing of a newscast. One participant

described the impact of social media as similar to the way that radio and live television had dramatically changed journalists' ability to connect with audiences in a timely fashion. Participants also discussed the opportunity social media provide to allow for journalists to share continuous updates as stories develop either by updating posts on Facebook or by creating threads on Twitter. Participants cited how now the ability to share not only written news content, but videos, photos, and other multimedia to social media as an event unfolds allows news organizations the chance to keep their coverage consistently relevant and timely. A participant said:

> But if you look at the past week, our station covered the New York City Marathon. [It is exciting] to see what it looked like when the wheelchair runners took off, to see what it looked like through the streets of Brooklyn when people were cheering on the runners. And so social media can be something that journalists can use that can give consumers a better view of the things that we get to see as reporters.

Other participants, particularly managers, cited how this opportunity allows news organizations to become more competitive regardless of their format or medium. While news organizations such as weekly newspapers used to lag behind daily newspapers and daily newspapers lag behind broadcast news, participants cited how real-time publishing of breaking news or digitally published articles to social media platforms now gives news organizations more equal footing when it comes to reaching audiences in a timely fashion. Participants also discussed the way that this timeliness also broadened the potential coverage and material for journalists. A community event at the beginning of the week might not capture the attention of readers of a weekly newspaper, who would be

coming to that activity days after it was of relevance. A manager share about this

timeliness:

> [Social media] levels the playing field because now. For example, one of my
>
> newspapers is weekly and comes out every Thursday. But that means if
>
> something happens on Thursday, I can't do anything with it until next week. But
>
> with social media, yes, I can. I can compete with any daily publication when they
>
> put something out tomorrow morning. And guess what? When they put something
>
> out tonight, mine's out here, too.

Social media also provides the opportunity for journalists to improve their *multi-platform storytelling* skills. Journalists can now adapt to each platform to adjust the way they convey their stories, which might be different from what will be published in the newspaper or aired on TV. Participants cited how social media is yet another opportunity for the modern multimedia journalist to engage with audiences through a variety of means outside of the written word — they can now incorporate photos, audio, short-form videos, and long-form videos in posts shared via social media. Some participants discussed how social media has created opportunities for journalists to become more versatile writers, with word count restrictions on social media platforms such as Twitter forcing journalists to become more concise to better address the needs of audiences. Some key highlights from participants regarding multi-platform storytelling include:

> For example, breaking news [print] reporters will often go to the scene [of a major
>
> incident]. You can just post a short video of 30 seconds in which you hold up the
>
> camera recording the crash scene so people know what's going on and then you

talk about it. It offers a whole new way to report and present a fuller picture of what's going on.

You only have a minute twenty on the six o'clock news, or five o'clock news, to do your package to explain what's going on, but you have an infinite amount of time on a social media platform. You have an infinite amount of time to go into much more detail and much more depth about the story you're covering. You can drive viewers, listeners, readers to the online or social media platforms, where they can get a much more comprehensive look at the story you're covering.

So the positive social media influence would be that journalists have become very skilled at writing quickly and efficiently. We have to because we need to feed the Internet. And our readers want to know what's happening in real time. They expect it, they demand it, and they'll move on if they don't get it. So, we've become very efficient writers, tight writers, and fast writers.

The chance to increase *engagement* with audiences is another opportunity participants said that social media affords news organizations and journalists. One participant discussed how social media can be a "great way to build trust with your community" and how constant engagement through social media could even be considered as a facet of customer service for modern news organizations, where they can approach not only their current audience but also new audiences. Besides reaching just the community they serve, social media also allows the news organization to approach audiences from other communities. One participant discussed how journalists and other media professionals sometimes underestimate how dramatically audiences can vary from

each social media platform. This creates additional opportunities for newsrooms to expand engagement not just with the vague idea of social media users but entire social media communities that otherwise wouldn't be reached. Other participants described this opportunity as:

> I think it potentially broadens the audience in terms of who people can reach. It has taken away some of the limits of geography. So, a local news reporter can write a story that can go viral and be seen by folks all over the world.

> Ideally, social media, in my view, should be used to help journalists reach news consumers in more ways on more platforms and help journalists be better servants of their community.

Other participants discussed similarly how social media has allowed journalists' the chance to not only share content, but also share their organizations' professional visions and missions — thus engaging audiences beyond just news content. Directing audience attention from social media postings to websites, physical publications, and newscasts is another opportunity for engagement participants discussed. Managers in particular cited how journalists can now not only share their own work but also the work of other journalists in their newsrooms, which allows them to drive traffic to the news organizations' website and associated social media platforms. Journalists also talked about how managers encouraged journalists to use their social media engagement to influence the audience to subscribe to their respective newspapers or to watch their respective newscasts, thus generating more revenue or awareness for the news organizations. Key reflections on this opportunity by participants include:

We can use social media to drive traffic to our website, or use social media to drive viewers to the six o'clock newscast. And so in some way, news organizations would like to see journalists as cheerleaders for the news organization. [...] The employer would like to see you use your followers and then be that intermediary between the news organization and the public. So, you go beyond just being a journalist and now you're doing public relations.

[Journalists serve] as brand ambassadors, as extensions of a news company, so you really would hope that journalists can share links, share the content from their news organization to support their brand, to support their colleagues, and to support whatever the business objectives are for their brand.

Finally, participants also discussed how social media has allowed them to *build their journalistic brands* primarily through sharing more aspects of their life on social media. Journalists discussed how social media had given them an opportunity to become more relatable by sharing experiences and humanizing them beyond their work, their voices, their appearance on TV or their bylines. One participant in particular discussed how social media allows for the sharing of things that range from casual personal details such as a birthday or day out with the family to intimately personal details such as a wedding or the birth of a child. The participant went on to say how by sharing things that are occurring in their personal lives, journalists make themselves seem more credible to the audience that they serve. Other participants discussed how they have seen first-hand how the humanizing effect of social media on journalists has benefited their interactions with their audiences, and how it makes them more than just "a talking head on television,

a disconnected voice on radio or just a byline in a newspaper." Further insight provided

by participants include:

> In journalism, we're very careful about kind of walking the middle line and sort of
> almost being almost non-human sometimes, and I think it's perfectly fine for
> people to reveal some things about themselves, so that people know we're human
> beings as well.

> [A colleague has been] able to talk a whole lot more about things that would show
> up in the newspaper, or online, and talk about the story behind the story and it
> makes her a little more human for job, which is to write about homicides and
> kidnappings and terrible things. And it adds a human side to her that you would
> not see otherwise.

Research questions 1b asked the participants their perceptions regarding the

risks of using social media in journalism work. From the data, five themes emerged:

creating confusion for audiences, verification, time pressure, being considered as

unprofessional, and online harassment.

The participants said that social media may *create confusion for audiences in*

recognizing the difference between journalists and non-journalists, and journalists' work

and non-journalists' work. One participant cited how legacy media make differentiating

opinion content from news content an easy process by creating clear delineations by

placing opinion content in a separate section of a newspaper or by featuring opinion

content on a specific segment of a newscast. In compassion, the participant explained

how social media has a tendency to blur that line for the audience because opinion

content and news content are blended into a single source with little done to differentiate

what is specifically the journalists' opinions and what are facts. Participants also highlighted how social media has made it confusing for audiences to distinguish between news, disinformation, and misinformation, thus creating a negative impression regarding journalists and what journalists do. As a way of preventing this, participants expressed the need for journalists and news organizations to keep an eye on if their work is being taken out of context or is being used to spread misinformation.

> You know, it's pretty clear in the New York Times and in the Washington Post, when there's an opinion piece put out and there's a piece of journalism put out. But that area has been blurred a little bit [on social media] and I think it's part of our responsibility to win it back to give consumers more information.

> You know, there's some viewers and readers in the public that don't understand when a journalist is a journalist and when a journalist is being a person. And you know, we have Fox News and some other outlets like that where I think it's confusing people because journalists are expressing their opinions.

> We know that we have a disinformation problem and a misinformation problem where content can also be misused. And so I think it's really important to keep an eye on who else is using our content and in what form they're using our content?

Managers and journalists recognized that taking sufficient time for the *verification* process is important on social media, as information obtained from there is not always accurate. Participants cited how there had been times during their use of social media for journalism activity that they would have to differentiate between spammers — identified by participants as user accounts on social media that posted false or misleading

information — and genuine sources capable of providing reliable information. One participant discussed that spammers and unreliable sources continue to be a prominent risk due to the anonymity provided by the Internet and how individuals feel safer using social media accounts to spread false information than they would through other means. Participants further cited how the verification process has gotten more and more difficult, especially in regard to doctored photos or images circulating social media. Additional insight from participants on the risk of unverified information on social media include:

It's also very simple and easy to fall into a trap that you're trusting somebody as a source on social media. But if you don't have a face and a name, and don't actually speak to them, can you trust what you are getting in? Let's say are direct messages or private messages what you're hoping to be quoting a story or sourcing in a story? You don't know.

Participants also discussed how another risk of the job is the *time pressures* associated with incorporating social media use into a journalists' job requirement when their time is already limited as it is. Journalists in particular discussed how managers often had unrealistic expectations regarding the activities that journalists were expected to accomplish within a single shift and highlighted how social media compounded that problem by adding an additional duty. Participants who identified as multimedia journalists cited this as a particularly tangible risk, as they were already finding their work schedules stretched thin between not only writing stories but also taking photos, videos, and other professional activities. The addition of social media, especially given how time consuming participants expressed it can be to keep up with, is something that participants recognized negatively impact the free time they have available to engage in

their other duties. In addition, participants said that the pressure of having a limited schedule and being the first one to share the story on social media has also challenged the process journalists engage in to ensure accuracy and that thorough fact-checking is being conducted. Some of the other experiences with this risk shared by participants include:

I'm an MMJ. So I shoot, write, and edit. Like I get the jobs of like, three people pretty much by myself. And so that takes a lot more time than just being a reporter. So sometimes, like the ones who do Facebook Live, we're expected to do that also, but that's time that I can spend writing my story.

