

DISSERTATIONES DE MEDIIS ET COMMUNICATIONIBUS
UNIVERSITATIS TARTUENSIS

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KERTU SAKS

The formation
of editing culture and practice
in Estonian newspapers 1988–2005



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- I. Saks, Kertu (2002): From Soviet to Market-Oriented: Organisational and Product changes in Estonian Newspaper, 1988–2001. In: Vihalemm, Peeter (ed.): *Baltic Media in Transition* (pgs. 187–206). Tartu: Tartu University Press.
- II. Saks, Kertu (2005): Keelestiilikorraldus eesti ajalehtedes “Linguo-stylistic Planning in Estonian Newspapers”. *Language and Literature (Keel ja Kirjandus)*, issue: 09/2005 (pgs. 735–741). SA Kultuurileht.
- III. Harro-Loit, Halliki and Saks, Kertu: The Diminishing Border Between Advertising and Journalism in Estonia. *Journalism Studies*. Vol. 7, No 2, 2006. (pgs. 312–322). Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- III. Saks, Kertu (2006): Ajalehe keeetoimetamine muutuste keerises “Language Editing of Newspaper Texts in Turmoil of Changes”. *Language and Literature (Keel ja Kirjandus)*, issue: 05/2006 (pgs. 387–391). SA Kultuurileht.

AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

The defender's contribution to the respective articles is as follows:

- Study I: The study was fully initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analysed by the author and the author is fully responsible for the manuscript.
- Study II: The study was fully initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analysed by the author and the author is fully responsible for the manuscript.
- Study III: The study was co-authored. The author participated in the general survey design, compiling the questionnaires, conducting the interviews and interpreting the findings. The author is equally responsible with the co-author for setting the problem to be considered in the article, developing the theoretical framework and developing the discussion.
- Study IV: The study was fully initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analysed by the author and the author is fully responsible for the manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation gives a historical view to the formation of Estonian newspaper editing culture from the dawn of the second period of independence in Estonian history. The aim of the dissertation is to analyse the structural changes that influenced the ways Estonian newspapers were edited during and after the transition period from 1988, when the first new market-oriented editions were published after the fall of the Soviet Union, until 2005, when it might be said that Estonian newspapers had reached a phase of stability in development. The dissertation focuses on analysing what kind of changes took place in editing-related production processes and practices and analyses the creation and utilisation of professional editing related norms, standards and self-regulation tools, using the example of *linguo-stylistic planning* in Estonian newspapers.

Culture is in this dissertation referred to as the set of shared attitudes, goals, values and practices that characterises an institution, organisation or group. Editing culture, which is part of journalistic culture (and will be elaborated in the theoretical chapter), is thus in this dissertation referred to as a set of editing related attitudes, goals and values that characterise a newspaper organisation.

Editing culture as a concept has been introduced by the author in order to highlight the editing related specific features of journalistic culture. Estonian newspaper editing was already a specific culture during the Soviet period as at that time Estonian newspaper editors (but especially language editors) shared attitudes, goals and values on the basis of which they stood against russification in Estonia, and for the better well-being of the pure Estonian language. This was viewed by Estonian newspaper editors as a sort of resistance movement, as described in Study IV of this dissertation.

Linguo-stylistic planning is in this dissertation used as a term covering the *language usage* and *language style* rules followed in newspaper editing.

An important keyword in this dissertation is *transition*. The Estonian media entered the period of transition triggered by political and social reasons. The transition was marked by several parallel processes: democratisation, market liberation, the growth of consumerism, etc. (Lauristin, Vihalemm, 2002; 2009; Runnel, 2009).

In Estonian media, a complex time of change started in 1987 when relatively free political dialogue (as opposed to the censored media of the Soviet period) started in public in Estonian popular radio and television (Vihalemm, Lauk, Lauristin 1997: 227). Media by nature is in a process of constant change, although the second half of the last decade (2005–2010) saw some very important landmarks that have greatly influenced newspaper publication in Estonia. Changes like the outbreak and rapid development of on-line and social media; the diminishing of advertising revenues and the world-wide economic depression and their influences on (Estonian) media would need an elaborate separate analysis and are thus beyond the scope of this dissertation. The changes and developments have been divided into characteristic phases in this dissertation.

From 2005 the above mentioned very rapid developments occurred simultaneously and thus it might not be even possible to periodise the developments in Estonian newspaper making as separate phases. As one of the development phases of Estonian newspaper making from 1988 to 2005 has been characterised as the phase of confusion and search, the Discussion chapter of the dissertation suggests that the developments after 2005 could be assessed as a new phase of confusion and search.

Editing-related journalistic practice and routine has been a rather marginalised research topic in Estonia, as well as in other countries. This dissertation focuses on the formation of a new editing culture for Estonian Estonian-speaking newspaper media, which in turn consists of editing cultures in separate newspapers formed on the basis of new journalistic practices and routines, norms and standards that are agreed upon and created in those editorial offices during the times of changes. As a metaphor, the subject of this dissertation, the formation of and changes in newspaper editing culture, can be viewed as a raspberry. A raspberry consists of separate particles (specific editing cultures in different newspaper organisations) yet it forms a common newspaper editing culture: a set of shared attitudes, goals and values, which in its centre bears a heart that includes common norms and standards on journalistic discourse processing. For example, Code of Ethics is general for all Estonian journalism (only the business newspaper *Äripäev* has its own, separate, code) and the common Internet-based language stylebook, which was created recently for Estonian writing journalists (previously the language stylebooks were separate for every newspaper organisation).

This dissertation has been compiled of the publications. The specific research questions and levels of analysis vary throughout the articles. The articles, presented here as a dissertation, are able to answer the general questions as follows: All studies (and particularly Study I) in this dissertation analyse general developments in Estonian newspaper organisations and editing on a time scale from 1988 until 2005. Studies II and IV (originally published in Estonian and translated for the dissertation into English) analyse the formation of Estonian newspaper editing culture using the example of the linguo-stylistic planning and regulations in Estonian newspapers. Study III analyses the issues of professional journalistic practices in a small media market, specifically the diminution of the border between editorial and advertising material in Estonian media. The cover text of this dissertation gives a synthesis of the basic essence of the studies in this dissertation and provides a more general approach to the development of newspaper editing culture.

With one exception the studies that are the basis of this dissertation cover only Estonian newspaper media. In Estonia, newspaper organisations are the dominant national news agenda setters and have the biggest advertising revenues, with 44 % of the media advertising market (Balcytiené, Harro-Loit, 2009: 9). Study III also presents commercialisation and hybridisation related research findings in other Estonian media channels and mediums.

When speaking about Estonian newspapers and media, the author has analysed only the developments in the Estonian Estonian-language media.

The formation of Estonian newspaper editing culture has occurred via specific developments and changes during and after the transition period in Estonia. In this dissertation the social-political, economic, technological and normative changes are analysed. These spheres of change are to a certain extent inter-related and have occurred simultaneously in Estonia. The social-political and some economic triggers of change are analysed in Study I and the Setting the Context chapter of this dissertation, which analyses the transition period and Estonian media in transition. Modern technological changes are discussed separately in the discussion chapter of the dissertation. Normative changes, as well as economic platforms, relating to the commercialisation and hybridisation of messages have been analysed in Studies II, III and IV and summarised in different cover text chapters of this dissertation.

Based on theoretical and conceptual frames, and on the questions stated in the studies, the research generally answers the following questions:

- How did the transition period influence developments in Estonian newspaper organisations and products?
- How can the Estonian newspaper-media-related development phases, from 1988 to 2005, be described, and what were the triggering factors for these developments?
- How did the newspaper editing culture and journalistic practices, which set professional norms, standards and created self-regulation tools, develop in Estonia from 1988 to 2005?
- What were the main developments in linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers from 1988 to 2005?
- How did the different media in Estonia perform in the context of the diminishing border between journalism and marketing discourse, and was the hybridisation process of journalistic discourse equivalent in different media?

In 1999 Tartu University Press published a book of study material for journalism students called *Meediaorganisatsioon II* (Media Organisation II) in which the author of this dissertation presented research findings on the changes in editing and linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers between 1988 and 1998. The research questions then were as follows: 1) how was language style and usage been regulated in Estonian newspapers during Soviet period?; 2) how is it planned and regulated today – by what means?; 3) how has the linguo-stylistic planning been organised in different types of Estonian newspapers – local and national, daily and weekly – who does what?; and 4) what are the possible future scenarios in this sphere?

As the conclusions of the study showed the need for broader generalisations in analysis, the author adopted a wider scope of research concerning the formation of newspaper editing culture in Estonia after the Soviet era. The analysis highlighted several developments and is presented as Study I (2002) of this dis-

sertation, answering the following set of questions: 1) what were the triggering factors for the changes in Estonian newspaper media – organisations and products?; 2) how did the changes take place and what specific features (taking into account that it was a former post-communist country developing to a country with a market-oriented economy) did the developments bring?; 3) how did the changes affect different types of Estonian newspaper – local and national, daily and weekly (the specific focus was on the two biggest daily newspapers in Estonia *Eesti Päevaleht* and *Postimees*)?; 4) is it possible to formulate specific phases of the developments and if so, what were these phases? Study I summarised the general developments in the formation of Estonian newspaper culture from 1988 to 2001.

Studies II and IV went forward in time with the research questions tackled in the preparatory study of this dissertation (the research conclusions of which were published in an article in 1998). The aim of Study II was to describe the linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers and the developments in the devising of linguo-stylistic rules in the period from 1998 to 2005. Study IV described how the fast changes in newspapers affected language editing in a timeframe from 1988–2005. In this study the author categorised the developments in linguo-stylistic planning according to the model worked out for Study I, in which the author divided the developments into three interrelated phases. The phases were described as follows: 1) the Soviet remnants phase, dominating in 1988–1991 (until the restoration of independence); 2) the phase of confusion and search, dominating in 1991–1995; 3) the phase of stabilisation, starting in 1996 and continuing today. Additionally, the research in Studies II and IV answered the following questions: Study II: 1) how has linguo-stylistic planning as a journalistic practice changed in Estonian national and local newspapers from 1988 to 2005; 2) what kind of self-regulation tools are used in Estonian newspapers and what examples are there of the new tools?; 3) how many Estonian newspapers have stylebooks and from what examples have these been compiled?; 4) what kind of linguo-stylistic regulations are used in Estonian newspapers and to what extent are these implicit and explicit respectively (written and oral)? Study IV: 1) what are the characteristic features of the *Soviet remnants*, *confusion and search* and *stabilisation* phase of developments in the sphere of linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers?; 2) are language-related topics valued as important in Estonian newspaper organisations and how have these values changed in time?

Study III was co-authored with the supervisor of this dissertation, Halliki Harro-Loit.

The research questions of this study were: 1) is there a border between promotional and editorial material in Estonian media?; 2) where is it, can it be, and how is it defined?; 3) is the border between promotional and editorial material in Estonian media diminishing?; 4) if so, what are the reasons for this?; 5) how are the non-acceptable promotional materials in media context defined?

The dissertation is also based on research the author has done previously, but the material of which has not been published as research articles. The foundation of this dissertation stems from the author's research on the regulations in Estonian newspaper newsrooms since 1988. In 2002, the author dealt with quality issues in Estonian newspapers and analysed how Estonian newspaper editors and readers assessed quality in Estonian newspapers. These data and conclusions have also been introduced in this dissertation.

The studies in this dissertation are based on a variety of methodological approaches. Methodologically, the research has gathered empirical data of the structural changes in Estonian newspaper organisations from 1988 to 2005 in order to analyse the formation of a specific editing culture, which has been created via the changes in journalistic practices and routines. As the scope of this dissertation includes, in its research questions, the creation of both implicit and explicit editing norms and standards in Estonian newspapers, and as these types of regulations can occur in very different forms, the methodology also covers a range of different tools from text and document analysis to formalised questionnaires, as well as comparative, and discourse, analysis. The linguo-stylistic stylebooks themselves (the Anglo-American versions of which have been used as comparison sources) could be described as discourse analysis bodies as the norms in them regulate journalistic practices.

Study I is based on data analysis. This is comparative analysis of staff descriptions of the Estonian national dailies *Eesti Päevaleht* and *Postimees* and also a comparison of the products and the issues faced by these newspapers over the period under research. The research findings of the author's other studies (not published as research articles) were used in this study. Study II is also a piece of descriptive research that was largely based on comparison with the editing and language regulations in newspaper organisations in Great Britain and the U.S.A. The author also conducted interviews and conducted a formalised questionnaire among Estonian newspaper editors and language editors. With one exception, the 2003 survey focussed only on national newspapers because the former research (the author's 1998 survey) revealed that local newspapers in Estonia were not planning to establish any linguo-stylistic rules; instead, they wanted to follow those of the larger national papers. The 2005 survey again targeted the language editors of local newspapers. Study IV is methodologically similar to Study II but covers a longer time with research. It analyses how the fast changes in newspapers have affected language editing. Language editing during the Soviet period, the time of transition, and today are compared. The development of linguo-stylistic planning was investigated through a formalised questionnaire. The research for Study III was divided into two phases: in the first phase of research, variables for the discourse analysis of newspapers, magazines and television programs were designed; in the second phase of the research, conducted in 2003, discourse analysis of news materials and interviews with journalists provided the key research tools.

In the following pages, first the general context and the theoretical context are outlined. After that, the research questions are introduced, followed by presentation and analysis of the empirical findings and discussion of the research results. As the transition period was a specific trigger of the changes analysed in this dissertation, the general context gives a broader overview of the period and research that has been conducted on that topic. The theoretical context analyses the research directions on journalistic culture, change and newspaper organisation, discourse/information processing – journalistic and promotional material and editing related production processes – standards and practices.

I. SETTING THE CONTEXT

I.1. Transition

To give the general context to the developments during the time under research and the formation of editing culture(s) in Estonian newspaper organisations, one has to speak about the transition period and the social-political changes. After the revolutionary changes in the Eastern part of Europe in 1989, *societies in transition* has become a common name for the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. /.../ In all these cases one may speak about the systemic changes on all levels of society as a whole, which will result in the emergence of a new type of society (Lauristin, Vihalemm, Rosengren, Weibull, 1997: 25).

Different phases occurred during the transition. In the pre-transition period (the period of Gorbachev's Glasnost in the second half of 1980s up to 1989) political speech still came with the voice that was representational "for" not "before" people (cf. Habermas 1989: 8). Lauristin and Vihalemm (2002) referring to Brzezinski (1994) and Jakubowicz (1995) divide the phases of transition since 1987 as follows: 1) the period of political breakthrough (1987–1991); 2) laying the foundation of the Estonian state and launching radical economic reforms (1991–1994); 3) the stabilisation period (1995–1999), as seen in Figure 1 of this dissertation.

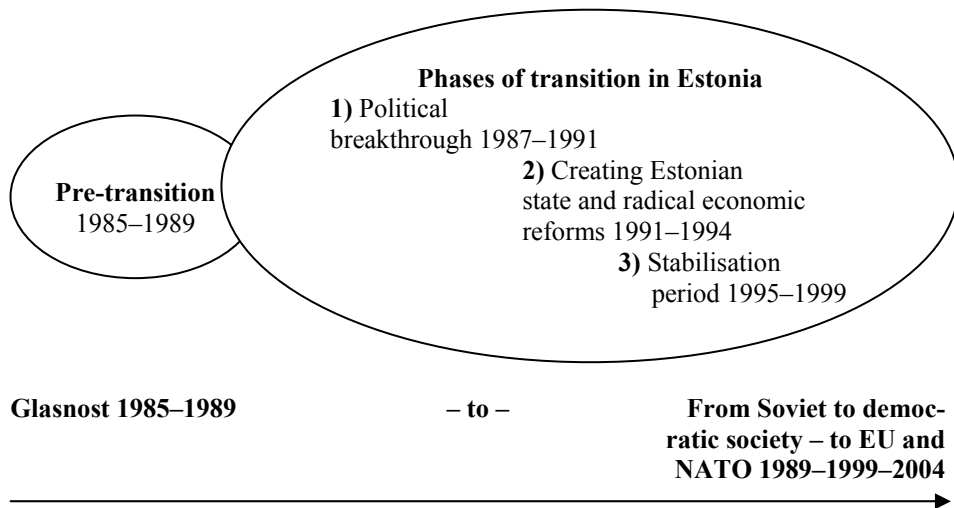


Figure 1. Phases of transition in Estonia.

The pre-transition period is interrelated with the period of transition, as the end date of pre-transition can be viewed differently according to the events that took place in different former Communist countries. Habermas (2009), dated the end

to 1989 when Estonia was already witnessing the peak of national mass movements. Lauristin and Vihalemm (2002) see the beginning of transition in Estonia as being from February 1987 to May 1988 when, during the period of political breakthrough, Estonia saw the “awakening” events and the birth of the political public sphere. The first phase of transition can be divided into two further sub-periods: 1) June 1988 to December 1989, when national forces consolidated and Estonia experienced the Singing Revolution; 2) January 1990 to August 1991, when the institutionalised struggle for the restoration of national independence began. The foundations of the Estonian state were laid in 1991, and from August 1991 to September 1992 new constitutional order was created. From October 1992 to December 1994 there was a period of radical political and economic reforms. The further stabilisation period was characterised by economic growth and retardation of reforms from 1995 to 1997 and the economic slowdown and preparations for membership of the European Union from 1998 to 1999 (Lauristin, Vihalemm 2002: 17). It might be even argued that the transition period lasted up until 2004 when Estonia joined the European Union and became a member state of NATO.

I.2. Transition in media

Media played an important role in the rebirth of the new political public sphere in Estonia. This role did not remain the same throughout the entire process of transition. Estonian researchers Vihalemm, Lauk and Lauristin (1997: 227, 228) say that it is possible to argue that the media were the most important mechanism used for the political breakthrough in the Baltic societies. However, media are a powerful tool and that was understood by Eastern European new leaders. In the second stage of transition (characterised among other factors by transition to the concept of totally free media) the situation was ambiguous from the viewpoint of democratic principles. In a number of Post-Communist countries the transitional changes gave rise to highly politicised societies. Vihalemm, Lauk, Lauristin (1997: 228) refer in their article on “Estonian media in the process of change” to Splichal, (1993, 1994), who has described this process as an “Italianization of the media”.

Vihalemm, Lauk and Lauristin (1997: 231) refer to a study of news coverage in Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian and Polish media (Milton, 1996: 21) that says that the free press in these countries was trammelled by political manoeuvring, was less diverse than it ought to or could be, and also less informative than it needed to be. Jakubowicz (1995b: 67–68) also identified that the developing free press in Eastern Europe was identified with the new authorities, parties and movements in these countries, which in many cases sought to subordinate the media to their political aims and used them instrumentally in a way similar to that which prevailed under the old system.

Vihalemm, Lauk, Lauristin argue (1997: 231) that in Estonia the forces that influenced the developing free media and the character of its performance were not political but new economic factors (open market forces, commercialisation and new forms of ownership). The state ownership of media was replaced here by private ownership in the case of newspapers, so that these were often privatised to the former editors and staff of the newspapers. Regulation of media also shifted from the political and cultural field towards the economic field.

The development of Estonian media has been influenced and can be also be viewed in the contexts that Hallin and Mancini (2004) propose for different models of media, comparing different media systems in the world. Estonian models differ greatly from the South European moderate pluralism model but are similar to both the Nordic and Central European or democratic corporatist model, which is characterised by strong development or rational legal authority, as well as to the North Atlantic or liberal model. Both Nordic and Anglo-American models have similar traits and characteristics.

Polish scholar Piotr Sztompka analysed changes that occurred during the transition period in Eastern Europe, researching the sociology of social change (1993) and viewing the transition as a cultural and civilisational break (1996a). In his *Trust and Emerging Democracy: Lessons from Poland* (1996b), he brought out the domains of post-Socialist transition, presented here in Table 1.

Table 1. Domains of post-Socialist transition according to Sztompka

	Institution-building	Culture-building
Democratisation	parliament, political parties, elections, ombudsmen	political culture, civic culture, citizenship
Marketisation	private companies, banks, stock exchange	entrepreneurial culture, work ethics

The transition in media had a lot to do with the domains Sztompka identified. Former East European media had to create, or adapt to, new journalistic cultures. The Estonian journalistic culture has roots both in the first Independent Republic (1918–1940), in the Soviet era (1940–1991) and in many different foreign influences that rooted here after Estonia regained its independence. In the years when the new Estonian newspaper editing culture was forming, newspaper organisations felt the importance of rapid economic success that overshadowed the importance of producing quality content. Tiit Hennoste, an Estonian media practitioner, wrote in 2001 that after the Soviet newspaper structures started to tumble down at the end of 1980s, a decision had to be made as to whether the new information that was to be published in Estonian newspapers had to be firstly a product and journalism simply a business, or whether journalism had to be firstly a cultural and political phenomenon and public educator. Estonian newspaper publishers rapidly chose the first way.

