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The role of routines, demands and resources in work stress among Estonian journalists

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Institute of Social Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia

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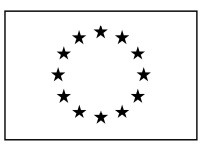

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Study I: is a study fully initiated and designed by the author. The author is fully responsible for the manuscript.

Study II: was initiated and designed by me. The data was collected by a co-author, and the data were analyzed by the co-author and me. I suggested the theoretical approach and most of the theoretical framework was written and edited by me. The discussion was co-written.

Study III: was initiated and designed by me. The data was collected in co-operation with the co-authors. I analyzed the data, set the problem and developed the theoretical framework. The discussion was written with the co-authors.

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"It's not that I'm so smart, it's just that I stay with problems longer."
Albert Einstein

INTRODUCTION

Journalists are the fourth estate, the gatekeepers, the watchdogs: these are the roles that indicate the duty of keeping an eye on different processes in society, exercising the right to ask politicians critical questions, analyzing gathered data, and deciding what kind of information should be disseminated and what should not (Weaver et al. 2009). However, when journalists are burned out or stressed, they might start to feel disengagement from their work (Demerouti et al. 2001a), which could lead to negative attitudes and behavior, as well as becoming distanced from one's work (Bakker, Demerouti, Verbeke 2004). In fact, recent findings of Careercast (2018) suggest that journalism is one of the most stressful occupations in the world. However, when journalists lose deeper interest in their work, in carrying out investigations, in cross-checking facts, or in investigating (political) processes, democracy is seriously threatened. Journalism in different countries and societies is already battling being branded as dispersing misinformation, fake news and poor journalism.

The problems with the quality of news and misinformation have not gone unnoticed by the public. Reuters Institute Digital News Report (2018) indicated that people are "very" or "extremely" concerned about poor journalism, made-up stories or stories where facts are twisted to push an agenda. Additionally, more than half of the global sample (54%) reported a strong concern about what is "fake or real" in online news. Although there are clear cultural differences in the amount of concern readers express about the threat of completely made-up stories, the worry about poor journalism is remarkably high all over the world (Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2018).

The importance of information and the speed at which the information spreads have undergone considerable changes in the last few decades. One error or mistake made by a journalist can be inflated by the speed the information moves at and by the number of people the information reaches. In fact, as argued by Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007, p.43), accuracy is considered to be the basis of news reporting, "upon which everything else builds: context, interpretation, debate, and all of public communication. If the foundation is faulty, everything else is flawed." If a reader finds errors in a text, the trustworthiness and credibility of the outlet and journalist are threatened, as the public expects journalists to deliver accurate news right away and dislikes receiving inaccurate information (Karlsson et al. 2017).

Yet, we must not forget that journalists are human beings. They have to evaluate the newsworthiness of information, cross-check, decide upon the framing, compile news stories, make decisions regarding the editorial process, etc. The quality and trustworthiness of information, as well as avoiding mistakes, thus relies upon the journalist, who needs to be in top form both mentally and physically. However recent studies (Comor and Compton 2015, Harro-Loit & Lauk 2016, Avilés et al. 2004, Reich & Godler 2014) indicate that journalists

around the world are increasingly dissatisfied with the content they produce, and admit to suffering from increased workload and stress.

As a former newspaper journalist in Estonia, a working freelancer and a junior research fellow of practical journalism, I have witnessed the processes described above in Estonian newsrooms for several years. My first-hand experience confirms the findings of different studies (e.g. Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012; Weidmann & Papsdorf 2010) which have found that being a journalist is stressful. By the end of 2017 burnout and stress among Estonian journalists finally became a topic discussed publicly in the Estonian mainstream media (Otsmann n.d., Kuulpak 2017, Ivask 2017 etc).

However, the topic has not triggered much interest in wider academic circles. Scott Reinardy is the leading scholar on the topic of burnout among journalists (2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013a, 2013b etc). Reinardy and other researchers (e.g. Cook & Banks 1993; Cook, Banks & Turner 1993; Jung and Kim 2012) have mainly used the Maslach Burnout Inventory, which provides quantitative evidence of an increase in the problem. Studies on traumatic stress, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and exposure to traumatic events among journalists also mostly rely on quantitative methods (Monteiro, Pinto & Roberto, 2016). In this dissertation, my interest does not lie in traumatic events, PTSD, depression etc., but rather in qualitatively exploring (**Studies II** and **III**) how journalists cope with changes that occur in the newsroom and in their everyday work. In fact, I aim to offer a unique overview of demands, i.e. "physical, psychological, social, or organizational facets of work that require constant physical and/or psychological (cognitive and emotional) exertion or skills, which are linked to physical or mental cost" (Bakker & Demerouti 2007, p. 312), and resources, i.e. tools provided by the workplace to help to carry out tasks (Xanthopoulou et al., 2007), in the daily work of journalists. In doing so, I make use of a psychological approach (i.e. the Job Demand-Resource theory) to frame the positive and negative aspects of journalists' work and how these aspects can influence that work.

Secondly, in the context of this thesis, I also aim to develop and update the idea, originating from news sociology, that routines in the news production process help to avoid stretching the resources of journalists. I make use of Konow Lund & Olsson's (2016, p. 360) ideas, which define routines as "shortcuts" that rely on professional ideals and standards; they help journalists to remain oriented and maintain control and stability in different (critical) situations, and therefore gather and bring information to the audience.

Thirdly, another aspect of journalistic work that has not been intensely studied is feedback and feed-forward provided in newsrooms. According to Goldsmith (2003), feedback focuses on providing information on something that happened in the past, while feed-forward is aimed at learning from the present situation, obtaining information from it and focusing on the future (Chapter 1.3). Previous research on the topic has mainly dealt with coaching (which includes providing feedback) among journalism students (McKeen & Bleske 1992), or among reporters and editors (Clark & Fry 1992, 2003). The

most recent study on professional feedback among journalists in the wider community was compiled by Lauk et al. (2014). However, in this dissertation my aim is to focus on the feedback provided inside the newsroom by editors to reporters.

In short, **the aim of this dissertation is to map out the demands and resources that Estonian journalists experience in the news production process.** In this dissertation, I also **explore journalists' routines in Estonian newspaper newsrooms** and I intend to investigate feedback/feed-forward.

Based on the original studies, the specific research questions of this dissertation are as follows:

I. What are the job resources of and demands on journalists? (**Study I** and **Study II**)
II. What kind of routines do journalists have in the news production process? (**Study II** and **Study III**)
III. How do journalists receive feedback and feed-forward in the newsroom? (**Study II** and **Study III**)

Study I provides information on the perception of demands and resources among print, online and converged newsroom journalists in Estonia, who have either considered or are hesitant about leaving the field.

Study II was designed to look in detail at a period of increased stress for journalists. Sports journalists, who work mainly for a newspaper, were studied during the Olympic Games. The aim of the study was to observe their news production process and to analyze journalists' perceptions about the resources and demands of the job during a period of increased workload. Follow-up interviews with the sports journalists provided additional data to enable me to analyze journalists' perceptions of the period of the Olympics and their ways of managing stress at the time.

Study III observed the practices and routines of newspaper journalists in the news production process. My main interest was in analyzing what kind of time-efficient and time-consuming practices the journalists used. Based on the observations, the journalists fell into two groups: older, more experienced journalists, and younger, less experienced ones. Two follow-up focus-group interviews were carried out with the younger, less experienced journalists and were analyzed from the time management perspective.

The structure of the dissertation is as follows: Chapter one provides the theoretical framework and context for the dissertation; Chapter two is devoted to explaining the data collection, analysis procedure and sample. The third chapter consists of a presentation of the main findings and a discussion that provides a deeper analysis of the results. There are concluding remarks, and summaries in Estonian and English at the end of the dissertation.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The first time "stress" as a term was used in psychological research was by Selye in 1936. Since the first mention of the term, there have been discussions of what the term means and how it should be defined and researched (Levi 1998). The term has different definitions depending on the theoretical approaches and disciplines that it is used in (e.g. psychological approaches (e.g. social psychology and neuropsychology), biological (how organs/organisms react to stressors/stress), sociological, human resource management (competencies and skills), ethical and approaches involving the moral reasoning perspective or political economy).

In previous studies of journalists, it has been shown that the job has many stressors: deadlines, unpredictable sources, conflicts that need covering etc. (Reinardy 2006; Cook and Banks 1993), and therefore some of the studies claim that journalism is a stressful occupation by nature (e.g. Monteiro, Pinto & Roberto 2016; Reinardy 2006, p.400). In this dissertation, stress is defined psychologically, and the reasons for the occurrence of stress are explained from both the psychological and sociological perspectives.

Overall, when I use the term "stress" in this dissertation, I am referring to a negative psychological and/or physiological reaction to the stressors of work or demands of work that cannot be fulfilled due to a lack of resources. In this dissertation, I have mainly focused on finding the sources of stress, and less on describing in detail the physical reactions to stressors and/or stress.

Another key term in this dissertation is "burnout". It is a term that was first used in scientific research by Freudenberger (1974) in his study of volunteers at a free clinic. His research indicated that burned-out people were exhausted, had different health problems (e.g. headaches and stomach problems), experienced insomnia etc. (Freudenberger 1974). After the study, the term started evolving and developing different conceptualizations.

The next notable researcher in burnout studies was the psychologist Christine Maslach, who was the main author of the instrument that measures the severity of burnout quantitatively: the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) (Maslach & Jackson, 1981). According to Maslach, Schaufeli and Leiter (2001, p. 397), burnout has three different symptoms: high levels of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced feelings of work-related personal accomplishment. MBIs are generated to investigate and measure these symptoms among workers.

Maslach and her co-authors' definition is one of the most used in the field, because it is a systematic approach to a syndrome that has yet to be recognized as a psychological condition. As with any other methods and/or definitions, Maslach and her co-authors have been involved in critical discussions of whether or not their approach is valid or useful (e.g. Schaufeli and Taris 2005). The problem lies in the fact that there is a lack of research and explanation among scholars (Maslach and other researchers included) of the similarities and

differences between burnout, depression, stress, alienation, frustration and anxiety (Hallsten 2017, Shirom 1989). Therefore, how can researchers be sure that they are studying burnout not depression, frustration, anxiety etc.? Yet, these conditions are similar to burnout and also involve the symptoms a person suffering from burnout might be experiencing. Regardless of the criticism, I make use of Maslach's and her co-authors' definition in this dissertation because it is a simple concept that has been used many times throughout the years, including among journalism researchers, such as Reinardy (e.g. 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011), and it provides uniformity and comparability in the field. Additionally, there is a lack of new approaches that have been tested and approved by researchers.

Stress and burnout studies are usually connected to psychology, as the instruments of how to measure the severity of the phenomenon of stress/burnout have grown out of that field. In the context of journalists' stress and burnout, the topic has also been explored from the viewpoints of the sociology of news production and news sociology, although in recent years the topic has been under-researched.

I also make use of a psychological approach to explain different demands and resources of journalists' work and the consequences of stress and burnout. Relying on Pines and Aronson's (1988) definitions of stress and burnout (that these phenomenon can be investigated on the intrapersonal, interpersonal or organizational level), this dissertation does not deal with intrapersonal issues, but with interpersonal and organizational issues.

As "chronic interpersonal stressors on the job" cause burnout (Maslach and Leiter 2016, p.103), a deeper investigation of intrapersonal communication is left out of this dissertation. The necessity of approaching studies on the interpersonal and organizational levels is due to several factors. Firstly, the intrapersonal approach limits the number of people that can be researched, because it involves a more individual and deeper psychological approach. It also leads to the question of how much the results can be generalized. Secondly, as media companies provide working environments and job demands, I believe it is important to investigate the organizational aspects that directly affect journalists and can cause stress and burnout.

For the above-mentioned reasons, I have chosen to approach the issue from the interpersonal and organizational levels, as such an approach enables me to draw conclusions on a more general level and offer solutions that might have effects not only on overall media policies but hopefully also on work in newsrooms.

The first sub-chapter (1.1) of this theoretical framework explains different aspects of work that can influence the worker in either a positive or a negative way and can be seen as the consequences of long-term negative stress. The sociology of news production helps to frame some of the characteristics of the creative process of news production and the role of routines. Chapter 1.1.1 is divided into two parts, because not all of the newspaper newsrooms in Estonia had officially converged when I carried out the studies.

Chapter 1.2 aims to explain the overall changing nature of work and influences of the information age on the process. Sub-chapter 1.3 provides definitions and empirical evidence of two resources at a workplace: feedback and feedforward, which can help to lessen the stress of journalists and help them adapt to changes in the workplace and in work flow. The last sub-chapter (1.4) provides context for the study and an overview of Estonian newsrooms and journalists.

1.1 Job demand-resource (JD-R) model, burnout and stress

In order to conceptualize and map out different aspects of work that influence the worker, I use the job demand-resource model (Bakker et al. 2001) in this dissertation, as it not only maps out different aspects that influence the worker, but also enhances our understanding of the possible reactions to an imbalance of resources and demands (Figure 1). In other words, the model provides insight into the different (both positive and negative) aspects of work, and how these might influence the journalist and his/her behavior, working strategies (etc.).

The Job Demand-Resource model (JD-R), created by Evangelina Demerouti, Arnold Bakker, Friedhelm Nachreiner and Wilmar Schaufeli (2001b), is based on the assumption that work conditions contain both demands and resources that affect the worker (Bakker & Demerouti 2007), meaning that the worker not only faces challenges, but also has resources to overcome these challenges. In this context, "working conditions" (ILO n.d.) refers to either physical (e.g. salary, work hours and free time) or mental (e.g. social relationships with supervisors and colleagues, office atmosphere and work autonomy under which the worker carries out the tasks (Lo 2012)) organizational conditions.

