Encouraging and inhibiting idea development at morning meetings in the newsroom

Ph.D.-dissertation

by

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Indhold

Prologue: Personal motivation and acknowledgments

This PhD delves into a specific institutional setting: The newsroom, budget, story or morning meeting, during which journalists and editors gather round a desk or table with the agenda to negotiate possible stories for the news.

The object of this study, the morning meeting, has a personal normative, but empirically based reason, as well as a theoretical and methodological point of departure. In this section I want to elaborate on my personal motivation for this PhD and thank the people, who have helped me.

Personal motivation

In 1989, as a journalist intern and a novice in the newsroom, I participated in the morning meetings. One of my first puzzling experiences with this institutional setting was a meeting, during which three senior reporters were ordered to immediately leave the meeting, and later they were banned from it for a considerable period of time. Their offensive demeanour? They were repeatedly negative and hostile during the meeting. In itself the suspension was surprising enough, but to me even more astounding was the three reporters' celebration of the punishment. They were happy to get out of there. One of them, Eigil Evert, was my mentor during this period of time, and throughout his impressive career he remained hostile towards the meetings. In his opinion they were demotivating. The editors had no right whatsoever to decide whether his ideas were worth pursuing or not. He felt that his integrity as a journalist was under pressure during the meetings, and that his motivation suffered badly when the editors did not unequivocally encourage him in the early stages of the idea phase, or even worse, if they wanted to pressure him to research and cover their ideas for stories. As a result, he often stayed away from the meetings, even when he wasn't explicitly banned from it. When he took part in them, he acted sullen and was reluctant to lift the veil of any of his stories, if they were not almost finished.

As an experienced journalist, I have taken part in many morning meetings: long or short, boring or engaging, motivating or demotivating, but always unpredictable and hard to control, as is the case with most aspects of news coverage. When I had a position as a subeditor for a while, I desperately tried to find literature on how to manage these meeting in order to improve my chances of mastering them. The legacy from Evert scared me. I was wary of the meetings' influence on productivity and motivation. However, there was nothing substantial on the subject to be found.

Instead I encountered other editors and journalists, who would like to learn more. There was definitely a demand for inspiring sources of knowledge on the meetings. I only found anecdotal evidence that the meetings are considered problematic. The British former BBC journalist Andrew Marr describes the meetings like this:

"Most editors – not all – see the morning conference as a crucial moment because it is how the paper's character is formed. Yet since they are partly about lists, even good news conferences can be a bit dull. I worked on one paper where they were virtually meaningless, being simply a monotone recital of typed lists, followed by everyone shuffling off again." (Marr, 2004, p. 211)

The Danish journalist and now executive director for news of the Danish public service broadcast corporation, Danmarks Radio, Ulrik Haagerup wrote: ”Another reason for the media's lack of ideas is the journalists' daily morning meetings. If you listen, at 9.30 on all weekdays, you can hear a collective sigh over Denmark." (Haagerup, 2006, p. 91)

According to Haagerup, it is the sigh of the editors who cannot make journalists come up with creative ideas, and who knows that the journalists hate these meetings and regard them as a waste of time.

The observations of Marr and Haagerup match my own experiences and were the basis for my personal interest in the setting as a tough nut to crack for practitioners. I realized there was a gaping hole in the toolbox for editors and others, who want to manage the meetings with less randomness and more skills.

When asking practitioners about their solutions to the problematic meetings, some react with a testimonial along this line: “If the editor is charismatic and intelligent enough, the meeting will be motivating and engaging.”

I am skeptical to boiling criterions of success at the meeting down to the propensities and characteristics of one individual. If you have ever tried working as a teacher or tried chairing a meeting you know very well that on some occasions even the best leader can be swept away by the mood of others. It takes more than one to tango in this type of setting.

Dedication and acknowledgements

This PhD is dedicated to Evert, even if he died years back. I am sure he would not like it. I am convinced he would have lamented my treachery of our trade as journalists, joining the dark forces of the so called experts in the ivory tower, and he would incredulously question my sanity to leave what he thought was the best and most important profession in the world: journalism. I would respond: There is no such thing as a hackademic. There are only good journalists and bad journalists. My aim is to make journalism better.

Of course, I take full responsibility for all the mistakes and flaws in this dissertation. However, this project would not have happened without the academic help, financial support, and critical eyes of my three supervisors Erik Albæk, Asbjørn Sonne Nørgaard and Johannes Wagner and the head of Centre for Journalism Peter Bro, to whom I am grateful for allowing me to be part of the academic circles and teaching me how to be a scholar.

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During my stay at the UCLA Center for Language, Interaction, and Culture I had the pleasure of being taught and supervised by Steve Clayman and John Heritage. They are both eminent scholars and meet newcomers with open arms.

The academic setting at UCLA was inspiring, and I wish that welcoming spirit could be part of all academic settings. Setting and scholars like that make you grow, even when you feel small.

I would also like to thank Morten Skovsgaard, Jonas Blom, David Nicolas Hopmann, Signe Pihl-Thingvad, Christian Elmelund-Præstekær, Arjen van Dalen, Heidi Jønch-Clausen, Dennis Day and Trine Heinemann for reading my first drafts and generally helping me, when I have been stuck with anything from EndNote to finding the right literature. Thanks to all the people from the university, who have suffered my mood swings.

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Introduction

This study is dedicated to uncovering how idea development is encouraged or inhibited at morning meetings in the newsroom. Morning meetings or news conferences constitute a daily event in the work process in media organisations. Every day, the journalists present their ideas to editors and colleagues at these meetings.

Ideas are the fuel of the machinery of the media organisation: Without ideas, no stories, without stories, no media, as Becker and Vlad state: “Story ideation will almost certainly remain the key process in news production” (2009). In this light the meeting is an interesting interactional setting to study, as it is part of the process through which ideas are accepted, rejected, modified or even neglected (Gravengaard and Rimestad 2012) in the newsroom.

Positioning the study

There are only a few studies of meetings in newsrooms. Most of them analyse the editorial meetings at which the editors negotiate what to put on the front page (Reisner 1992, Clayman and Reisner 1998, Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, Cotter 2010, Van Praet and Van Hout 2011) and not the prior morning meeting at which journalists present their ideas to the editor.

Some newsroom ethnographers have pointed to the meetings as a locus for socialisation, e.g. Soloski: “The editorial meeting is also crucial for understanding how the editor controls the content of the newspaper because it is during these meetings that he decides which stories to cover or ignore. The editor is not heavy-handed in making story decisions; nor will he not assign a reporter to a story because it may have policy implications. But his involvement in the story selection process minimizes confrontations with reporters over policy issues.” (1989) Soloski points to an implicit and subtle way of being socialized into the profession. So does Breed in his study from 1955: ”It is important to say here that policy is not stated in the news conference nor elsewhere, with few exceptions. The news conference actually deals mostly with journalistic matters, such as reliability of information, newsworthiness, possible angles and other news tactics” . Other scholars describe it as an explicit unfolding of the organisation’s policies: “One further socialization mechanism is the editorial conference, open to only the most experienced reporters. In these conferences, veteran reporters and newspaper management meet to discuss news coverage. As one reporter puts it: ‘The publisher is a very positive and articulate gentleman. He doesn’t mince words about what the newspaper’s policies are. If you sit in on an editorial conference with him over an extensive period of time, you’re going to know what the policy is, because he expresses it very definitely and frequently’.” (Sigelman 1973)

Hallin and Mancini have already pointed out that: “...the differences in how journalists actually do their work are larger than the differences in their survey responses...” (2004). And as can be seen from the two quotes, the editor can be very subtle and “not heavy-handed” in one setting, or he can express the policy “definitely and frequently” in another. This dissertation is based on video recordings of the actual interactions at the morning meeting and uses a microanalytical and comparative approach to study talk-in-interaction in this institutional setting. This makes it possible to discuss variations in the interactions at a local level.

This study does not focus on socialisation in particular, but rather on inductively identifying the patterns in the interactions at the meeting. The goal of the dissertation is twofold: To contribute to the existing academic literature, mainly newsroom ethnographies (Cottle 2000, Cottle 2007) and gate-keeping theory (White 1950, Berkowitz 1990, Clayman and Reisner 1998, Shoemaker, Eichholz et al. 2001), and to provide evidence-based tools for practitioners to improve the meetings with more idea facilitation. Benson claims that “news media tend to be studied more as a dependent than independent variable” (2004). This study sees the interactions as a dependent, but also independent variable, as the interaction is “woven into the texture” (Schegloff 2005) of the organisation and everything else around it, but also influences the “texture” (Drew and Heritage 1992, Heritage and Clayman 2010): The meeting and changes of the meeting can change norms and vice versa. Benson lists four reasons to study news production: 1) To understand (change in) journalistic practice (and help to improve it), 2) To facilitate a normative assessment of the state of the media, (and propose policy to improve the situation), 3) To understand why media content looks the way it does (which can affect the audience and society at large), and 4) To study underlying causal mechanisms and processes (2004). This dissertation studies practices in order to understand and help improve it, but also tries to discuss the implications.

After this brief outline, the introduction will describe the factors needed for creative idea development, the case selection will be discussed, and finally the five articles in the dissertation will be presented.

Ideas as crucial components

The ability to come up with suitable ideas (Gans 1979) is a key competency for journalists, as they are partly assessed by this ability, just as media organisations are assessed by their ability to produce good stories. Becker and Vlad point out "the antecedents of variation in story ideation techniques are worthy of exploration" (2009). One of the story ideation techniques is the elicitation and presentation of ideas at the morning meetings, as this is a forum in which ideas are negotiated.

According to Amabile, three areas constitute the needed basis for the ability to come up with ideas or be creative: intrinsic motivation, domain-relevant knowledge and ability, and creativity-relevant skills (Amabile 1983, Sternberg and Lubart 1999). The first factor, motivation, is generally high among journalists (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi et al. 2008), though the profession is under substantial change (Deuze 2005, Witschge and Nygren 2009). Domain-relevant knowledge and ability can be seen as dual: knowledge about and skills in journalism as a profession and knowledge about the topic or the beat that the journalist covers. Skills as a journalist are learned at journalism educations (Sparks and Splichal 1989, Splichal and Sparks 1994), while the other, knowledge about the beat, is more muddled: Some reporters cover a more or less defined topic for periods of time, and in this way gain knowledge about the topic. Others do not have their own beat. The third factor, creativity-relevant skills, is related to the way idea development or ideation is treated by the journalist and the team of journalists in the newsroom. This dissertation deals with the specific skills needed to facilitate and present ideas in morning meetings in the newsroom: How to elicit ideas, how ideas are presented and received, how novices experience the meeting, and how time is a constitutive factor at these meetings.

As Amabile points out, it is necessary to have the skills that are relevant to facilitate creativity: This study of the morning meeting can hopefully be a first step in that direction, because it analyses how ideas are facilitated or not facilitated at morning meetings.

Case selection

The dissertation is based on video recordings of meetings in two types of newsrooms: three different desks' morning meetings at a national paper were taped for five consecutive weekdays in 2008, and four regional TV stations within the same media organisation were taped for three consecutive days in 2011[1].

I wanted to compare two most different settings, and by choosing regional TV stations and compare them to a national newspaper I had a good basis for comparisons. Furthermore, I was interested in differences within the organisations, and by taping different settings or desks within the two companies I collected data with many possible angles. This choice of data made it possible to compare the two different media organisations, but also look into intra-organisational variations and even compare different editors' interactions with participants. The variations between and inside the two organisations are

[1] One of the articles is supplemented with data from a second study: Fieldwork with 12 interns. The data in this study is presented in the article "Socialisation at the morning meeting", as it is the only article in which that data is also used in this dissertation.

discussed primarily in the two articles about elicitations and presentations of ideas.

A relevant question to the data could be if the technological and economic development of news has not made this study of morning meetings outdated? The question is both yes and no. Yes, because some of the TV stations in the data have since the recoding of the meetings developed radically and do not have these meetings on a daily basis any more. The same can be said of many web-based newsrooms: The meetings are less frequent and more informal (Paterson and Domingo 2008, Domingo and Paterson 2011, Hartley 2012, Usher 2014). However, the study is still relevant, because the newspaper and many other news organisations maintain morning meetings as a daily occurring interactional event. As stated earlier "story ideation will almost certainly remain the key process in news production" (Becker and Vlad 2009), and there are still meetings dedicated to idea development in most media organisations. The ability to facilitate and participate in idea development at these meetings remains a core skill, and a skill that has not been studied in detail.

As Flyvbjerg (2001) claims: "the closer the researcher can get to the actual interactional level, the more the research can be used in collaboration with practitioners to discuss and maybe change practices". Or as Gardner et al. has stated: The development of a conscious "inner voice" can be helpful for developing moral codes in journalists' work: "The purest version of journalists gaining control of their work is when they call forth inner moral codes that help them resist illegitimate pressures and remain focused on the truth-seeking mission. They intentionally use these codes as ways of thinking or cultivating mental habits that act as a cautionary 'inner voice'." (2008) The more detailed and concrete the study of journalism can be, maybe the better the "mental habits" of journalists.

Method

The primary method in this dissertation is conversation analysis, the study of talk-in-interaction, combined with an applied approach. It is a set of methods which use audio or video recordings of social interaction in natural settings (Goodwin and Heritage 1990, Sidnell 2009, Heritage and Clayman 2010). The method, applied conversation analysis, is more thoroughly introduced in the first article in the dissertation.

In the following, I will chronologically present how the method works. First of all you need recordings in order to be able to deal with the complexity of the interactions. In this case, I had negotiations with two major Danish media organisations and was allowed to tape their meetings.

The method is to a large degree inductive, and hypotheses and research questions are generated after the data has been collected.

The next step in the process is to transcribe the recordings according to a system of conventions developed by conversation analysts (Jefferson 1984). This is done rigorously and is time-consuming, but the process of listening and transcribing is also the first phase of analysis, as you get closely acquainted to details in the data in this process.

The data is extremely rich and can be used for many analytical purposes. In this case, I was interested in the morning meeting as an institutional interaction. Institutional interactions are defined by an orientation towards certain goals, which means that there are certain constraints and norms prevailing at the interaction, inferential frameworks and particular procedures in this specific context. (Boden 1984, Schwartzman 1989, Asmuβ and Svennevig 2009, Heritage and Clayman 2010). Relevant question could be: What tasks do the participants orient towards, what roles do the participants create for themselves and each other, what are the constraints, and what patterns can be found in the interaction? Asking the questions will eventually point to patterns in the data.

After the transcription, the conversation analyst starts making collections of phenomena found in the data: In this case, the most central item in the interaction was eliciting and presenting ideas, and this became the focus of two of the articles in the dissertation.

In the next analytical stages, the method focuses on a number of key events in the interaction: How are turns constructed? How are the sequences organised, and what is the overall organisation of sequences? When is there a possible completion of an utterance? How is the next speaker selected?

The analysis of the data is done with respect to the participants in the data, and how they respond to an utterance. An invented example will help explain this logic: If a woman asks her partner: “Should we have a cup of coffee?”, the partner’s response could range from an outright positive response “yes, I would love that”, a minimal response as “okay”, “thanks” or “mm mh”, to the response “I’ll go make it”. The response to an utterance will “prove”, what the utterance “really” is: A question, a statement or maybe an implicit order or request, as the last response indicates. This “next turn proof procedure” (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008, Peräkylä 2011) means that the answer to how an utterance is to be interpreted is based on the data: The participant(s) will orient towards norms of the meeting or to the interaction as it takes place, and this is part of the analysis: “Virtually all turns at talk display – and are taken to display – their speaker’s understanding of ‘the current state of play’, that is, either (as the default) the just preceding turn relative to what has preceded *it* in the sequence, or some *earlier* turn which it is designed to target. For this reason, researchers who have arrived at some analysis of what some turn is doing can seek to ground that analysis in the displayed understanding by a co-participant in a subsequent turn or other form of responsive conduct – an understanding on which the next move in the interaction has been based. That is to say, there is a proof procedure internal to the data” (Schegloff 2005).

The integrity of participants in the meeting as “objects of inquiry in their own right” (ibid.) is at the center of the method. This makes it an interesting method for analyzing practices in a profession as journalism (Ekström 2007), because it is focused of the concrete interaction and the outcome of these interactions. Instead of focusing on institutions or other influences beyond the reach of the practitioner the method makes it possible to discuss the interactions of the participants at the meeting, and how the interactions can be done in many different ways. Eventually, this can point to other, better practices.

Contribution

This dissertation consists of 5 independent articles, all contributing to the main research question of how idea development is encouraged or inhibited at morning meetings in the newsroom. The five articles are presented in the table below.

Table 1: Overview of articles

Overview of the articles in the dissertation			
Article	**Title**	**Purpose**	**Journal**
1	Putting yourself out there. Applied conversation analysis as a way of bringing together practitioners and researchers	In this article, applied conversation analysis is demonstrated as a methodology to rethink and enforce newsroom studies.	Introduction to and arguments for the applied method
2	"What else do we have?" Eliciting new ideas at morning meetings in newsrooms	This article analyses how ideas are elicited. The interactional patterns point to different identities of the editor as moderator, facilitator or allocator of ideas for stories.	Not submitted yet
3	Presenting ideas at morning meetings. How ideas are presented and received at morning meetings	This article analyses how ideas are presented at newsroom meetings, and how the editor responds to the presentation of ideas. Most ideas, whether presented as assertions or not, are accepted by the editor. However, there are significant variances in the pattern when comparing the two different organisations and the 7 different desks within the two organisations.	Not submitted yet
4	Socialisation at the morning meeting. A study of how journalist interns are socialised to present ideas at morning meetings in the newsroom	In this ethnographic study, written in collaboration with Gitte Gravengaard from the University of Copenhagen, we examine how journalism interns present ideas at morning meetings. We analyse not only the idea presentation at the meeting itself, but also how editors treat the idea presentation, and how the interns perceive the situation of presenting ideas and discuss the implications for innovation and creativity in the newsroom.	Accepted for Applied Journalism and Media Studies
5	Focusing on deadlines. How orientation towards time is a constitutive normative constraint at meetings in media organizations	This article deals with the orientation towards time and deadlines at morning meetings in news organisations. Time is a central structuring factor at the meetings, and the prevailing norm of ensuring progression and keeping the deadline of the meeting constitutes important normative constraints on the meeting. The study shows how deadlines are pursued through verbal and non-verbal interaction, and how progression is achieved in a subtle way in order to handle issues of impoliteness or "losing face".	Accepted for Time & Society

The first article is an introduction to the method, applied conversation analysis. As the method has implications for the entire study and the choices made in the rest of the dissertation, I present the method thoroughly. Furthermore, the article argues for more cooperation between journalism researchers and practitioners. Journalism is in need of more evidence-based knowledge. Having encountered academic colleagues, who are reluctant in engaging directly with practitioners, this article is also meant as an encouragement for and recipe of closer cooperation. This article is not yet a full article, but needs more revision to become a full method paper.

The next four articles all contribute to main research question: All articles except the method article deal with issues that are central to the meeting as a setting for the development of ideas: elicitations and presentations of ideas, the novices' perception of and experience with the meeting, and time as a pervasive factor at the meetings.

The first step in the creative process is to ask for ideas. This can be done in many different ways from facilitating idea development to allocating stories, as the article "What else do we have?" describes and discusses. The editor can either encourage free idea presentation or make sure all heads are accounted for. On the one hand, there is a wish to support open idea development and creative news stories, which is done when the editor facilitates ideation. On the other hand, the editor is also the allocator of the work that needs to be done. The two roles have consequences for the ensuing presentation of ideas.

The next step in the process of idea development is the presentation of ideas, and in article 3 the focus is on how ideas are presented and received at morning meetings**.** Presenting an idea for a news story can be achieved in different ways – from an assertion to different types of proposals. Most ideas are accepted, but there are significant variances in the patterns when comparing the two different organisations and the 7 different desks within the two organisations.

In article 4, the study looks more closely at a certain group of participants in the meeting: The journalist interns, who are not yet used to the format of the meeting. This article, made in collaboration with Gitte Gravengaard from the University of Copenhagen, analyse how ideas are presented, but combine this with the interns' perception of the situation, when they present ideas. Some of the interns perceive the meeting as an exam and make an effort to fit in. This might be counterproductive to idea development from this "new blood" in the newsroom, and the article proposes solutions to both editors and educators.

The last article deals with deadlines, and how deadlines influence the meeting in two ways. The meeting has a deadline, and the media organisation has to deal with deadlines on the news. This poses normative constraints on the meeting and the development of ideas. The study shows how deadlines are pursued through verbal and non-verbal interaction, and how progression is achieved in a subtle way in order to handle issues of impoliteness or "losing face".

All articles can be seen as contributions to newsroom studies, but with a strong focus on the concrete interactions: The dissertation analyses specific interactional patterns taking place in the newsroom, when ideas are discussed. The dissertation has its basis within the literature about gatekeeping and the selection of news, as it describes and analyses interactions during which the selection of stories takes place, but the level of analysis is the individual and the individual in the interaction with others in a specific context: the morning meeting. The comparative aspect in the study also contributes, as intra-organisational variations can be found, and these variations confirm the need for more studies of these variations in practices: Instead of looking at countries or media types, it is interesting to compare organisations, desks or even individuals as units of study. The variations can be substantial on these levels, and this type of study can provide new knowledge about practices that can be used in developing or at least informing about better practices.

Of course, a study like this one opens the floodgates to new ideas of what to study. First of all, the method could be applied to many more settings: For example the study of news interviews that are not transmitted on radio or TV; the negotiations with sources and the face-to-face talks with colleagues and editor. Generally, it could be productive to record and analyse all interactions that journalists have during the working day in order to see how they work and be able to discuss the details in this.

Secondly, using data from interactions both across and inside organisations can lead to interesting finding of variations. Maybe countries are not the most interesting variable to work with? Maybe there are more variations at a local level that could contribute to the research. Last, but not least, more research of practice might be used to educate better practitioners, as studies of interactions can be used to discuss practices: Best practices and not best practices can be described and documented, and this might lead to more evidence-based teaching of best practices.

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Putting yourself out there

Applied conversation analysis as a way of bringing together practitioners and researchers

Abstract

The historical lack of cooperation between journalism researchers and practitioners leaves an uncomfortable gap, which educators strive to bridge as journalism studies become more academic. This article has two aims: First of all normatively arguing for more cooperation between journalism researchers and practitioners, secondly, exemplifying how this can be done with the discussion of and elaboration on a case: Applied conversation analysis is demonstrated as one methodology to rethink and enforce newsroom studies. The analysis and ensuing dialogical dissemination can supply practitioners not only with material for reflections, but also with arguments and tools for changing practices, and in this way bridge the gap between practitioners and scholars.

Keywords

Newsroom studies, journalism practice, journalism research

The gap between practice and research

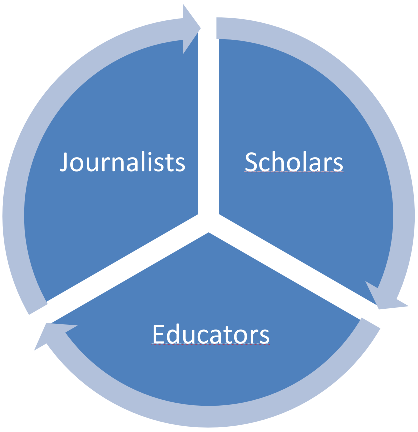
The gap between journalism practitioners and researchers has existed for a long time and still persists (Conboy, 2013). In contrast to other professions as medicine or law, where practitioners historically have studied at the same academic institution as and been taught the profession by researchers studying the field, the study of journalism and the practice of journalism have generally been relatively divided and mutually suspicious (Josephi, 2009; Zelizer, 2004; Zelizer, 2013; Harcup, 2011; Carey, 2000). As a consequence, the upswing of the academic journalist (Terzis, 2010; Niblock, 2007; Sparks and Splichal, 1994) has revealed obvious and uncomfortable gaps of knowledge left by this lack of community between researchers and practitioners.