In the midst of the social-political reforms and changes, Estonian newspapers also went through significant economic, technological and normative changes. Estonian contemporary newspaper editing culture formed in the turmoil of these changes. The basics of newspaper editing culture are formed and agreed upon in newspaper organisations and they are evident in newspaper products. Thus, one way to research the development of editing culture is to observe the developments in newspaper organisations and products over the time scale in question.

In the 2002 article, Study I, the author modelled and analysed three inter-related phases in the development of Estonian newspaper organisations and products from 1988 to 2001: 1) the Soviet remnants phase, dominating in 1988–1991 and until the restoration of independence; 2) the phase of confusion and search, dominating in 1991–1995; 3) the phase of stabilisation starting in 1996 (Figure 2). On the basis of this periodisation, the author grouped the developments and changes and presented these as being economic, technological and normative by nature. For the cover-text of the dissertation these developments were grouped until 2005, as seen in Table 2. The author has also compared her periodisation with other periodisations carried out by Estonian media researchers and practitioners on the changes in Estonian newspaper organisations and products. For instance, Tiit Hennoste periodised (2010) the developments in Estonian newspapers as follows: 1) *perestroika* 1987–1992; 2) confusion 1991–1995; 3) stabilisation and concentration 1995–1998; 4) newspapers under foreign owners 1997–1998 (2010). It is important to say that *perestroika* is not in this context used as a political term, but rather denotes the very rapid structural and other changes that took place in the Estonian media market and newspapers. *Perestroika* as a term was used in these years in Estonian editorial offices with the connotation of *change*. As the bigger changes in Estonian newspaper organisations took place up until 1995, the situation in editorial offices was often described by journalistic staff as a *continuous perestroika*, in the midst of which it was very difficult to create any routines of work. In Hennoste's periodisation the political, economic, technological, and normative changes are mixed, but these should and can be separated (although it is clear that in some aspects they also coincided). On the basis of these comparisons and going further in timescale, the author also compiled a more detailed figure of the phases of organisation, product related developments that influenced editing in Estonian newspapers as seen in Figure 3.

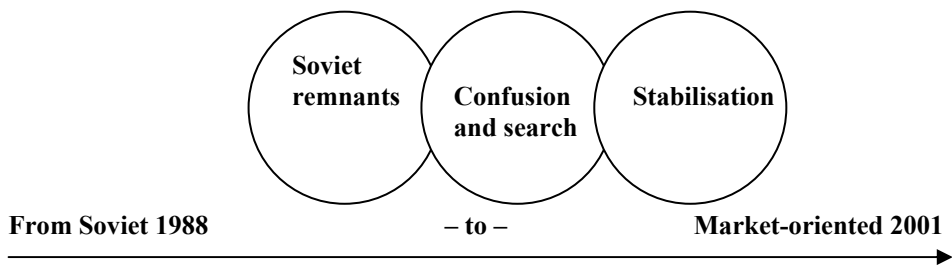


Figure 2. The interrelated phases of change in Estonian newspapers in 1988–2001.

Table 2. The economic, technological and normative developments that influenced the formation of editing culture(s) in Estonian newspapers from 1988 to 2005

Phase/period	Type of Development		
	Economic	Technological	Normative
Soviet remnants phase 1987–1992 (1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – creation of new independent newspapers and restructuring of old Soviet versions of newspapers into modern newspapers; – the rapid growth in the number of publications (hundreds of new periodicals created); – the fight against hyperinflation and poverty in newspaper organisations; – the number of copies of newspapers, which was very high during the Soviet period, rose even more during this period. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – rapid technological changes (computerising newspaper editing, layout and design) – new printing technologies utilised. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – the creation of Estonian Press Council (<i>Avaliku Sõna Nõukogu</i>) in 1991; – first court case against media in Estonia (1992).* – the majority of newspapers were still owned by state but their former socialist names were changed; – no written language or other style regulations;

* This table does not include principal developments in Estonian legislation on media as this topic would need an elaborate analysis on its own. The developments in legislation have however also influenced the ways newspapers have been edited.

Table 2. Continued

Phase/period	Type of Development		
	Economic	Technological	Normative
Confusion and search phase 1991–1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – difficulties in the privatisation process of Estonian newspapers during the period 1991–1996; – rapid product changes; – commercialisation of newspapers and heavy criticism of commercialisation; – rapid decline of circulations due to high paper price; – the growth of advertising revenues and the growth in volume accordingly; – many new light entertainment weeklies and weekend editions created; – big decrease in newspaper circulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – introduction of new work routines due to technology development; – rapid product changes (in layout and design); – first online issues of Estonian newspapers created (in 1995). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – formation of different patterns and rapid changes in creating new editorial structures and new journalistic functions – the generational replacement of journalists; – introduction of new work routines due to structural changes; – first language and other style regulations created but in very few newspapers; – rapid product changes.
The phase of concentration (and the coming of foreign owners) 1995–1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – rapid growth of advertising market; Stabilisation of circulations after the big decrease; – the coming of foreign owners to the Estonian newspaper market; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – foreign owners influencing product developments in Estonian newspapers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – foreign owners influencing journalistic practices and the creation of regulations in Estonian newspapers; – the creation of Media Code of Ethics in Estonia in 1997 (created using the examples of similar codes of ethics abroad).
The phase of stable growth and development 1998–2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – advertising market constantly growing; – further commercialisation of Estonian newspapers; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – rapid technological change and new possibilities created with the computer innovations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – modernising legislation; also the legislation creation reached the phase of stable development – the creation of the second Press Council in Estonia in 2002.

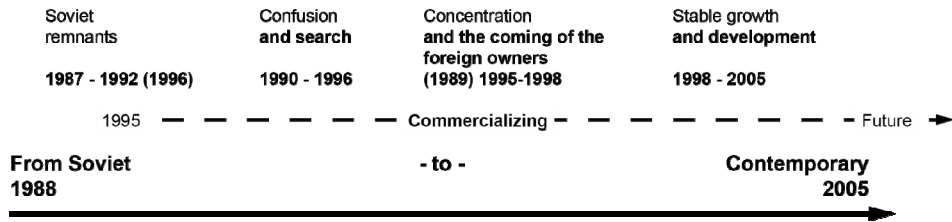


Figure 3. The interrelated phases of development of Estonian newspaper editing from 1988 to 2005.

Further the developments in Estonian newspapers during these phases brought in Figure 3 will be elaborated upon.

1.2.1. The Soviet remnants phase

Soviet Estonian newspaper publishing was characterised from the organisational point of view, amongst other factors, by the following indicators:

- strict norms on the staff composition of the editorial office;
- the rigid hierarchical structure of the editorial board;
- Communist Party control over employment, planning and management (Study I)

During the Soviet period there were strict norms on all aspects of journalistic activities, including the editorial structures of newspapers. The Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow directly determined the editorial office employment list, the number and payment norms of all papers, including the smallest ones, according to the publication's type.

The whole media system in the Soviet Union was strictly hierarchic. There were the central media (at the all-Union level); the national media (at the level of the Soviet republics); the regional media (at the level of larger administrative units called oblasts which did not exist in the smaller Soviet republics); the local media (at the level of cities and districts); and newspapers. Sometimes there was also broadcasting inside large organisations (factories, kolkhozes, universities, etc.). There was no place for any independent media, not to mention opposition publications.

The editorial office structure was also hierarchic. The newspaper management was led by the Communist Party, i.e., the editorial office managers had to be politically and ideologically trustworthy; all activities were based on work plans that were approved and their realisation controlled by the Party committees of the appropriate level. Leading positions in editorial offices corresponded to functions of ideological responsibility and control that presupposed Communist Party membership.

Among the indicators of Soviet-era newspapers as a product were the following:

- the limited volume of each issue;
- no segmentation of stories by devices like leads, subheadings and photograph captions;
- long stories;
- no commercial advertising;
- no supplements (Study I).

The changes in Estonian newspaper organisations and products started simultaneously with the start of the mass liberation movement, which was in the spring of 1988 in Estonia. At this moment, all the Estonian press could be characterised as Soviet Estonian, although Gorbachev's Glasnost had made ideological control much milder and the total character of administrative norms and Soviet journalistic traditions much weaker than they were during the stagnation era (Study I). The process was also referred to as democratisation. Political boundaries loosened, which led eventually to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The changes were very quick and media changed together with society. Despite the atmosphere of quick changes during the liberation movement, the content of newspapers could not change overnight. This primarily characterises the newspapers that converted from Soviet Estonian, to modern, management, but also the entirely new ones. The circle of the people who started with new publications was quite small and their experiences in the journalistic field in the late 1980s were bound to Soviet tradition.

The main characteristics of that period in the newspaper media in general were also: the rapid growth of the number of publications (between 1987 and 1992, 350 new publications were launched that were mainly for entertainment and yellowish in content); the fight against hyperinflation and poverty (one of the Estonian dailies, *Postimees*, did not appear on January 28, 1991 as there simply was no paper to print it on); the majority of national and local newspapers were still owned by the state, only their names were changed (the process of privatising local newspapers occurred with various tensions and conflicts up to 1996); newspaper circulations, which were very high during the Soviet period, rose even more at the end of that period. It reached its peak in 1990 when the Estonian daily *Eesti Päevaleht* published 250 000 copies (today the circulation is about 65 000 copies) (Hennoste, 2010).

Kurvits (2010: 350) has referred to rapid technological changes in print technology innovations where some development steps that other Western countries went through were even skipped in Estonia.

Harro (1996: 41) refers to the very first court case against the media in Estonia, in which Väino-Rein Villik, in 1992, sued the Estonian daily newspaper *Eesti Ekspress*. The newspaper won the case by arguing that the case was against a brand not a newspaper as a legal body.

1.2.2. The phase of confusion and search

The next phase of development was characterised by a significant amount of uncertainty. Thus, this period has been characterised as a phase of confusion and search. This phase can be delineated as occurring during the 1990–1996 period. The main organisation and product influence indicators are as follows:

- the difficult privatisation process of Estonian newspapers during the 1991–1996 period;
- different patterns and rapid changes in creating new editorial structures and new journalistic functions;
- the introduction of new work routines (due to technological development and structural changes);
- no written regulations in 1991 and the creation of the first regulations during the phase of confusion and search;
- rapid product change (Study I).

Nearly 800 new periodicals were launched from 1988 to 1996 (Lauk, 2000). Most did not survive in the market for more than two or three years. There was obviously a need for new journalists and media professionals. The majority hired had no education in this field. It was estimated in 1998 that only one quarter of Estonian journalists had some kind of journalistic education (Saks, 1999).

One of the biggest alterations in newspaper organisations was generational replacement (Lauk, 1996). Epp Lauk observed:

The fact is that the nature and influence of the media in Estonian society today depends largely on the knowledge and attitudes of young people. Although they have more energy, flexible minds and are capable of finding relevant answers to the challenges of transitional times, they also lack knowledge and experience, which too often makes Estonian journalists dependent on their sources and open to manipulation by politicians (Lauk, 1996: 99).

These alterations also directly influenced the editing in Estonian newspapers. Because in the second stage of transition the regulation of media shifted from the political and cultural field towards the economic field, there were grounds to criticise the media as it was said to be irresponsibly driven by commercial interests (Vihalemm, Lauk, Lauristin 1997: 228). In this dissertation commercialisation is analysed in the context of the quality versus tabloid debate; the hybridisation of PR and news discourse and the hybridisation of news and advertising discourse.

In Estonia, as in other former communist countries, commercialisation has been an underlining tendency during the developments and periods since the middle of 1990s (as seen in Figure 3). Erjavek has described this phenomena in Slovenia as follows: “In Slovenia, due to the lack of a traditional democratic culture, the lack of suitable legislative regulations of the media and other related subjects, a small media and advertising market and the desire for quick profits,

the commercialisation of journalistic discourse has reached extreme proportions with the majority of journalists giving in to the demands of the advertisers and PR practitioners; journalists address their readers as consumers rather than participants and a source of democratic power in the society, and they understand journalistic labour in terms of routine technical tasks responding to specific promotional interests (Erjavec, 1997; Hardt, 2000; Splichal, 2001). This subordination of journalism as a cultural practice to the economic rationale of marketing has enabled the development of the PR news discourse” (Erjavec, 2005: 174). By 2005 the commercial interests in the Estonian media had led to a situation in which the audience could no longer tell whether the content that was served was commercial or editorial (Study III).

The confusion and search phase was characterised by the privatisation of Estonian newspapers in 1991–1996. There was confusion in privatising local Estonian newspapers. To some extent it was caused by the lengthy persistence of the Soviet remnants in managing local newspapers. Three local newspapers (*Postimees*, *Harju Elu* and *Saarte Hääl*) were privatised in November 1991 and the rest were given by the state to local municipalities. During 1992–1996, municipalities privatised all local newspapers. All Estonian national newspapers (except *Rahva Hääl*) and many local papers were originally privatised to their editorial staff members. The typical feature in the Estonian newspaper privatisation process was that neither banks nor big industrial corporations participated in this process, and today also do not feature among newspaper owners (Paju, 1999). Journalists and other editorial staff, as shareholders in newly established private enterprises, had neither enough capital, nor experience in the press business. Some years later, the privatised newspapers were usually sold to economically more effective and more business-oriented owners, usually large media enterprises, often with the participation of foreign capital. The process of privatising local newspapers occurred with various tensions and conflicts up to 1996. Local municipalities (the original owners) had the habit of meddling very actively with the newspapers’ activities. In some cases a new editor-in-chief was appointed from among the local power elites (as might have been common during the Soviet period when people active in communist politics were often appointed to these posts).

The confusion and search phase is also characterised by varied patterns and rapid changes in creating new editorial structures and new journalistic functions. The employment structures of Estonian newspapers were peculiar until the stabilisation phase, and some might argue until the foreign owners set a clear pattern in these structures. Changes from Soviet Estonian to modern brought the introduction of totally new functions in newspaper organisations and the job titles used previously obtained new meanings (Study I; Study III).

Newsrooms worldwide have witnessed great technological changes over the last decades, which have influenced their ways of working – altering the work routines and creating new functions. This confused things in the editorial offices even further. Computerisation of work processes, especially in the print media,

has been very rapid since the mid-1990s. Technological developments made access for Estonian newspapers to different sources of information possible through several international news agencies, which also complicated and added routines in journalistic work (Study I).

Estonian national dailies were computerised in 1990–1991. Computerisation brought significant changes in the staff who design newspapers. Suddenly a newspaper's look was decided upon by computer operators (the only people who by chance knew how to use computer design programmes). The way newspapers looked was decided upon only by practical and technological reasons. Computerisation makes discourse processing in newspapers considerably quicker and brings it from the printhouse to editorial offices. Any journalistic staff member can influence the outcome and the look of the product just by saying, let's put a shadow or a frame over my story, etc. Due to this, and due to the fact that at the beginning of the 1990s designers had the possibility to use only a couple of fonts (the programs available then did not allow more), they "illustrated" headings and text using other means (shadows, frames, backgrounds, spacing of text), the newspapers appeared very hectic in appearance (different each day). Computers were in those days more like toys in editorial offices, the use of which was not determined by the needs of the specific newspaper but rather the possibilities of the computers (Kurvits 2010: 350, 351).

The confusion and search phase was characterised by the absence of written regulations on how to compile a newspaper. The first stylebooks were created in 1995–1996. These mainly dealt with design and layout rules. The specifically Estonian feature in them, compared to their counterparts in Scandinavian countries or the Anglo-American tradition, was that among other topics they described and taught writing in different journalistic genres – guidelines for writing news, editorials and features (Study II; IV). This was needed due to the generational replacement that had taken place in Estonian newspapers. The Western models of newspaper production were rapidly adopted. The most drastic changes appeared up to 1996, by when the former Soviet Estonian newspapers had changed to such an extent that they became interesting to foreign owners (i.e., dull black-and-white politically orientated newspapers with no advertising and text segmentation had turned into informative, special audience, group-oriented, advertising-centred publications). The product changes continued after 1996, but were done mainly in order to win more clients rather than changes associated with the conceptual politics and economics (Study I).

Hennoste (2010) adds the following confusion phase characteristics: 1) rapid decline of circulations due to high paper prices and the correspondent increase of copy price; 2) newspapers became substantially larger – due to the growth of advertising, newspaper copies obtained more pages; 3) Tallinn (the capital) and Tartu (the second largest city in Estonia) became once again two main journalism centres in Estonia as they were during the first Estonian republic; 4) many new weeklies and weekend editions were created with light entertainment content.

1.2.3. Concentration phase

The concentration phase started in 1995 and lasted until 1998. Three national dailies merged in June 1995, and two national television channels established a new integrated channel at the beginning of 1996 with the participation of the Swedish firm Kinnevik. Smaller publication companies vanished from the market.

This period can also be characterised by the rapid growth of the advertising market in 1994–1997 and its stabilisation from 1998; stabilisation in newspaper circulation after the big decrease during 1992–1994 and more stable development of newspaper content that followed an earlier period of rapid change in layout and design, principal topics and journalistic forms, all connected with the adoption of Western patterns of journalism and media production in 1992–1995, as analysed in Study I.

The rapid growth of the advertising market and the corresponding economic growth of the newspapers were associated with the overall economic growth in Estonian society in the mid-1990s. The Estonian media advertising market grew 3.5 times from 1994 to 1996 and was relatively stable in 1998–2000, with some backlash in 1999 due to the Russian economic crisis. The share of newspapers in the advertising market in 2000 was smaller than in 1995 but newspapers were still the leading advertising medium in Estonia, similar to the advertising expenditure distribution in Nordic countries (Nordic Baltic Media Statistics 1998).

The role of advertising and advertising departments grew as newspapers grew, or to be more exact, the newspapers grew (also in quantity) together with advertising revenues. In 1994–1996, the average share of advertising in Estonian newspaper revenue increased from 37% to 49% (Nordic Baltic Media Statistics 1998: 282).

1.2.3.1. The influence of foreign owners

The appearance of foreign owners in the Estonian media market can be viewed as an indicator of the initial stabilisation period that was a logical end to the concentration phase. The first non-Soviet newspapers in Estonia were started in 1988–1989, most of them as local initiatives. However, the Swedish firm Bonnier joined the Estonian firm AS Mainor in 1989 and formed Mainor Bonnier Publishers in order to make the Estonian pink-paged business paper *Äripäev* (an equivalent to *Dagens Industri*), which was launched in October 1989. For almost 10 years these were the only real foreign developments in the Estonian newspaper market.

The Scandinavian interest was obvious, although it is also interesting that there was almost a strong French influence. In 1992, the French Hersant Corporation was interested in Estonia's second largest daily, *Päevaleht*. *Päevaleht*'s editor-in-chief Margus Mets practised in *Le Figaro* in 1992. Hersant and *Päevaleht* signed a protocol of mutual interest to create a joint newspaper enter-

prise with each owning 50%. Hersant, however, turned its eye to the Russian market and later made an investment in Albania instead of Estonia (Paju, 1999). Negotiations started in 1995 between *Postimees* and the Finnish magazine publisher Yhtyneet Kuvalehdet, but the merger ultimately did not take place (Paju, 1999). The same year, Schibsted ASA bought 24% of the shares of Kanal 2, one of the Estonian television channels. The Swedish Marieberg was again active in the Estonian market in 1996, exploring the possibilities of buying the national evening newspaper *Õhtuleht*. Marieberg AB also explored the possibilities of founding an entirely new paper in Estonia. These plans did not come to fruition.

The situation changed completely in 1998. Schibsted bought 92% of *Postimees* shares in 1998 and a majority of shares of some other newspapers and magazines, establishing a large company, AS Eesti Meedia, which at the beginning of 2001 controlled about one-third of the Estonian nationwide press market. AS Ekspress Grupp, another large media company was established in 1998, with 50% of the shares belonging to Swedish Marieberg AB, a member of the Bonnier Group and 50% to Estonian businessman Hans H. Luik. At the beginning of 2001 this company controlled another third of the Estonian press market. Two media groups governed Estonian press media at the beginning of the new century – Eesti Meedia (Schibsted) and Ekspress Grupp (Bonnier + Hans H. Luik). Hennoste (2010: 64) calls this the period of marriage between media groups.

The presence of Scandinavian owners in the Estonian newspaper market influenced both the organisational, and product, developments of Estonian newspapers. This can be seen by comparing the look of the issues of some of the largest Swedish and Norwegian dailies and their “counterparts” in Estonia. In addition to the language, there were very few other external differences, as *Äripäev* resembled (and resembles) the Swedish *Dagens Industri* and *SL Öhtuleht* resembled the Norwegian *Verdens Gang*. Foreign owners also influenced the editorial structures and the demands on editing in the newspapers, as the rules and regulations are very strict both in Schibsted and Bonnier newspapers, especially concerning journalistic ethics and style rules (layout, design, language). The majority of journalists and media professionals had longer or shorter internships abroad, and foreign professionals conducted many courses in Estonia to teach editing and reporting. Western experiences had both direct and indirect impact on Estonian journalism training. For instance, two influential lecturers and consultants, Priit Pullerits and Tiit Hennoste, studied in the United States, Finland and the Netherlands at the beginning of the 1990s. Both were later very active in teaching and consulting Estonian editorial offices and have published several textbooks on reporting and newspaper production (Study I).