It's digital first. And you always feel the pressure to make sure that you're the first one who gets his story online, hopefully correctly, first.

There is just so much more information now on the web, and reporters and journalists and all kinds of people who work in professional journalism are expected to be essentially on call all the time and to carry on conversations with people who email them and who communicate electronically, rather than through the old system. So, it creates, I think, a much bigger workload for today's journalists than journalists used to have.

Journalists using social media can also use the platforms to pass along opinions or engage in other activity that can be considered *unprofessional* by news organizations or audiences. This was a common theme expressed by participants, but one with a description that often varied due to the subjectivity that can be applied to perceptions of professionalism. Some cited unprofessional conduct for journalists as they are too comfortable sharing their opinion or thoughts on issues in a field where fact and

59

objectivity are supposed to be the standar. Others cited how some journalists treated their user accounts as avenues by which to gain popularity — that the journalists are focused on sharing viral content or engaging in other activity that builds their followers rather than on actual professional activities.

One participant identified this concern with professionalism is something that is more relevant to younger journalists than older journalists because of their differing experience with social media. Because older journalists tend to learn how to use social media for professional purposes, the participant explained how there's a tendency for them to be more familiar with the professional context and limitations expected by news organizations. In contrast, younger journalists who first grew up with social media are familiar with social media as tools with which they can share their opinions and personal experiences — not as platforms solely used for professional activities. The majority of participants, especially managers, think that journalists are public figures and they need to be careful with what they post on social media.

> I feel like social media has kind of made journalists more comfortable to share their thoughts on certain things, which, depending on what your thoughts are, can be perceived as one way or another.

> I've seen reporters show up at murder scenes and even for massacres, and they're taking selfies and they're smiling, that is so inappropriate

> There is a sense of now,the communication goes further beyond what I'm reporting. Now, it's getting personal. And a lot of journalists started using social media to reply back to their personal rights. You are, you know, a right wing

journalist or you are a left wing journalist and now [the audience is] going to

argue back with you.

Participants in this study also highlighted how one of the greatest risks for

journalists on social media is the risk of dealing with *online harassment,* with more

journalist participants expressing concern over this compared to manager participants.

Participants identified how social media can create situations where journalists are more

vulnerable online and how they now need to deal with threats such as trolling, doxing,

threatening, inappropriate comments, etc. One participant described how it seems fairly

common for social media users to routinely troll or leave disparaging and harassing

comments on journalists' posts. While those activities are something rarely go beyond

harassment, the participant said that on occasion those kinds of interactions can worsen to

the point where social media users are sharing journalists' personal information and

journalists feel they are threatened.

Along with threatening comments, inappropriate comments — particularly for

female journalists — are something participants identified as fairly commonplace.

Several journalists discussed how female journalists at their news organizations would

routinely have comments on their posts that commented on their appearance, relationship

status, and other inappropriate topics. Additionally, among the participants, female

journalists were also more likely to express concern over the threats posed by social

media use than male journalists. An additional dimension of harm highlighted by

participants was the mental health toll that these interactions can have on journalists.

Negative interactions on social media can contribute to negative mental health factors

such as anxiety or depression, according to several participants. Other perceptions by participants on online harassment include:.

> Journalists getting harassed is nothing new. I've been in the business for 33 years now and it happens all the time. It's because now with online, it just makes it a bit easier and they have an even better cloak of anonymity. [In the past] somebody calls up, unless they block their caller ID, you get a number and you can get back to them if you need to. But online, it's far easier for them to be anonymous..

> You know, using social media too much can lead to distress, it can lead to worse mental health issues, it can lead to anxiety, especially if you're already kind of predisposed to those things. And then experiencing second hand trauma online, that's the thing for journalists a lot of the time, you know, we like being in the know and we like to be on these platforms and constantly, you know, keep up with the news, but you know, again, it's pretty well researched, like consuming those things can lead to you internalizing a lot of it. You do hold on to a lot of that trauma, if you're looking at all the photos and videos of tragic things or natural disasters, things like that.

Research question 2 explores how social media has impacted journalists' professionalism. Literature outlined some professional values including objectivity, immediacy, transparency, truth seeking, etc. Three main themes emerged from the data: confusion between professional values and personal values, that several professional values have been challenged, and that several professional values have been enhanced.

Managers and journalists both recognized how journalists can sometimes become confused when it comes to clearly *delineating between their professional values and*

personal values. Several participants said that social media activity is always public and that as journalists can be considered brand ambassadors, even when journalists have a private account they still need to maintain their professionalism. In addition, the participants think that some journalists might mistakenly think that their social media activity might be separate from their professional practice when in fact social media activity — even private — is an extension of their jobs and they should still follow the same rules. One journalist said that some humor might be acceptable in some specific environments, but can be perceived wrongly by others, therefore journalists need to be careful about what they want to share. Overall, the participants said that journalists should not post anything online if they do want to say it in public, or publish it in the newspaper. They expressed their opinions on this topic as:

> A lot of newsrooms' social media policies either expect journalists to sort of further the company brands, right, but a journalist might just want to use their social media account in a more personal way that isn't necessarily intended to reflect the company.

> The problem with social media, the issue of people who have been fired using social media is that they've sort of crossed lines where they've been perceived as vocal advocates for a particular position. Or they may have said something that was pretty stupid.

> Those who are involved in our public face branding — that would be the reporters or the news anchors or people who write — should understand that anything that they put on their social media pages are public and connected to our brand. You shouldn't say something on social media that you wouldn't be comfortable with

someone turning around and putting in the paper the next day or you putting on

the radio, there cannot be a distinction between the two.

Managers and journalists recognized that due to the risks journalists face in using

social media, some *professional values have been challenged* such as objectivity,

independence and accuracy. Objectivity is the value that received the most discussion

among the participants. They shared differing views regarding objectivity and how it

might be perceived differently in each news organization and further perceived

differently by journalists and the public. A participant said that even with the disclaimer

that retweeting is not endorsement, journalists can still be perceived as being biased when

they share something. A few participants shared that they still are in the process of

figuring out which opinions are okay and which ones are not. For example, a journalist

questioned that while it is acceptable to share endorsements of sports teams, can a sports

reporter express endorsements related to local political matters. A journalist said that

being subjective and sharing personal opinions on cases such as the Black Lives Matter

movement can make journalists appear more relatable. Several participants expressed that

they recognized journalists have their own biases, but it is still important to be impartial

and be fair in their reporting. Regardless of their views, all participants agreed that

journalists still need to match their professional values with those values held by their

organizations. In describing how objectivity get challenged, the participants said:

> Sometimes it's more important for journalists to bring their personal experiences
>
> to the table rather than objectivity. So, what we saw with George Floyd, what we
>
> saw with the racial protests last summer, at that moment, it was more important
>
> for journalists — and especially journalists of color and specifically Black

journalists — at that moment in time, it was more important for them to be as honest about the experiences they have had, being black and being journalists. That was what was most important in the moment, I think, to highlight on social media to again bring those experiences to say this has happened to me.

I think there's a lot of conversation in the news right now about what we even mean by objectivity and how we are presenting that. And so, I don't know, I guess as far as I can go with that is I think social media has opened up a lot of those questions in a really healthy way.

There are some people out there to whom I would say if you are a journalist, you should never put an opinion about anything out in the public. I don't come from those schools. There is a line that you can cross but, I mean, where's the line and who decides where the line is?

Accuracy and independence are the other values that get challenged on social media, according to the participants. They said that some social media activities, such as joining a group on Facebook or sharing a post from a public figure, might be perceived as partisan. In addition, while incorporating sourcing through social media, journalists might focus on being the first one to post and ignore fact-checking, thus accuracy is a challenge. To deal with those challenges, the participants said that journalists need to remember their values and work on maintaining those instead of letting social media draw them to negativity. A participant said:

I think you have to be transparent if you ask to join an advocacy group, but you're

asking to join it because you want a better understanding of the issue those people

are dealing with then you need to be transparent about that.

The participants highlighted that several *professional values get enhanced*

through social media such as transparency, immediacy, seeking and reporting on truth.

Transparency and accountability are the values that are highlighted the most, with social

media allowing journalists to be more open about themselves and their news process. A

journalist said that transparency can increase trust to the public, as with social media,

journalists can be more clear where they get the information, and offer the link to those

so the audience can also check themselves. In addition, journalists can address their

mistakes as well as clarify any unclear details. A participants describe the value of

transparency:

[You can enhance] accountability, because you can respond to your critics more

quickly, thoroughly and thoughtfully on social media than you can with angry

phone calls.

A reporter who's able to build up a social media following is able to bring readers

and viewers along in the storytelling process. And that is really important now as

we struggle with maintaining trust and transparency.

With social media, journalists can also post news in a timely fashion as soon as

the news breaks, then update the audience on how the story develops. In addition,

journalists can improve their practices in seeking truth and report it as they can get access

to different communities, expose themselves to different ideas and give voice to

communities that might not usually be heard. To describe these values, the participants said:

> I think openness to, you know, different ideas and perspectives. I think I've seen people do multiple sourcing through social media. These people will tweet out and say, I have some information for you, and you'll kind of then track that down.

> [...] seeking truth because we can use it to put out accurate information for people and also try to counteract some of the false information that is out there.

> Social media shows you, reveals to you people that you would never get to know any other way. You see their drama, you see their trauma. You see their challenges. And that's why if you have compassion, and that's a value, then you will apply it to getting that story.

> Just getting more solid information is another kind of journalism value that I've seen used pretty effectively, lifting up voices that might not otherwise be heard. I mean, the media can have a really strong amplifying effect and it can be used for good purpose.

