PRINT AND ONLINE CULTURES IN THE MODERN NEWSPAPER

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Abstract

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2. History of Newsroom and Online Cultures

Newspaper History

Newspapers Before Electronic media

Newspapers in the Age of Television and Radio

Newspapers in the Age of the Internet

Newsroom Professional Authority

Internet History

The Early Years

The Utopian 1990's

The Internet as Mass Media

Chapter 3. The Modern Newsroom and the Postmodern Internet

Modernism vs. Postmodernism

Newsroom Ethos

Professional Training

Scholarly Background

Veteran Status

Web Development Ethos

Format Comparison: The Page and the Screen

The Printed Page

The Computer Screen

Readers vs. Users

Chapter 4: Ethnography and the Infocenter

Pre-Telegram & Gazette Preparation

Initial Expectations and Perceptions

Ethnography at the Telegram & Gazette

The Newsroom

How the Newsroom Views Itself

The Online Department

How the Online Department Views Itself

The Audience
Abstract

The "Print and Online Cultures in the Modern Newsroom" MQP examined the office cultures surrounding the newsroom and online department at the Worcester Telegram & Gazette. The perceptions of the newsroom and the online department towards themselves, the news, their audience, and ultimately each other were analyzed within the framework of professional authority, postmodernism and modernism. The acknowledgement of these perceptions will provide the first steps in reconciling the differences in the two offices' worldviews.
Chapter 1: Introduction

"Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets."
- Napoleon Bonaparte

There is a conflict today in the modern newsroom. The end of an era is seemingly upon the thousands of reporters, photographers, and editors who comprise this institution. For decades, the newspaper newsroom stood as a benevolent hegemony, blocking the general public from its highly ensconced culture while disseminating the fruits of its labor to those same masses. The modern newsroom is a tightly knit professional culture, complete with its own projected professional identity and authority. The newsroom, and only the newsroom, makes the news. Standing atop the apex of print culture, the newspaper newsroom has established a vertically integrated, hierarchal, modernist institution where only those who conform to its self-regulating standards and practices are allowed access, and all others are kept outside. A conflict has arisen, however, because digital online culture has penetrated the newsroom in the form of the modern online news department. This new department, vital to the future of newspapers, carries with it is own burgeoning sense of professional identity, complete with its own standardized practices and expectations. The newspaper online department has emerged from the distinctly postmodern, horizontally integrated world of the Internet, where expertise can emerge from anywhere and hierarchies are opposed on many levels. The online department presents a unique challenge to the professional authority of the newsroom, and a thorough analysis of this conflict will reveal a number of the underlying preconceptions and assumptions of each culture.

Before exploring the two cultures of the newsroom and the online department, however, their histories and developing identities must be examined. Less than one
hundred years ago, daily newspapers were the sole source of news and information for the masses of the world. Since Guttenberg's printing press 500 years ago, newspapers have been a permanent fixture in every major European and Asian society, and the institution of the newspaper has achieved full synonymy with the concept of "news" itself. In the United States, newspapers have historically been seen as the "4th Estate of the Government," achieving equal consideration in the pantheon of Congress, the President and the Supreme Court. As we will see in the coming sections, the newsroom has achieved this authority as the "4th Estate of the Government" by challenging the authority of the other three estates. In the past few decades, however, all of that has changed. Over the last 20 years, with the creation and emergence of 24-hour news networks and the World Wide Web, newspapers have struggled greatly in an effort to remain relevant. For every citizen who starts his day by reading a newspaper on his train ride to work, there is another who signs online and reads the same information for free. For every family that turns on the evening news to learn what has happened in the world that day, there is another that watches streaming digital video of the same events from the comforts of their laptops. Mass media in general is declining, and individual preferences have replaced group choices. Every day, readership dwindles among the major newspapers and many experts have predicted a not-too-distant future when the Millennial generation, raised from childhood with the Internet as the primary source for free news and information, becomes the dominant media consumer, sounding the death knell for the age of subscription newspapers.
The statistics are not reassuring: the Newspaper Association of America reports that total circulation has declined 13% between 1984 and 2003\(^1\) and the trend shows no signs of slowing. The following figure shows the absolute circulation cresting in 1984 and falling thereafter.

![Figure 1: Weekday Circulation in Steady Decline After 1984](http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/images/narrative_charts/newspapers/audience_a.jpg)

Between television and the Internet, the next generation of news consumers has been raised from a young age on an environment of free information, and newspapers are feeling the effects more and more each year. More than ever before, the Internet has been systematically usurping traditional features of newspapers –classified advertising, job listings and movie reviews for instance- and newspapers are losing the additional revenue

\(^1\) [http://online.wsj.com/public/article/SB111499919608621875-72vA7sUkzSQ76dPiTXytqgOMS5A_20050601.html?mod=ttf_main_tff_top](http://online.wsj.com/public/article/SB111499919608621875-72vA7sUkzSQ76dPiTXytqgOMS5A_20050601.html?mod=ttf_main_tff_top)
Figure 2: Craigslist.org Replicates a Traditional Newspaper Classified Section
http://www.craigslist.org

streams from these declining aspects alongside their declining circulations. Today, websites like Craigslist\(^2\) and Monster\(^3\) have replaced newspaper classified ads and help wanted postings with free online services. Countless other features have found digital reincarnations in recent years. For example, where the previous generation looked for relationships in a newspaper's "Personals" section, the current generation posts their descriptions and searches for friends on MySpace\(^4\) and Facebook\(^5\). These websites challenge some of the most important revenue sources for newspapers, and this is having serious effects on the business of newspapers, but what newspapers fear the most is not their readers selling possessions on eBay instead of in a classified ad –it is their readers getting their news from the cornucopia of online news sources that have emerged outside of the traditional newsroom hegemony and challenged their central authority.

The real crisis of newspapers today is just that loss of authority. While radio and television news each challenged the newspaper in the past, those two institutions were

\(^2\) http://boston.craigslist.org/
\(^3\) http://www.monster.com/
\(^4\) http://myspace.com/
\(^5\) http://facebook.com/
each professional institutions themselves, complete with their own established professional authorities. With the rise of the Internet, however, the newspaper is being challenged with the very essence of an anti-professional authority—a truly postmodern culture. The previous battles between radio, television and newspapers were battles between similarly structured, vertically integrated hegemonies. Like the Cold War, with the superpowers of the US and the USSR competing for supremacy, the challenges faced by newspapers in the past were against enemies that the newsroom could understand and comprehend. This new challenge, against the postmodern online world, is more akin to the modern War on Terrorism, where the vertically integrated armies of the US must fight the decentralized and horizontally integrated terrorists. The culture of the Internet does not challenge the authority of the newsroom with a competing professional authority—it challenges the very necessity of the newsroom's projected authority. In the past, the necessity of newspapers and professional reporters was seemingly inherent. If something happened in one part of the country, it was inconceivable that word of the event would naturally disseminate itself throughout a populace at any appreciable rate. Newspapers and reporters were therefore necessary to serve as the connecting tissue between the occurrences of the day and an interested audience. Information can only travel as fast as the available technology, and throughout the evolution of mass media, from the printed page, to the radio, to the television, there has been a consistent hegemony surrounding the disseminating forces. Radio and television airwaves are highly regulated, for example, and administrative, logistical and financial barriers prevent the general public from achieving anything greater than "viewer" status. As such, the news industry as a whole has been able to maintain their dominance over the public's access to information. If
someone wanted to "step through the looking glass" and see the world from the newspaper's point of view, there are clearly defined pathways -both educationally and professionally- that one must abide by in order achieve that goal. They must attend journalism school, or apprentice under an established reporter, for instance. The advent of the Internet has changed this dynamic however, and newspapers are feeling their authority slip away like never before. Today, nearly anyone can create a personal website with minimal cost and effort and begin publishing what they deem to be news. This threat of the democratization of news gathering on a high level and a more specific loss of professional authority on the more day-to-day level has caused the institution of newspapers to reassess themselves like never before.

Newspapers around the country are seeking out new ways to remain relevant among the changing face of mass media due to these anti-authoritarian pressures. Some are hunkering down and sticking to their tried and true business practices, convinced that market factors such as the subscription costs are the only reason for declining circulations. As such, newspapers in this mold, like the New York Post, have been cutting their price to as low as $.25 per copy. Others have attempted formatting changes, such as increasing their coverage of traditionally tabloid-esque topics –celebrity news, human-interest stories, scandals, and gossip- in the hopes of attracting younger readers. These two groups are still essential holding strong to the daily newspaper medium however, and they are simply using different pricing or content to attract greater readership. Other newspapers, like the New York Times, have taken more holistic

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approaches to stabilizing their companies, and they have worked towards diversifying their news covering empires by acquiring television networks, Internet domains, and local radio stations. These newspapers have argued that in order to remain a viable and competitive company in the changing face of media, and therefore preserve the ultimate hegemonic status quo that they have enjoyed for so long, newspapers will need to spread themselves throughout each of the available mediums, including the Internet.

One particular newspaper facing the rapidly changing face of media is Worcester's own Telegram & Gazette. Unlike nationally read newspapers such as the New York Times, Los Angeles Times or Chicago Tribune, the Worcester Telegram & Gazette faces the unique challenge of coping with the digital reformation of media while also maintaining its identity of serving the specific needs of the Worcester community. When people look to the New York Times, for example, they are seeking out in-depth coverage of national and international politics. When someone looks to the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, on the other hand, they may be interested in seeing a photo of their son's high school football game as much as than any breaking news story. Providing these two extremes in reporting is what the Worcester Telegram & Gazette has founded its reputation on for more than 100 years, but translating those diverse aspects into the digital realm while fighting in an increasingly competitive media environment has truly shaken the very core of the Worcester Telegram & Gazette.

Already the Worcester Telegram & Gazette has made the fundamental first step of creating its own website. In doing so however, it has created a particular dilemma in introducing a new department, the online department, into the fiercely hegemonic environment of the traditional newsroom. In creating its website, the Worcester

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7 http://www.nytc.com/company-othersites.html
Telegram & Gazette, like many newspapers of this era, has rapidly found itself in a melting pot of an office culture clash.

Traditionally, the newsroom has been the singular, dominant culture of the newspaper office. Editors, photographers and reporters all honed their trades under the mutual pressure of the nightly deadline, and submitting an article was a simple as typing it up and walking it over to one's supervisor. The newsroom culture is like that of most exclusive, professional societies—akin to doctors, lawyers, engineers and professors. There are narrow entranceways into the cloistered and protective culture of the newsroom, and the growing need to work hand-and-hand with the online department has caused significant friction. The protectionist culture of the newsroom is now being exposed to an entirely separate culture that is similar and different in many interesting ways. Now, online programmers and network technicians have been added into the environment, and their culture of hierarchal access, continuous deadlines and near-anonymity has come with them. Together, these two cultures represent the future for the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, but it is only through a close examination of the professional cultures that one can fully understand the greater implications of the digitalization of today and tomorrow's newspapers.
For the past 5 months, I have spent my time observing and analyzing the interactions of these two office cultures as they have come slowly closer in their inevitable merger at the Telegram & Gazette. Throughout this time I have been working as a participant observer, redesigning the Infocenter section of their website, and the project has given me the opportunity to work with both the newsroom and online department in order to reach its completion. My research has given me the opportunity to see how these two cultures differ from one another, how they are actually similar in many ways. I have analyzed how they see each other, how they see themselves, and how these competing and contrasting views affect the way they each see their audience and the news, itself. The redesigned Infocenter stands as an example of what can be accomplished when the two cultures work together, as a spotlight on where the difficulties lie in the joint efforts of these two cultures, and as a case study for examining where the two cultures exhibit room for improvement. Lastly, to the certain extent, the Infocenter redesign reveals a great deal about the broader issue of the future of newspapers is this digital age by showcasing the attitudes, environments, and challenges of a newspaper finding its new identity.
Chapter 2. History of Newsroom and Online Cultures

The histories of the newspaper and the Internet provide essential context in the understanding of their current cultures. The modern newsroom is a distinctly modernist institution, complete with its own vertical hierarchy of advancement, self-regulated openings for entrance, and highly enforced notion of professional authority. Each of these aspects—the newsroom's hierarchy, entranceways and professional authority are the product of centuries of development. From the earliest papers serving the direct desires of emperors and kings, through the years of newspapers serving as auxiliaries to political parties and powerful businessmen, to their modern place as generally independent and powerful institutions that fight to balance the three branches of the government itself, the newspaper's culture has developed in a long and storied history. Similarly, the Internet has developed along a curiously parallel path; only it is unclear where it will emerge in the coming future. Starting as a closed environment designed to serve the government and the military, advancing to its recent place as an auxiliary to business and political institutions, and beginning to take its first steps into its own independent institution to rival every other mass medium, the Internet's history parallels that of the Internet in many ways. Of course, where these two institutions meet, such as in the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, the established professional authority of the newsroom is challenged by the still-emerging authority of the online department. As such, a better understanding of the history development of these two institutions will aid greatly in analyzing that meeting.
Newspaper History

Before the Internet, before television, before radio, and not too long after town criers, newspapers were the primary medium for news around the world. The history of the newspaper’s rise is remarkably similar to that faced by the modern World Wide Web, only while the Internet’s evolution is traced in years, the newspaper’s is traced in centuries. With the newspaper, its history is best divided into three distinct periods—each of which parallels that of the Internet in many interesting ways. Those periods are the newspaper before electronic media’s arrival, the newspaper in the age of radio and television, and the newspaper in the age of the Internet. Furthermore, each of these periods contributes to the professional authority that steadily developed within the newsroom and the online department over the years.

Newspapers Before Electronic media

Long before anyone could have possibly devised a radio or television (or electricity for that matter) the earliest precursors to newspapers were being handwritten in civilizations as far reaching as a Rome and China. The earliest recorded precursor is believed to be Acta Diurna from Rome around 131BCE, and the Tching-Pao or “News of the Palace” was written in China shortly thereafter. These early precursors to newspapers were handwritten and placed in public view, greatly limiting their audience.

When Johann Gutenberg invented movable type in Mainz around 1493, newspapers and print culture received their first real tool in advancement. Armed with their movable type printing presses, dozens of newspapers began sprouting up over Europe—first in Germany and then outward to England, France and Spain. The early
newspapers did contain some historically notable stories, news of Christopher Columbus’s journey for example, but for the most part they served as retainers in the service of the rich and powerful nobles of the time. There was still no concept of an independent media, and government censorship of the early newspapers was all encompassing. As early as 1643, the British parliament had established strict laws defining what could and could not be written in newspapers, and countless British editors were jailed for writing about the proceedings of Parliament or commenting on one of its members.

By the early 1700’s in Europe, newspapers were seen as either extensions of businesses or specific political parties, and editorials intermingling with reported stories were expected. There were a few luxury and fringe papers that arose at this time, some of which served merely as local gossip while others as mouthpieces for individuals. By now, newspapers had not yet developed any strong sense of unique professional identity due to their close ties to outside institutions and strict government regulations. Their limitations as auxiliary services for other companies prevented them from defining themselves as they have in modern times.

Around this time, the first American newspaper emerged: Benjamin Harris’ *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick.* However, even the new territories were not immune from outside control as the paper was shut down four days after its first publication due to its criticism of British soldiers in the colonies. Nothing could stop the

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9 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Publick_Occurrences_Both_Foreign_and_Domestick
spread of papers, however, and by 1789, there were over 50 papers in London, and 92 in infant America.\(^\text{10}\)

![Figure 4: Total Number of Newspapers in America Exponentially Increasing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:NEWS.JPG)

The allure of a public voice and the opportunities afforded through working at a newspaper - meeting powerful politicians and businessmen for example - was too strong to allow any of the government restrictions placed on journalism to deter citizens from starting more and more newspapers. By the 1800’s, the emergence of great editorial molders of public opinion was in full swing, and newspapers were beginning to end their allegiances to specific political parties. Rather than parroting the voice of a political party, editors found that their own voices could be just as persuasive to a literate public. This represented the first major step in the newsroom establishing its own professional ethos. More and more, newspapers were stepping out of the shadows of their auxiliary roles for companies and politicians and developing their own independent identities.