1.2.4. The phase of stable growth and development and the debate about quality

The years 1998 until 2005 can be characterised as the period of stable growth and development. Greater fluctuations were behind and the pace of change slowed down. During this period legislation covering the media was modernised, and it might also be said that the legislation creation reached the phase of stable development. In 2000 the Public Information Act was passed. Defamation was de-criminalised in 2001 as it was incorporated into the new Law Obligations Act. Further, the Personal Data Protection Act was passed in 2007 and the Advertising Act in 2008.

The media advertising market that had formed during 1990–2000 (see also Table 2 and 3 of Study I) grew constantly in Estonia from 2000 to 2008 when online and social journalism, as well as economic depression, brought it into sharp decline. As a comparison, the developments in the Estonian media advertising market and newspaper advertising market from 2000 to 2010 are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. The Estonian media advertising market from 2005 to 2010.

Year	Growth or decline of Estonian media advertising market	The share of the newspapers of the Estonian media advertising/change in percentage compared to the previous year
2000	Growth 5,7%	46%
2001	Growth 11%	48%
2002	Growth 8%	45%
2003	Growth 13%	44%
2004	Growth 10%	44,5%
2005	Growth 15%	44%
2006	Growth 18%	43%
2007	Growth 29%	40%
2008	Decline -3%	36% / -12, 6%
2009	Decline -36%	33% / -41%
2010	Decline -7%	29% / -20%

(Source TNS EMOR Estonian media market research)

Although relevantly stable in setting and in peaceful development, there were some significant changes in Estonian newspapers and in newspaper production. The beginning of the century saw changes in the reporting style of the Estonian traditionally quality newspapers. The news about future appeared, which was a novel news type as, until then, the news had spoken only about what had already happen. News about the future spoke about what might happen, or could be predicted for the future. In addition the quality newspapers focused on

human interest topics and social material. This fostered some confusion as the border between quality and tabloid newspapers has always been thin and even newspaper publishers themselves became unaware of whether they were making a yellow newspaper or producing news with a human interest aspect (Hennoste, 2010: 79, 80). The commercialisation of Estonian newspapers and the worrying quality issues were very actively brought out into the open. Already in 1997 Prof. Marju Lauristin wrote an article on Estonian journalism turning yellow (*Postimees, Kultuur*, August 29, 1997). The beginning of the century was characterised by debate on the mentioned topics in Estonia.

In 2003 the author of this dissertation carried out a pilot research among two groups – Estonian newspaper editors and readers – into their assessments and expectations of quality in newspapers. The empirical data of the study was gathered with a questionnaire that was presented to the editors of 5 Estonian newspapers (traditionally viewed as the quality newspapers and not sensationalist tabloids). The editors questioned were all experienced newspaper journalists with careers of from 10 to 17 years. The questioning of readers was mainly conducted by Tartu University journalism students, who presented the questionnaires to their friends and relatives. Thus, the reader sample was by no means a full representation of different Estonian newspaper readers, although it provided enough background for the pilot research. The data was gathered with a questionnaire in which several quality principles were listed. The respondents assessed these principles by importance. In addition, the editors assessed their newspapers' quality in general and in comparison with competitor newspapers in the Estonian market. The groups under research also worded additional principals of quality that were not listed in the questionnaires. These added details to the description of what the readers expected and the editors stressed as important. As there seemed to be a breach between these understandings, the intention was to analyse where the understandings of what is important, when we speak about newspaper quality, were met and where they were not. Estonian public opinion polls in 2003 showed that trust in the media was declining – media reliability percent had reached an all-time low.

Forming such a list of quality principles is a risky step. There are many reasons for caution. In such sensitive terrain the principles exist in so many specific variants, often with deep historical and cultural roots, that no single short account can be satisfactory (McQuail, 1994: 139). However, the aim of this research was not to form another list of quality media principles, but rather to study if editors and readers rate the importance of the quality principles differently.

Observing the assessments of the general quality of the newspapers, and changes therein, showed that Estonian newspaper organisations and products had indeed reached the stabilisation phase. The developments were slowing in pace except perhaps in the case of the local newspapers that had not developed as quickly due to difficult privatisation processes (Study I) and low budgets.

The majority of editors questioned report improvement or stability of quality in their newspapers.

The comparison of readers' and editors' lists of quality principles showed differences. "Agreements" and "disagreements" can be expressed as follows: editors and readers agreed that providing reliable information and diverse opinions are very important;

- they also agreed that the principle of publishing regular customer pages was not important at all;
- satisfying everyday needs for information seemed more important to readers than to editors;
- the analysis showed that readers questioned in this research were tired of politics – mediating political debates and also writing about sharp political problems was ranked as something fairly unimportant, as was observing corruption, although these principles were more important in the eyes of reporters;
- constant publication of everyday/casual information was seen as much more important by readers than editors;
- there was a large difference in rating the importance of strong commentary columns, which were of the highest importance for editors but not at all important to readers;
- good language usage principle was very important to readers, but totally unimportant to editors;
- clearly structured news was not rated as most important by readers; however, rather telling is the fact that the editors did not think this was an important principle at all;
- avoiding and correcting mistakes were of the utmost importance to the readers, but were rated surprisingly low by editors.

Readers were also much more active in stating additional principles. They suggested means of obtaining these, for example suggesting that the reliability of newspapers could be increased by hiring educated journalists, etc. However, their extra comments created a situation in which some principles listed as less important in the pre-written list, received extra attention later. These might also be the phenomena Kunelius hinted at in his research on good journalism (2001). When respondents are given time to reflect upon newspaper quality, deeper considerations are given to the topic and sometimes contradictory opinions are formed on what constitutes quality in newspapers. Although readers originally placed diverse topics and fresh news as not so important in their list, many described the importance of these principles additionally.

2. THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The theoretical context of this dissertation is three-dimensional in subject division. It gives perspectives on the research on change in newspaper organisations; journalistic information processing in a professional newspaper organisation; and the presence of a professional journalistic discourse and its distinguishing from promotion discourse in a newspaper organisation. On the basis of these theoretical grounds a central concept for this dissertation has been created: *newspaper editing culture*. The concept differs from the concept of *editorial policy* as the latter does not necessarily cover the sphere of newspaper linguistic practice, although developments in this sphere have been used as an example in this dissertation.

2.1. Change in newspaper organisations

The creation and formation of new editing culture is influenced by social-political culture. Separate cultures form inside media organisations, are created by change and development. The *real* organisational change occurs when the organisation's character – its structure, systems and culture – changes (Sylvie; Witherspoon, 2002: 10). Other than that, the organisations are in a constant state of change, as change occurs when organisations move towards a goal – some of it is observable, some of it not. According to Kanter, Stein, & Jick (1992) these movements are created in an organisation either by changes in the motion of the environment; changes in motion of the parts of the organisation in relation to one another as the organisation grows or ages; and changes in the organisation's internal political workings (Sylvie; Witherspoon 2002: 10). The changes in Estonian newspaper organisations in transition, and between 1988 and 2005, could be classified as “real organisational changes” by Sylvie and Witherspoon as everything – the structures, systems and culture of newspaper editing and publishing – changed during this period.

Newspaper organisations have been historically researched with a stress on management rather than communication perspectives (Sylvie; Witherspoon, 2002). Sylvie and Witherspoon (2002) argue that an organisation is created through social construction and that its tasks are accomplished through communication. Organisation members create and recreate social relationships. According to Sylvie and Witherspoon, communication in a newspaper organisation is the process through which: news is gathered; information is developed into stories; stories are edited; citizens are contacted and enrolled as subscribers; photographs are selected and arranged on pages; internal functions, such as accounting and advertising are coordinated, and stakeholders opinions, both inside and outside the organisation, are sought and used. From 1988 to 2005, the Estonian newspaper organisations that carried on from the soviet period witnessed great changes in all the above stages of the communication process

due to transition; those newspapers that were new had to create such organisations from nothing (Study I).

Newspaper organisations can be analysed as systems and networks as well as knowledge organisations. Scholars like Huseman and Goodman (1999), Drucker (1999), and Witherspoon (1997) have dealt with defining knowledge organisations. Sylvie and Witherspoon define newspaper organisations as knowledge organisations because, among other (USA specific), reasons: journalists are guided by values such as truth, integrity and careful reporting – these values reflect knowledge organisations; journalists have standards governing their work (ethics); journalism is an intellectual occupation, requiring research and analytical skill; newspaper organisations understand the need to recruit highly qualified personnel; newspaper organisations “value competent, highly skilled journalists who understand the history, context, and significance of stories as well as their portable interest among readers” (Willis, 1988: 10); it is a common assumption that journalists are informational experts; some newspapers provide continuing education for their journalists; journalists receive reaction from their readers regularly; the work of a journalist is pluralistic – they interpret as well as disseminate information –, which means that they add intellectual value to a product. Studies II, III and IV in this dissertation analyse the Estonian newspaper, and, in the case of Study III, some other media organisations from the perspective change in journalistic standards and values, as well as the evolution and creation of a whole new set of journalistic patterns, standards and values.

Thus, newspaper organisations constantly change. An important aspect that is more and more stressed concerning the changes that have occurred in newspaper organisations in recent decades, is convergence. As Weezel (2009: 145–146) points out, there are different types of convergence: technological, referring to the digitisation of content, economic referring to the integration of media industry, social or organic, referring to a multitasking approach to consuming content. The notion of cultural convergence taking place in the newsroom means that newspapers try to convey their content on multiple platforms, and therefore traditional content needs to be modified in several aspects. The cultural convergence also takes place when managers integrate with journalists more and more; hence the “wall” between journalists and managers is also diminishing. Although the research period in this dissertation saw little conversion of content to different platforms, the hybridisation of content, as well as the linguistic stylebooks that exist online today for all writing journalists in Estonia, could be described as cultural convergence in Estonian editorial offices.

2.2. Journalistic editing culture

The dissertation stems from the theories of journalistic culture. In conceptualising the differences in the professional orientations and practices of journalism, researchers refer to a considerable array of concepts, including “journalism culture” (Campbell, 2004: 80; Gurevitch & Blumler, 2004: 337), “journalistic culture” (Donsbach & Patterson, 2004: 252; Hollifield, Kosicki, & Becker, 2001: 112; Keeble, 2005: 57; Waisbord, 2000: 93), “news culture” (Deuze, 2002), “newspaper cultures” (Knott, Carroll, & Meyer, 2002: 26), and the “culture of news production” (Schudson, 2003: 186). All these concepts are widely used and serve multiple purposes. They are employed to capture the cultural diversity of journalistic values and practices, and they sometimes suggest an all-encompassing consensus among journalists towards a common understanding and cultural identity of journalism (Hanitzsch, 2007). This identity got a totally new basis during the time under research in this dissertation, as analysed in the previous chapter.

According to Hanitzsch one can generally speak of culture as a set of ideas (values, attitudes and beliefs), practices (of cultural production) and artefacts (cultural products). Journalistic culture can be defined as a particular set of ideas and practices, by which journalists legitimate their role in society; it is the arena in which diverse professional ideologies struggle over the dominant interpretation of journalism’s social function and identity (Hanitzsch 2007: 369, 370; Halliki Harro-Loit, 2009). Jane B. Singer ties the journalistic culture today very closely to journalistic standards and norms, stressing that a central premise of any profession, including journalism, is autonomy over articulation and enactment of its own norms (Singer, 2007: 79).

Professional norms, values and principles (as tools for self-regulation), and the normative creation of journalistic discourse again receive more attention from scholars as today this is seen more and more as perhaps the only device and possibility of media quality control. Other means seem to be insufficient, as the strategic interest of the media business is to be profitable (convergence – the inter-replacement of content across different platforms – more PR produced news, which news organisations get for free, etc.). Hence, one can of course always ask what we mean by “quality”: is this the desire to serve the public by being reliable or to using quality just for better sales? Research on the characteristics of culture in journalistic organisations helps make the term “quality control” more transparent. The next question now being – how can newspaper organisation culture be described?

Lucy Küng, referring to the work of Schein (1992), distinguishes three distinct but interconnected layers of culture: “artifacts” (behaviour, dress style, publications, stories, etc.), which are easy to access but hard to interpret: “espoused values” – or officially expressed strategies, goals and philosophies; and “basic assumptions”, which is the deepest level of culture, that is to say unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs, perceptions and feelings about the

organisation and its environment (Küng 2008: 174). In addition to the layers of culture, Küng proposes that although organisations are often reflexively assumed to possess a single corporate culture, in any given organisational setting a range of sub-cultures will also be present. These sub-cultures could be inter-organisational cultures or professional cultures (shared by individuals with a common professional background); and industry cultures. The media industry's shared culture is described in very different terms. Frequently cited are its anti-commercial overtones, reflecting a shared belief that media businesses are different from other businesses (Küng op. cit. 176). The layers and types of culture enable an important question about this dissertation to be raised – how to pass and get access to the “espoused values”? The author is therefore looking for stylebooks in which, in case of newspapers, inter-organisational, professional and industry cultures are reflected.

Professional agreements and standards are often linked with quality issues and need to be achieved by organisational control, supervision and control feedback. In the context of the present dissertation, this is part of editing practice. Newspaper editing culture is one part of professional journalistic culture. The author of this dissertation claims that newspaper editing culture is one of central means that enables us to describe the different normative aspects of information processing, journalistic routine and the main values that distinguish professional journalistic discourse from other news discourses (like press-releases, commercial messages, etc.)

When analysing journalistic culture, it is important to keep in mind that the value-chain process of media content is divided into several steps, such as production, planning, financing, dissemination, etc. Journalists only take part in production – gathering and procuring information until finished copies are produced – and to a certain extent planning (reports are transformed into entire newspapers or broadcasts). Altmeppen stresses that most of the steps in the value-chain are what the media organisations yield, therefore it is important to make a distinction between the performance of journalism and the performance of the media (Altmeppen, 2010: 570).

To keep these two notions apart, the expression ‘information processing practices’ has been used in this dissertation, where various structural transformation of source texts to final news discourse is clearly governed by norms some of which are only acquired by special education or from years of experience in newsrooms. In his classic work “News as Discourse” (1991) van Dijk argued that *news discourse processing* should be characterised both in terms of its various structures and as complex communication processes (1991: 95). “News production obviously involves journalistic activities and interactions, both among other journalists and among many other social members, professional routines in the newsroom, the socially-shared news values, ideologies and goals of journalistic activities; production and writing process of news texts themselves” (1991: 96). By the phrase “text processing” van Dijk means not only a news text written in various stages or phases, but also implies that a

news text comes in discourse form: reports, declarations, interviews, meetings, press conferences, other media messages, press releases, parliamentary debates, court trials, police documents, etc. (1991: 96) All the studies in this dissertation could be characterised thus as discourse analysis.

The information processing practices, in conjunction with the wider socio-political and economic circumstances in which journalists operate, define specific news-making cultures and are important for understanding the patterns of news-making – or information processing – cultures (Mabweazara, 2011: 104). Journalistic information production processes have been explained in terms of wide-ranging approaches that include economic, organisational, cultural, historical and political perspectives. The sociology of journalism is one of the most influential theoretical approaches and has helped to explain how news is constructed by individuals within social and occupational settings. The constructivist approach has played a key role in the work of the sociology of journalism theorists and has demonstrated that newsrooms have a high degree of routinisation and that their methods of gathering, selecting and narrating news are standardised through all media (Tuchman, 1991).

The author worked out a model of the formation and essence of the newspaper editing culture (presented in Figure 5 in the discussion chapter of the dissertation). According to this model, newspaper editing culture is influenced by social-political culture, although as media is also one of its platforms, the influence moves both ways. A specific editing culture formed in every newspaper organisation through the transition period in Estonia. These cultures have roots in Estonian history, each newspaper's identity, orientation, reader segment, the experiences of editors and other journalistic staff, the will of the managers and in some cases also the influences of the owners (as explained in Study I about the influence of foreign owners who came to the Estonian media market with their specific demands on quality editing, the introduction of self-regulation tools). Together, these factors compile Estonian newspaper editing culture(s), which is/are expressed by shared attitudes, goals and values for journalistic discourse processing, journalistic practices and standards and norms that have been agreed upon within newspaper organisations.

2.3. Journalistic information processing

Editing related production processes – standards and practice

A characteristic of classic journalism is that information (news, reportage, feature story, interviews, etc.) has gone through what we may term “journalistic information processing” (van Dijk, 1988). In the production process of a text, according to the traditional journalistic production process, the text should be produced by the author without any external interference, that is, the people, company or organisation being described should have no influence on the material and formulations being chosen by the journalist.

In sum, the norms reflected in journalistic codes of ethics, stylebooks, everyday information processing practices and organisational routines, create a large part of professional journalistic discourse.

In the context of this dissertation the stress is not merely on describing the editorial production process. The dissertation also analyses how this process is governed and what values and principles form the basis for the choices and decisions in this process. This could be called the editing culture of a specific newspaper, or they could also be editing standards that are followed by a larger group of press publications. Taking into account the fact that the journalistic content is influenced by individuals as well as organisations (Shoemaker, Reese, 1991: 54), the research focus of the dissertation can be expressed in the question: which part of the conventions are covered by norms and how are the basic models required to create standards communicated inside newspaper organisations (in a timely fashion to new employees for instance) and/or externally?

Dicken-Garcia (1988: 10) defines professional standards as follows: “The criteria or rules of procedure governing and an occupational end – those ‘rules’ for example that define how information is to be collected, incorporated into a report and presented in published form...Standards are part of the journalist’s routine...and they are apt to change over time.” Garcia-Dickens analyses the changes in standards over a longer timescale, i.e. in a time when technology has evolved, society changed and also journalism as a profession and discourse has evolved. If viewed in on a shorter timescale, the standards may be assessed as having a conservative function, especially when we speak about quality control and quality evaluation.

2.4. Discourse/information processing

Editing content and normative approach

Journalism has changed dramatically under the circumstances provided by the new technology. In addition the outliers to mainstream journalism – talk shows, documentary films, reality television and satirical comedy shows have become increasingly a part of the contemporary image of journalism (Zelizer, 2007: 113). Therefore, the question of in what circumstances the traditional normative approach could be applied arises? When we take the *editorial content* as a starting point, the term infers certain norms about information processing and organisational routines.

The normative approach to journalism is very wide. In this context we talk mainly about viewing media as a “watchdog”, that presupposes that media is independent from political forces, being also independent from other different agents in society.

First, there is a normative conflict between professional journalistic culture as a socially responsible “watchdog” and the marketing communication

approach (e.g. Coyle, 1998; Persuad, 2007). Thomas Bivnis (2004), when comparing the goals and loyalties of journalism, advertising and public relations (PR) finds both differences and similarities. For example an advertisement may be entirely informative although its ultimate goal is to persuade. The real problem, in Bivnis' view, is that "Shared standards are not possible if we look at the various mass media as having different goals and differing sets of obligations to their constituencies" (Bivnis, 2004: 13, 17). Journalism has long been seen as kind of communication that faithfully, truthfully, reliably, accurately transfers information to the public and professional journalists as independent information providers (Hafez, 2002; Singer, 2007). Singer argues that the historical view of journalism as "a means of identifying what is socially relevant and important" is a contemporary need (Singer, 2006: 15). Singer stresses the importance of journalistic independence as a shield against the compromising aspect of partisan loyalties (Singer, 2006: 12).

Journalistic professional ideology emphasises that there should be a wall between editorial and promotional material. Marketing communications essentially transmit messages to all the contact points between organisations and their consumers (Nowak, Cameron, and Delrome, 1996 – cited in Grove, Carlson, Dorsch, 2007: 37). Since the marketplace has become ever more fragmented, organisations have embraced integrated marketing communication (IMC) and the notion that effective communication is accomplished by blending various communication forms, e.g. sales promotion, PR and advertising, into a single, seamless entity (Nowak, Cameron, and Delrome, 1996 – cited in Grove, Carlson, Dorsch, 2007: 37). This approach is ambivalent about the issue of public interest and the social roles of journalism.

The journalistic culture approach exacerbates the normative conflict. Hanitzch (2007) distinguishes seven constituents of professional ideology, among which is "market orientation". Market oriented consumer journalism (e.g. service journalism, consumers news, life-style journalism) emphasises what the audience wants to know at the expense of what they should know; the role of the reader changes from being a dispassionate spectator of information to a potential client given information blended with advice and guidance (Hanitzch, 2007: 374, 375). Marketing methods are usurping journalism's role of civic responsibility in informing society with the concept of embedding products and ideas in media content. Viacom encouraged media producers to produce storylines depicting responsible sex and ways to avoid and cope with HIV (Nelson and McLeod, 2005: 525).

Normative rules guard journalism's values, chiefly journalistic objectivity, and the public's need to be informed. News providers must therefore operate a filter to assess the degree of subjective information against the objective information of the news. How tight the "processing filter" is, depends on the ideology of each journalistic organisation (Harro 2001: 13) but also on the national journalistic culture.