As Skinner, Gasher, and Compton (2001) points out in one criticism of this divide, the traditional craft-based approach to teaching journalism misses “a clear understanding” of the complexities of e.g. news production. They lament that educators put the “larger ideological dimensions of news values, story form and narrative structure, and the commercial influences on principles of layout and design" (ibid.: 245) as secondary compared to practical skills. The question is: How can educators combine the practical skill level with these "larger ideological dimensions"? How can they teach best practice in all aspects of news productions in order to achieve the goal of e.g. being public service media and contributing to public conversation without the right evidence-based tools for teaching it adequately?

This article normatively argues for more and better cooperation between researchers and practitioners to bridge the gap between them and in this way equip educators with adequate tools to teach practice as not only experience-based, but also evidence-based knowledge. The article also provides a concrete example of how this can be done in practice, and this will demonstrate how disseminating research directly to practitioners not only sharpens the researcher's ability to present results in a fair, clear and adequate manner, making the research transparent and legible to people outside of academia. It also validates findings, as practitioners will comment on results that are incomprehensible, unfair or untrue to them. Furthermore, the dialogue with practitioners is extremely relevant to the academic researcher, as practitioners might contribute to the understanding of the data, making other aspects relevant, thus enriching the analysis. In the dialogue with practitioners, the reasons for the state of affairs and the implications of changes to the state of affairs become evident to the researcher and the practitioner, and new interesting areas of research emerge. Putting yourself out there, in collaboration with practitioners, could be key to a stronger profession with norms that are more evidence-based than is the case now.

Media scholars, practitioners and educators have failed to cooperate productively and seem to be operating in connecting, but not very well-connected fields (Zelizer, 2013). The groups have been "often at odds with one another, each maintains that the others fail to understand what journalism is about" (ibid.: 143-144). This can be illustrated as in figure 1.

Figure 1. Connecting, but not connected fields (adapted from (Zelizer, 2013))



Especially educators are left in "an uneasy spot between practical and academic studies" (Josephi, 1999: 45), as they struggle to teach students journalism in an academic environment, but to a large degree without the academic knowledge on which teaching is supposed to be based. Educators – often practitioners recruited from media organisations – teach practice as it is practiced, bringing in as much theory as possible (Terzis, 2009), but this does not necessarily result in teaching best practice or the practice needed the most to support media as a pillar in a modern democracy (Entman, 1989; Patterson, 1980), as much research mainly contributes with adequate tools for reflections and self-criticism, but inadequate concrete tools for changes in practice (Josephi, 1999).

As Flyvbjerg (2002) has argued, social sciences in general need to consider values and ethics in order to make social science matter. This is also the case for journalism studies. Flyvbjerg proposes that research consists of three questions: 1) Where are we going? 2) Is it desirable? 3) What should be done? Sometimes supplemented by a fourth question: Who gains, and who loses, by which mechanisms of power? This *phronesis*, which is Aristotle's term (Thomson and Tredennick, 1976) for practical wisdom or prudence, can best be achieved in close cooperation with the individuals in the study as: "...social science is inextricably bound up with context and that phronetic social science must be carried out with a high sensitivity to that context." (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 165).

"High sensitivity to context" can only be produced with a deeper understanding of that context, and this will involve close contact with those studied. This article is an attempt to inspire other scholars to help bridge the gap rather than just lament it.

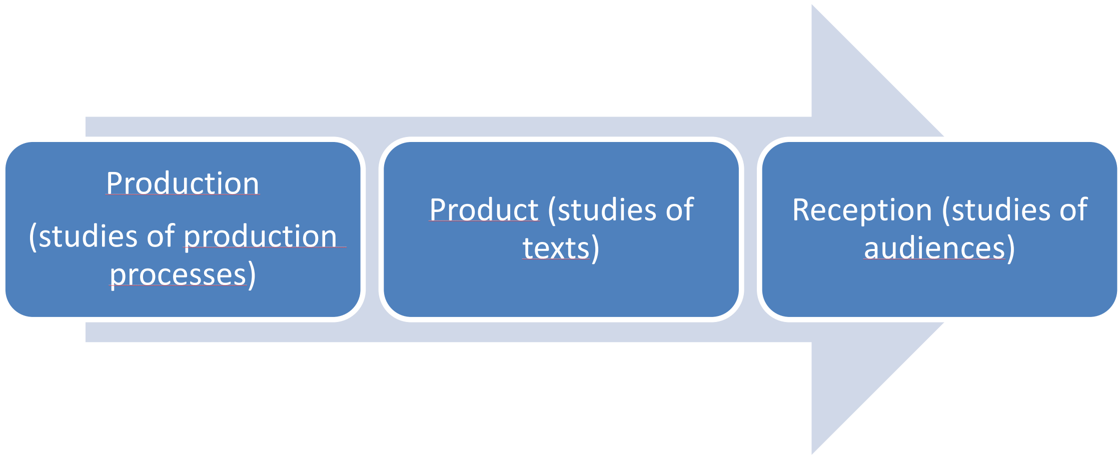
Why a gap?

The gap between scholars and practitioners has been created by several factors.

First of all, the literature on news media content and media behaviour does not describe the process in its entirety, but rather freezes glimpses of certain characteristics of products, people, organisational or societal structures, and normatively assesses these facets of the whole, while sometimes disregarding the entirety which constitutes the daily experience of the practitioner, or neglecting the role of the practitioner. This has made it more difficult for practitioners to recognize themselves in these depictions. As Zelizer puts it: “Partial, often uncompromisingly authoritative, and reflective far more of the academic environments in which they have been tendered than the journalistic settings they described, these views failed to capture the life I knew.” (Zelizer, 2004; p. 2)

Traditionally, media research has focused on one area, production process as in many ethnographic studies, product as primarily seen in content analysis, or studies of audiences and reception of texts (see figure 2). In this fragmented approach, the entire process has been invisible.

Figure 2: Connected, but in academia not connecting parts of the process



Adapted from: (Jensen, 2013; Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2010)

Secondly, some practitioners have not been able to relate to the descriptions or use the criticism constructively, because of the nature of the dissemination of the research. Academic dissemination is often very abstract generalizations and dwells on the structures, while the individual journalist is interested in the practical, hands-on approach in the context in which they work. These generalisations about journalism can be criticized for failing “to take into account the discursively situated professional motivations of news workers.” (Catenaccio et al., 2011: 1849). As Hallin and Mancini have pointed out:“... the differences in how journalists actually do their work are larger than the differences in their survey responses, which are heavily shaped by cross-national normative expectations and aspirations.” (2004: 303) Academic literature provides food for thought and critical self-reflection (Niblock, 2007; Schön, 1983), but it is hard for the individual journalist to translate this general knowledge into a change of practices without concrete tools? (Zelizer, 2004; Burns, 2012)

Thirdly, it seems that researchers have been just as reluctant to engage directly with the field, as practitioners have been to accept new knowledge from researchers (Zelizer, 2013; Conboy, 2013). There are many solid reasons for this: Researchers need to keep an objective distance, ensuring their integrity and maintaining the right to decide which data to analyse and how to interpret the results. Of course, this is combined with more practical reasons, as e.g. the one Paterson and Zoellner points to: “To become a working member of a media production team, much less offer an organization advice, necessitates that the researcher has some combination of professional skill and knowledge which an organization would be hard pressed to find elsewhere. This is unlikely to be the case for many ethnographers of media production" (2010: 105). Also, researchers have had a hard time gaining access to newsrooms (Harcup, 2011), as some practitioners do not consider it worth the while to let researchers gain access.

Fourthly, these factors have contributed to a tense relationship and a lack of mutual understanding between practitioners and academics in journalism studies (Josephi, 2009; Zelizer, 2004; Harcup, 2011; Hujanen et al., 2008; Errigo and Franklin, 2004), and this has complicated the development of collaboration in a productive and constructive exchange of knowledge.

This article presents one method, applied conversation analysis, which requires cooperation between practitioner and researcher, and a case study exemplifies how cooperation can be executed in practice. However, first I want to elaborate on the tradition of newsroom studies, as conversation analysis can be seen as a supplement to and distinct development of newsroom studies.

Ethnographies in the newsroom

Cottle (2000; 2007) has argued for more ethnographic research, a "second wave" of newsroom studies. The arguments for more ethnography have been related to the changes in the field as, for example, new technological advances and convergence (Cottle, 2007; Boczkowski, 2004; Steensen, 2009; Deuze, 2004; Singer, 2008; Usher, 2014; Anderson, 2013), economic crisis, political changes and labour market turbulence (Ryfe, 2012), or a break with the traditional view of the newsroom as an entity, wishing for more multisite ethnography and more focus on freelancers and other significant interactions taking place outside the newsroom (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2010). New studies of this kind provide more material for reflections and substantiate the knowledge of how news is produced today, but this alone will not necessarily provide the tools for bridging the gap between scholars and practitioners.

Conversation analysis, as used in this article, is part of a new type of newsroom and journalism research, media linguistics (Catenaccio et al., 2011; Cotter, 2010a; Perrin, 2013; Van Hout and Van Praet, 2011), which combines traditional ethnography with a closer, linguistically based study of the interactions in the newsroom. It is described as an "ethnographic, field-based, interaction-oriented news production research" (Catenaccio et al., 2011: 1846), and multiple methods can be used from critical discourse analysis (Van Hout and Van Praet, 2011) to transdisciplinary action research

(Perrin, 2012), and in this project conversation analysis. One of the goals of media linguistic is to engage more dialogically with practitioners and, for example, to "help develop specific knowledge transfer projects for journalism education" (ibid.: 1849), as is also the aim of this project.

In other words, this article will not focus on *where* ethnography should take place, but rather discuss *how*, as it will exemplify how other methods, e.g. conversation analysis, may lead to new findings, and how this approach, when applied to the field, can be a significant resource to the cohesiveness between practitioner and researcher. Applied conversation analysis and other applied approaches could constitute a "third wave" of newsroom studies with a potential for improving the grounds for a more evidence-based teaching of journalism.

After this introduction, I will introduce conversation analysis and applied conversation analysis.

The study of talk-in-interaction

Conversation analysis, CA, is the study of talk-in-interaction, and the empirical data consist of naturally occurring interactions, which are video and/or audio taped. The overall question in conversation analysis is "why that now?", and the basis of analysis consists of looking at e.g. how participants use turn taking; how they design their turn, how the sequences are organised, interruptions and repairs (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990; Heritage and Clayman, 2010; Sidnell, 2009; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007). Distinctive to CA is the "next turn proof procedure" – how an utterance is to be understood in the context can be seen from the next speaker's or speakers' turns. An invented example to explain this logic: If a woman asks her partner: "Should we have a cup of coffee?", the partner's response could range from an outright positive response "yes, I would love that", a minimal response as "okay", "thanks" or "mm mh" to the response "I'll go make it". The response to an utterance will "prove", what the utterance is: A question, a statement or maybe an implicit order or request, as the last response indicates. The analysis of the data is based on the interactions and the "lived experience".

So far, CA has mainly been used as a method in journalism studies analysing news interviews (Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Heritage and Clayman, 2010; Nielsen, 2001; Ekström et al., 2012; Ekström, 2001). Only a few conversation analytical (Reisner, 1992; Clayman and Reisner, 1998; Kärreman and Alvesson, 2001; Gravengaard and Rimestad, 2012) as well as discourse analytical studies (Cotter, 2010b; Van Hout and Van Praet, 2011) have been done in the newsroom so far.

The most familiar way of understanding applied conversation analysis is that the researcher can “shed light” on the workings of an institution (Antaki, 2011: 1) and suggest improvements, while “interventionist applied CA” takes it one step further: “...it is applied to an interactional problem which pre-existed the analyst’s arrival; it has the strong implication that a solution will be identified via the analysis of the sequential organisation of talk; and it is undertaken collaboratively, achieved with people in the local scene” (Antaki, 2011: 8).

The applied approach of course entails “dissemination of some sort” (Heritage and Robinson, 2011: 16). This dissemination is crucial and pivotal to applied CA, and in the following, I will elaborate chronologically on how I worked with journalists at a Danish regional TV station, collaborating on the development of the morning meeting as an institutional interaction.

The morning meeting in the newsroom

In 2011, I videotaped morning meetings at four different regional TV stations three consecutive days in order to use conversation analysis in the study of these meetings. Flyvbjerg’s three questions: 1) Where are we going? 2) Is it desirable? 3) What should be done? implicitly guided the collaboration, as will be demonstrated in the following chronological description of the collaboration.

Gaining access

The key to and the hard part of this type of research is gaining access to the newsroom and being allowed to videotape the meetings.

Studies have indicated that it might be easier for journalists or ex-practitioners to gain access to the newsroom (Paterson and Zoellner, 2010), but basically we do not know the arguments used for obtaining access. My claim, though not validated, would be that a relevant, concrete and potentially useful project for the practitioners would be harder for them to refuse, while a diffuse and abstract project with no obvious relevance for practitioners will more likely be turned down.

However, access to tape these meeting was not easy for me either. At first I worked hard to find “ambassadors”, people who would recommend me, and then made a kind of snowballing effect encouraging new data providers to talk to others, who had previously let me tape their meetings. While negotiating permission to videotape morning meetings, I promised to “give something back” to the people participating in the meetings. I did not promise feedback as a way to gain access, but rather perceived it as an integral and central part of my project. My overall goal was to engage directly with practitioners and contribute to practice as well as academia.

The negotiations for access might be easier, if the participants sense that they can use the research in the future. In the negotiations I presented myself as an ex-practitioner and a collaborator, pointing to the mutual interests as better practitioners, better educators of journalists, and mentioning the potential for improving the meetings with more knowledge. But I also presented myself as the researcher with the goal of collecting data for my study and made no promises to come up with certain solutions for specific problems.

Data collection and analysis

After access was granted, the collection of the data commenced. I tended to avoid contact with the data providers as much as possible in this phase, as any dialogue might influence the way participants behave on the recordings. They were informed that they would be videotaped, how it would be used and by whom and for what purpose. But this was done via mail and not as a dialogue.

This avoidance of contact also meant that I refused engaging in discussions or answering questions, except on the formalities and practicalities of the taping. If confronted directly by an editor or a journalist, I excused myself, while explaining that the more I said, the more I might influence the data, and furthermore promised to get back to the person after the taping was finished.

The elaborate listening to and rough transcriptions of the tapes constitutes a first step in the next phase of the project, during which I – again – do not communicate with the practitioners. In conversation analysis, this phase is to a large degree inductive and open-minded, and though I had the informal discussions with practitioners in the initial contact with the data providers, keeping an open mind is important in this phase.

Matching of expectations

After the analysis, I made it clear in the dialogue with the decision makers at the TV stations that the stations could decide what kind of and how much collaboration they wanted after my initial analysis of the data, but I could not promise to deliver specific content or results for them, as the data is the basis for the analysis, and I could provide only what was actually on the tapes and not necessarily answer all kinds of questions they might have.

One station did not want much feedback, but just a short presentation. Two stations invited the editors to a meeting to discuss the data with me, while the last station, as a first step, invited a large group of editors and subeditors, and as a second step arranged a one and a half hour evening session, to which all employees at the station were invited.

It is the latter case, I will present here, as it contains the most extensive palette of illustrative examples of the concrete dissemination and dialogue we had. I will describe the different interactions with the TV station in chronological order and, on the way, point to some of the central discussions I had with the participants. Furthermore, I will present my reflections on how this links to the more general discussion of how to bridge the gap between researchers and practitioners.

Before, during and after the video taping of the meeting my contact at the station was an editor, Tom[2]. Through the conversations we had, I learned what he considered to be the main problems with the meetings. The challenge he mentioned the most, and which all the editors participating in the project were interested in, was what Tom termed “more qualified ideas” and more “tricks to control creativity”. Explicitly, he emphasised that they were not just after more ideas, but needed tools for making sure that suggestions for stories were not just taken straight out of press releases or “a photo copy of some other media’s homepage”, as he put it.

As I viewed the videotapes, one of the observations was that the editors at the regional TV stations seemed reluctant to accept ideas from the journalists at all. Comparing with

[2] The editor has been anonymized as part of the contract with the TV stations.

other data from a national newspaper, the disparities were clear. The editors at the paper would for example ask: “What is the best story for tomorrow?” as an opening for the journalists to present their story ideas, or the editor would directly request an individual journalist for his ideas. In contrast, the editors at the TV stations would routinely start by stating their own ideas at length, in the process determining what stories they wanted done, and how the stories should be executed. At the TV stations, the open request for ideas could be phrased for example like this: “Does anyone else have anything else”, after the editor’s presentation. As a consequence, the journalists at the TV stations presented fewer ideas than at the paper.

<u>The first meeting with editors</u>

After the initial analysis of the data, I prepared for the first meeting with the editors. This dialogue answered the first of Flyvbjerg’s questions, “Where are we going?” I produced a hand-out with my observations for the editors, e.g the low frequency of idea presentation. At the meeting I intentionally did not present my findings as my first move. I initiated the meeting with playing excerpts from the videos for the editors, asking content questions or wh-questions as “What do you think of this excerpt?” or “What do you want to achieve by doing that?”, when showing a clip of an idea being turned down.

Instead of posing my view as a starting point, I tried to facilitate their debate and combine the editors’ views with my observations, whenever possible. This makes the dialogue more equal, and I show that I am not there to make normative comments on their behaviour from my point of view, but am genuinely interested in their own observations and opinions. I regarded the interaction as a dialogue and a discussion, not a lecture, and I behaved accordingly.

Showing tapes to a group of editors is evidently a sensitive situation, as the setting is professional and under scrutiny by an outsider, the researcher, and the scrutiny of the present colleagues. Unfortunately, the editor on the tapes from this particular case did not participate in any of the meetings at the TV station after the data collection. This made it even more important for me to be fair and not in any way put “blame” on him for not facilitating ideation adequately, as this was not my point. If the journalists are used to presenting many ideas as a natural part of the agenda of the meeting, one editor will not be able to stop this routine. In other words, I avoided pointing out any individual's behaviour as problematic. Instead, I focused on the relations. For example what questions are asked, and how are they responded to, and how does that correspond with other findings from the conversation analysis tradition, from other newsroom settings, or with the issues the TV station wants on their agenda.

At the meeting with the editors, one vehement debate was about the presentation of more ideas. The editors discussed whether they wanted people to actually present ideas at all. Due to time constraints, tight resources, limitations in the organisation, some of the editors argued that maybe no or little idea presentation at the meetings was best for all: There was no need for more ideas, as the editors thought that they could produce the best ideas anyway. This point of view surprised me. First of all, because other data from other meetings document how editors implicitly and explicitly expect idea presentation from the journalists. This seems to be the main point of the meeting. Secondly, because Tom, my contact person at the station, had pointed to this particular issue, asking me how to change it. During this debate, I either remained quiet or asked neutral questions as "Why do you consider it a problem?", "Has this always been the case?" or "What will be the consequences if you gave room for more ideas?" After their debate, the editors concluded that predictability and the need for control had maybe preceded the need for original ideas from all participants at the meetings, and they decided to try to promote more ideas.

In this process the editors answered Flyvbjerg's second question: "Is it desirable?" Some of the veterans at the station stated that previously the staff, editors as well as reporters, had been more focused on "wilder" idea processes: The norms had changed gradually over time. As one participant said: "We have become administrators instead of innovators and creative journalists. Do we want that?" As a consequence of this debate, the editors decided that the morning meetings in their present form and the low frequency of idea presentation were not desirable.

<u>The second meeting with all employees</u>

One month or so later, I returned to meet with editorial employees at the TV station. Around 25 people participated. At this meeting the editor in charge first told employees about the results from the annual employee survey. The survey documented that the satisfaction with the morning meetings had declined, and the results were poorer than for some of the other parameters in the survey. After this introduction, I showed my excerpts – again with few comments, mainly telling the participants what to notice e.g. "How is the idea received in this excerpt?" The journalists and other employees then discussed in smaller groups what prevents ideas from being presented. This question was chosen by the editors as a way of facilitating the discussion, and I had discussed the framing of the debate with Tom prior to the meeting.

Among the points the participants made during the ensuing dialogue were: The editor was "not open" to other ideas than his own; "the day is already planned" when sitting down at the meeting; and the story budget held the "idea development in a stranglehold", as one participant put it. After this debate, the editor asked two more questions to be discussed with others in smaller groups: "What do you expect of yourself? What do you expect of the editor?" The aim of this debate was to end the meeting with concrete steps to a better climate for presenting ideas in the future.

This discussion resulted in a plan of action with several recommendations, which are not all presented here. Among them were: The editors should focus more on facilitating ideas than on what was planned and on the story budget already present, and journalists should offer more ideas. Furthermore, it was agreed that short silences to think during the meeting should be encouraged more frequently. The outcome of the discussions would answer Flyvbjerg's third question: "What should be done?"

My role during these discussions was relatively withdrawn. I acted more as an observer than participant even though I joined in or was summoned a few times as an "expert". For example, an intern stated that he felt comfortable with being given a story, while others, more mature journalists, said that they would like more free exchange of ideas. The novice was clearly unhappy to admit his reluctance to join the majority's appraisal of free ideation, and I underlined that my studies have shown that novices generally have a hard time coming up with new ideas every day, especially in the beginning of their internship. If novices are not supported in some way, they will be reluctant to come forward with ideas at all. I was also asked to comment on the idea of having two minutes to think during the meeting. The literature on creativity states that time to think can improve a brainstorm, engaging more individuals and providing better ideas.

Evidently, in this type of interaction the researcher's role changes from "neutral", quietly observing and distanced, to "not-neutral", participating and engaged. In the specific context of this case I was a researcher and knowledge disseminator, but also participant, facilitator, collaborator and ex-practitioner. I took on that role in order to "transfer knowledge" (Catenaccio et al., 2011) from my research to the practitioners.

Discussion

So how can a project as the one described help bridge the gap between practitioners and researchers?

Flyvbjerg's three questions: 1) Where are we going? 2) Is it desirable? 3) What should be done? can be transformed into the context of the case: 1) How do we handle the morning meeting now? 2) Is that desirable? 3) What should be done?

None of these questions can be answered by the researcher alone. The first question is answered by combining the data with the expectations, experiences and opinions of the practitioners as shown in the previous case. And the next two questions imply an applied approach with the practitioners as primary decision makers and executors of change, if a change is desired. If the participants in a project are not motivated for or interested in the consequences or implications of a change, nothing will change. However, with the right kind of documentation practitioners will go through a process of change, if it makes sense to them.

Some researchers might claim that these practices are hard or even impossible to change, making the research fruitless, because the determinant structures and professional norms are too strong for substantial change. For example, prevailing norms about a low frequency of idea presentation might be crucial to the frictionless flow of news production, but at the time inhibits development of more creative stories, angles and themes. However, all change starts with individuals doing something else than before.

This article shows that one way to change structures is by providing practitioners and individuals with 1) knowledge about practice in order to encourage reflection, 2) arguments for other practices in order to provide motivation for change and combine this with 3) very concrete, practical and applicable tools to facilitate change. In other words, if either one of these three components, knowledge, reasoning or concrete tools, is missing, then the "structures" will be too strong and the motivation low for a change. If a practice entails a problematic process or a problematic outcome, then the practitioners need an alternative way of handling it.

Repairing the gap

This article has outlined some of the origins of and problems with the gap between practitioners and researchers.

Some researchers make claims or present findings, not considering whether these claims or findings are relevant, epistemically accessible or even evidentially consistent in the eyes of the practitioners. This, in itself, might not be problematic, but if the aim is to bridge the gap between practice and academia, profession and research, that type of approach might very well be counterproductive to collaboration.

A “third wave” of ethnography, which is based on media linguistics and involves closer cooperation with practitioners and the bipartite transfer of knowledge, is one way to bridge the gap. In this article, conversation analysis has been presented as one of the methods, which can prove to be useful, as the data and data analysis is accessible, credible and intelligible to practitioners.