It was not too long before this new power and independence saw its own abuse and corruption. By the 1880’s, a new style of journalism – yellow journalism – was being

\(^{10}\) [http://www.stockton.edu/~gilmorew/0amnhist/nws-1819.htm](http://www.stockton.edu/~gilmorew/0amnhist/nws-1819.htm)
waged between the famous newsmen Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, and they fought to outdo each other with increasingly sensational headlines. Since the founding of the nation, American newspapers had worked with relative security and freedom, eventually becoming as strong as many of the politicians they had originally sought to report on. There was no competing news source with newspapers, and it wasn’t until the advent of radio and television that they saw their first real competition.

**Newspapers in the Age of Television and Radio**

By the time of radio’s dominance in the 1920’s and 30’s and television’s dominance in the 1950’s and 60’s, newspapers were a very different entity than they had once been before the 20th century. Before the 20th century, newspapers were powerful organizations for sure, but their sheer numbers and variety left a wide impression on the general public. Along with the major papers like the New York Times and the Washington Post, there were countless luxury and fringe papers that catered to only a select audience, and seemingly anyone with the capital to afford some movable type and paper was able to start their own paper. This lead to a feeling of personality (at best) and randomness (at worst) in a number of papers. On some days certain features would appear and on others they simply wouldn’t. This wasn’t considered a mistake—it was understood that the editor might not feel like producing that feature this week, or he might have even forgotten. This time in the newspaper’s history was marked as something akin to a melting pot of developing professional cultures and authorities. Competing philosophies, business models, journalism techniques, and scholastic

11 http://www.onlineconcepts.com/pulitzer/yellow.htm
backgrounds all competed for dominance of the emerging newspaper industry. The professional culture of today’s newsroom had not yet been standardized, but these decades served as the laboratories for which the modern incarnation of that culture emanated.

During the rise of radio and television, however, newspapers began a real change in their composition. Major corporations began buying out most of the larger papers, and with their increased clout, they were able to put an end to the majority of the luxury and fringe papers at the time. It was during this first quarter of the 1900’s that newspapers began to take their modern form that is well established today. Gone were the days of personality and randomness. From the early 20th onward, newspapers were impersonal, departmentalized and standardized. Because of corporate pressure and influence, most of sensational and “muck-raking” style of editorializing was toned down to its modern, modulated current style, and only a niche market of tabloid newspapers remained apart from the established, “legitimate,” newspaper culture.

Newspapers now had to be viable in a world where radio brought live descriptions of events to the public and television gave viewers the impression of being on the scene of breaking news. Nevertheless, newspapers prevailed and maintained a strong and, in many ways, dominant presence surrounded by these new media. Newspapers were still able to provide more in-depth coverage of major events compared to the time limited formats of radio and television. Furthermore, there were many advantages for the paper that were inherent to its format. For example, the newspaper could be read at any time or place, giving the reader a great amount of freedom. Televisions and radios, on the other hand, demanded a viewer's attention at specific times of the day. One either caught the
evening news as it was being broadcast at 6PM or he or she didn't. There was simply no way around it.

This is not to say that newspapers remained a viable news medium without integrating some of the lessons of television and radio. On the contrary, the newspaper survived through adaptation, and starting in the late 20th century, many newspapers followed in the path of USA TODAY, which displayed a strong emphasis on visuals, infographics, and a more television screen-like format. The New York Times, long considered a flag-bearer for print-culture traditionalism, followed suit, reducing its number of text columns and adding color photographs to its front page. Both USA TODAY and the New York Times represent a sampling of the overall changes that occurred in the design of newspapers as they evolved with the times to appear more like their television counterparts. Of course, these changes towards a greater visual emphasis were strongly opposed by many of the print-culture and newsroom hierarchy. Michael Rock famously decried the visual emphasis of USA Today and its ensuing impact on news culture is his essay, "Since When Did USA TODAY Become the National Design Ideal?" for example. Nevertheless, newspapers continued onward, adapting as they went, and they emerged continually as a strong medium for this and many other reasons.

Lastly, the majority of reporters on the ground remained employees for the newspaper organizations, and so much of what the radio and television news reported had originated from that day's newspaper. This congregation of reporters aligning themselves with the culture of the newsroom is one of the main factors that has kept the newspaper format so viable throughout these years of technological advancements. Furthermore, it is also one of the main reasons that papers have been so threatened by the coming years of
Internet journalism. Within the culture of the newsroom that had been formulating since the early 20th century, would-be reporters were faced with a specifically prescribed career path— one that will be examined in a coming section. The advent of the Internet heralds a new culture that the newsroom must interact with. Its values and sources of authority compete, overlap and contradict the newsroom’s on numerous issues and axes. The Internet’s embodiment in the modern day newspaper is the online department, and its professional culture was forged through its own history.

**Newspapers in the Age of the Internet**

By the time of the Internet's arrival, the major newspapers of the country had weathered the storm of radio and television news, fought for and held their substantial niche, and they were ready for any future challenge—or so they thought. When the World Wide Web emerged into the public conscious in the early 1990's, many newspapers remained skeptical of its actual potential and some even openly mocked it. The Worcester Telegram & Gazette's publisher declared it "a passing fad" according to workers in the online department. He was not only in his opinion of course. Microsoft founder Bill Gates once famously remarked that he was "surprised" by the Internet's success—it was a "fifth or sixth on our priorities," he said. Nevertheless, most newspapers had adopted basic web sites by 1995, but today, more than a decade later, many newspapers still maintain a minimal web development staff and relegate their online presence as deeply subordinate to their daily printed paper.

As newspapers look to the immediate future, most of the acknowledge that the Internet will represent an increasingly important aspect of their business. However, this

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does not translate into the newsroom's endorsement of the online world's ethos. The Internet is decentralized, expertise is widely distributed, and information is constant and freely flowing. These aspects fly directly in the face of the professional culture that newspapers have been developing for the last 100 years. Newspapers are very centralized, expertise is narrowly focused among a small number of individuals, and information is disseminated only when the newsroom dictates. Therefore, newspapers in the 21st century have worked extremely hard in various attempts at migrating their professional authority into the World Wide Web. The chairman of the New York Times, Arthur Sulzberger Jr., said, "While the Internet requires innovative analysis and creative applications, companies must still find a way to instill their core journalistic values into their online activities, especially given how important this medium is for teenagers and young adults (italics added)."\textsuperscript{14}

The Internet has caused a polarizing effect among the newspaper industry. Some newsrooms have held true to their journalistic identities and proclaimed their professional authority in the face of the deauthoritizing Internet. Others have embraced the Internet more openly, ceding some of the newsroom's professional identity in exchange for a greater association with the increasingly relevant face of the Internet's decentralized ethos. The latter have found themselves adding decentralized features such as blogs and discussion forums to their websites. The former group, which includes the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, structures their websites to mimic their newspaper in almost every way—including accessibility. The Worcester Telegram & Gazette, for instance, charges users a subscription fee to view their website, just as they charge their print subscribers.

\textsuperscript{13} http://news.com.com/2100-1023-212942.html?legacy=cnet
\textsuperscript{14} http://www.nytco.com/investors-presentations-20051028.html
Other papers still have adopted a hybrid approach. The New York Times, for example, includes subscription-only sections of its website as well as forums and blogs (interestingly though, the New York Times' blog, "The Opinionator," is part of its subscription-only web features.)

Overall the professional identity and authority established in the newsroom over the last century is being reexamined in the face of the Internet. It is still too early to speak of this process with any definitive descriptions, as any would be purely ephemeral. Nevertheless, changes to the newspaper industry and the newsroom ethos are occurring, and whether they result in a strengthening of core value, an abandonment of professional authority, or a hybrid of the two is left to be seen.

**Newsroom Professional Authority**

Throughout it's development over the centuries, a distinct professional culture has emerged in the newsroom. Today, the newsroom projects a highly visible professional authority over both the general public and other professional groups. This professional authority allows the newsroom to maintain its hegemony on news gathering and dissemination, and it is a vital component to the newsroom's overall modernist sense of vertical hierarchy.

The development of this professional authority is not a phenomenon attributed only to the newsroom, however. On the contrary, the rise of professionalism is a well-documented series of phenomena that occurred in the early and mid-20th century. Starting in the early 1900's, the United States saw a continually steady rise in the number of men (and later women) attending universities. This is particularly significant, because universities marked a distinct break from the traditional secondary education model of the
19th century and beyond: apprenticeship. In the past, young adults sought knowledge from specific craftsmen and artisans and were personally trained in their respective fields. If one wanted to study law, for example, he would need to apprentice directly under the tutelage of a practicing lawyer. But with the rise of universities, knowledge could now be centrally located and collected, and tasks that were previously individually taught in a variety of ways from the plethora of practicing workers could now be taught in a standardized and regulated manner. With this standardization and regulation of education came the groundwork for professionalism in each of the modern professional fields. Through universities, expertise could be monopolized, furthering the mystique that was being generated around the new professional class of society.

These trends have long been explored within the professionalizing world of universities, and the opinions surrounding professionalism have been mixed. While many intellectuals have praised the rise of professionalism as an essential component of the modernism movement, they often deride the corresponding selfishness and "labor aristocracy" that accompanies professional culture. Nevertheless, there is an overall sense of inevitability inherent to all analyses of professionalism. Through the natural course of the 20th century, professional authority has been developed and maintained in each of the modern professional subcultures.

The newsroom is just one of those subcultures, and its modern professional authority is maintained through three distinct practices, each of which contribute both in the newsroom's historical context, as well as aid in our understanding of the newsroom's current introduction to the online world. First, the newsroom establishes it's own

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professional authority in the minds of the general public by challenging other institutions of authority, such as the government. Secondly, the newsroom continues this process through branding and packaging of its products. Lastly and most importantly, like other professional institutions, the newsroom establishes its professional authority through the standardization and regulation of its practices.

As previously mentioned, the newsroom begins the process of establishing its professional authority, both historically and currently, by challenging other institutions of authority. In the early stages of the newsroom's development, newspapers would often reinforce the perceptions of authority already held by the government, political parties or companies that those papers found themselves aligned with. The newsroom would report on a disturbance or disaster, and then immediately cover a politician or executive who would explain the situation to the public and explain how they would right the wrongs that had just transpired. As political scientist Murray Edwards puts it, "A classic scenario of politics…is for authorities to take center stage to respond to a crisis with emotionally reassuring promises that they would be handled effectively."

Today's newsroom has increasingly realized that it can establish its own professional authority in opposition to that of the government by challenging those declarations. Today's authorities still play out their parts, but the news increasingly finds ways to challenge the pronouncements of officials and the presumption of order in society. Today, the newsroom has fully established itself as a challenger to the authority of powerful institutions like the government and major corporations. By engaging in investigative reports such as that which lead to the Nixon-Watergate Scandal, the modern newsroom has established its

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16 Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Pres, 1964.)
own professional authority by decreasing that wielded by other institutions. Today, the newsroom, as part of its own modern culture, constantly investigates the validity of government and corporate press releases, and it frequently and judiciously points out inconsistencies and inaccuracies contained within. By reducing the apparent authority of other institutions through investigation, cynicism, and criticism, the newsroom has established its own professional authority as a function of its opposition.

Next, the newsroom has continued the establishment of its professional authority through branding and marketing. Other professional societies, such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers have long used a subtle, word-of-mouth, style of marketing that has been highly successful in crafting a professional identity and authority among the general population. What are often considered stereotypes of doctors, lawyers and engineers have often been positively reinforced images that those professional societies have promoted in their own best interest, knowing that authority is often directly derived from identity and ethos. Beyond the word-of-mouth dissemination of positive professional images, modern newsrooms almost universally project images of themselves as using words like, "trust," "fairness," and "objectivity."18 By combining the challenges to other authoritative sources as well as promoting their own objectivity, fairness and trustworthiness in the general public, the modern newsroom has effectively won over the populace into respecting its authority. Of course, common victims of the newsroom, such as the government, often respond by attempting to reduce the newsroom's projected authority by introducing criticisms of its own, such as allegations of media bias and inaccuracy of reporting. While large percentages of the population may agree with the

government's assessment of the newsroom as biased or inaccurate, very few challenge its overall professional authority to gather and disseminate the news overall.

Lastly and most importantly, the newsroom generates its true professional authority by crafting professional standards. While challenging other authorities and marketing itself to the general public may do much to strengthen the professional identity and perceived professional authority of the newsroom, by standardizing its practices and products, the newsroom truly establishes its professional authority in the real sense alongside doctors, lawyers, engineers and professors as a professional institution. The history of the newsroom's standardization is actually quite old. In 1848, a group of newspapers made the first great step towards standardized news by forming the Associated Press (AP). The AP was a large group of reporters who produced content that would be distributed to newsrooms around the country. Following the lead of the Associated Press along with other major news producers, newsrooms around the country all follow similar formats in producing stories. Newsrooms universally develop dramatic narratives, characters, plotlines, climaxes and resolutions into each story. As will be seen in the coming sections, would-be reporters are trained from an early age in journalism school to research and write news stories in predefined formats. This serves the dual purpose of establishing a professional code of conduct that each newsroom must follow in order to be considered part of the professional hegemony, and it also trains the less-informed reader to respond to stories in predictable, controllable manners. By establishing villains and heroes in each story, the newsroom can project its authority over its readers, guiding them to reach the conclusions the newsroom has designed for them to reach. An extreme example of the standardization of the newsroom can be found in one
of my own discussions with Jim Bodor of the Worcester Telegram & Gazette. Jim told me the story of one of his early years in the newsroom. In those early days, Jim always noticed that one senior reporter seemed to be uncanny in his ability to produce numerous stories each day. It seemed almost impossible to Jim that this senior reporter would be able to research and write so quickly. After a few weeks of amazement, Jim finally inquired about the senior reporter's talents, and he soon discovered his secret. The senior reporter kept a large collection of prewritten news stories in his files, with each story containing blanks where names, places and other important details could be added. When the senior reporter finished researching a story, he simply took out the prewritten story that best fit his information, wrote in the important names, dates and places, and submitted it like any other freshly written report. The news is so standardized, that reporters can get away with using the exact same words on similar stories!

Standardizing their practices is what truly establishes the newsroom's professional authority. As we will see in coming sections, when the online department is introduced into the news making chain, the professional authority of the newsroom is challenged by this new institution. The online department does not yet have its own fully developed sense of professional authority, and as such, it cannot yet confront the newsroom entirely in any struggle to achieve parity. As we will see, the online department's history has been developing such that it is only now taking its first steps into establishing its own professional identity, and from that, it's sense of professional authority will emerge.

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Internet History

The Internet's history, although chronologically much shorter than the newspaper's, is every bit as turbulent and eventful. From the initial concept to its modern day incarnation, the Internet's history spans barely 40 years, compared to more than 500 years encompassed by the newspaper. Nevertheless, the two media parallel each other in countless steps along their respective evolutions, and each has faced its golden era-highs and cruel reality-lows. The Internet's history is best analyzed when dissected into three distinct eras - the early years, the utopian 90's, and the mass media Internet of today. Like the newspaper's history, each of these phases tempered and strengthened the still-developing ethos of the Internet and its professional newspaper embodiment – the online department.

The Early Years

Before blogs and chat-rooms, before Amazon and eBay, and even before the World Wide Web itself, there were e-mail and newsgroups. The early users of these online communication methods - military personal and college students- shared much in common with the face-to-face communicators and town criers that preceded newspapers. Starting in 1965 with the birth of e-mail, US Air Force personnel could send electronic messages to each other by typing them up on series of punch cards and passing them through shared mainframes. This way, multiple users of the same computer could communicate with each other without having to be available at the same time. By the late 1970's, the predecessor of the Internet, ARPANET, had grown significantly, and many government agencies, private businesses, and well-funded universities had begun
using it. E-mail was useful for users to send messages to each other -but it shared a key drawback that prevented it until recently to serve as a viable news medium. E-mail users had to know the address of their recipient, and so a news story spread through early e-mail was limited in audience to the immediate social circle of the sender.