Research question 3 explored managers' role in managing journalists' use of social media. Six themes emerged from the data: setting visions, creating policy, communication, professional development, assessment, and protecting journalists from harmful interactions.

The participants highlighted the importance of managers to *set visions* for how social media should be used. Those visions would include which social media the news organizations should utilize, which audience they want to reach, and what the best approach would be. The participants recognized that news organizations cannot target

everyone, but should focus on which demographics are their main target — thus managers should know which social media platforms work best for that purpose and what would be the best practices on those social media. The participants said that news organizations want journalists to serve as an ambassador of their brand online, therefore it is important to be clear about those values — such as if it is acceptable to share opinions that are against their respective news organizations' value. The participants think it is important to lay out this vision beforehand and not respond reactively to events when they occur. The participants expressed their thoughts:

I think the strategy needs to sort of be in place first, are we getting back to the core questions? Is this something where we're just sharing our stories? Is this something where we're doing a year-long report with some community? Is it something where we're a very hyper local news outlet and we just want to know what people are talking about.

I don't think we have to be on every platform, but we have to be aware of them. And we also have to look at how we use our resources, and which platforms give us the most value for certain types of stories and which ones don't.

Managers and journalists both recognized the importance of *having a policy* outlining what journalists should and should not do on social media. They shared how the policy should also be used to protect both journalists and news organizations as a referential resource to solve any conflict that might arise regarding journalists' social media activities. In addition, the policy will help journalists figure out the best practices, and help avoid any confusion journalists might have. A participant said that they can't always ask their managers or colleagues about an issue, and it would be helpful to have a

document that they can refer to. Others expressed their thoughts about the importance of crafting a policy:

It is really about just setting principles and standards. And it's a policy that doesn't assume everybody is going to be wrong. But I think it has to be clear. And people have to think it's important for everyone to know why it exists.

If you are an organization that doesn't have a social media policy or social media guidelines, you're going to have a bunch of people running around willy-nilly trying to figure it out for themselves.

It's necessary because there are some who will step over the line who really don't understand the impact of something that they might send out to others. So, without a social media policy, you have no way of addressing those concerns.

The participants also highlighted the importance of *communicating* to journalists the news organizations' social media policy, as well as best practices on social media. Participants discussed how some organizations communicate policy and best practices during their staff meetings or through daily emails. A few participants said that there are "very few" conversations regarding social media in their organizations. In addition, one journalist said that since there had not been enough discussion regarding social media, sometimes they obtained tips on social media by discussing situations with their colleagues, or through observation of other journalists' social media activity. One journalist was critical regarding the way his newsroom communicated the organization's social media policy, as he only became aware of the social media policy when he signed the contract. While some social media tips have been shared through emails, the

journalist was critical of how often those kinds of feedback might get lost in the journalists' inbox. Other participants contributed additional perspective, saying:

> They put out a policy paper or they put it in the handbook and it wasn't something that was discussed every day. It might be shared in some email that comes from HR, but nobody reads emails.

> And I think best practices should be a one time thing or, you know, a conference or a three-day talk. It should be an ongoing conversation so that there is a manager almost like an internal ombudsman.

Some participants said that it is important to discuss these social media policies publicly so others can learn from good and bad examples, while other participants thought it would sometimes be better to discuss them privately. However, the participants agreed that there should be open and direct conversations regarding those matters. In addition, the participants said that managers should be open for questions and open for different opinions about social media policy and best practices. They expressed their expectations:

> It should be an open, honest, frank conversation with no punishment or any admonition for points of view with which you as an individual may disagree. If a colleague says, "Well, I think social media should be used in this way," and you don't agree with that, you should be respectful of their point of view. And you certainly should argue your own point of view without being disrespectful.

> When somebody posts something, you know, you don't have to beat them up publicly about it. You bring them in and have a conversation and say, "I'm not sure if you thought this through when you pushed that out, this might not have

70

been the greatest idea." And then you would have to make a decision as to whether you ask them to pull it down or whether it's just a lesson going forward.

I think the best practice might be occasionally reaching out to reporters in just a chat format, you know, not something that would appear to be an inquisition or an interrogation, but to reach out and see what they're doing.

The participants also shared their perceptions regarding the importance of *training and professional development* in the use of social media. Participants expressed how training happens in different forms in different organizations, ranging from having formal workshops and training sessions to one-on-one coaching. One participant said how their newsroom implemented a comprehensive training program that included monthly professional development workshops over a variety of topical issues related to social media use such as best practices for each social media platform or how to best design videos and graphics for social media. However, some participants said that they have not seen training on social media happen as regularly as it should be compared to other areas of company policy, such as legal training or code of conduct training. One journalist said some of the best practices are shared between journalists and through observation of their colleagues rather than through any formal training. Others described the trainings in their organizations and the importance of those as:

And it's their job to empower [journalists] with information about these platforms, and tools and resources and tips and insider knowledge. So that way, the journalists they're working with are fully equipped with everything they need to know. That is, I think, our most important job.

It may be pointing out someone's posts may not have been the best and showing

them how they could have done it better. And giving them examples of ways that

things that they say or they posted could be misconstrued.

The participants discussed the perception regarding the *assessment of social*

media use by newsroom management, including practices of monitoring, measuring and

evaluating. Some participants said that it might not be possible to monitor every post, but

it is still important to pay attention to what journalists do on social media. Managers also

highlighted how it is important to keep track of feedback from the audience and other

journalism professionals regarding journalists' social media use. One manager think that

one of the significant roles of a digital manager is to be the one in charge of monitoring

and guiding journalists' social media use. However, some participants expressed that

journalists usually do not like to be overseen, thus managers should trust journalists

instead of trying to monitor them. Participants said:

A social media manager should constantly be looking at how people respond to

the posts, their digital power, their social media teams, and putting up the story so

people will be interested. You need a social media manager to be the person who

is the last eye before anything goes out.

[Managers should] trust your journalists about using [social media] and rust that

they do use it. Of course, no one likes to monitor. I think journalists in particular

don't like that. They don't like someone they believe is spying on them, you know,

they feel that it's my tool.

Managers and journalists recognized that social media metrics and analytics could be used as a measurement tool to indicate journalists' performance and best practices on social media. Some news organizations use those analytics as a part of their employees' annual evaluations, but participants revealed how this is not a common practice overall. A few organizations require social media quotas, but the majority said that they do not require a specific amount of posts. However, they think that it is still important to take analytics into consideration and encourage more activities on social media in case the journalists are inactive.

Analytics can also be used as a motivational tool, with one journalist saying people who can get a higher salary or bonus on their contract because they're bringing in more followers, or a journalist is used as an example for current and future employees for their social media performance. Managers and journalists also recognized the importance of evaluating news organizations' visions and policies for social media. By obtaining feedback from journalists, participants said managers should take into consideration how effective the policy is, what works best and what fails to be effective so they can better update their practices. The participants described social media analytics:

> We certainly talked about part of the difficulty of using the metrics from social media is that what we know is some stories we think are going to do great, don't necessarily get a huge audience and other stories, you know, go viral, right? And so you have control over some of it, but not all of it. And so we don't really use that as a measure of whether someone is a successful journalist or not.

We have, like, a social media monitor, so our station wants us to engage. And so we get like an email saying how much we engage and by them sending that we feel pressured to do more so we can get higher up.

Journalist participants highlighted the need for managers to *protect* them from the dangers of social media, particularly regarding online harassment and the potential for social media activity to negatively impact journalists' mental health. Some participants also said that their news organizations respond to those threats in a reactive manner and continue to not have a safety protocol or safety resources regarding those matters. A journalist shared that one of her colleagues got harassed on Twitter, and their supervisor asked the journalist to step off completely from social media while they monitored and dealt with the harassment on her behalf. In addition, a manager said that it is completely fine for journalists to be absent from social media for mental health issues as "it's not going to make or break the website or the television station by one person requesting some time to be free of social media." Other participants described the importance of this role as:

It's a manager's job to make sure that any worker is protected and is advocated for if they are being threatened within the organizations or by trolls online, so it's just making sure that they're protected.

I think news organizations are still — not to say they don't have plans in place — but I feel like they're very reactive. Sometimes they're like, "Oh, you're getting doxxed, you're getting harassed. Now let's put these trainings in place and tell you how to react to it and train our reporters for it," and I think it needs to be from the very beginning.

And then also, what's the support side like: how are you making sure journalists feel like they're actually getting some backing from the organizations that are working?

Research question 4 explored social media policy and its effectiveness. Literature outlined the importance of having policy and the process of policy development, including crafting, communicating and evaluating. Five themes emerged from the data: a need to have a written policy, policy as a safeguard tool, collaborative efforts to craft the policy, communicating, and evaluating.

The participants shared how they perceived there being *a need to have a written policy* in their newsrooms. Most participants said that there is some form of social media policy implemented by their new organizations, with these policies varying from being very detailed and specific to being vague and generalized. Participants discussed how these policies can originate from corporate offices and how journalists are required to read and sign their willingness to comply with these policies when they are first employed at the companies or how these policies are something that have been developed at the newsroom recently. In a few newsrooms, especially ones that are smaller in size, participants cited how social media policies are still lacking, but expressed how they recognize that more comprehensive policies should be developed in the near future. They describe the importance of having a written policy as:

They have the same stuff written down in policies about how they interact with sources and how we deal with conflicts of interest. They have these policies that they've had for decades. [Social media policy] is just another policy to add to

those policies and to make sure that they all align together so that one doesn't seem to counteract the other.

I think that [policy] needs to be laid out beforehand, not after somebody commits a faux pas and then says, "Oh, well, we got to back and fill them in on this." I think the rules of the road need to be laid out first.