The JD-R model grew out of three different models: the conservation of resources model (by Hobfoll 2001), the effort-reward imbalance model (by Siegrist 1996) and the demand-control model (by Karasek 1979). These models tend to focus on the intrapersonal side, while excluding some working conditions and putting a great deal of emphasis on job position (Bakker & Demerouti 2007). In comparison to other models, the JD-R model is more general, making it suitable for analyzing different fields and positions (ibid). Additionally, JD-R is not based on only one or the other aspect of work (resource or demand), but it takes into account both of them in a compact and systematic manner.

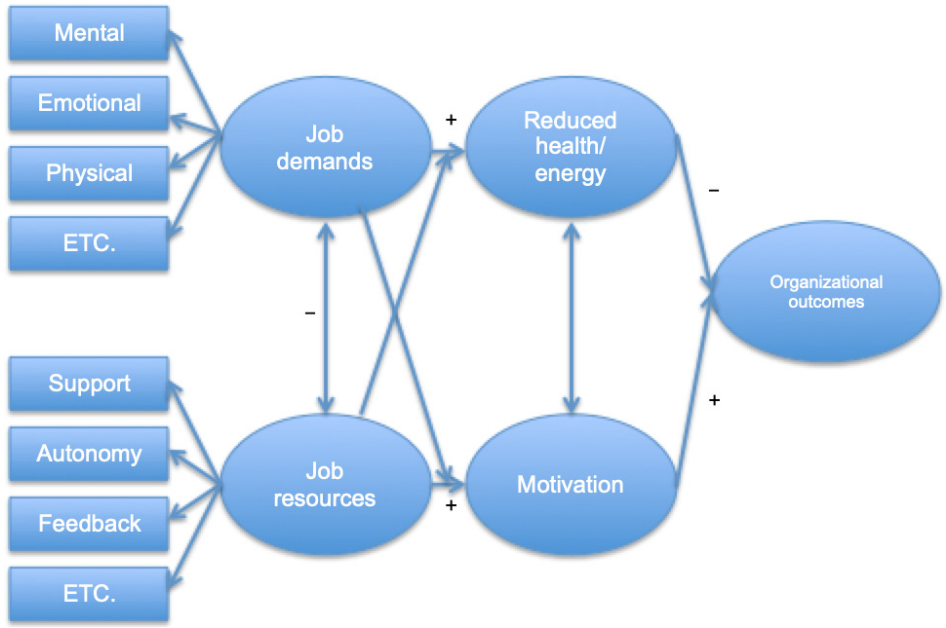

Figure 1. Job Demands-Resources model (Bakker & Demerouti 2007, p. 313). Figure created by the author.

Moving on to the model itself, it is necessary to first explain "demands" and "resources". Bakker & Demerouti (2007, p.312) define demands as "physical, psychological, social, or organizational facets of work that require constant physical and/or psychological (cognitive and emotional) exertion or skills, which are linked to physical or mental cost" (Bakker & Demerouti 2007, p.312). Some demands, for instance work pressure, emotional demands and role ambiguity (ibid), can be caused by task diversification. For example, in present-day newsrooms the journalist may be expected to be a reporter, videographer and photographer at the same time; or a reporter may be expected to also be an editor. It is also important to differentiate between work tasks and job demands; the former refers to the assignments the worker is expected to carry out at the workplace; the latter refers to the aspects that influence carrying out the tasks, e.g. "role overload, interpersonal conflict and job insecurity" (Schaufeli and Taris 2014, p.45), which are connected to negative aspects that affect carrying out tasks.

In order to carry out tasks, job resources need to be provided by the work-place. Bakker and Demerouti (2007, p.312–313) state that job resources may be "located at the level of the organization at large (e.g. pay, career opportunities and job security), the interpersonal and social relations (e.g. supervisor and co-worker's support, and team climate), the organization of work (e.g. role clarity and participation in decision making), and at the level of the task (e.g. skill

variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy and performance feedback)." In short, job resources must have a motivational function as they need to help workers to be more efficient in their work and reduce the influence of (physiological and/or psychological) loss that is caused by job demands (Xanthopoulou et al., 2007).

In addition to job resources, the authors of the model also emphasize the importance of personal resources, i.e. "aspects of the self that are generally linked to resiliency" (Hobfoll, Johnson, Ennis, & Jackson 2003, p.632). In short, these resources e.g. "self-efficacy, organizational-based self-esteem, and optimism" (Xanthopoulou et al. 2007, p.121) exist within the individual and enable the worker to manage stressful situations so that the worker can avoid the accumulation of stress (ibid). But it has to be taken into account that an individual reacts to stressors depending on personality, experience and values (Reinardy 2011, p.37). For example, for some journalists stress can create a negative feeling towards work, while for others it might impact creativity (Herbert 2016, p.33). Although in this dissertation the focus will be on job resources, I acknowledge the importance of personal resources for the news production process, especially in the context of stress avoidance.

The JD-R model indicates that employees are at risk of stress and burnout if demands exceed resources (Schaufeli & Taris 2014). Job demands are usually connected to one aspect of burnout: exhaustion (Demerouti et al. 2001b). This means that if job demands outweigh resources, employee feel the strain of reaching a goal and this can have negative physiological and psychological effects (e.g. cause exhaustion) (Schaufeli & Taris 2014). In order for the employee to recover from exertion, time is needed; otherwise one will face (an accumulation of) stress, which can lead to burnout (ibid). In this dissertation, I do not focus so much on how to strengthen resources or what kind of strategies to use, but on how to provide enough resources for the worker ahead of time before he/she starts dealing with demands.

If the worker reaches the point of overwhelming exhaustion, he/she might face job burnout, which is a prolonged response to chronic emotional and interpersonal stressors of the job, and is defined by three dimensions: exhaustion, cynicism, and inefficacy (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter 2001, p.397). Burnout is connected to problems with (mental) health (ibid, p.406), satisfaction with work and commitment (Cook & Banks 1993, Maslach & Florian 1988, p.91; Maslach and Leiter 1997). From the individual's point of view, burnout is a serious condition which has a severe effect on a person who is dealing with it. As the symptoms are very similar to depression and anxiety, a burned-out person might suffer from insomnia, eating disorders or cynicism, and show signs of depersonalization, or suffer from severe headaches and emotional instability (Embriaco et al., 2007, Maslach and Jackson 1981). People who suffer from burnout might lose interest in work and also have serious health problems. All of the above can lead to the person leaving a job (Maslach et al. 2001, p.401; Reinardy 2009, p.45; Cook & Banks 1993; Weber & Jaekel-Reinhard 2000; O'Donnell 2016; Cheng & Chan 2008), which in the context of journalism could mean the

movement of journalists between different newsrooms, or professional journalists who value the watchdog or goalkeeper role in the society might start leaving the field, which again might have an undermining effect on journalism.

There are stressors that are inherent to the journalistic profession, for example deadlines, competition to get scoops and attention, communication with (emotional) sources, and conflicts inside the newsroom with colleagues or with sources (Reinardy 2006, p.400). In the worst-case scenario, a journalist could be influenced both by stressors and demands of work. As JD-R indicates, this could lead to having serious mental and physical problems. Suffering from extended stress can lead to exhaustion, job dissatisfaction, mood swings, addictions and burnout (Maslach & Jackson 1981, p.100).

Research shows that reporters, especially younger, less experienced reporters (Cook & Banks 1993, p.114; Reinardy 2011, 2013a, Cook et al. 1993, Smith et al. 2016), more than anyone else in the newsroom, are in danger of burning out (Jung & Kim 2012). Young reporters often start out very optimistic and enthusiastic, which means they work too much, relax too little, get used to the norms and standards of the newsroom, experience negative feedback from the public and unpleasant topics or sources, and are incapable of time management (ibid, **Study III**). In comparison to younger journalists, older journalists have developed strategies to cope with stress in the newsroom, as they are the ones who have survived the struggles of the novice years (Cook & Banks 1993). Those who felt that the job was burning them out might have left the field during their early years there (ibid). Although stress is considered to be an inevitable part of a journalist's work (Reinardy 2013a, p.9), sharing problems in the newsroom is not that common as there is a lack of opportunities to do so: colleagues are engaged in their own work and confiding in a managing editor could lead to the loss of the job (Simpson & Boggs 1999, p.3). In Estonia, the question of how many young journalists reach the state of burning out is still unanswered. As young workers have opportunities to change their field or move from one newsroom to another, it seems that they have more opportunities to avoid being burned out. This leads to the question of how many professional journalists we would have in the future if young journalists stepped away from the profession because of over-exhaustion.

The fact that journalism is a stressful occupation is not news: this has been studied before and the fact that society changes and technology changes has been discussed at length. Research in journalism and among journalists has tried to map out and show the changes in newsrooms and among journalists, and has examined the problems of journalists in the newsroom (Ekdale et al. 2015), but less focus has been placed on solutions (e.g. Deuze & Witscghe 2017). I think that JD-R helps not only to determine the demands, but also the resources that can offer solutions to some of the problems that journalists face.

1.1.1 Demands and resources of journalists in the news production process

In order to map out the resources and demands in journalists' work, it is necessary to describe the news production process first, as it provides a basis for analysis. It is necessary to describe what journalists do in the process of producing news so that we can pinpoint the demands and resources. This analysis also helps to reveal some of the resources and demands that have not yet been considered to be a part of the journalist's work, both empirically and theoretically, so that research carried out for this dissertation can be placed in context.

In talking about news production, there are many perspectives from which to look at the process. From the perspective of news sociology, news is said to be "a product of journalistic activity of publicizing" (Schudson 2003, p.12), which relies on routines (Tuchman 1978; Berkowitz 1997) or on the "journalistic work process" in which the mental processing of information and knowledge occurs (Picard 2000, p.100). These are somewhat general definitions of the news production process, leaving out different workers in the newsroom who are usually included in the process (for example editors, senior editors and/or editors-in-chief, who sort and examine the news before disseminating it to the audience, but who do not necessarily intervene in the process [Gans 2003]). In my studies, I differentiate between different positions.

These definitions also leave out the characteristics of different fields. For example, as **Study II** is about sports journalists, it is important to explain that although it is said that a sports journalist's work does not involve covering conflicts or fulfilling watchdog duties (Rowe 2007), their work often occurs at night, and on weekends and holidays. Additionally, they have to interview winners as well as losers, which means carrying work out in emotionally loaded situations, which can lead to conflicts with fans (Reinardy 2006). But all in all it could be said that producing news follows the same norms and expectations regardless of the field, as news is information presented in a concrete form (Schudson 2003).

Because there is a lack of one overall model for describing the news production process, I created a model (Figure 2). The model relies on three different authors (Van Dijk 1988, Doyle 2006 and Vang 2007) and was created to help to explain the overall process and what occurs during it.

The news production process relies both on the journalist and on the newsroom (Figure 2). Finding the topic/news and interpretation is usually the responsibility of the journalist, but deciding whether or not the news should be disseminated in a newspaper is the responsibility of editors (e.g. the editor-in-chief or supervising editors). The production then is carried out by journalists, who decide how to gather, select, analyze and present the information. The editors can intervene in this process by recommending sources or the focus of the news. Lastly, designers and editors work on designing the newspaper and afterwards it is printed and disseminated.

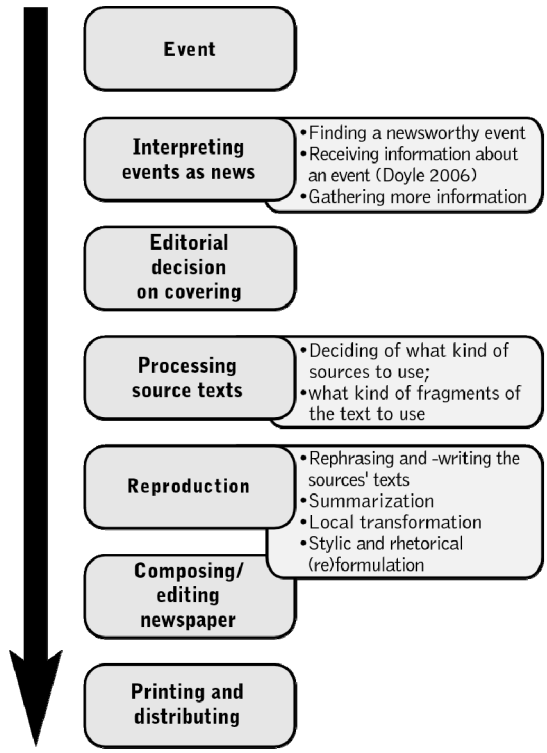

Figure 2. News production process in a newspaper based on Van Dijk (1988), Doyle (2006) and Vang (2007). Figure created by the author.

The process of news production might be influenced by deadline pressure, editors or supervisors editing the text or exerting pressure to finish it on time, the availability of key source(s), aggressive or resistant sources etc. The autonomy in deciding what to choose as a topic, how to present the news and which sources to use can be considered a resource (Demerouti et al. 2001b), because the journalist is in charge of the decision making. On the other hand, if the editors intervene in the process of creating the news (as is true with younger, less experienced journalists [**Study III**]), then that autonomy is diminished and the feeling of being supervised can be perceived as a demand.

Researchers categorize news production as a creative process (Fulton & McIntire 2013), and Figure 2 illustrates this. Journalistic activity relies on creative practices in storytelling and project managing (Deuze 2007), which means that journalists use different creative approaches in processing and delivering information. This is thought to be one of the resources of the work as well: having an opportunity to be creative.

Yet, the work of a journalist is always somewhat routinized (e.g. the process of collecting information, following the norms and standards of the newsroom etc.), making the process more predictable, which is necessary for the stability

of newsrooms and media organizations (von Rimscha 2015, Hackett and Gruneau 2000, Tuchman 1978, 1997, Witschge & Nygren 2009). For example, a newspaper cannot be published with empty pages, and predictability helps to create strategies to avoid this. Routines also help journalists to structure the work they do daily. So routines cannot be neglected when analyzing the possible resources for the journalist in the news production process.