Beyond e-mail, however, and much closer to the original news postings of ancient Rome and China, were the early newsgroups. Just like in those ancient civilizations, where a town crier or court recorder could post a single message in public view for all to read, the users of newsgroups were free to post messages for all other users, friends and strangers alike, to read on their own time. Newsgroup users discussed politics, religion, culture, art, war, technology, and a whole host of other topics throughout the early years, and by the end of the 1980's, user numbers were growing exponentially.

This early period of Internet usage closely paralleled the early years of newspapers immediately following the creation of movable type printing presses. The audiences in both cases were small minorities of the total population, as literacy, both traditional and digital, was low. Furthermore, the purveyors in each case needed access to the expensive equipment of a printing press or computer, and this further limited the spread of the mediums.

Like the pre-19th century history of newspapers, this was a time when he Internet only existed as an auxiliary to other established institutions. Its own culture, identity and ethos had not yet been developed, but the first steps in the creation were taking places as the established cultures of military officers, academics and electronic hobbyists all competed and commingled in this early laboratory.

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20 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Email
21 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arpanet
The Utopian 1990's

In the early 1990's, a number of technological breakthroughs changed the face of the Internet forever. Before this time, the Internet was primarily composed of two fully text-based systems - email and newsgroups. In 1991, then-Senator Al Gore passed his famous spending initiative, *The High-Performance Computing and Communications Initiative*, and this directly led to the creation of the first browser for the Internet's newest branch, the World Wide Web.\(^2\) While this is far from "inventing the Internet" as he is so-often misquoted as saying, without Al Gore's funding proposal, the Internet would have been without its first step into a graphical interface. With the advent of graphics and graphical browsers, the World Wide Web's popularity grew in leaps and bounds and services like America Online and Prodigy began to commercially offer access to it.

In this time between the early days of the Internet and its current commercialized state, the Internet was seen with grand utopian possibilities. Futurists and intellectuals saw the Internet democratizing and connecting much of the world in ways that were never possible before. Users would be able to communicate and share ideas, working in unison to create new levels of understanding and empathy for all. While this goal has not yet been reached - and it may never be - the users who truly capitalized on the Internet's potential were those with commercial aspirations.

It wasn't long before companies began to realize the potential for this new form of communication. Like never before, retailers saw a medium through which to directly connect to customers. Witnessing numbers like a 341.634% annual growth rate between
1993 and 1994, the earliest commercial adopters begin selling their goods through the Internet, and by 1996, all major corporations had some presence in the online marketplace. Thousands of start-up corporations were created in this period, the most famous and successful of which are Amazon.com and eBay.com, and all major news outlets had also begun their own web sites. The New York Times began its own website in 1995, and since then it has consistently ranked as one of the most trafficked sites on the Internet. Beyond successful websites like Amazon, eBay and the New York Times, however, thousands of start-up web corporations emerged with enormous initial-public offerings at this time, and it wasn't until the year 2000 when the infamous "dot-com bubble" burst, liquidating the vast majority of these start-ups.

This period of time represents the Internet's first foray into developing its own professional identity. Still maintaining many of its earlier free-spirited and democratizing characteristics, the Internet began to see a rise in a professional class among its ranks. Entrepreneurial spirits were the main qualification for joining the Internet culture during these years, and there are no real professional qualifications surrounding entrepreneurialism. Internet start-ups came from citizens of all backgrounds, histories and locations. However, beneath those entrepreneurs leading the commercial ascendancy of the Internet were a new class of website designers, software programmers, and network administrators, and they did indeed carry with them the beginnings of a professional Internet culture. These were the new professionals, and they carried with them their own educations, career paths, and authorities.

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22 http://newton.nap.edu/html/hpcc/
23 http://www.brightplanet.com/technology/deepweb.asp#GrowthAnalysis
The Internet as Mass Media

Today, the Internet stands as a true fixture of American society. Internet content now freely intermingles among other electronic formats, and the percentage of individual American's who consider themselves "computer literate" has almost reached critical mass. In 2004, more than 75% of Americans below age 50 used the Internet on a regular basis.24 These numbers are comparable with the percentages of Americans that watch television on a regular basis, and they even surpass the percentage of Americans who read newspapers on a regular basis in some demographics.

The Internet is still in a state of constant flux, with new phenomena and usage altering content and software emerging every day. As mentioned earlier, peer-networking websites like MySpace.com and Facebook.com have become enormously successful in recent years replicating some of the features in a traditional newspaper personals section. MySpace and Facebook differentiate themselves from the newspaper model however, by offering additional features that would be impossible with the printed page, and the levels of connectedness they can provide (however debatably superficial) is only a single example of the Internet's remodeling of traditional business models.

The Internet today works simultaneous with capitalistic businesses and open-source democratizing projects to create an evolving professional environment. Professional programmers work alongside teenage hackers to refine new software, and established politicians debate with their constituents though e-mails and forums to refine upcoming legislation. The newsroom culture and the online culture depart diverge sharply at this point. The newsroom was free to remain safely behind the walls of its

24 http://www.pewinternet.org/report_display.asp?r=117
hegemonic institution and set its own rules for who, why and how someone could enter. Because of the technological constraints of a newspaper, the general public was always forced to remain on the "outside," however; the playing field has been leveled by the Internet. This, in turn, has greatly affected the development of a professional culture for the Internet and corresponding online departments.
Chapter 3. The Modern Newsroom and the Postmodern Internet

At the heart of this discussion lies the convergence of the newsroom and the online department. From this small scale of interoffice interaction, one can extrapolate the larger issues of the news industry's greater convergence with the online world, and from there, one can even see the highest level of convergence –where raw modernism meets postmodernism. In the previous chapter, the histories of the newspaper and the Internet were explored. From these, it was easier to see how the two cultures of each institution historically developed, and furthermore, how each institution has been represented the modern and postmodern ethos respectively. Examining just what those terms mean in the framework of the newsroom and the Internet is critical then to a complete understanding of the two institutions' convergence. It is important to focus on the topic at hand when approaching the debate that surrounds modernism and postmodernism, however. In their purest forms, the postmodern/modern debate deals with philosophy's claim to universality. However, within this general debate lies the focused topic at hand: the way each of office institutions in question, the newsroom and the online department, relate their means of organizing towards this greater question of universality. The framework of the newsroom and the online department is one of organization then. As such, when discussing the modern newsroom and the postmodern Internet, it is important to remember that organization is what is specifically at stake, not only philosophy.

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Modernism vs. Postmodernism

The concepts of modernism and postmodernism are common in academia, and they are broad enough to encompass many avenues of thinking, communicating, and organizing. Generally stated, modernism and postmodernism are aesthetics. Both modernism and postmodernism apply to schools of philosophy, art, literature and design, and at their most expansive interpretation, both encompass different ways of viewing and analyzing the world around us. At its core, modernism is a philosophy that preaches to its followers to reject the traditions of previous centuries and instead work towards creating new, efficient and organized designs. Modernists focus on perfecting a methodology and maintaining it. It is the philosophy of linearity, hierarchy and absolutism. Postmodernism, on the other hand, is a counter-philosophy to modernism. While there is much debate throughout academia towards the true meaning of postmodernism, most agree that it is a reaction to the principals of modernism in the purest sense. Where modernism seeks linearity, postmodernism seeks deviation; where modernism seeks hierarchy, postmodernism seeks decentralization; and where modernism seeks absolutism, postmodernism seeks relativism. The ways in which these abstract concepts relate to the institutions of the newspaper and the Internet are defined the second of those comparisons then –between hierarchy and decentralization. While academia has framed modernism and postmodernism in many ways, for the purposes of the news room and the online department, modernism and postmodernism are organizational styles at their core. Their discussion is more about hierarchies and

26 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modernism
decentralism than positivism and relativism; more about Steven Johnson and *Emergence* than Nietzsche and *Beyond Good and Evil*.

Knowing this, the newspaper and the newsroom are fundamentally modernist institutions, both in the design of their medium—the printed page—and in their professional society. While the printed page is not inherently modern, its implementation in the production of newspapers is purely so. Newspaper pages are clearly defined, with well-established modernist structures like columns, tables and borders. The printed newspaper page draws the reader to its predetermined starting point—the upper left hand corner—by placing the leading story in that spot always. The modernist newspaper follows a well-defined structure, one that has been developed through the newsroom's history as the most efficient and organized. This emphasis on the structuring of the medium is one of the tenants of modernist design. The structuring serves the dual purpose of simultaneously organizing the document as well as presenting the reader with a proudly mediated set of information. The newspaper does not attempt to make its presentation of information transparent. Modernist design has a long history of promoting both its content as well as its mediation of that content to viewers and readers, and newspapers continue this trend. This display of the mediation of content is often referred to as hypermediation, and in modernist design, the logic of hypermediacy expresses itself as a hyperconscious recognition or acknowledgement of the medium.

This acknowledgement of the medium has been developed throughout the long history of the newspaper's formulation. It is not to be confused with a postmodernist principal of

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the medium sharing true equality with the contained content, however. The modernist newspaper design simply promotes a visible sense of mediation; it does not take the final postmodern step of defining its reality purely in terms of its media. In summary then, as the newspaper evolved into its modern form, the medium of the newspaper grew further and further defined by its mediated structure, and today it stands as a generally rigid and institutionalized modernist design.

Beyond the design of the newspaper itself, however, the formulation of the newsroom stands as a modernist institution as well. In true modernist philosophy, the modern newsroom is defined by its linear, hierarchical structure and its efficient, organized processes. Within the newsroom, true hierarchies exist between reporters, copy editors and managing editors. Each derives their assignments, foci, and directions from their superiors, and advancement in the hierarchy is made on the basis of internal experience and seniority. The news gathering process is itself a modernist institution, with a structured sequence of repeatable procedures contained within. Each day, reporters attend to their predetermined beats, they cover events that fit preconfigured molds and they write using preset time and length limitations. Taken as a whole, the newsroom operates as linearly as a reader's eyes following the newsprint from left to right across the page. Observing both the newspaper and the newsroom, it is easy to see their linear, hierarchical, structured and ultimately modernist designs.

The online world of the Internet stands in high contrast to the modernism of the newsroom. If anything, the Internet and the online world created through its network of computers is one of the purest examples of postmodern organization. As seen in its historical development, while the Internet's technology was created from a centralized,

hierarchical institution—the military—once it reached the general public in the early 1990's, it took on a life and development all its own. Since those early days, the Internet has grown in size and scope in an entirely decentralized and nonlinear fashion as user-by-user more people connected to the World Wide Web and interacted. Academics have long heralded this interconnective power of computers as champions for the postmodern philosophy. In her book, "Life on the Screen," Sherry Turkle said, "Computer technology not only 'fulfills the postmodern aesthetic,'...heightening and concretizing the postmodern experience, but [it] helps that aesthetic hit the street as well as the seminar room. Computers embody postmodern theory and bring it down to earth."

In its unbridled form, the Internet flattens the hierarchies of traditional institutions and rejects their professional authority. Where information previously was organized in accessibility according to societal positions and control, the Internet sought to bring unlimited information to the masses, and where expertise previously was amassed in vertically organized societies, the Internet created a sea of self-trained micro-experts. People can turn to online medical directories to diagnose themselves on www.webmd.com, they can study statutes and review precedents to prepare for their own defense on www.findlaw.com, and they can research the detailed histories of their favorite (or most despised) politician in time for an upcoming election on any of the millions of weblogs in the "Blogosphere." On this level, the Internet is a truly horizontally organized, anti-professional authoritarian, post-modern institution.

However, the embodiment of this post-modern Internet in the world of newspapers is the online department, and this institution is far removed from the entirely

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31 http://www.webmd.com
unbridled World Wide Web. While the medium with which the online department works is fundamentally postmodern, the department's own relationship to its mother-institution, the newsroom, grounds it in the realm of its own developing modernist identity. The online department has a burgeoning hierarchy, with designers, developers and administrators sharing slightly different levels of control and rank. The online department even wields its own small amount of professional authority towards its website users. The members of the online department went through traditional educations to arrive at their current jobs, and they honed their abilities in the hierarchies of those educational institutions. As such, the online department displays signs of both postmodern and modern theory, and this is not uncommon in the developing professional societies that surround the computer. The aforementioned Sherry Turkle even laments about this strange dichotomy. "Today the computer is an actor in a struggle between modern and postmodern understandings."33

In the coming sections, we will see just how the online department displays these modern and postmodern tendencies. It will display examples of both assertions and rejections of professional authority, and it will simultaneously struggle to establish its own hierarchy, as well as decry that organizational structure itself. The ethos of the online department is tumultuous in this time of convergence with the seemingly well-established and developed modernist newsroom. However, if anything, the convergence of these two groups, the newsroom and the online department, as well as these two aesthetics, modernism and postmodernism, will show just how unstable both are.

32 http://www.findlaw.com
Newsroom Ethos

To fully understand the converging worlds of newspapers and the digital era, one must examine not only their histories, but also the respective ethos of the people who associate themselves with each field. In the newsroom, there is a distinct personality associated with its constituents, and the ethos of the newsroom is easy to witness. There is a certain scholarly background associated with the newsroom, and it's academic training and veteran status is also apparent.

Professional Training

While the current generation of reporters may have gotten their start in the halls of undergraduate universities, the last generation of journalists, and all those preceding it, got their training entirely on the job. Journalists traditionally went straight from high-school into a newsroom environment, where their learned their craft through years of hands-on experience and apprenticeship. Many of the former vanguard of broadcast journalists recall their years as mere copy boys and girls, performing the most menial and tedious tasks of the newsroom. It was in those early years as copy boys and girls that their love for reporting was founded, and never did they need to sit in a college lecture hall to learn the techniques of interviewing or researching.

Today's journalists, while not often jumping directly into the newsroom from their high school graduations, due find themselves in the same entry-level positions that many of the last generation of journalists found themselves in at their careers' beginnings. The field of journalism is still marked by a lengthy training period, and it is not without years of experience and the building of public trust that a journalist can ascend to the upper echelon. Today though, the predetermined curriculum of journalists is stronger than
every before, and in the following section, it is easy to see how this increased focus on a formal education has contributed to the overall newsroom identity.

**Scholarly Background**

When one looks through the biographies of famous journalists, it often reads remarkably similar to that of the biographies of famous politicians. Suburban roots, private high schools, Ivy League colleges, and exclusive internships are the calling cards of both the political and journalistic upbringings. While this may be the path for that upper-echelon of journalists, the majority of reporters, editors and photographers had much more terrestrial educational backgrounds.

Today's journalists have almost universally attended four-year liberal-arts universities where the Journalism major is as common as English or History. The undergraduate journalism major is usually composed of two unique but equal concentrations, one that focuses on the "technical" skills needed by journalists in the field, and the other focusing on the more lofty, academic principals of journalism. Those technical journalism skills are usually researching methods, interviewing techniques, and shorthand writing. On the other hand, the common academic studies that journalism majors undertake involve media theory, cultural studies and professional ethics. Combining these two concentrations, these undergraduate institutions hope to provide a solid foundation for future reporters.

Some schools have take journalism education to a higher level, however. The most famous of these is the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, which was the first school of journalism in the country after its founding in 1912 with a grant from Joseph
Today the Columbia School of Journalism is the most exclusive journalism school in the world, and its graduates have gone on to hold some of the most prestigious posts in the journalistic field. Its students are taught a "shoe-leather" style of journalism where each student is assigned a section of the city to cover and write regular stories about. This fieldwork-intensive curriculum has been highly successful in the past, however, a debate has emerged on whether the school should integrate more theory and design classes to supplement the real-world practice, and it has since trickled down into many other journalism schools which are engaging in their own debates over the balance of theory and practice. Regardless of current specific curriculum, journalism schools are the scholarly norm for current journalists, and as seen, a graduate education is becoming more common as well. This existence of curriculum is simultaneously one of the byproducts and one of the strengthening agents of the newsroom identity. In creating itself as a professional institution alongside others like doctors, lawyers and engineers, a defined curriculum is a vital component.