The participants also said they recognized the way a social media policy can work as a *safeguarding tool* for both the organization and the journalists. It serves as a reference for journalists to know what they should and should not do and what the values of their organization are. Several participants said that good social media policies need not spell out how journalists should conduct each and every part of their job in relation to social media, but it should at least have basic procedures and expectations. One participant said that even a basic social media policy is important to have on hand, not for everyday use but at least in instances when "something goes horribly wrong." In addition, participants discussed how a policy can protect journalists and news organizations in case conflicts arise, as those involved can refer to the policy as a resource to resolve those conflicts. They described the function of social media policy as:

It's hard to discipline someone without having a piece of paper that defines what that discipline is about. Because there are circumstances where someone may come back to you and say I don't agree with you. And then you can go to that piece of paper.

I think it's a way for corporations to protect themselves. But I also think it's a way for journalists to protect themselves. So if someone says, "Well, why didn't you

say that," you could point back to a document. But I don't think enforcement is super strict, nor should it be. I think, really those policies are in place for the extremities.

The participants shared the opinion that crafting policy for social media should be a *collaborative effort* between managers, journalists and other departments such as legal or human resources. Most participants also recognized that since journalists are the ones who use social media for their work, they should be able to contribute to social media policies as these policies affect them directly. In addition, participants said there should be consideration of diverse voices in the process of crafting the policy as social media might affect individuals of different demographics differently. Managers in specific said that an important consideration for policy crafting is that while the process should be collaborative, ultimately those in a management position will be the ones to have final say on what is ultimately implemented. Lastly, several managers and journalists cited how the legal and human resources departments should be involved in order to make sure those policies are well-written and reflect legal requirements. Two participants — one currently working on and one just finished working through the policy crafting process — said that they formed and led a committee with several people in different positions to carry out that effort. They said that the process of crafting the policy took them between 6 months and a year to finish. The participants described this collaborative effort as:

> It's a function of management to make sure that [crafting policy] happens. But I believe in a collaborative approach that whoever is affected by a policy should be able to have input into the policy. The people who know something best are the ones who are involved in it the most. And they should be able to help shape it.

I think any policy that is going to impact people and bring in those people, we need to make them partners. Make them part of the discussion. If they don't have ownership in it, then they don't care about it.

Managers and journalists think that policy development processes such as *communicating the policy* play an important role in making sure those policies are effective. Participants expressed how it is important to make sure everyone in the newsroom recognizes the importance of following policy, as well as having a chance to voice their concerns and contribute to the process of updating the policy.

When it came to communicating policies, some participants said that the only time they had been exposed to the social media policy was when they had signed a document agreeing to adhere to the policy — following that, those participants said they were never exposed to social media policies again. Others said that the policy might have a brief physical copy that was hung in their newsrooms for reference or that the policy was communicated through email. One participant said that no communication was provided whenever policy was changed. A few participants said that their newsrooms actually hosted regular meetings where some element of social media policy might be discussed. A journalist said that when her news organization changed the quota requirement for journalists to meet, journalists were never involved in the discussion. Participants additionally expressed their concern regarding this issue as:

[When they changed the policy], I don't think it was ever discussed. I think they just realized that people weren't meeting it. And it was unrealistic. So they just did it.

With policy, it is a good idea to make sure that everyone is aware of it. And to not assume that one conversation will sink in and hold forever. Because when questions come up, people don't necessarily absorb everything that was said in the past. They want somewhere to turn for an answer and it might be a supervisor or a colleague. But if nobody is around, you know policy helps you in real time figure something out.

Some participants highlighted that it is important to *evaluate the policy* as some social media policies are outdated and are not ready to deal with newer issues that have sprung up or can potentially spring up through social media usage. Participants described some policies as outdated and cited how several newsrooms are currently working to update them to better address issues both new and ongoing. A journalist who worked on crafting the policy at her organization said that the organization's policy was nearly three years old and did not address several issues regarding journalists' safety. She said that while reviewing other policies, none of them actually outlined a safety protocol for journalists, and as she and her team think it is an important issue, she is making sure that they tackle it in their update. One manager said that they review the social media policy every six months to review and evaluate what works and what does not work, as well take into consideration journalists' feedback. Expressing their thoughts on the significance of the evaluation process, one participant said:

The volume of interactions that people have can shift pretty rapidly and I think it's hard from a policy perspective to kind of always have an up to date social media guidance. So, in a couple of cases where journalists have been fired, you know,

some of the things they do are fairly being by sort of current social media practices, but are misaligned with some data policies within a newsroom.

Research question 5 explored what managers should do to guide journalists' use of social media into the future. Three themes emerged from the data: self-educating, focusing on hiring practice, and improving social media oversight.

With the development of technology and social media platforms, the participants highlighted how managers should make sure they stay *educated* on the values of social media and what the best practices would be for each platform. Both managers and participants cited this as important, specifically because social media are continually evolving — and when the existing platforms aren't evolving, new platforms are emerging. In addition, one phenomenon that some participants cited is how older managers and journalists had a habit of ignoring the importance of keeping up with social media education, instead claiming social media as a field for younger managers and journalists to preoccupy themselves. Managers, according to the participants, need to stay up-to-date to ensure they can provide appropriate guidance. Additionally, managers should be able to keep up with changes in the field to be able to adequately lead the organization as changes occur. Other perspectives participants shared on managers staying educated included:

I think you have to be very smart about what's going on in technology and also to be very skeptical, but not so skeptical that you become cynical.

You know, every couple years, there's another [social media platform] and then we're figuring out whether you need to be there and what kind of content you're receiving there and is that in your target audience and all those things.

Managers should stay on top of trends — what's happening, how social media is being used by reporters, the impacts that social media use is having on audiences and to be sure in whatever fashion works best for a particular media outlet.

When it came to news organizations adapting better to social media in the future, participants highlighted that social media should be a consideration in *future hiring decisions* — especially when journalists might already have a social media presence established prior to seeking employment at a new newsroom. Participants cited how social media is not consistently considered as a factor in the hiring process, and this is something that should be changed to ensure that incoming employees have the kind of social media understanding and values that will most benefit the news organization. Participants said there should also be a discussion regarding their views of social media and to make sure that journalists' social media values lined up with the company's social media values prior to hiring.

> [Social media] should be part of the hiring practice and a discussion about it should happen during the interview process. Just to vet and see what that person's viewpoint is on social media, and then also let them know what the values about social media are at the news organization and just make sure that person is on the same page.

> If you'd said something horrible, we should find out about it during the interview process. But once we hire you, then we've got to protect and we've got to defend you. And then afterwards, we're going to really be strict on social media.

Managers and journalists both agreed that in regards to social media, managers need to not only continue carrying out their roles but also *strive to improve social media oversight* in news organizations such as setting visions, creating policy, commuting, evaluating and training. For example, when it comes to training, a concept that participants discussed was how it is important for future training programs to not take for granted that young journalists already know how to use social media. Participants said there were several newsrooms that had assumed younger journalists were already familiar with social media and did not provide them the same training as the older journalists. They also expressed how it is vital into the future for managers to be more active in incorporating and leading the newsroom to better take advantage of social media as well as guarding against the risks involved with social media activity.

> I think managers who are good managers are responsible managers and active managers. They have ways of knowing what reporters are doing that are unobtrusive and they are not off-putting. [They hold] regular reviews and chats, figuring out and looking at your own outlets and products, as well as who's using what. I think they can stay informed and I think that's the best way that they can take their reporters into the future.

> I think we just need to constantly be checking in with ourselves on what we're doing, why we're doing it and who it's for. And then we need to constantly be checking in with my colleagues and other people we work with in our industry and making sure that they also know what's going on. And make sure they are also aware of best practices and encourage them to ask those questions of themselves too.

I think young journalists would really find it useful to hear a little bit more about

how to use [social media] because they're coming out of a generation that uses it.

I don't want to say frivolously that it sounds disrespectful, but they use it more

liberally than our generation and older generations. And I think because we had to

learn to use it instead of we grew up using it. I think those who grew up using it

probably need the guardrails a little bit more spelled out to them about

professional life than the older people do.

Summary of Results

The study explores journalists and newsroom managers' perceptions on social

media use, journalism professionalism and managers' roles through five research

questions. The findings show that both managers and journalists recognized that social

media bring both opportunities and risks to the field of journalism. They agreed that the

opportunities and risks of social media do not appear exclusively but are often two sides

of the same coin.

Social media provide an opportunity for gathering sources, but also creates

challenges for journalists in the process of verifying the accuracy or authenticity of the

information provided by those sources — or even the authenticity of the sources'

identities. With the ability to share information and reach a broader audience, social

media also expose journalists to potentially hateful comments and online harassment that

can contribute to anxiety, depression, and otherwise negatively impact their mental

health. Additionally, social media provide an environment where journalists are more

comfortable sharing their opinions, which might go against their organizational and

professional values.

The data also show that through creating opportunities and risks for journalism work, social media have impacted journalism professionalism in both positive and negative ways. Several values are enhanced through social media, such as transparency, timeliness, and reporting of the truth. On the other hand, other values like objectivity, credibility, accuracy, and independence might be challenged on social media. In addition, the data also highlighted that journalists might be confused between professional values and personal values. The majority of participants agreed that regardless of each one's perception of professional values, journalistic values still hold their importance and journalists need to follow the organizations' guidelines on what their boundaries are.

Regarding managers' roles in managing journalists' use of social media, the data show that managers perform several roles in news organizations: setting visions, crafting policy, communication, employee development, assessments, and protecting journalists. According to the participants, managers in their news organization carry out their roles in different ways, and there is no universal approach to management.