2.5. Discourse processing – journalistic and promotional discourse

Van Dijk proposes a framework for processing news discourse that starts from the interpretation of events as news events (covered with research on news value concepts) and then goes further to the processing of source texts, selection, reproduction and summarisation, as well as local transformations, stylistic and rhetorical re-formulations.

What he really describes is taught in professional journalism textbooks under technical skills i.e. how to write a lead or other such lessons. The lead writing task constitutes a selection process and determination of news values. The processing of journalistic information includes language editing; the way we determine the different processes of editing depends on the angle from which we assess the process, i.e. if it is assessed from the perspective of work routines and roles, the division of competences, or from the aspect of text turning from information into journalism.

Studies II and IV observe a part of journalistic information processing, i.e. linguo-stylistic regulations and language editing routines in Estonian newspapers, and analyse how these have changed from 1988 to 2005. Study III in this dissertation analyses the diminishing border between journalistic and promotional material in the Estonian media. Presenting so-called hybrid messages is also a cunning way of processing information that actually constitutes the commercialisation of journalism. This is happening all over the World. Both US and European scholars have widely discussed the dangers of the commercialisation of journalism ever since the first European broadcasting markets were deregulated in the mid-1980s. Most authors remain highly critical of the profit orientation of media managers, and tend to describe journalists as “victims” of changing newsroom conditions and incising media competition (Fengler and Ruß-Mohl, 2010: 668). Balasubramanian (1994: 30) refers to hybrid messages by saying that advertisers have creatively combined the key elements from the definitions of advertising and publicity (i.e. they are paid for and do not identify the sponsor) such that their respective advantages are consolidated and their shortcomings are avoided. Because they are paid for, hybrid messages provide a basis for the sponsor to control key message aspects such as content and format; because they covertly or overtly disguise their commercial origins, hybrid messages may appear believable. Balasubramanian proposed the description of the hybrid messages in a figure as follows:

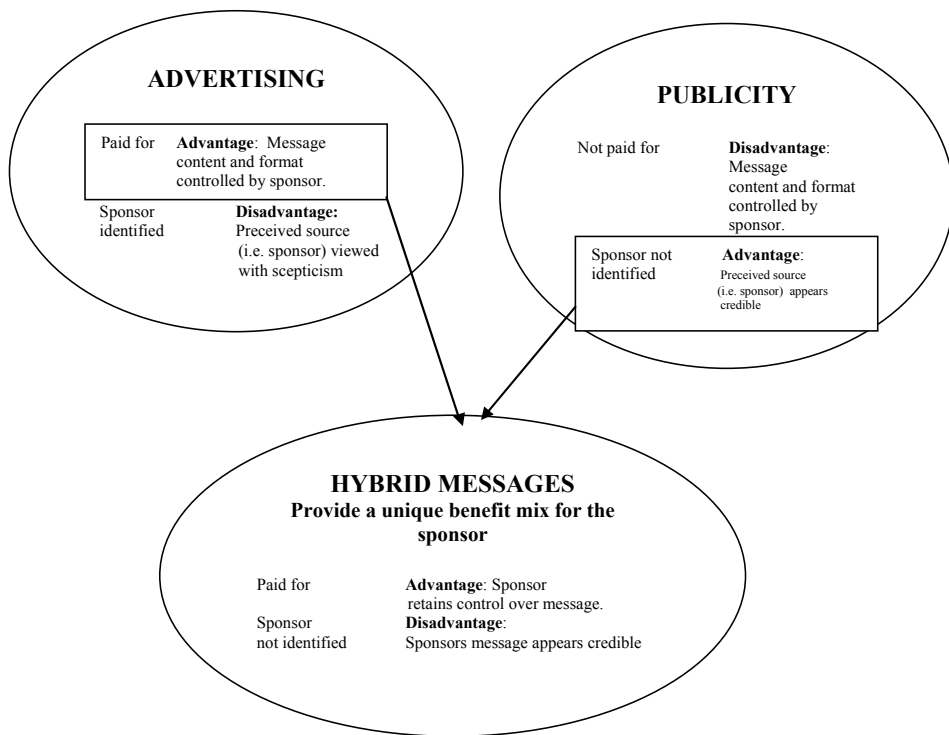


Figure 4. Hybrid messages creatively combine advertising and publicity concepts (Balasubramanian, 1994: 30).

Journalism studies deals with news production routines and professional journalistic roles, different concepts that influence the content production process (news values; temporality of news, etc.) and how organisational policies shape news reporting. However, less attention has been paid to the question of how general journalistic standards (e.g. as we know them from textbooks) are implemented in certain national and/or organisational contexts.

Discourse processing, linguistic stylebooks and the specifics of journalistic discourse that have been analysed in the research articles in this dissertation are all normative in approach. Components of these three themes form a core content of good normative editing practice.

3. AIM OF THE THESIS

The dissertation gives a historical view of the formation of Estonian newspaper editing culture from the dawn of the second period of independence in Estonian history. The aim of the dissertation is to analyse the structural changes that influenced the ways Estonian newspapers were edited during and after the transition period from 1988, since the first new market-oriented editions were published after the fall of the Soviet Union, until 2005 when it might be said that Estonian newspapers had reached a phase of stability in development. The dissertation focuses on analysing what kind of changes took place in editing-related production processes and practices and analyses the creation and utilisation of professional editing-related norms, standards and self-regulation tools based on the example of linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers.

Four research questions with sub-questions have been formulated:

I How did the transition period influence developments in Estonian newspaper organisations and products? (Study I; Study IV)

a) How can the Estonian newspaper media-related development phases, from 1988 to 2005, be described and what were the triggering factors for these developments?

II How did newspaper editing culture and journalistic practice, setting professional norms, standards and creating self-regulation tools, develop in Estonia from 1988 to 2005? (Study I, Study II, Study IV)

III What were the main developments in linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers from 1988 to 2005? (Study II; Study IV)

IV How has commercialisation affected the Estonian media as regards the specific reasons for the diminishing border between editorial and promotional material in the media (Study III)?

a) How did the different media in Estonia perform in the context of the diminishing border between journalism and marketing discourse?

b) Was the hybridisation process of journalistic discourse equivalent in different Estonian media?

4. DATA AND ANALYSIS

As this dissertation is composed of different research articles, it is also based on several different methodological approaches. It is important to mention that when the author started the research on the given topic, there had yet been very little practical data collected and analysed on the developments of Estonian newspapers after Estonia regained its independence. Two research approaches are used in this dissertation: partly the present dissertation is a *historical study*, as direct access to people and situations that influenced the developments in Estonian newspapers from 1988 to 2005 is in some cases no longer possible. In addition, the preserved texts enable the author to carry out *textual analysis* that supplements the collected data. Text analysis is also useful as the hybridisation of genres and comparative textual analysis of different journalistic stylebooks is in the focus of this dissertation.

Historical analysis is used for discovering (from records and archived newspapers) what happened in Estonian newspaper media in 1988–2005. Newspaper stylebooks are observed using qualitative text analysis. The benefits of combining these research approaches enables analytical converge of the data concerning the developments in newspaper organisations and products, on the basis of which the formation of Estonian newspaper editing culture is analysed. An additional line of inquiry was the interview method, used to investigate how journalists perceive the diminishing border between journalism and public relations and also how (language) editors comment on the normative changes in newspapers. The interviews were semi-structured and a survey.

Mixing methods is central to the present study as the theoretical framework allows us to see the patterns and connections between production process and normative documents, changes in society, media market and structure.

For Study I the author worked out a model of phases that characterised the developments in Estonian newspapers after 1988 and analysed the findings accordingly. The study was based on earlier research conducted on changes in the Estonian media (Uus, 1998, Saks, 1999, Lauk, 1996 and 2000). It was a descriptive and comparative study of Soviet media peculiarities, journalistic practices, norms and standards in newspapers organisations and products; developments in these spheres are studied for the period of regaining independence until 2001. The empirical analysis of Study I focused on the comparison, in a time scale of organisation and product specificities, of the two Estonian leading national dailies: *Postimees* (until 1991 *Edasi*) and *Eesti Päevaleht* (until 1990 *Noorte Hääl*, 1990–1995 *Päevaleht*). In addition, the author compared the first issues of *Postimees* in 1991 and 2001 and the first issues of *Päevaleht* in 1990 and 2000.

Study II was a follow-up study to an earlier study by the author (1998) that tackled the editing regulations and linguo-stylistic norms in Estonian newspapers. The author first described the linguo-stylistic regulations in Anglo-American journalistic traditions, from where some examples used by Estonia's

new independent media came. The author analysed the structures of the press stylebooks of the Associated Press, the *New York Times* and the British newspaper *The Economist* and compared these to the language style regulations in Estonian local and national newspapers (19 newspapers). A comparative analysis of the language self-regulation tools in Estonian newspapers during the Soviet times was also given. The empirical data was gathered with a questionnaire to the language editors of Estonian newspapers. For the analysis of the language style regulations during the Soviet period the author studied the sc. language columns in 6 different Estonian print media editions during the period 1974 to 1990, as this was where the suggestions for journalistic language appeared during the Soviet era. The author also interviewed 4 language editors from Estonian newspapers. Finally, a comparison is given of the existing language style rules in two Estonian newspapers (a national and weekly) as these were the only newspapers that had these rules in writing at that time. Study II reflected the developments in language style regulations in Estonian newspapers up to 2005. The research findings based on the former formalised questionnaire were used to investigate the linguo-stylistic planning of 19 daily and weekly newspapers in 1998. In addition, the language editors of five national dailies and weeklies, as well as a local newspaper *Pärnu Postimees*, were questioned with the same questionnaire in 2003 and 12 Estonian language editors from different dailies and weeklies were questioned in 2005. With one exception, the 2003 research focussed only on national newspapers because the 1998 survey revealed that local newspapers in Estonia were not planning to establish any linguo-stylistic rules; instead, they wanted to follow those of the larger national newspapers. The 2005 survey again additionally targeted the language editors of local papers in order to find out which (if any) models they were following and whether and to what extent language editing was considered important in these newspapers.

Study III was about commercialisation and hybrid messages in the Estonian media. It analysed the diminishing border between commercial and editorial material. In the first phase of Study III, variables for the discourse analysis of newspapers, magazines and television programmes were designed. Four broad categories were identified as central to the study:

- journalistic material or news items in which some product or service is introduced without a comparison or without any explanation of the criteria of selection.
- positive product/service information that had been given by interested sources.
- the presentation of advertising in a journalistic genre imitating editorial content.
- imagological or “hidden” advertising that uses product logos and examples as illustrations of stories on editorial pages. In the second phase of Study VI, conducted in 2003, discourse analysis of news material and interviews with journalists provided the key research tools. The discourse analysis was con-

ducted on three quality national dailies (*Postimees*, *Eesti Päevaleht* and *Äripäev*, including all special editions and supplements) from May to November 2003. A total of 21 issues were chosen randomly between May and November 2003. Three Estonian magazines were also included (*Stiil*, *Pere ja Kodu*, *Kodukiri*, two issues from each) and two commercial television channels (Kanal 2 and TV 3). Across a six-month period (May 2003 to October 2003), researchers watched 90 locally produced programmes on the commercial channels with the aim of determining which programmes carried material with some/any of the characteristics listed above: 48 in May and 42 in September. These included news and children's programming but excluded documentary, film and drama. The results of the discourse analysis are not directly presented in the present article, but are used as a reliability control for the interviews.

The researchers were also interested in the variety of "special" offers the advertising departments of media organisations make to regular advertisers in order to increase their level of advertising expenditure. The assumption was that the practice of conducting "hidden advertising" is a function of the advertising department of the media organisation and consequently it was important to establish the methods employed by the advertising departments of media organisations. The "Tallinn Technology and Science Centre ENERGY" agreed to take advertising offers from six newspapers and five magazines and provide these to the research group. The Centre was chosen as it was in the process of launching a new science exhibition and the administrator was able to generate reliable advertising offers from newspapers and magazines.

A formalised questionnaire and qualitative interviews were conducted with 16 Estonian newspaper and television journalists in order to investigate, from the journalist's point of view, the media organisations' mechanisms for filtering advertising. Through the formalised questionnaire, the level of co-operation in the choice of topic between editorial offices and advertising departments was studied. This showed that while there were some clearly defined mechanisms for keeping the work of these two departments apart, the interviewees admitted the existence of some possibilities of co-operation. Consequently, it was important to research this topic further through qualitative interviews to define in greater detail those mechanisms that are diminishing the clarity of the border between advertising and editorial content.

Study IV was a continuation of Study II (Linguo-stylistic Planning in Estonian Newspapers), published as an article in the 9th issue of *Keel ja Kirjandus* (*Language and Literature*) in 2005, and it described how the rapid changes in Estonian newspaper production influenced language editing in Estonian newspapers. The term 'language editing' had been used in a wider sense, i.e. also including proofreading. There are newspapers in Estonia at which these two tasks are independent, but in most cases language workers (proofreaders or editors) are expected to do both. In 2005, questions pertaining to linguo-stylistic

planning were asked again from editors of 19 local and five national newspapers, and 3 experts were interviewed. The author described the changes in Estonian newspaper language editing, creation of norms, standards and regulations, according to the three stages of development that influenced the changes in journalistic practices in Estonian newspapers, modelled for Study I.

5. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In this chapter, the empirical findings of the studies are presented. The findings are divided into sub-headings, following the main research questions of the thesis.

5.1. From transitional to market-oriented

Study I of this dissertation analysed the changes in Estonian newspaper organisations and products triggered by transition from 1998, when the first market-oriented newspapers were published, until 2001. The empirical findings of Study I were based on a comparison of changes in two leading Estonian daily newspapers, *Postimees* and *Eesti Päevaleht*. The organisation and product related developments in these newspapers from 1988 to 2005 are shown in Tables 2 and 3 (originally published in Study I). *Postimees* (the Postman) began in 1991 based on the Tartu newspaper *Edasi*, which was nominally a local newspaper but in fact had been national in its content and distribution. Before the Soviet occupation its name was *Postimees*; it was established in 1886 and in 1891 became the first Estonian daily. *Eesti Päevaleht* (Estonian Daily), has its roots in the Soviet Estonian youth daily *Noorte Hää* (Voice of the Youth), which was published from 1940 to 1990 and was renamed *Päevaleht* (Daily) on 1 February 1990. A daily under that name had been published from 1905–1940 in Estonia before the Soviet regime. *Päevaleht* appeared as a successor to *Noorte Hää* and at first did not differ much. The editorial office was the same and there were hardly any changes apart from the title. The most important difference was that *Päevaleht* lost the declaration under its title, which stated that *Noorte Hää* was an organ of the Estonian Communist Youth Organisation.

5.1.1. Organisational changes

Postimees was fully privatised (with all its properties) during November 1991–March 1992. It was initially privatised to its employees via shares, as were many other Estonian newspapers. The majority of the shares and then ultimately all the shares were bought by Heldur Tõnisson, an Estonian businessman living mainly in Switzerland. He is the son of Jaan Tõnisson, who was a prominent Estonian politician and the pre-war principle owner and editor-in-chief of *Postimees*. The Norwegian media concern Schibsted in April 1998 bought 34% of the *Postimees* shares from him and in August of same year that number increased to 92%.

In analysing *Postimees* here, the emphasis is on the development of new departments and on the corresponding new sections in the paper. In 1991 there were nine departments in *Postimees*: six of them were editorial departments, the rest were advertising, secretaries and management. In 1993 three new editorial departments were created: business, culture and sports; and one new organ-

isational department in the form of an information centre. A new department and a local section appeared in 1994 with separate staffs: opinion and *Tartu Postimees*. The following year, an investigative journalism department and *Tallinna Postimees* were added. *Postimees* established *Extra*, its weekend edition, in 1996. It also installed correspondents in Viljandi, southern Estonia and Pärnu. By 2001 there were a total of 26 departments at *Postimees*: 14 editorial departments and 12 departments responsible for layout and design, photographs, proofreading, advertising, distribution, marketing, personnel and others.

In order to understand how much Estonian newspapers have changed in their organisation, the staff structures of *Postimees* in January 1991 were compared with those of January 2001 (see Tables 2 and 3) (Study I). Changes in the structures of the editorial offices reflected new power hierarchies and new functions for Estonian media professionals, and were influenced by foreign examples, technological changes and economic necessity. In 2001 there was no longer the need for employees like typewriting specialists and post ladies. The post lady mentioned in the list of *Postimees* employees in 1990 was absent in 1991. The typewriting specialists were still on the payroll for a longer period because even when computers were used, the texts of some authors had to be re-typed to the required computer form. There were several typewriting specialists working at *Eesti Päevaleht* in 1996. However, computerisation soon made this function unnecessary and by 1997 only those texts that were produced in the appropriate electronic format were used. New functions like reporters, foreign correspondents, cartoon artists, webmasters, layout specialists, graphic design specialists, Internet specialists and various advertising and marketing functions have also found places (functions connected with the start of Internet version of *Postimees* in the autumn of 1995 being a part of the larger technological change). In ten years, the number of employees at *Postimees* had more than doubled (63 in 1991 to 154 in 2001). It is fair to say that all of the 91 new employees represent new functions in the newspaper's organisation. It is noteworthy that in 1991 there were no reporters on the payroll. Some members of the staff just didn't have specific job titles. They were in fact operating as reporters, but the term itself was not used.

The commercial side of producing newspapers had become much more important by 2001. 35 people were working in advertising in *Postimees* compared to five people ten years before. New functions were needed because of the growth in volume. In 2001 *Postimees* had a bi-weekly supplement for classified ads, weekend editions with a separate TV programme, a monthly supplement for non-governmental organisations, special supplements on building, gardening, holidays, tourism, cars, etc.

Table 2. Organisation and product changes in Estonian daily newspaper *Postimees* from 1988 to 2005 *

	1988–1989	1990–1991	1992–1993	1994–1995	1996–1997	1998–1999	2000–2001	2005
Organisation	<i>Edasi</i>	<i>Postimees</i> until 1 (Jan 1991)	<i>Postimees</i>	<i>Postimees</i>	<i>Postimees</i>	<i>Postimees</i>	<i>Postimees</i>	<i>Postimees</i>
Owners	Estonian	Estonian	Estonian	Estonian	Estonian	From April 1998 foreign (Schibsted)	Foreign	Foreign (Norwegian) Schibsted
Number of employees (the data given is based on the number of employees given in the first edition of <i>Postimees</i> at the beginning of every year – in some years the whole staff was listed, in others only editorial staff)	Whole staff: 65	Whole staff: 65	Editorial office only: 46	Editorial office only: 59	Editorial office only: 69	Whole staff: 144	Whole staff: 153	Whole staff: 161
Number of departments (editorial and other)	–	9	11	12	11	15	16 editorial 26 all in all	16
Product	Tabloid	Tabloid	Tabloid	Tabloid	Tabloid	Tabloid	Tabloid	Tabloid
Number of pages	8	8	16	24	24	16 + extra, 28 in 1999	24/28	28
Changes in layout and design	No story segmentation devices used. Pictures of machines and workers often dominating the front page.	No story segmentation devices used. Commercial advertising pages emerging.	Photographs have captions. Leads and sub-headings appearing in the stories.	First separate local sections (in 1994 <i>Tartu Postimees</i> , in 1995 <i>Tallinna Postimees</i>).	Weekend edition <i>Extra</i> . New layout and design from 1997, done by an Austrian designer.	Weekend edition <i>Kultuur</i> .	Weekend edition <i>Arter</i> ; <i>Postimees</i> online professionally designed.	Online edition in constant design change.

* The table was originally published in Study I of this dissertation.

The beginning of the century saw very rapid developments in the set-ups and design of the newspaper's online version. *Postimees* was the first to start its Internet version, in 1995, although initially this only copied the content of the paper version. By 2000 it was clear that online editions could also earn separately, and newspaper advertising departments started to sell advertising space in online versions. *Postimees* was also the first Estonian newspaper to order professional design for its online version, in 2000. Since then it changed very quickly and is in constant development as new technological possibilities open up every day.

Päevaleht's managers were the first to offer the state the possibility of an in-place editorial office staff forming a private enterprise. This development was hindered by the August 1991 events in Moscow and the Baltic States. In 1992, AS *Päevaleht* (a stock company) rented the properties of *Päevaleht* from the state. All newspaper employees could purchase shares. When the state wanted to have an open auction for *Päevaleht* in 1993, it was impossible because all of the newspaper's properties had amortised and the new ones belonged to AS *Päevaleht* (Paju, 1999).

Several new editorial departments were created in *Eesti Päevaleht* during 1992–1998. This was done corresponding to the creation of thematic supplements for the paper. These vary over the years – new ones appear, others disappear. In 1993 there were two new supplements: sports and the weekend edition *Pühapäevaleht*. In 1995 sports disappeared and a media, theatre and cinema supplement was created (Go and See). New departments and their corresponding sections in the paper were Science and Tartu. In 1996 Social and Virumaa departments and sections were added; in 1997 also Pärnu. In 1998 there are 3 more new ones – Tallinn, City Paper (*Linnaleht*) and Home Theme (*Koduleht*).