**Veteran Status**

In the world of journalism, veteran status is something that can only be truly achieved through an actual progression of time. The veteran news anchors of broadcast journalism are all in their 50's and beyond, and each has faced decades of breaking news and major events. A journalist can accelerate his or her journey to becoming a veteran by winning one of the prestigious journalism awards. The most famous of these is the Pulitzer, which is awarded annually to various journalistic fields, such as breaking news, investigative reporting, and editorials. When a journalist wins a Pulitzer, they instantly

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34 http://www.jrn.columbia.edu/
gain the recognition of their contemporaries, and their public trust is increased dramatically. This system of awards and linear experience leads to a precise system for achieving veteran status in the news industry.

Veteran status is truly the most important aspect surrounding the newsroom ethos. When one examines professional cultures in the modern world – doctors, lawyers, engineers, and professors, for example – they witness a number of common features. Professional cultures all erect strict boundaries to prevent the general public from reaching their inner circles, they construct rigorous academic training curriculums to validate their discourses and research, they regulate and critique themselves with a constant sequence of self-analysis through journals, they develop their own vocabulary, jargon, and discourses, they elevate a few among their ranks to a particular revered, veteran status, and they promote themselves among the general population to maintain special status in general. The modern newsroom fits each of these criteria. Its overall ethos, as will be seen more specifically in the coming chapter dealing with the particular case study of the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, is marked by desires for control, authority, and respect – all classic characteristics of professional cultures.

**Web Development Ethos**

The professional identity surrounding web developers is more complex and hybridized than that of the newsroom. Throughout its development in the 20th century, the newsroom has evolved into its modern, truly professional culture of control, authority, and respect. As previously mentioned, the newsroom was not always like this, however. In its earliest days it was defined as an auxiliary to government and business, and it
correspondingly mimicked the established professional environments of those institutions before developing its own. It was not until newspaper editors realized their inherent power and began establishing their own newsroom institutions that were every bit as powerful and independent as the governments and businesses that they were able to develop their own professional ethos.

In many ways, web development is still very much in this first stage of development. For the online department of the Worcester Telegram & Gazette along with countless other newspaper online departments, their professional culture is still developing in reaction to the newsroom ethos for which they are an auxiliary service. The online department of newspapers like these must develop their own identities within the framework of rules, guidelines and boundaries established for them by the newsroom. If this were the only situation to consider, the web development ethos would be simple to analyze. However, what makes the web development culture so interesting is its refusal to fit any single mold.

In truth, there is no definitive scholarly background, professional training or veteran status for the web development culture. This is what makes it so decidedly post-modern. Where the newsroom culture is vertically integrated in a bottom-to-top, school to profession to veteran hierarchy, the web development culture is far more horizontally integrated. There exists scholastic avenues for success in web development –many universities offer degrees in computer science, technical communication, and graphic design for instance, but there are just as many avenues to the profession that do not require formal academic training, for example. Unlike newsroom culture, the web development culture does not have a predefined scholastic curriculum.
Similarly, the web development culture has no predetermined professional training ladder when compared to the newsroom. Self-taught teenage programmers might find themselves collaborating on a design with veteran graphic designer who has only recently moved on to digital content, and they might be working together with a programmer trained with only rote computer coding skills in Bangalore, India. This horizontal integration of the web development professional identity allows countless individuals interact and collaborate without any concern for professional authority or hierarchy.

Lastly, the web development ethos is difficult to singularly define because it lacks an official veteran status designation. The newsroom breeds "experts" through linear paths of scholarship, practice and experience. The knowledge and expertise base is vertically integrated to grow more and more monopolized as one moves up the ladder. The few designated experts at the top of the newsroom profession are keepers of the greatest knowledge –knowledge that is only achievable by following almost the same path that they took themselves. The web development ethos is based far more on distributive and horizontally dispersed knowledge and expertise. People from all over the world work together in the web development community, each contributing their own packets of information and expertise to create a higher level of global understanding. In the printed world of newspapers and books, experts produce finalized tomes of knowledge –daily reports, weekly magazines, and yearly encyclopedias. In the horizontally integrated ethos of web development, users work together to create websites like Wikipedia, where individuals contribute their personal expertise to create a perpetually evolving encyclopedia where the line between expert and pupil is deeply
blurred. When the newsroom community needs information, it asks, "What does the expert think about this?" When the web development community needs information, it asks, "What do we all think about this?" This dispersal of information and elimination of the veteran status designation in the web development ethos is one of its most striking delineations from the newsroom ethos.

In summary, the web development ethos is a complex blending of professional auxiliary mimicry in certain regards and free form, open-source post-modernism in others. In many ways, web development ethos is a reaction and imitation to the controlling, authoritarian professional cultures that it is framed by in the case of the newspaper online department. In other ways, it is still developing and refining it own anti-professional identity through the open-source Internet.

**Format Comparison: The Page and the Screen**

The histories of newspapers and the Internet have shown both remarkable similarities and important distinctions, and similarly the ethos of their respective producers, reporters and web developers, diverged and reconnected along the same lines. Continuing along this trend, it is important to compare and contrast the mediums with which the newspaper and the Internet are framed by: the page and screen. These two mediums contribute greatly to the identities of the two cultures, just as the canvas and the movie screen differentiate their respective artists. The finalized, modern nature of the printed page and the evolving, post-modern nature of the digital screen each greatly contribute to their respective institutions.
The Printed Page

The printed page contains a number of features that have distinguished it for decades against the other media formats like television and radio, and these features have proven to be both advantageous and, at times, detrimental. Where the radio dealt with pure, live sound, like a public orator giving a speech from behind a curtain, and television dealt with continuously changing images and sparse text, the printed page has remained static and reliant on text as its communication vehicle of choice.

Its identity as a static record of events has always distinguished the page from the television screen and the radio speaker. Compared to radio and television, newspapers were more thorough, cheaper and more convenient in many ways. Radio and television were bound to time constraints and audience attention spans. Newspapers, on the other hand, were free to indulge the inquisitive reader by writing at comparative length about an important story, knowing that less interested readers could find something else to read in the paper. This static nature of the page reflects strongly on the ethos of the newsroom that creates it. When the midnight deadline arrives each day, the paper must be finalized and sent out to print. When the public receives the paper the next day, the pages themselves contain a unified, finalized voice of the newsroom. This is the news of today, each one proclaims. Writers cannot interact with the page beyond reading it in most cases, and so they are established behind of the barrier of control that the newsroom has created through the page.

The page contains the element of choice, however. When one goes to read the paper, he or she is truly free to start reading at any point on the page. Although he or she might be naturally drawn to the upper-left corner of the page out of English standards, it
is far from a requirement. Newspapers offer freedom to their readers in the way that televisions and radio could never achieve. Some people don't start with the first page of the newspaper—it might be their habit to begin by reading the Sports sections, for example. When watching a television news show, the viewer is forced to watch whatever is presented on the screen at that moment. Even if they cover the same material, the newspaper reader could instantly find the Sports page and read the story he is interested in, while the television viewer is forced to wait for that portion of the program to arrive. Here, the newsroom once again establishes a level of authority over its readership that is inline with its ethos. The reader is free to look around the page anyway they want—a genuine freedom—but it is a freedom created only on the authority of the newsroom's use of the page.

Also, the page contains a true tangibility. Television and radio broadcasts are fleeting images and sounds, but newspapers are tangible objects. Readers can use scissors to cut up the paper, mail important stories to their friends and post meaningful sections where they can see them everyday. It is common to find cartoon strips from the Comics section of newspapers being posted in office cubicles and on home refrigerators, for example. Such a practice is impossible with radio or television.

Each of these aspects of the printed page reflect back onto the professional culture of the newsroom. The unitary voice, finalized ink, and predefined levels of freedom created by the printed pages of a newspaper all speak to the aspects of control, authority and respect that the newsroom demands.
The Computer Screen

It is important to distinguish that the screen in discussion here is not the previously mentioned television screen. The screen in question is specifically that of a computer -a hybrid medium that combines qualities from the printed page, television, radio, and even videogames. From the printed page, the computer screen takes in a reliance on the traditional-page layout, complete with a strong foundation of static text. From television and radio, the computer screen is capable of producing high-quality video and audio to supplement the page and text. And lastly, the computer screen incorporates the interactivity of videogames, allowing the user to add his or her own content and direct the action of the digital page on the screen. Where the printed page is a truly modern creation complete with predefined boundaries and structure, the computer screen is decidedly post-modern. The physical boundaries of the page have been replaced by software boundaries that can be redefined with ease by the user, and the structure of its content can be recreated on-the-fly by any number of collaborating writers, readers, users, designers and viewers. Each of them can interact with the screen, and change it, not just for themselves, but also for the entire community to see. All of this works towards creating the identity of the professional online department.

The computer screen's most important aspect is its aforementioned interactivity. While the printed page allows the reader to start reading at any spot, this basic level of choice is miniscule in comparison to the level of interactivity afforded by the computer screen. When viewing news content through a computer screen, the vast majority of content will be accessed by viewing web pages on the World Wide Web. With that in mind, a discussion on the rhetorical advantages and disadvantages of the computer screen
becomes synonymous with a discussion of the rhetorical features of the modern web page. Modern day websites combine text, video, audio, and interactive media such as slideshows, opinion polls, and games. A modern-day website user does not simply choose which story on the page to read first—he chooses a story, and then chooses whether he wants to read the text version of it, watch the streaming video version of it, listen to the podcast audio version of it, or click through the interactive slide-show version of it.

Another major aspect of the computer screen is its capacity to link material together through the Internet technology of hyperlinks. The static pages of a newspaper, at best, may make references to previous issues' stories, but they rely on the reader to personally recall the story in question. The web pages of an online news source are filled with hyperlink references to additional content. When a user reads an online story, they are confronted with literally dozens of hyperlinks, which when clicked on will load other web pages filled with relevant additional stories. For example, a user browsing a recent news story on national politics might find hyperlinks to the personal websites of the politicians mentioned, organizations weighing in on the issue in question, and other online news sources' coverage of the same story, not to mention commercial hyperlinks to online merchants selling political merchandise. This webbing of news stories on the computer screen provides a distinct advantage for it as a medium over the printed page.

These two key features of the computer screen and its accompanying digital web pages lay the foundation for the modern online department identity. The online department's ethos is more open-ended than that of the newsroom, and because of their different mediums, it is clearer to see why. Working with a post-modern but professional
environment is a balancing act for the modern newspaper online department, and in the following chapter, we will see how the Worcester Telegram & Gazette manifests its own identity and perceptions with respect to its own individual ethos.

**Readers vs. Users**

Having looked at their histories, professional compositions, and literary mediums thus far, the final aspect to consider in order to develop a background concept of newsroom and online department identities is their respective audiences: their readers and their users. The audience of the newsroom is primarily its readers. They have particular identities and expectations for the newspaper, and in return, the newsroom has certain expectations of its audience as well. Similarly, those persons visiting the newspaper website created by the online department are primarily users. The word choice between reader and user is anything but semantic. How they see their audience in relationship to themselves is a key factor in developing a professional identity for the newsroom and the online department.

On a fundamental level, readers are modern and users are post-modern. Aside from their initial freedom to choose a story, readers must progress linearly through that story. Web site users can progress non-linearly through a variety of content in order to gather the same information as the reader.

Furthermore, the reader is always an active participant when interacting with the printed page. Reading, by its very nature, is an active process. It is not a natural inherited ability, but rather a learned skill, and as readers traverse the printed page, they are actively decoding the printed symbols on the page.
In contrast, web users oscillate between being active and passive data processors. When scanning the written sections of web pages, the user is as active as any reader. When they activate a piece of digital media, such as streaming audio or video, they revert into passive observers. This oscillation between active and passive participation is the significant difference between readers and users.

The amount of "activeness" that a user can achieve is far greater than a reader, however. Beyond actively reading each story, the best a reader can hope for is to interact with the paper on some basic level, such as filling out a crossword puzzle. The user, on the other hand, can transcend the limitations of the traditional printed page, and actively participate in the public content of the online department's newspaper website. If the online department's website contains a discussion forum or a public blog, the user can begin creating his own content under the umbrella of the newspaper website, and he can instantly achieve the readership of the professional journalists working at the paper itself. The user's participation might be a simple comment in a discussion board, or it might be a personal editorial posted on the newspaper blog, or it could simply be a hyperlink to a story the user considers important but not covered enough. The user has the freedom to accomplish any of these tasks –none of which are possible with a reader on a printed page.

This difference in power between users and readers will come up again later in this report, but it is important to note how the empowerment of the audience helps define the online department and the newsroom's professional identities. The newsroom ethos is tempered by a relatively powerless audience of readers. Speaking in purely rhetorical terms, the reader has no power to use the printed page for nefarious deeds because the
newsroom has not provided for those freedoms. The online department, on the other, has provided avenues for malevolent behavior—users could potentially use message boards and blogs for illegal ends, such as harassment, threats, defamation and libel. As such, the ethos of the online department has been forged with a greater respect for the audience in certain circumstances.

Together, the combination of their history, professional compositions, literary mediums and audiences has shaped the ethos of the newsroom and the online department. Each institution has maintained its own elements of professional identity and authority to varying degrees, and each is a product of the aforementioned environmental factors. In the next chapter, we will examine a specific case study of the newsroom and online department professional culture class and we will analyze how the two interact with respect to themselves, the news and the audience.
Chapter 4: Ethnography and the Infocenter

The initial research of this project lead to a belief in two converging cultures –one of the newsroom, and the other of the online world. As explored in the previous chapter, the newsroom carried with it numerous characteristics that established it as a distinctly hegemonic institution. Everything from the people who populated the newsroom, to the medium it used, to the audience it served worked to verify its position as a closed environment. These factors combined to form the modern professional identity of the newsroom. In contrast, the online world presented itself as wide-open and rapidly advancing environment. The sharp lines drawn between the creators and the consumers that were so prevalent among the newsroom simply vanished when describing the online world, and the medium it worked with was constantly mutating and evolving, leading further credence to its open-endedness. Nevertheless, the online world and web development community’s role as auxiliary services to the established professional cultures of institutions like the newsroom complicated their own identity. These initial perceptions provided the background framework for the ensuing ethnographic field research at the Worcester Telegram & Gazette.

Pre-Telegram & Gazette Preparation

In preparation for the ethnography, the project’s goals were examined in context of the assumptions and expectations formulated during the initial background research period. These goals, assumptions and expectations would each prove to be highly malleable in the coming months, and almost none went unchallenged. The following section describes my own initial expectations and perceptions of the newsroom and the
online department. Considering these perceptions allows for a stronger analysis in the later sections.

**Initial Expectations and Perceptions**

My expectations entering the ethnography were admittedly grandiose and overtly idealized. I had seen the Hollywood depictions of classic newsrooms, with their rapidly clicking type-writers, their smoky editors tucked away in their corner offices, their reporters (complete with fedora hats) rushing away at the drop of a phone-call, and the ever present hum of a printing-press loudly clamoring away in some subterranean basement. I had also seen the television images of the modern newsroom, with its omnipresent monitors continually scanning through breaking news events around the world, computer-bound reporters silently typing away the latest update of a story, and editors with cell-phones permanently affixed to their ears. My preconceived notions of what a newsroom should simply **look** like were developed, to say the least.