The participants in the study share the perception that it is vital to establish news organizations' visions regarding social media, including why they want to use social media, which platforms should be used, and how to use them effectively. It is also important to lay out the guidelines as well as expectations and communicate those to the staff. News organizations incorporate the topic of social media in their general meetings, or through official training and workshops. Discussion regarding social media practices also happens through email, between journalists and their colleagues, or between managers and journalists privately. The participants agreed that training and

communication cannot be a one-time occasion but need to happen constantly and incorporate different methods.

The data show that managers should assess social media through monitoring, measuring and evaluating. There are mixed views regarding how much managers should monitor, as some said that journalists do not like to be overseen. However, the participants agreed that managers should keep an eye on what happens on social media in their organization and in general in order to figure out best practices. Social media analytics received mixed views, with some saying that they are not an effective measuring tool for journalists' performance, while others said they still think social media metrics can be used as evaluation and motivation tools.

Female journalists highlighted that they want managers to advocate for them and provide support when they deal with online harrashment. They said that they still think news organizations are still lacking safety protocols and resources to help journalists deal with these threats.

The study found that journalists and managers recognized the need of having a social media policy. Some organizations have already established their social media policies, while some are still in the process of creating or updating theirs. The policy is described in different ways, with some saying the policy is broad and general, being written around journalistic values that the organization wants to hold. A few participants said the social media policy in their news organizations are in detail, outlining exactly what they should and should not do. However, regardless of how they perceive the content of social media, the data shows that having a policy is important to serve as a

safeguard tool for both the news organizations and journalists, especially in case of conflicts.

A finding of this study shows that even when there is a social media policy in place, managers still need to communicate and evaluate the policy regularly to make sure the policy can continue to be effective. The participants said that social media policy is not a topic that receives a lot of discussion in the newsroom, with some only knowing about it at the time they sign their contracts. Several participants described their social media policy as outdated, highlighting the need for managers to constantly receive feedback and make sure their social media address the newest practices and challenges.

To guide journalists' social media use into the future, the data shows that managers should continue to carry out their roles and put more emphasis on the oversight of social media. Several participants expressed that managers are still reactive when it comes to responding to situations on and related to social media, which they think managers can focus on to improve their management approach in the future.

In addition, the study found that managers should focus on educating themselves on the topic of social media. It is vital for them to set a vision that defines what direction the news organization wants to take social media usage, especially social media platforms that are changing rapidly and bring different benefits and challenges. The data also shows that journalists and managers think social media practices should become a topic considered in the hiring process, and acknowledge that the younger generation is already using social media and coming up with their own social media presence as well as their own ways to use social media. To better incorporate them into the mission, managers should evaluate and set the expectation right at the beginning.

Chapter 5: Discussion

With news organizations' expectation for journalists to utilize social media for their work (Lee, 2016; Lysak, 2012; White, 2012), journalists not only need to figure out what social media best practices are but also face the risk of being punished if they misuse social media and misrepresent their organizations on social media (Adornato & Lysok, 2017; Lee. J, 2015). Several journalists from well-known news organizations have been fired or had their roles changed by management over the last decade due to their social media activities — activities cited as violating news organizations' social media policies (Bauder, 2021a; Calderon, 2014; Papenfus, 2021; Sharma et al., 2021; Tornoe, 2017; Walker, 2010). Even with a policy in place, journalists still have expressed a lack of confidence in using social media due to an absence of transparency from the news organization regarding social media policy and punitive measures related to said policy (Robertson, 2021; Schultz & Sheffer, 2012). By interviewing journalists and managers, this study explored journalists and management perceptions of social media use in journalism, management's roles in shaping social media use, and the professional opportunities and risks that social media create.

All managers and journalists that participated in the study recognized different ways that social media can advantage their work, but also challenge journalism norms and practices. Participants said that social media help them with sourcing, but also presents the risk that they will be unable to verify their information or the identity of their sources (Lee A., 2015; Tandoc & Vos, 2016; Weaver, 2019; Zhang & Li, 2020). While journalists can share information in realtime and via different platforms, they can also pass alongs their opinions, inappropriate contents or inaccurate information (Lee A.,

2015; Lysak, 2012; Molyneux, 2014; Tandoc & Vos, 2016). Participants also said that social media help them to engage with audiences and build their branding to become more personable with their audiences, but can also expose journalists to risks such as online harassment (Barnard, 2016; Fincham, 2021; Finneman et al., 2019; Holton & Molyneux, 2018; Schultz & Sheffer, 2012; Zeller & Hermida, 2015). All participants in the study expressed that they recognized that the opportunities and risks of social media do not appear exclusively but rather exist in the minds of journalists and managers as two sides of the same coin. This finding aligns with most literature where researchers found that social media can be perceived both positively and negatively, but also differs from a few studies where the findings present social media in a largely positive light for journalism work (Willnat & Weaver, 2018) or where journalists tended to frame social media more negatively (Lee, 2016).

The majority of participants recognized that journalists use social media not only to improve their own journalism practices and journalist branding, but also serve as an extension of their respective organizations' brands. Several participants said that they are expected to serve as "brand ambassadors" to carry "the brand's mission and vision on social media." They said that journalists are expected to draw more audiences to the news organizations' websites, draw subscriptions for newspapers and draw new viewers for the newscast similar to how Tandoc and Vos (2016) described the new role of journalists as marketers. The participants also expressed that journalists are expected to represent their news organizations and build a good image about the news organizations' brand by sharing work from their colleagues and interacting with each other, similar to the findings regarding branding by Holton and Molyneux (2018)

The participants highlighted that social media can also create confusion for audiences to distinguish between journalists and non-journalists as well as journalism work and non-journalism work such as opinion pieces or misinformation. As a result of this, participants expressed how journalists need to be aware of journalism professional values and their organizations' values, so they can continue to maintain those. The findings also revealed that while social media can enhance core journalism values such as transparency, reporting the truth, and timeliness, values such as objectivity, accuracy, and independence are perceived to be negatively impacted due to the opportunities and risks presented by social media usage. These findings echoed previous research on how professional values can be both enhanced and challenged with social media (Deuze, 2005; Molyneux, 2014; Thomas, 2019).

Objectivity was the value that participants provided the most variable responses to regarding its significance in journalism and the way it can be impacted by social media usage. The participants recognized that journalists also have biases and opinions, and that they might pass those along through their social media posts. While some participants think that objectivity needs to be maintained at all times, some think that occasionally expressing personal views and experiences can make the journalists more relatable and even enhance the public's opinion of their credibility and objectivity. Those different views regarding objectivity were discussed in several previous studies, such as Duffy & Knight, (2018), Molyneux (2014), and Thomas (2019). Managers and journalists think that social media has become a platform for those discussions about objectivity to happen in a healthy way, but they also said that, overall, journalists still need to check with managers and match their values with the values of the organizations.

Transparency and accountability are the professional values that the majority of participants consider as having the greatest opportunities to benefit from journalists' social media use. The participants said that social media allow them to be more open about the newsgathering and news production processes by giving them the platform to share in more detail where they get the information from. Participants also said social media allow journalists to provide updates and corrections as needed to the content they share, thus allowing journalists to improve trust in the public. The increase in transparency identified by participants is also a variable they identified as helping to increase journalists' credibility, similar to what was found in Craft and Heim (2008) and Ward (2014)'s studies.

Journalists and managers in this study expressed how some journalists may blur the line between professional values and personal values on social media, and how this is the main reason why social media might become controversial in journalism, resulting in journalists getting fired. Several participants said that journalists become comfortable sharing their personal opinions online without noticing that those opinions can reflect negatively on themselves as journalists and on the organizations at which they are employed (Duffy & Knight, 2019). Overall, the participants consider journalists as public figures and online representatives of the news organizations — thus they think that journalists should follow the organizations' rules and maintain their professional values even on their private social media accounts. This finding was also found in the research of Molyneux et al. (2018) regarding personal branding, where the authors found that building a brand online to match with organizations' values and professional values might lead to journalists' experiencing professional identity loss; and in Finneman et al.

(2019) regarding personal branding in relation with audience and news organizations expectations.

Overall, the study found that journalists and managers alike agreed that managers play a pivotal role in helping journalists navigate these various opportunities and challenges. The participants said that managers need to conduct a series of functions, such as setting visions, communicating effectively with employees, creating opportunities for employee development, and evaluating employees' performance; and in order to effectively manage newsrooms, managers need to incorporate all of those tasks. These findings aligned with previous studies regarding the roles and functions of managers by Drucker (2008); Kanter (1993); Kets de Vries (1993). The data also reviewed that there is no universal approach of managing social media use and it varies at each newsroom on how newsrooms manage and tackle social media use, similar to previous studies regarding the management of social media in newsrooms by Ihlebæk & Larsson (2018) and Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck (2014).

With the uncertainty that social media can cause regarding what would be the best practices, as well as what would be the boundaries between personal values and professional values, the participants overall agreed that managers need to set the visions of how they want social media to be used in their news organization. Kotter (2012) highlighted the importance of setting the visions to outline the direction of change and better facilitate change. The participants' responses reflected this concept when they think that managers need to understand each social media platform and figure out what would be the main purposes of journalists and their news organizations using social media, which platforms should be used and what would be the best practices. These

visions can be outlined in a written policy, or should be a topic to discuss among the newsroom constantly to make sure everyone is on the same page. More importantly, the participants think that the visions should be set up beforehand and should not be made in a reactive way.

A prime example cited by participants for the role of vision as it relates to social media is in the development of multimedia and multiplatform storytelling, an opportunity that has not been mentioned in literature. This was cited by several participants as something of a developing opportunity that has only recently been explored or as an opportunity that both managers and journalists have overlooked, thus managers should have a more active role in determining the news organizations' visions for how journalists incorporate that into their work such as using the right video format or length for a specific platform or neglecting to use images on more graphic-centric platforms. With the rapid development of technology and the changes in social media platforms, the participants said that managers should set the vision and direction on what they expect journalists to do.