However, this is just one example of methods and dissemination of research, and as more practitioners are educated from academic institutions, the scope of new approaches to the field will also grow. Both practitioners and students could prosper if scientific knowledge combined with practical knowhow of and “prudence” in judging whether a certain action or procedure is desirable or not and whether this action could be substituted with another and more fruitful action.

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“What else do we have?”

Eliciting new ideas at morning meetings in newsrooms

Keywords

Newsroom study, morning meetings, conversation analysis, ideas,

Abstract

This article analyses how ideas are elicited at 26 morning meetings in two types of newsrooms. Several practices can be seen when participants at morning meetings are asked to present their ideas. This article looks for interactional patterns significant to this particular practice, pointing to different identities of the editor as moderator, facilitator or allocator of ideas for stories. The aim of the article is twofold: First of all it describes the practices, as it unfolds in the data; secondly it points to the patterns emerging from the data, discussing the implications of the different ways of eliciting ideas during the meeting.

Introduction

Getting and presenting ideas for news stories is a “key process in news production” (Becker and Vlad, 2009: 70) and as such it is crucial, not only in the production process for the media outlet, but to the individual journalist who is evaluated on his or her ability to come up with suitable ideas (Gans, 1979).

The most central interactions in which journalists and editors meet to discuss these ideas for news stories is the morning meeting, which generally takes place every weekday in the newsroom. The overall goal of the morning meeting is to identify the best ideas of the day, creating and revising the list of potential stories, but the meeting also contributes to the editor’s overview of stories, so the prioritisation of resources can be handled in accordance with the prioritisation of actual and potential news stories in the production process. The editor deals with this prioritisation in a series of negotiations with individuals, and the newsroom meeting can be seen as the most central joint negotiation with the most participants present, and in this aspect is an interesting locus for the study of the decision making.

Some of the earlier authors in the tradition of newsroom studies used metaphors to describe this decision-making process, for example the concept of learning “by osmosis” (Breed, 1955), or policies not explicitly stated but “sitting in the walls” (Furhoff, 1986). These metaphors indicate that the process is relatively subtle and has been hard to pinpoint. We still know little about how the concrete decision-making process at the individual level takes place in the newsroom. Only few researchers have recorded and analysed interactions in the newsroom (Van Praet and Van Hout, 2011; Kärreman and Alvesson, 2001; Clayman and Reisner, 1998; Reisner, 1992), and most of these study the editors’ discussions about the front page and the prioritisation of the possible news stories, while this study looks into one of the first observable presentations and receptions of news stories: The moment, in which the editors and journalists elicit and present new ideas for and decide what to cover.

This article deals with the specific interactions by analysing video recordings of the morning meetings. The elicitation can be done in many different ways, as the editor accomplishes different identities as moderator, allocator or facilitator of ideas, and this article presents a systematic way of looking at these elicitations in an institutional context. In the data, the elicitations are used as openings, closings (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973; Nielsen, 2013) or progression markers (Schegloff, 2007) at the meeting. Furthermore, they can be directed at one specific participant or at all participants, and they can be open to all sorts of ideas or be very specific in content. Finally, the article asks if the way ideas are elicited within two different types of organisations differs. This is done by comparing four regional TV stations and three desks at a printed paper.

There seems to be slightly contradictory views on the decision-making processes in the newsroom. One view focuses on social control and internal and external influences (Becker and Vlad, 2009; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). This perspective, stemming from media sociology or newsroom studies, is often oriented to the more theoretical abstract contextual structures determining which stories are promoted and demoted. Another more journalist-centric view on decision making points to the journalists' own perception of autonomy. This autonomy is documented through surveys on how journalists perceive their right to determine what to cover and how to cover it (Skovsgaard, 2013; Shoemaker et al., 2008). These studies show that journalist working for democratic corporatist countries (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) share a relatively higher sense of freedom than in countries with other norms for and regulations of the press, even though the autonomy varies (van Dalen, 2011; Skovsgaard, 2013; Esser, 1998). This study digs deeper into the individual and organisational level of the autonomy by studying the concrete interactional patterns, and how autonomy is "done" by the participants at the meetings.

From a media sociological point of view, this article contributes to the gatekeeping literature with empirical evidence of the actual decision making process. Within journalism studies the elicitation of ideas can be seen a type of gatekeeping mechanism (Shoemaker et al., 2001; Shoemaker et al., 2008; White, 1950), used to evaluate and prioritize ideas. However, the metaphor gatekeeping does not describe the complexity of the process, as this process involves several people, implicit and explicit decision making, visible and less visible negotiations and restrictions.

From a practitioner's view, the process of eliciting ideas is interesting, because a closer look at the meeting can strengthen the knowledge about the decision-making processes and contribute to the development of elicitation practices in the newsroom. With video recordings of the interactions and by using conversation analysis as a method, it is possible to see central details of the decision making in order to discuss the implications. Making the different practices more transparent to practitioners and researchers not only presents the interactional factors involved in the decision making, but also could make way for more conscious ways of handling the elicitation and presentation of ideas.

The outline of the paper is initially to define and discuss meetings as an institutional interaction and elicitation as a practice at these meetings. After presenting conversation analysis as a method and the data collection, different types of elicitations of ideas as an interactional and institutional practice will be described and discussed.

Elicitations at meetings

Meetings are defined "as a planned gathering (…), in which the participants have some conceived (…) role, have some forewarning (…) of the event, which has itself some purpose or "reason", a time, place and, in some general sense, an organizational function." (Boden, 1984: 84)

Morning meetings in media organisations are an institutional interaction. It is a pre-planned, daily occurrence that involves certain goals, entails special and particular constraints and has an inferential framework or procedure, which is particular to the setting (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Heritage and Clayman, 2010). Furthermore, the meeting has a time constraint, and in the present data is scheduled to last no more than 30 minutes.

At the morning meetings, elicitation of ideas is part of the agenda. The agenda provides "the participants with a 'template' for the topics to be addressed and the activities to engage in during the meeting" (Svennevig, 2012: 54). The most important issue on the agenda of the meeting is the elicitation and presentation of ideas, followed by a discussion of these ideas, and eventually an acceptance or elimination of the idea (Gravengaard and Rimestad, 2012). As the elicitation of ideas is the main goal of the meeting, the question design of these elicitations needs to be optimized, designed for a favourable outcome and tailored for the recipient or recipients (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

An elicitation is defined as a type of request (Heritage and Clayman, 2010; Schegloff, 2007; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008), explicitly or implicitly attempting to get participants at the meeting to present their ideas or contribute to a brainstorm. The elicitation is an utterance, which makes the presentation of an idea relevant for the next speaker. Elicitations at newsroom meetings go beyond the meeting itself, as the elicitation combined with the presentation of an idea can be seen as a contract between the editor and the journalist on what the journalist is expected to do. When proposing an idea at these meetings, it is implicitly or explicitly agreed that the journalist will cover the story presented. This particular aspect of elicitations will be discussed later in the paper.

The morning meeting is not the only forum where ideas are elicited and presented. Ideas can be presented outside the meeting at more or less formal encounters with colleagues and superiors. However, due to my empirical data, this article analyses the elicitation at the morning meetings, in particular the sequentiality, the turn design and the responses that constitute the elements of the interactional practice of elicitation of ideas at the meetings.

Data

Data consists of 26 morning meetings from two Danish media organisations. One set of data comes from a major national newspaper. At the newspaper, the morning meetings at three different desks, the arts and culture, the business and the domestic desks were videotaped five weekdays, Monday to Friday. The other sets of data were collected at four different regional TV stations, all part of the same national organisation, where the morning meetings were taped for three consecutive days[3]. In total, 10 hours and 7 minutes of meetings were recorded: 6 hours from the paper, 4 hours from the TV stations.

The number of participants varies from 4 at the smallest meeting and 14 at the largest. The participants are mainly editors and journalists, but also researchers, photographers and others participate. This is the first meeting of the day. Later, the editors meet to discuss the front page of the paper, while the TV stations also have other meetings later to schedule the rundown of the broadcast. The duration of the meetings varies from 8 minutes to 41 minutes, and the average is 23

[3] This adds up to 27, but at one meeting none of the video recorders worked. So the total amounts to 26 meetings.

minutes. The items on the agenda at the morning meetings are 1) messages from the editor; 2) feedback on previous stories at the newspaper, but not at the TV stations; 3) elicitation and presentation of ideas, which includes prioritisation and task assignment.

The two media organisations in the data are highly different in terms of platform, audience and funding. The national print paper is privately owned and receives a small public subsidy, while the regional TV stations are mainly publicly financed.

The 26 morning meetings are broken down to 220 sequences which are the unit of analysis in this study. A sequence is defined as the interaction in which one participant verbally or nonverbally elicits ideas, attempting to make another participant produce a response to the elicitation. The elicitation makes a presentation of an idea locally relevant in the interaction. Before the analysis of elicitations and the responses to them, the method, conversation analysis will be more thoroughly introduced.

Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis is the study of talk in interaction and looks at the distinctiveness of an interaction: How is the turn taking managed? How are the sequences organised and the turns designed, and what are the identities made relevant in the interaction?

Conversation analysts ask the question “Why this now?” and look at the interaction as an instance of interaction in the context.

It focuses on how participants in an interaction co-produce social order (Heritage and Clayman, 2010: 18), as the interactions taking place are both context shaping and context renewing, as they constitute the social order of this particular institutional setting: “Thus, at the level of talk, a particular organizational agenda is interwoven with the immediate topic at hand, at the local level, and linked to major institutional considerations, at a more global level.” (Boden, 1984: 159)

In the journalism studies, conversation analysis has primarily been used in the analysis of news interviews (Ekström et al., 2013; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Heritage and Clayman, 2010; Nielsen, 2001; Ekström, 2001), but meetings in other settings have also been analysed by using this method (Nielsen, 2009; Nielsen, 2010a; Nielsen, 2010b; Nielsen, 2013; Asmuβ and Svennevig, 2009; Asmuß and Oshima, 2012). However, only few (Clayman and Reisner, 1998; Reisner, 1992) have videotaped the morning meetings, and researchers (Ekström, 2007) have pointed to the method’s unique potential for studying media practices in a new way.

An example of analysis

To present conversation analysis, an excerpt from the data is used to exemplify the method, and specifically highlighting the framework used in the ensuing analysis: turn-taking and adjacency pairs, the concept of preference and locally relevant identities.

The transcription has been adapted from the Gail Jefferson transcript notation system (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984) (see appendix). Names of participants and subjects discussed in the data have been anonymised.

Example 1 from a news desk at a national paper

Participants: EDI, Editor, HEL, Helen + 10 other participants

```
EDI:        hehehe hhhhh.
            GODT nå men det gør det jo ikke alene
(.)
EDI:        ø::h hvad siger vi ellers
            hehehe hhhhh.
```

```
            GOOD well but that alone will PRT not do it
(.)
            e::h what else do we say
(2.0)
HEL:        den der Grønmarkenfredning er klar nu=
            that Greenfield preservation is ready now=
EDI:        =NÅ?
            =OH?
```

There are 12 participants in this meeting, but in the example only two of them are vocally active, the editor and Helen.

The editor, EDI, laughs after a previous turn about a well-written story. Then she uses “GODT”, showing disallignment to the previous interaction and changing the directory of the conversation by stating the end of the present trajectory.

She then evaluates the previous interactional input as “that alone will not do it”. By using this negatively framed evaluative stance, the editor explicitly demands more or better input than what has just been presented. At the same time this can be seen as an implicit elicitation for more ideas, as she indirectly asks for more ideas to be presented by evaluating the already presented ideas as not enough. The micro pause, (.), is a transition relevant point at which another participant could take the turn, but no one takes the turn. The editor then utters an explicit elicitation itself, “e::h what else do we say”, which constitutes the first pair part of the adjacency pair, shown in this excerpt.

Adjacency pairs

Adjacency pairs (Sacks et al., 1974) require two actions. Adjacency pairs are “conditionally relevant.” This means that the second pair part in a pair is conditionally relevant and depends on the first pair part. For example, an adjacency pair could consist of an elicitation for ideas followed by the presentation of an idea.

Adjacency pairs enable the exercise of agency and social influence (Heritage and Clayman, 2010) in the interaction. In the excerpt, the editor is the one mediating the turns and eliciting ideas, the institutional role as chair of the meeting, asking the participant to present their idea (Heritage and Raymond, 2012; Svennevig, 2012). Elicitations initiated by others than the editor only happens in 10 sequences out of the 220 in the data collection. An example of this and other deviant variations of elicitations will be discussed later in this article.

From the data, it is possible to identify the stepping stones or the pattern of this type of particular sequential action is an elicitation as a first pair part of an adjacency pair, followed by the second pair part, a presentation of an idea, which then is accepted, negotiated or eliminated (Gravengaard and Rimestad, 2012).

Preference

The presentation of ideas is also a standard item on the agenda of these meetings.

Here, the concept of preference is relevant to introduce. Preference refers to the fact that in an institutional setting a first pair part as the question above, "e::h what else do we say", will have a preferred choice of next relevant action, as not all second pair parts are equally relevant. The design of these preferences are "inherently structured and actively used to maximise cooperation and affiliation and to minimize conflict" (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: 45) in the conversation.

The preferred second pair part to the question in the example would be an answer (Hayano, 2012; Heritage and Clayman, 2010), preferably the presentation of an idea to a news story, while non-answering or changing the trajectory of the conversation would be dispreferred.

In the excerpt, the editor's elicitation is followed by a substantial pause, lasting 2 seconds. The editor does not select a next speaker (Lerner, 2003) and elicits ideas for all types of stories, and the silence can be explained by this, as the participants wait for each other to take the turn. This practice will be discussed further when I discuss the open elicitations with no specific subject and no selected next speaker later in this article.

Finally, the reporter who is sitting closest to the editor, on the her left hand side, takes the turn, maybe initiating a round during which all participants in theory can take turns. However, this does not happen at this meeting, but can be seen, more or less rigidly practised, at other meetings.

The presentation of the idea is shaped as a statement of a fact, “that Greenfield preservation is ready now”, implicitly containing a proposal of writing this news story, but also indicating by “that” and the “now” that this particular story has been on the agenda before, but at that stage the story idea was not mature enough to be covered. The next action is the editor who asks with a raised voice using a minimal, but stressed response, “OH” to the information given. This change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984: 299) acknowledges and accepts the information given.

Identity

As mentioned, the editor exercises her right as chairman of the meeting. She evaluates the ideas presented, changes the direction of the trajectory in the interaction by stating “that alone will not do it”, and explicitly asks for ideas to be put forward. The editor displays her right as chairman to ensure that the participants stick to the agenda, making this a normative requirement of the meeting (Svennevig, 2012). The journalists, on the other hand, are expected to present their ideas to the editor when ideas are being elicited.

Conversation analyst also look for these situated identities made relevant in the interaction, as the way the participants exploit the “structures of the conversation” can be seen from “whether, when and how identities are used” (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998: 10).

This small interactional sequence is aligned to the working and ideology of larger institutions, in this case the newsroom of a national Danish newspaper.

Using conversation analysis in an institutional setting can be seen as studying the individual in the context, looking for these significant patterns in their social context and the outcome of certain patterns. The interactions are dynamic processes, in which the sequentiality and turn taking, the preference for a certain set of responses and the identities made locally relevant all are shaped by the context, but also shapes the context of an organisation. In this perspective, these settings are important loci for studying the organisational dynamics.

Using these concepts, in the following the main findings of the study of elicitations will be presented: First of all, a look at how elicitations are the main focus on the agenda. Secondly, a discussion about selection of next speaker or no selection of next speaker and the use of specific topics in the elicitations. Elicitations with uptake or no uptake are analysed. These three focus points have been chosen in order to illustrate how the elicitations are done in the interaction and identify which elicitation results in what kind of responses. Finally, these findings are put into perspective and the implications are discussed.

Elicitations as the agenda

First of all, elicitations are used to mark and underline the most important item on the agenda, idea presentation. Elicitations are used as openings to start a new item on the agenda and as pre-closings to do a last call for good ideas for news stories (Nielsen, 2013; Svennevig, 2012; Schegloff, 2007) and as a progression tool during the meeting. I will present examples of these three ways of using elicitations, but first openings.

Openings

In the data there are 18 examples of elicitations used as an opening (Schegloff, 2002). This relative low number can be explained by two factors. First of all, idea presentation as an item on the agenda is known in advance by the participants. It is a daily occurring, routinized practice and a normative feature of the meeting. Secondly, idea presentation is often the only item on the agenda, as seen in the data from the TV station, and always the most saturating item on the agenda, as seen in all data. In this way, the presentation of ideas is such a strong norm and a fixed point on the agenda at the newsroom meeting that a direct presentation of elicitations as an item on the agenda is not necessary (Lee, 2011). An explicit daily announcement of topic as new would be odd, as all participants are aware of elicitations as part of the agenda.

However, in the data from the newspaper, an elicitation can mark the change of agenda from feedback to idea presentation. How this opening of the agenda can be performed is presented in the next example, in which the editor at a news desk ends his feedback on the paper and starts the round.

Example 2 from a news desk at a national paper

Participants: EDI, Editor, JAN, Janus, KAS, Kasper + 9 other participants

```
EDI:   Resten kan I få ø::h sst- i den skriftlige
       efterkritik fo::r n alle feriedagene ligger i
       boksen,
(.)
       ø::hm
       the rest you can get e::h ss in the written feedback
       and eh for n- all the holidays are in the inbox
(.)
       e:hm
EDI:   men lad os kastes os ud i øh
       But let us throw ourselves into eh
(3.0)
%GES   EDI packs the paper away and gazes to the end of the
table
EDI:   hvad vi kunne tænke os og
       what we would like to
  (.)
       kigge på
```

```
        look at
  (.)
        til i mo:rgen?
        for to:morrow?
        Hvad er det hotte emne?
        What is the hot subject?
%GES    EDI lets gaze glide from end of the table to the
        participant on the opposite side of the table
  (.)
EDI:    Hvad er de hotte emner?
        What are the hot subjects?
(.)
%GES:  ((EDI gazes towards end of table again, looking at
more than one participant))
??:     hehe
JAN:    tjah
        well
EDI:    Er der nogen der har nogle bud?
        Is there anyone who has any suggestions?
  (.)
KAS:    ø:::h jeg ville ø:h prøve at gå videre me::d det der
        vi talte om forleden om ø:h rejsebranchen
        e:::h I want e:h to try to go further wi::th that
        there we spoke about the other day about e:h the
        travel industry
EDI:    Mm
```

Initially in the excerpt, the editor refers to the written feedback, which all employees receive by mail. Then the editor uses the phrase "But let us throw ourselves into". This can be seen as a disallignment to the previous trajectory (Steensig and Asmuß, 2005), indicating a shift of subject. This is followed by a long silence of 3 seconds, during which the editor packs up the paper and gazes towards the participants, sitting at the end of the meeting table. Then the editor elicits ideas in four different ways, all of them followed by a micro pause, making a small room for other speakers to take the turn: 1) "what we would like to" (.) 2) "look at (.) for to:morrow?" 3) "What is the hot subject? (.)" 4) "What are the hot subjects? (.)".

The transition from the feedback to the round with frequent turn taking and idea presentation seems to be a little hard to kick-start in this case. The editor gazes at some of the participants, sitting at one end of the meeting table, and still no one responds to the elicitation, even though one participant sniggers and another says “well”.

As seen in the first excerpt, the editor is not allocating the turn by explicitly addressing a participant by using his name, by mentioning a topic, which might be a particular participant’s responsibility as his beat, or by gazing a one participant long enough for a reaction (Lerner, 2003). These aspects might explain the lack of response, as no participants seem eager to self-select as next speaker in the first 4 elicitations. At the fifth attempt, Kasper, who is sitting in the direction in which the editor gazed twice, takes the turn and presents an idea. Thereby, the round is initiated and the idea presentation becomes the main focus of the meeting.

Pre-closings

Elicitations can also be used as pre-closings (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973), a way of ending the elicitation and thereby the meeting itself. There are 39 examples in the data of elicitations used as pre-closing,

In the following an elicitation, used as a pre-closing, is presented.

Example 3 from a news desk at a national paper

Participants: EDI, Editor, LAR, Lars, KAS, Kasper + 7 other participants,

```
EDI:        Lars
(.)
            .hhh jeg tror vi skal slutte mødet nu
            med mindre nogen sidder
            og brænder me::d skidegode ideer
            Lars
(.)
```

```
            .hhh I think we have to end the meeting now
            unless someone is sitting and not getting damn
            good ideas across
(2.0)
EDI:        noget vi mangler
            anything we are missing
(.)
EDI:        jeg vil sige noget opfølgning på den de::r ø::h
            NNbosser frikendes
            I would say some follow-up on that the:re
            NNbosses acquitted
```

In this excerpt, the editor summons the leading copy editor, Lars, stating that the meeting should close now. This is a way to make sure that the copy editor has a chance to oppose the decision to close the meeting, but then the editor makes two last elicitations, one eliciting "damn good ideas", the other asking if there is "anything we are missing".

After the first elicitation, there is a substantial pause for other speakers to take the turn. After the second elicitation, there is a micro pause, and then the editor continues stating her opinion on what is needed. The semantic choice of words eliminates any ideas that are not "damn good" or not "missing", which tells the participants this is not the time to present ideas that are low in importance or urgency.

By using the elicitation for opening or closing the item on the agenda and the meeting, the significance of the elicitation is stressed as an item on the agenda. The round is initiated by an elicitation, but the meeting is also ended by a last call for ideas. However, as the excerpt also shows this last call also purveys the time constraint and in this way implicitly – or in this case explicitly – limits the elicitation to really important or urgent or "damn good" ideas. Sometimes these last elicitations are combined with nonverbal gestures, as the editor or others start packing up the papers or pens in front of them, looking at their wristwatches or pulling out mobile phones. These gestures, even when subtle, also signal to the participants that time is a factor to be considered before presenting ideas.

Progression

This sense of urgency and need for progression in the meeting, is also shaped by elicitations, when they are used as a topic continuer and progressivity tool. The next excerpt shows part of the round, during which all present journalists are either encouraged to present ideas or in other ways account for their plans for the day. In the example, the next journalist is evoked in order for him to present his ideas.