I had numerous expectations about the people and personalities that would occupy these imagined newsrooms as well. I expected reporters and editors to be grizzled and intellectual. I anticipated them as "seen-it-all, done-it-all" personalities who were so well versed in current events and politics after years of covering them that nothing surprised them any more. These perceptions of what the newsroom and its inhabitants should look like and how they should act were not created in a vacuum, though. It is important to remember the years of societal stereotyping that has contributed the creation of the modern "newsroom ethos." News reporters are portrayed on television and in cinema as a fairly homogenous group, with only two real divisions. One media stereotype of the news reporter is the idealist. This newsroom stereotype has the reporter, usually a young
male or female, digging deep into an investigative report and taking down a greater power with their sleuthing. Even comic book heroes like Superman and Spiderman have portrayed idealistic reporters in their alter egos, and the stereotype is highly reinforced in the real newsroom since it is so appealing to them. When the famous real-life reporters Woodward and Bernstein took down the Nixon presidency with their investigative reporting, they became media icons, newsroom heroes, and of course, movie characters when they were further idealized in "All the President's Men." The other stereotype of newsroom reporters is decidedly more negative. Here, the reporters are often portrayed as ruthless and consumed with their own power, they often dig for stories that are not there, harass investigators who are busy fighting crime, and torment the main characters of movies and television shows with flashbulbs and microphones whenever they are at their lowest. Generally this portrayal of reporters is seen when they are in groups as a "press mob." Regardless of how it is specifically presented, the stereotype is very negative. Both conflicting views combine to form the general sense of what anyone would expect walking into a newspaper newsroom for the first time -a mobbish group of people, some idealistic and some ruthless, but all buzzing with activity nonetheless. More interesting however, they also represent the two sides of professional authority in the newsroom. Both stereotypes acknowledge the authority of the newsroom, but whether that authority is used for good or evil is left to each stereotype. In the former, the authority of the newsroom allows it to serve as a tool for social justice –exposing corruption and fighting crime. In the latter stereotype, the professional authority of the newsroom has been corrupted, and it is used for selfish means. In each case, the very real professional authority of the newsroom has been dramatized for the screen.
I expected the online department to be opposingly young and small. I envisioned recent WPI graduates even, and I based my expectations of the online department on my limited interactions with computer science majors around campus. I expected stereotypical computer programmers - quiet and shy, but deeply passionate about their technology. I expected a small team, one either composing a small fraction of the total newsroom staff, or even a single individual comprising the entire department. Once again, television and cinema had guided my expectations of web developers. More importantly, society's stereotypes of web developers had been shaped through the media. Computer programmers have gone through a variety of stereotypes in the past, and none of them have been positive in general. Generally web developers and computer programmers are seen by society as the obnoxious stereotypical "nerd." Ridiculous outfits including pocket protectors, thick glasses, high-water pants and button-down shirts have become a common appearance on television and in movies. An audience anywhere in our society can see the image and instantly know that any character dressed in that manner can most likely program computers and design websites. Cinema briefly experimented with a new face for computer programmers and web designers when in the early and mid-1990's, it idealized the then utopian Internet and showed programmers as the next generation of rebels. These rebel hackers were known as “cyberpunks.” Computer programmers were seen as outsiders, and now they portrayed a new rebel edge, and a sense of "geek-chic." Both stereotypes still exist in modern media today, and both were highly influential on my expectations of the online department. Like the media’s dual portrayal of the newsroom, these two stereotypes reveal the underlying ethos of the web development community. On one side, the community is seen as rigid, nerdy and
conformist. On the other side, the community is seen as rebellious and edgy. Combined, these two stereotypes reveal the complexity of the web development ethos as it stands simultaneously as an example of developing professional authority as well as an example of fierce anti-professionalism.

In summary, my expectations and perceptions for both the environment and its occupants were both simplistic and idealized. More importantly, the extent and complexity of the relationship between the newsroom and the online department were not fully developed. The next section will begin to explore how the previous background sections and these stereotypes of the newsroom and online department applied to my experiences at the Worcester Telegram & Gazette.

**Ethnography at the Telegram & Gazette**

My experiences at the Telegram & Gazette began with some initial meeting with Leah Lamson and Mark Ellis to determine what the "participant" side of my "participant-observation" should consist of. Leah Lamson is the managing editor of the Telegram & Gazette, and Mark Ellis is the local editor. Both wield considerable influence in the newsroom and both had a clear idea of what they wanted me to do before I arrived. Leah and Mark were convinced that my experiences at Worcester Polytechnic Institute would make me the perfect candidate to help with a project they had been developing over the past two years. Leah had attended a consortium of managing editors two years ago, and she had walked away with the task of improving communication between readers and the newsroom. She decided to do this by enlisting the online department to create an improved Infocenter: the section of the Telegram & Gazette's website where users could
look up reporter contact information and browse frequently asked questions about what type of things the newsroom should be contacted about. I agreed to take on the challenge of improving the Infocenter knowing that it would provide me with an opportunity to study both the newsroom and the online department and observe how the two worked together.

From late September 2005 until early February 2006, I kept in contact with the newsroom and spent at least three days of each week at the office. The majority of my time was spent in the online department, where I spent my time designing the Infocenter's new layout and creating a brochure summarizing the new Infocenter's contents that would be handed out to the general public. To complete these tasks though, I spent a great deal of time interviewing members of the newsroom, including editors in every major department.

In traveling between the two departments over the course of five months, I noticed a number of institutional differences between the online department and the newsroom. The two groups were hoping to work together in order to create a redesigned Infocenter, and this provided the exigency for my project’s examination of the two culture’s interactions. The Infocenter project was unique because it required each office to think about its relationship to the audience, to the news, to itself and to each other. This was because the Infocenter itself required each of those four characteristics to unite in order for a cohesive document to be formed. After all, the Infocenter was created to be the gateway for the audience to contact the newsroom and contribute their suggestions for news through the online department. What occurred however, was a revealing of the newsroom's and the online department's perceptions on each of these topics. The way
each of these four things were seen often conflicted one another, and combined they all worked to illuminate a greater understanding of the cultures of the newsroom and the online department respectively.
The Newsroom

Stepping into the Telegram & Gazette newsroom is a lot like stepping into a time machine to the 1970's. My earliest field notes remark on the appearance of the newsroom: a bluish carpet, dark brown furniture, tope walls- and they all contribute to the ambience of the location. The year is 2006, not 1976 though, and so the modern newsroom must compete and coexist alongside a number of competitors unimaginable only ten years earlier. While the Internet and 24-hour cable news networks did exist at that time, almost no one could have foreseen the latter growing as rapidly and sizably as it did, and certainly no one could have foreseen a modern day with over 31 million bloggers each giving away the news and their corresponding opinions for free.35 A mountain of challenges face the modern newsroom, and it is interesting to see how the newsroom sees itself in the face of these increasing digital challengers and dwindling readership. This self perception greatly influences the newsroom’s perception of those institutions surrounding it, including the news, the audience, and the online department.

The ways that the newsroom sees itself and the online department sees it are almost comically unbalanced, however. The newsroom sees itself as the most important link in a long chain of professional news gatherers. The newsroom is completely self-aware of its importance, not only to the general public, but also to the other news organizations in the area. It also sees itself as generally unfazed by the changing world of technology surrounding it and it sees no need for any radical changes or adaptations. In sharp contrast to the newsroom's self-perceptions, the online department sees the newsroom as overly controlling at best, and unreliably incompetent at worst. When the
online department views itself, the juxtaposition between its own self image and the newsroom’s perception of it are equally imbalanced, however. Before venturing into any discussion of the two departments’ views of the news, their audience, and ultimately each other, their initial self-images must be thoroughly examined.

**How the Newsroom Views Itself**

On the cover of the new Infocenter Brochure I created as part of my participant observation there is a graphic showing a fedora hat with a "Press" pass tucked into the brim, a stack of the day's papers, a pair of reading glasses, and a hot cup of coffee. When editor Mark Ellis saw it, the first thing he said was, "I love it! That's journalism." What was most interesting about the image was not what was in it -all the nostalgic icons of journalism (missing only the politically incorrect smoking cigarette) - but rather what was missing from the image. That was truly revealing. There was no computer, no video camera, no typewriter, no tape recorder -not even a pencil! The idealized, nostalgic icons of journalism were devoid of any of the technological implements that have accompanied journalists throughout the years. As confirmed by my early interviews with journalism professors at the University of Massachusetts and Northeastern University, journalists traditionally see themselves apart -disconnected even- from the current set of perceived "tools of the trade." Mark Ellis reminisced about the "clickety-clack" of typewriters only a decade ago filling the telegram & Gazette newsroom. For a generation that has seen the rise and fall of typewriters, word processors, and a half-dozen iterations of the personal computer, it is not particularly surprising that the Telegram & Gazette newsroom would

35 http://online.wsj.com/public/article/SB111685593903640572-IZIyf_FU6o5JAEIw460ycF3fTH4_20060526.html?mod=ttf_main_tff_top
so quickly diminish the importance of its tools when imagining its representative iconography.

This is the overarching perception I witnessed in the Telegram & Gazette newsroom: technologies, including the Internet, may come and go, but the newsroom will stay the same. This self-perceived steadfastness is hailed by the words of the aforementioned journalism professions I interviewed and supported by the actions I witnessed during my internship. During one of my discussions with Alex Hanks, he told me that the previous editor of the Telegram & Gazette, who served when Hanks first arrived, proclaimed the Internet to be "a passing fad." What might have seemed like wisdom at the moment has quickly been revealed as hubris with the passage of time. While this newsroom rhetoric may have been toned down, the overall message of seems the same in general. Individual reporters and editors still barely checked the newspaper website, telegram.com, with any frequency and one editor, Dave Greenslit of the sports department could not remember his user name or password for the site it had been so long since he last accessed it. Of the five editors I interviewed, four of them had never seen or heard of the website's Infocenter, and the fifth was Mark Ellis -my manager in redesigning the Infocenter. This overall sense of not needing the technology -of being above it to the point of net even knowing of it- revealed the first general perception of the newsroom towards itself.

This self-reflection was tempered only by the newsroom's other major self-representation of itself -as the most important link of the news gathering chain. There is a common belief among news veterans that although various news mediums may appear to be competing over the same stories, the reality is that each medium feeds the same
content among each other in a food-chain like hierarchy of news gathering. At the bottom (and most important) link in the chain, newspaper reporters spend their days out in the streets, covering their events, churning through their contact lists for new information, and writing the initial recounting of events. Staff-member for staff-member, newspapers have the highest number of dedicated street-level reporters when compared to radio news or television, and so it is newspapers that have remained dominant in the collection of raw reports. Moving up the chain, newspaper reporters then feed their stories toward radio and television reporters, who often make only small media-specific restructurings to the stories before presenting them as their own. This chain was described to me in depth by the former business-reporter, Jim Bodor. He cynically noted that, "If you ever want to see an extremely slow news day from the local news channel, tune in when the local newspaper is on strike." The Telegram & Gazette is fully aware of their importance -not in the broader, civic sense of importance of the press as the fourth arm of the government- but rather their importance in the eyes of their peers. This position as the most important tier in the news gathering hierarchy further strengthens their sense of professional authority. Even among other journalists, the newspaper newsroom projects its authority.

These two harmonizing and reaffirming senses of self-importance manifested in the newsroom's vision of itself as vital to news as a whole and above and beyond the concerns of ever-changing technology, greatly exposed their complete self-view. Whether such a self-image is justified or dangerous is something for the newsroom's critics and proponents to decide.
The Online Department

It is important to understand the specific history of newspaper online departments before attempting to examine the self-image held by the Worcester Telegram & Gazette’s own online department. Starting around 1995, every major newspaper in the country had started its own website. Oftentimes these would be run as a side project for one of the existing staff members or the task would be outsourced to a dedicated web development team. Over the years as the Internet expanded from a phenomenon into a stable new arena of the market, newspapers expanded their own personal web development teams and increased their focus on the exciting digital media front. Some progressive newspapers such as the New York Times have integrated their online department into the newsroom to better facilitate collaboration between the two. Unfortunately, the Worcester Telegram & Gazette is not that far along. It has expanded its online department to six full time staff members, and it has been examining the potential to expand it to a much larger size, but currently the department stands as both small and separated.

Two floors away from the newsroom and tucked away in a windowless former television studio, the Telegram & Gazette online office stands somewhat as a second-class department. Although e-mail and inter office phone calls would appear to close any distance between the newsroom and online department, those digital forms of communication pale in many ways compared to face-to-face communication. What may have been a one-minute conversation could easily translate into a 20-step game of back-and-forth emails for example. Additionally, e-mails and other written communiqué often generate dialog that is far terser and confrontational compared to face-to-face
communication. In short, the physical distance between the Telegram & Gazette newsroom and online department simply cannot be compensated for by modern technology, and the separation truly is isolating. This factor greatly influences how the online department sees itself as well as how the newsroom sees the online department.

Additionally, the Telegram & Gazette also marginalizes the online department through other means. The department is generally ignored by members of the newsroom, its budget is modest, and because it does not generate a profit, the executives often treat it as a secondary business consideration. All of these factors combine to form the general framework through which perceptions of the online department are generated.

We have already examined the newsroom's perceptions of itself. The newsroom saw itself as authoritative and steadfast, and later we will see that the online department sees it as over protective and incompetent. The issue axis around which these views rotates is essentially professional authority. The newsroom has authority and seeks to exert it through justifications brought on by its own professional identity.

The discussion surrounding the representations of the online department revolves around a different axis, however. Because the online department has been established as a marginalized, second-class office, the issue framework surrounding it is not authority, but rather effectiveness. Its limited resources and its nature as an auxiliary service to the newsroom instantly restrict the authority the online department can wield, and more importantly they restrict its ability to perform those tasks which have been classified as under its control. This has created a conflicted view between the online department and the newsroom over how the online department should best be seen. The online department’s own self-image, however, establishes this impending conflict between it
and the newsroom, and the future convergence of these two office institutions depends on the acknowledgement of the newsroom to see the online department’s own self-representation.

**How the Online Department Views Itself**

The online department’s views of itself as generated largely in reaction to the opinions held by the newsroom of it. Specifically, the newsroom often comments on the shortcomings of projects that it has assigned for the online department, and the general lack of responsiveness that the newsroom perceives from it. However, rather than looking at the perceived lack of accomplishments it has made for the newsroom, the online department sees a weekly project list, five pages long with dozens of tasks, all of which are being worked on full time by the six members of the office. They would see their work load and wonder how the newsroom could possibly expect them to accomplish anything more given their limited staff, time and financial resources. The online team struggles to manage the day-to-day technological emergencies that arise in addition to completing their list of long-term projects. Limited resources are a tremendous strain for any institution, and the tension created by the online department's regular goals as well as the demands of the newsroom are palpable. On more than one occasion arguments have arisen during the weekly staff-meetings, voices have been raised, and emotions have flared. Web designer Dave Miles told me, "You know, I really hate these meetings," after a particularly heated exchange between him and Lori Allard.

The challenge for the online department comes from the way they see themselves when compared to the way the newsroom sees them. To the newsroom, although they feel the online department is generally ineffective and occasionally irrelevant in the
reality of the situation, the allure of the potential for an effective online department is just too great for them to completely ignore. This is why the newsroom continues to present new ideas to the online department, whether it be a redesigned Infocenter or an "Out and About" photo gallery. The online department does not see itself, generally speaking, as the implementer of overly grandiose goals, however. There are simply too many daily tasks to maintain as well as too many two and four week projects to finish for them to start entirely new website sections and content. The last major project undertaken by the online department was the redesign of the Telegram & Gazette website, and Dave Miles and Miles Prunier told me it took almost 15 months. Rather than the visionary innovators that the some might wish they could be, the online department sees itself generally as maintainers of a variety of peripheral tasks and important, but frequently unappreciated projects necessary to the continuation, not necessarily the revolution, of the Telegram & Gazette's web presence.