Other functions of managers highlighted in this study relate to communication and employee development. The participants think that communication and training regarding social media policy and best practices happen through many ways in their news organizations, including incorporating the topic of social media into general newsroom meetings, providing official training and workshops, sending emails about best practices, or having private conversations to discuss employees' profiles. The participants also highlighted that communication can provide a chance to clarify any concerns regarding the direction of change related to social media being implemented by managers or to

gather feedback from staff to better update the news organization's plan of using social media, similar to Gade's (2004) findings. Overall, participants expressed that communication and employee development need to happen continuously rather than being singular or irregular events or occasions, and those communications should be open and conducted in a positive way.

Participants expressed mixed views regarding the importance of monitoring employees' social media activity as a dimension of managers' assessment role. The majority of participants said that managers should keep an eye on what journalists do on social media in order to take timely action on anything that requires a managerial response, but questions remain as to how much should managers monitor and how much can managers actually monitor. At some newsrooms, the participants said there is a digital media manager who is in charge of monitoring journalists' social media activities. Beyond that, managers who participated in this study also said that they try to keep up with their staff's social media presence, but also recognized that it is impossible to check everything.

On the other hand, some participants, including journalists and managers, said that journalists do not like to be monitored and that managers should put greater trust in journalists and their ability to professionally carry out their work. This finding regarding how journalists do not like to be monitored also reflects the nature of journalists as knowledge workers — as described in Drucker (2008) and Dal Zotto & van Kranenburg (2008) —and how journalists do not like or desire being closely overseen by managers. Some managers in the study agreed with these ideas, describing how social media should be a field for journalists to experiment in and not necessarily something that requires such

93

strict monitoring, similar to the findings in Opgenhaffen and Scheerlinck's (2014) and Ihlebæk and Larsson's (2018) research.

The participants' responses show differing viewpoints on whether or not social media metrics and analytics can be used to measure journalists' or stories' performance. Only a few participants said that they considered social media analytics as a part of their employees' evaluations, with the rest of the participants saying that metrics might not be the best way to evaluate performance. They think that a viral story does not mean it is a good story, therefore they refer to analytics as a way to figure out what the best practices on social media would be, treating it more as an evaluation tool. Managers said that if their journalists are not as active as their colleagues, there might be a conversation regarding what they can do better, but how they perform on social media is not a cause for punishment or termination.

More importantly, the participants highlighted how analytics can be used as a motivation tool by creating mostly extrinsic motivation factors. As defined in Benabou and Tirole (2003)'s motivation study, extrinsic motivational factors are separate rewards like raises or promotions. One journalist said that she was praised for her social media performance, encouraging her to continue to carry those practices. Receiving an analysis of their own social media use and the social media use of others was recognized as something that encourages journalists to use social media more, even those journalists who are not required to. In addition, the participants also said that the number of followers that journalists had was described as a factor in salary negotiation for journalists.

Findings also highlighted how managers and journalists' perceptions and definitions of the risk of social media activities can play out somewhat differently, with managers concerns are often organizational, journalists concerns are professional and personal. The difference in perceptions affect journalists and managers' views of managers roles' in overseeing social media activity. Manager participants usually think risk as something that can happen when journalists are not careful on social media in the way they share their opinions or inaccurate information and how it can negatively affect journalists' and news organizations' credibility; as a result, some participants expressed how managers need to focus more on setting visions and monitoring activity. While journalist participants also expressed the potential risk there was for damaging professional credibility, they were also much more likely to discuss how social media had the potential to affect journalists' mental health or put journalists into harmful situations involving harassment or other negative interactions over social media, thus they expected more protection from management from those factors.

It also emerged in discussions how these harmful interactions are more commonly faced by women in the field than men, and that developing protections is a more significant issue for female journalists. Young female journalists in this study strongly raised their concerns about how they face hateful comments or messages on social media regarding their work, their body images, their personal life, and son. When managers were asked about the phenomenon of journalists facing harassment, they also recognized that female journalists are the main target. Male journalists and managers also recognized these types of threats exist, but did not usually describe these situations when asked about their perception of the risks of social media use. Male journalists also said even though

they receive hateful comments and messages, it still not be the same as what female journalists face. This finding echoed the fact that female journalists are the main target of online harassment, particularly with comments about their bodies and other topics unrelated to their journalism work (Holton et al. 2021; Finneman et al., 2019).

Thus, one function of management found in this study that was not outlined in previous management literature is the role of protecting journalists from harmful interactions. Journalists, especially female journalists who face the threat of online harassment, expressed that they want managers to be advocates who can provide safety protocols and resources, as well as stand up for them. Journalists expect their respective news organizations to provide them with resources and safety protocols, and they want those protocols to already be ready in place instead of managers developing them as a reaction following harmful interactions. One social media strategist who participated in the study said that she was reviewing social media policies from several news organizations and none of them outlined safety protocols for journalists. This finding is similar to the study by Finneman et al. (2019), wherein female journalists also expressed their concern for lacking guidelines from management regarding what they should do with online harassment.

The data of this study show that all participants think that having a policy is necessary, but that in order to make policy effective managers also need to pay attention to communication between themselves and journalists while also actively evaluating the policy. Previous research regarding the management of social media focuses on whether newsrooms have a social media policy, what the policy is about if they do have one, and how managers and journalists perceive those policies. This research is also built on those

96

ideas, but also expands to other concepts around policy management as outlined by Maullo & Calo (n.d): establishing the policy as well as communicating, executing, and maintaining the policy.

The majority of participants discussed how their newsrooms already have some kind of written policies in place regarding social media use, similar to findings in Adornato and Lysok's (2017) study. Most participants described their policy as being broad and general, with the basis of the policy built around existing professional values and/or ethics codes. They said that journalists should maintain their values such as objectivity and independence, and that journalists should not do anything to harm their credibility or their news organizations' credibility. A common response to what social media policy is about is to use "common sense" and not say anything that journalists would not say in public or would want to be published (Sacco & Bossio, 2016). Only a few described their policies as "detailed," "well-written" and created with the unique realities of conducting journalism work over social media in mind. Participants in a few newsrooms described how quotas were in place on how many posts journalists should post on social media a day, while others said that their quotas existed more as a suggestion and not a requirement. Most news organizations in this study were described as treating social media as an add-on to their current workflow and using the principles of legacy media when it came to acting on social media.

All participants in this study recognized the importance of having a written document as a tool to assist with guidance and safeguarding journalists and managers in the event of conflicts regarding social media use. A written policy serves as a reference for journalists on what they should do and should not do. Having a policy also makes it

easier for journalists to refer to instead of consulting their managers and colleagues every time they have an inquiry. More importantly, the majority of participants cited how a written policy can serve as a safeguarding tool for both the journalists and the organization to refer to should any conflicts arise. They said that when "something horrible happens," both journalists and managers can use the policy to point out why they arrived at their decisions and potentially avoid any misunderstandings or even lawsuits. The finding regarding the need for written policy is different from Opgenhaffen and Scheerlinck's (2014) and Ihlebæk and Larsson' (2018) studies where they found skeptics regarding the importance of having a social media policy. A few journalists in this study think that news organizations should trust journalists, similar to what was found in the study by Opgenhaffen and Scheerlinck (2014), but that they still think it is helpful to have a written policy for reference.

All participants in the study seemed to share the same perceptions that crafting the policy should be a collaborative effort between management, journalists, and other departments at a news organization, such as legal and human resources. They think that as journalists are the ones who directly use social media for their work and are exposed to potential harm as a result of that work, it is important to include their opinions on what works best and what should be included in the policy. This finding reflects the idea of innovation management, when managers should take advantage of employees' power and knowledge to better tackle the process of implementing change (Zotto & van Kranenburg, 2008). In addition, the participants also said that there should be a diverse committee that includes managers and journalists with different roles and backgrounds to collaborate on the creation and evaluation of any policies, as each individual might

perceive social media differently. The finding regarding the necessity of having a committee is similar to how Zotto and van Kranenburg (2008) found that when coming up with a plan for change, innovative managers should create specialized teams instead of focusing solely on managers or a few individuals working separately.

With technology and social media changing rapidly, journalists and news organizations are sometimes uncertain about what would be the best practices for social media activities (White, 2012; Fincham, 2021). In addition, with social media providing both opportunities and risks (Duffy & Knight, 2019; Lee, J, 2015; Lee, 2016), if journalists are not careful on how they use social media, they might face the risk of getting fired (Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Lee, 2016). Thus, this study also tackles the question of what managers could do to better guide journalists' social media use into the future. The participants said that managers should continue to carry out their roles but also strive to improve social media oversight. Some participants cited how the social media policies currently implemented in their respective newsrooms were limited in scope and how communication or training on social media activity was overall lacking, expressing how they expected managers to focus on addressing those issues to prepare for the future. More importantly, the participants highlighted how managers should keep up with changes in technology and trends in social media in order to better define and implement visions for their respective news organizations going into the future. The participants highlighted that managers should not assume that journalists, especially the younger generation, know how to use social media, but should be more active in implementing guidelines for the journalists and the organization that take things in "the right direction."

Several participants expressed how they think managers should pay more attention to the hiring process in the future to make sure that new hires will understand the company's values and have a good social media presence. Hiring was not a topic the participants came up when talking about managers' roles at the present but was highlighted when talking about the future. The participants recognized that the younger generation is already using social media and developing their own presence as well as their own values. Thus, the participants think that it is vital for managers to make sure if the new candidates are a good fit for the news organizations and come up with the best tactics to incorporate new hires in their organizations' missions.