Example 4 from a news desk at a national paper

Participants: EDI, Editor, THO, Thomas, ERI, Erik, + 5 other participants

```
EDI:    Godt men det regner vi med til torsdag
        Good but we count on that for Thursday
THO:    ja
        yes
(.)
EDI:    godt Erik har du no:get øh liggende
        Good Erik have you got a:nything eh lying around
ERI:    Ja:: øh i morgen tror jeg nok jeg har en
        interviewaftale med ham der Simon Bentley
        Ye::s eh tomorrow I think PRT I have an interview
        appointment with this Simon Bentley
```

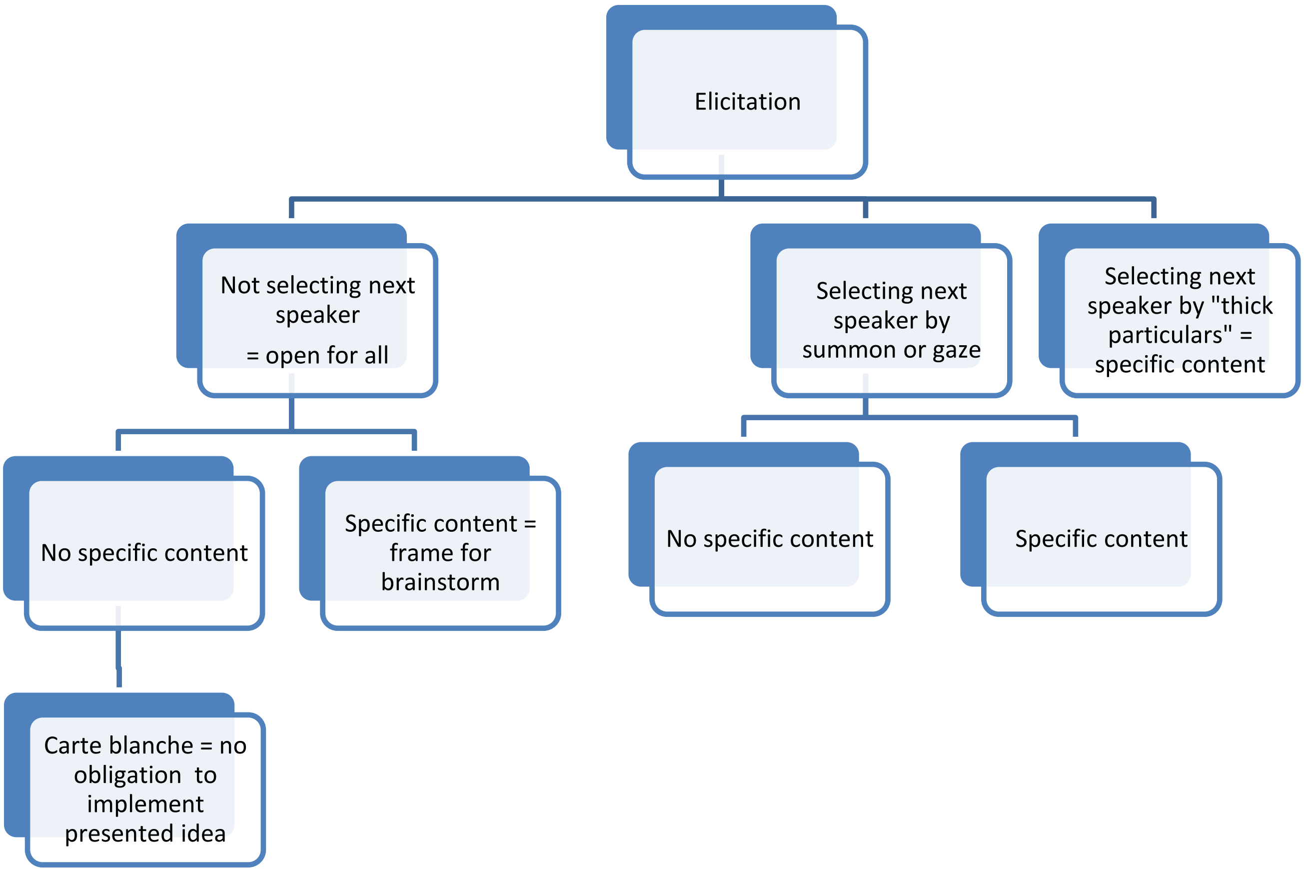
The editor ends the last presentation by “signing the contract” with the previous speaker (not in the excerpt), as he states that “we count on that for Thursday”. With the evaluative remark, “good”, the editor marks a new trajectory and allocates the turn to Erik by summoning him and posing the open question “have you got anything eh lying around”. Erik presents his idea, an interview with a source.

The excerpt shows a progression in the meeting, and it also signals to other participants that the turn taking is designed in such a way that all participants get their turn. These are the stepping stones of the inferential framework or procedure at this particular meeting.

In all these excerpts, the editor has been presented as having the identity of chairman or moderator, allocating turns, ensuring that participants stick to the agenda and that the meeting progresses.

In the following the different types of elicitations will be presented from the very open elicitation of any idea from anybody as seen in example 2 to the more narrowly framed elicitation. The figure below sums up the different types of elicitations from the openly framed elicitation to any participating journalist to the narrowly framed with specific content, and in the ensuing analysis some of the different types of elicitation will be presented and discussed.

Figure 1: Elicitations



Selecting or not selecting next speaker

As mentioned earlier, an elicitation can include a selection of the next speaker or not. In conversation, there are two main ways of allocating the turn: the current speaker selects the next speaker or the next speaker makes a self-selection (Sacks et al., 1974), taking the turn without being summoned. However, who is the next relevant speaker is more complex than just selection or self-selection. As Lerner (2003) has pointed out ”the thick particulars of a singular interactional moment” can also make it evident who the next relevant speaker is. This can be done by gazes or by details in the context or specific content that implicitly narrows down who the next speaker could be. When only two speakers are taking turns, the turn-taking can be easier to handle, but at the newsroom meetings – with up to 14 participants – the turn-taking and the allocation of turns is crucial to ensure the flow of the meeting and essential to accomplish the goal of the meeting: producing and eliciting ideas for stories.

In the following, the different ways of not selecting or selecting next speaker is presented from the open call for all participants, allocating the turn to the next speaker by summons or gaze or by thick particulars – mainly by specific content.

Not selecting next speaker

Approximately half of the elicitations, 109 out of 220, do not include a selection of the next speaker. There are two types of elicitations with no selection of next speaker: elicitations with no specific content and elicitation with specific content. The first type elicits all types of ideas from anyone present, while the second type theoretically opens for a brainstorm on a specific subject, platform or choice of angle or source.

58 out of the 109 elicitations with no selection of next speaker are framed openly, providing a slot for any idea to be presented from any participating journalist. The next excerpt shows how the editor asks for all types of ideas from anybody present. This type of elicitation has already been presented in another excerpt, in example 2.

Example 5 from a news desk at a national newspaper

Participants: EDI, Editor, MIC, Michael, + 9 other participants

```
EDI:    vi prøver (.) og se hvad der kommer ud af det
        We will try (.) to see what will come out of it
(.)
EDI:    hvad siger vi ellers?
```

```
        What else do we say?
(1.0)
MIC:    jeg har nogle opfølgnings (.) øh ting ti::l den der
        med Københavns (.) borgmesteren (.) reaktioner
        fra::: Venstre og fra DI og danske regioner og Ritt
        Bjerregaard
        I have some follow-up (.) eh stuff fo::r that there
        with Copenhagen's (.) mayor (.) reactions fro:::m
        The Liberal Party and from DI[4] and Danish regions
        and Ritt Bjerregaard
```

In the excerpt, the editor's elicitation is followed by a pause of 1 second. The editor does not select a next speaker (Lerner, 2003) and elicits ideas for all types of stories, and the short silence can be explained by this, as the participants wait for each other to take the turn. After this short silence, a journalist presents his idea for a story.

By not selecting the next speaker, the editor makes the floor open to anyone, and in this excerpt, the next speaker can present any idea. On a continuum from very broadly framed to very narrowly framed elicitation, this type of elicitation is very broad, asking for any idea, any platform, angle or source from any present journalist. This type of elicitation indicates a large degree of autonomy for the journalists present, as the editor does not demand anything specific from the journalist.

The other category in which the elicitation, with no selection of next speaker, contains references to specific content and is often the start of a brainstorm on a specific subject, platform or choice of angle or sources. This type of elicitation will not be presented here.

Selecting next speaker

[4] DI is Dansk Industri - The Confederation of Danish Industry

In the other main category of elicitations, the editor selects the next speaker, allocating the turn to a journalist by summoning him or her. There are 83 examples of elicitations, in which the editor uses a proper noun, summoning a participant by name or by using the particular publication or platform, for which the journalist works.

In the next example, the editor explicitly gives the turn to the subeditor, who then starts the round by summoning a journalist.

Example 6 from a news desk at a national paper

Participants: EDI, Editor, SUB, Subeditor, KAR; Karl + 11 other participants

```
EDI:     så:: øh lad os køre
(.)
         §effektivt§ derudaf og Jens Hansen er jourhavende
(.)
         på ((redaktion))-avisen i denne her
(.)
         uge så vil du ikke overtage
         so:: let us move
(.)
         §efficiently§ and Jens Hansen is responsible
(.)
         at the ((section)) paper this
(.)
         week so would you lige to take over
SUB:     Jo::::h
(.)
         øhmn
(.)
         vi starter ovre ved Karl måske vil du
(.)
         med det du har
         Yea::::h
(.)
         ehmn
(.)
         we will start with Karl maybe you will
(.)
         with what you have
KAR:     Jamen så kan jeg da komme med
```

```
        jeg har taget de her to bind med som vi aftalte så
        skulle jeg lave en cover
(.)
        og finde på den og jeg kan med glæde sige det er en
        fantastisk god biografi
(.)
        re- skrevet af en ung historiker en og tredive år
        Peter Nielsen
        Well then I can PRT bring
        I have brought these two volumes with me which we
        agreed I should do a cover story on
(.)
        and do that and I am delighted to say that it is a
        fantastically good biography
(.)
        re- written by a young historian thirty one years
        old Peter Nielsen
SUB:    ja
        yes
```

The editor asks for efficiency and then explicitly allocates the turn to the subeditor. He then – again explicitly – initiates the round by evoking an individual journalist, Karl. He summons him, and by stating that "we will start with Karl", he indicates that Karl is the first person to get the turn, but the others will follow in a more or less formal round.

In conversation, a preference for responding to a direct summon is the norm. If summoned directly and evoked by name, an evasion is quite difficult, and the evoked person will be obliged to account for not answering, if that is the case. The consequence of allocating the turn to the journalist makes it harder for the selected speaker not to present an idea and makes it an accountable, if the journalist does not present an idea. An elicitation combined with an allocation of the turn to a specific person results in ideas being presented in 62 instances of the 83 elicitations found. The rest of these elicitations with selected next speaker results in different types of accounts.

Accounts are a “linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to evaluative inquiry” and are used by a speaker to explain “untoward behavior” (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1990: 112). In the instance of journalists, directly summoned in an elicitation, the selected speaker tries to explain why he or she is not presenting an idea for a news story. This next example shows how this can take place.

Example 7 from a news desk at a national paper

Participants: EDI, Editor, LAR, Lars, JON, Jonathan 12 other participants

```
EDI:    Jonathan?
(.)
JON:    tsk ø:::h
(.)
        jeg ved ikke lige umiddelbart noget til avisen
        men det kan være at jeg prø::ver a:t hjælpe Filip
        med et eller andet til
(.)
        til vores hjemmeside der
(.)
        det er sådan lige det bedste jeg kan sige.
        Tsk e::h
(.)
        I don’t know right now of anything for the paper
        but maybe I will try:: to: help Filip with
        something or other for
(.)
        for our homepage that
(.)
        that is the best that I can say right now.
(2.0)
%GES    ((EDI hits his pen into the table in a soft way))
EDI:    °°°ja°°°
        °°°yes°°°
(6.0)
%GES    ((EDI gazes round))
```

In this excerpt, the editor evokes Jonathan by calling out his name. The evocation is part of an informal round during which all participants are taking turns. The round so far has been random in order, journalists either taking turns by self-selection or when evoked. Jonathan has not selected himself at any stage, and now the editor selects him by summoning him. The editor does not need to explain what he wants from Jonathan. The format is eliciting ideas.

However, Jonathan does not present an idea but proposes to do something for the web editor instead. The future action is further hedged with "maybe I will" and "try to". In this way, there is no final commitment to the presented action to be taken, which Jonathan underlines by saying "that is the best I can say right now". Jonathan uses this account to explain his not presenting any ideas and instead presents his plan for the day – the fact that he will be producing something for someone.

The editor acknowledges this, but his "ja" is said with very low volume and surrounded by silence. This leaves room for Jonathan to take the turn and offer more than what he already has.

This example also shows how the editor tries to ensure that all participating journalists are accounted for: That they all have something to work on on that particular day. This is one of the key features of the round that all participating journalist in some way have been heard.

Thick particulars

More than half of the elicitations, 129 out of the 220 sequences in the data collection, contain references to specific topics, platforms, angles or genres, and in this way reduce the scope of ideas relevant to be presented.

As shown, elicitations can be open to all participants and all subjects, but the elicitation can also be very specific by eliciting one present journalist and narrowing down the range of subjects in the elicitation. The next excerpt shows how this can be done.

Example 8 from a news desk at a national paper

Participants: EDI, Editor, + 4 other participants

```
EDI:   .hhh så jahhh. (.) vi kan lige snakke om hvordan at
       ø::h hvordan vi vi ø::h hvad vi kan lave af fjernsyn
       på den

       .hhh so yes hhhh. (.) we can PRT talk about how we
       e::h how we e::h what we can produce of television
       on that
```

In the excerpt, the editor has the turn and is talking about the coverage of an election poll. In the middle of her long turn, she elicits ideas on how this particular story can be televised. In this way, she elicits not only ideas on a specific story, but also makes the platform relevant as an issue to be considered by the participants. This narrows down what is relevant to be presented by the participants.

In other cases, the selection of certain topics effectively narrows down the number of participants who can contribute to the idea presentation.

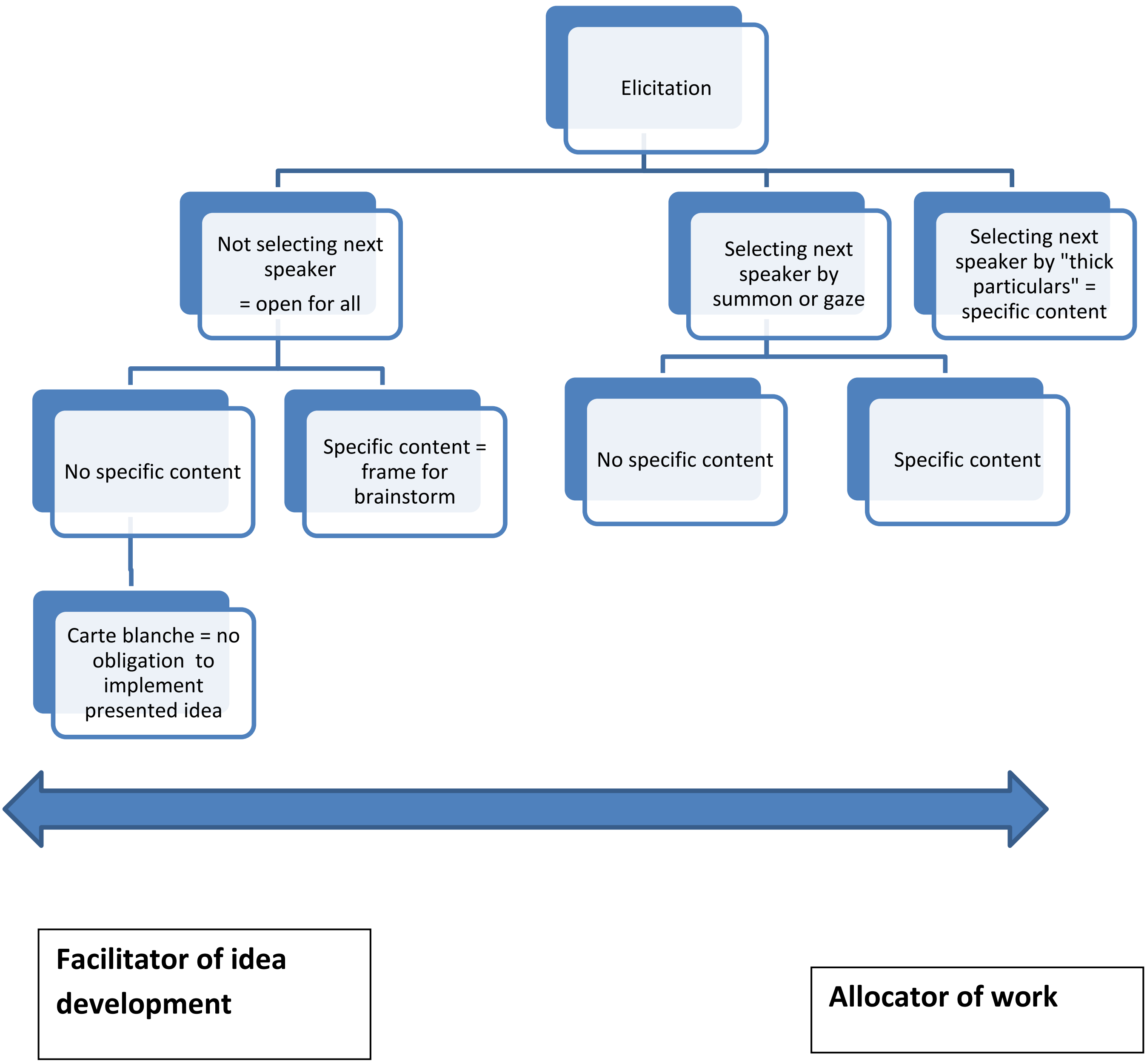
From open elicitation to closed call

As it has been shown, the elicitations vary from the very open call for any journalist to put forward any idea to the very narrow elicitation, summoning a specific journalist, eliciting ideas within a certain frame by referring to subject, platform, genre or source.

The different types of elicitations point to the editor's other, less neutral, identities than just moderator of the meeting. The excerpts show how the editor in the open variation of elicitations acts as a 1) facilitator, trying to facilitate free idea development, and in the more specific elicitations as an 2) allocator of work, as the editor directs and distributes the work that day, ensuring that all heads are accounted for.

Figure 2 shows how the two identities can be attributed to the different ways of eliciting ideas.

Figure 2: Identities in elicitations



When the editor allocates work, the round becomes more of an accounting for all heads at work that particular day: a control to see if all present are working on relevant stories for the next production, or a gatekeeper, who ensures that the best stories are allocated the most resources.

Comparing the media organisations

These different identities as facilitator or allocator become significant when the two different media organisations, regional TV stations and national paper, are compared.

At the regional TV stations and the national print paper, the number of elicitations is almost the same. One third or 76 out of the 220 elicitations are made at the TV stations, but the data from the TV stations also constitute approximately one third of the data. The number of idea presentations shows the same pattern: One third of all ideas are presented in the data from the TV stations, directly proportional to the amount of data.

However, only two out of the open elicitations with no specific content, but a selected next speaker, all in all 43 instances, are found in the data from the TV stations. In other words, there are significant differences in the design of the elicitations. The elicitations at the TV station are less open, and this can be seen in the design of elicitations in two ways: the elicitations contain a specific subject and the turn is allocated to a specific participant or the elicitation is negatively framed verbally or by the use of certain gestures.

The next example from at news desk at a regional TV station shows how an editor designs his elicitation with specific content and selection of next speaker.

Example 9 from a regional TV station

Participants: EDI, Editor, POU, Poul and 8 other participants

```
 EDI:  i dag har vi fantastiske historier som ikke har en
       kæ:ft med folketingsvalget at gøre
(.)
       ø::h ikke mindst jo
(.)
       ø:h en lille solo historie
       øh skanda:le
(.)
       fra sportens benhårde verden
(.)
       nemlig §NNgate§
       today we have fantastic stories which do not have a
       shi:t to do with the general elections
(.)
       e::h no least PRT
(.)
       E:h a small solo story
       eh scandal
(.)
       from the tough world of sports
(.)
       namely §NNgate§

  POU: (                       )
  EDI: fortæl Johan fortæl fortæl fortæl.
       Do tell Johan do tell tell tell
```

In the excerpt the editor talks about the fantastic stories of the day and moves on to mention a specific story, a story from the field of sports. The sport has been anonymized, but by adding the "gate", from the Watergate scandal, after the sport, the editor indicates how fantastic this story is. Poul, who is sitting at the other end of the table, mumbles something to the person next to him, and then the editor allocates the turn to Johan, who is responsible for the story.

By referring to both content and selecting next speaker, this elicitation seems more like an agreement on, who is doing what than a free and open elicitation of new ideas. The editor seems to take on the identity as the one presenting ideas and making sure that all heads are accounted for, and less the role of the one eliciting new ideas for stories.

The other significant way of asking for ideas is negatively framed elicitations or elicitations with gestures signaling the opposite of wanting ideas, done primarily but not only at the TV stations, as shown in the next example.

Example 10 from a news desk at a regional TV Station

Participants: EDI, Editor, SIM, Simon, + 4 other participants

```
EDI:    så kan du slå to fluer med et smæk
(.)
        og tage en tur derop .hhh YES
(2.0)
        er der noget
(.)
        jeg ikke har fået nævnt vi skal ø::h kigge på
(3.0)
        ellers.
        Then you can kill two birds with one stone
(.)
        and take a trip up there .hhh YES
(2.0)
        is there anything
(.)
        that I have not mentioned that we should e::h look
at,
(3.0)
EDI:    ellers.
        apart from that.
```

```
SIM:     ne:j
(.)
         jeg synes da ikke
(.)
         dagen vælter i sådan det store øh
         no:
(.)
         I don't think you know
(.)
         that today is rolling in big eh
EDI:     nej
         no
```

In the beginning of the excerpt, the editor ends the previous interaction with a participant by summing it up or evaluating it. Then, the minimal "YES" works as a boundary marker and is followed by the elicitation: "is there anything (.) that I have <u>not</u> mentioned that we should e::h look at, (3.0) apart from that."

A journalist, Simon, answers "no:" to this. The preferred answer to this type of designed question is a no. Not only would a positive answer implicitly state that the editor has not managed to mention all stories, the elicitation also ends with the suffixed "apart from that".

A major experimental study on medical encounters (Heritage and Robinson, 2011) documented that when a doctor designed the question like this: "Are there any other concerns you'd like to address during this visit", it resulted in significantly fewer positive responses than the question design, "Are there other concerns you'd like to address during this visit?"

It is likely that this negatively framed question, "something which I haven't mentioned" and the "apart from that", frames the question in such a way that a negative answer is the preferred answer.

Other examples of this type of design, occurring primarily, but not exclusively, in the data from the TV stations are listed here to exemplify this feature further:

- er der noget jeg har overset, - **is there something I have overlooked**,
- er der noget jeg har glemt? – **is there something I have forgotten**
- °yes:° (.) er vi:: ved at være nået te: vejs ende? - **°yes:° (.) are we:: finishing yet?**

In these examples, the preference would be to agree with the editor, and thus not present ideas at that stage. When this type of elicitation is combined with gestures such as packing up the paper, looking at a wristwatch or a cell phone, they signal even more the preferred response of not presenting ideas at this stage. The elicitations are more reluctantly framed, and the elicitation seems to be less genuine or making an idea presentation less relevant than at the meetings at the paper.

Why is this so? Why elicit ideas and not design the question in a way that makes it unavoidable for the participants to present ideas, if this is an item on the agenda of the meeting? There are several reasons for this.

First of all, the production process and the resources differ. At the TV stations there is not really a buffer, and one journalist at work has to result in one story for the TV news later that day. The time for producing this news item is tight. Furthermore, the cost of production differs substantially, as the journalist is often accompanied by a photographer, and the process of editing can also involve other employees, too. As a consequence, the editor needs to be very clear at an early stage about who does what, and the set-up does not leave much space – if any – for creative ideas that might lead to aborted news stories. The TV stations seem to have a prioritization which includes must-have stories, should-have stories and could-have stories, while the print media prioritise their own solo stories (Lund, 2000; Lund et al., 2009; Willig, 2011) and the creative ideation.

Secondly, the TV stations might very well elicit ideas primarily outside the meeting, making the meeting a secondary locus to perform this activity, as resources are tighter and journalists are often already out in the field at the time of the meeting. In the data, elicitations and presentations of ideas are often presented in a way that indicates that the editor and the journalist have discussed the ideas prior to the meeting.

Conclusion

The morning meeting can be seen as a significant forum for the idea development in the newsroom, where editors and journalists display their entitlement to certain actions.

For the editor or journalist, the interaction at the morning meeting determines what the day's work will entail. If the journalist does not "bid in" with a story of his own, he will be allocated a story which the editor or others have determined to be worthy of coverage. In this sense, the elicitation of ideas can be seen as an expansion or reduction of room to manoeuvre, influencing the autonomy of the individual journalist.

There are cultural variations of autonomy in various countries or media organisations, but some of these differences could also stem from the methodological approach to the phenomenon (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). For example, Soloski (1989) states that editorial meetings are a method for the editor to ensure that the journalists follow the paper's policy, and he describes how "the editor is not heavy-handed in making story decisions (…). But his involvement in the story selection process minimizes confrontations with reporters over policy issues" (Soloski, 1989: 220), while Sigelman (1973: 138) states the that the meeting functions as a "socialization mechanism".