Many of these tasks and underappreciated projects that the online department engages in involve online advertising. For better or worse, newspapers are as much as a business as any other company, and the main source of revenue is still overwhelmingly advertising. As Mark Ellis explained to me, the subscription fees that many readers assume pay for the newspaper truly only covers the paper that the newspaper is printed on for the most part. The vast majority of the newspaper operation is maintained through advertising, and as a part of that operation, the online team does its own part to increase its own revenue. Unlike the newsroom however, the online department manages much of its own advertising. The Telegram & Gazette maintains a dedicated advertising department that outnumbers even the newsroom in staff, but the online department does
not generally work with them. Throughout the weeks of sitting through online department staff meetings, I remarked in my field notes how surprised I was by just how much time the online department spent discussing ways to either satisfy their current online advertisers or attract additional advertisers. The website traffic report that Alex Hanks compiled that was discussed previously in the online department's relationship with the audience was actually a report that would be distributed to potential online advertisers. A major section of the original Infocenter was a lengthy brochure hailing the advantages of advertising on the Telegram & Gazette website. A two-week discussion was waged over whether the online department should implement the highly popular "Google ads" that adorn many major websites today. My first task as an intern for the online department was actually completing a listing of local restaurants that had paid to be listed in the Telegram & Gazette's online restaurant guide -essential an advertising device. All of these events and many more consumed the online department's time and resources.

It is a well-known fact in news circles that with rare exceptions, newspaper websites have yet to turn a profit, and this is generally due to the decreased advertising revenue that websites generate compared to physical newspapers. As such, the Telegram & Gazette online department works diligently to maximize whatever advertising revenue they can generate for the newspaper. This is the first major way that the online department sees themselves -as a makeshift advertising department. While this may see somewhat like a surface consideration, it truly changes the way the online department sees itself in all other respects. When the office spends the majority of its time struggling to finally turn a profit and entice more advertising revenue, it simply does not have the
time to worry about larger, more visionary objectives, like adding new features to the website and redesigning existing sections.

This self-perception is further reinforced by the variety of unseen and generally unappreciated tasks that the online department is charged with. While I was with the Telegram & Gazette, the company laid off almost its entire IT department. They had previously been in charge of the computer network that ran throughout the office, as well as the preservation of the website's "uptime" or time spent viewable on the Internet. Well-maintained websites frequently boast about having "zero downtime," and it is an enviable technical accomplishment. With the cutbacks to the Telegram & Gazette IT department, much of the work was outsourced to IT departments in remote sites at Boston Globe, but some of the work was simply handed to the online department. It is a daily struggle to keep the website online and maintain uptime, and this is a burden that goes totally unseen when properly bared. This is just the first in a long list of technical issues that the online department must deal with on a daily basis in order to maintain the Telegram & Gazette's continued presence online, and when everything is done correctly, the result is complete ambivalence from the newsroom. The online department even engages in a number of tasks that one might not even imagine them being responsible for. For example, the online department provides web hosting for local businesses and their respective websites as an additional source of revenue. Local stores and shops in Worcester pay the Telegram & Gazette to host their business's website, and the online department is thankful for the added source of revenue. Unfortunately, during a period of three weeks in late November and December, the web hosting that the online department had been provided suddenly began failing, taking dozens of local websites offline. The
owners of these businesses were quick to notice and were literally banging on the doors of the online department to get their websites back online. The issue was complicated and required multiple weeks to fix, consuming all of lead programmer Miles Prunier's time during the disaster. It is during tasks like these that much of the online department's non-advertising time is spent. Many technical issues must be attended to each day, and the newsroom never hears or sees the online department consumed with these. The online department correspondingly sees itself in the perspective of an almost thankless repairmen -far from the ineffective tech-heads that the newsroom sees them as, or the digital revolutionists that idealists might see them as.

These two roles—as versatile online advertisers and thankless repairmen- coincide directly with the dual nature of the online department's ethos. On the one hand, he online department represents a post-modern, anti-professional, horizontally integrated institution. Its multiple roles as advertiser and repairman strengthen its self-representations of seeking expertise in a variety of sources and avoiding any single monolithic professional identity. On the other hand, the online department does indeed have its own developing professional identity as an auxiliary service to the newsroom. In this sense, its roles in advertising and maintenance coincide perfectly with its service-oriented identity. In summary, whether they are matching open-ended, post-modern, anti-professional identity or its developing identity as an auxiliary newsroom surface, the online department's dual roles help define and strengthen its complex ethos.

For a department that could potentially be the future of the Telegram & Gazette, the online department certainly lacks the self-perception to see itself in that role. Currently the online department spends its time divided between seeking out advertising
revenue and performing thankless technical maintenance and repairs. The newsroom sees it as unresponsive to their needs and generally ineffective and in some ways irrelevant. The online department sees itself surrounded by all of these views, and although some progress to change these perceptions has been made by the addition of a new online manager in Jim Bodor -he has entered the department with his own grand ideas- much work remains to be done if the department hopes to see itself and be seen by others as a coequal partner with the newsroom.
The Audience

Now that the newsroom and the online department have revealed the ways in which they see themselves, the ways in which each department views its audience becomes clearer. The concept of an audience is one that the newsroom and the online department see very differently, however. Each culture looks at their audience within two different philosophies. These two philosophies are centered around the notions of "audience addressed" and "audience invoked." In this situation, the newsroom culture fundamentally invokes its audience, while the online department addresses its audience. The difference between these two lies in the way the two cultures perceive their audience to exist. Addressing an audience requires that the online department assume that "knowledge of the audience's attitudes, beliefs, and expectations is not only possible (via observation and analysis) but essential. 36 As such the online department is constantly examining and observing their audience, and they frequently treat their audience as raw data in these times. Additionally, the online department also sees their audience as a group of empowered users, and they correspondingly work to anticipate the actions and demands of their audience based on their data collection. These two perceptions of the audience—as data, and as empowered users—has been developing under the philosophy that the audience must be known and that it must be address. On the other hand, the newsroom invokes its audience. Those groups like the newsroom who invoke their audience argue that it is impossible in order to ever genuinely know one's audience, and as such, the writer must use the semantic and syntactic resources of language to provide clues which help define he role or roles the writer wishes the reader to adopt in

responding to the text. In this sense, writers who invoke their audience work to guide their audience to the roles and conclusions they have determined for them. This corresponds directly the professional authority of the newsroom. The newsroom sees itself in general as a group of experts guiding (either paternally or condescendingly) the laypersons of the audience to the conclusions they have established for them. Within this framework of invoked and addressed audiences, the newsroom and the online department have developed their perceptions of their respective audiences.

**The Audience - The Newsroom**

The overarching framework from within the newsroom relates to the Telegram & Gazette's audience is as a non-expert or layperson. As seen before, the newsroom has established a vertically integrated professional identity that is founded it is authority. When the newsroom invokes its audience, it looks towards its own expertise in disseminating the news outward to its readers. To the newsroom, since its readers have not met the professional criteria necessary to stand as equals alongside them, they must be invoked and guided along through roles that the newsroom has established for them.

In my months at the Telegram & Gazette, my experiences in dealing with the editors and reporters of the newsroom revolved around my work on improving the Telegram & Gazette's online Infocenter. Since the Infocenter was essentially a customer-service for the readers of the newspaper and the website, gauging the newsroom's response to the Infocenter revealed numerous facets of the individual editors and reporters' views on their relationship to the readers. Some of them took the position of

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37 Id pp. 248
paternal providers, others took the position of near-equality between themselves and the readers, and many others took the stance of elite disassociation and isolationism.

The managing editor of the Telegram & Gazette, Leah Lamson, took the first position. To her, creating a better Infocenter was a matter of responsibility for the paper. Maximizing the usability of the paper was paramount to Lamson, and she strove to direct the Infocenter's progress in a way that provided the greatest service to the Telegram & Gazette's readers as possible. Her phraseology in describing her goals took on a tone more synonymous with service industry managers than newspaper editors. "People should know how to contact the people at the paper!" was her fundamental philosophy that she verbalized to me in interviews regarding the Infocenter's need for improvement. Beyond that, she used terms like "more transparency," "easier access," and even "one-stop shopping" to describe her vision for the redefined Infocenter. All of these terms revealed Lamson's opinion of the newspaper's audience. To her, they were a deserving customer base, one which the newspaper had an obligation to provide the greatest level of service to, and one that was always looking for improvements. This perspective revealed the more positive side of the newsroom's professional authority: its responsibility to those with less power and information.

In contrast to that perspective, a number of the other editors exhibited opinions that were directly opposed to Leah Lamson's. When discussing the Infocenter's redesign with the newsroom editors, one of the common concerns was, "What do we, the newsroom, want our readers to contact us about?" One of the main reasons for the Infocenter's redesigning was to make it easier for readers to contact the newsroom, but agreeing upon the nature of that contact was more elusive than initially assumed. Two of
the editors, the business editor, Andi Esposito, and the features editor Karen Webber, expressed specific objections to the notion that readers should be encouraged to submit story ideas to either of their departments. Andi Esposito was content with readers contacting the business department only for comments, questions, and content for the business-section sponsored feature, "Business Briefs." Similarly, Karen Webber was looking for readers to only contact the Features department when submitting department-sanctioned forms relating to wedding and anniversary announcements or calendar events. When presented with the idea of encouraging readers to submit their own story ideas, both editors felt that such an invitation would lead to an unwelcome deluge of bad, impossible, or underdeveloped ideas. In short, each editor took the opinion that even though the audience may represent an absolutely vital part of the newspaper equation, they were not equals with newspaper staff, and their ideas were inherently unwelcome. Such a feeling of superiority and condescension seemed somewhat pervasive among the news staff, but nowhere was it more apparent than in the refusal of the department editors to accept the invitation of user submitted ideas in the redesigned Infocenter. In sharp contrast to the more altruistic goals of Leah Lamson's authoritarian paternalism, the other editors have embodied professional authority at its elitist and most exclusionary.

The last opinion on audience in the newsroom was that of near-equality. When working with Leah Lamson or the department editors, whether they treated the audience with paternalism or condescension, it was easy to see that both groups fundamentally felt in a superior position to the audience. Mark Ellis, my manager and the City Editor of the Telegram & Gazette, produced a third opinion of the audience, however. He continually expressed dismay at the other editors' condescension and ignored Lamson's paternalism.
To him, the audience and himself were equals, and each was equally qualified to determine what was the news of the day. Perhaps because of his duties as the City Editor—and therefore the editor most in tune with local news—Mark Ellis had the unique perspective of connecting with readers at the street level of local events. Mark Ellis was the voice that always insisted on including the call for users to submit story ideas in the redesigned Infocenter, and he continuously pointed to the elitism of the other opinions. "How will we get our story ideas if we don't listen to our readers?" Mark would ask rhetorically. To him, listening to your readers on whatever matters they wanted to contact the newspaper about was a fundamental imperative of the Telegram & Gazette. Mark's perspective was unique among the newsroom, however. His opinion was founded in direct reaction to the authoritarian perspectives expressed by the previous groups and can even be considered a "by-product" of the newsroom's ethos, rather than an integrated part of it.

Each of these three opinions—paternalism, elitism, and egalitarianism—could be felt throughout the Telegram & Gazette newsroom. Not surprisingly, paternalism was prevalent among the managers, elitism was prevalent among the section editors, and egalitarianism was prevalent among those on the ground covering local issues. Whatever their individual opinions, the newsroom did connect on describing the audience in some fashion of the authoritarian-layperson paradigm.

The Audience - The Online Department

The online department did not see the Telegram & Gazette's audience in the same paradigm as the newsroom, however. In fact, the online department did not see the
newspaper's audience in any singular paradigm. The online department saw the audience in two distinct archetypes - the audience as data and the audience as empowered users. Each of these reflects the online department's addressing of its audience. In order to better define its perception of its audience and better address its audience, the online department is constantly monitoring and analyzing its audience, and it then using this knowledge to design content and features for their needs and desires as empowered users.

One of the practices the online department engaged in was holding weekly staff meetings, where the group would meet for a few hours every Wednesday morning to discuss the progress made in a variety of projects that had been prescribed to individual team members in the past. The staff meetings gave the online department a chance to share their problems and progress with each other, and it gave them weekly productivity goals to strive for. One of the various projects was being conducted by Alex Hanks, one of the site designers, and his project revolved around tracking the Telegram & Gazette audience as they navigated the newspaper's website, www.telegram.com. Areas such as the number of daily visits, the number of returning visitors, the average time spent on the website, and individual tracking data for each of the subsections of the website were calculated by Alex on a weekly basis presented at each staff meeting. Here, the audience was reduced from the egalitarian individuals seen by some members of the newsroom and now condensed into figures and data points. The online department was not necessarily trying to determine the personalities of its audience with these data - although it was doing this as a secondary objective; it was simply trying to determine what they were looking at. This was used to make analyses on the readers for marketing purposes; the areas that received the most viewers would receive the greatest number of
advertisements, and by scanning the most popular sections of the website, the online department could tailor the advertisements to better connect with the viewers in each section. For instance, when it was discovered that the obituary section of the website was the most popular subsection, the online department quickly jumped at the chance of contacting the advertising department and urging them to increase advertising of products and services of interest to the elderly.

Discussions during the weekly staff meetings were most revealing of this tendency of the online department to characterize the audience as marketing data. I often observed in my field notes that the online department seemed to be focused primarily on advertising, and considering that one of the five full-time online department employees, Tom Swenson, was devoted solely to advertising, it was not difficult to see why. Within these parameters, the online department engaged in persistent and widespread researching techniques in order to better address its audience.

Using the perspective on its audience gained from data collection, research and analysis, the online department then saw its audience as empowered users. When the online department saw their audience as users, it was almost greater than Mark Ellis's opinion of them as equals. As equals with the newsroom, the audience was free to suggest story ideas and comment on existing content, but at the end of the day, the newsroom would truly decide what was presented to the public. When the online department saw the audience as users, however, they became almost more powerful than the writers and editors themselves.

There was only one true instance when the online department saw their audience in this new light, and it was also during one of the weekly staff meetings. During the
meeting, the notion of discussion forums being added to the website was suggested. Alex Hanks reminded the department of the dangers of discussion forums. He spoke of the past experiments that the Telegram & Gazette had undertaken with forums before, and he spoke from personal experience when he described closing down the previous discussion forum on telegram.com. Alex's concerns were not unfounded - Internet discussion forums give their users the power to speak freely and post their opinions (in all of their reason or extremism) for all other readers to observe. There are dangerous legal consequences to allowing these discussions go unmoderated as well. Numerous lawsuits have been filed in other states across the country where newspapers have been sued for libel when personal attacks have been posted for public viewing on their discussion forums by their users. Alex Hanks himself received personal threats the previous time he attempted to moderate the Telegram & Gazette's initial attempt to run a discussion forum.

The idea of bringing back discussion forums quickly elicited nervousness and fears from the online department, as they realized the potential inherent in forums to stir controversy, provide a forum for extremist readers to spread their message, elicit libel and defamation, and consequently bring forth lawsuits. A single user could potentially user the power of the Telegram & Gazette's forum to commit a crime - such as spreading terrorist information, slandering a member of the community, or personally threatening other individuals, and each of these would potentially threaten the livelihood of the Telegram & Gazette. It is possible that a single user could seriously damage the Telegram & Gazette if he or she committed a great enough crime and the online department was not savvy enough to separate the Telegram & Gazette from responsibility. This dramatic characterization of the audience - as truly empowered users-
marked the online department as unique from the newsroom. In this case, the online department did not respect the audience, they did not patronize or condescend them, and they did empathize with them, they *feared* them.