Limitations and future research

In order to target and gather rich data from journalists and managers with experience in social media, the study uses a small, purposive sample with one of the limitations being the inability to generalize results. While the research did not aim to achieve generalization, future studies can focus on a larger sample in order to achieve that goal. In addition, while the study highlighted some differences between managers and journalists and between younger journalists and more experienced journalists, the sample's average age and professional experience skewed to the older side. In addition, young female journalists in this study also show stronger opinions regarding online threats to individual journalists and the necessity of getting support from managers. Thus, future studies can target more specific demographics to better explore the topics of how different demographics perceived social media and management roles differently. For example, researchers can look into how professional experience affects the perceptions on social media use and social media management. In addition, more studies can be

conducted on the topic of the risks that female journalists face when they use social media to build their brand.

The sample of the study also consists of different types and sizes of news organizations, showing that each organization has its own way of managing its staff. For instance, news stations in corporate networks usually adapt corporate policy in managing journalists' social media use, while smaller news organizations are still lacking policy or are in the midst of coming up with their own social media policy. It is hard to draw a conclusion as to whether one way of management is better than the other or if those management tactics implemented in each organization are effective. Future studies can focus on building a case study at some specific organizations or implementing a mixed method using both content analysis of the social media policy and interviews of managers and journalists at the same organization to draw the conclusion of how the management of social media is perceived.

Conclusions

Compared to the extensive research regarding social media use in journalism, there is a very limited number of studies on the management of those activities. This study adds to that body of literature and also expands the scope of research topics. While previous research mostly focuses solely on social media policy, this study explores the perception regarding managers' roles, including setting visions, creating policy, communication, professional development, assessment and protecting journalists from harmful interactions.

The data suggested that journalists seek guidance from management to reduce uncertainty regarding their social media use, but managers are not always living up to

these roles. Journalists hope to receive guidelines regarding the role of social media in journalism work, best practices for social media and how to navigate the various perceived threats associated with social media use. Journalists are also looking for training and support from news organizations' leaders related to how best to conduct themselves over social media and how best to take advantage of social media's benefits. However, journalists do not perceive that leadership always comes from managers. While managers said that they recognize the importance of their roles and carry out the key functions identified with management one way or another, the question raised by some journalist participants is whether or not the implementation of managers' roles is effective. Some journalists who participated in the study said that they had received little training or were involved in few discussions regarding social media practice, with the result being that journalists resort to looking to or consulting with peers and colleagues for examples of best social media practices. Other participants discussed how their managers are less proactive in addressing social media issues, instead opting for reactive responses that do not set clear guidelines for what to do in the future. Some managers said that it might be impossible for them to monitor all staff posts in order to provide adequate guidance, especially at larger organizations. This finding of the study also raises the question of whether there should be a manager position that is solely dedicated to social media management like some organizations already implement in order to address the concerns regarding social media use.

The findings of this study also shows the differences in the perceptions of managers and journalists regarding social media use and professionalism. Managers expect journalists to function as an extension of their organizations' brand and use social

media not just for their news work but also to build the journalists' brand as well as promote the organization's brand. While managers and journalists recognize that personal engagement and subjectivity are harmful to both the journalists' and the organizations' credibility, there is less agreement on what the boundaries are. The common answers regarding this topic include managers telling journalists to either use common sense when conducting themselves over social media, how legacy media values still hold relevance for social media and still need to be maintained, or how journalists should strictly adhere to policy and the guidance of managers on what to do.

While participants recognized that a policy can serve as a guidance tool to establish best practices, they also discussed how the main role of policy is how it can be used as a safeguarding tool for both news organizations and journalists. Both managers and journalists expressed how newsrooms could benefit from a document that clearly outlines expectations and how a written policy that can be clearly referenced can be an invaluable tool for conflict mediation. Different from previous research where some managers and journalists expressed how having a social media policy is unnecessary, all participants in this study agreed on the importance of having a written policy.

The data shows that there remains confusion and uncertainty among journalists and managers on how to use social media and how to manage those activities. The journalists and managers in this study highlighted somewhat different perceptions. Managers expect journalists to help reach audiences and extend the news organization's brand through social media, while journalists expect managers to provide the guidelines and protocols to reduce uncertainty and reduce the potential risks that can occur from social media use in journalism work on both personal and professional level. The findings

of this study can serve as a guideline and example for both managers and journalists to find out what approaches other news organizations use to incorporate social media into their routine work, and what management practices are in place as well as what is suggested. Those can help them to better understand the impact of social media and come up with their best practices and management approaches.

References

Abrams, R. (2020). *Washington Post suspends a reporter after her tweets on Kobe Bryant*. The New York Times. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/27/business/media/kobe-bryant-washington-post-felicia-sonmez.html.

Adornato, A. C., & Lysak, S. (2017). You can't post that! Social media policies in U.S. television newsrooms. *Electronic News*, *11*(2), 80-99

Alexander, J. C., Breese, E. B., & Luengo, M. (Eds.). (2016). *The crisis of journalism reconsidered.* Cambridge. University Press.

Appelbaum, S. H., Bregman, M., & Moroz, P. (1998). Fear as a strategy: Effects and impact within the organization. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 22(3), 113-127.

Barr, J. (2021, May 27). *Associated Press tells staff it made mistakes in firing of Emily Wilder*. The Washington Post. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/media/2021/05/26/ap-wilder-firing/.

Bauder, D. (2021a). *AP's firing of journalist following tweets prompts outcry*. The Associate Press. Retrieved from https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-journalists-797ea15c03fadff692ced0f6dfc4281c.

Bauder, D. (2021b). *AP says it is reviewing social media policies after firing*. The Associate Press. Retrieved from https://apnews.com/article/social-media-media-business-arts-and-entertainment-55cee73bd1da80790ad4aacf3cb2e339.

Beam, R. A. (1990). Journalism professionalism as an organizational-level concept. *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, *121*.

Benabou, R., & Tirole, J. (2003). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. *The Review of Economic Studies*, *70*(3), 489-520.

Benton, J. (2021). *Freedom's just another word for "not sure what to do"*. Nieman Lab. Retrieved from https://www.niemanlab.org/2021/08/freedoms-just-another-word-for-not-sure-what-to-do/.

Berger, A. A. (2018). *Media and communication research methods: An introduction to qualitative and quantitative approaches*. San Francisco. Sage Publications.

Berggren, E., & Bernshteyn, R. (2007). Organizational transparency drives company performance. *Journal of Management Development,* 26(5), 411-417.

Bloom, T., Cleary, J., & North, M. (2016). Traversing the "Twittersphere." Social media policies in international news operations. *Journalism Practice*, 10(3), 343-357.

Boeyink, D. E. (1994). How effective are codes of ethics? A look at three newsrooms. *Journalism Quarterly*, *71*(4), 893-904.

Brown, F. (Ed.). (2020). *Journalism ethics: A casebook of professional conduct for news media*. Portland, Oregon. Marion Street Press.

Calderone, M. (2014, July 20). *CNN removes reporter Diana Magnay from Israel-Gaza after 'scum' tweet*. HuffPost. Retrieved from https://www.huffpost.com/entry/cnn-diana-magnay-israel-gaza_n_5598866.

Craft, S., & Heim, K. (2008). Transparency in journalism: Meanings, merits, and risks. In *The handbook of mass media ethics*. New York, N.Y. Routledge. 231-242.

Dal Zotto, C., & Van Kranenburg, H. (Eds.). (2008). *Management and innovation in the media industry*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Djerf-Pierre, M., Ghersetti, M., & Hedman, U. (2016). Appropriating Social Media: The

changing uses of social media among journalists across time. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(7),

849-860.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2017). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research 5th

edition*. San Francisco: Sage Publications.

Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists

reconsidered. *Journalism*, *6*(4), 442-464.

Drucker, P. (2008). Introduction: Management and managers defined; management as a social

function and liberal art; knowledge is all. *Management*, 1-25. New York, N.Y.: Harper

Collins.

Duffy, A., & Knight, M. (2019). Don't be stupid: The role of social media policies in journalistic

boundary-setting. *Journalism Studies*, *20*(7), 932-951.

Ferrucci, P. (2015). Public journalism no more: The digitally native news nonprofit and public

service journalism. *Journalism*, *16*(7), 904-919.

Finneman, T., Thomas, R. J., & Jenkins, J. (2019). "I always watched Eyewitness News just to see

your beautiful smile": Ethical implications of U.S. women TV anchors' personal branding

on social media. *Journal of Media Ethics*, *34*(3), 146-159.

Foreman, G. (2011). *The ethical journalist: Making responsible decisions in the pursuit of news*.

Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Fincham, K. (2021). Business as Usual: How Journalism's Professional Logics Continue to

Shape News Organization Policies Around Social Media Audiences. *Journalism

Practice*, 1-18.

Gade, P. J. (2004). Newspapers and organizational development: Management and journalist

      perceptions of newsroom cultural change. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*,

      6(1), 3-55.

Goldman, D. (2021). *AP explains why it fired Emily Wilder for pro-Palestinian tweets*. CNN.

      Retrieved November 24, 2021, from https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/30/media/ap-emily-

      wilder-firing/index.html.

Guo, L., & Volz, Y. (2021). Toward a new conceptualization of journalistic competency: An

      analysis of US broadcasting job announcements. *Journalism & Mass Communication*

      Educator, *76*(1), 91-110.

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment

      with data saturation and variability. *Field methods*, *18*(1), 59-82.

Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the news: The emergence of ambient journalism. *Journalism*

      practice, *4*(3), 297-308.

Hermida, A. (2013). # Journalism: Reconfiguring journalism research about Twitter, one tweet at

      a time. *Digital journalism*, *1*(3), 295-313.

Hohmann, J. (2010). *10 best practices for social media*. ASNE 10 Best Practices for Social

      Media. Retrieved from https://members.newsleaders.org/resources-practices.

Holton, A. E., & Molyneux, L. (2017). Identity lost? The personal impact of brand journalism.

      Journalism, *18*(2), 195-210.