New departments were created according to the economic and technological needs and opportunities. In 1993, the largest department at *Päevaleht* was the department writing on economic topics (employing 9 people). In 1998 a separate graphic design department was created. Other changes were made in 2000 and a technical department was created that employs designers, reproduction editors and an Internet editor. Some of these changes reflected content shifts and some are associated with the modern production and distribution of the paper.

In 1993, economic issues were the most important, followed later in the decade by sports and entertainment; then science and local issues (Tartu, Virumaa, Pärnu, Tallinn supplements) were added. In the second half of the 1990s, the Internet, design and graphics issues gained importance. The number of employees had grown corresponding to the need to establish new departments. In 1990, there were approximately thirty editorial office employees at *Päevaleht*; by 1994 there were fifty. By 1998 the editorial staff was 89 people and in 2001 the number had reached 92.

5.1.2. Product changes

Changes in layout and design have appeared according to the growth of wealth and changes in the ownership of newspapers. The first issue of the new *Postimees* in 1991 was partly printed in colour and had a special advertising page. The *Postimees* issued ten years ago shows obvious remnants of Soviet newspaper publishing philosophy: a picture of huge machines and workers on a front page and also inside (a typical Soviet means of illustrating articles), layout and design (no leads to the stories, few and random photo captions), very little advertising. *Postimees* ten years later, on the other hand, carries traces of foreign influence in its layout and design. When *Eesti Päevaleht* changed its layout and design in 1997 according to the rules set by Estonian media specialist Tiit Hennoste, *Postimees* ordered a new design from an Austrian designer.

While *Postimees* in 1991 was 8 pages, by the beginning of 2001 it was 28 pages, with the weekend edition running to 68 pages. It has also grown in quality, not to mention incorporating more varied content.

Compared with the developments in other Estonian daily newspapers, the changes in *Postimees* seemed to have been more stable and less abrupt. The larger organisational changes appeared with the arrival of the foreign owners in 1998 (see Table 4). Before that, the number of departments and employees stayed more or less at the same level. The editorial structural changes had gone hand in hand with the overall economic and technological changes. The tabloid format of the paper has stayed the same since 1979, although there were already clear product changes in the first copy of the new *Postimees* in 1991. *Noorte Hääl* and *Päevaleht* before 1992 were broadsheet format papers. This remained the same with the change of the name until 1992. In February 1992, *Päevaleht* also changed to a tabloid format.

The first changes in layout and design appeared at the beginning of 1991: stories become shorter and the first subheadings appear. By 1992 the text had been segmented by subheadings and all photographs had captions. Leads also appeared to the stories. The changes in format were also dictated by layout and design changes. Estonian media specialist Tiit Hennoste created a new look for *Eesti Päevaleht* in 1997. He declared that the outcome was a classic European newspaper that was totally new in Estonia (Vahter, 1999). The first commercial adverts appeared in the newspaper in 1990. *Päevaleht*'s advertising department was created in 1992, as was a separate page for commercial advertising. Adverts had previously only been printed in between editorial material (except the classified ads which already had a separate section). In 1995 the adverts as well as the rest of the paper were printed in colour and the first large adverts (whole page size) appeared on the first and last pages of the paper.

Table 3. Organisational and product changes in *Eesti Päevaleht* (EPL), formerly *Noorte Hääl* (NH) and *Päevaleht* (PL)*

	1988–1989	1990–1991	1992–1993	1994–1995	1996–1997	1998–1999	2000–2001	2005
Organisation Title	NH	NH, from 1 Feb. 1990 PL	PL	PL, from 5 June 1995 EPL	EPL	EPL	EPL	EPL
Owners	Estonian	Estonian	Estonian	Estonian	Estonian	From 13 May 1998 50% Swedish Marieberg International, 50% Estonian	50% foreign until 14 Nov. 2001 when it became 100% Estonian	AS Ekspress Grupp; Jaan Manitski
The number of employees (the data given is based on the number of employees given in the first edition of <i>EPL</i> at the beginning of every year – in some years the whole staff was listed, in others only editorial staff)	–	Whole staff: 30	Whole staff: 30	Whole staff: 50	–	Editorial office only: 89	Editorial office only: 92	Whole staff: 175
Number of departments (edi- torial only)	–	7	9	9	12	12	10	12
Product Format	Broadsheet	Broadsheet (br. sh.)	Br. sh./tabloid	Tabloid/br. sh.	Br. sh.	Br. sh.	Br. sh./tabloid	Tabloid
Volume (pages)	–	4	4/6	16/16	12	10/12	16/24	28
Changes in layout and design	–	First commercial adverts. Stories became shorter. First segmen- tation devices were used (sub- headings).	All photo- graphs had captions. Leads to the stories appeared. Separate page for commercial advertising.	First thematic supplements appeared. From 1995 a broadsheet in colour. First and last page adverts appeared.	The broadsheet became bigger in November 1997. Many changes in design and layout (aggressive double or triple headings for stories). New look by Tiit Hennoste.	The broadsheet became bigger in March 1999.	In Sept. 2000, EPL became tabloid by format. The format was designed in co- operation with Marieberg Inter- national spe- cialists.	New online design was ready by 2006.

* The table was originally published in Study I of this dissertation.

The economic growth was also reflected in the growing content volume of the newspapers. In 1990 *Päevaleht* was a four-page broadsheet, by 1992 it had become an eight-page tabloid. In 1994 the tabloid had sixteen pages and in 1995, when it reverted to broadsheet format, the number of pages remained the same (sixteen). In 1996 the number of pages was cut to twelve and in 1998 reduced to ten. This reduction was due to the growing number of separate supplements. In 2000 the broadsheet had sixteen pages and in 2001 the tabloid format had twenty-four pages.

Eesti Päevaleht was a bit slower in pace in setting up its online version than *Postimees*. Until 2006 its content was rather casually designed. New professional design appeared in 2006. However, *Eesti Päevaleht* was the first newspaper in Estonia to discover the possibilities of blogging, when in 2005 information from different blogs was made available.

5.2. The developments in newspaper editing culture, journalistic practice, setting norms, standards and creating self-regulation tools in Estonian newspapers

Estonian newspapers went through monumental changes from 1988 to 2005. New journalistic routines were created together with the establishment of advertising and marketing departments. The Estonian newspaper editing culture formed in the midst of commercialisation, modernisation of genres and technological changes. The importance of setting norms and standards for newspaper editing, eg. information processing, was overshadowed by these great changes. Newspaper editing received insufficient attention and was underestimated.

The developments were characterised by varied patterns and rapid changes in creating new editorial structures and new journalistic functions. The employment structures of Estonian newspapers were peculiar until the stabilisation phase, and some might argue until foreign owners set a clear pattern in them. For example, when observing the specialists who were responsible for language style and editing in Estonian newspapers, it transpired that even in the late 1990s this task was performed by specialists with very different titles: proofreaders, language editors, style editors, technical editors, senior editors, copy editors or editors-in-chief (Saks, 1999). In smaller local newspapers, a separate language editor was often not hired due to financial considerations. This is why senior editors, technical editors or editors-in-chief have also been mentioned in the list above. The specialists at the tabloid *Õhtuleht* (now *SL Õhtuleht*) replied in 1998 that their language was edited only during the working hours of their language editor, and that later in the evening their texts often did not go through linguistic editing at all (Saks, 1999).

Changes from Soviet Estonian to modern brought the introduction of totally new functions at newspaper organisations and the job titles used previously gained new meanings. Most significantly, the term editor itself has changed in

content. In the middle of the last decade virtually all newspaper employees dealing with content were called editors – there were seldom (if ever) any reporters on the payroll.

The job functions of editor were also not clear-cut at the beginning of the stabilisation period. In 1996–1998, this author was the editor of the Relations pages in the weekend edition of *Eesti Päevaleht*, which meant producing all the material for these pages except photographs. If the pages were illustrated with some other material (e.g., magazine cut-outs), it meant producing those materials as well. The editor-in-chief edited all the textual material in the paper single-handedly. Even today in some newspapers, an editor means a journalist fulfilling a wide variety of tasks, such as being responsible for certain sections (foreign, culture, domestic, etc.) of the publication. The editor reports, edits, chooses pictures and subheadings, writes captions and headings and is responsible for designing the layout of his/her section.

While development was rapid, the newspapers made many changes in work routines due to structural changes and contemporary needs. For instance the function of a copy editor was first introduced in the business paper *Äripäev* in 1996 (Saks, 1999) and also later in *Eesti Päevaleht*, the second largest daily. Technological change in work routines added confusion. Newsrooms worldwide have witnessed great technological changes over the last decade, which have influenced their ways of work – altering the work routines and creating new functions. Newsrooms in former Eastern Bloc countries have thus experienced a dual change of huge proportions – a social-political change and a technological change. This confused things in the editorial offices even further. Computerisation of work processes, especially in the print media, has been very rapid since the mid-1990s.

Technological developments made access for Estonian newspapers to different sources of information possible through several international news agencies, which also complicated and added routines in journalistic work.

The confusion and search phase was characterised by the absence of written regulations on how to compile a newspaper. The first stylebooks were created in 1995–1996 and the specifically Estonian feature in them, compared to their counterparts in Scandinavian countries or the Anglo-American tradition, was that amongst other topics they described and taught writing in different journalistic genres – guidelines for writing news, editorials and features.

5.3. The main developments in linguo-stylistic planning

As linguo-stylistic rules are, in the Anglo-American tradition, agreed upon in the format of stylebooks, which as well as language criteria also give norms on all other aspects of editorial work, and as this tradition had not been included in Estonian newspaper editing culture, the only way to research the setting of these

norms in Estonian newspapers is to research aspects of newspaper editing culture separately. The author of this dissertation researched in depth the developments in linguo-stylistic planning (language editing, proofreading, style editing) in Estonian newspapers.

Study IV of this dissertation describes how the rapid changes in newspapers affected language editing. The term 'language editing' was used in a wider sense, i.e. it also including proofreading. Language editing during the Soviet period, the period of transition, and in the middle of the last decade were compared. The author describes the changes in Estonian newspapers according to the three stages of development (which overlap temporally in various aspects) described in Study I, these being the period of Soviet influence (1988–1991), the period of confusion and search (1991–1995) and the period of stabilisation (from 1996 onwards).

The research showed that language editors were a kind of resistance movement during the Soviet period. There was an active group of people (linguists and language editors) whose mission was to make recommendations with a view to the survival of pure Estonian and the better use of the language. These recommendations were published in the language columns of newspapers and language workers of publications followed these in their work. This tradition began during the days of the language and translation group of the Journalists Union of the Estonian SSR. The group was founded on 21 May 1958 and it supervised language use in newspapers and protected the Estonian language. Language editors and newspaper proofreaders took active part in the meetings of this group. Helju Vals (a long-time member of the group) said the following in the interview she gave to the author in 1998: "Our activities in the section were covert resistance to the Soviet regime. The regime wanted to destroy us, but it was surprising that they did not consider our activities to be a problem. They did not think language had any significance in the culture. We met once a month. Looking back, I can say that we achieved a lot. Language columns edited by Henno Meriste were published in *Sirp ja Vasar* regularly. Now it has turned out that these were the most read pages of that newspaper. Language columns were also published in *Edasi*. These were written by me. The headline of the column was 'Keele küsimus' (Language Issue) and later 'Keel nii ja teisiti' (Language This Way and That). Publication of such columns in *Edasi* began even earlier than in *Sirp ja Vasar*. Language issues were discussed in other publications as well (*Keel ja Kirjandus* and *Noorte Hää* included such discussions – I have collected these), although there were no regular articles about language in other newspapers."

Editing during the Soviet period differed from today's editing because it was more thorough. Maris Makko describes the editing pattern of a national newspaper as follows: "In the Soviet period, larger newspapers had language editors as well as proofreaders, who looked for errors on pages. Language editors copy edited typewritten manuscripts. As we know, many people read texts in those days. After a correspondent of a department had finished their story, it was read

and initialled by the head of the department, then it was read by the deputy editor-in-chief in charge of the department, and in some important cases the editor-in-chief as well, and only then was it given to the language editor. Already at least two people had made their changes to the text before it reached the language editor. (The system may have been somewhat different in some places, but this was the case at least at *Noorte Hää* in the 1980s.) In the printing office, a censor from the Main Directorate for Literary and Publishing Affairs (Glavlit) and proofreaders checked the text. There were no separate language editors and proofreaders in magazines (probably in regional papers, either): usually, both jobs were done by one person.”

The above-described thoroughness was due to the need for ideological supervision, but it also provided the opportunity to print only accurate and good Estonian in newspapers. Language editors can only remember a few ideology-related linguistic requirements. Viivi Dengo gives an example that some party institutions had to be written with initial capitals, e.g. ELKNÜ Kalinini Rajooni Komitee. Helju Vals recalls in the interview that the word ‘seltsimees’ (comrade) was not allowed to be hyphenated so that ‘seltsi-’ is in one line and ‘mees’ in the next. The announcement to hoist flags always had to be in the imperative. There was trouble if it was written as a request.

The application of this pattern ended when new newspapers were established and the existing ones became independent at the beginning on 1990s.

The beginning of 1990s can be considered the time of confusion and search in language editing. Furthermore, this period seems to have lasted until the end of 1990s, and in some cases, continues today, although in general, the newspaper market concentrated, newspapers found their format and their organisation became stable by the mid-1990s. One impulse to stabilisation was definitely the arrival of foreign owners. The confusion is characterised by the fact that not all new or reformed newspapers had a language editor or proofreaders even in 1998. Language editing was the job of very different specialists, e.g. the style editor, technical editor, senior editor, page editor or editor-in-chief. However, the main expectation was that content editors submit ‘clean’ texts. Maris Makko's response in the 2005 survey was: “In the 1990s, larger newspapers developed an opinion that there is no need for a language editor. This meant that content editors had quite a lot of responsibilities and obligations. The idea that followed was that even proofreaders are not necessary because the editor reads everything anyway. Proofreaders were laid off then. When the market settled, it was understood that this is not how it should be and proofreaders were hired again.” *Eesti Päevaleht* had no language workers even in 2000, although it had 16 pages and its format was that of a quality newspaper. *Postimees* has always had language workers. For example, in 1991, it had three language workers: one language editor and two proofreaders, but the paper had just 8 pages in the tabloid format¹¹ (thus, the content was much smaller). Today, *Postimees* is up to 30 pages but there are only five language workers.

According to Viivi Dengo, language editing today is still more like proofreading in the Soviet period. However, she adds: “Of course, my motto has always been the credo of Helju Vals (which, according to her, comes from Johannes Voldemar Veski): ‘You MAY be a grammarian but you MUST be a stylist.’” Today, national newspapers have language editors/proofreaders whose job is to edit files on computer as well as ‘cleaning’ the pages (see table 1).

Maris Makko is of the opinion that the positions of language editor/proofreader are another step towards ‘language editor’, although not quite in essence. She says: “Language editing is still the weakest aspect because people who have had to do fast proofreading and correct only basic language mistakes for years do not pay much attention to the sequence of words, vocabulary, style and other factors that are actually important and affect the quality. Thus, the obligations in this area seem to be vague.”

Of course, hiring language workers (the number required depending on the volume of the newspaper) depends on the circulation of the newspaper and its financial situation, especially in the case of local newspapers. For example, *Meie Maa* on Saaremaa Island has one proofreader, as does *Hiiu Leht* on Hiiu-maa Island. *Virumaa Teataja* employs two proofreaders. Meelis Lainvoo from *Virumaa Teataja* reports in the 2005 survey (done for Study IV) that a text editor is the first to edit manuscripts; their job is to edit the structure and style of the text, not so much its language. According to Kaile Kabun, editor of *Võrumaa Teataja*, by 2005 this newspaper had already had a language editor for a couple of years. They proofread as well as provide language editing. Editing of advertisements and other announcements is another duty of the language editor (Study IV).

The thoroughness of language editing depended very much on the work and attitude of the specific person in the difficult 1990s, and the same is still true today. At times, language editors must be stubborn and assertive and demand more time for editing. Viivi Dengo is of the opinion that a great deal (if not everything) depends on the editor-in-chief, how much they are interested in the language and how much language education they have.

However, language editing in newspapers must receive even more attention today than in the Soviet period because the work is much faster and there is often not enough time for elaboration, especially in the case of dailies. “Today, we have more freedom, but this entails more responsibility and subjective circumstances have a greater role,” writes Maris Makko. Newspaper language has a double role: first, it reflects developments in the language, and second, it influences the readers. If you look at *Eesti Päevaleht*’s online comments, it transpires that readers often point out language errors in the paper. Those pointers do not come from older people, so our native language is important to younger people as well. Thus, language editors also have a mission today. I predict that as this relates to quality and competitiveness, language and style issues will gradually receive more attention than they do today. This has two aspects: to improve the ‘filter’ (language editing quality), and to help writers,

both collectively and individually, educate and discuss and inform people of things they tend to forget, etc.” Today, language editors/proofreaders are first and foremost teachers, both for newspaper employees and, through their work, for readers. However, the spur of the language editor’s mission has changed compared to the Soviet period. The fight is not against russification, but for accurate Estonian and for their work to be considered important in newspapers.

Study II of this dissertation identified examples of the self-regulation tools that Estonian newspaper producers started to build, tools that also covered other spheres of production that need regulating.

In the Anglo-American tradition of journalism, the body of standards for the organisation is called a stylebook. In the case of newspapers, such a book (today often a body of regulations available online) regulates the various stages involved in creating the content: gathering of information (reporters’ work), wording of articles and editing (including factual accuracy checks). Publications in the UK and US have had stylebooks since the beginning of the 20th century; the section covering language use has a very important (if not the most important) place in stylebooks.

The language use rules lay down preferences that, in most cases, are choices resulting from the orientation and attitudes of the newspaper. In addition, they specify the spelling and grammar options the newspaper prefers. Stylebooks also contain political correctness and ethics keywords and can be used as a book of reference. Sometimes the books include chapters on journalists’ rights and responsibilities, a code of ethics and pointers as to how to avoid any possible libel accusations. Stylebooks may also contain a copyright chapter. Often, the above style rules are presented under keywords in alphabetical order.

The earlier research of the author of this dissertation indicated that stylebooks in the Anglo-American tradition of journalism differ from those compiled in Estonia both in structure and concept. Of the 19 newspapers investigated in Study II, only two had a stylebook, and in most cases people who produce newspapers in Estonia associate the concept of a stylebook with a collection of newspaper design, layout and formatting rules, as well as pointers as to how to write stories in various journalistic genres. The latter was necessary because the use of modern journalistic genres began in Estonia only at the beginning of the 1990s.

Estonian newspapers still do not have a classic stylebook. For example Viivi Dengo, editor of *SL Õhtuleht*, says the following in the 2005 survey: “Everybody can access study materials over the intranet but these practically do not touch upon language issues (there is only an FAQ page on the Internet but this has not been changed for years). It may be possible that writers have some kind of guideline on paper (however, this is not true because a colleague next to me said just now that they expect us, language editor/proofreaders, to compile that).”

If in 1998, linguo-stylistic rules were oral, in 2005 there were already some written rules in national newspapers. These collections were not exhaustive because information was sought from several other sources as well. The language of local newspapers is edited in compliance with recommendations from known

language experts to this day (a practice that began in the Soviet period). Thus, Urve Sinisalu, editor of *Valgamaalane*, says the following in the survey: “The main assistance in language editing comes from *Eesti ortograafia* (Estonian Orthography) by Tiiu Ereht, *Õigekeelsussõnaraamat* (the Orthographical Dictionary), *Võõrsõnastik* (Dictionary of Foreign Words) and the Internet. Lately, known language people send recommendations on some language issues to newspapers as well.”

In several editorial departments, especially those of local newspapers, the *Orthographical Dictionary* takes the place of a stylebook (as was the case in the Soviet period). Facts are sought and verified with the help of reference books that the editorial department has managed to acquire. *Eesti keele käsiraamat* (Handbook of Estonian) by Mati and Tiiu Ereht and Kristiina Ross is mentioned as the most used reference book. Several editorial departments also make use of *Eesti ortograafia* by Tiiu Ereht, *Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat* (Explanatory Dictionary of Written Estonian), articles on journalistic language in *Keel ja Kirjandus*, language advice phone service, the *Keelenõuanne soovitab* (Language Advice Recommends) series, *Maaailma kohanimed* (Place Names of the World) by Peeter Päll, *Sünonüümisõnastik* (Dictionary of Synonyms) by Asta Õim, *Võõrsõnade leksikon* (Lexicon of Foreign Words) and *Antiigileksikon* (Lexicon of Antiquity).

The first unique language stylebook was compiled by the editorial department of *Eesti Ekspress* weekly. Compilation of the information began in 1994 and it was largely based on *Estonian Orthography* by Tiiu Ereht (1995). The stylebook was revised in 2000 and was used as the basis for language editing in 2005. Katrin Hallas, editor of *Eesti Ekspress*, said in 2005: “Yes, in principal, we have things as they used to be. Just that the dirty style of KesKus breaks in from every door and window. All kinds of illiterate people are more and more published and editors are unable to edit their texts, so they are published as-is. I hope this situation will not last.”