To illustrate the importance of routines, unexpected situations are often overcome by relying on routines (Konow Lund & Olsson 2016, Berkowitz 1997). Unexpected events are newsworthy disruptive events that occur in the world (Tuchman 1997, p.174). They can be disasters or other exceptional events that journalists face and that can be considered inseparable from their work (ibid). They can also be events that influence the journalist directly (e.g. attacks on newsrooms), causing an unexpected situation for journalists, who still have to carry out their work (Konow Lund & Olsson 2016).

Routines can be connected to experience, which provides the journalist with the information on how to behave in certain situations. In order to deal with non-routine news events, the journalist needs to determine the scope and predict the resources from everyday work that are required to create the news (Berkowitz 1997, p.363). This action provides the journalist with a "game plan" for acting in a new situation, but also requires the journalist to stretch resources (time, personnel, equipment etc) (ibid, p.364). The more experience the journalist has, the more knowledge the journalist has to rely on.

As stated above, resources can be divided into two parts: personal and job resources. In journalistic work, routines and experience are personal resources the journalist has that help to cope with unexpected situations or non-routine news (Konow Lund & Olsson 2016), because journalists rely on their "mental catalogue of news themes" (Berkowitz 1997, p. 363). In this sense, it can be said that younger, less experienced journalists, who are still developing their routines of news production in the newsroom, might face what they would describe as "non-routine" situations more often than older, more experienced journalists, and therefore suffer from stress caused by inexperience.

1.1.2 Resources and demands in a converged news production

As many traditional newsrooms have converged, there are new tasks (Dupagne & Garrison 2006) and demands, as well as resources. To put it simply, the aim of the news production in a converged newsroom is to produce news regardless of the medium. Convergence has made this process diversified and multilayered for a journalist, as different production processes can occur in parallel (Saltzis & Dickinson 2008, Figure 3). In fact, scholars claim that convergence in newsrooms has diversified the work of journalists and increased their workload, leading to speeding up the pace of tasks (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski 2009, p.568; Harro-Loit & Lauk 2016) and more exhaustion (Comor and Compton 2015). The fact that much of the news production nowadays happens in con-

verged newsrooms also means that the basis for analyzing journalists' resources and demands has diversified. Although the main task (to produce and distribute news) has remained basically the same as in the traditional newsroom, the production process in a converged newsroom is multilayered (Figure 3).

As there is a lack of an overall model of (a) news production process(es) in a converged newsroom, I have created a model (Figure 3) by relying on different authors who have described the process. The model presents the news production process in a converged newsroom and the dilemmas that multilayered media have brought about.

The rhythm of work in a converged newsroom is something that needs to be considered. As print news has certain deadlines after which the news is printed and distributed, the nature of online news provides the opportunity to constantly edit, renew or supplement information that has been presented. This provides the journalist with the opportunity to move between the last two phases in the news production process (Figure 3), creating a never-ending circle.

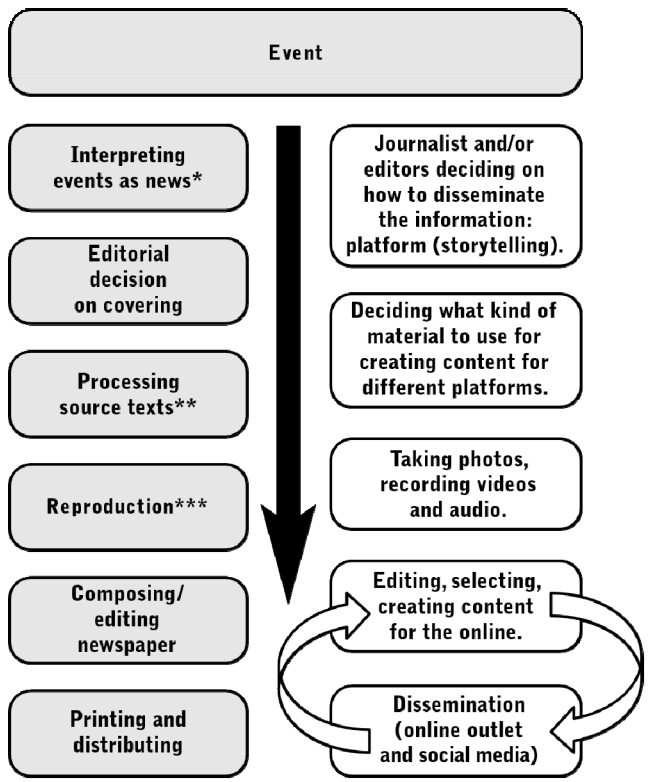

Figure 3. News production process in a converged newsroom based on Van Dijk (1988), Doyle (2006), Vang (2007), Saltzis & Dickinson (2008), and Boczkowski (2005). Figure created by the author.

An online platform can be considered a resource from the audience perspective because diverse content can be disseminated on it (videos, text, photos etc), yet from the journalists' point of view it is just another medium to spread information on. The increased workload and not being able to focus on only one medium form job demands. On the other hand, working online might be perceived as a resource by the journalist, because online news provides room for creativity by offering a variety of opportunities and tools for storytelling. Yet, if a journalist does not have enough time to be creative (because of the increased workload), then one of the job resources is under threat.

Other resources from the audience's point of view are immediacy and interactivity, but as research has demonstrated, journalists do not take full advantage of those aspects and they do not utilize the characteristics of the medium (Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2005; Deuze 2003; Quinn 2005). Again, as dealing with interactivity (communicating with sources, reading comments etc.) takes up a lot of time, which is already scarce due to the increased workload, the journalist neglects it.

Interactivity and immediacy exist theoretically, but in reality there is no time to use them to the fullest, which means that some resources are underused by journalists.

In a converged newsroom, there might be issues of new and old work tasks piling up and forming a big bundle of different and diverse tasks (Saltzis & Dickinson 2008; Figure 3). This means that the journalist has to be able to juggle different tasks (both in the traditional medium and in the new media), and choose what, how and when to do various things (Boczkowski 2005; **Study II**; Ternes et al. 2018). Journalists may view this as offering autonomy, because the journalist makes the decisions in the converged newsroom about what kind of content to produce and on what platform to disseminate it. But it can also be viewed as a job demand, because this accumulation of different tasks can lead to work overload (Sales 1970). This, in turn, means that an employee has a lot of obligations and is not able to fulfill them during the time provided. There may also be role ambiguity, which means that there is insufficient explanation of the tasks and what is expected of the worker (Rizzo et al. 1970).

This is where the description of the journalists' role in society can be considered a personal resource for the journalist, because these core values and norms help to clarify the role of watchdog. If this resource (which can be considered to be the aim of the work as well) is threatened, journalists might face role conflict. This means that a worker has different roles with different demands and at a certain point these demands conflict with each other (Kahn et al. 1964). For example, the role of the watchdog may be in conflict with having to publish content that attracts the most attention online (generating profit for the media organization). The journalist might not think about what is newsworthy and worth disseminating, but make decisions based on what has attracted the most attention online (Blom & Hansen 2015; Tandoc Jr 2014; Picard 2005). So the journalist is not acting as a watchdog anymore, but as a

content producer who disseminates different pieces of information without deep consideration and analysis.

Having these kinds of problems with role perception at a workplace is connected to stress (Kahn et al. 1964; Bedeian and Armenakis 1981) and job insecurity (Safaria et al. 2011). These reactions can affect the performance ability or motivation of the journalist to produce quality content, adapt to changes in the newsroom or work as a journalist at all (Ekdale et al. 2015). As there might also be a lack of routines which help journalists to overcome unexpected situations, journalists are in the midst of precarious conditions in the newsroom (Deuze & Witschge 2017) and in this case the availability of resources is especially important.

Routines can be considered personal resources for journalists in a news production process in print media newsroom, as well as for the media organization, because they provide predictability and efficiency. But the same journalists with routines that developed in print media newsroom could have problems in a converged newsroom. Because of the changing nature of the tasks and conditions in the newsroom, old routines that developed in a traditional newsroom might not be practicable anymore, because new media require new approaches. Taking this into account, professional routines that are personal resources for the journalist that help to avoid overwhelming stress, job insecurity and role ambiguity or overload might not have developed yet.

Other issues that indicate confusion in the newsroom and the lack of helpful routines are the battle between traditional principles and new demands of the newsroom. Schudson (2003) emphasized the role journalists and editors have in making decisions about which information reaches a wider audience, but in online news considerations of newsworthiness and maintaining quality are often neglected (Paterson 2008).

Decisions about what is newsworthy and how it should be presented could be taken away from the journalist in online news production. Editorial decisions are influenced by web analytics (what kind of news gets the most attention), shareability on social media, monetizing and click baits (Blom & Hansen 2015; Tandoc Jr 2014; Picard 2005). This also means that the resource of autonomy diminishes, as journalists' decision making is not only influenced by the role of the watchdog, but the profitability of content as well. Journalists and media workers are made aware of and responsible for how the media company is doing financially, so they have to think about creating content from the technological and the economic perspectives (Örnebring 2009). Boczkowski (2005, p.123) calls this "de-reification of media options": the journalist has to decide on what medium and how to present the news in a converged newsroom, which gives the impression of autonomy, but is strongly affected by the responsibility of making economically beneficial decisions.

The media company has organizational standards, routines and goals and the journalist has occupational professionalism, which consists of values, norms and identity (Örnebring 2009). These two aspects can conflict with each other. From the economic point of view, media company owners create new tasks for

journalists that rely on economic aspects; journalists, on the other hand, have their professional values. So journalists are in a position where they need to follow both their occupational professionalism and fulfill the expectations of the company, which are mainly profit-driven.

Different media having different tasks, and journalists having to make business decisions while producing news create a new context in the newsroom and new conditions that journalists operate and produce news in. We are now talking about changes that affect the core principals of journalism and the role of the journalist in society.

1.2 The changing nature of work

Change is the overarching term to describe what has happened to newsrooms, the news production process and journalists, as indicated in the previous chapter. Looking at the wider picture, the tasks in the newsroom are directly influenced by the changes that have occurred during the information age, "a historical period in which human societies perform their activities in a technological paradigm constituted around microelectronics-based information/ communication technologies, and genetic engineering" (Castells 2000, p.5–6). This means that information technology has begun to play an important role in production. But, according to Castells, technological production cannot exist without human activity (Castells 2000, p.8). Thus, technology influences the production process and the process influences the development (or the need for development) of technology and/or practices.

Castells (2000) argues that knowledge and information are not at the center of the network society, nor are they something new: both existed earlier. What are new are information technologies and the use of them to tighten and improve the production of knowledge and information. Therefore, skills in using information technology and adapting to the new technological demands need to be analyzed.

Castells (2000, p.12) discusses adaptation to the new paradigm, calling those who are able to survive in the job market "self-programmable labour" and others "generic labour". The difference is that self-programmable laborers are capable of redefining themselves; they can adapt to new tasks, new processes and sources of information (ibid). Generic laborers, on the other hand, do not have any specific skills, only basic education and are therefore easily replaced (ibid). These definitions indicate that information technology does not cause unemployment. Unemployment occurs because some people are not capable of adapting to the changes caused by the information paradigm. Due to organizations adapting to new technology and finding profitable economic models, they create new tasks and expectations. It is the employees' task to adapt to these challenges.

The question is: how do workers adapt to the changes, do they just cope with the changes or create their own routines in the production process or even with

new products? To be more specific, can these kinds of categories be applied to journalism: can those who can not manage with new technology, for example, be considered generic and easily replaceable? The news production process has not changed that much; what has is the environment in which the work is carried out. Concerning new technology and changes in news work, and doing it in a fast changing environment (Castells 2000, 2010), journalists are in a situation where they are forced to adapt to the changes in the organization without the time and feedback to work out efficient practices that can develop into routines. The technological shift must occur, but how do newsrooms help journalist to adapt?

Another issue is the concept of "job for life": should a chosen occupation be considered a life-long commitment? This decision could be influenced by the situation of the media market, where different services in the media production process can be outsourced (Deuze & Witchge 2017). This can lead to workers having room for negotiations in their jobs, because a contractor can substitute for them. This can lead to increasing dissatisfaction with work, and journalists can escape working in a precarious environment by changing occupations.

Also important are "motivation" and the opportunities for workers to adapt to changes. Castells (2000, 2010) talks about feedback loops that help to develop the information system and to do so progressively faster. Not as much attention has been paid to how to provide feedback to individuals in the system, which can help them adapt and develop their routines, practices and skills.

1.3 Feedback and feed-forward as resources

Although feedback has been discussed as a necessary instrument in order to develop the system (Castells 2000, 2010) and is considered a resource (Bakker and Demerouti 2007), there has been a lack of discussion of feedback, feed-forward and coaching in the news production process, especially as the nature of the work has shifted. This kind of resource is necessary when the routines of work are either absent, developing or people are adapting to them.

One research project carried out on internal feedback for journalists was the MediaAct survey (N=1762; 12 European and two Arab countries). Journalists claimed they had seldom received feedback. Estonian journalists were the least critical of each other's work (Lauk et al. 2014). This indicates poor professional communication between colleagues and newsrooms, which might lead to the encapsulation of journalists. As feedback is considered by researchers to be the basis for learning and development (e.g. Shute 2008), the absence or lack of it could lead to stagnation in the profession and among workers. But in society, where flexibility and adaption to changes are very important, the trend seems to be toward undermining the opportunity for workers to be highly competitive in the job market.