The present paper sees power as locally relevant and interactionally constructed. Not by ignoring the organisational structures, but by stating that the interaction is shaping these structures in a certain way. For example, the format of elicitations, as can be seen in the analysis, varies greatly from very specific questions, designed in a certain way and aimed at specific participants to open and free for all elicitations. The design and the sequentiality of the elicitation influence the interaction – at the local level, but perhaps also at a broader level.

In the present data, there seems to be two pervasive identities for the editor: moderator and either allocator or facilitator. As the analysis shows, the moderator can be either allocator of the work burden or facilitator of idea development on a theoretical continuum from the facilitating role with total autonomy and free idea development with no catch to the more restricting allocator for whom ideas are the means to prioritizing the resources and the stories in the right way.

The aim of these two identities as allocator and facilitator can clash, as the two identities have different goals, as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3: Identities in elicitations

The two different identities of the moderator		
	Facilitator	**Allocator**
Main goal	Facilitating idea development	Allocating ressources
Product	Ideas	List/contract
Orientation	Do we have better ideas?	Are all heads/best stories accounted for?
Mode	Open-minded	Closed-minded
Elicitations	Initially content-free	Initially subject-fixed

On the one hand, there is a wish to support open idea development and creative news stories, which is done by the facilitator. On the other hand, the editor is also the allocator of the work that needs to be done. As the examples with the carte blanche indicate, a journalist might be very reluctant to present an idea if this results in an augmentation of the work load: When presenting an idea at these meetings, the journalist also has to produce the story.

The British BBC journalist Andrew Marr describes the moning meetings like this: “Most editors – not all – see the morning conference as a crucial moment because it is how the paper’s character is formed. Yet, since they are partly about lists, even good news conferences can be a bit dull. I worked on one paper where they were virtually meaningless, being simply a monotone recital of typed lists, followed by everyone shuffling off again" (2004: 211).

This view from a professional, experienced journalist exemplifies the identity of the allocator and the production of lists. However, if the purpose of the meeting is to promote the presentation of creative ideas for news stories, the design of the elicitations is an important tool to make the setting carrier of creative idea presentations.

This article can be seen as a contribution to the gatekeeping literature, but with a less instrumental view on journalists as either autonomous or controlled, and the editors as either powerful and controlling or irrelevant. The elicitation of ideas, the design and the timing of the elicitation, combined with the selection of the next speaker, can be viewed as one way to analyse the nuances of the decision making in the newsroom. Conversation analyses show how the understanding of the elicitation is displayed at the meeting, an occurrence woven into the context of a media organisation.

Elicitations and the responses to them are interactionally relevant issues rather than static pervasive norms. As practitioners experience, and as the present data indicate, one editor or one participant might behave in ways that make the interactional outcome different.

However, elicitations are important features of the journalistic practice, as they promote the presentation of ideas, or they might be the result of meaningless encounters and endless lists, as Marr describes, with no creativity and no room for idea presentation or qualified input to stories. With more experiments or differently designed elicitations, a more creative idea sharing might occur, leading to more meaningful meetings.

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Presenting ideas at morning meetings

How ideas are presented and received at morning meetings

Abstract

Based on video recordings of morning meetings at two types of news organisations and using conversation analysis as a method, this article analyses how ideas are presented at newsroom meetings, and how the editor responds to the presentation of ideas. Presenting an idea for a news story can be achieved in different ways – from an assertion to different types of proposals, and most ideas are accepted by the editor, as few ideas for news stories are eliminated. However, there are significant variances in the pattern when comparing the two different organisations and the 7 different desks within the two organisations.

Key words

Ideas, newsroom, journalism practice, decision making, authority

Introduction

Every day in news organisations with daily deadlines, editors and reporters meet to discuss ideas for the next productions. These morning meetings constitute a forum for presenting, assigning, following up on and negotiating ideas for stories for the next day's newspaper or news broadcast (Bantz, McCorkle et al. 1980, Clayman and Reisner 1998, Van Hout and Jacobs 2008, Cotter 2010). Though this is not the only forum in which ideas are launched and negotiated, the decision making at the meetings is part of the gatekeeping function (White 1950, Golding and Elliott 1979, Clayman and Reisner 1998) of the media, as ideas are accepted, transformed or eliminated (Bantz, McCorkle et al. 1980, Gravengaard and Rimestad 2012) by the participating editorial staff.

Zooming in on this particular setting and on the way ideas are presented, this article analyses and discusses the presentation of ideas, and how the presentations vary. The aim of the analysis is to provide a fuller and more nuanced picture of gatekeeping and the selection of news, and in order to do this it is necessary to include the concrete, local, interactional level of the decision-making process, zooming in on the "birth of the idea" from an intangible thought to an oral presentation in the forum of colleagues and editors and compare this setting across and within different organisations. The ability to produce suitable ideas for news is pivotal to the individual journalist (Gans 1979) and to the media organisation. In this way, the interaction, during which the journalist or the editor presents an idea, becomes an essential event in the production process which needs to be scrutinised in order to discuss how this forum works: What are the norms and obligations, and how is authority displayed?

The second, but not secondary, aim of the analysis is to contribute to the potential reflections on and development of the morning meeting as an institutional interaction. The perception of these meetings is varied among journalists, as some claim they are motivating and dynamic, while others (Marr 2004, Haagerup 2006) state that these meetings can be demotivating, pointless and a waste of time. Even though these meetings are a daily, reoccurring interaction in many media organisations, not much academic literature can be found on them. In that aspect, this article can provide a more detailed analysis of the meeting as a forum for idea development.

The article will initially place the analysis within the tradition of newsroom studies, the selection of news and gatekeeping, the data and the method will be presented, and finally the data is analysed and discussed with a comparative perspective.

The selection of news

In this section of the article, I will place the present study within journalism studies (Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch 2010). The selection of news has been studied at many different stages in the process, at different levels and with different methods. Looking closer at the different stages of news production, scholars have zoomed in on different stages of the process: the production of news, the news products and the receptions of news. The focus of this article is the study of the production of news.

The gatekeeping literature, stemming from the early studies (White 1950), focused on an individual, the gatekeeper, influencing what news were selected from the incoming flux of potential news stories. Later, the analysis of the news selection pointed to the organisations and routines as influences in the selection process (Tuchman 1973, Gans 1979, Golding and Elliott 1979, Shoemaker, Eichholz et al. 2001, Shoemaker, Vos et al. 2008) and the construction of news (Schlesinger 1978, Tuchman 1978), as news stories are not just collected and selected, but also constructed. The focus in these studies, however, was on the institutional factors as “explanatory rather than personal features” (Preston 2008).

All these studies have greatly improved the understanding of the selection of news, but they partly objectify the selection process as detached from the individual journalist and discursively putting the individual into a context in which abstract influences exceed that of the individual. These studies have equipped the journalist with an understanding of the context, but provided no means to influence the process, as the studies are framed more as contributions to academia rather than aimed at practitioners and the change of practices.

In some of the recent studies, the journalistic practices, the relationship between the individual and the organisation (Cottle 2003, Gravengaard 2010, Gravengaard and Rimestad 2012), are described as a dialectic process, as the selection of news is done in interactions as well as individually, as the journalist combines research and interviews, which is primarily done individually, with face-to-face interactions with colleagues and superiors, with whom the journalist discusses the ideas and stories. In no way denying the forces of the context, organisational as well as societal, and in no way disclaiming the socialisation of the individual into the norms and routines of the profession (Schön 1983, Lave and Wenger 1991, Ochs 1993, Gravengaard and Rimestad 2014), this study aims at looking closer at the actual interactions: of how this dialectic process actually takes place. The present study is a type of newsroom study but differs methodologically from most ethnographic newsroom studies, as the core data consist of the video and audiotaping of the actual interaction: the first morning meeting at the desks of the media organisation.

The method used here, conversation analysis, looks at talk-in-interaction, the personal, situational concrete level in its own context, and in this aspect aspires to “contribute to our understanding of how any particular sort of occurrence is woven into its texture” (Schegloff 2005), but with due respect of the “the integrity of interaction” .

The benefits of this approach – getting closer to the actual decision-makings process and pinpointing how the ideas are presented – makes it possible to discuss how different concrete actions might have different consequences for the individual and the media organisation, thus equipping the individual not only with knowledge for reflections, but also tools for changes.

Hallin and Mancini notes that: "...our research suggests that the differences in how journalists actually do their work are larger than the differences in their survey responses, which are heavily shaped by cross-national normative expectations and aspirations" (2004). A micro-analytical approach to studying talk-in-interaction within media organisation makes it possible to discuss variations at a local level and teach new journalists or editors how to navigate more consciously in the daily work process when presenting or discussing ideas. Furthermore, it can provide insights into to what degree practices and professional norms might not correspond with professional orientations aired through surveys.

This article compares the presentation of ideas across and within the two types of media in the data: Three desks at a national newspaper and four regional TV stations. The analysis will document how there are significant variations in idea presentation. This leads to a concrete view of how ideas are presented and a discussion of gatekeeping as it is displayed in the interactions in the data collection. But first, the meeting as an institutional interaction and the data will be described.

The meeting

Desk morning meetings[5] take place every day in the newsroom. It is the first meeting of the day, in which editors, journalists and other relevant employees[6] meet to discuss the upcoming production(s). The items on the agenda are: messages from the editor, sometimes an oral feedback on the last production, followed by the most important focus: What stories to cover for the next production(s). At the newspaper, the desk meeting is followed by another morning meeting, in which the desk editors discuss the best stories for the front page, while the editors at the local TV stations in the data also have other meetings to prioritize the stories of the day.

The main item on the agenda is idea presentation, and this means that there is a strong orientation towards this as a norm. During the morning meetings, the participants negotiate what stories to cover and the practicalities involved in the decisions: who does what, how (e.g. what sources, angles, research), and when? This presentation and reception of an idea is the first step in this process of a long chain of events and

[5] The morning meeting is changing with the changes of the newsroom, e.g. some newsrooms dedicated to the web have no formal meetings, while other newsrooms with longer deadlines have meetings less frequently. However, most newsrooms have meetings dedicated to the development of ideas.

[6] At the meetings, photographers, researchers, copy editors and secretaries can also participate.

coordination of these events, and it has immediate implications, but also more long-term consequences.

There is a lot at stake for a journalist when presenting an idea at the meeting: First of all, at the local, immediate level the presentation of an idea entails a risk in itself, as it could be eliminated by another participant, editor or journalist, and this could mean losing face (Brown and Levinson 1987) for the presenter of the idea. However, the presentation of an idea has short- and long-term implications, too. The participant presenting the idea, or in a few cases another journalist, must produce the story, if it is accepted. An accept is a binding contractual agreement on future action, and the journalist will need to account for the absence (Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990), if the story is not produced. This means that an idea presentation entails obligations extending beyond the meeting itself. The selected ideas determine how the working day will be spent by the individual reporter, who has to develop the idea, research and produce the story. Furthermore, as the ability to develop ideas and produce suitable news stories is a key competency for a journalist (Gans 1979), the idea presentations of the individual journalist will also be used to evaluate his or her career prospects in the organisation. The media organisation itself is also evaluated by its ability to produce good stories. In this way, the presentation of an idea becomes a matter of not only immediate, local, personal identity, but also long-term success within the organisation and for the organisation as a whole.

This puts idea presentation into a broader perspective: The practical-contextual ability to know how to persuade others (Sternberg and Lubart 1992, Sternberg and Lubart 1999) of the potential in an idea for a news story is not enough. More tasks will follow before the idea presentation is a success for the individual and the organisation, and in this way it is a key event in the organisation.

In general, there have only been a few dedicated studies of morning meetings (Clayman and Reisner 1998, Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, Ekström 2007, Cotter 2010, Van Hout and Van Praet 2011), and most of them have been concerned with the second morning meeting at which the desk editors discuss the front page or the prioritisation of all the stories. The interactions during which journalists present their ideas for the first time have received less attention.

In the next sections of the article, I will introduce the data and the method in this study more thoroughly.

Data

In this study, 26 morning meetings have been audio and video taped in two major Danish news organisations, four regional TV stations and a national paper. The data collection consists of more than 10 hours of data, which are the empirical basis of the analysis in this article. The taped meetings take place at four different regional TV stations, where the meetings were taped simultaneously for three consecutive days[7] during the national elections, while 15 meetings at a national paper were taped simultaneously at three different desks for five consecutive weekdays. Additionally, I have been a participant observer over a period of several years, first taking part in the meetings as a practitioner and later during fieldwork in and more informal visits to many different media organisations. This insider's knowledge and ethnographic view has also contributed to the deliberations in the article.

The data from the TV stations make up approximately 4 hours of the data, while the paper's meetings last 6 hours. The number of participants in the meetings varies from 4 at the smallest meeting and 14 at the largest. The national print paper is privately owned and receives a small public funding, while the regional TV stations are mainly publicly financed. The meetings last from 8 minutes to 41 minutes, and the average length of the meetings is 23 minutes. The items on the agenda in the corpus are 1) messages from the editor; 2) feedback on previous stories, which is a fixed item on the agenda at the paper, but not at the TV stations; 3) elicitation and presentation of ideas, which includes prioritisation and task assignment.

Method

The 26 recorded meetings have been transcribed according to the norms of conversation analysis (Jefferson 1984), which is the study of talk-in-interaction in naturally occurring settings. The question asked in conversation analysis is "why that now", and the analysis can be used to uncover "the often tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of talk" (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008). Conversation analysts are mainly interested in the sequentiality of actions and how one utterance depends on the previous

[7] This adds up to 12 meetings, but unfortunately none of the recorders worked at one morning meeting, so one meeting is missing from the data.

utterance(s) (Sacks, Schegloff et al. 1974, Schegloff 2007). In other words, the analyst looks at what happens in the interaction, step by step.

At the newsroom meetings, idea presentations often consist of an elicitation as a first pair part, a presentation of an idea as a second pair part, and a response to the idea presentation. The way this is done in the data will be presented more thoroughly in the analysis.

The methodology used is qualitative, and the observations presented here are generalizations drawn from an analysis of all the instances in the collection. In this perspective, the examples are illustrative of this analysis. When relevant, I provide numbers to give an idea of the distributions of instances. This is not to be seen as a result of the analysis, but rather as an input to the analysis.

With an inductive categorisation (Strauss and Corbin 1990), this article is based on a data collection of 129 sequences in the corpus, in which a participant presents a new idea. New ideas are defined as ideas that are new in the setting: They have not been discussed before and are therefore new to the editor, and they are not part of a brainstorm.

This article focuses on the sequentiality of the presentation of ideas: How are ideas presented and responded to, and secondly what identities are made locally relevant during the interaction. These situated identities and institutional roles are coming into play in a particular type of situation (Zimmerman 1998). They are constructed in the interaction. They are not static, but indexical, situated and occasioned. The identity of a participant can change even during the meeting, as the participants negotiate or challenge the roles that are constructed (Boden 1984, Asmuß and Oshima 2012) during the interaction. Conversation analysis focuses on the interactions as they unfold and links the meaning and context to the interactions. In this way, sequential organisation and the construction of identities have the potential to shape the context in organisations (Heritage and Clayman 2010).

As part of the identity in the interaction, the participants are displaying their deontic authority. Deontic authority is defined as someone's rights and obligations to determine others' future action (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012). Deontic authority is displayed in the way participants in the morning meetings present ideas, and in the analysis I will point to two types of presentations: assertions and proposals (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012).

Assertions (Sorjonen 2001, Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012) are declaratives and in indicative mood and are presented as a fact. To illustrate with an example from the data, the editor asks a journalist about her ideas by summoning her by name, and she says: "I am writing a review of the book about the royal family"[8]. As this example shows, assertions do not invite an acceptance or a rejection, but are statements of facts, of a future commitment to action, which the journalist states. With an assertion the journalist does not explicitly or implicitly ask for the editor's opinion, but claims the authority to decide for herself.

Proposals is a broad term for an utterance that makes an acceptance or a rejection of the proposal conditionally relevant (Asmuß and Oshima 2012). A proposal has been defined "as turns at talk in which a speaker asks the recipient to perform a specific activity or asks for the transfer of an object from one place or person to another (Curl and Drew 2008). In the case of idea presentations, however, the proposal is a turn in talk in which a speaker asks other speaker(s) for acceptance of an idea for a news story. A short example of this: A journalist says: "The car sales are damn interesting, that is something you can understand; are cars being sold or are cars not being sold? Could we (.) could we"[9]. The example shows how the journalist in this case proposes an idea for a story, leaving it up to others, the editor or other participants, to accept or reject the idea.

Proposals can be shaped in a variety of formats as questions, the use of modality, pre-sequences or hedging (Schegloff 2007), but the distinctive feature is that a proposal makes an acceptance or rejection relevant. Examples will be provided in the next section of the paper.

By looking closer at these two different categories of ideas presentations, assertions and proposals, it is possible to discuss, how the deontic rights are distributed among the participants in a conversation: How it is resisted and how it is admitted. In the analysis, these two formats, assertions and proposals, are discussed in order to point to the deontic authority and identities displayed at the meetings, as: "Meetings provide individuals with a way to make sense of as well as to legitimate what otherwise might seem to be disparate talk and action, whereas they also enable individuals to negotiate and validate their relationship to each other" (Schwartzman 1989).

[8] The example is abbreviated. A full example can be seen in the data analysis later in the article.
[9] The example is abbreviated. A full example can be seen in the data analysis later in the article.

In the next section, examples of assertions and proposals will be discussed as an interactional feature of the meetings.

Assertions

As already stated, a journalist can present an idea at the morning meeting in primarily two ways: as an assertion or as a proposal. In this section, I will discuss these different types of idea presentations and their reception. First of all, an assertion, which is the first example, then a proposal with future negotiation, then a proposal which is presented with high entitlement, and finally one of the few proposals which are eliminated.

In the data there are 129 presentations of new ideas. 41 of them are assertions, while 69 are proposals. In the categorisation, I look at the first turn and the first response to the turn, as some assertions develop into proposals and vice versa, so in order to simplify the complexity that is always intrinsic in this type of data, I look at the first turns. The rest of the instances, 18 instances, are not categorized, as they do not fit into the two groups.

The first example shows ideas presented as assertions, as a journalist, Niels, lists his ideas after the editor evokes him during the round at the morning meeting.

Example 1 from desk at national paper

Participants: editor, EDI, and Niels, NIE plus 12 other participants

```
%GES  (EDI leans forwards, gazes to his right at NIE and
       points to him with his pen)
EDI:   Niels?=
NIE:   =Ja j- øhmn jeg skal lave no:get øh klimaopslag
       færdig ø::[hmn
       =yes ye- ehmn I have to finish so:me eh climate
       spread e::[hmn
EDI:                         [ja
                      [yes
NIE:   her til formiddag,
```

this morning

NIE: .hhh så har jeg også den der slagterihistorie jeg lige skal have en kilde til på

.hhh then I also have that slaughterhouse story I just need one more source

EDI: [mm

[mm

NIE: [så kan je:g lægge den <u>fæ</u>rdig

[then I: can put that <u>fi</u>nished

NIE: men den er jo ikke dagsaktuel hvis den e:[:r,

but it is not here and now if it i:[:s

EDI: [hm mm

[hm mm

NIE: den kan godt ø:h ligge.

it can e:h wait.

EDI: det kan godt være vi skal gemme den en dag også

It may well be we should save it for a day too

(.)

EDI: [til nettet

[for the web

NIE: [ja det tænker jeg

[yes I think so

(.)

EDI: der er også ri:geligt på nettet

there is also a:mple for the web

EDI: så jeg vil hellere vente [en dag måske

So I would rather wait [a day maybe

NIE: [ja (.) ja det kunne vi gøre

[yes (.) yes we could do that (.)

(.)

NIE: ->men ø::hmn og så har jeg et interview me:d øh (.) Virksomheds administrerende direktør

but e::hmn and then I have an interview wi:th e:h (.) Company's managing director

%GES: EDI nods

EDI: ja

yes

NIE: her i e:fftermiddag øh

this a:ffternoon eh

EDI: [ja

[yes

NIE: [ude i By øhm (.) og ja Company administrerende direktør for de nordiske markeder øhm (.) og de:r phhh. kan han vist nok sige noget omkring nogle nye investeringer på det grønne område som jeg

[out in Town ehm (.) and yes Company managing director for the Nordic markets ehm (.) and the:re phhh. he can probably say something about some new investments in the green area which I

(.)

%GES EDI nods

NIE: det satser jeg lidt på kan være (.) .hhh kan være værd at bruge en time på den (.) [så:

that I count a little on can be (.) .hhh can be worth spending an hour on (.) [so

(.)

EDI: [Ja (.) ja

[yes (.) ja

NIE: Så det tager jeg lige ud til (.) og hører hvad han har at sige?

So I will just go out to that (.) and hear what he has to say?

In the excerpt, the editor elicits ideas from Niels by gazing and pointing at him during the round. The round, as stated earlier, is a norm at the meetings, as the editor starts with eliciting ideas from one participating journalist and then continues to the next, until all present journalists have accounted for their ideas.

Niels reacts promptly when summoned. He presents three ideas for stories in this sequence, but in slightly different formats. The third idea presentation will be analysed more thoroughly here as an example of an assertion.

The first idea, “=yes ye ehmn I have to finish so:me eh climate spread e::[hmn” is also an assertion, which the editor acknowledges with the response yes. The editor does not know of the idea, but there is no further elaboration on the idea, and this seems to be Niels’ account for his workload that day, explaining what he will be doing “this morning”, maybe writing a story for another section of the paper. The second idea “.hhh then I also have that slaughterhouse story I just need one more source” is a story the editor already knows, and Niels indicates this by using “that”. This is a story the two have discussed prior to the meeting. The editor responds to this idea with a minimal “mm”, and the ensuing interaction deals with the timing of the story, which can wait, if necessary.

The third idea is another assertion, “then I have an interview wi:th e:h (.) Company’s managing director this a:ffternoon eh”. The editor again responds minimally with a nod and says yes several times. As can be seen in this context, an assertion can be seen as a factual statement. It is presented as non-negotiable, and the future action presented as already agreed upon. The journalist in this excerpt displays authority of this future action as he asserts his right to finish the spread he is working on and his right to interview a CEO in the afternoon.

The editor, on the other hand, displays his acceptance of this right. An acceptance generally involves a positive acknowledgment of the idea, maybe an evaluation, and the writing down of the idea. In this case just a positive acknowledgment, as the editor in the clip does not take notes of any of the ideas. In all three instances, there is no negotiation on the overall relevance of the idea, angle or source. The timing of the second idea is, however, discussed

The situated identities made relevant in the interaction are primarily: the journalist as responsive, showing dedication and initiative, having researched not just one story but three. Niels displays professionalism, having not just stories on the way in the short term, but also in the longer term. However, he leaves little or no deontic authority for the editor, as he uses assertions. Only in the last turn, Niels displays that he is not sure the interview will result in a story worth publishing by saying that he counts on it being worthwhile and he will “hear” what the CEO has to say. On the one hand, Niels asserts this interview will take place, but on the other hand he takes precautionary measures against a total commitment to the story, before having done the interview. The editor is listening and mainly accepting the ideas, and he only negotiates the timeliness of one story, which is also the only scope the journalist leaves open for the editor’s opinion.

As stated earlier, there are 41 assertions in the data collections. All of these are accepted by the editor. The possible reasons for this will be discussed after the presentation of other formats.

Proposals

In the next excerpt, the editor also evokes a participant, but in contrast to the previous example, the journalist, Andreas, does a proposal rather than an assertion when presenting his idea.