The linguo-stylistic rules of *Äripäev*, although amended, have been applicable since 1992. Anu Jõgi, language editor of *Äripäev*, says in the survey that *Äripäev* has gradually modernised its language rules, although there have been no big changes. “After the new *Orthographical Dictionary* was published, initial capitals in expressions like *Itaalia köök* and *Rootsi kardinad* were accepted after a short while. Previously, people used to vary the verbs in sentences introducing direct speech (however, it felt unnatural sometimes), while now there is a widespread feeling that the neutral ‘said’ is the best in news. There are other similar small changes. The reference books used at *Äripäev* for language editing include the *Orthographical Dictionary*, the *Explanatory Dictionary of Estonian*, lexicons of foreign words and *Place Names of the World*, by Peeter Päll. If a language issue arises during working hours, we can call a language advice hotline. Other information is found in encyclopaedias”.

Postimees has laid down written linguo-ostylistic rules, however, the 1998 survey revealed that these were circulated as isolated pages. The *Postimees*

stylebook was almost ready by 2002. It was compiled following Estonian practices and foreign examples (authors: Priit Pullerits, Urmas Klaas, Vahur Kalmre, etc.). For some reason, the book was not completed and Priit Pullerits compiled a new collection: the *Postimees* Handbook. However, this has not been published yet. So far, the editors of *Postimees* have acted on the principle that ‘the rules are generally known’, as Ene Nagelmaa, editor of *Postimees*, said in the survey. The language of *Postimees* is a role model for many Estonian publications. Language editing has always been important at that paper.

The linguo-stylistic rules of *Eesti Päevaleht* were completed in cooperation between Tiit Hennoste and language editors in 1996. The newspaper changed its format in September 2000. According to the editors (survey of 2003), the work routine changed a lot since that time. The changes followed Finnish and Swedish examples (the format change was administered in cooperation with specialists from the Swedish Marieberg International). *Eesti Päevaleht* does not have a separate language stylebook; it has written rules for design, layout and grammar and instructions for various journalistic genres.

According to Regina Hanson, editor of *SL Õhtuleht*, this newspaper has a guiding principle that “it should fit onto the living room table of family including young children and a granny who is in a pre-infarction condition”. Editor Viivi Dengo adds in the 2005 survey: “Such a ‘last-century person’ like me does not understand all the words young people use in stories meant for young people. This is how they end up in the paper, although I try to be rather conservative as regards Estonian – but innovations break through anyway.”

Editors say in the 2003 and 2005 surveys that the most important tool for verification of facts is the Internet. In 1998, the language editor of *Äripäev* was the only person who mentioned this.

Local newspapers did not have any linguo-stylistic rules in 2005. As was mentioned in the introduction, they already preferred to follow the stylebook of some national newspapers by 1998. This is the practice of smaller newspapers in the US as well. Most Estonian local newspapers would like to follow the *Postimees* stylebook, if it existed. Language editing abides by oral agreements, and books of reference are also used. For example, according to Teet Roosaar, editor of *Pärnu Postimees*, an agreement was reached on linguo-stylistic details in the years 1999–2000, when language editors were given the responsibility of adjusting journalistic language use in journalistic texts as well. He says that in addition to the books of reference also used at other newspapers, they adjust language style with the help of the textbooks written by Tiit Hennoste and Priit Pullerits, media lecturers at the University of Tartu.

As of today (2011) Estonian press language editors have gathered and created a common Internet based language stylebook for their common use. It has been set up alphabetically and also carries, to a certain extent, subparagraphs that are associated with other aspects of editorial work besides language. Whether this site is actively used by language editors has not, however, been researched.

5.4. Commercialisation expressed in hybridisation of journalistic and promotional material in Estonian media

As in other post-Socialist countries, products within Estonia's media market witnessed major fluctuations in the 1990s before stabilising towards the end of 1999. The journalistic job market, by contrast, was continuously and adversely affected by free market influences. In a market where about 1000 journalistic jobs exist, an impact similar to that described by Goban-Klas in Poland is created: "Paradoxically, freedom of the press did not bring greater independence for journalists, at least for most of them...The fear of losing one's job pushes journalists to accept any working conditions and, perhaps worse, to follow orders from their managing editors" (Goban-Klas, 1996: 31–32).

During the 1990s the Scandinavian media groups Bonnier AB (1989), Swedish MTG (1996) and Schibsted ASA (1998) purchased a significant part of the Estonian media. As a result, clear indications of media concentration can be observed. Schibsted ASA, for example, the majority owner of the largest Estonian media group AS Eesti Meedia (Estonian Media Ltd.), simultaneously owns the largest national daily *Postimees*, 50% of the only national tabloid, a national TV channel (Kanal 2) and one of the largest radio groups (Trio LSL) with six stations (some of which have, in fact, nationwide coverage). It also has substantial ownership interests in five local newspapers and several magazines.

The concentration process might have two contradictory effects. On the one hand, the development of large media groups might possibly contribute to more efficient production and weaken the advertisers position. On the other hand, the journalistic job market is more vulnerable. There is no strong trade union of journalists in Estonia. As a result the professional ideology of journalistic independence (journalistic ethics) does not function as a counterbalance against the commercial interests of media organisations.

The authors outline a model of the diminishing border between editorial and promotional material using different sources of finance for the formats, as shown in Table 4.

Media companies are changing rapidly to multi-product companies or knowledge organisations. A multi-page compilation of newsprint was once the only product of a newspaper organisation. Now advertising inserts, online editions and Web-based information sites are some of the newer products of these organisations (Sylvie and Witherspoon, 2002: 47). The present research suggests media organisations increasingly invent various special formats and techniques that improve the potential to increase advertising. Newspapers and television create thematic supplements or programmes and advertising extras for products and services that are sponsored by their 'thematic' clients. In some cases the business model of a content production company does not include any separation between the journalistic and commercial content.

Table 4. The diminishing border between editorial and promotional material, using different sources of finance for formats

Case	Format	Topic	Diminution discourse
1. Formats financed by the media organisation	Promotional information that meets all the values and formal requirements for news and is therefore presented as news, journalistic interview or feature	various	Publishing positive product/service information that has been initiated by an interested source
2. Formats financed by the media organisation with advertising money	Supplements and advertising extras, thematic pages and parts of programmes	Consumer-oriented topics: food, lifestyle, hobbies, travel, cultural goods, fashion, health, etc.	Products and/or services are introduced without a comparison
3. Formats financed by the interested organisation only	Publications and programmes that imitate journalistic formats and/or layout	Various	The presentation of a trademark/logo as an illustrative element on the page or screen

The most visible of the specials in the Estonian media market are the supplements published by the daily newspapers. These supplements are produced either on a generic theme or for a specific commercial client. Whichever way these supplements are viewed, they are promotional material. The format of these client papers imitates in genre and layout those that readers recognise as standard journalistic editorial copy, thereby making it difficult for the reader to recognise it as promotional material.

Television content is produced by different independent production companies with very different business models and ideologies.

National dailies use various mechanisms to filter promotional material away from their journalists, such as in-house regulations, the physical separation of advertising and editorial departments on different floors, and the use of specific layout software programs. Most of the editors interviewed pointed out that the marketing and editorial departments do not usually co-operate on the choice of editorial copy. Yet advertising department representatives are frequently asked to join editorial meetings to present ideas.

There are slightly different attitudes among the Estonian dailies towards the division of work in supplements and main publications. However, because of the need to optimise expenditure these journalists are occasionally contracted to write stories for the main copy.

While research into the dwindling border between news and advertising on television is best observed on the basis of single programmes, the journalists in the news departments do seem to be aware of the constant need to watch that the border is neither transgressed nor diminished. Nevertheless, a view given by

a TV 3 news editor and presenter, Ene Veiksaar, reflects the problem the entire media market has with distinguishing between promotional material and editorial content: “Around 50% of the press releases we receive could be directly classified as product or service advertising and these have to be discarded right away. Where the border between advertising and news lies is a matter of perception. From one perspective even the economic statistics and [(daily) monetary rates news could be considered commercial banking (advertising)]” (interview, 23 September 2003).

The research found no diminution in the news/advertising boundary in television news programmes.

While the magazine sector comprises 72% of the media market’s individual units of production, it receives on average just 13% of the total revenue. Competition is therefore very fierce throughout the market, and especially so in the magazine sector between small players lacking the financial backing to survive in periods of low or zero income.

In order to survive, magazines have developed strategies that may be seen to have erased the border that separates advertising and editorial content from the media market. The most common practice is the promise to write longer stories on topics that would interest potential clients when they buy a certain amount of advertising space in the magazine. This happened, for example, in 1998 when the nature magazine *Loodus* persuaded a Finnish children’s science centre to place an advertisement in return for an illustrated story of six pages in length. The centre also benefited from a half-page advertisement on the text page, which was modified to include information graphics carrying the logo, the plan of the centre and ticket prices.

6. DISCUSSION

As proposed in the chapter discussing theoretical context, newspaper editing culture(s) is/are influenced by social-political culture. However, as the media is also one of the platforms of social-political culture, the influence moves both ways. A specific editing culture formed in every newspaper organisation through the transition period in Estonia. These cultures have roots in Estonian history, each newspaper's identity, orientation, readers segment, the experience of the editors and other journalistic staff, the will of the managers and in some cases also the influences of the owners (as explained in Study I about the influence of foreign owners who came to the Estonian media market with their specific demands on quality editing and the introduction of self-regulation tools). Together they compile Estonian newspaper editing culture(s) that is/are expressed by shared attitudes, goals and values relating to journalistic discourse processing, journalistic practices, standards and norms that have been agreed upon within each newspaper organisation.

The author of this dissertation has depicted the newspaper editing culture(s) metaphorically as a raspberry consisting of different particles (different newspaper editing cultures) but together still forming a whole (as presented in Figure 5). Newspaper editing culture – a raspberry – has a heart of shared attitudes, goals and values, the common norms and standards on journalistic discourse processing – like a common Code of Ethics. There are to certain extent common demands for journalistic practices, like the common online-based language stylebook that has recently been created for Estonian text journalists, although every newspaper organisation has witnessed the formation of their specific editing culture. The editing cultures of larger and stronger Estonian newspapers (Estonian national dailies for instance) have in turn influenced editing at local newspapers. For example, by questioning Estonian local newspaper language editors during the transition period and thereafter, it became apparent out that they saw the daily newspapers as examples of language and editing style and followed these examples. They also would have wanted to follow the stylebooks of national dailies if these existed.

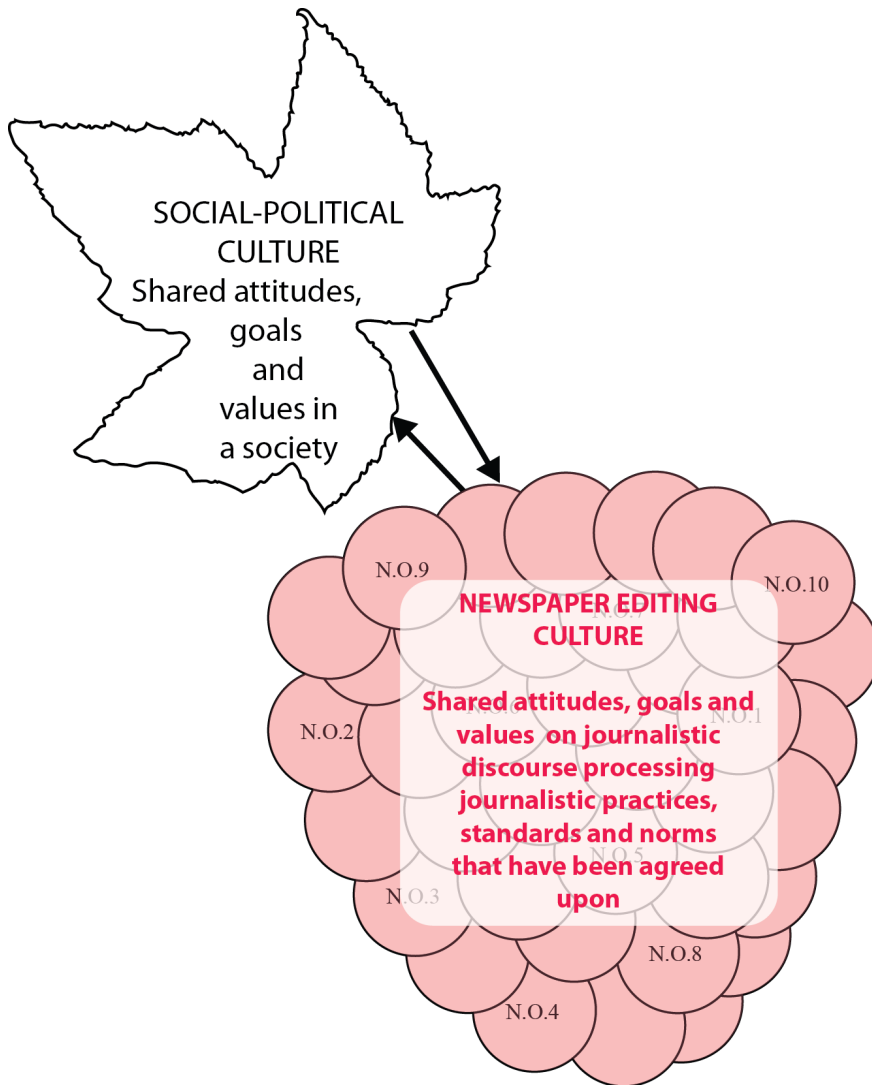


Figure 5. The formation of newspaper editing culture.
(N.O. denotes newspaper organisation)

By 2005 the raspberry that started to grow in 1988 was rather ripe and ready for picking. Estonian newspapers were in a period of rather stable growth and development, which had formed through transition. The problem in this part of the world was, however, that as soon as Estonian newspaper organisations reached stability by working according to agreed written and oral norms, the Internet era, with online and social journalism, came with a confusion and loosening of these norms all over the world. Today journalism (throughout the world) is in the process of technological and digital convergence. In the new

setting of journalism within the information and knowledge society, professional routines have to be modified as journalistic information competes with wider markets, and in shorter and shorter periods of time with other kinds of information (Karam, 2009: 111). All kinds of other information forms are available increasingly quickly in comparison with ‘real’ journalism. Karam calls the present processes the democratisation of communication and the democratisation of the means of communication (2009: 111), and the development of a new cyber-journalistic scenario (Karam 2009: 117). The journalistic practice embedded in the information society and the process of technological convergence within the polis as the public space of discussion about the immediate surroundings and their international consequences, reinforces from his point of view the need for the defence of values such as credibility and public interest; requires the dissemination of accurate, clear, and contextualised messages through any technological means; and requires the involvement with new professional routines derived from the amount of information, social rhythm, and specific demands for information from each and every social sector (Karam, 2009: 113).

In this new era of “confusion and search” (reference to Study I) media scholars have felt the need to describe the whole new dimension for 21st century journalism. According to Fontcuberta these are: a socialising dimension; a space for citizenship; an educative agent and the protagonist of leisure times (Borrat and Fontcuberta, 2006: 19–29; Karam, 2009: 116). In the online era even the once-clear distinctions between ‘professional’ and ‘popular’ communications merge and blend online as dichotomies between message senders and receivers, producers and consumers are replaced by a vast, fluid, ongoing, multi-voiced discourse (Burnett and Marchall, 2003; Singer, 2007). Although the border between professional and popular journalism is diminishing the profession of journalist still exists. At the same time, journalistic practices and professional ways of work have changed so much that scholars have found it necessary to redefine the connotation of ‘journalistic culture’. Jane B. Singer ties today’s journalistic culture very closely to self-regulation and norms, stressing that a central premise of any profession, including journalism, is autonomy over articulation and enactment of the profession’s own norms (Singer, 2007: 79).

It was easy in the past – journalists were regarded as the communities gate-keepers, deciding what information was worth knowing (White, 1950). The journalist reconstituted the everyday world by filtering it through a set of institutional routines and structures (Tuchman, 1973; Singer 2006). The journalist was someone who gathered, processed and disseminated information from certain ethical percepts (Gup, 1999; Singer, 2006). Due to the developments in the Internet world, where anybody can gather, process and disseminate information, there is no longer a gate to keep. Thus it is difficult even to define who is and is not a journalist, let alone pinpoint by which professional practices he/she is defined.

Thus, theoreticians have attempted to redefine journalist (for instance Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001; Merrill, 1989 and Singer 2006). The new definitions are closely related to the issue of values – the *external* (norms and regulations) and *internal* (journalist's personal) codes of professional conduct. For instance Jane B. Singer (2006) defines the journalist as a socially responsible professionalist. The definition stems from John C. Merrill's professionalist approach, as, in other works, Merrill argues that journalistic autonomy is a paramount concept, integral to any commitment to seeking the truth (Singer, 2006) and social responsibility theory that was the Anglo-American concept (Siebert et al., 1956; Singer, 2006). As these two notions are in conflict (one is all about freedom, the other all about norms) journalists as an occupational group have turned towards ideas of professionalism, particularly professional norms, to help resolve this conflict. Jane B. Singer (2006) suggests that ethical commitment to normative goals is quickly becoming the only thing that distinguishes the journalist from other information providers who are independent but not responsible, such as bloggers, or responsible but not independent such as spin doctors of all stripes. A notion of journalism as an embodiment of existential social responsibility becomes not merely descriptive but definitive (Singer, 2006).

Jane B. Singer has also dealt with the notions of journalists' voluntary commitment to truth and to "transparency" or accountability to the public (2007). She argues that both Internet bloggers and journalists are an information source. It becomes increasingly important that professional journalists work by the norms and self-regulation signed and agreed upon, because bloggers operate as watchdogs for the watchdogs and really guard that everything said by journalists is truthful and accountable. Aaron Quinn in his (2007) article however argues that if journalists are only guided by external norms and guidelines (codes of ethics) they might be unable to be moral and just. "By following the letter of a rule, but not its spirit, many media owners and their journalists appear to be ethical when in fact they are unjust /.../"(Quinn, 2007: 169). Ideally the virtues, values and principles are provided through life experience, professional experience, and a university-based journalism education that would include a substantial moral component, adequate practical experience, and more extensive forms of practical training (e.g., in investigation and research) than those that currently exist in journalism (Quinn, 2007: 168).

One of the main discussion questions to which the studies of this dissertation led the author, are: what kind of role do newspaper organisations play, and what kind of role can they play, in defining their own professional cultures, and in setting norms, standards and regulations that effect editing? Professional culture is reflected through many artefacts that define the newspaper organisation – product, work routines, style-regulations, self-regulation, etc. Professional culture manifests itself in media organisations' identities and vice versa. The author of this dissertation believes that every media organisation should agree upon its identity. It should answer to the question, what are we and for whom do we produce our products? Answering this question is also a 'quality' related

question. In addition to work routines, practices and standards, this identity is expressed through product-related criteria like format, layout and specific type of newspaper. In the media's case expressing identity takes a lot of resources, as the identity has to be agreed upon and then documented. Regulating identity is a huge job. However, there are spheres in which it is possible to agree. There a question arises – what do we need to regulate in the media and what do we not?

Indeed – there seem to be new spheres needing norms every day. There are also new demands on 'journalists' in this new setting. Priit Hõbemägi (editor-in-chief of the Estonian weekly *Eesti Ekspress*) expressed his opinion on the good contemporary journalist as a professional at the meeting of Estonian Academic Journalism Union (on 17 February 2011) saying that modern journalists should be professional in a large array of journalistic practices: they should understand modern business models and understand that these change over time; know that the Internet is not safe and be good psychologists; understand that sources are relevant; have good organising skills and know how to use consumer media (blogs, FB, Twitter); know how to operate in forums and be able to manipulate information; be aware of Internet ethics – what can and cannot be written; comprehend privacy and citizen rights; be able to use digital cameras and modern mobile phones; be able to make video- and photo-reports and know how to find information from net databases quickly, etc. Do all these spheres need journalistic norms?

The style regulations that have regulated some spheres of information processing in media organisation have had norms for classical journalism practices. These regulations have been created and updated in Anglo-American classical journalism tradition during a time-scale of 100 years. Thus even if the new norms were to be created, these could not be created quickly and even if it were possible, times and media are changing with such a speed that these would be outdated in a very short period of time.

And if we now go out of the boundaries of classical journalism to the vast lands of on-line journalism, we see the same and other spheres of routines that need to be regulated. What's more, in small countries like Estonia, online journalism plays a different role from that played in larger markets where the media is stronger and wealthier (has more resources) and audiences are greater, which allows the media to receive profits even from niche products. A small market also sets certain requirements for quality online management. As competition for the interest and attention-span of different sectors of the audience increases, the Internet media must clearly increase their investments to cover the important issues of offering more choices and experimenting with news production models. In addition, online journalism challenges the concept of news diversity. In favouring Internet affordances (interactivity and the breaking character of news production, highly flexible information structures and multi-media reporting) attention needs to be paid to the fact that a greater online diversity, without either a clear structure or guidance by communication professionals (competent

journalists), might work against democracy by providing only an illusory impression of pluralism and public representation.