Feedback is a versatile term. In one definition it means "actions taken by (an) external agent(s) to provide information regarding some aspect(s) of one's

task performance" (Kluger and DeNisi 1996: 255). Another definition of feedback is providing information about what has been done and what is thought to be the standard and communicating the gap between them (Saedon et al. 2012). There are many different types of feedback: constructive and non-constructive feedback, negative and positive feedback, formative feedback etc. Negative feedback is given when a worker's job performance does not meet expectations or goals (Steelman & Rutkowski 2004). Negative or non-constructive feedback might not be considered accurate or acceptable, because it might be seen as a personal attack (Fedor et al. 2001). All in all, feedback can have two aims: 1) to help the person to recognize and fill gaps in knowledge and the ability to plan actions, and 2) for the supervisor to take the lead and provide information and direction on what to do (Black and Wiliam 1998).

Providing and receiving feedback is not just a one-way exchange of information (from the manager to the employee). In order for the action to be effective, both the provider and the receiver of the feedback have to be motivated for improvement and there has to be mutual understanding of why the feedback is being provided; in addition, the receiver of the feedback should have time to implement the feedback (Shute 2008). Praise, rewards and punishments by themselves are ineffective in encouraging learning, because there is a lack of information on how and what one should do (ibid). This shows that feedback is an action that takes time on the part of both providers and receivers and this might be the reason why it is not used in the newsroom to its fullest. But it is a necessity for personal and professional development and also offers insight into the newsroom's policies, norms and standards, which is why it should be a part of the newsroom communication culture.

A completely different approach is feed-forward. One way to differentiate between feedback and feed-forward is that feedback focuses on the past, which can't be changed, while feed-forward is aimed at learning from the present and providing information to help in the future (Goldsmith 2003). Feed-forward can be considered to be a discussion that is aimed at developing the worker and offering a safe environment to develop in. This concept is driven more by the worker and less by the employer. But it takes time and different communication techniques and skills to carry it out.

Feed-forward is usually provided in a feed-forward interview with the worker. One component of this interview is active listening: the interviewer has to leave personal values, opinions and attitude aside and remain neutral in order to understand what the interviewee is saying. The interview consists of three steps: 1) eliciting a success story, 2) discovering a personal success code, and 3) determining the feed-forward questions (Klueger & Nir 2010, p.17–18). The first two steps set the conditions necessary for personal success; the feed-forward questions help to place the perceived or new-found conditions in the context of work(place).

> Feed-forward creates positive emotions, fosters bonding, builds psychological safety, and promotes the elicitation and sharing of vital new information regarding keys for personal and organizational flourishing. Furthermore, it blocks unproductive responses common to feedback, such as lowering performance, rejecting the feedback message, and giving up (Klueger & Nir 2006, p.3).

In turn, positive emotions not only have an influence on how we think and how open we are to new information, but they also make us more open to cooperation and decrease the probability of conflict (Barsade 2002). This means that in an environment where workers might feel resistance to adapting to changes, feed-forward can help them to understand the necessity of changes and find strategies to adapt to them.

In a sense, feed-forward is very similar to coaching. Coaching helps the worker to use capabilities to the maximum (Gallwey 2001) and has positive effects on "performance and skills, well-being, coping, work attitudes, and goal-directed self-regulation" (Theeboom et al. 2014, p.12). The difference between feedback and coaching is that feedback involves offering information about performance, while coaching (as well as feed-forward) is helping to evolve and reflect without giving "right answers" to workers, instead providing tools so that the worker can find answers. Although both practices (feedback and coaching) provide information about performance, coaching has a more long-term effect on the employee.

Clark and Fry (1992, 2003) explain that coaching can help to improve journalists' skills so that the editor does not have to work on editing the news as much. An editor only editing texts and noting the mistakes the reporter has made can lead to the reporter opposing the editor; coaching can make the journalist and editor feel more like partners than supervisor and employee (ibid). Developing different skills of journalists can therefore be a time-saving method in the long run.

As the nature of labor is constantly changing, workers need feedback to adapt and improve their skills (Salas & Rosen 2010); otherwise, they might lose value on the job market as their professional development is insufficient. Additionally, positive social relationships and workplace climate are resources (Demerouti et al. 2001b) which influence the worker directly. If these resources are non-existent or weak, this might lead to disengagement or leaving the workplace. Based on statistics (Lauk et al. 2014), feedback, feed-forward and coaching are resources that are underused, especially in the precarious conditions journalists are in right now.

To sum up, the information age has brought about changes that organizations have adapted to but, as they adapt, they must provide feedback as well to develop the system even further. An organization creates work tasks, expectations and conditions while being influenced by the information age. This can lead to an imbalance between demands and resources in a workplace, because some resources can diminish or lose value in the newsroom (experience, for example).

The worker is influenced by changes in society, as the work is influenced by the world in which it is carried out. This also means that the worker should find strategies and ways to cope with the changes. But while routines and experience were formerly considered resources for coping with stress, in the modern newsroom these aspects might not come in handy anymore and new approaches are needed. This also means because of the constantly changing conditions there is a lack of routines and opportunities to develop routines.

1.4 Estonian journalists and journalism

Estonia regained its independence in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Soon after this, Estonia started to work on connecting to the internet; the first internet connections were established in 1992 at academic facilities in Tallinn and Tartu (Freedom House, 2013). By 2005, 165,900 households were connected to the internet in Estonia, and by 2018, 488,000 households were connected (Statistics Estonia n.d.a). "Estonia continues to be one of the most wired countries in the world, with increasing Internet access and online participation among citizens" (Freedom House 2013). We have e-estonia – a digital society (e-estonia n.d.) People can vote online, fill in and send in their tax returns online, get prescriptions online etc. Overall, the internet plays a big role in Estonia.

The first online outlet in Estonia dates back to 1995 (Äripäev); the content of the online outlet copied the content of the newspaper. This indicates that even with the rise of a new platform newsrooms focused on creating material for only one medium. Since 2001, however, Estonian journalism has been strongly influenced by online journalism, and in 2005 online and social media started to develop rapidly (Saks 2011). By 2012 online news was in full use by media companies, although the full potential of the medium is often neglected by companies as they struggle to find efficient business models (Himma-Kadakas 2018).

In 2017 Estonia had 109 different newspapers (Statistics Estonia n.d.b). In 2017 there were 670 media workers (journalists, editors, designers, photographers etc.: there was a lack of differentiated statistics), who worked for 33 newspapers that belonged to the Estonian Newspaper Association (Estonian Newspaper Association 2018). However, there is a lack of up-to-date overall statistics in Estonia on working journalists and staff turnover. This makes it difficult to connect different trends to concrete numbers.

In 1995 Professor Epp Lauk carried out a study of journalists in Estonia and the research showed that 49% of journalists in Estonia were women (Lauk 1997). In 2016 Lauk and Harro-Loit carried out a study for Worlds of Journalism and in the country report they stated: "Estonia is among the 19 countries (out of 66 surveyed countries) where a majority of journalists are women. Of the 274 interviewed journalists, 160 were women, for a proportion of 58.4 percent of the overall sample" (Harro-Loit & Lauk 2016, p.1). The Estonian Newspaper Association states that the average salary of employees in 2017 was

985 euros per month. This statistic includes everyone who works in a newspaper newsroom. The monthly gross income in Estonia in 2017 averaged 1221 euros and in 2018 1354 euros (Statistics Estonia n.d.c).

Another issue that needs to be considered is the world economic recession (2007–2013); from 2008 to 2010 revenues in Estonia decreased. In print media the decrease started in 2008 and, although the revenue increased in 2012 compared to 2011, it decreased until 2015, when a small increase was witnessed (0.4%), but in 2016 it again decreased (-6%). Yet, internet revenues have increased (TNS EMOR n.d.), which explains why companies put pressure on journalists to produce content for online platforms.

The statistics of the Estonian Association of Newspapers show that the number of workers in newsrooms declined from 2008 to 2010 (EALL 2018). But generalizations cannot be reached based on the statistics provided by the Estonian Association of Newspapers as the number of member newspapers that provide statistics differ from year to year.

Another big change in journalistic work is connected to the different media that are used in print media newsrooms, which has happened worldwide. For example, the Estonian daily Eesti Päevaleht has an online video channel (Delfi TV) in addition to its newspaper and, although they have separate newsrooms, some of the reporters of the online/newspaper newsroom participate in making videos as well. Another daily, Äripäev, developed their own radio channel; although they have a separate newsroom, other journalists from the newsroom participate in creating content on it. Postimees has a video studio, where video interviews with different guests are carried out and presented online. Almost every day live streams from conferences, celebrations and sports competitions (live videos, audio or written reports) are produced. Not all of the newsrooms classify themselves publicly as converged, but they have converged components (e.g. online platforms that journalists are exposed to).

2. RESEARCH DATA AND METHODS

This thesis relies on three original studies. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to gather data: observations, focus groups interviews, in-depth semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire (Table 1).

Table 1. Overview of the studies.

Study	Main research questions	Method(s)	Sample (number of participants)
I	How many journalists are considering leaving the field or are hesitant about continuing in journalism? How many leavers and hesitaters report suffering from severe stress and burnout? How do leavers and hesitaters cope with job resources and demands?	Questionnaire	N=428, n=181 (response rate 42%)
II	What are the factors that promote the development of burnout in sports journalists during a prolonged strenuous period? What strategies do the sports journalists and their organizations apply to counteract or prevent burnout?	Interviews (8)	8
		Observations (2): 18 hours	7
III	What practices influence journalists' time management in the news production process? How do journalists manage their time in the news production process?	Focus group interviews (2)	20
		Observations (3): 2 months 3 days	26

2.1 Data collection and analysis

2.1.1 Survey

Study I was carried out by using a survey which consisted of statements about work conditions, job resources and demands, whether journalists were considering leaving the field, and about feeling burned out and/or severe stress. The aim of the study was to find out how many journalists had considered leaving the field or were hesitant about continuing in the field and how they perceived different demands and resources, as well as how much stress and burnout they had experienced.

I decided to make use of quantitative research methods to get an overview of the research field. A survey enabled me to gather different kinds of information from a variety of people relatively fast and inexpensively (Hirsjärvi et al. 2005, p.186). Although the survey enabled me get an overview of trends, it had its limitations. For example, the survey did not provide information about why something had occurred. Another limitation of the method is that the researcher does not have an overview of how respondents perceived the questions, if there were questions that caused misunderstandings, how honestly respondents answered the questions and how precisely they answered the questions (ibid, p.182). Regardless of these limitations, I believe the method provided me with significant insight on the topic.

The survey was based on statements from the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES), Health and Safety Executive (HSE) stress questionnaire, Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) and Psychosocial Risks Scale. A self-administered questionnaire with open-ended socio-demographic questions using a Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree) was sent out to different newsrooms in Estonia.

In order to form a sample, I created a database by collecting the names of all working reporters and editors from newspapers' and online outlets' contact pages. All of the editors-in-chief were left out, because their job characteristics and position in the newsroom were different from reporters' and editors' (Gans 2003), making the sample too heterogeneous. Furthermore, as the roles and work descriptions of the workers in a newsroom are blurring and it is getting increasingly difficult to differentiate between editors and reporters, I decided to include both of them in the sample (under the term "journalist"). My final sample included 26 newsrooms and a total of 428 e-mails were sent out. There were 181 respondents, for a response rate of 42%; 115 of the respondents were females and 66 were males.

The data was analyzed by using Microsoft Excel descriptive statistics. I cleaned the data gathered from the questionnaire and then differentiated leavers and hesitaters and their socio-demographic indicators from the overall statistics. I compared the answers to different statements in the questionnaire and analyzed the profiles of the respondents.

2.1.2 Observations

Observations were used in two studies (**II** and **III**). **Study II** examined a period of high pressure and stress: the Rio Olympic Games in 2016. The assumption of this study was that due to changes in newsrooms and higher productivity, this period of time could be considered stressful for sports journalists. Additionally, different factors started to affect both journalists who remained in Estonia (working in shifts, and filling in for colleagues who left for Rio) and those who went to Brazil (getting used to new working conditions in a new country and the culture, and being influenced by outside factors that they had no control over: transportation, etc.). The aim of **Study III** was to find out how journalists managed their time in the newsroom and what took the most time in their work.
I decided to make use of observations because researchers had formerly also used this method for detecting and mapping out journalistic routines, editorial processes, influences on journalists in the production process, how journalists managed unpredictable situations in newsrooms etc. (Tuchman 1978; Gans 1979; Berkowitz 1992, 1997; Reich 2006; Paterson & Domingo 2008 etc).

In terms of the ethnography of newsrooms, Tuchman's "Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality" (1978) is considered the basis of the current sociology of news (Paterson 2008). Tuchman's research is explanatory, providing insight into the news production process, combining the newsworthiness and the selection of news. In her study, Tuchman used two methods: participant observations and interviews. The ethnographic approach in studying news, news production, journalistic behavior etc. was especially popular during the 70s and 80s; beginning in the 2000s a "second wave" of ethnographers (Cottle 2000) stepped forward to study journalism, but there have been problems with understanding what "ethnography" is, which has led to online news production research being a "paradigm that is immature and controversial" (Paterson 2008, p.4).

Domingo (2003) and Cottle (2000) have summed up the negative and positive sides of the ethnographic approach in media studies (Table 2).

Table 2. Benefits and problems of the ethnographic approach of media studies and news production research based on Cottle (2000) and Domingo (2003). (Author's overview)

Benefits	**Problems**
Collection of a huge amount of very rich first-hand data	Takes a lot of time and effort
Closeness to the ethnographic subjects	Could affect or disturb ethnographic subjects
Opportunity to ask subjects questions to gather inside information	There might be difficulties in writing down all that is witnessed or technical problems in recording
Witnessing conflicts and processes without filters	Results should not be generalized and analyzed in a hurry
Provides an opportunity to study a phenomenon or a process from different perspectives	Researcher has to be aware of any attitudes, settings or experience they might have that might influence the perceptions of situations (takes commitment and self-reflexivity)
Interviews provide only the perception of the subject, but the researcher witnessing the production process and recording it makes the "invisible parts visible"	The lack of witnessing and gathering data on external influencers, paying more attention to visible practices
Making sense of complex forces that shape the selections and silences of media output.	Researchers usually do not get to observe how managers make decisions and what the decisions are based on, so internal managerial pressures are quite invisible
Provides more data to fill in the gaps that other methods have	Different approaches used by different researchers ("questions of epistemology and ontology", Cottle 2000, p.8)
By going into the newsroom and witnessing the processes, the researcher has the opportunity to set the record straight on theoretical claims and speculations	Rapidly changing field; news production moving away from one room to different places at the same time
Reminds researchers that processes of cultural production are less concrete, clean and predictable than they seem	
Helps to see how different changes or forces in society influence media production processes.	