Example two from a regional TV station

Participants: editor, EDI, Andreas, AND, plus 4 other participants.

```
EDI:    YES: (.) Æ:ndreas:=
        YES: (.) Æ:ndreas:=
AND:    =ja:erh?
        =ye:arh?
 (1.6)
AND:    Skal vi ha: [ø::h]
        Should we have [e::h]
EDI:                  [Vi m]å finde på et eller an:det til
        dig
                      [We w]ill have to think of something
        for you
 (.)

AND:    Vi har kørt sådan en opsamling på valgplakathærværk
        eller hvad.
        We have done such a roundup on the vandalizing of
        elections posters or what.
(2.3)
        °har der været [de:t]=.°
        °has there been [that]=.°

EDI:                    [nej] en en opsamling .h [ja det er
        jo det]

                      [no] a a roundup .h
        [yes there is PRT that]
AND:    [jeg tænkte bare på] hvor meget der egentli' jejeg
        synes bare der har været sygt meget nu var der
        noget igen i går=
```

```
        [I just thought of] how much there really I- I just
        think there has been disturbingly much now there
        was something again yesterday=
EDI:    =ja du tænker på ø::::h,=
        =yes you think of e:::h,=
AND:    =i Bynavn
        =in Town
```

In the excerpt, Andreas is summoned by the editor. Instead of immediately presenting an idea, as is expected in this case, he responds with a "ye:arh". This is followed by a pause, and then Andreas starts his turn with a question "Should we have", but the editor reacts, saying "We must think of something for you" in overlap with Andreas' question. This indicates that the editor now believes Andreas does not have an idea for a story. However, Andreas does have an idea and he presents his idea as a question: "We have done such a roundup on the vandalizing of elections posters or what."

The question displays not only low deontic authority, but also low epistemic access or lack of knowledge on the subject as Andreas is requesting more information (Heritage and Raymond 2012), and the question becomes an indirect, tentative presentation of an idea, which is not fully developed. The proposal is negotiable, as Andreas asks for the editor's opinion and displays an identity as less knowledgeable than the editor, less autonomous and less determined to push on. The editor is included in the decision making and ideation process in an entirely different way than the example with the assertion. The identity that Andreas leaves room for the editor to decide whether the idea is worth pursuing or not, as the editor is asked to evaluate if the idea is "good enough" and new for the media. The interaction continues for a long time afterwards, and the editor suggests that Andreas and he discuss the idea later, when Andreas has done more research.

However, proposals are also accepted in more than half of the cases in the data collection. Out of the 69 proposals, 42 are accepted. In 7 instances, as in the example above, the editor and journalist settle on future negotiations, which primarily means that the editor will provide or ask for more information, before the idea is accepted. Only 7 out of the 69 proposals are eliminated. The rest of the proposals have an unknown outcome.

Proposals with or without assertiveness

So why are that many proposal accepted? In the data there is not one clear pattern, but a complex and richly varied hierarchy of types of proposals. Some are closer to assertions or contain semantic, prosodic, non-verbal or contextual evidence of deontic authority and epistemic knowledge. In this way, proposals vary from very assertive to less assertive.

In this next excerpt, a journalist, Peter, puts forward a proposal with a strong entitlement on the coverage of a musician's new album.

Example 3 from a desk at a national paper

Participants: editor, EDI, Peter, PET and 6 other participants

EDI:	Goodie (.) ellers så kan vi måske li:ge løbe rundt en gang (.) Peter har I no:get øh, **Goodie (.) apart from that then maybe we can ju:st do a round once (.) Peter do you have any:thing eh,**
PET:	ja altså jeg vil enormt gerne have ø::h (.) cover til fredag. **Yes well I would very much like to have e::h (.) the cover on Friday**
(.)	
EDI:	<u>Nå</u>h? **<u>O</u>h?**
PET:	a- ellers ville jeg have prøvet og sss ellers ville jeg prøve og skr- (.) eller <u>ik</u>ke jeg vil <u>prø</u>ve så vil jeg s- <u>fo</u>reslå at enten så (.) laver vi cover fredag eller også så sender vi den (.) så skyder vi den til søndag (.) måske og på Musiker som kommer som laver sådan en comebackplade. **a- otherwise I would have tried to sss otherwise I would try to wri- (.) or <u>not</u> I**

	would <u>try</u> c that then either (.) we do cover Friday or otherwise we send it (.) then we postpone it for Sunday (.) maybe and on Musician who comes who does a comeback record
EDI:	[°jaja°
	[°yesyes°
PET:	[som kommer på <u>ma</u>ndag
	[which comes out on Monday
EDI:	°skidegodt°
	°brilliant°
PET:	ø:h og jeg har <u>ssim</u>pelthen været en morakker i weekenden og siddet og set i altså (.) nærmest et <u>dø</u>gns YouTube-klip og interviews og sådan noget så ø::h
	e:h and I have ssimply been working like a slave this weekend and been watching for well (.) almost a day and night's YouTube clips and interviews and things like that so e::h
EDI:	( ) lave sådan den store øh sådan
	( ) do like the big eh like
PET:	så jeg vil lave den store feature
	So I want to do the big feature

When summoned as the first in the round, Peter asks for the front page of the section: "Yes well I would very much like to have e::h (.) the cover on Friday". The editor in his turn responds with an "oh", his intonation signalling that it is a question, as Peter has not presented an idea for a story but just stated where in the paper his story should be placed, in his opinion.

With a few self-repairs, Peter corrects his own choice of words: "a- otherwise I would have tried to sss otherwise I would try to wri- (.) or <u>not</u> I would <u>try</u>". The proposal is finally done as Peter says: "then I would s- suggest that then either (.) we do cover Friday or otherwise we send it (.) then we postpone it for Sunday", elaborating on the timing, but not opening for negotiations on the cover place of the story or general coverage of the event at all. The journalist displays having an entitlement to the front page, but hedges it with politeness, "I would very much like to have", and he narrows down the options of the editor by making it a question of printing the story Friday or Sunday. This he also hedged with the polite "then I would s- suggest". By doing this preliminary before the actual idea presentation, specifically asking for the cover of the paper and limiting the scope of negotiation to the choice between Friday or Sunday, the journalist displays his deontic authority to decide what the value of the story should be. The editor accepts the idea, in low volume, first by saying "yesyes" and then by evaluating the idea, again in low volume.

The last of excerpt shows how the journalist accounts for his research, displaying not only knowledge but also dedication, having spent his weekend looking at YouTube clips, and the editor acknowledges this by predicting that this will be a major piece in the paper. Peter then responds positively saying he wants to do "the big feature".

Even though the idea contains a proposal, the framing of the idea is very strong in entitlement and authority in this example. In the next example, that is not the case. It is one of the few examples of elimination. In the excerpt the editor does an open elicitation, and then narrows it down to a subject covered in the paper and poses a question directly to a journalist, Michael, to hear his opinion on the story.

Example 4 from desk at national newspaper.

Participants: Editor, EDI, Michael, MIC and 11 other participants.

```
EDI:    GODT hvad siger vi ellers?
        WELL what else do we say?
EDI:    Er der no:get me::d ø::h den de::r øh Michael vi
        har i dag ø:::hm (.) den blodige sommer i
        Afghanistan som du jo nu har skrevet om i flere
        omgange (.) giver den anledning til noget vi bør
        gå ind i.
        Is there any:thing wi::th e::h tha:t eh Michael we
        run today e:::hm (.) the bloody summer in
        Afghanistan which you now have written about
```

several times (.) does it inspire anything we ought to engage in.

MIC: Ikke sådan specielt (.) øhmn derimod så hæftede jeg mig meget ved den her Politikenhistorie som vi (.) citerer i dag øhmn

Not particularly (.) ehmn on the contrary I really did notice that Competitor story which we (.) quote today ehmn

The open elicitation, "WELL what else do we say?" does not result in an uptake, but the editor does not make a pause to encourage anyone to respond. She then poses a yes/no-question evoking Michael to voice his view on a story, in two different ways: "Is there any:thing wi::th e::h tha:t" and "does it inspire anything we ought to engage in."

Michael responds negatively by saying "not particularly" and changes subject to another story he deems more worthy of coverage. The ensuing debate is only about this story and not the Afghanistan story, which has then been eliminated as a potential news story.

The editor here leaves the decision making and deontic authority to the journalist, who is familiar with the subject. He presents no arguments for or against pursuing the story, but simply turns it down and presents another idea for a story which he finds more interesting. In this excerpt, the journalist is in charge of what to cover, not the editor, and the editor explicitly leaves the authority to the journalist and does not contest it.

As has been seen from the four different examples, assertions and proposals of new ideas are mainly accepted. The proposals vary from assertive to less assertive, and only a few ideas are eliminated or postponed for future negotiation. In the next section, the findings will be discussed.

Comparing across and within media

To sum up the findings, figure 1 shows how assertions and proposals are distributed across the two different types of media.

Figure 1: Distribution of assertions and proposals on media type

	Newspaper	TV station	Total
Assertion	36	5	41
Proposal	41	28	69
Other	10	9	18

As the figure displays, there are fewer idea presentations at the TV stations, and when you look at overall activities per meeting, there is significant differences between TV and newspaper. There are also fewer assertions: At the TV stations there are only 5 assertions as idea presentations, compared to 36 assertions at the paper, and overall fewer new ideas are presented at the TV stations than at the paper. It is important here to repeat that the data from the TV stations only constitutes 3/5 of the total data, when looking at the numbers presented in the tables. However, this cannot explain the variation alone.

This variation is not only seen between media, but also within the media. Figure 2 shows the distribution of assertions and proposals for the 7 newsrooms: the 4 regional TV stations and the 3 desks at the national newspaper.

Figure 2: Distribution of assertions and proposals at editorial desk level

	Proposal	**Assertion**	**Other**
TV Station 1	10	2	2
TV Station 2	5	2	1
TV Station 3	9	0	3
TV Station 4	4	1	2
Newspaper Desk 1	20	12	3
Newspaper Desk 2	10	19	4
Newspaper Desk 3	11	5	3

As can be seen, there are also variations within the same media organization. For example, TV Station 1 has more proposals than the others. TV Station 4 is the station from which there is one meeting missing in the data, so the numbers from that station cannot be taken into account here. However, the most significant variation displayed is Newspaper Desk 2. Here, the number of assertions exceeds the number of proposals, and this proportional distribution of proposals compared to assertions is reverse from any other desk.

The analysis also documented that an idea presented as an assertion will always be accepted, and new ideas presented at the meeting will most like be accepted. However, the less deontic authority the higher the risk of having the idea eliminated. The reasons for the high rate of acceptance and a discussion of the variations will be discussed in the next section.

Discussion

In this section, I will discuss the main findings: The significant variations in the distribution of proposals and assertions and the high degree of acceptance of ideas.

This finding of significant cross organizational and intraorganisational variations corresponds with Hallin and Mancinis expectations of local variations. Further studies need to be executed in order to find explanations for these comparative differences within organisations. However, from the data some potential explanations and hypotheses can be developed. One explanation of the variances could be the culture of the desk or newsroom: What are the norms and expectations at the meeting in general? Are the participating journalists socialized into a culture of independent idea development or not? Another explicatory factor could be the journalist's relation to the beat: the topic the journalists are covering. The stronger the connection between the topic covered and the individual, the more assertive the journalist might be, because he is knowledgeable on the subject and maybe even respected for his knowledge. A third explanation could be the professional level of the individual journalist: It he a veteran or a novice (Lave and Wenger 1991)? If it is a veteran with strong professionalism, he is likely to be assertive. Finally, the editor can display a more or less authoritative role, leaving more or less room for the individual journalist to present ideas. Of course, these factors are interwoven and cannot easily be isolated.

The second finding of the high acceptance rate of ideas: How can this distribution of deontic authority be explained? These key decisions of what to cover seem to be, especially at the newspaper, left mainly to the journalist?

First of all, this significant interactional pattern is the outcome of a strong socialisation into the professional norms and organisational frame (Rimestad, forthc.). Breed (1955) and others (e.g. Furhoff 1986, Soloski 1989, Preston 2008) point out that the journalist is socialized into the profession and learns the policies while doing the job, and it is likely that journalists will present ideas that fit into this norm and frame. The self-censorship evolving from the socialisation will result in the presentation of ideas that are most likely to be accepted at the meeting, and this selection cannot be recorded as it takes place in the mind of the individual and might even be an unconscious process.

But the data also suggest strong socialisation of the editor. The journalists are socialized into the professional norms of the media, but it also seems that the editor is constrained by this particular institutional setting. It seems to be illegitimate for the editor to eliminate ideas at the meeting. This corresponds with Breed (1955), and Soloski (1989) who writes: "News professionalism makes it taboo for management to continually interfere in the news-making process.“

It takes individual courage, especially for the novice, to present an idea at the meeting (Rimestad and Gravengaard forthc.), but it also takes courage for the editor to eliminate an idea. The reason for this could be many. First of all, this forum with many participants might make it more controversial for the editor to respond negatively to an idea, and the group of journalists might react negatively to eliminations. Secondly, as explained earlier on, the journalist presenting an idea shows also his dedication to implement the idea and to make it into a news story. In this way, the idea is not just an idea, it is a story, and the media depends on stories in order to obtain their goal: providing good news stories for their audience. Thirdly, ideas for news stories are in demand, and if the editor eliminates many ideas, the journalists will have low expectations and will maybe present fewer ideas, resulting in a bad spiral of fewer ideas to make into news stories.

The journalists' interest in the outcome of the meeting is often displayed to be more oriented to the practicalities of the idea, as the negotiations will determine the content and amount of work for the day. The editor's interests in the outcome of the meeting is not directly related to his workload that day, and in that aspect can be seen as more diffuse and harder to execute. The media's success relies on the work of the individual journalist, and the journalists must be encouraged and motivated to present ideas for the media, if the media is to be successful in the long run.

The meeting is an arena in which the editor as well as the journalist are socialised, and there seems to be consensus on what constitutes a good story, consensus on the autonomy of the journalist, and consensus on how the presentation of an idea should not be contested, but encouraged. The norms at the meetings seem to support the notion of the journalist’s autonomy, of course again with socialisation[10] as a pervasive feature.

Preston claims that “institutional factors are explanatory rather than personal features” (2008), as the journalist practices his profession, but this study indicates that local, interactional norms are strong at hand, as the local deontic authority is distributed in favour of the journalist in the data. One feature that the journalist can use as an asset is to present stories as assertions as he will display a strong deontic authority and right to decide what to do.

Conclusion

The data shows idea presentations: assertions with a very strong deontic authority, proposals with high dedication and entitlement to and more tentative proposals with less deontic authority. An idea put forward as an assertion is always accepted at the morning meeting at desk at a national paper and four regional TV stations. But even when showing less deontic authority and presenting the idea as a proposal, the idea is more often accepted than not. However, there are significant differences in the number of assertions presented when comparing two media organisations and 7 newsrooms within the two organisations.

The morning meeting is a special forum with certain norms: constraints on and obligations for the participants. According to Foucault (1978), power is exercised from "innumerable points" and where there is power, there is also

[10] It could be interesting to study if the rate of elimination is higher if the journalist presents ideas to the editor face-to-face. This is unfortunately beyond the scope of this article.

resistance to this power. The meeting is an interaction where this can be seen, individuals negotiating and validating their relationship to each other (Schwartzman 1989), as shown in the examples. The complexity of the gatekeeping (White 1950) process is documented in the examples that show how the idea presentation and acceptance actually take places. The gatekeeping metaphor does not very well cover the complexity of the process as editors and journalists meet to discuss ideas, as the editor is not acting as a gatekeeper when journalists present their ideas as assertions which are always accepted.

The findings of a high acceptance of ideas presented in the institutional interaction at morning meetings correspond with an earlier survey study that shows how Danish journalists perceive their autonomy (Skovsgaard 2013) as relatively high. Skovsgaard's study also shows that the type of media outlet has an impact on the journalist: TV journalists experience more conflict with their superiors and less autonomy than the journalists working for newspapers. This finding is confirmed in this analysis, as fewer ideas are presented at the TV stations and a small number of them are put forward as assertions.

However, deontic authority is not directly comparable to autonomy, as deontic authority is the local, interactional display of someone's rights and obligations to determine others' future action. Autonomy is often defined as a more abstract phenomenon in relation to editors, market forces or sources in general. The survey studies of autonomy show how autonomy is perceived by the journalists, while this article shows how the journalists "live" this autonomy; how ideas are presented in order to display deontic authority during the morning meeting, and how norms and roles are negotiated throughout the meeting. The deontic authority is an everyday phenomenon, embodied in talk-in-interaction in the organisation.

At the meeting where a display of power is exercised from "innumerable points", there are constraints on both editors and journalists. The journalists are socialised into a professional norm and will present ideas for stories that are likely to be accepted. However, the editor is also constrained, as the elimination of ideas might have negative consequences for perception of autonomy, the motivation of the individual and the content and success of the media.

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Socialisation at the morning meeting

- A study of how journalist interns are socialised to present ideas at morning meetings in the newsroom.

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Abstract

In this ethnographic study we examine how journalism interns present ideas at morning meetings in the professional environment of a media organisation. We analyse not only the idea presentation at the meeting itself, but also how the interns perceive the situation of presenting ideas and discuss the implications for innovation and creativity in the newsroom. The aim of the research is to gain insight about the socialisation of journalism students in order to discuss and improve the academic and craft education of the students.

Key words
ideation, socialisation, newsrooms, ethnography, morning meetings

As the traditional print media suffer severe economic hardship, and as interactive technology provides citizens with alternative channels of information and dialogue, editors look inward to find the means of survival for public service journalism. One editor puts it like this at the graduation of the new journalists from the University of Southern Denmark: "The success of the media depends on our ability to challenge the custodians and the journalistic fundamentalism, think without prejudice, and make the press a necessity for all citizens"[11]. Out-of-the-box ideas are in demand, and as the speech indicates, this demand was and is especially directed at the newcomers when they enter the profession.

[11] Editor in chief Per Westergaard, Fynske Medier, at the graduation of the journalists, February 1st, 2013.

Demanding innovation and calling for challenges to the strong norms within the profession (Deuze 2005, Donsbach 2004, Schudson 1997) is not a simple endeavour. To a large degree, the ideation process within the media is a routinised practice (Becker and Vlad 2009, Giddens 1984, Shoemaker et al. 2001, Steensen 2009), and the practices and norms in the newsroom are seldom explicitly discussed. According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), these norms exist due to limited resources and as a response to the enormous amount of potential news material. Through participation in the routinised practice, the novices are socialised into being professional members of a particular community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991). To a large degree, exactly how journalist novices are socialised into a community of practice is unknown as empirically based research is lacking in this area. However, we do know that the process of socialisation is an interactive process and that the use of language is one of the major components in this process (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b, a).

With an ethnographically informed linguistic approach we aim to open this ‘black box’ and explore how socialisation takes place by describing how the idea presentations at the media’s morning or story meeting are perceived and managed by the novice journalist interns. Secondly, we discuss whether these routinised practices and the socialisation in the newsroom might be counterproductive to innovation and creativity in the development of ideas (Csikszentmihalyi 1997, Sternberg 1999). Finally, we discuss how media educators and employers can encourage innovation by developing a more systematic approach to teaching and by facilitating idea generation and presentation as a self-reflective practice.

Ideation and gatekeeping

The ability to have or generate ideas, or *story ideation* as termed by Bantz, McCorkle and Baade (1980) is a universal process in journalism and a “defining characteristic of news” (Becker and Vlad 2009, 66). The ideation of news stories is a key competence for the professional journalist, and reporters “are evaluated in part by their ability to suggest suitable stories" (Gans 1979, 87). However, as can be seen in the analysis in this paper, the ideation process involves two significant steps: 1) The reporter or editor knows about an event or a fact that could be developed into a news story that fits the target audiences of the media. 2) The reporter or editor presents the idea in an appropriate manner and in this way conveys the suitability of the idea. The way, in which an idea is presented, seems crucial in the process, as an epistemically or emotionally hesitant presentation may very well result in the elimination of the idea (Gravengaard and Rimestad 2012).

At a first glance, ideation in the newsroom seems a very open and creative process. The newsroom is not suited for formal rules (Soloski 1989) as decision making often needs to be fast and flexible to deal with unexpected events (Gans 1979, Schudson 1978, Tuchman 1973). Still, there are normative practices or rules: "They exist in daily practice and in knowledge gained on the job" (Harcup and O'Neill 2001, 261).

Cotter labels these implicit, general rules in media organisations, the *craft ethos*: "the reporting and writing of news stories is considered a craft, with identifiable, performative entailments that circumscribe a community-identified proficiency" (Cotter 2010, 31). In order to learn the craft ethos, the novice must also be able to identify boundaries for and distinctions to both personal behaviour and interactional norms (Cotter 2010, 52).

Breed (Breed 1955) claims that journalists learn the policy of the paper "by osmosis", Furhoff (Furhoff 1986, 60) states that the policy of the media "sits in the walls", while the father of the concept *gatekeeping* Lewin (Lewin 1951) describes the existence of *forces* within the field.

These forces or influences on how ideas are selected to become news have been studied since the early newsroom studies, in which first individuals (White 1950) and later newspaper publishers (Breed 1955) were seen as gatekeepers. Gans (Gans 1979) combined these insights and argued that it is the process within the organisation that determines what is considered newsworthy. Other scholars have concurred (Gravengaard and Rimestad 2012, Gravengaard 2010, Tuchman 1973, Epstein 1973): News decisions are made in interactions between reporters, editors and other participants in the on-going news production process. Unfortunately, the metaphors about osmosis and policies in the walls indicate that this process is almost impossible to analyse in depth. This paper shows how to scrutinise the "osmosis" as it unfolds in the day-to-day interactions in the newsroom.

The morning meeting

The morning meeting (Van Hout and Van Praet 2011, Cotter 2010, Hutchby 2006, Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, Clayman and Reisner 1998, Reisner 1992) is one of the interactions in which ideas for news stories are presented, negotiated and either selected or eliminated (Gravengaard and Rimestad 2012). Here, news is 'talked into being' (Ekström 2007), i.e. the idea goes from being an individually developed item to being an organisational issue. As such, it is one of the most important and interesting settings to analyse if one is interested in how interns manage this "talking the news into being" situation.

As the novice enters the newsroom, he or she will try to learn from the more mature participants or cultural veterans of the culture: "For newcomers, then, the purpose is not to learn *from* talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation; it is to learn *to* talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger 1991, 109). In other words, the novice must learn how to enact a "competent identity "and how to "display competence" to become a professional in the community of practice (Van Hout and Van Praet 2011, 128).

The story meeting takes place in the beginning of the production cycle and often in the morning. At the meeting the editor, reporters and other employees such as researchers, photographers and copy editors meet to discuss the content of the next issue of the media. The agenda is primarily the presentation or ideation of news stories and prioritisation and selection of stories, but it may also consist of feedback or important messages from the editor.

Meetings constitute an interesting object of study as they "provide individuals with a way to make sense of as well as to legitimate what otherwise might seem to be disparate talk and action, whereas they also enable individuals to negotiate and validate their relationship to each other" (Schwartzman 1989, 11).

In other words, here newcomers learn to adopt the "craft ethos" or adapt to the normative practices in the newsroom. Little research has been done on how this happens, and temporary media scholars have called for more detailed and situated analyses of how this takes place (Catenaccio et al. 2011, Niblock 2007, Donsbach 2004, Hallin and Mancini 2004, Manning 2001). This paper will describe and discuss how newcomers handle the meeting as an institutional interaction.

Research design

Within the different news cultures (Hallin and Mancini 2004), the organisations and social control of the media vary. The present study focuses on Denmark as belonging to the democratic corporatist countries. These countries are characterized by media with substantial autonomy and strong professionalization.

Danish journalists are primarily educated at three designated journalism programmes (Skovsgaard 2010, 2013, Terzis 2010). The sample of 12 journalist students in the data have been recruited from one of these, the University of Southern Denmark, but surveys have shown that the Danish students across the three programmes have quite similar role perceptions (Hopmann, Elmelund-Præstekær, and Levinsen 2010).