Each of these characterizations of the audience by the newsroom and the online department reveal much about the complexity in their cultures. The newsroom sees the audience primarily as invoked laypersons, and while Mark Ellis occasionally respected them as equals, the newsroom as a whole usually appreciated them for their business, but condescended them as intellectually disadvantaged non-experts. The online department approached the audience on a particularly different axis: they addressed the audience first as data-numbers to be studied and analyzed- but using that analysis, they understood that with only minor changes, the audience could quickly become empowered users, rightfully deserving of concern and even fear. The cultures of the newsroom and the online department are even more complex than their relationships with the Telegram & Gazette's audience, however. Their relationships to the news itself are still necessary for a complete analysis of the two cultures’ interactions.
The News

"I have resolutely refused to believe any news not emanating from recognized journalistic professionals. [But] I'm beginning to wonder about that news, too."\(^{38}\)

-Kenneth Moynihan
Worcester Telegram & Gazette Columnist

The newsroom and the online department each carry their own unique perspectives on the news. More honestly, the news department on its own, as the general "headquarters" of all news-related activity at the Telegram & Gazette, sees news in a two ways. The news department occasionally sees the news as a fragile, delicate object, akin to a difficult-to-grow flower -something that must be given the highest care in order for it to be cultivated. At other times, however, the newsroom reacts to the news as something entirely out of its control. The news then is something created by and for the readership, represented mostly with the growing trends in the news industry to label the news with possessive adjectives, such as "Your news." The online department, on the other hand, sees the news within its own spectrum of opinions, which occasionally conflict and overlap. In general, the online department, detached both mentally and physically from the newsroom, sees the news in a similarly detached manner, something akin to how it occasionally sees its audience: as data. However, this is not to say the online department always sees the news in this manner. In a few brief events over the course of my months at the Telegram & Gazette, it was often made clear that the online department carried their own aspirations towards entering the news making process, and these revealed the online department's conflicted double-vision towards the news in general. Both the newsroom and the online department revealed aspects of their ethos in their relationships
with the news. The newsroom's protectionist stance towards news is strongly indicative of its general professional authority and identity, and the online department's stance towards the news similarly reveals its own complex identity.

The News - The Newsroom

Before discussing the online department's views on the news in greater depth, the newsroom's own opinions on the news must be examined. As previously mentioned, the newsroom carried two primary stances towards the news - one in which the news took on the personification of a delicate and fragile flower, and the other, with the news as something "simply out of their control." The former view, pervasive throughout the majority of the newsroom, appears typical of professionals of every type. To the majority of the newsroom, much of which I contacted only when discussing the redesign of the Infocenter and the creation of a information brochure, the news was something akin to their own creation, and solely within their jurisdiction of expertise.

In my preliminary studies of journalism education and history, I saw that from their earliest days, journalists are trained to craft narratives of the news in order to best present it to the public. The events of any given day are the raw data that must be molded into a genuine story, complete with heroes, villains, drama, climaxes and resolutions, in order to create "the news." This crafting of narratives is often where journalists derive the most pride in their work, and from my time in the Telegram & Gazette's newsroom, this seemed to be generally universal. With this power to spin a truly compelling news story from the raw events of the day carried with it a number of responsibilities that

38 "Word-of-mouth news becomes entangled with real journalism." Moynihan, Kenneth J.
appeared to greatly concern the reporters and editors of the newsroom. Just a small miscalculation in focus, an underdevelopment of one of the principal characters, or the neglect of an important angle could unravel that carefully crafted narrative and spoil what would have been an otherwise good story. This is where the newsroom's notion of the news as a fragile flower truly emerges. In an expanded analogy, the occurrence of the news event is simply the planting of the seed. The writing of the story is the careful regulation of the water, sunlight and food necessary for the plant's ultimate blossoming.

The realization of this can be seen in the frequent discussions I observed between local editor Mark Ellis and his various reporters. While waiting to discuss my own work with the Infocenter or the brochure, I would often find myself approaching Mark while he was finishing a conversation with one of his reporters, either in the office or over the phone. In these discussions, Mark would repeatedly give advice to the reporter on how to present the story that they were discussing. For example, in discussing upcoming Democratic caucuses, Mark told the reporter of the story, "Don't write it for the politicians." One could infer this to be a statement of objectivity, as in, "Don't over-glorify the characters (in this case the politicians) of the story you are writing," but in the context of the discussion, Mark was actually referring to an even more audience-centric consideration of crafting the story. By advising his reporter not to write the story for the politicians, he was reminding the reporter to avoid writing the story with too many politically minded references that would be lost when invoking the general public. In other words, although the story was about a caucus -a political event rife with inherent bureaucratic and diplomatic terminology and procedures- if the reporter too much detail on the specifics of the event, the story would find its audience only in those able to
comprehend it - politicians in this case. Mark knew that a slight miscalculation of word-choices and angles could have relegated a potentially strong story to obscurity when the general public was unable to comprehend much of it. This reinforces the notion of the newsroom to protect and cultivate the news as their own, much like a farmer might carefully cultivate a flower. This stance is entirely consistent with the newsroom's general projection of professional authority. The creation of news was entirely the burden of the newsroom because among the general populous, only its reporters had developed the professional expertise to be able to craft stories. It was a responsibility and privilege of carrying the newsroom's authority.

In contrast to this general protectionist stance on the news, the newsroom at the Telegram & Gazette would occasionally diverge into treating the news as if they had very little to do with it. When designing the Infocenter Brochure that would be distributed out to the public, for example, it was imperative to the editors, Mark Ellis and Leah Lamson, that they brochure's slogan be: "How to get your news into your newspaper." When I had originally designed the brochure, I had written the slogan as "How to get news into the newspaper," and the distinct rhetorical shift from "the" to "your" reveals an interesting perspective of the newsroom on the news. Here, the same editors who were concerned about finely crafting a story to meet their own visions of how stories should be presented were adamant about giving the readership possession of the news stories in the Telegram & Gazette. Some would ignore this as a pure advertising-based rhetorical flourish - devoid of any real meaning other than to give the audience an artificial sense of empowerment. However, the reality of the situation, given Leah Lamson and Mark Ellis's previous views on the audience as near equals deserving of personalized service
reveals that the editors most likely truly believed in the slogan. This stance towards the audience as possessors of the news is actually indicative of the first steps the newsroom has taken to acknowledge the lessening of its professional authority in the face of the changing digital world. In the vast majority of situations, the newsroom has strongly rejected yielding any authority to outside groups, but in this small example of the Infocenter Brochure, two members of the newsroom have quietly marked a subtle loosening of the newsroom's professional authority. It is not a contradiction of the newsroom's protectionist stance—it is the evolution of it.

While the newsroom fights to protect its right to carefully craft the individual stories the arise from the events of the day, by using phrases such as "your news" and "your newspaper," it absolves itself of the responsibility of determining which events qualify as news. In this sense, the newsroom at the Telegram & Gazette sees the audience as the empowered-voice determining which events to cover and which to ignore, and it is only after this initial audience decision has occurred that they are free to begin crafting their own stories of the events. This way, the two viewpoints towards the news that the newsroom has expressed -protectionism of their craft and audience-ownership of coverage work in tandem to reveal the complex relationship that they newsroom holds with the news.

**The News -The Online Department**

In the Telegram & Gazette, the online department was located two stories above the newsroom, almost totally alone on the fourth floor. The online department office room was a former television studio, complete with soundproof, corrugated walls, a band
shell-like wavy ceiling, and no windows. The room next to the online office was a comically anachronistic office lounge, complete with genuine furniture from the 1970's, green carpet and a wood-paneled television. To say the online department was isolated from the hustle-and-bustle of the newsroom would be an understatement. It was almost tragically poetic that due to the lack of windows, the online department's only view into the outside world was through their computer screens.

It is not surprising then, that the online department's view of the news would be as mentally detached from the newsroom's as their office was physically. The news was something that the online department was intimately familiar with, yet there almost always stood a barrier between it and them. They were free to look but not touch; manipulate, but not alter; arrange, but not mark. The online department controlled almost the entire online version of the newspaper, www.telegram.com, except the news itself. They determined how the stories would be organized, what would appear on the front page, how often new stories would be added, what graphics would accompany them, what ads would appear beside them, and countless other periphery aspects of the digital newspaper. However, they were generally forbidden to ever touch the content of the individual stories, themselves. Their developing professional identity as an auxiliary service to the newsroom was strongly established in this relationship.

This problem often came to a head when the Telegram & Gazette began experimenting with adding news stories to the front page of telegram.com continuously throughout the day. Breaking news events frequently happen in the late morning and afternoon, and rather than wait to add them to the website the next morning with the majority of the new stories, the Telegram & Gazette wished to add them as soon as
possible. Stories written in this manner must often be written and rewritten a number of times as new information comes to light and details change. As such, conflicts often arose between the newsroom and the online department over who would be allowed to update these breaking stories - the trained journalists of the newsroom, or the technical experts of the online department who ultimately controlled the flow of information on the website. In the end, the newsroom decided to retain complete control of the stories, forbidding the online department members from typing in additional and corrective breaking information. The journalists of the newsroom would instead completely rewrite the story each time and submit it to the online department like they were genuinely new stories, and the online department would proceed to upload the story anew each time. This bypassed the comparatively simpler method of the online department members simply typing in the new information themselves, dictated by the newsroom journalists.

These somewhat extreme measures of control exerted by the newsroom produced an online department without any real sense of possession of the news. This control embodied the professional authority of the newsroom, but the online department's resistance to it revealed both its stance towards the news and its own developing ethos. To the post-modern online department, the news was not the exclusive jurisdiction of the newsroom. In a truly horizontally integrated institution like the World Wide Web, anyone with the proper knowledge would be able to contribute to the news, whether they are a blogger doing their own investigative reporting, a eye-witness citizen who happened to be at the scene of a news event, or more realistically, Alex Hanks or Dave Niles in the online department when they happened to know what information to update in the breaking stories. Alex and Dave were not allowed to update stories, however, even if
they had the information and the tools to update them. As such, the desire for the online department to contribute to developing stories when possible reveals their anti-professional authoritarian tendencies, but their ultimate acceptance of their boundaries similarly reveals their own developing professional identity as an auxiliary service, subservient to the newsroom.
How the Departments View Each Other

The culminating perceptions held by the Worcester Telegram & Gazette’s newsroom and online department are their views on each other. Combining their established self-images, their views on their audience and the news they produce each day, the departments’ views on each other represent the keystone in the bridge connecting the two. A better understanding of the ways that each department views the other will lead to a better alignment of those views in the future, and ultimately aid in their developing cultural convergence. While this is indeed a positive goal, the views held by each department for the other are decidedly negative at this current time. The online department responds to the self-important self image of the newsroom by attacking its credibility on all technological issues and by questioning its authority in regards to the news. The newsroom correspondingly reacts to the underappreciated and overwhelmed self image of the online department, by questioning its raw effectiveness and relevance. With the ultimate goal of the mutual understanding between each department, this final analysis will reveal the true roadblocks that exist today.

How the Online Department Views the Newsroom

As a proudly professional institution, the newsroom has its fair share of anti-professional critics. Historically, many observers have criticized professional organizations for their self-serving nature and self-important attitudes. One of those critics, if my experiences were accurate, would undoubtedly be the Telegram & Gazette's own online department. In an ideal world, the two groups would work harmoniously hand and hand, and in some cases this is true, but in many others the two struggle and squabble.
In part because of the Online department's view of itself but generally in response to the newsroom's own self-righteous personal view, the online department's view of the newsroom is decidedly negative. In their daily operations, there is a sense within the online department that the newsroom maintains an unnecessary level of control. This is superseded only by the online department's sense of the newsroom's incompetence in what the online department holds as a general marker for intelligence -technology. Like most technology-minded individuals I have encountered, particularly those fellow engineering students at WPI, the members of the online department harshly judge any signs of technological incompetence in the newsroom, and they expand their view of the newsroom's unfamiliarity with technology as a generalized sense of true incompetence. Since the online department holds the telegram.com website in such high regard -it is the focus of their entire career, after all- when they observe the newsroom's complete lack of knowledge on the website as offensive and insulting. As a result, they form opinions and take actions that exacerbate the gulf between the newsroom and a familiarity with the website. All of this combines to form the online department's general sense of the newsroom.

So far in the examinations of the newsroom, it has seen itself as above its audience in many ways, above the changing technology it uses, and generally the ultimate voice in crafting and creating the news, not just for themselves, but for the entire news industry hierarchy. The online department is far from blind to these opinions, and they are manifested in the online department's sense of the newsroom as overly controlling. As previously seen, the online department contains a great deal of enthusiasm for news gathering themselves. Designers Dave Niles and Alex Hanks would
jump at the rare opportunities they were given to accompany real reporters out into the field. They would provide video coverage of the events for the website, and there were rarely any other times that I would see Dave or Alex work with as much intensity as when they were editing recently shot footage and rapidly preparing for the website. Many of the Telegram & Gazette online department left other jobs to work at the newspaper, and it is not surprising that the allure of working in a journalistic environment enticed them. I spoke at length with the lead programmer of telegram.com, Miles Prunier, about his earliest days at the Telegram & Gazette. He told me he left a better paying job programming for a manufacturing company to work here, and he was specifically attracted to the potentially creative environment of the online department at a newsroom. One would expect the lead programmer for a major newspaper to have an education in computer science or engineering -but Miles told me his background was actually in English and Film. This sort of story was common for almost all of the online department staff. It was clear to me that each member of the online department could have potentially found himself or herself in a more traditional newsroom department such as photography or features had things only been slightly differently for them. Nevertheless, the online department was kept separate from the actual creation of the news in almost all instances. The newsroom would produce their stories, features, editorials and pictures and then using a system the online department designed, they would be automatically uploaded to the website overnight. Generally this system worked smoothly and efficiently -but in those situations where corrections needed to be made to stories already on the web, or breaking stories needed to be added in the middle of the day, conflicts would often arise over who would do such things. Something as seemingly
trivial as changing a name or date to make a correction could have been done quickly by one of the members of the online department, but they were generally forbidden from changing the text of articles, and so the newsroom would take a more complicated steps to correct the problem themselves. Each of these actions I saw greatly frustrating Dave, Alex and Miles, as even though they were competent writers and designers (and even had the same educational background as many of the actual journalists) they were forbidden from many even the most cursory of changes to stories. This generated within the online department, the characterization of the newsroom as overly controlling and difficult to work with at many times.

Another member of the online department, programmer Lori Allard, saw the newsroom as even worse. She fought hard in many ways to limit the access of the newsroom to important online department programs and procedures. This mentality was not limited to Lori Allard by any means - the general consensus in the online department strongly agreed with her, but she was often the initial voice in raising objections to projects and actions that would increase the access or control the newsroom would have over various online-related tasks, such as story layouts and even the design of the website itself. Lori seemed to do this in some small way as a reaction to the newsroom's own controlling ways, but most she engaged in this behavior over a strong distrust of the newsroom's competence in any technical issue. Throughout the dozens of department meetings I attended, I remember one specific issue in particular which revealed the online department's lack of faith in the technical know-how of the newsroom. For some time the newsroom had been petitioning for greater levels of self-sufficiency in uploading breaking stories to the website in the middle of the day. As mentioned above, rather than
allowing the online department to add the stories themselves, the newsroom had been using a system where they maintained complete control of writing the breaking stories while the newsroom maintained their technical control of uploading and arranging the stories in the framework of the website. The newsroom wanted the ability to add its breaking stories independently of the online department. In order for this to happen, the online department would have needed to give the newsroom access to the all-important Publicus database, which held all the information displayed on the website. Theoretically, if someone with access to the database was not careful or if they were malicious enough, they could delete all the contents in the database and "delete the website" as Lori described it. Led by Lori, the online department simply did not trust the technical knowledge of the newsroom, and so they continued to forbid giving them greater access to uploading their own stories.

Another similar event occurred in my own redesign of the Telegram & Gazette Infocenter. Lori was my partner in the redesign, and she managed the technical aspects of the project. One of those aspects included the question of "who will maintain the new Infocenter?" Since the Infocenter contained detailed contact information on the reporters and editors of the Telegram & Gazette, someone would need to periodically update these contact lists whenever staff members changed. Lori was determined that she would not be that person stuck with the task of a menial task like updating contact lists (something that revealed a key note in how the online department sees itself), but she refused to give the individual editors and reporters access to the Publicus database so that they could update their own contact information as well. Once again, Lori displayed the online
department's commitment to stonewalling the newsroom from greater technological independence out of fear for their incompetence.