Research perspectives

In the middle of constant change many questions have arisen that contemporary media and journalism researchers are dealing with and to which they are trying to find answers. These perspectives are presented as follows.

Social traditions influence the performance of media organisations and therefore also the media system. New technologies, ownership relations and business models influence media performance. The question is, how are the changes in media performance related to the changes in professional journalistic performance?

Today especially, the critical question for the performance of journalism is quality; or, in other words, professional journalism needs to function as 'value adder' to the information marketplace so that the consumer can trust professional journalism to base their stories on facts and operate on agreed norms and standards. Thus the research on standards is in journalism studies associated with the question of how quality or excellence can be defined in journalism.

Today one of the central questions in journalism studies is also whether professional journalism can find a watertight business model in order to stay alive. Democracy needs autonomous journalism with quality standards, but having this becomes more expensive every day. In addition, journalistic discourse is becoming hybrid with marketing communication, as explained. This has a lot to do with the fact that producing original news material is very expensive and the PR sector offers ready made products for the media free of charge.

Journalistic genres have become hybrid, as often commercial texts are presented in news format (Ungerer, 2004; Kong, 2008). At the textual level, hybrid discourses and mixed genres appear in the form of advertorials, infotainment, edutainment, promotional news, etc. Kress (2004) contends that the co-existence of text types happens within the framework of larger social rules. The rules that kept the genre of advertisement strictly apart from the genre of the feature or the editorial were rules of propriety, founded on a clear sense of social frameworks and social relations within and across those frameworks.

Coming back to the issue that journalistic information processing is guided by values that are in turn guided by behavioural standards, the question of whose interests and values professional journalism should hold today has to be asked.

As said above, independent journalism has been thought to be essential for democracy. It is needed in order to inform citizens, avoid corruption or to fulfil the 'gatekeeper' function. There is no better force than autonomous journalism for fulfilling these tasks. This autonomy has been protected in the states that espouse the concept of freedom of speech (many references to journalism's special status and obligations towards society can be found in the verdicts of the

European Court of Human Rights) *Oberschick v. Austria* (both cases); *Lingens v. Austria*, *Goodwin v. UK*) and also by compiling professional codes of ethics. Hidden advertising and deceiving readers is denounced by codes of ethics, as well as by legislation to a certain extent. At the same time the term consumer (instead of citizen) is more and more frequently used in the regulations of audio-visual media. Thus, today, the critical question becomes, whose values and interests should professional regulations and standards support? The owners' values and their need to earn profit? This is already done by liberal market logic. The values and interests of the consumers? Aren't those already protected by honest PR? Will there be new market communication with its own specific quality demands? Should the standards and values support the citizen's right to receive honest and selected information? Yes, but this is very expensive and the number of citizens wanting it is huge. And yet the controlled, selected and analytical information processing that is based on sound values, and by which all political and economic powers are screened, is the only added value of professional journalism.

Professional journalism sets self-regulation norms and standards. The question of to whom these standards should be communicated then arises. Should they be communicated only inside the organisation or also externally so that the public can decide whether this or that publication is journalism in the classical sense of the term, or a hybrid publication or channel?

7. CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this dissertation are presented in a way that mirrors the research questions listed under research aims, above.

I. The general changes and development phases of Estonian newspaper organisations and products from 1988 to 2005.

Changes and developments can be described as being part of four interrelated phases (Study I; Study IV; the Setting the Context chapter of this dissertation) After 2005 new rapid developments took place – the rapid developments in online and social media; diminishing of media advertising market in Estonia; economic depression that followed – that influenced journalistic culture. These serious developments occurred practically simultaneously and it is thus not possible any more to separate the changes into periods. The general changes and development phase of Estonian newspaper organisation and products from 1988 to 2005 can be periodised as follows:

- 1) Soviet remnants phase 1987–1992 (1996);
 - 2) the phase of confusion and search 1990–1996;
 - 3) the phase of concentration and the coming of the foreign owners (1989) 1995–1998;
 - 4) stable growth and development 1998–2005.
- The starting year of the changes in media and the main core of the transition period in Estonia is 1987 when political debate started in Estonian popular media. Thus the Soviet remnants phase also starts from 1987. The strongest organisational indicator of the Soviet remnants phase in Estonian newspapers was state ownership. From that perspective it might be said that this phase lasted until 1996, when the last local newspapers were privatised, although the domination of Soviet remnants was generally over after the restoration of Estonian independence (August 1991) by 1992. The segmentation of stories by devices, the appearance of advertising, the publishing of supplements and other significant changes in newspaper content and journalistic form compared to Soviet norms and traditions started in the new private newspapers from the very first issues.
 - The phase of confusion and search was also mainly characterised by the difficult privatisation process of Estonian newspapers. It lasted from 1990 (first new market oriented newspapers were created already in 1989 in Estonia) to 1996. At that period there were very different development patterns and rapid changes when creating new editorial structures and new journalistic functions in Estonian newspapers. New work routines were introduced also due to technological development, editorial structure changes, and economic demands.

- During the concentration phase (1995–1998) in the Estonian newspaper market, smaller new publications vanished while the larger and stronger went into the hands of a very few owners. In the case of Estonia, these owners were mainly foreign. Foreign owners were most active in Estonian market in 1997–1998. Foreign influence on Estonian media development throughout the period of transformation from the Soviet to the contemporary, was not only connected with mere foreign ownership. Also western patterns of media performance and journalistic work were quickly adopted in Estonia, achieving dominance at the beginning of the stabilisation phase and intensifying throughout this phase. This is when the Estonian newspapers started to develop new editing norms and standards based foremost on regulations for layout and design as well as language style and ethical issues. The tradition of agreeing upon linguo-stylistic regulation in Estonian newspapers has not yet effectively taken root (Study II, Study IV).
- The phase of relatively stable growth and development was characterised by stable economic growth, steadily growing media advertising markets and the appearance of foreign owners from 1998 to 2005 (the first newspaper under foreign owners was however the sister version of the Swedish *Dagens Industri*, the Estonian business newspaper *Äripäev*, created in 1989). This period also saw rapid developments in the online media sector. In addition to this, the debate over the commercialisation and hybridisation of sensational and quality news, editorial and promotional material became very active in Estonia at the turn of the century.

II. The forming of new newspaper editing culture(s) in Estonia from 1988 – 2005

The author of this dissertation has depicted the newspaper editing culture(s) metaphorically as a raspberry consisting of different particles (different newspaper editing cultures) but together still forming a whole (as presented in Figure 5). Newspaper editing culture – a raspberry – has a heart of shared attitudes, goals and values, the common norms and standards on journalistic discourse processing – like a common Code of Ethics. There are to certain extent common demands for journalistic practices, like the common online-based language stylebook that has recently been created for Estonian text journalists, although every newspaper organisation has witnessed the formation of their specific editing culture.

Newspaper editing culture is partly about professional agreements and standards. These are often linked with quality issues and need to be achieved by organisational control, supervision and control-feedback. In the context of the present dissertation this is part of editing practice. Newspaper editing culture is one part of a professional journalistic culture. The notion of culture is difficult

to grasp and its aspects difficult to describe. This is why it is important that editing culture is transparent as this will enable society to understand why we need professional journalism. Thus the newspaper editing culture is one of central means that enables the description of the different normative aspects of information processing, journalistic routines and the main values that distinguish professional journalistic discourse from other news discourses (for example, press releases, commercial messages, etc.) (see the Theoretic Context chapter of the dissertation).

The editing in Estonian newspapers could already have been described as a specific culture during the Soviet period as Estonian newspaper editors (and especially language editors) then had shared attitudes, goals and values, on the basis of which they stood against the russification in Estonia and for the better wellbeing of a pure Estonian language. This was viewed by Estonian newspaper editors as a sort of resistance movement, as described in Study IV of this dissertation.

Contemporary Estonian journalism culture has its roots both in the period of the first independent republic (1918–1940), in the Soviet period (1940–1991) and in many different foreign influences that took root here after Estonia regained its independence. After Soviet newspaper structures ceased to exist, each separate newspaper organisation had to decide whether the new information that was to be published there was to be firstly a *product* and journalism simply a business, or whether journalism had to be firstly a *cultural* and *political* phenomenon and a *public educator*, as these had generally been the traditional criteria of Estonian journalism before the Soviet regime. Estonian newspaper producers chose the former. When journalism is seen as a *product*, it has to make *profit*. Profit comes from advertising. Because of this choice:

- It might be concluded that newspaper editing as a set of journalistic routines lost its importance (in comparison to the importance it had during the Soviet period). On one hand editing the media was important during the Soviet period from the censorship point of view, although this task was performed very carefully done by the Estonian editors in order to stand against russification, as explained. When Estonia regained its independence, the editing cultures at Estonian newspapers had the opportunity to utilise and get input from the ways Estonians were editing their newspapers during the Soviet period. There was initiative and will, although that initiative found itself very quickly against a wall that was there to guard marketing interests. In the author's view, there was an identity crisis in the media that was rooted in the time when good and perfectly functional editing culture traditions were tossed aside before new traditions had time to root. By not setting or agreeing professional standards, norms and means of discourse/information processing, Estonian newspapers have not agreed upon their identity, meaning the question of what they are and for whom they create, remains unanswered. In the midst of rapid commercialisation (the tendency all over the world),

the diminution of the border between journalistic and promotional material and rapid technological changes – with the powerful cyber-revolution and the development of online and social media – it is even more difficult to set that identity.

- The Discussion of the dissertation thus introduces the notion that newspapers in Estonia have been thrown into a new phase, that of confusion and search, in which, because of the Internet revolution and the democratisation of media (a term used by Karam, 2009) totally new editing cultures have to be created – new norms and standards to govern professional routines in media. This tendency is not unique to Estonia as the Internet era has loosened journalistic norms all over the World. Scholars have felt the need to give new dimensions to the journalism of the 21st century, and have also redefined ‘journalist’ (see the previous chapter).

III. The main developments in linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers from 1988 to 2005

The changes in linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers after Estonia regained independence fall into two stages, as per the categorisation given in the chapter Setting the Context: 1) it is possible to identify the times of confusion and search, and 2) the times of stable growth and development. Although in 1988 (when the first independent newspapers were founded), Estonian newspapers arguably followed Soviet editing practices, new or reformed newspapers at that time can be said to have discontinued Soviet language editing practices (Studies II and IV). The period of stabilisation started against this background at larger Estonian newspaper organisations with the coming of foreign owners (1987–1988) who brought their editorial structures, standards and regulation tools, which, in some cases, also regulated linguo-stylistic planning. At the beginning of the 1990s the following tendencies were evident in linguo-stylistic planning in Estonian newspapers:

- Language editing (as well as proofreading) was not considered to be an important journalistic job. It happened because the party political multiple eye principle was no longer required (as it was during the Soviet period) and repeated checks of texts became impossible because of time constraints and, thus, inexpedient (Study IV).
- Editorial departments were engaged in learning modern genres, technological innovations (new layout and design patterns) and modernisation of their structure and work arrangements. Several editorial departments abolished the language editor’s position. Texts were only proofread. There were even editorial departments where there were no proofreaders. Content editors were expected to edit both language and content. As an innovation, some editorial departments hired text editors or page editors due to foreign influence (1987–1988) and their job was in part to check

language use in addition to the layout and overall impression of the newspaper (Study IV and the Setting the Context chapter of this dissertation).

- Since 2000, language editing is again gaining importance in Estonian newspapers. The positions of language editors were restored in newspapers where these positions had been abolished. Furthermore, some newspaper organisations realised that there was a need for a specific language style to be developed (e.g. publication style books were compiled) (Study IV).
- Language editors considered themselves to be teachers who educate their colleagues in the editorial department and through improved language use readers of the paper. Thus, although foreign owners focused the newspaper market in Estonia, and the newspapers were already stable by the mid-1990s, the stabilisation phase as regards language editing is just beginning. However, in several aspects (e.g. understanding the difference between language editing and proofreading) there is yet no solution that satisfies language editors and respects the readers (Study IV).
- By 2005 language use has still no written regulation at most Estonian newspapers. The language style of several newspapers reflects the style of an experienced language editor who works there (Study IV).

Stylebooks in the Anglo-American tradition lay down a wide variety of other issues needing regulation in newspapers, apart from language issues, and these collections are meant for use by everybody. In this way, stylebooks force on newspapers the model of a highly qualified multifunctional editor. Editing has a unifying effect: there will be no mistakes and the identity and orientation of newspapers are very clear. A stylebook is a basis for the whole concept of editing (Study II).

- The described model of editing differs from that of Estonian newspapers considerably, because the various stages of content and language editing are separated. Separating various editing stages may create responsibility gaps (where the responsibility of one editor ends and that of the next has not yet started), which confirms that there was no clear concept of language editing in the majority of Estonian newspapers up to 2005 (Study II).

IV. Commercialisation expressed in the hybridisation of journalistic and promotional material in Estonian media

The diversity of attitudes within the media market towards the definition and maintenance of the border between editorial and promotional material indicates that the physiology of the border is a sophisticated mixture of economic and ideological factors and should not be reduced to a matter of ethical conduct (Study III).

- There are editorial offices in Estonia operating systems that separate journalism from advertising, or filter promotional material as it comes in. However, these offices cannot resist compelling economic factors that work behind the scenes to corrode the border's integrity.
- There are also different attitudes among news organisations about what should be considered promotional material and whether it should be avoided, tolerated or even considered. This raises questions about whether such a wide range of attitudes works to protect the journalistic integrity that is needed for a democratic society or, in contrast, helps to further the commercialisation of the media and the total diminution of the border.
- There also seems to be the development of an argument that there are some elements of the media market for whom survival means overlooking the difference between paid (compromised) and independent information. The magazine and the television programme production sectors, for example, may find it beneficial to legitimise the deletion of the border to avoid confusing their audience.

(these conclusions are made on the basis of Study III)

On the question of the choice of journalists to work on promotional material and objective journalism, the research revealed:

- that while media organisations try to keep them separate, the lack of resources to process the increasing flow of promotional material invariably means that there part of a journalist's workload is in both areas. This is certainly the case in the area of consumer and production news, in which a lot of resources are required if the aim is to provide critical information of high quality (Study III).

The findings of research suggest that the definition of unacceptable promotional material, in a media context, is increasingly being blurred. The factors promoting this blurring are:

- The financial cost of gathering news and information, in a free market economy, must be offset by (advertising) income to ensure business survival, and strategies have been developed to attract the necessary advertising revenue.
- The control mechanisms of legislation, the Code of Ethics and the idea of good journalistic practise were either being ignored or misused.
- The border that separates journalism from advertising was, as a result, losing its definition and purpose. For the audience, distinguishing between these elements of material becomes especially complex as independent journalistic material and promotion are mixed across the channels, formats and publications.

(these conclusions are made on the basis of Study III).

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Eesti ajalehtede toimetamiskultuuri ja -praktika kujunemine 1988–2005

Käesolev doktoritöö on ajalooline tagasisivaade iseseisva eestikeelse ajalehe toimetamiskultuuri ja -praktika kujunemisele siirdeperioodil ja arengule Eesti taasiseseisvumise järel. Doktoritöö analüüsib eesti ajalehtede toimetamise struktuuride, ajakirjanduslike praktikate ja -rutiinide muutumist alates aastast 1988, kui nõukogude perioodi lõpufaasis ilmusid taas turule orienteeritud väljaanded. Uurimused, millel doktoritöö põhineb, ulatuvad analüüsidest aastani 2005, mil võib väita, et eesti ajalehed olid jõudnud arengus suhtelise stabiilsuse perioodi. Töö kirjeldab arenguid eesti ajalehtede toimetamiskultuuris ajalehe organisatsioonis ja tootes toimunud muutuste näitel. Samuti analüüsitakse töös, kuidas loodi ja kasutati toimetamist puudutavaid norme, standardeid ja enese-regulatsiooni vahendeid. Viimatinimetatud muutusi kirjeldatakse eesti ajalehtede keelestiilikorralduse arengu näitel.

Toimetamiskultuuri kui kontseptsiooni kujutatakse käesolevas töös laiemas ajakirjanduskultuuri kontekstis. Ajalehe toimetamine oli Eestis omaette kultuur juba nõukogude ajal, mil toimetajad (eriti aga ajalehtede keeleteoimetajad) jagasid suhtumist, eesmärke ja väärtusi, mille alusel seisti Eestis venestamise vastu ja puhta eesti keele kasutamise eest. Seda peeti omamoodi vastupanuliikumiseks nagu kirjeldab doktoritöö uurimus IV.

Üheks oluliseks märksõnaks töös on *siirdeperiood* (nn üleminekuperiood nõukogude ühiskonnast vabasse ühiskonda). Eesti meedia sisenes siirdeperioodi poliitilistel ja sotsiaalsetel põhjustel. Siirdeperioodi iseloomustasid mitmed paralleelsed protsessid nagu demokratiseerumine, turu vabanemine ning tarbimise kasv. Kõik need protsessid mängisid rolli ka ajalehemeedia arengutes. Meedia roll poliitilise sfääri kujunemisel ei olnud sama kogu siirdeperioodi jooksul. Põhjalikult peatutakse sellel teemal doktoritöö üldise konteksti peatükis.

Ühe erandiga katavad kõik töö aluseks olnud artiklid üksnes eesti ajalehemeediat. Uurimus III analüüsib teatud määral muutusi ka Eesti telekanalite ja ajakirjade turul.

Doktoritöö koosneb avaldatud artiklitest. Igas uurimisartiklis on sõnastatud eraldi uurimisküsimused. Kõik uurimused (eriti aga I uurimus) analüüsivad eesti ajalehtede toimetamiskultuuri(de) kujunemist organisatsiooni ja toote muutuste kirjeldamise kaudu aastatel 1988 kuni 2005. Uurimus II ja IV analüüsivad muutustele iseloomulikke faase keelestiili korralduse näitel. Uurimus III keskendub professionaalsete ajakirjanduspraktikate arengule väikesel mediaturul ning analüüsib piiride hägustumist toimetuse- ja reklaammaterjalide vahel eesti meedias.

Kuna töö kasutab algandmetena nii tekstianalüüsi kui ka ajalehe toimetustes kehtivaid suulisi regulatsioone (kokkuleppeid), mis võivad eksisteerida kõikvõimalikes vormides, on ka uurimustes kasutatud väga erinevaid meetodeid, nagu

teksti- ja dokumendianalüüs, formaliseeritud küsimustikud, intervjuud ning võrdlev- ja diskursuseanalüüs. Keelestiili reguleerivaid stiiliraamatuid (anglo-ameerika ajakirjandustraditsiooni näitel, mida kasutatakse töös võrdlusmaterjalina) saab samuti käsitleda diskursuseanalüüsi kogudena, sest need reguleerivad ja normeerivad ajakirjanduspraktikaid.

Doktoritöö jaguneb peatükkideks, millest kontekstipeatükk annab põhjaliku ülevaate siirdeperioodi erinevatest faasidest ja iseloomulikest arengutest Eestis ning uurimustest, mida sel teemal avaldatud. Töö teoreetiline kontekst keskendub enam ajakirjanduspraktikaid puudutavatele teooriatele. Töö järelduste peatükk võtab uurimuste ning doktoritöö katustekstis toodud järeldused kokku järgmiselt:

I. Eesti ajalehtede organisatsiooni ja toote üldised muutused ja arengu- faasid 1988–2005

Muutusi ja arenguid saab üldistades kirjeldada nelja osaliselt ajaliselt kattuva faasina (nagu kujutatud uurimuses I ja IV ning doktoritöö üldise konteksti peatükis). Alates 2005. aastast toimusid taas väga suured ja olulised muutused nagu online- ja sotsiaalmeedia plahvatuslik areng, reklaamituru oluline vähenemine ning hilisem majanduslangus. Kuna kõik need olulised muutused toimusid üheaegselt ei olegi tegelikult alates 2005. aastast neid enam võimalik faasidena periodiseerida. 1988–2005 muutusi saab periodiseerida järgmiselt:

- 1) nõukogudeaegsete tegutsemisviiside faas 1987–1992 (1996);
 - 2) segaduste- ja otsingute faas 1990–1996;
 - 3) kontsentratsioonifaas ja välisomanike tulek (1989) 1995–1998;
 - 4) stabiilse kasvu- ja arengufaas 1998–2005.
- Nõukogudeaegsete tegutsemisviiside faasi algusaastaks saab lugeda aastat 1987, kui Eestis toimusid juba olulised ühiskondlikud muutused ning meedias elavnes poliitiline debatt. Üldiselt loetakse 1987 aastat siirdeperioodi algusaastaks Eestis (käesolev töö käsitleb muutusi alates 1988, kui taasilmusid esimesed turule orienteeritud ajalehed). Siirdeperioodil oli suurimaks nõukogudeaegsete tegutsemisviiside jätkumise indikaatoriks ajalehtede riigi omanduses olemine. Enamik kohalikke ajalehti läks eraomandusse aastatel 1991–1992, kuid viimased kohalikud ajalehed erastati alles 1996 aastal. Uutes või uuenenud ajalehe toodetes näitasid nõukogudeaegsete toimetamisviiside lõppu lugude segmenteerimine vahepealkirjadega, lisade ilmumine, reklaami ilmumine ja tsen-suurita ajalehe toimetamine.
 - Segaduste- ja otsingute faasi algust iseloomustas samuti keerukas erastamisprotsess. See faas kattub osaliselt nõukogudeaegsete tegutsemisviiside faasiga ning selle lõpuks saab lugeda aega, mil viimased kohalikud ajalehed Eestis erastati. Uusi toimetuste struktuure ja ajakirjanduslikke amenteid loodi erinevates eesti ajalehtedes väga erinevalt. Need võisid saada alguse uutele alustele viidud toimetuste struktuuridest, aga neid loodi ka

tehnoloogiliste uuenduste tõttu ning majanduslikest vajadustest lähtuvalt (reklaamiosakonnad ja ajalehed Internetis).