The Danish journalism study programmes offer academic courses and learning practical skills as well as a paid 12-18 months internship. In this regard, the Danish setting differs from many other countries as the Danish interns work in a professional media organisation as a part of their education for at substantial period of time.

Our research design consists of three steps. We did interviews, observations and, finally, conversation analysis of the presentation of ideas, but the analysis here is based on ethnographic fieldwork at 6 national news organisations: two tabloids, two morning papers and two broadcast news organisations.

The six organisations are most similar as they are all national media outlets, but they have different cultures, not only as tabloid or non-tabloid media, but also because the four papers are privately owned, while the two broadcast media are publicly financed. All of them are major employers in the Danish setting, and they also employ many students in paid internships.

In each of the six media organisation we did field studies, observing 2 journalism interns doing their one-year compulsory internship. We followed and observed the 12 students three entire working days during the year of their internship, did qualitative semi-structured interviews with the interns before, during and after the internship and sent them several e-mail surveys during their internship. Additionally, we interviewed the editors or reporters who were responsible for the interns. Secondly, videotapes of more than 35 morning meetings in two different organisations are used in the analysis. One set of data comes from four regional stations of a major Danish national TV-broadcaster, the other set from desk meetings at a major national newspaper.

In this context, the quotes and the data examples from the meetings have been selected as a way of presenting findings from the ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative interviews. The examples and cases presented in the analysis are examples of recurring interactional phenomena found in the data, describing what is going on from the intern's or the member's point of view. One example is discussed more in detail using conversation analysis, involving the analysis of talk-in-interaction.

Method

Conversation analysis is the systematic analysis of talk from everyday interaction (Heritage and Clayman 2010, Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008, Heritage and Antaki 1988, Schegloff 1986, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). This approach involves looking more closely at how interaction is sequentially organized in order to describe how these interactions constitute part of the order or nature of the organisation (Heritage and Clayman 2010, Ekström 2007).

The ubiquitous question in conversation analysis is “why that now?”, and the analysis can be used to uncover “the often tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of talk” (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008, 12).

CA has a “distinctive set of methods and analytic procedures and a body of findings” (Sidnell 2009, 1), several concepts constituting the basis of analysis: e.g. how participants use turn taking; how they design their turn; how the sequences are organised; interruptions and repairs (Heritage and Clayman 2010, Goodwin and Heritage 1990). Distinctive to CA is the “next turn proof procedure” – how an utterance is to be understood in the context can be seen from the next speakers’ turns. The participants, in e.g. the newsroom meeting, will orient to the norms of the organisation (Heritage 2008, 303) and in this process the socialisation takes place.

When using conversation analysis a special focus will be on how situational identities or memberships of certain categories are created as part of the interaction. Identities arise in the specific interaction as described by Antaki and Widdicombe: “Membership of a category is ascribed (and rejected), avowed (and disavowed), displayed (and ignored) in local places and at certain times, and it does these things as part of the interactional work that constitutes people’s lives” (1998, 2). This approach means that one identity might be made more relevant in one interaction and less relevant in another, and can be used to look into how the participants negotiate certain roles.

“What have you got?”

In the following analysis, excerpts from the interviews and ethnographic fieldwork are presented in order to illustrate the findings from the enormous amount of data on how the novices perceive and interact at the morning meeting.

In the interviews before the internship, editors and interns underline the importance of the story meeting. When asked how the novices are taught to get ideas, several editors point to this meeting. One editor states: ”It is a question of having them attend the morning meetings and teaching them how ideation takes place, you know.”

Another editor says: “We do have the daily meeting that they attend. (...) There, their suggestions are as good as ours. The clever intern or employee listens to what the others say, and in the written feedback you can see, what has been praised.”

The editors presume that by being present at the meetings and taking part in the daily routine of feedback, noticing praise or negative feedback, the students will learn how to manage the job. The editors also expect the novice to be a full member of the group, even though the journalist student is not fully trained to be one. This discrepancy contains several potential problems, as the student might not have the confidence to act as a competent member of the group, and the ideation process is quite complex.

Before his internship with a tabloid newspaper, one student said: “If I attend the meeting and I am unprepared, then I will feel bloody ill at ease.” Another female student, also before entering a tabloid paper, states: “Mainly, I just hope that they are interested, genuinely interested, in what you’re working on, so you can get some guidance. And that one is not afraid of providing input at the morning meeting.”

The quotes from the interviews show high expectations from the editors with respect to the meeting and a high degree of self-awareness by the students. The quotes indicate how the meeting is regarded as a crucial locus for learning by the editors, while the students are focused on doing well at the meetings.

During our fieldwork, the students had different experiences with the meeting. In all the six organisations, the editors were explicitly expecting the novices to put forward their ideas from day one. One student, working for a TV broadcaster, sums up his experience like this: “And then at the first morning meeting it is like: ‘Well, Peter, what have you got?’ And then you’re sitting there...”

Another student says: ”I think I have gotten off to a good start with those meetings. It has been something I have feared a little. Sitting there. On the first day, the editor asked me and the other intern: ‘Well, have you got something for the front page tomorrow?’ It was said a bit in jest, but still he kept on saying it.”

Again, the editor seemed to anticipate a high degree of independent ideation skills as well as the ability to present suitable ideas from day one. This puts pressure on the novice, and though the 12 informants handle this pressure very differently, the explicit demand for independent ideation from day one is a tough nut to crack for some of the novices. During the fieldwork, 5 of the 12 students spontaneously state that they are nervous or anxious about the meeting. Two interns mention it neutrally, while three have a two-sided attitude to the meetings and see it as both challenging and positively stimulating. The last two do not mention the meeting specifically.

One student in particular voices her fears about the meeting. One month into her internship, she says: ”At the meetings you really want to present some almost final ideas for stories (....) Often I don’t know (ed. what to say), because I don’t know what they want. It’s not something I look forward to saying... That I don’t have anything. I would prefer to avoid that. In the beginning I was paranoid about it. Now it’s a little bit easier.”

She is expected to present her ideas, but she expresses how she feels caught in the quandary of not knowing what to put forward to the editor and at the same time wanting to live up to the expectations. Not “having anything” to present at these meetings might lead to a potentially face threatening situation (Brown and

Levinson 1987, Goffman 1967), as the novice strives to become a competent member of the community.

As the quotes indicate, it is a daunting affair to some of the novices, as they on one hand try to fit in, on the other want to propose self-invented, interesting and creative ideas to the editor. The ethnographic fieldwork shows that uncertainty or vague ideas are not respected by the editors, and the interns very much want to be doing the right thing and present ideas that match the expectations of the profession and the organisation.

If the interns do not come up with an idea, the editor will allocate work to them, providing the intern with an idea to work on. In other words, the level of independence for the interns is often directly proportional with their ability to come up with their own suitable ideas. Creating your own ideas will lead to a larger degree of autonomy, while being told what to do leads to less autonomy, and self-generated ideas generally have a higher status than ideas from e.g. sources or editors (Gravengaard 2010, Gravengaard and Rimestad forthc.).

The novice versus the expert

In the following analysis, the interactions at two meetings are analysed in detail in order to exemplify how the actual interaction between a novice and an editor unfolds at the story meeting. These excerpts show how a novice and an expert member of the journalistic community are treated differently at the meeting, even though the story idea is the same.

Idea presentations are analyzed at the two meetings on a Tuesday and Thursday in the same week. The two cases are most similar, as the organisation, number of participants, time, place, idea and the editor in charge are the same. In the first case a young reporter, a novice, presents his idea, and in the second case a more mature reporter, an expert, presents the same idea but in a different way. The meetings are held during the Danish election campaign 2011. During Danish elections the candidates are allowed to put up posters and banners approximately three weeks before the election. The story idea concerns the vandalising of these election posters.

In the following, the method used is conversation analysis. In the transcripts, brackets with numbers as (1.5) indicate pauses in seconds and square brackets indicate overlaps. For the full list of transcription annotations, please consult the appendix.

The first excerpt below shows how the idea is presented by a novice, Andreas. It takes place in the middle of “the round”, the allocated turn-taking, during which the editor asks the participants, and here the novice Andreas, to present his ideas. There are 6 people present, but only three are talking in the example: The editor and the two journalists, Andreas and Peter. Peter, a more mature reporter, has just presented his idea, and the discussion of his idea is just ending.

Example 1

Meeting 1 at regional TV station: Presentation of idea

In excerpt: EDI, editor; PET, Peter; AND, Andreas

```
EDI:    ehnm but you must very much just hold on to it,
(.3)
PET:    ((nods)) yes-
(2.2)
EDI:    YES: (.) Æ:ndreas:=
AND:    =ye:ah?
(2.0)
AND:    Should we ha:ve [e::h]
EDI:                    [We w]ill have to think of
        something for you
(.)
AND:    We have done such a roundup on the vandalizing of
        elections posters or what.
(2.3)
        °has there been [that]=.°
EDI:                     [no] a a roundup .h
        [yes there is PRT that]
 AND:   [I just thought of] how much there really I-I just
        think there has been disturbingly much now there
        was something again yesterday=
EDI:    =yes you think of e:::h,=
```

AND: =in <u>T</u>own

The editor asks the reporter Peter to hold on to his idea and then he summons the novice Andreas with a slight mispronunciation of the first vowel in his name. Andreas is sitting to the immediate right of the editor and is resting his head on his right hand with the elbow on the table. Andreas answers immediately with "ye:ah?". In this setting, the interactionally prevailing norm is that Andreas is expected to present an idea for a news story or account for his plans for the day to the editor.

A pause of 2.2 seconds follows. During this quite lengthy pause the editor and Andreas gaze at each other, but Andreas keeps the body posture with his head resting on his arm. Andreas then starts an interrogative with the wording "Should we ha:ve", a relatively vague and indeterminate way of starting an idea presentation. He is interrupted by the editor, who says "We will have to think of something for <u>yo</u>u". This formulation indicates that the editor at this stage does not expect an idea from Andreas as he has not yet presented one. With the use of the pronoun "we", the editor furthermore signals that he will be part of the "thinking" process and take some of the responsibility for the outcome. This collaboration could render superfluous the fact that Andreas actually presents an idea at the meeting. The Danish wording "Vi må finde på noget til <u>dig</u>", "we must find something for <u>yo</u>u", points to a future action, something done later on.

However, Andreas does not respond to this proposal. He poses the declaratively formatted question: "We have done such a roundup on the vandalizing of elections posters or what." Again, a substantive silence occurs in the interaction and the body posture of Andreas is the same, though the editor and Andreas gaze at each other, torsos slightly turned toward each other. Andreas turns the first declarative question into an interrogative question: "has there been that", but his voice has a lower volume. The editor answers with a "no", and Andreas expands his idea by stating that he thinks there has been a lot of vandalism.

In the excerpt, Andreas does not respond to the summons immediately, as expected. The editor solves this by offering his help to "think of something", after which Andreas actually does present an idea. However, this is done vaguely and less determined compared to the next example.

In the next excerpt from the morning meeting two days later, the same editor and six journalists are sitting at the meeting table again. The editor is ending the debate about another idea, and he is about to say something else when Inger, who is an accomplished member or professional veteran, presents an idea.

Example 2

Meeting 2 at regional TV station: Presentation of idea

In excerpt: EDI, editor; ING, Inger; ELS, Else: TOR, Torben

```
TOR:  so I don’t know
EDI:  no I don’t know either maybe we should just let it=
TOR:    =let it [fly]
EDI:           [rest] a little hhh. but apart from that=
ING:    =I have been thinking about ha-have we at some
        stage been looking at the vandalism on eh election
        posters and on banners and o::n.
EDI:    no that we have not (.) .h we we have considered it
        a little bit but butbut eh they are not so crazy
        about it down at the desk if we do too much that
        has to do with election.
ELS:    (it [is namely the top of        )
EDI:         [so that means today if we are doing what is
        it called this and maybe e:::h eh that with=
ING:    =but I don’t think it is one they down there will
        touch=

EDI:    =no:.
```

The editor is changing the topic from the sequence just before in which an idea is eliminated, as the reporter and editor suggest that they let it rest. By saying “but apart from that” the editor is doing a preliminary, getting ready to change his focus to a new topic. In the gap between the words, but without a clear ending of the turn construction unit the editor is in the middle of, Inger asks if they have been looking at the vandalising of election posters. The editor says no, but also expands this negative response by saying that the election desk, a special task force in the period of the elections, is not “crazy about” them covering elections as this subject naturally belongs within the jurisdiction of the election desk. The election desk is situated downstairs, which explains his phrase “down there”. Another journalist, Else, says something which is almost inaudible. And the editor starts reiterating that this desk is doing two other stories that are also connected to the election, probably building up an argument that the desk should not do more stories on the election. Inger disagrees with the editor by stating that she doesn’t think that the election desk will deal with the story.

Inger demonstrates her integrity as she presents an idea without being summoned. She is able to present an idea unaided and unasked for and with a more precise wording than the novice. Furthermore, she shows her willingness to argue for the idea despite the editor’s hesitancy to deal with it because it is within the turf of the election desk.

Two identities

These situated identities demonstrate that in the interaction Inger shows more confidence than the novice.

In the first excerpt, the editor produces a summons after which Andreas, according to the professional norms inherent in this meeting format, should volunteer an idea or account for his plan. But Andreas does not seem to understand this, and when the response is not what the editor expects, he responds with a different solution – a joint effort to find a story for Andreas. Andreas does have a contribution, and it starts just before the editor’s suggestion, but there is no response to this.

In contrast, Inger is an expert member of the professional culture and does not need help, as she is taking initiative and argues for her idea despite opposition from the editor. She starts mid-turn and fluently delivers her suggestion.

In the arguments that unfold after the presentation of the ideas, which is not presented verbatim here, Inger displays her knowledge about the events by referring to a concrete politician and the costs of vandalism on his posters. She also displays outrage at what has happened, a strong emotional stance to the event, which she labels “a scandal”. Andreas is less able to answer questions about the potential angle or sources. At one stage, he even proposes an alternative news story. The editor offers not only his help but also shapes the verbal agreement of future action in a way that covers an eventual failure in promoting and developing the idea to an actual news story.

The findings are summarized in table 1.

Table 1: Comparison of novice vs. expert

	Novice	**Expert**
Initial proposal	Not initiating	Self-initiating
Argument	Weaker epistemic and emotional stance	Stronger epistemic and emotional stance
Reaction to negotiation/opposition	Proposing new idea	Resisting elimination
Final resolution	Needing help – not personally responsible for outcome	Not needing help – personally responsible for outcome

The comparison of the two idea presentations gives a glimpse of how ideas are presented and treated, evaluated and discussed at a micro level in the newsroom. The professional veteran knows how and when to fight for an idea, and she displays a strong emotional and epistemic stance compared to the novice. The novice hesitates and shows less commitment, less of an emotional and epistemic stance. Of course, not all novices behave this way, but the example is one of many from the fieldwork and the video data that document how novices display less self-confidence than senior reporters, and as a consequence of this, the novice gets a different treatment than the veteran.

Fitting into the newsroom

Even though media systems, educational practices and the degree of control vary, ideation and idea presentation are key competencies for journalists everywhere. The Danish case can be used to illustrate how even journalists with a high degree of autonomy struggle with ideation and the meeting as a forum for discussing ideas.

Simon (1959)argues that organisations constrain the individuals in their doings, harnessing them to fit the organisation. However, mass communicated creativity can only be effected in an organisational context (Ettema and Whitney 1982, 8), but as our fieldwork illustrates this organisational context might make the individual anxious about his or her performance.

For the novice journalist who is not yet accustomed to the busy newsroom and the professional culture and norms, it can be a challenge to decode what constitutes a good news story for this specific media. The story meeting is perceived as a daily exam, especially in the outset of the internship. The students make an effort to fit in; that is, they are socialized to copy the behaviour of the more experienced reporters, displaying competence as professional members of a community. This, in turn, can lead to a more or less pronounced anxiety and might very well obstruct or inhibit the student from presenting innovative ideas or being able to stand the ground in this phase when met with opposition.

If the educators both within the media organisations and the educational institutions underestimate how hard it is for some novices to cope with the work place’s demands for suitable ideas, loss of creativity might be the result, as the student might find it too daunting to challenge or widen the scope of ideas. The fear of suggesting unacceptable or unsuitable ideas for the media will outperform the ability to think up more innovative approaches to an event.

As the examples in the article illustrate, ideation is considered a basic journalistic skill, and the newsroom meeting is the breeding ground for learning the skill. However, the examples also illuminate that ideation, innovation and creativity are very sensitive issues for some newcomers in the organisational and interactional context. Ideation is a key competency, but so is the presentation and facilitation of ideas, as the context of idea presentation constitutes the breeding ground for innovative ideas. In the interaction, the recipient, in the excerpts the editor, has a major impact on the way the novice's idea is treated and the trajectory of the conversation. If the editor wants more creative ideas, another interactional norm could be useful.

The rest of this paper is a proposal for educators and employers to focus more on the facilitation of ideas, if they wish to obtain more innovative substance during ideation.

Teaching facilitation

Competent facilitation of creativity is crucial to enhance and improve ideation as a skill and increase the level of innovation. Interactional and reflexive skills could improve the general ideation process towards generating more innovative and creative ideas, services or products. Media organisations need to cooperate with educational institutions if a change in practice is to be sustainable, as the norm and routinised practices of the newsroom and at the story meeting are relatively strong.

The educational institutions and the workplaces must provide the student with the ability to and the setting for innovative ideation, respectively, if not to lose the novices' ability to think up other approaches to what to cover and how to cover it.

The first step to clear the way is to explicate the anxiety of some students to the employers and explain to the students that the employers actually seek more variation in the supply of ideas than what is being expressed explicitly in the newsroom. This insight might accommodate a deeper mutual understanding.

The second step points to two groups of important interlocutors when educating new reporters: educators/teachers and employers/editors.

It is necessary to re-evaluate how ideation and presentation is taught. First of all and as a basic skill, the student must be able to identify plausible story ideas for a target audience. Secondly, the student must be able to work with ideation as a process within an organisational context and with colleagues. However, educators need to train students not only in news values and news story ideation, but also in presenting ideas in order to prepare the student for the situation. Finally, the novice needs skills in arguing for his or her idea convincingly and in identifying and overcoming barriers, if necessary.

The other crucial group, the editors, need more awareness of and training in facilitation of ideation, both during meetings and during the more informal interactions during the day. It is an illusion to demand innovative and creative ideation from novices while maintaining meetings with strong norms and the clear, though implicit, goal of getting ideas within the acceptable limits of the media as they are known today.

Ensuring the best framework for creativity could include special ideation events for interns in the form of seminars; dedicating story meetings or parts of them to novices or wilder ideation exercises; competitions for best idea within a certain field or genre; or prompting ideation from the individual novice by “planting a seed” a week before an upcoming event. In this way, the editor lets the novice work with the idea over a longer period of time. Of course, this change ought to be combined with a longitudinal study of the consequences of changes in education and local facilitation of ideas.

Of course, it is crucial with resources to support this, so that mistakes or wild ideas going wrong would not lead to panic just before deadline. Allowing chaos in carefully metered doses demands not only facilitation, but also patience and room for failure, as experiences from innovative companies have long proven. But if innovative ideas and creativity is in demand, this facilitation and consciously allowing more room for ideation processes is crucial in the newsroom.

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Focusing on deadlines

How orientation towards time is a constitutive normative constraint at meetings in media organizations

Abstract

This article deals with the orientation to time and deadlines at morning meetings in news organisations. Time is a central structuring factor at the meetings, and the prevailing norm of ensuring progression and keeping the deadline of the meeting constitutes important normative constraints on the meeting. The study shows how deadlines are pursued through verbal and non-verbal interaction, and how progression is achieved in a subtle way in order to handle issues of impoliteness or "losing face".

Keywords

Journalism practice, conversation analysis, meetings, deadlines, politeness

In media organisations orientation to time, timeliness and deadlines is pronounced. At classic media such as newspapers, radio and television, reporters and editors are notoriously concerned with deadlines; the need for immediacy and primacy prevails as a norm (Tuchman 1973, Schudson and Munoff 1986, Deuze 2005, Hanitzsch 2007, Barnhurst 2011).

This paper is concerned with time as a situated practice (Giddens 1984, Boden 1997, Rawls 2008) and practice as situated time (Zerubavel 1982, Zerubavel 1985, Rawls 2005). Due to daily deadlines, journalists and editors normally meet at least once every day of the working week to discuss new ideas. These news conferences, morning or story meetings provide a forum for discussing ideas for news stories (Clayman and Reisner 1998, Catenaccio, Cotter et al. 2010, Cotter

2010), but the discussions are susceptible to and influenced by deadlines in at least two ways: the meeting itself has a deadline and the production process has a series of deadlines or a collective deadline. Thirdly, time is discursively framed in the news themselves. In this article I am primarily interested in the two first time constraints, as these meetings become an example of how orientation to time is an important constitutive practice within organisations and a normative constraint on institutional practices such as the meetings. Two sets of norms seem to clash or entwine at the meetings: On one hand, the normative constraint of deadlines, the enforcement of deadlines and the need for efficiency, one the other the obligation to avoid potentially face threatening situations at the meeting (Brown and Levinson 1987), as the norm of speedy progress impedes politeness in the interaction.

The main aim of the paper is to explicate how deadlines and the need for keeping deadlines influence the interaction at meetings in the newsroom. Based on conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff et al. 1974, Heritage 1984, Schegloff 1992) of video recordings of morning meetings this article demonstrates how progression is accomplished, and how time is communicated verbally and nonverbally to and by the participants at the meeting (Clayman 1989, Schegloff 2000, Schegloff 2002, Schegloff 2007, Nielsen 2009), and how the orientation to time is combined with an issue of handling the concern of losing face or staying polite, while at the same time maintaining a high degree of efficiency.

News, deadlines and timeliness

Zerubavel (Zerubavel 1976, 1982, Zerubavel 1985) argues that all social activities are in some way conducted in accordance with schedules, that specify a certain temporality: “When” specifies the temporal location, “how long” the duration, the “order” specifies the sequence, and “how often” the rate of occurrence. These parameters constitute the “sociotemporal order” of our complex society.

Most communities and institutional settings construct and attend to temporal order (Whorf and Carroll 1956, Zerubavel 1985, Bourdieu 1986, Clayman 1989, Boden 1997, Ochs and Jacoby 1997), but few other professions as strong as that of news organisations. News must be delivered not only on time, but also at the appropriate time (Bell 1995). Journalists work at routinizing the unexpected, as they “try to control the flow of work and the amount of work to be done” (1973), and Shoemaker and Reese discuss how: “The job of these routines is to deliver, within time and space limitations, the most acceptable product to the consumer in the most efficient manner,” (1996). These time and space limitations create a ‘stop-watch culture’ or “time machines” (Schlesinger 1977), and immediacy is defined as one of the values in the “shared occupational ideology” of journalists (Deuze 2005). This time constraint in the shape of deadlines not only influences the interactions within the newsroom, but also the content of the news (Soloski 1984).

A deadline is the predetermined moment of time at which a particular task must be completed. The etymological origin of the term underlines the seriousness of deadlines. The term is ascribed (Hendrickson 1997) to originate from a prison camp in Andersonville, USA, during the American Civil War. The deadline was a line 17 feet from the camp's fence. If a prisoner was caught trying to cross this line, he was shot by the guards.

The work process of the employees in media organisations are tightly structured around a string of serious, even if less lethal, deadlines throughout the 24 hours of the day, and the sense of urgency has not diminished with the emergence of web media as web media compete on being first and best at covering events as they occur (Pavlik 2000, Singer 2003, Witschge and Nygren 2009, Barnhurst 2011).