These two examples reveal the ethos of the online department. Since the online department displays aspects of both an anti-professional, horizontally integrated, post-modern identity as well as an emerging, vertically integrated, modern professional identity of its own, it reacts to the newsroom's perceived technological incompetence in two ways. First, its post-modern identity guides the online department to respect expertise in any area, or contrapositively in this case, to not respect a lack of expertise in any institution, regardless of its projected authority. In this sense, the online depart ignores the assumed professional authority of the newsroom and judges it entirely on the subject at hand: technology. Additionally, the online department's second reaction steams from its own projection of its professional identity. The online department must assert its own expertise in technology in order to prove its necessity to the newsroom, and so any attempts by the newsroom to usurp the technological authority of the online department must be thwarted as a matter of professional survival.

All of these events combine to form the online department's view of the newsroom -as unfairly controlling and technologically incompetent. While the newsroom may have seen itself as free from technological considerations and essential to the news industry, the online department instead focused on their protectionist policies while implementing their own against them. The newsroom is indeed the center of the Telegram & Gazette world and the online department is becoming a greater part of the Telegram & Gazette's future with each passing day, but as long as the two cultures continue to isolate themselves from one another, progress will remain difficult.
How the Newsroom Views the Online Department

In a similarly critical stance, the newsroom sees the online department as unresponsive and on the borderline of irrelevance at times. The individual editors most likely know that the Internet is the true future of newspapers, but for the time being with this current online department, they rarely pay attention to its actions, concerns, and productions. For the most part, the individual editors can go through the majority of their days without concerning themselves with the actions of the online department. Those times when the editors do need to contact the online department are often when the newsroom would like something of theirs added to the website - a new feature, a new section, greater coverage in a particular area, or an updated Infocenter, for example. In these instances, the response may frequently disappoint the newsroom, and so it is quick to characterize the online department as unresponsive and unhelpful.

In one of my discussions with the newsroom editors, I sat down with the photography editor, Len Lazure, to talk about updating the Infocenter. Although he had never heard of it or seen it, he offered a variety of suggestions including a more informative title and a reorganized presentation. He seemed skeptical over seeing any of these changes implemented however, as he had suggested a number of improvements to the website before, and he had never seen any of them acted on by the online department. He had requested that a general photo gallery be added, he requested that some of the high quality photographs from the Worcester Telegram & Gazette magazine be added to the website, and he requested a new section called "Out and About" be created where website users could upload their own pictures of Worcester, the surrounding area and any news worthy events. Len told me that he had never heard back from the online
department regarding any of these suggestions, and when I talked about this to the online
department, they told me they had indeed gotten Len's suggestions, and when they
responded to him with a brief technical question, he never got back to them. In their
view, the "ball was in Len's court" and they saw no need to follow up to see if he had
ever even gotten their question, and busy with their own tasks, the members of the online
department were not particularly looking for any additional work, and they saw no need
to press the issue. As such, Len may have never seen the brief responding e-mail or he
may have simply forgotten to reply among the sea of e-mails he receives on a daily basis,
and whatever the case, his suggestions were essentially left to run cold. Somewhat
understandably, Len's overall view of the online department was as an unresponsive and
unhelpful supporting office.

The same sort of events can be seen in my own work to redesign the Infocenter.
For almost 2 years before I arrived at the Telegram & Gazette, the newsroom had been
unable to make any progress on updating the Infocenter. For a variety of reasons, many
of which the newsroom and online department would argue over, work was never started
despite the frequent attempts by the newsroom to initiate contact with the online
department. The newsroom saw the redesign of the Infocenter as a relatively simply, but
important goal. Leah Lamson had met with a consortium of managing editors from
newspapers across the country, and each had left the gathering with the goal of improving
the ease of communication between their readers and the newsroom staff. With an
already-existing Infocenter on the Telegram & Gazette website, Leah saw the perfect
opportunity to improve this communication. She and Mark Ellis devised a list of
improvements they believed would positively change the Infocenter, but they could never
come to consensus with the online department on how to implement them. After two years of inaction, the newsroom was convinced that the online team was ineffective at achieving their goals, and so they jumped at the chance to enlist me as a catalyst for online action. In my own months at the Telegram & Gazette online department, I quickly saw the resistance the office held against revamping the Infocenter. Before I arrived, the item was set as a "low priority" on their weekly project checklist, and while after my arrival the project was moved to "high priority," it still appeared to take a back seat to every other high priority item and even many medium priority items as well. The ultimate truth is that after my months in the online department, with me dedicated full-time to the revision of the Infocenter, the updated Infocenter is still not online for a variety of technical and interoffice issues. In short, when the newsroom is not ignoring them and overlooking their existence, it generally has little faith in the prompt action of the online team to implement many of its goals. While the situation is very complicated, and the online department's apparent ineffectiveness is a true byproduct of its own strained resources and time, the newsroom sees only the results (or lack thereof) and harshly judges the online department.

This perception of the online department stems directly from the professional authority-based, expert-layperson dichotomy of the newsroom's ethos. To the newsroom, the online department stands outside of its sphere of expertise, and thus inaction and ineffectiveness are to be expected and even tolerated. A certain "They can't help it," condescending attitude pervades the newsroom, and this elitist angle of its professional identity frames its overall perception of the online department.
Chapter 5: Conclusions

Throughout this examination of the perceptions held by the Worcester Telegram & Gazette's newsroom and online department, whether focused on themselves, the news, their audience, or each other, one unifying relationship existed among all the departments' views: they were not "on the same page." In each of the relationships examined, the newsroom and the online department continuously and uniformly did not see the various issues at hand in the same ways. More importantly, their misalignments of vision were not merely conflicting views on a singular issue axis—as would have been the case if the newsroom was simply "pro" and the online department "con"—but rather the two institutions saw issues on entirely different axes in general. Where the newsroom sought to better define the paper's audience, the online department sought to better learn about it, for example. Where the newsroom sought to define the online department through unfulfilled grand projects, the online department defined itself through the mundane and technical. This distinction is vital to account for because it reveals that the difficulties the newspaper industry faces on the convergence of its online department and its newsroom are not superficial. On the contrary, the difficulties surrounding the two institutions' convergence are deeply cultural, as they originate directly from the professional identities (both firmly established and still developing) of the newsroom and online department, respectively.

As it stands today, the newsroom, both in the idealized sense and in the ethnography of the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, remains firmly entrenched as a well-defined professional institution. For more than 100 years, the identity of the newspaper newsroom has been developing and refining itself along side the general professionalism
movement felt throughout the United States. It is still both structurally hierarchical, self-servingly hegemonic, and authoritative among both the general populace and its peers. It sees itself as detached from the turbulent world of changing technologies, and it projects few concerns over any perceived threats from the digital realm. It's views on itself, its audience, the news, and the online department are all formatted according to its well-established modernist, professional, and authoritative outlook.

The online department, on the other hand, represents a far less definitive institution, both in its organization and its outlook. Unlike the newspaper newsroom, which has been developing for decades, the newspaper online department is still in its infancy towards establishing its own identity. Rather than forming a true foil to the newsroom, the online department is something of a hybrid of classic, modernist institutions such as the newsroom, and postmodern, decentralized frontiers like the Internet. Emerging from the digital embodiment of postmodernism that is the World Wide Web, the online department's medium has strongly influenced its sense of anti-professionalism tendencies, while working within a traditional office environment has also instilled within it to seeds towards developing into an independent professional institution. Currently however, the online department stands as an auxiliary institution to the newsroom, and the inequality felt throughout the two offices' relationship defines its views on itself, its audience, the news, and the newsroom. In each case, the online department's view is a complex amalgamation representing the department's own developing sense of both modernist and postmodern organizational inclinations as well as its own conflicted views on the value of professionalism. The online department of the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, along with similar newspaper online departments around
the nation, is standing in an epoch not far from the early 20th century of the newspaper newsroom. At that time, the newsroom was attempting to find its own identity and deciding how to establish as something other than an auxiliary institution aligned with a particular political organization or corporation. Unlike the newsroom, however, the online department is not attempting to establish itself as a unique institution apart from the newsroom, rather it is working towards an established identity that is both unified and equal to that of the newsroom's.

Whether this equality will ever be achieved is a matter of aligning the viewpoints held by the newsroom and the online department today. Getting the newsroom and the online department "on the same page" is the major issue at stake in this investigation, and all signs point to the two institutions being distant from that goal at current time. Right now, the two offices are not simply on separate pages, they are truly on different media—one is still on a page while the other is on a screen. A more appropriate goal might be to get the two offices "on the same screen" in the future, then. Addressing and acknowledging these major discrepancies between outlooks as well as the underlying reasons for them has been an important first step, nevertheless. The Worcester Telegram & Gazette marks an important lesson in the question of how newspapers will deal with the rise of the Internet. As newspapers continue to address the challenges of media convergence between the page and the screen—the newsroom and the online department-aligning their currently separate viewpoints will become ever more important, but armed with a knowledge of what those views are and where they have come from will give them the means to meet the convergence on steady footing.
Appendix A: Infocenter

The Worcester Telegram & Gazette's Infocenter was set to be updated and redesigned throughout the course of the ethnography. Due to a variety of interoffice conflicts and disagreements, the redesign took much longer than originally planned, and as of this writing, is still in progress. The newsroom's vision for the Infocenter's redesign included a number of new graphics, but at the conclusion of the ethnography, the only major redesign feature was the change from organizing information by topic (Feedback, Advertising, Contact Us, etc) to organizing information by department (News, Editorial, Sports, etc.) There is still reason to hope for continued updates to the Infocenter, however. Jim Bodor, the new head of the online department, has been a driving force in updating the Infocenter, and a major website redesign that will include the Infocenter is planned within the year.

Figure 5: Original Infocenter Front Page
Figure 6: Updated Infocenter Front Page
Appendix B: Infocenter Brochure

Although the redesign of the Infocenter was not completed at the conclusion of the ethnography, the creation of a brochure summarizing the contents of the Infocenter was completed. The brochure will be made available online in the near future and print-copies of the brochure will be provided to the general public through Telegram & Gazette events as well.

Figure 7: Online Version of Infocenter Brochure pg. 1 (not intended to be folded)
Local News
Submit your story ideas and news items to the appropriate bureau or call the office nearest to you.

North Zone:
Clinton: 156 Church St, 01510
tel. (978) 365-2462; fax (978) 365-8915
tcclin@telegram.com
Fitchburg: 772 Main St, 01420
tel. (978) 343-4837; fax (978) 345-8620
tfitch@telegram.com
Gardner: 306 Central St, 01440
tel. (978) 632-1800; fax (978) 632-1256
tgarrd@telegram.com
Leominster: 27 Monument Sq, 01453.
tel. (970) 040-0071; fax (970) 040-0669
tleomin@telegram.com

South Zone:
Southbridge: 39 Elm St, 01550
tel. (508) 794-2819; fax (508) 794-2774
tsouth@telegram.com
Webster: 127 Main St, 01570
tel. (508) 943-5400; fax (508) 949-1886
tweb@telegram.com

West Zone:
Spencer: 170 Main St, 01562
tel. (508) 885-3900; fax (508) 885-7815
tspenc@telegram.com

East Zone:
Northboro: 16 Main St, 01532
tel. (508) 393-7753; fax (508) 393-5381
tnorth@telegram.com
Worcester: 36 South St, 01601
tel. (508) 366-8993; fax (508) 836-3848
tworcest@telegram.com

Valley Zone:
Whistler: 110 Church St, 01588
tel. (508) 234-5882; fax (508) 234-2936
twist@telegram.com

Wachusett Zone:
Holden: 1174 Main St, 01520
tel. (508) 829-1185; fax (508) 829-7195
thold@telegram.com

Boston/Statehouse:
tel. (617) 525-2344; fax (617) 722-2794
e-mail: news@telegram.com

Features
• Submit story ideas and coverage requests to people@telegram.com or call (978) 793-9332 or fax (508) 793-9281.
• Submit calendar events to etclists@telegram.com and include the nature of the event, dates and times, location, admission price & contact number.
• To submit wedding, anniversary, engagement and birthday announcements, go to www.telegram.com, click on Announcements and submit the appropriate form to ebrun@telegram.com, fax it to (978) 793-9281 or mail to:
Telegram & Gazette
Attr: Features Dept
PO Box 15012
Worcester, MA 01615-0012

Photos
Send your high-resolution photos of breaking news events to tpphoto@telegram.com.
Submit photo ideas by calling (508) 793-9310 or by fax to (508) 793-8536.

Figure 8: Online Version of Infocenter Brochure pg. 2 (not intended to be folded)
Local News
Submit your story ideas and news items to the appropriate bureau or call the office nearest to you.

North Zone:
Clinton: 156 Church St, 01510
tel. (978) 365-2462; fax (978) 365-5915
tgclnt@telegram.com
Fitchburg: 773 Main St, 01420
tel. (978) 343-4837; fax (978) 345-5620
tgtchb@telegram.com
Gardner: 306 Central St, 01440
tel. (978) 632-1800; fax (978) 632-1256
tggard@telegram.com
Leominster: 27 Monument Sq, 01453
tel. (978) 840-0071 fax (978) 840-0669
tgleom@telegram.com

South Zone:
Southbridge: 39 Elm St, 01550
tel. (508) 764-2519; fax (508) 764-2774
tgsouth@telegram.com
Webster: 127 Main St, 01570
tel. (508) 943-5400; fax (508) 949-2186
tgweb@telegram.com

West Zone:
Spencer: 170 Main St, 01562
tel. (508) 856-1900; fax (508) 885-7815
tgspcn@telegram.com

East Zone:
Northboro: 16 Main St, 01532
tel. (508) 393-7753; fax (508) 393-5381
tgnboro@telegram.com
Worcester: 10 South St, 01601
tel. (508) 366-4093; fax (508) 636-3848
tgewor@telegram.com

Valley Zone:
Whitinsville: 110 Church St, 01588
tel. (508) 234-5882; fax (508) 234-2936
tgwhiv@telegram.com

Wachusett Zone:
H Holden: 1174 Main St, 01520
tel. 508 829 4185; fax 508 829 7195
tghold@telegram.com

Roxbury/Statehouse:
tel. (617) 523-2514; fax (617) 722-2794
e-mail: newstips@telegram.com

Figure 9: Print Version of Infocenter Brochure pg. 1 (intended to be folded)
Submitting News

When submitting news, information or photographs to the Telegram, please include your name, address and phone number as well as the "who, what, when, where and why" of the story.

News Departments

Please scan the information below to determine where to submit your news.

**Worcester News**
Submit your story ideas, bulletin board items, class reunion notices and other news to news@telegram.com or call (508) 793-9245 or fax (508) 793-9281.

**Sports**
Submit your story or column ideas and requests for coverage to sports@telegram.com or call (508) 793-9350 or fax (508) 793-9363.
Send Bulletin Board items to Telegram & Gazette Sports Bulletin Board, P.O. Box 15012, Worcester, MA 01615-0012.
Submit game results by calling (508) 793-9350 on the day of the event.

**Business**
Submit your story ideas, business briefs and comments to biz@telegram.com or call (508) 793-9195 or fax (508) 793-9290.

**Letters to the Editor**
Send in your brief -250 words max- letters to letters@telegram.com or mail to:
Telegram & Gazette
Attn: Letters to the Editor
P.O. Box 15012
Worcester, MA 01615-0012

**Features**
- Submit story ideas and coverage requests to people@telegram.com or call (508) 793-9232 or fax (508) 793-9281.
- Submit calendar events to etc@telegram.com and include the nature of the event, dates and times, location, admission price & contact number.
- To download an announcement form for a wedding, engagement, birthday or anniversary, go to www.telegram.com/weddings. Completed forms and photographs should be mailed to:
Telegram & Gazette
Attn: Features Department
Box 15012
Worcester, MA 01615-0012

**Photos**
Send your high-resolution photos of breaking news events to taphoto@telegram.com.
Submit photo ideas by calling (508) 793-9310 or by fax to (508) 793-9536.

Figure 10: Print Version of Infocenter Brochure pg. 2 (intended to be folded)
Works Cited