As during the observations the researcher is (whether knowingly or not) both a filter (of what is written down and how) and a mirror (reflecting occurrences) of the situation, one has to acknowledge his position. As observation depends on how the researcher perceives situations, individuals and their behavior, the results from the observations can differ depending on the researcher's previous

experience, knowledge and attitude. Although the method has different problems, it still has many benefits that argue in favor of using it to provide wider context and understanding (Table 2).

For **Study II** (Table 1) observations in two newsrooms were carried out (altogether 18 hours). The observations were of sports journalists who worked in the newsrooms while the researchers were observing (Ivask et al. 2017b). This included seven journalists from two dailies (six male and one female journalist). Most of the observed journalists were in their 20s and 30s. Two of the journalists were more experienced (>10 years), and five less experienced (Ivask et al. 2017b).

I selected ten years of experience to differentiate between more experienced and less experienced journalists, because in the Eurostat statistics, "young" is considered to be a person who is 29 years old or younger (Eurostat Statistics 2017). This was taken into account and their experience as well, but the 31 year old was too different from the rest of the "older" journalists in the sample and fit better in the "younger" category, which is why I decided to add him there.

The **Study II** analysis involved the job demand and resource approach. In **Study II**, a thematic analysis was used to analyze the transcriptions of the interviews, as it is claimed to be a method for "identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke 2006, p.79). In **Study II**, the approach was deductive (Catanzaro 1988), as the data was approached with concrete codes. The analysis involved constructivist grounded theory (Charmez 2014, p.130). A co-author first analyzed the data and then I did. I found a couple of "units" that were important findings but did not match with the precise codes of JD-R. I presented the new codes to a co-author who accepted and implemented them.

For **Study III** (Table 1) two researchers observed journalistic routines and practices in dailies' newsrooms (Ivask et al. 2017a). There were three different newsrooms that the researchers observed: newsrooms of two national dailies and a local daily. Circulation numbers or the number of newsroom workers cannot be revealed as that would make the sample identifiable. It can be said that the local daily had higher circulation than one of the national dailies in the sample. Anonymity was promised to all of the newsrooms.

The observed journalists were divided into "young, less experienced journalists" and "older, more experienced journalists". Young, less experienced journalists were younger than 30 and had less than five years of experience; older, more experienced journalists were older than 30, with more than five years of experience. There were 15 younger, less experienced journalists and 11 more experienced journalists in the sample.

The data was analyzed from an explanatory perspective, trying to follow the ethnographic suggestions in explaining routines, practices and their effects (what was time-efficient and what was time-consuming). In **Study III**, the analytical approach was inductive (Patton 2005), as researchers created the categories and codes as they analyzed the data gathered from the observations. The analysis started with open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1998) of the data

gathered from the observations. I read the notes and examined the gathered data three or four times and then started to recognize and label "meaningful units" (Thomas 2006, p.241). Afterwards I presented my findings to my co-researchers, who then added examples to the findings chapter.

2.1.3 Interviews

I used interviews in my research design to find out how journalists reflected on different situations and aspects. A co-author carried out interviews in **Study II**, where the aim of the study was to find out what demands and resources were available to the journalists during the stressful period and how they perceived them.

Interviewing is a flexible method: the researcher can react to the situation and ask additional questions when necessary, or skip questions that do not suit the interview (Fassinger 2005, Hirsjärvi et al. 2005, Laherand 2008). On the other hand, it has a couple of negative aspects: the interviewee may feel it necessary to alter answers to follow social norms and standards, and the less anonymous the interviewee is, the higher the probability that he/she will alter answers (Holtgraves 2004). In addition, the act of interviewing can put interviewees under pressure, so that they act and answer differently than they normally would (Hirsjärvi et al. 2005).

In **Study II** eight interviews (four with journalists who stayed in Estonia and four with journalists who went to Rio) were carried out. Three of the journalists were female and five male; four had less than 10 years of experience (4, 5, 6 and 9 years), and the other four more. The age of the interviewees was: 23, 24, 27, 31, 38, 45, 46 and 55 years of age. The sample was divided into two parts: more experienced and less experienced journalists.

As mentioned above, **Study II** was analyzed using the job demand and resource approach, which suggests, in a heuristic manner, that if the demands of work are perceived to be stronger than the resources, the worker becomes dissatisfied, stressed or disengaged from work. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the transcriptions of the interviews. The approach in **Study II** was deductive (Catanzaro 1988), which means that my co-author and I handled the data using concrete codes and the analysis with constructivist grounded theory (Charmez 2014, p.130).

The data was analyzed by a co-author first and by me afterwards. We created codes by relying on the J-DR model, where demands and resources (with examples) were defined and presented. We took these demands and resources to be the basis of our coding. I found that we needed more codes for different aspects revealed by the texts (demands that could also be resources; demands for a certain age group; resource hierarchy etc.). I created the codes and a co-author and I implemented them and wrote the empirical findings chapter. After the analysis, both co-authors and I discussed the findings and wrote the discussion chapter.

2.1.4 Focus group interviews

I used focus group interviews in **Study III**. A focus group interview is a good method for creating an environment that stimulates people to express their opinions as they are with other people who are doing so (O'Connor and Madge 2003, p.136). The negative side is that there might be people who start to dominate, which creates a situation in which some of the people do not feel engaged enough to express their thoughts (Krueger 1988, p. 67–68).

The moderator of the focus group needs to be extremely attentive to what is happening, otherwise he/she might lose control of what is being discussed and of the focus of the discussion (O'Connor & Madge 2003, p. 136). Therefore the quality of the interview depends on the moderator: how skilled, experienced and focused he/she is. As people are not anonymous to each other in the focus group interview, some of the participants might feel that they need to give answers that are socially acceptable to appear in a better light (Hirsjärvi et al. 2005, p.193, Krueger & Casey 2014).

Because the analysis we carried out for **Study III** showed a peculiar trend among young journalists, I decided to conduct two focus group interviews among journalists younger than 25 with less than five years of experience (Ivask et al. 2017a). The aim was to have them reflect on the findings that caught my attention when I analyzed data gathered from the observations. Only young participants were included because the research was focused on questions involving young journalists and their behavior during observations. A focus group interview was a good way to clarify research findings; it also helped to gather information on different perspectives and experiences from people.

Again, the analysis started with open coding (Straus & Corbin 1998) of the focus group interview transcriptions. I read the focus group interview transcriptions and then started to recognize and label "meaningful units" (Thomas 2006, p.241). Then I wrote out the findings from the focus group and compared them to the findings from the observations. As mentioned above, the analytical approach in **Study III** was inductive (Patton 2005): I created the categories and codes as I analyzed the written data gathered from focus group interviews.

2.2 Limitations of the studies

Observations were used to gather data for **Studies I** and **II**. We discovered that observations took a lot of time and effort, wearing the researcher out (as mentioned in Table 2). Many of the aspects of the study were out of the researchers' control (e.g. in **Study II,** at one point the researcher was all alone in a newsroom with no journalists to observe, although this was a notable situation on its own). There were limits to how close subjects let the researcher get; some of the subjects were very welcoming, and others not as much (about showing what they were doing on their computer screens etc.). Another issue was the "closed doors" of the newsroom meetings, where researchers usually

did not get to enter. In our studies, the doors were mostly open, but in the bigger newsroom meetings (where all of the managing editors met) there were "closed doors".

I strongly believe that gathering data by observations is a good method, because it provides detailed and versatile data. We could have used short interviews with the participants to gather information about what had happened behind the "closed doors".

There were a couple of ethical problems we faced. Firstly, if we pinned down the problems some workers had, as well as behavior that did not show them in a good light, then we brought attention to them. As journalism is a business, those workers might then be seen as inefficient and this might lead to job insecurity for them. This was a problem, because we were only able to carry out the studies by asking permission from the heads of the newsrooms, so they knew when and where the observations were carried out, and if they read the articles, they would probably be able to recognize some of the workers. I was careful to avoid certain assessments of journalists (for example, their efficiency in the newsroom). Yet, this did not affect how the managers of the newsroom might interpret my results.

As the Estonian journalistic community is quite small, in some cases the journalists (although anonymous in my studies) could be recognized (for example, the way they spoke or used certain words). As some reviewers had asked for "evidence", we had to add some of the notable quotes from the interviews to the articles. But, as we translated the interviews and sentences from Estonian to English, the shift from one language to the other helped to "hide" the individuals whose words we used.

Other problems concerned profiling the journalists and providing information about the newsroom, which in some ways is extremely important for the analysis of data. This is a problem I also faced while publishing my articles: because the Estonian journalistic scene is quite small, a lot of detailed information could not be added to the samples as it would have made the newsrooms and workers recognizable. But in writing academic research, the lack of information raises the question of transparency.

Another limitation of the studies was fragmentation: data was gathered from different newsrooms with different routines; some were converged newsrooms, and some still followed the traditional system of having different newsrooms. For example, in some newsrooms working online is a part of the job; in other newsrooms, exposure to being online in the print media newsroom occurs from time to time. Journalists with different profiles and from different fields were involved in the study. Although news-gathering is similar throughout the profession, there are fields that contain lower levels of conflict that others. For example, sports journalism (**Study II**) is considered to have less conflict than other fields (Rowe 2007).

While gathering and analyzing the data, questions about "younger, more experienced" and "older, less experienced" emerged. I thought there would be occasional respondents who didn't fit into these categories, for example over 35

with less than five years of experience or less than 30 years of age with more than ten years of experience, but there were no such respondents. Another issue with experience was that some of the young journalists counted their experience from the first time they had written an article for publication, not from when they started to work as journalists full time.

3. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

3.1 Demands and resources of journalists

The main aim of this dissertation was to map out the demands and resources that journalists have in the news production process. **Study I** provided statistics on how many journalists were considering either leaving the field or were hesitant about remaining in it, how many of the leavers and hesitaters were suffering from severe stress or felt burned out and how they perceived job resources and demands.

Study I showed that 37% of the respondents (N=181) were either intending to leave the field or were hesitant about staying. Additionally, the study showed that 77% of leavers were suffering from severe stress and 49% of them were feeling burned out. Among hesitaters, 55% felt severely stressed out and 13% reported feeling burned out (15 – respondents (48%) felt neither). 82% of the leavers and 58% of the hesitaters said that the workload was exhausting.

Based on the results, it is clear that leavers were more negative about resources and reported feeling more demands than the hesitaters. This indicates that dissatisfaction with resources and demands could lead to leaving the field or hesitating about continuing in the field. Also, suffering from severe stress and feeling burned out can be reasons for leaving the field or hesitating to remain in it (Maslach et al. 2001, p.401; Reinardy 2009, p.45; Cook & Banks 1993; Weber & Jaekel-Reinhard, 2000; O'Donnell 2016; Cheng & Chan 2008). Additionally, as the results showed, exhaustion from the workload could also make journalist think about leaving the field.

The results of **Study I** may also indicate that journalists are insecure about following the journalism career path as the work in the newsroom is changing and management does not seem to offer a secure environment to work and develop in. This all might lead to turnover, and if older, more experienced journalists are replaced by younger, less experienced ones, the turnover rate could increase, because younger, less experienced journalists struggle with time-management and are in danger of becoming stressed out (**Study III**), and so would be more likely to consider changing career paths, fields or newsrooms. The concept of a job-for-life is losing popularity, and one reason might be the precarious nature of newsrooms, which eliminates long-term work commitments.

In **Study II**, one finding was that while newsrooms usually sent older, more experienced journalists to cover the Olympics, during the 2016 games younger journalists with less experience were sent as well. The explanation that came out of the interviews was that younger journalists were better able to use technology and create varied content than their older colleagues, although older workers had more experience and therefore the newsroom could rely on them more. Newsrooms also aimed to be cost efficient, because they did not have to send photographers etc., as younger journalists were able to produce photos and videos on their own.

Younger journalists stated in the interviews that it was an honor to be chosen to cover the Olympics, especially as it used to be a tradition that older, more experienced and acknowledged journalists were preferred (**Study II**). This assignment worked as a resource for younger, less experienced journalists. They felt positive about the experience, although afterwards some of them had serious health problems that they felt were somewhat connected to the higher stress level experienced during the time period (**Study II**). In terms of the strategies and practices journalists used to cope with the stress, they took time off to "switch off" the stress, but also mentioned alcohol as a solution. So coping mechanisms during the stressful period were self-prescribed, not arranged by the organization. This supports the concept of "personal resources" that the journalists used in order to avoid the accumulation of stress (Xanthopoulou et al. 2007, p.121). Personal resources helped journalists to cope during a stressful period.

The interviews from **Study II** also indicated that older, more experienced journalists said they had coping mechanisms to stop them from feeling overloaded. Younger journalists, on the other hand, took every chance they had to produce content for the newsroom. The way journalists reacted to stressors depended on their personality, experience and values (Reinardy 2011, p.37). Older, more experienced journalists were more careful to take breaks than were younger journalists. Younger journalists tried to produce as much content as possible during the Olympics, while older, more experienced journalists analyzed more thoroughly what, when and how to cover the games, and when and how they could take breaks from work.