Ihlebæk, K. A., & Larsson, A. O. (2018). Learning by doing: Perspectives on social media

      regulations in Norwegian news organizations. *Journalism Studies*, *19*(6), 905-920.

Kets De Vries, M. (1993). Managing the ambiguities of leadership and power. In M. Kets De

      Vries (ed.), *Leaders, fools and impostors*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 175-184

Kotter, J. P. (2012). *Leading change*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Kanter, R. M. (1984). *Change masters*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Khanom, A. (2021). Nothing routine: Television news management's response to COVID-19, organizational uncertainty, and changes in news work.

Lauk, E., & Harro-Loi, H. (2017). Mediadem| Journalistic autonomy as a professional value and element of journalism culture: The European perspective. *International Journal of Communication*, 11(19), 1956-1974.

Leach, Jan. 2009. "Creating ethical bridges from journalism to digital news." *Nieman Reports*, 63(3), 42-43. Retrieved from http://niemanreports.org/articles/creating-ethical-bridges-fromjournalism-to-digital-news/

Lee, A. M. (2015). Social media and speed-driven journalism: Expectations and practices. *International Journal on Media Management*, 17(4), 217-239.

Lee, J. (2015). The double-edged sword: The effects of journalists' social media activities on audience perceptions of journalists and their news products. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *20*(3), 312-329.

Lee, J. (2016). Opportunity or risk? How news organizations frame social media in their guidelines for journalists. *The Communication Review*, *19*(2), 106-127.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2017). *Qualitative communication research methods*. San Francisco, CA: Sage Publications.

Lowrey, W., & Gade, P. J. (Eds.). (2012). *Changing the news: The forces shaping journalism in uncertain times*. New York, N.Y. Routledge.

Marchionni, D. (2015). Journalism-as-a-conversation: An experimental test of socio-
psychological/technological dimensions in journalist-citizen collaborations. *Journalism*,
16(2), 218-237.

Maullo, M. J., & Calo, S. B. (n.d.). Policy management: an architecture and approach.
Proceedings of 1993 IEEE 1st International Workshop on Systems Management.
doi:10.1109/iwsm.1993.315293

McBride, K. (2021). *New NPR Ethics policy: It's OK for journalists to demonstrate (sometimes)*.
NPR. Retrieved from
https://www.npr.org/sections/publiceditor/2021/07/29/1021802098/new-npr-ethics-
policy-its-ok-for-journalists-to-demonstrate-sometimes.

Mitchell, B., & Steele, B. (2005). Earn your own trust, roll your own ethics: Transparency and
beyond. In *conference Blogging, Journalism, and Credibility: Battleground and Common
Ground at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Retrieved October* (Vol. 31, p. 2006).

Molyneux, L. (2015). What journalists retweet: Opinion, humor, and brand development on
Twitter. *Journalism*, *16*(7), 920-935.

Molyneux, L., Holton, A., & Lewis, S. C. (2018). How journalists engage in branding on
Twitter: Individual, organizational, and institutional levels. *Information, Communication
& Society*, *21*(10), 1386-1401.

Molyneux, L., & Mourão, R. R. (2019). Political journalists' normalization of Twitter:
Interaction and new affordances. *Journalism Studies*, *20*(2), 248-266.

O'Neill, T. (2020). *News 12 CT: anchor fired over "insensitive" social media post*. Connecticut
Post. Retrieved from: https://www.ctpost.com/local/article/News-12-CT-Anchor-fired-
over-insensitive-15613063.php.

Omar, B., Al-Samarraie, H., & Wright, B. (2020). Immediacy as news experience: exploring its

      multiple dimensions in print and online contexts. *Online Information Review*.

Opgenhaffen, M., & d'Haenens, L. (2015). Managing social media use: whither social media

      guidelines in news organizations?. *International Journal on Media Management*, *17*(4),

      201-216.

Opgenhaffen, M. & Scheerlinck, H. (2014). Social media guidelines for journalists: An

      investigation into the sense and nonsense among Flemish journalists. *Journalism*

      Practice, 8(6), 726–741.

Overholser, G. (2009). Finding a Good Fit-Journalism and Social Media-What Is Journalism's

      Place in Social Media?. *Nieman Reports*, *63*(3), 5.

Papenfuss, M. (2021). *Newsmax takes White House reporter off air after her tweet about*

      'Lucifer' vaccine. HuffPost. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from

      https://www.huffpost.com/entry/emerald-robinson-newsmax-covid-vaccine-lucifer-

      luciferase_n_61847d6be4b0a518ac9e0fd6.

Pollard, G. (1995). Job satisfaction among newsworkers: The influence of professionalism,

      perceptions of organizational structure, and social attributes. *Journalism & Mass*

      Communication Quarterly, *72*(3), 682-697.

Polus, S. (2021). *Newsmax reporter permanently suspended from Twitter after covid-19 claims*.

      TheHill. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from https://thehill.com/media/580865-

      newsmax-correspondent-emerald-robinson-suspended-from-twitter.

Przewoźna-Krzemińska, A. (2012). Motivational role of punishment and rewards in the

      organization–the system of penalties and rewards in a car dealership. *Corporate*

      Competitiveness, 289.

Robertson, K. (2021). *A.P. begins review of social media policy after journalist's firing*. The

    New York Times. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from

    https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/25/business/media/emily-wilder-associated-press-

    ap.html.

RTDNA Code of Ethics. RTDNA. (2014). Retrieved from

    https://www.rtdna.org/content/rtdna_code_of_ethics.

Sacco, V., & Bossio, D. (2016). Don't tweet this! How journalists and media organizations

    negotiate tensions emerging from the implementation of social media policy in

    newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, 5(2), 177-193

Sciullo, M. (2016). *Wendy Bell, fired over her controversial Facebook posts, says she didn't get*

    a 'fair shake'. Gazette. Retrieved from https://www.post-gazette.com/ae/tv-

    radio/2016/03/30/WTAE-TV-s-Wendy-Bell-fired-over-racially-inflammatory-

    messages/stories/201603300196.

Schudson, M. (1978). *Discovering the news: A social history of American newspapers.* New

    York, NY: Basic Books.

Schudson, M., & Anderson, C. (2009). Objectivity, professionalism, and truth seeking in

    journalism. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 108-121). New York, N.Y.

    Routledge.

Sharma, U., Ninan, T. N., Chopra, R., & Gupta, S. (2021, January 26). *NYT under fire for 'firing'*

    Scribe Over tweet, but many media houses now watch employees' posts. ThePrint.

    Retrieved from https://theprint.in/theprint-essential/nyt-under-fire-for-firing-scribe-over-

    tweet-but-many-media-houses-now-watch-employees-posts/591986/.

Sirkin, H. L., Keenan, P., & Jackson, A. (2005). The hard side of change management. *HBR's 10 Must Reads on Change*, *99*.

Soss, J., Fording, R., & Schram, S. F. (2011). The organization of discipline: From performance management to perversity and punishment. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *21*(suppl_2), i203-i232.

SPJ Code of Ethics. Society of Professional Journalists - Improving and protecting journalism since 1909. (2014). Retrieved from https://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp.

Stamm, K., & Underwood, D. (1993). The relationship of job satisfaction to newsroom policy changes. *Journalism Quarterly*, *70*(3), 528-541.

Sylvie, G., & Gade, P. (2009). Changes in news work: Implications for newsroom managers. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, *6*(1), 113-148.

Tandoc Jr, E. C., & Vos, T. P. (2016). The journalist is marketing the news: Social media in the gatekeeping process. *Journalism practice*, *10*(8), 950-966.

Thomas, R. J. (2019). Objectivity. *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*, 1-9.

Trochim, W. M., & Donnelly, J. P. (2001). *Research methods knowledge base* (Vol. 2). Mason, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.

Walker, M., & Matsa, K. E. (2021). *News consumption across social media in 2021*. Pew Research Center's Journalism Project. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/2021/09/20/news-consumption-across-social-media-in-2021/.

Walker, P. (2010. *Octavia Nasr fired by CNN over tweet praising late Ayatollah*. The Guardian. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/media/2010/jul/08/octavia-nasr-cnn-tweet-fired.

Ward, S. J. (2014). The magical concept of transparency. In *Ethics for digital journalists* (pp. 57-70). New York, N.Y. Routledge.

White, E. L. (2012). *New media in the newsroom: a survey of local journalists and their managers on the use of social media as reporting tools* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Willnat, L., & Weaver, D. H. (2018). Social media and US journalists: Uses and perceived effects on perceived norms and values. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(7), 889-909.

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2013). *Mass media research*. Boston, MA: Cengage Learning.

Zhang, X., & Li, W. (2020). From social media with news: Journalists' social media use for sourcing and verification. *Journalism Practice*, *14*(10), 1193-1210.

Appendix

Interview Protocol

1. How has social media use changed journalism in the past decade?

2. Are social media use controversial in journalism?

3. How would news organizations like to see journalists use social media?

4. How do journalists get off track in the use of social media in their work?

5. What are news managers' roles managing journalists' use of social media?

6. Does your organization provide guidelines for social media use?

7. Does your organization share best practices in social media use across the newsroom?

8. Does social media practices and analytics become an element of employees' annual evaluations?

9. What are the advantages of using social media in journalism work?

10. What are opportunities could journalists take better advantage of in their use of social media?

11. Does the expressive nature of social media conflict with the professional ethos of journalism?

12. What are the risks of journalists' using social media in journalism work?

13. Are social media policies necessary?

14. Are social media policies effective?

15. What should be key components of a policy?

16. Who should be involved in crafting social media policy?

17. How can journalists be engaged in social networks and maintain their

   independence?

18. Does objectivity maintain its professional value in a social media world?

19. How can journalists maintain their credibility and build their social media brand

   at the same time?

20. Which professional values can be enhanced through social media use?

21. What can – or should – news management be doing to guide journalists' social

   media use into the future?