- Alates 1995ndast aastast saab alguse kontsentreerumise faas, mil väiksemad väljaanded turult kadusid ning suuremad koondusid üksikute omanike kätte. Eestis koondusid suuremad väljaanded väliskapitalil põhinevate omanike kätte. Välisomanike tulek jäi peamiselt aastatesse 1997–1998. Välismõjud ei piirdunud Eesti meediatele ainult omandisuhete muutmise ja Eestis võeti kiiresti omaks ka läänelikud ajakirjanduse toimetamisviisid, mis juurdusid täielikult stabiilse arengufaasi alguseks. Osaliselt välisomanike mõjul asuti eesti ajalehtedes arendama ka läänelike toimetamisnorme ja -standardeid. Esmalt reguleeriti ajalehtede *layout*'i ja disainireegleid, hiljem eetikad ja keelekasutus. Keelekorralduse reeglitaamise traditsioon (sarnaselt angloameerika traditsioonile) ei ole Eesti ajalehtedes senini juurdunud (nagu kirjeldatud uurimuses II ja IV).
- Suhteliselt stabiilse kasvu- ja arengufaasi indikaatoriteks olid pidev majanduskasv, suurenev meedia reklaamiturg ja välisomanike tulek 1998–2005 (kuigi esimesena läks Rootsi äriajalehe *Dagens Industri* ettevõtmisel välisomandusse 1989. aastal loodud Äripäev). See periood nägi ka väga kiireid arenguid onlinemeedia sektoris ning samal perioodil tõstus teravalt arutelu kommertsialiseerumise ja kollase -ning kvaliteetmeedia olemuse üle.

II. Uute ajalehe toimetamiskultuuri(de) teke Eestis 1988–2005

Käesoleva töö keskseks mõisteks on *ajalehe toimetamiskultuur*, mis on saanud mõjutusi ning omakorda mõjutanud sotsiaal-poliitilist kultuuri. Eesti ajalehtede toimetamiskultuur koosneb erinevate ajaleheorganisatsioonide toimetamiskultuuridest ning teatud ühistest väärtustest. Töös on ajalehe toimetamiskultuuri kujutatud seepärast kui vaarikat, mille keskmeks on kõik need väärtused, millest ühine kultuur koosneb, kuid mis omakorda koosneb ise eraldi osakestest (ajaleheorganisatsioonidest ja nende toimetamiskultuuridest). Vaarika südames on Eestile omased ajalehe toimetamise väärtused ja eesmärgid, normid ja standardid ajakirjandusliku diskursuse töötlemiseks, nagu kõigile Eesti ajakirjanikele kehtiv ühine eetikakoodeks ja hiljuti keeleteoimetajatele loodud ühine internetipõhine keelestiiliraamat. Samas on aga ka igas ajaleheorganisatsioonis omad väärtused ja eesmärgid, milles on kokkulepitud ning mida järgitakse.

Ajalehe toimetamiskultuuri kirjeldamise kaudu saab kirjeldada informatsiooni töötlemise ja ajakirjanduslike rutiinide erinevaid normatiivseid külgi ja valdkondi, aga ka neid väärtusi, mis eristavad professionaalse ajakirjanduse diskursust teistsuguste uudiste (nagu näiteks pressiteadete ja kommertssõnumite) diskursustest.

Kaasaegse eesti ajakirjanduskultuuri juured on nii Eesti I vabariigi ajas (1918–1940), nõukogude ajas (1940–1991), kui ka mitmes välismõjus, mis jõudsid Eestisse pärast taasiseseisvumist. Käesolevas töös järeldatakse, et:

- Klassikaline ajalehe toimetamine, kui teatud ajakirjanduslike rutiinide kogum jäi Eesti taasiseseisvudes tähtsusetult varju ning olulisemaks sai muude struktuuriosade (nagu lehe turundamise struktuuride) kindlale alusele seadmine eelkõige majanduslikest huvidest lähtuvalt. Erastatud ajaleheorganisatsioonides oli oluline kiiresti tagada majanduslik stabiilsus ja kasv. Samas heideti nõukogudeperioodi töökindlad toimetamistavad üle parda enne, kui uued tavad olid jõudnud kujuneda või juurduda. Toimetati olukorras, kus professionaalsetes normides ja standardites ning diskursuse/informatsiooni töötlemise reeglites polnud kokku lepitud. Töö autor leiab, et nii jäeti tegelikult sõnastamata, mis on erinevate eesti ajalehtede identiteet ehk vastamata küsimusele, mis me täpselt oleme ja kellele loome. Täna, kiire kommertsialiseerumise (üleilmne tendents), ajakirjandusliku ja reklaamimaterjalide vahelise piiri hägustumise ning mitmeid fundamentaalseid muutusi toonud tehnoloogiliste arengute aja-järgul, on identiteediküsimuse juurde väga raske tagasi tulla. Muutused on lihtsalt nii kiired.
- Doktoritöö diskussiooni osas kujutatakse eesti ajalehti täna uues segaduste- ja otsingute ajastus, kus Interneti-revolutsiooni ning meedia demokratiseerumise tõttu on kujunemas taas uued toimetamiskultuurid – vaja on uusi norme ja standardeid uute professionaalsete rutiinide sätestamise aluseks. Neid on aga raske luua, kui klassikalise ajakirjandusliku diskursuse tootmine on seni olnud üsna juhuslikult reeglustatud.

III. Peamised arengud eesti ajalehtede keelestiilikorralduses 1988–2005

Eesti ajalehtede keelestiilikorralduses toimunud muudatused jagunevad kahte iseloomulikku faasi: saame rääkida üksnes segaduste- ja otsingute faasist ning üldisemas mõttes stabiliseerumisest. Kuigi Eesti ajalehtedes alustati 1988. aastal (esimete sõltumatute ajalehtede loomisega) nõukogudeaegsete toimetamisvõtetega, siis keeletoimetamise osas ei saa uute või reformitud ajalehtede puhul rääkida nõukogudeaegse toimetamismudeliga jätkamisest, sest tsensuurinõudest lähtuv kuni 8 silmapaari (mitmeid toimetajad + tsensor) kontroll polnud enam vajalik (täpsemalt uurimuses IV).

Uurimuse IV järel dustena võib välja tuua järgmist:

- 1990ndate aastate algul vähenes eesti ajalehtedes keeletoimetamise (sh. ka korrektuuri) oluliseks pidamine. Keeleküsimused muutusid teisejärguliseks, sest parteipoliitilist mitme-silma-printsiipi ei olnud tarvis enam rakendada ning tekstide mitmekordne läbivaatamine ei olnud ajaliselt võimalik ega otstarbekas. Toimetustes tegeldi lisaks reklaami- ja

turundusosakondade loomisele ka moodsate ajakirjandusžanrite ja tehnoloogiliste uuenduste õppimise (uued küljendus- ja kujundusviisid) ning toimetuse struktuuri ja töökorralduse moderniseerimisega.

- Mitmes toimetuses lausa kaotati keeleteimetaja(te) töökohad. Ajakirjanduslikele tekstidele tehti üksnes korrektuuri. Oli aga ka (kohalike ajalehtede) toimetusi, kus ei olnud isegi korrektoreid. Sisutoimetajatelt eeldati nii keele korrigeerimist kui ka tekstide sisulist toimetamist. Uuenduslikuna palgati mõnes toimetuses väliseeskujude mõjul tekstitoimetajaid või küljetoimetajaid, kes jälgisid lehekülje kujundusele ja üldmuljele lisaks vahel ka ajalehe keelekasutust.
- Alates 2000. aastast on keeleteimetamine eesti ajalehtedes taas tähtsus-
tumas. Toimetustes, kus keeletöötajate kohad kaotati, loodi need uuesti. Samuti hakati mõistma, et on vaja välja kujundada ajalehele spetsiifiline keelestiil (mitmes toimetuses alustati keelestiiliraamatute koostamist).
- Keeleteimetajad nägid endid eelkõige õpetajatena, kes harivad toimetuses oma kolleege ning ajalehe puhta keelekasutuse kaudu ka lugejaid.
- Võib väita, et kuigi välisomanike tuleku ja turu konsentreerumisega hakkasid Eestis ajalehed stabiliseerumise faasi jõudma juba 1990-ndate aastate keskel, jõuti keeleteimetamise osas üldise stabiliseerumise faasi 2005-ndaks aastaks. Alles siis olid toimetustes kujunenud selleks tööks vajalikud rutiinid. Mitmeski aspektis (nagu näiteks keeleteimetamise ja korrektuuri erinevuste mõistmises) ei olnud siiski veel leitud keeleteimetajaid rahuldavat ega lugejateväärilist lahendust.

Uurimus II järel dustena võib välja tuua järgmist:

- Enamikes eesti ajalehtedes ei ole keelestiil aastaks 2005 kirjalikult reguleeritud, rääkimata (angloameerika) traditsiooniliste stiiliraamatute loomisest. Võib muidugi diskuteerida, kas selliseid kogusid ongi vaja välja töötada: eesti ajalehed on väikesed ning raha, aega ja inimesi napib. Ehk piisab vaid sellest, et keeleteimetajad ja korrektorid teavad, kuidas konkreetses väljaandes asju aetakse (olgu siis stiiliraamatu või ÕS-i järgi). Ajalehtede keeleteimetajad on kõik pikaage se töökogemusega ning mitme lehe keelestiil on seal töötava kogenud toimetaja nägu. Samal ajal sätestavad angloameerika ajakirjandustraditsiooni stiiliraamatud lisaks keeleküsimumste ka laia skaala muid lehes reeglistamist vajavaid teemasid ning need kogud on mõeldud toimetustes kõigile kasutamiseks. Nii sunnivad stiiliraamatud ajalehtedele peale kõrge kvalifikatsiooniga polüfunktsionaalse toimetaja mudeli. Toimetamistö käib ühtsetel alustel, ei teki vigu ning lehe identiteet ja suunitlus on väga selged. Stiiliraamat annab aluse kogu toimetamiskontseptsioonile ja -kultuurile.

Kirjeldatud toimetamismudel erineb eesti ajalehtede toimetamismudelist suu-
rest, sest meil on sisulise ja keelelise toimetamistö eri etapid enamasti lahus. Samal ajal ei tegele tekstitoimetajad enamasti korrektuuriga. Keelelise toimetaja

mise töö erinevateks etappideks lahutamine võimaldab aga vastutustühimike tekkimist (on kohti, kus ühe toimetaja vastutus lõpeb ja teise oma pole veel alanud), mis võib omakorda kinnitada, et eesti ajalehtedes ei ole lõpuni läbi mõeldud toimetamiskontseptsiooni. Tehnoloogiliste arengute ajastul (täna) on seetõttu ka keelestiili reeglistamise kontseptsioon veelgi hägustumas.

IV. Ajakirjandusliku- ja reklaammaterjali hübriidiseerumine eesti meedias

Doktoritöö uurimus III keskendus ühele kommertsialiseerumisest tingitud tendentsile analüüsides ajakirjandusliku- ja reklaamidiskursuse hübriidiseerumist ja nimetatud materjalide esitamise vahelise piiri hägustumist, mis on üheks ärihuvidele allutamise tunnuseks.

III uurimuse järel dustena saab välja tuua järgmist:

- Eesti meediate toimetustes olid 2005. aastaks loodud süsteemid reklaammaterjali filtreerimiseks ajakirjanduslikust diskursusest, kuid enamasti ei suuda need süsteemid seista vastu majanduslikule survele.
- Erinevates uudiseorganisatsioonides olid ka erinevad lähenemised sellele, mis on ja mis pole reklaammaterjal ning kas ja millise materjali ajakirjandusliku materjali pähe esitamist tuleks vältida või sallida? Kuna selles küsimuses ei olnud 2005 aastal selgust, tõstati omakorda küsimus, kas ajakirjanduse usaldusväärsus, mis on üks demokraatliku ühiskonna väärtusi, on ikka kaitstud või aitab see selgusetus kaasa veelgi suuremale ärihuvidele allutamisele ja nii lõpuks täielikule piiride kadumisele?
- 2005. aastal oli Eesti meediaturul toimetusi, kus ellujäämine tähendas sisuliselt reklaami- ja toimetusematerjalide lahushoidmise kriteeriumist üle vaatamist.

Uurimuses analüüsiti veel seda, kas toimetuse ajakirjanikud töötavad reklaammaterjalidega või tegeletakse nendega ainult reklaamitoimetustes. Järeldusena toodi välja järgmist:

- Kuigi meediaorganisatsioonid püüdsid neid kahte tööd lahus hoida, tegi 2005. aastal töötajate vähesus ning reklaammaterjalide suurenev maht tegelikkuses ka töötajate baasil kahe teema lahushoidmise keeruliseks või lausa võimatuks. Kindlasti oli see piir väga hägus tarbijauudiste ajakirjanike töös.

Kokkuvõttes leiti uurimuses, et mitteaktsepteeritava reklaammaterjali defineerimine ja selge piiri tõmbamine meedia kontekstis oli keeruline. Piir hägustub ka 2005. aastast alates järjest enam. Sellele aitavad kaasa järgmised tegurid:

- Uudiste ja informatsiooni kogumise kulud on väga suured. Toimetused vajavad reklaamiraha ellu jäämiseks ning seepärast on välja töötatud strateegiad, kuidas reklaammaterjali ajakirjandusliku pähe pakkuda.

- Kontrollimehhanisme, vastavat seadusandlust, eetikakoodeksit või lihtsalt head ajakirjandustava eiratakse või tõlgendatakse valesti.

Võib öelda, et piir ajakirjanduse ja reklaammaterjali vahel on definitsiooni ja eesmärki kaotamas. Auditooriumil on keerukas eraldada kahte erinevat materjali, kuna hübriidiseeritud materjali pakutakse kõikvõimalikul kujul, erinevates kanalites, formaatides ja väljaannetes.

PUBLICATIONS

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Kertu Saks
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Education

Tartu University, 1998, Magister Artium, journalism.
Tartu University, 1996, Baccalaureus Artium, English language and literature.
In addition, short non-degree courses in media economy (Swedish School of Economics, Helsinki) and newspaper organisation (University of Oslo and Oslo School of Journalism grant for additional training – research methods for doctoral studies and Norwegian print media), etc.

Language skills

Estonian	native language
English	excellent in speech and writing
Russian	medium level in speech and writing
Finnish	medium level in speech and writing

Professional employment

2009–present	Member of the Board, Tallinn Technology and Science Centre
2009–present	Director, Energy Discovery Centre
2006–2009	Estonian Social Fund Chief Specialist, Labour Market Board
2005–2006	Project manager of EQUAL programme European seminar, Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs
2003–2007	Department of General and Practical Linguistics visiting lecturer in practical journalism, University of Tallinn
2003	Trainer of European Social Fund consultants, Estonian Ministry of Finance
2003–2005	European Social Fund coordination manager, Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs
1998–2003	Director of Tallinn Technology and Science Centre
1996–1998	Assistant, Estonian Media Centre
1996–1998	Editor, <i>Eesti Päevaleht</i>
1993–1994	Editor/translator, Kanal 2
1989–1990	English teacher, Vanalinna Primary School

Academic activities

Main research areas:

Journalism research; media organisation; the changes in newspaper organisation and product; newspapers during the transition; newspaper editing; newspaper editing culture; newspaper editing regulations and norms; newspaper language and style editing.

Additional:

- 1996 Editing the translation of Erik Wilberg's *Strategic Planning in the Newspaper* 1995 edition
- 1998–2002 Part translation of Dennis McQuail's *Masscommunication Theory* 1994 edition

Membership of professional organisations

- Member of the Estonian Press Council 2004–2006
- Member of the Council of Tallinn Technology and Science Centre 2003–2009
- Member of the Estonian European Movement 2002–present
- Member of Estonian Media Educators' Unions 2010–present
- Member of the Estonian Academic Journalism Union 2010–present

Additional publications related to the PhD thesis

Saks, K. (1999). Changes in Newspaper Organisation and Language and Style Regulation (Eesti ajalehtede toimetamise korraldusest ja keelestiili regulatsioonist) in Harro, H. (Ed.), *Meediaorganisatsioon II*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

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Haridus

Tartu Ülikool, 1998, Magister Artium, ajakirjandus
Tart Ülikool, 1996, Baccalaureus Artium, inglise keel ja kirjandus
Lisaks lühikursused meedia majanduse (Swedish School of Economics, Helsingi) ja ajalehe organisatsiooni teemadel (Oslo Ülikooli ja Oslo ajakirjanduskooli stipendium täiendkoolituseks – doktoritöö uurimismeetodid ja Norra trükimeedia) jm.

Keelteoskus

Eesti keel	emakeel
Inglise keel	kõrgtase nii kõnes kui kirjas
Vene keel	kesktase nii kõnes kui kirjas
Soome keel	kesktase nii kõnes kui kirjas

Teenistuskäik

2009–tänaseni	juhatuse liige, SA Tallinna Tehnika- ja Teaduskeskus
2009–tänaseni	juhataja, Energia avastuskeskus
2006–2009	ESF osakonna peaspetsialist, Tööturuamet
2005–2006	EQUAL programmi üle-Euroopalise seminari projektijuht, Sotsiaalministeerium
2003–2007	Üld- ja rakenduslingvistika õppetooli praktilise ajakirjanduse külalislektor, Tallinna Ülikool.
2003	ESF konsultantide koolitaja, Rahandusministeerium
2003–2005	ESF koordinaatorijuht, Sotsiaalministeerium
1998–2003	Sihtasutuse juhataja, SA Tallinna Tehnika- ja Teaduskeskus, Energiakeskus
1996–1998	juhataja assistent, Eesti Meediakeskus
1996–1998	toimetaja, Eesti Päevaleht
1993–1994	toimetaja-tõlk, Kanal 2
1989–1990	inglise keele õpetaja, Vanalinna Algkool

Akadeemiline tegevus

Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad:

Ajakirjanduse uurimine; meediaorganisatsioon; ajalehe organisatsiooni ja toote muutused; ajaleht siirdeperioodil; ajalehtede toimetamine; ajalehtede toimetamiskultuur; ajalehe toimetamise korraldus ja normeerimine; ajalehtede keeleteoimetamine.

Lisaks:

- 1996 Erik Wilberg'i "Strategic Planning in the Newspaper" 1995. aasta väljaande tõlke toimetamine
- 1998–2002 Dennis McQuail'i „Massikommuniatsiooni teooria” 1994. aasta väljaande osaline tõlge

Kuulumine erialastesse organisatsioonidesse

Pressinõukogu liige 2004–2006
Tallinna Tehnika- ja Teaduskeskus Energiakeskuse nõukogu liige 2003–2009
Eesti Euroopa Liikumise asutajaliige 2002 – tänaseni
Eesti Meediakoolijate Liidu liige 2010 – tänaseni
Eesti Akadeemilise Ajakirjandusseltsi liige 2010 – tänaseni

Doktoritööga seotud täiendavad publikatsioonid

Saks, K. (1999). Eesti ajalehtede toimetamise korraldusest ja keelestiili regulatsioonist. Harro, H. (toim.), *Meediaorganisatsioon II*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

**DISSERTATIONES
DE MEDIIS ET COMMUNICATIONIBUS
UNIVERSITATIS TARTUENSIS**

1. **Epp Lauk.** Historical and sociological perspectives on the development of Estonian journalism. Tartu, 1997, 184 p.
2. **Triin Vihalemm.** Formation of collective identity among Russophone population of Estonia. Tartu, 1999, 217 p.
3. **Margit Keller.** Representations of consumer culture in Post-Soviet Estonia. Tartu, 2004, 209 p.
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8. **Pille Runnel.** The Transformation of the Internet Usage Practices in Estonia. Tartu, 2009, 223 p.
9. **Tõnu Tender.** Mitmekeelsus Eestis Euroopa Liidu mitmekeelsuse ideaali taustal. Tartu, 2010, 253 lk.
10. **Roosmarii Kurvits.** Eesti ajalehtede välimus 1806–2005. Tartu, 2010, 424 lk.
11. **Kadri Ugur.** Implementation of the concept of media education in the Estonian formal education system. Tartu, 2010, 153 lk.
12. **Barbi Pilvre.** Naiste meediarepresentatsioon Eesti ajakirjanduskultuuri ja ühiskonna kontekstis. Tartu, 2011, 201 p.