To problematize this orientation to time, a survey study on political journalists in the four countries, Spain, Germany, United Kingdom and Denmark has shown that “limitations inherent in the routines within the news organization and format of the news outlet, such as limits of space and time” (van Dalen 2011) are regarded as the main limitation in journalists’ daily work by the journalists themselves. A major study (Amabile, Hadley et al. 2002) has shown that time pressure leads to less creativity. Exempt to this rule, though, are professionals, who feel that their job is important and that they have a “mission” (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi et al. 2001). Another study shows that journalists appreciate deadlines, as deadlines ensure that the work of journalist has a limit, a schedule that cannot be transgressed (Pihl-Thingvad 2010).

Meetings as sociotemporal institutional settings

Meetings are interesting as an object of study, because they are one of the interactions through which “institutions produce and reproduce themselves” (Boden 1984, Schwartzman 1989, Heritage and Clayman 2010). Meetings are characterized (Heritage and Clayman 2010) by being goal or task oriented, and this results in special constraints on what will be treated as allowable or relevant contributions at the meeting.

Meetings are defined as ”a planned gathering” (Boden 1984). In accordance with earlier research by Boden, temporal frames are treated as “matters of institutional import, as well as individual accomplishments” (Boden 1997).

Time can be seen at as “temporal formulations” (Schegloff 1972) , but also as the “moment-to-moment constitution of time” (Boden 1997), the temporal organisation (Sacks 1978) and the sequentiality of the interaction (Sacks, Schegloff et al. 1974, Schegloff 2000). For example, meetings such as morning meetings involve a mediated turn-allocation (Asmuss and Svennevig 2009, Heritage and Clayman 2010), as a chairperson, often an editor, is in charge of the organization of the interaction. The head of the meeting will to some extent administer turn taking, topic progression and topic organization (Stivers and Robinson 2006). The more formal, the tighter the control of turn-allocation (Asmuss and Svennevig 2009).

Even though the task of and the framework for the meeting is well known to the participants, the extreme orientation to time constitutes a potentially face threatening situation (Brown and Levinson 1987), as the participants want their face to be “appreciated and approved of” and be “free from imposition” by others. In order to mitigate these potential face threats at the meetings, politeness is used in the interaction.

Objectives

Through the analysis of meetings in newsrooms it is possible to describe how temporality has a major impact on the daily routines and norms of journalists and to reflect on what consequences this impact has.

The objective in this paper is to describe how the normative constraints of start, progress and conclusion of the meeting are achieved, while handling the potentially face threatening situation of demanding progression and thereby impositioning others.

Research context, data and method

The data for this paper consists of 26 morning meetings from two different organisations, a national newspaper and a national television broadcaster, both Danish. The meetings have been videotaped, and the interactions have been transcribed according to conversation analytical conventions (Jefferson 1984) . The identities of the participants have been anonymised.

The method used is conversation analysis which is the systematic analysis of talk from everyday interaction (Sacks, Schegloff et al. 1974, Schegloff 1986, Heritage and Antaki 1988, Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008, Heritage and Clayman 2010). This interdisciplinary ethnographic approach involves transcending the traditional analysis of the structural structures and provides situated knowledge of the actual practices. The examples have been selected to depict regularly occurring interactions in the data.

The meetings in the data are attended by 4 to 18 people and are usually chaired by an editor or a subeditor. Most of the participants are reporters, but other editorial employees may also attend the meetings. The meetings’ main function is the presentation of ideas for the upcoming production. However, the agenda of the morning meeting can also consist of a short oral feedback and important messages to the participants. The presentation of ideas is sometimes done in the shape of a round, on other occasions the editor is the main presenter of the ideas.

The start of the meeting

Meetings are often planned events, involving a scheduled time of starting and ending the meeting (Asmuss and Svennevig 2009, Nielsen 2009, Nielsen 2010, Nielsen 2010). Morning meetings are prearranged daily routines and are scheduled both temporally and spatially, taking place at the same time and at the same location every weekday.

The meeting is often the first meeting of the day for the editorial staff and is obligatory in the sense that a reporter is expected to account for his or her absence before or after the meeting. After the meeting the editor participates at other meetings, e.g. the editorial conference, during which the editor in chief meet with the desk editors or s<ubeditors in order to discuss how to prioritize the news stories (Clayman and Reisner 1998).

This strict orientation to the daily organisational routine is displayed from the start, as all the meetings in the data either start on schedule or within 2-5 minutes after the appointed time.

Here is an example of this kind of interaction at the opening of at meeting. This meeting has a scheduled start at 9.05 AM (See appendix for conversational transcription conventions). The editor asks a reporter, if he is ready for the meeting:

Example 1

EDI: *Svend er du klar?*
Svend are you ready?
((EDI points with his pen at Svend, who is sitting at his desk at little way away from the meeting table))
SVE: *jeg kommer nu den er kun lige fem minutter over [ni]*
I am coming now it is only just five minutes past [nine]
EDI: *[I]da,*
(.) er det mit ur der er foran.
[I]da,
(.) is it my watch that running too fast
(4.5)

The editor is on his way to sit down at the meeting table, standing next to his pulled-out chair, and he calls out to the potential participants he spots in the open office space. He has called other participants, who have already come to the table. In the excerpt he calls Svend and asks “are you ready”. The editor also points with his pen at Svend, using it as a selection device and an underlining of his evocation of Svend.

The editor’s question has a preferred answer of yes (Bilmes 1988, Raymond 2003, Heritage and Clayman 2010), but Svend responds by referring to the action he is about to do, “coming to the table” and making an account: because “it is only just five minutes past nine”. The editor overlaps the last part of Svends account by calling yet another reporter, Ida, to the table, and then he poses a question: “Is it my watch that is running too fast.” No one responds to this in the ensuing silence.

This utterance can be seen as an implicit accusation: Either his watch is wrong, or they are late. But it also serves as a plausible excuse for the fact that the editor has been forced to call the reporters individually to the meeting and saves him or them from losing face. No one does an uptake after his wondering about the precision of his watch, and this leaves him on his own in the endeavor to find excuses for the possible tardiness.

The editor takes on the identity as the chair of the meeting, ensuring that it starts on time. At the same time his calling for reporters, who have not shown up at the table, gives them the identity of latecomers. However, Svend refuses to accept this identity, and he reverses the accusation of being late by suggesting the editor might be starting the meeting too early. The editor in response to this continues his evocation, but also orients to his watch in order to find out, who has the timing right. The matter is never settled, but as the editor doesn't insist on being right, no one loses face.

The meeting actually starts two minutes later, when the reporters have assembled at the table.

This type of sequence is a frequently seen example of the time pressure at the meeting. One specific editor, whose meetings are not held in an open office space, closes the door to the meeting room at the exact appointed starting time to mark that the meeting has started. One day out of the four this editor greets a reporter, who arrives late by asking: "Couldn't you try to be here on time. It is a little frustrating being interrupted all the time." The Danish word used for "you" is in the plural. By this lexical choice the reprimand is not only directed at the reporter, who arrives late that day, but at everyone in general.

The editors are in general clearly communicating that the meeting is starting on time, and the focus is on efficiently getting the task ahead done, but they do this in a manner that handles potentially face threatening situations by mitigating and hedging the demands.

During the meeting

During the meetings in the newsroom the orientation to time is also pronounced. This occurs in several ways, explicitly or implicitly. In the following excerpts the issue occurs as an explicit orientation to time and as a factor influencing the turn-taking organization.

The next instance depicts a way of allocating the turn-taking and also exemplifies the efficiency and cooperation of at the participants. The editor is ending his feedback to the editorial staff, a primarily monological turn, during which he criticizes the content and the look of the paper. Then he evokes one of the reporters by calling out her name.

Example 2

EDI: *hvor meget de ha:r ø:h*
>trukket ud til sig selv<. °det er helt vildt store beløb°.
how much they ha:ve e:h >taken out for themselves<. °it is really wildly large sums°.

JO1: *m::.* (1.8)
m::. (1.8)

EDI: *Charlotte?*
Charlotte?

CHA: *der kommer i hvert fald regnskab fra:*
PePetersen.
at any rate there will be the accounts
fro:m PePetersen.

EDI: *ja .hh* (5.3) ((noterer på sin blok))
yes .hh (5.3) ((taking notes on paper))

EDI: *sonst was?*
sonst was? ((German for ’anything
else’))

(6.8)

%GES ((Editor still looks at his papers, looks up and nods in the direction of Charlotte, who shakes her head a little bit, the editor then raises his gaze and turns to

another reporter, sitting to his left side and points with his pen towards JON))

JON: *mig?*

me?

EDI: *>nu har du jo noget at leve op te: jo<.*

>now have you PRT something to live up to: you know<.

When the editor finishes his turn and ends the feedback with an evaluation of the behaviour of a certain company, one of the reporters acknowledges this with a quietly spoken affirmative minimal response, “mm.”.

Without any boundary marker or explicit metacomment the editor changes to the next item on the agenda: The round, during which the reporters present their ideas. The editor allocates the next turn to one of the participants by calling out her name. He doesn’t pose a question or make a request; he merely says her name and turns to her. Lee (2011) has shown how participants in an interaction can “depart from type-conformity when orienting to activity progressivity”, skipping several steps in the interaction, when familiar with it. The interaction shows how the reporter uses her experience from the past morning meetings to cooperate and comply with the unspoken change of agenda. She displays that she possesses the necessary tacit expert knowledge (Polany 1966, Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995, Wackerhausen and Learning 1998, Wackerhausen, Wackerhausen et al. 2000, Catenaccio, Cotter et al. 2010).

Furthermore Charlotte’s answer to the implicit, unspoken question is one of the shortest in the present data. Her turn lasts 3 seconds. It is a statement of an event, a specific company announces its annual accounts, and indirectly Charlotte says she will cover that event. Furthermore she displays openness to other potential stories by using the formulation “at any rate”.

The editor approves of the idea by noting it on his notepad. In this particular setting the notepad works as a contract. Once an idea is noted on the notepad, this contract is binding. She will have to contact him, if she doesn’t produce the story by the deadline, because now it is on his list of stated stories for the paper.

The editor then moves on by asking her if she has anything else. But the editor uses the German phrase “Sonst was” for this. The “Sonst was?” works as a question. Maybe prompted by her “at any rate”, the editor with this German phrase asks: Does she want to contribute with anything else?

Charlotte does a small shake of her head, and the editor moves on to the next reporter in the round. Here the editor simply points with his pen to the person, to whom he allocates the next turn: Jon. The next selected speaker reacts as if he is in doubt about whom the pen is pointing to, as he asks “me?”. This question stalls the hasty progression, and the editor starts a narrative about the reporter’s recent accomplishments – he displays an eagerness for the journalist not to lose face by doing this account.

The entire sequence is characterized by a high degree of efficiency, progression and speed: The minimal positive response token by a reporter as an acknowledgment of the feedback; the editor’s unmarked progression to the next topic on the agenda; the editor’s selection of next speaker by utterance of name only, and no explicit request of information; the reporter’s very short statement of idea; no verbal acknowledgment or evaluation of her statement, only nonverbal, from the editor; a short, sharply formulated inquiry if there is more from the editor, and then progression to turn allocation of the next speaker by the pointing of the pen.

Not only the editor, but also the other participants in this example, perform to shorten the extent of talk to an absolute minimum. There is no explicit decision making, no discussion, but more a brief recital of intentions. This, of course, is the extreme case of time orientation. But even when the discussion about a story expands there is an orientation to and a demand for progression.

The next excerpts stem from a discussion of a story that has been covered by a reporter, John (JOH), for a few days already. Before the sequence shown here the editor – as the initiation of the entire sequence and chair of the meeting - asks to the reporter, if any follow-up to the story has been planned. The reporter, who has been responsible for the coverage so far, answers that he hasn’t had time to think up new angles. Some of the other participants join in with suggestions of possible new angles. Several new angles on the story are launched, and especially two of those are treated favourably.

The excerpt is from the ending of this ideation process, and the interaction about that particular story has been going on for more than 3 minutes already. A senior reporter, Carl (CAR), has just stated the importance of keeping the story going, and now the journalist responsible for the coverage answers this by stating it will be hard for him to manage to do both the suggested angles.

Example 3

```
JOH:     .h men det blir lidt svært å både
         nå å å [lave den]
         .h but it will be a little hard both to
         manage to to [do this]
EDI:                  [jaja] ((kigger på JOH))
                      [yesyes] ((gazes at JOH))
JOH:     generelle be[sti]kkelses[hi]storie
         general bri[be]ry [sto]ry
EDI:                 [ja]        [ja]
                   [yes]   [yes]

JOH:     og så opfølgningen på:
         and the the follow up on:
EDI:     .h j[a]
         .h y[es]
CAR:     [ja] (°de:t jo det°)
         [yes] (°it's that you know°)
JOH:     beskyldningerne ikk'.
         the accusations right.
EDI:     ja.h
         yes .h
(0.8)
```

John, who is responsible for the story, says that it will be “a little hard” writing both stories. Two new angles have been positively received at the meeting prior to the excerpt, but he cannot do both stories in one day.

The individual reporter’s explicit reference to lack of time is a common feature at story meetings. There are many stories worth telling, but in order to do the work before deadlines a prioritization is necessary. Here the journalist expresses his commitment to work on the stories, but also states that the two stories require more work than he can manage. By expressing it will be “hard”, he shows his commitment to do it if necessary, keeping his positive face, but at the same time indicates that it is problematic.

At least three competing norms are present in his statement: The norm of being positively inclined to working hard, the norm of doing the job well enough and the norm of handing in the right stories at the right time. The temporal aspect of the profession surfaces and collides with the professional standards of delivering “the most acceptable product to the consumer in the most efficient manner” (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). The journalist on one hand has to handle his positive face and on the other the negative face ensuing from him not being able to handle the stories on his own.

The editor agrees several times on this assessment. First by using the “yesyes” and by positive acknowledgments later on. But the editor offers no immediate solution to the problem John faces. When John ends his turn, a silence of 0.8 seconds makes a transition relevant point, as the statement gets no other uptake than the editor’s previous acknowledgment of the problem, as pointed out earlier.

The question is: Who is responsible for the reporter not being able to do both pieces within the given temporal framework?

As seen in the data there is no immediate uptake from the editor, who in theory could relegate resources to the task and solve the problem. This might be the norm at other meetings, and is also seen in the present data, but here the editor doesn’t make a suggestion to solve problem. However, after the short silence and after the excerpt another reporter, a reporter responsible for the web that day, says she has a reporter, Peter, who could help John. Peter is not participating in the meeting, but the suggestion is received positively by John and the editor, who later starts giving instructions to Peter via the people present.

Here the competing agendas of the editor and the reporters are seen. Two deadlines seem to be competing: The meeting has a deadline, and there is not time enough for debating all potential issues thoroughly. However, the reporter has a deadline that is hard to meet if he has to do two stories, and he makes this an issue to be discussed within the timeframe of the meeting. As the issue is solved later in the interaction, the editor wants to progress to the next topic, but makes sure that the progression is done subtly and thereby mitigates the potentially face threatening situation. There is no direct exclamation of "Enough said about that. Let us move on now", but a more subtle signalling of progression is displayed. By using minimal acknowledgment tokens in different variations throughout the interaction the editor accomplishes progression without compromising the face of the reporter.

Time orientation in nonverbal interaction

Apart from the explicit mentioning of time and the time constraint displayed through minimal acknowledgement tokens, the morning meetings involve a number of artefacts. As seen in the earlier examples prominent props are the watch, pen and notepad, but the participants also use of phones, computers, papers, newspapers, whiteboards and board markers.

These items can also be used as agencies of time orientation.

As seen in the example already presented the watch is used at the start and the end of the meeting. But the editor and some of the participants also employ the watch as way of orienting to time, and at the same time displaying an orientation to time.

The editor looks at his watch, and by looking at the watch he not only learns what the time is, but at the same time he discreetly signals to the others that time is passing. That way the gesture becomes a preliminary equivalent to a boundary marker, indicating an inclination to make a progression, leave or otherwise change the interaction in some way.

Another “progression tool” is pieces of paper. For example, at the end of a feedback an editor says: “That was what I had to say about today’s paper. Are there any other comments?” He pauses, creating a transition relevant point, but at the same time he picks up the stack of papers in front of him. He assembles the pieces of paper by hitting the surface of the table with the lower edge of the stack. “Otherwise we will proceed,” he then says, just as he hits the table with the paper.

Semantically, prosodically and by making a pause the editor encourages the other participants to comment on his feedback, but non-verbally he discourages the action by “packing the paper away”. This gesture works as a boundary marker (Goodwin 1986, Gardner 2001) indicating it is time to move on.

However, the pen and the notepad are by far the most sequentially used artifact in the present data. The pen and the notepad are present in three versions, as pen and paper, board marker and white board or as a computer screen on the wall, big enough for all to see. These items are used continually during the meetings as the editor notes new ideas or read aloud ideas already noted.

The pen has a variety of purposes, for example it is used as:

- Writing device – “signing the contract” as the editor notes the ideas of the reporters.
- Boundary marker and turn allocating device – by using the pen as a conductor’s baton the editor can appoint the next turn.
- Mood indicator – by waving, sucking on, clicking with or tapping the pen in the palm of his hand or into the desk the editor can display moods like distraction, impatience or even anger.

These gestures with pen and paper have temporal consequences. The contract writing signals the acceptance of an idea and as the idea has been noted, no more talk is needed. By using the pen as a pointing device the allocation of a turn can be done without words. The mood indicator can subtly signal to the others present that now the editor is impatient or disagrees, and this might have an impact on the interaction.

All in all, these artefacts render some verbal communication superfluous or support the verbal interaction, as they can be used to signal the need for progression without asking for it verbally.

The end of the meeting

Another indication of the strong orientation to time is the fact that only one meeting of the 35 interactions in the data exceeds the scheduled time, as the consequences of a delay will be severe in this particular setting.

Ending the meeting becomes a laughable issue at this excerpt, in which a reporter asks if the meeting will end soon.

Example 4

```
JOU:    Er det her møde ikke snart slut? ((hun smiler))
        Isn't this meeting soon over? ((she smiles))
((3-4 participants laugh, while others smile))
EDI:    £Jo det HÅ:BER jeg ved gud.£
        £Yes I HO:PE that by god.£
((More laughter. Participants start to leave. Editor leaves the
        table as the fifth person.))
```

The journalist poses a negated question about the meeting ending soon, displaying some sort of impatience with the chair and the interaction itself. Through she smiles, the question is posed in a serious voice. The use of "det her", "this here", indicates that there are more meetings or tasks waiting. The editor responds to the question by saying that he hopes so. Done in a jokingly way, he in one way refuses to take on the responsibility as the chair of the meeting, but in another way by agreeing with her, he implicitly states that her question is relevant, and the participants use this as a cue to dissolve the meeting.

Participants, who have delivered their say, often display impatience towards the end of meeting. As the example above shows some participants will grasp the first opportunity to leave with gratitude, as they want to move on to the next tasks of the day.

As seen in the data the schedule of the meeting and the obligation to ending and finishing on time plays a major role. Especially the editor makes sure that these temporal aspects of the meeting are respected, and the journalists seem eager to conclude the meeting, too.

Discussion

According to Zerubavel (1981) all social activities are conducted in accordance with some kind of schedules that specify their temporal location (when), duration (how long), sequence (order) and rate of occurrence (how often).

As seen in the prior analyses, this particular institutional setting, the morning meeting, is very much oriented towards temporality in particularly two ways: The meeting has a temporal location, a scheduled duration and an inbuilt orientation to progression. Furthermore the meeting is a small part of a sequence of specified temporal locations: deadlines. The high degree of orientation to temporality in the interaction intersects with the overall goal of the organisation: delivering timely and timed pieces of news to an audience, and in order to do that the deadline of the meeting and the deadline of the media must be respected.

Schudson (Schudson and Munoff 1986) argues that the rush and adrenaline of the deadline are done in – "an effort to deny and to escape the humdrum of daily journalism" (1986). But one could also argue that the ideal of embracing the information overload and abundance of potential news stories clashes with the severe time constraint.

The morning meeting could be seen as an effort to make the most of time as a scarce, fleeting and demarcatory resource and doing it in a way that has the least impoliteness or negative consequences for the participants' face.

However the tacit and and very complicative pressure of time seems to collide with the need for creativity and innovative moves in the field. The extensive evasion of silences combined with the severe need for progression results in less time to think, less time to be innovative, and might lead to predictability and conformity.

The high degree of progressivity during the meetings is indicating that the participants do not want to waste anybody's time, the editor and other participants being in control of the allowance of time for debate and a strong focus on the deadlines within and after the meeting.

The disadvantages might be too little time for discussion and ideation, which in return might result in fewer unpredictable ideas and innovative initiatives. The less the participants interact and discuss, the more conform and predictable the outcome of the decisions. Or with the term of Herbert Simon (Simon 1959) "satisficing", satifying at a sufficient level the decision-making process and moving on to the next task of the working day without taking time for more open debates.

As the meeting is a regularly occurring event, the norms of progression and deadline orientation have become a tacit norm. The role and identity of the reporters, participating in the meeting, is to respect and help comply with these progression and boundary signals and to deliver their ideas within the allocated timeslot. The reporters display not only an orientation to temporality, but also bring the identity of the busy and hardworking reporter with a constant focus on deadline into play at the meetings. So it is on one hand an individual accomplishment and on the other also a communal effort to ensure the progression of the meeting.

This study does not discuss if the quality of the news suffers, because of the time pressure, but very likely it does have a negative influence. More time might very likely lead to better, more in-depth news. However, this would contravene the entire concept of news and the prominent news value of timeliness.

The present study describes how much time and deadline orientations influence the daily work of journalists, but it is necessary to do further research to conclude how and how much the time constraint influence the content of both the meetings and the media.

Conclusion

At morning meetings at least two levels of deadlines can be traced. The meeting has a deadline, and the media has a deadline. The meeting has a temporal location, a scheduled duration and an orientation to progression. However, the meeting is a small part of a sequence of specified temporal locations: a string of deadlines. Finishing the meeting on time clashes with any prolonged debate about stories, angles and ideas. It is a clash of local temporal issues: Doing the meeting on time vs. getting the job done on time.

This temporal orientation can be seen in primarily three ways: 1) by explicit verbal orientation to time, 2) by the turn-taking organization, turn design and the sequential order of the interaction, and 3) by gestures often involving the use of artefacts such as pen, notepad, paper and watch.

The orientation to deadlines and the time pressure constitutes a constraint and is a scarce resource in this particular institutional setting, leading to a “satisficing” decision-making process. At the same time, the constraint of time clashes with politeness issues. By demanding progression and sometimes forcing a topic change the editor is in risk of threatening the face of the participants, who “take the time”. This potentially damaging constraint of the meeting is managed by mitigating and hedging the demand for progression and topic changes in order to save the face of the participants.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

The transcription conventions were developed by Gail Jefferson. The transcripts ought to be used in conjunction with, rather than as a substitute for, the actual recordings. The spelling may deviate from standard orthography, as the words have been transcribed to roughly indicate how they were produced.

?,.	Punctuation is designed to capture intonation, not grammar. Comma is for slightly upward 'continuing' intonation; question mark for marked upward intonation; and period for falling intonation.
[	Left-side brackets indicate where overlapping talk begins.
]	Right-side brackets indicate where overlapping talk ends, or marks alignments within a continuing stream of overlapping talk.
(0.8)	Numbers in parentheses indicate periods of silence, in tenths of a second.
:::	Colons indicate a lengthening of the sound just preceding them, proportional to the number of colons.
ja-	A hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off or self-interruption of the sound in progress indicated by the preceding letter(s)
<u>ja</u>	Underlining indicates stress or emphasis.
hhh .hhh	The letter "h" is used to indicate hearable aspiration, its length roughly proportional to the number of "h"s. If preceded by a dot, the aspiration is an in-breath.
°	Talk appearing within degree signs is lower in volume relative to surrounding talk.
((looks))	Words in double parentheses indicate transcriber's comments, not transcriptions.

PRT	Particle – not translatable into English
☺	smiling voice
%GES	indicates the gestures at this time in the transcript
NN	name anonymized