Another finding of **Study II** was that diverse technological opportunities acted as either resources or demands for the journalists depending on their age and skills. They were resources in that they provided an opportunity to communicate with the newsroom via Skype and send e-mails to editors, and most of the journalists took advantage of the opportunities. Journalists could also take photos, record videos, write stories on the spot and send them to the newsroom or put them online, but mainly younger, less experienced journalists did so. Older, more experienced journalists emphasized the writing of articles, which also came out in the **Study III** observations.

Younger, less experienced journalists considered new technology to be a resource in their interviews for **Study II** and focus group interviews for **Study III**, because it made them equal to the older, more experienced journalists. Yet, the diversity of the tasks also led to increased workload, because journalists had to fulfill different roles (photographer, videographer, reporter etc.), which made the young, less experienced journalists more exposed to stress. As research has suggested (Sales 1970; Rizzo et al. 1970), role conflicts, overload and ambiguity are very strongly linked to dissatisfaction with and disengagement from work. And if newsrooms have fewer and fewer journalists motivated by professional values, and more journalists mainly concerned with profit, we might face a situation where news stories are only selected based on their profitability, which also means that audience preferences would start to affect what was

disseminated, not journalistic evaluation of topics and subjects. This kind of approach could diminish the role of watchdog.

In **Study III** it was clear that younger journalists used the Internet as a resource of communication and in **Study II** it was evident that younger journalists, who are capable of using new technology, rose to the same level as older, experienced journalists. This indicates that the resource of experience is either decreasing in the newsroom, or the hierarchy of what is valued is changing. It seems that adaptability (Castells 2000, 2011) and readiness to produce diverse content on different platforms (taking into account the characteristics) are now priorities. In **Study II** older, more experienced journalists said that experience is not considered that important anymore in the newsroom, because information, knowledge and sources that used to accumulate with years of experience can now be found online.

New technology in newsrooms as a resource is underused at the moment (Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2005; Deuze 2003; Quinn 2005). If a worker cannot use the technology or does not know how to take advantage of its opportunities, then there might be a clash between what is expected from them and what they are able to do.

Multitasking or the time pressure of having a too heavy workload to carry out the tasks might lead to a decline in the quality of the content produced. This kind of content lacks a creative component. Journalism is connected to creative industries, but if the creativity is cut out of the job, then one of its resources is diminished.

Additionally, an increased workload and having less time to carry out tasks (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski 2009, p.568; Lauk & Harro-Loit 2016**)** might lead to a clash with the traditional values of journalists, which in turn could lead to problems with the significance and the role of the journalist in society: if there is not enough time to fulfill the role of watchdog, the prestige and the importance of the job, which are considered resources, decline. The question arises: what motivates the journalist to do deeper analysis and news-gathering? If the product produced does not motivate the worker (**Study I**), then what does? Doing work without being interested in it leads to high levels of stress, as the worker has to work hard to even pay attention to the job. Another problem is that when professional values help to avoid role ambiguity among journalists, this acts as a resource, but new tasks can conflict with these professional values, and the resource can turn into a demand, because it can lead to role conflicts, overload or ambiguity. With confusion in demands and resources, the worker cannot rely on resources, because when conditions change, the resources might transform into demands.

Future research could take a more detailed look at demands, resources and burnout by using certain instruments (e.g. the Work Engagement Scale, Health and Safety Executive stress questionnaire, Maslach Burnout Inventory and Psychosocial Risk Scale) to find specific correlations between the demands-resources imbalance and burnout etc. among journalists. Another research suggestion is to study resources more thoroughly in the newsroom by using

qualitative methods, because self-reported questionnaires do not always provide in-depth information. More research should be done on the quality of journalists' work if they are not satisfied with working conditions or there is an imbalance between resources and demands.

3.2 Routines in the news production process

As routines help journalists to overcome non-routine situations without stretching their resources (Tuchman 1978 and Berkowitz 1992, 1997), it was important to explore the role of routines in news work, especially as there are changes occurring. As Konow Lund and Olsson (2016) have described, the "non-routine" can be understood in a couple of different ways. Firstly, it could be an unexpected news event; secondly, it could be something that affects the newsroom, for example in a physical way (a fire etc.) and creates a non-routine situation in which journalists have to do their work.

In **Study II**, the non-routine situations were being away from the newsroom in a foreign country and facing the news production process in a completely unfamiliar environment. For the journalists in Estonia, non-routine situations included increased workload, multi-platform publishing, (additional) new tasks (e.g. editing articles sent from colleagues abroad, and translating and editing news from other outlets). Also, they had to fill in for their managing editors, which was a completely new situation for them.

The results showed in interviews carried out for **Study II** and observations for **Study III** that depending on the age and experience of the journalists, the lack of efficient routines varied. Efficiency could be analyzed from a couple of perspectives. From the journalist as a worker perspective, efficiency could mean handling difficult situations without stretching resources (which could also be something that the organization benefits from, because it would have a healthier worker). From the organization's perspective, efficiency could mean fulfilling tasks and meeting expectations. Either way, the new situations created uncertainty and required new strategies, but journalists needed to analyze the situations on their own and find solutions, as the observations for **Study II** and **Study III** and the interviews for **Study II** showed. New situations in the newsroom and a lack of efficient routines could lead to role problems (ambiguity, conflict and overload) (Sales 1970; Rizzo et al. 1970), as the confusion could affect roles in the newsroom.

Observations for **Study III** indicated that there were differences in routines between older, more experienced journalists and younger, less experienced journalists. The results suggested that younger, less experienced journalists tended to use a time-efficient (as the answers are already provided in a written form) method to communicate with sources: e-mails. The observations for **Study III** showed that younger, less experienced journalists had problems with e-mail communication (because of its asynchronous nature) but did not usually communicate this problem to editors in a timely manner because they were still

waiting for answers. This mismatch in younger, less experienced journalists' time management affected the whole newsroom, because finding out that the news would not be ready by the deadline and finding substitute news occurred at the last minute.

In comparison, it was apparent in the observations for **Study III** that older, more experienced journalists were confident about carrying out tasks. If they were not able to complete their assignments on time, older, more experienced journalists let the editors know quickly and also presented suggestions for how to solve the problem. They relied on their past experiences (Berkowitz 1997, p. 363), which made this a routine behavior.

Younger, less experienced journalists tended to be less confident in developing their routines. **Study III** showed that they tried to take advantage of the new technology and media, but could not effectively deal with problems of time management. Older, more experienced journalists, on the other hand, relied on their routines (e.g. phoning sources), making their work more predictable and therefore less stressful, as the observations for **Study III** and interviews for **Study II** indicated. This finding supported the idea that routines help to avoid stretching resources (Tuchman 1978 and Berkowitz 1992, 1997). Older, more experienced journalists said that they had covered the Olympics before and knew how to handle problems that might arise.

An interesting point here is the difference in attitude towards the journalists. The observation for **Study III** indicated that older journalists had more autonomy in the newsroom: editors seldom contacted them about their news stories, and older journalists tended to work independently. Editors constantly supervised younger, less experienced journalists and the communication between them tended to be hierarchical, as young journalists had to follow editors' commands. Younger, less experienced journalists were aware of this hierarchy and this was reflected in their fear of making mistakes in the newsroom, as making mistakes could place them in a bad light. This led them to use e-mail communication and phone booths, which were inefficient as they both took up a lot of time.

The observations for **Study III** showed that while waiting for e-mails from sources, the less experienced journalists spent more of their time on entertainment and communicating with friends and colleagues. Several younger journalists admitted that this led to working late hours, because they had to find ideas/topics for news for the next day. When older, more experienced journalists used e-mail communication, they used the waiting time to research other topics.

These results indicated that younger, less experienced journalists were in the midst of developing their routines that they could rely on in the future; they were gaining experience on which to make decisions about which kinds of actions were efficient and which inefficient. Older, more experienced journalists, on the other hand, had developed routines which helped them to handle different situations and avoid stress.

3.2.1 Routines in new situations

Study II provided insight into what happens in a newsroom and with a journalist during a stressful and eventful period. The news production during the Olympics involved an increased workload, especially among journalists who stayed in Estonia. The work of the journalists in Estonia diversified on different levels. The interviews and observations for **Study II** showed that the journalists needed to not only produce original content, but translate and edit content from different news outlets as well; they also needed to cover the work of the journalists who were in Rio; additionally, they had to help these journalists.

Routines were disrupted by a couple of problems. Firstly, there was "dereification of media options" (Boczkowski 2005, p.123): the journalists had to decide on what platform and how to present the news. The journalists had to analyze the scope and the exclusivity of the content and make decisions based on that. One of the journalists in Rio even mentioned in an interview that he sent off his work and left the decision-making of where to publish the material to the journalists in the newsroom in Estonia.

Additionally, in interviews for **Study II** journalists admitted that monetary bonuses were offered to them to produce additional (diverse) content. The interviews revealed that older, more experienced journalists did not take advantage of the opportunities as much as young, less experienced journalists did, and this led to younger journalists admitting to overusing technology to the extent that they even spent their free time producing news. They were in a new situation and were not able to rely on their experience.

Another issue that came out of observations and interviews for **Study II** was that some of the journalists had to take on a couple of different roles which to some extent conflicted with each other (Kahn et al. 1964). There were cases in which journalists had to represent the managing editor, who was in Rio. But the autonomy and authority of the managing editor did not transfer with the role, i.e. the colleagues did not react to or carry out the comments and directions that they would have if it had been the managing editor. The interviews indicated that journalists who were filling in were in the middle of a conflict, taking criticism from the managing editor, who was abroad, and the editors in the newsroom.

The interviews for **Study II** showed that newsrooms prepared for the games by creating content on pre-Olympic topics and talking through the strategies. It was also said that journalists who were sent to Rio prepared themselves for a different culture. Younger, less experienced journalists even admitted in the interviews for **Study II** asking for advice from the older, more experienced journalists, who had been to the Olympics before.

Journalists in the newsroom in Estonia reported higher levels of stress than their colleagues in Rio in interviews for **Study II**. In order to make it through the increased diverse workload of the Games, the journalists in newsrooms in Estonia supported each other, as observations and interviews indicated. Journalists in Estonia even admitted in the interviews for **Study II** to encapsulating in

order to avoid talking to their spouses and friends during the period because of exhaustion. Additionally, in **Study II** journalists in Estonia admitted to having problems sleeping. These results indicate high levels of stress or even burnout (e.g. Embriaco et al. 2007, Maslach and Jackson 1981, Schaufeli & Taris 2014).

The results of **Study II** showed that journalists had to stretch their resources constantly during the games, which also means that journalists lacked concrete routines and/or experience on which to rely, as they faced new tasks and a new rhythm.

3.2.2 The development of routines in newsrooms

The empirical data of **Study II** and **Study III** showed that the older journalists had their own routines that tended to focus on one medium; younger journalists did not have routines developed yet, which put them into a position where they did not have role models in the newsroom from whom to learn efficient routines. So while journalists used to learn from their older colleagues, it does not seem to be a viable practice nowadays, as the newsroom and tasks are constantly changing. And it seems that there is a battle between traditional values and profitability: which one is more valued in the newsroom, and do we need professionals working in the newsroom at all? If we lose the roles of journalists in society, then media workers who pursue profitability could replace them. Or professional journalists will adapt to the new standards of the newsroom and try to follow the traditional values only when they have the time and the opportunity.

In an environment of different resources and demands, journalists could start creating routines that produce stability and efficiency; this could additionally lead to using resources to the fullest. Right now it seems that journalists are committed to their work, but feel severe stress while working.

Based on Castells (2000, 2010), it seems that media organizations have accepted the changes occurring in the information age and have directed new tasks (which include new expectations, such as adapting to technology) to the journalists in the newsroom. This is where the question of motivation for finding efficient routines that work both in favor of the journalist as well as media organizations arises.

Journalists adapt to tasks and changes, but the changes that have to be adapted to might not be clear or the same to all of the journalists. In observations and interviews for **Study II** there were differences in what the older, more experienced journalists and the younger, less experienced journalists did and how they did it. Older, more experienced journalists avoided overworking and found ways to cope with stress, but younger, less experienced journalists worked more and created diverse content, which led them to earn monetary bonuses. This indicates that there were mandatory work tasks and tasks that could be considered “additional”.

These issues could not be solved by the intervention of trade unions, as (inter)national unions have weakened (Örnebring 2009). Unions now lack authority to influence the labor market or employers (ibid). Unions could presumably fight for the profession and for better working conditions, but maybe more emphasis should be placed on finding a business model that helps the profession to survive.

Another issue among journalists is job insecurity, because not having efficient routines, wearing themselves out, being inefficient, and not producing enough content could lead to being dismissed from their jobs. Additionally, although technology influences the production process (and vice versa), and never exists without human action (Castells 2000), there are discussions of whether different algorithms could take over the work of the journalist (e.g. Dalen 2012). As Castells (2000) has suggested, only self-programmable labor will survive in the current labor market; generic labor will remain in the labor market, but will not be highly valued. The definition of generic labor again conflicts with the profile of experienced journalists, who may not be very enthusiastic about the changes occurring in the newsroom (Castells 2000). Experienced journalists are valuable specialists who have diverse networks, knowledge of beats and the capability of fast reactions and writing. A question that could be further investigated is: what expectations, in terms of skills and competence, do newsroom managers have of journalists? What skills do journalists who want to survive on the job market need to have?

Some ways to move on from this precarious situation rely on a new business model for journalism, a new managerial style for the organizations or entrepreneurialism among journalists (Witschge and Deuze 2017). Some former journalists have created marketing content or work for content marketing companies in Estonia and this could be considered entrepreneurialism, as journalists sell their knowledge and skills while doing work quite similar to what they did in the newsroom.

In summary, in a converged newsroom, where the tasks include both writing for the newspaper to create online content and disseminating the information via social media, routines and perceived demands and resources differ by level of experience and age (Figure 4).

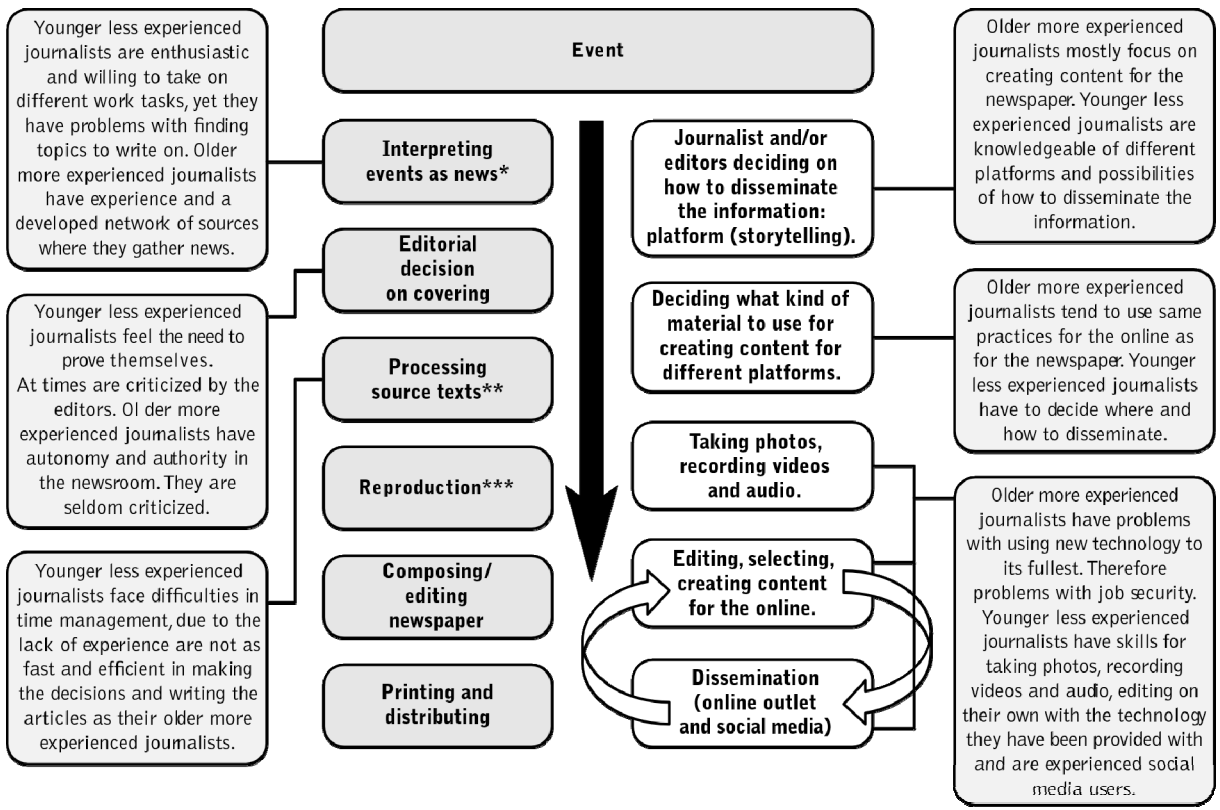

Figure 4. Routines, demands and resources of journalists in the news production process. Comparison of younger, less experienced journalists and older, more experienced journalists. Created by the author.

As observed in **Study II** interviews and observations and **Study III** observations, younger, less experienced journalists were skilled and knowledgeable when it came to new technology and platforms, but lacked experience in producing news and juggling different tasks. Older, more experienced journalists in **Study II** and **Study III,** on the other hand, faced difficulties with using new technology or did not use it at all, paving the way for the younger journalists. But where the younger, less experienced journalists were lacking was where the older, more experienced ones excelled, for example speed and efficiency in creating news stories and finding important topics to write about. Future research could investigate routines in newsrooms in which journalists are trained to take advantage of new technology.

If a newsroom values multitasking and there is someone who is not capable of adapting to the tasks, that worker might feel insecure. If the diverse tasks of the converged newsroom are assigned more often to younger, less experienced journalists then they could suffer from the increased workload, not being able to rest enough or manage their time efficiently and the inequality of work tasks that came out in **Study II** and **Study III** could lead to dissatisfaction with working conditions. How younger journalists balance their workloads and how they cope with them should be studied more thoroughly, for example through the ethnographic approach. The investigation of this topic would provide new angles for media sociology as well.

The groups of younger, less experienced and older, more experienced journalists in my studies (**II** and **III**) suffered from different demands and had different resources. What makes it difficult to discuss whether and what resources are enough to balance out the demands is that in the present-day society it is possible to change jobs in order to find the most appropriate work. As journalists are valued communication experts, they can work as communication specialists or advisers, copywriters, ghostwriters, authors, freelancers, editors etc.

3.3 Feedback/feed-forward in the news production process

The empirical data of **Study II** and **Study III** indicated that very little feedback is being provided in the newsroom to journalists and it is more aimed at solving current issues, and less at the development of the worker.

Study II showed that during the Olympics, which we considered to be a stressful period, there was a lack of feedback being provided to the journalists. In the interviews for **Study II,** journalists mentioned and during the observations we witnessed that the feedback that they received involved statistics about "clicks" of online news. Editors praised the most "clicked" news stories in the newsroom, which did not encourage learning, as this kind of feedback lacks information about how to improve oneself (Shute 2008). Due to the fact that during the Olympics journalists and their activities were under intense scrutiny by the public, they also received more comments and feedback than usual from

the public (which is also connected to the fact that they produced more news offering more material to comment on). The interviews and observations for **Study II** indicated that the feedback received from the public tended to be negative, aggravating the journalists, who were upset that they had put effort/time into the news but had received mostly criticism.

Interviews with journalists in **Study II** indicated that the fact that their colleagues did not provide them with feedback had negative effects on them. The participants in **Study II** provided negative comments regarding their experience, saying that the lack of feedback left them with the impression that no one appreciated the effort they had put into the work. In fact, the findings of **Study II** reveal that sometimes no feedback could be as bad as negative feedback: both lack information on how to improve oneself and pay no attention to what journalists have done right. This might be perceived by journalists as threats to their egos (Fedor et al. 2001). It appeared that those journalists who attended the Olympic Games in Rio received more help and feedback from colleagues and more emotional support from each other, which is why the journalists in Rio reported feeling less stress than colleagues in Estonia (Study II).

The empirical data of **Study III** suggested that feedback provided to the younger journalists during the news production process tended to be non-constructive, as young journalists were worried about receiving feedback about their work, especially when it was negative and provided in front of their colleagues. Feedback aimed at improvement of the worker should be provided in a trusting environment and both the provider and receiver should be ready for it (Shute 2008). In **Study III** the environment did not support the giving or receiving of feedback, nor was the receiver ready for it. This in turn did not work in favor of young journalists' improvement.

Another issue was that younger journalists had problems with phoning sources in the newsroom: they were afraid of making mistakes in the interviewing process in front of their colleagues. This indicates that they had high self-expectations or, as observations for **Study III** indicated, the journalists had had negative experiences with receiving feedback about their interviewing/ communication skill(s) before.

It was apparent during the observations for **Study III** that older journalists exchanged information about the process with the editors briefly and in a straightforward manner. Younger journalists had problems with evaluating whether or not it was necessary to share the information about their news creation process with the editor. And this led to several conflicts and pressure.

My observations in the newsroom indicated that, even though younger journalists received feedback, they did not change their routines and practices to the extent that would have eliminated their "mistakes" in the workflow (Study III). One explanation could be that the feedback was not general enough to be used in the course of their overall news production process, but only aimed at fixing very specific problems in a specific news story. Using Black and Wiliam's (1998) definitions, the aim of the feedback was not to help the journalist to recognize and fill gaps, but to just give directions on what to do.

In **Study I**, the results showed that 46% of the leavers and 16% of the hesitaters did not find the work that they did meaningful or purposeful, which indicates problems with being motivated to work or producing content that journalists were not satisfied with or did not find meaning in. The aim of work should be to create something that is highly useful and one aim of the creative industry is to offer entertainment; these two goals may conflict in journalism. If material lacks journalistic newsworthiness and quality, it could raise the question among journalists of why time is being wasted creating such content. Another problem could be that journalists do not receive any feedback/feed-forward that indicates that their work is important and appreciated, which means that they experience no reaction to what they are doing.

In order for efficient routines to form in current newsrooms, time is needed for the worker to first map out the routine, to live with it and then to make it more efficient. This means that the journalist is familiar with the tasks and expectations of the newsroom in which routines are being created. This is where feed-forward or coaching can be of help: both help workers to understand what is expected of them and how they can meet the goals set for them, and there is less focus on the unfixable (Clark and Fry 1992, 2003; Goldsmith 2003).

As the development of the routine is influenced by the environment in which the process is occurring, and considering the routine as a resource, I suggest that feedback/feed-forward could be provided in the environment to speed up the development of the routine. Castells (2000) has also indicated the importance of feedback in developing a system and has said that feedback helps to speed up the process. Feed-forward, feedback and coaching can provide a foundation on which to start creating routines in the newsrooms and they can bring some stability to the newsroom and improve the quality of journalism.

Studies II and **III** indicated that the feedback editors provided to the reporters in the newsrooms was aimed at solving short-term problems,for example quickly fixing problems in news stories. Feedback was not aimed at developing the journalist in the long term. This kind of feedback leads to journalists working on hunches. A lack of feedback can indicate to the journalist that everything is in order and feedback is not necessary, but it also means that the effort of the worker is not being acknowledged (**Study II**). Colleagues rarely provide feedback to each other in Estonia (Lauk et al. 2014, and **Study II**), which means that the responsibility for improving journalists' work falls to managing editors.

Journalists may be involved in inefficient routines that cause stress and job insecurity, which might lead to leaving the position or even the field. Additionally, they might attribute some of the problems caused by the lack of routines, experience or work practices to the nature of the profession. Newsrooms might face never-ending turnover, which means that they have to constantly train new journalists to follow the style, norms and standards of the newsroom. If the newsroom took time to analyze the work of the journalist in-depth, they might avoid this problem.

Not only are feedback/feedforward/coaching resources for journalists, but for the newsroom as well, since these practices help to reinforce skills and com-

petencies of the journalists and can help to develop profitable strategies for the media organization. As I have indicated before, efficient routines help journalists avoid unnecessary stress, which also means fewer problems with absenteeism, more resources to cover breaking news, lower turnover etc.

Managing editors or editors-in-chief should provide feed-forward or feedback, because they are the ones who have authority in the newsroom. They also should provide concrete information about what they expect from the journalist. This leads to analyzing what the newsroom wants to achieve and what is expected from the media organization management and how these goals can be achieved.

Editors should coach reporters, but it should happen in the newsroom, where the standards, norms and expectations are clear. Coaching and providing constructive feedback could help young journalists as new workers to better adapt to the newsroom and to their tasks (Salas & Rosen 2010). Older, more experienced journalists could benefit from coaching as well, as it would provide training for them to adapt to new technology in the newsroom etc. It would provide knowledge of what is expected from journalists and how they could achieve it, which would reduce precarious aspects and job insecurity in the newsroom. Additionally, it would increase two resources: social relationships and personal development in the workplace. Older journalists and newsroom managers could also benefit from feed-forward that helps to reveal positive sides of older, more experienced journalists and determine how to use their knowledge and skills for the benefit of the newsroom. Positive feelings from feed-forward or coaching (Gallwey, 2001; Klueger & Nir 2006) could have a positive influence on helping journalists to adapt to changes and new demands (Theeboom et al. 2014, p.12).

As Castells (2000, p.12) puts it: those who can adapt to the new paradigm and survive in the job market are "self-programmable labour" and others are "generic labour". He adds (ibid) that self-programmable laborers are capable of redefining themselves, and they can adapt to new tasks, new processes and sources of information. In order to become self-programmable labor, workers need information about what they need to adapt to, what they need to redefine themselves for, and what the new tasks are that need to be carried out. Without explanations journalists can only adapt to what they think is expected of them.

As there is scant research on feedback, feed-forward and coaching in the newsroom, I find it to be a topic that needs further investigation. Firstly, how much feedback, feed-forward and coaching do journalists receive: this aspect should be studied in greater detail and analysis is required to determine how it all affects journalists. Secondly, there is a need to determine who provides feedback in the newsroom and how, and what techniques are being used. Thirdly, what influence do feedback, feed-forward and coaching have? How do they compare to each other. Fourthly, why is there a lack of feedback in the newsroom and how can this be fixed? Should it be fixed? I think these are the questions that need more research.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to map out demands and resources of journalists in the news production process. Another goal was to explore routines that journalists have in the newsroom, as routines help to overcome stressful situations. Thirdly, I analyzed feedback/feed-forward as one of the resources underused in newsrooms. All of the studies relied on Estonian journalists' opinions and experiences.

I have used an interdisciplinary approach to analyze the situation among journalists: a combination of methods from sociology and psychology. The psychological approach helped to examine the demands and resources of journalists. The sociological approach helped to understand journalistic work and journalists' behavior. Most journalism studies that touch upon burnout or stress usually measure the severity of the phenomenon; this dissertation and **Studies I, II and III** help to determine the factors that might lead to problems and reactions.

My conclusions are as follows:

- **The resources and demands in the news production process depend on the age and experience of the journalist (Studies II and III); all in all suffering from demands without having balancing resources can lead journalists to leave the field (Study I).**

Older and more experienced journalists feel confident in the news production process of a traditional medium: the newspaper. They have autonomy in deciding how to create and present the news, which is a resource at the organizational level. Older and more experienced journalists keep their role in the newsroom clear and untainted by focusing on the newspaper and neglecting the online outlet. Skill variety is a resource in a converged newsroom that older, more experienced journalists lack. Putting older, more experienced journalists in a situation where they must create a variety of content for different platforms creates a demand on them because they lack the skills and knowledge to fulfill the task.

Newsrooms are converging, but the expectations of management of journalists are not clear. This could affect older and more experienced journalists in that the precarious nature could shift the feeling of autonomy to job insecurity. Job insecurity is a demand that creates instability and stress (Schaufeli and Taris 2014, p.45).

Younger, less experienced journalists face different career opportunities (e.g. being sent to the Olympics instead of older, more experienced journalists) and feel that they have and can use a variety of skills to meet converged newsroom expectations. This, in turn, leads to job security and one sign of being a significant worker could be that some important tasks are assigned to them (e.g. being sent to cover the Olympics and being in charge of creating various

content). The work offers a creative space in which journalists can decide how to present the news and where. Yet, web analytics and editors can influence the process of news production. The interference of both can diminish creativity and the number of decisions made by the journalist. Multitasking and working in parallel in different media can lead to role overload or ambiguity and therefore emotional exhaustion as the journalist is expected to tell stories in different media with different content. Also creating content for different media means increased workloads.

Younger, less experienced journalists may have the skills that are necessary in the converged newsroom, but they might lack the time and opportunities to use them to the fullest. Both the older, more experienced and younger, less experienced journalists in the studies lacked one resource on the task level: performance feedback. The feedback that the journalists received tended to be superficial (e.g. statistics on online news) and not informative, so it did not help the journalists to develop and adapt.

Suffering from demands and the lack of resources can cause severe stress and burnout among journalists and can lead them to reconsider their career paths. There are different demands on different age groups in the news production process and newsroom, but for all of them the demands can lead to thoughts of leaving the field.

- **There is a lack of efficient routines in the converged news production process (Studies II and III)**

Although newsrooms have converged, efficient routines in juggling different tasks and media have not been properly developed. As younger and less experienced journalists are more involved with different platforms and media than their older colleagues, they are also more exposed to higher workloads and risks of overburdening themselves. Older, more experienced journalists were seen to have one-medium-based routines, but efficient routines suitable for converged newsrooms still have to be developed. Furthermore, younger, less experienced journalists can not rely on the experience that their older colleagues have, as their experience is specific to one medium: print news.

Newsroom managers who communicate concrete expectations to journalists also influence the development of efficient routines. It is important to communicate what is expected of journalists and how they can achieve these goals. Additionally, newsrooms should map out their resources (technology, number of workers, time etc.) and evaluate what outputs can be expected from the journalists.

- **Journalists do not receive enough constructive feedback or feedforward to help them adapt to changes, to create efficient routines and to understand expectations and how management evaluates their work (Studies I, II and III).**

Coaching or feed-forward could bring more clarity to what is expected from journalists and how they can achieve the goals set by management. The lack of communication can lead older, more experienced journalists to encapsulation and to focusing on one medium; also they might not understand the necessity of changes. The lack of communication could lead younger and less experienced journalists to overworking, to feeling neglected, and to not understanding why they have different tasks from older, more experienced colleagues; this can hinder their development as journalists and their adaptation to newsroom standards and norms.

Since the work itself develops according to the developments in technology and society, journalists are in a situation where they are forced to adapt to the changes in the organization without the time to work out efficient practices that can turn into routines. Providing constructive feedback or feed-forward can fill this gap. Feedback that presents only numbers of clicks does not lead to the professional development of the journalist, it can cause disappointment (because a lot of work is invested in content, but it does not reach enough readers), it can lead the journalist into click baiting and abandoning traditional values etc. Receiving feedback is extremely important to journalists and without it they can not find meaning in their work.

The research on professional feedback among journalists has been very scarce. There are a couple of studies that investigate feedback in newsrooms, but there is a serious lack of detailed analysis and investigation of internal feedback. The reason might lie in the fact that it is quite difficult to get access to newsrooms for observations, or feedback has not been seen as an aspect of work that is worth researching. My suggestion for further research is to more thoroughly study feedback provided in newsrooms and between colleagues. The studies for this dissertation showed that there is a lack of feedback in newsrooms. I think this should be investigated more thoroughly to determine why feedback is not a part of the culture (leaving the lack of time aside), whether journalists feel they need feedback, what kind etc. I have argued in this dissertation that I see great unused potential in the feedback/feed-forward concept.

Another possible research topic is the development of routines in the newsroom, which might help to examine and explain evolving practices. Two possible research ideas for the future are to find out if young journalists are burning out or if they are using strategies to avoid it, and to determine how it is possible to strengthen resources in newsrooms (and among journalists) by using the conservation of resource model (Hobfoll 2001).

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Rutiinide, nõudmiste ja ressursside roll Eesti ajakirjanike tööstressis

Doktoritöö eesmärk on kaardistada nõudmised ja ressursid, millega Eesti ajakirjanikud uudise loomise protsessis kokku puutuvad. Teine eesmärk on uurida, millised ja kuivõrd välja arenenud on ajakirjanike töörutiinid. Lisaks on väitekirjas analüüsitud professionaalset tagasi- ja edasisidet.

Dissertatsioonis on kasutusel töö nõudmiste ja ressursside teooria (*job demand-resource* ehk JD-R) (Bakker, Demerouti, Nachreiner and Schaufeli 2001), mis aitab tööstressi mõtestada ja analüüsida. JD-R toetub eeldusele, et igal tööl on töötajat toetavad ressursid (*resources*) ja töötajale negatiivset mõju avaldavad tegurid ehk nõudmised (*demands*). Kui töökohal on ressursid ja nõudmised tasakaalus, siis on töötajal piisavalt ressursse, et tööülesandeid lahendada ning nõudmistega toime tulla. Kui nõudmisi on rohkem kui ressursse, hakkab see töötajates stressi tekitama, sest ülesannete täitmine on raskendatud. JD-R andis ka aluse, miks lisada töösse tagasi/edasiside aspekt, sest seda peavad teooria loojad üheks väga oluliseks ressursiks, mis aitab tööstressi ära hoida või isegi leevendada (Bakker & Demerouti 2007).

Selleks, et mõtestada ajakirjaniku tööd uudise loomise protsessis ning rutiinide rolli selles, on töös kasutusel uudise sotsioloogiline lähenemine (Schudson 2003, Berkowitz 1997). Kuigi ajakirjanikutööd peetakse loovaks (Fulton & McIntire 2013), nendivad ajakirjandussotsioloogid, et uudis on konkreetsete nõuetega vorm ja selle loomise võtted ning normid on kõigile uudistereporteritele üldiselt samasugused (Schudson 2003).

Töö konteksti asetamiseks on teooria peatükis lahti seletatud, missugused muutused on infoühiskond endaga kaasa toonud, toetudes Manuel Castellsile (2000, 2010). Ühtlasi on töös lühidalt kirjeldatud Eesti ajakirjanduse ajalugu ja praegune kontekst.

Väitekirja aluseks on kolm eelretsenseeritud teadusartiklit. Väitekirjas uurin, missugused on töö ressursid ja nõudmised ajakirjanikutöös (**Uurimus I** ja **Uurimus II**), millised on uudise loomise protsessis ajakirjanike rutiinid (**Uurimus II** ja **Uurimus III**) ja kuidas ajakirjanikud oma töös tagasi- ja edasisidet saavad (**Uurimus II** ja **Uurimus III**).

Uurimus I annab statistilise ülevaate sellest, kuidas ajakirjanikud, kes tahavad ajakirjandusest lahkuda või kahtlevad jätkamise osas, küsitluses esitatud eri nõudmiste ja ressurssidega suhestuvad. **Uurimuse I** viisime läbi ajalehtede, veebi ja konvergeerunud toimetuste ajakirjanike hulgas Eestis.

Uurimus II kätkeb endas kahte meetodit – vaatlused ja intervjuud. Eesmärk oli uurida ajakirjanike suurenenud stressiga perioodi, milleks valisime Rio olümpiamängud (2016). Uurisime ennekõike spordiajakirjanikke, kes töötavad ajalehtede toimetuses. Uurimuses vaatlesime ajakirjanikke uudise loomise protsessis ja analüüsisime hiljem ajakirjanike enda arusaama sellest, mis olid nende jaoks sel perioodil nõudmised ja ressursid. Intervjuud toimusid ajakirjanikega

pärast olümpiamänge ja neis selgus ühtlasi, mida ajakirjanikud tööstressi vähendamiseks tegid.

Ajakirjanike praktikad ja rutiinid olid vaatluse all veel **Uurimuses III**. Töö eesmärk oli uurida ja analüüsida, kuidas ajakirjanikud töös oma aega planeerivad, milliseid praktikaid kasutavad ning kas ja kuidas on need aspektid (praktikad ja ajakasutus) omavahel seoses. Uurimuses on kasutusel kaks meetodit – vaatlused ja fookusgrupi intervjuud.

Tulemused näitasid, et tajutavad ressursid ja nõudmised uudise loomise protsessis on erinevad ja need baseeruvad sageli sellel, millisesse vanuse- ja kogemusrühma inimene kuulub (**Uurimus II** ja **III**). Ühtlasi selgus, et rahulolematus nõudmiste ja ressurssidega võib viia ajakirjandusest lahkumise või seal jätkamises kahtlemiseni (**Uurimus I**).

Näiteks näitasid suurema kogemusega vanemad ajakirjanikud vaatlustes üles enesekindlust, kui tegid reporteritööd (**Uurimus II** ja **III**). Samuti oli neil suurem autonoomia otsustamaks, kuidas uudiseid luua, ja see on organisatsiooni tasemel ressurss. Suurema kogemusega vanemad ajakirjanikud ka kaitsesid ennast stressi eest rohkem kui nende nooremad kolleegid, keskendudes ühele meediumile korraga (suurima tähelepanu sai ajaleht, vähima veebiväljaanne – **Uurimus II**). **Uurimustes II** ja **III** kerkis esile ka oskuste küsimus: kuivõrd on vanemad kogenud kolleegid valmis täitma mitmete meediumide nõudeid ning kui palju on neil oskusi ja teavet, et uusi nõudmisi täita?

Nooremad vähem kogenud ajakirjanikud tundsid **Uurimuses II**, et neid võetakse vanemate kolleegidega samaväärilselt. Ühtlasi tuli välja, et toimetuses peeti noorte ajakirjanike mitmekülgseid oskusi väärtuslikuks: mitmekülgse tähelepanu tõmbava sisu kõrval nähti seal ka kokkuhoiukohta. Mõned probleemid, mis tõstatuvad, kui ajakirjanikud tegelevad paralleelselt eri meediumidega, on rollisegadus või rolli ülekoormus, sest iga meedium nõuab oma kasutusviisi.

Loovus ja autonoomia (mis on mõlemad töö ressursid) võivad olla aga ohus, sest üha enam pööratakse toimetustes tähelepanu sellele, mida näitab klõpsustatistika – see hakkab omakorda mõjutama ajakirjanike otsustusprotsessi, mida avaldada, kuidas ja mida mitte.

Kuigi noortel vähem kogenud ajakirjanikel olid oskused, oli neil aga probleeme ajaplaneerimisega ja praktikate valimisega. Neil polnud toimetuses ka kelleltki õppida, sest nende tööülesanded, praktikad ja nõudmised erinesid sageli vanemate kolleegide omadest.

Mõlemad vanuse- ja kogemuserühmad jäid aga töökohal ilma põhjalikust professionaalselt tagasi- ja edasisidest (**Uurimus II** ja **III**). Tagasiside jäi sageli klõpsude arvu esitamise tasemele (**Uurimus II**) – see aga ei aita ajakirjanikul professionaalselt areneda ja muutustega kohaneda.

Tulemused näitasid ühtlasi ka seda, et konvergeerunud ja/või pidevalt muutuvates toimetuses puuduvad ajakirjanikel praegu tõhusad rutiinid. Toimetustes tuleks välja selgitada eri ressursid, mis annaks ülevaate, mida ja kui suures ulatuses saab ajakirjanikelt üldse oodata ja nõuda ilma, et tekiks negatiivset stressi.

Ajakirjanikud ei saa praegu piisavalt konstruktiivset professionaalset tagasisidet või edasisidet, mis aitaks muutustega kohaneda ja tõhusate rutiinide loomisega tegeleda. Samuti puudub ühtne arusaam sellest, mida juhtkond ajakirjanikelt ootab ja kuidas nende tööd hindab (**Uurimus I, II** ja **III**).

PUBLICATIONS

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2016–2017	University of Tartu, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Social Studies, Assistant in Practical Journalism (0.50)
2014–2015	University of Tartu, Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, Institute of Social Studies, Assistant in Practical Journalism (0.50)
2014–2015	Postimees AS, reporter
2013–2014	University of Tartu, Universitas Tartuensis Editor (1.00)
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2010–2012	Postimees AS, reporter
2009–2010	Eesti Päevaleht AS, sports reporter

Fields of research: culture and society, communication and information sciences, press and communication sciences, burnout and stress among journalists, coping mechanisms, harassment of journalists and attacks against journalists.

Additional publications, related to the PhD thesis:

Ivask, Signe; Harro-Loit, Halliki (2018). Ajakirjandus, mis on oma instinktidega vastuolus. *Müürileht*, 70.

Ivask, Signe; Siil, Virgo (2018). Olümpiamängud kurnavad, aga ka rõõmustavad spordiajakirjanikke, URL: https://novaator.err.ee/682877/uuring-olumpiamangud-kurnavad-ajakirjanikke-pea-sama-palju-kui-sportlasi

Ivask, Signe (2017). TÜ meediauurija: Eesti ajakirjanikke ohustab läbipõlemine, URL: https://novaator.err.ee/635625/tu-meediauurija-eesti-ajakirjanikke-ohustab-labipolemine

Ivask, Signe; Kadakas-Himma, Marju; Salamäe, Kadri; Rajavee, Allan (2016). Журналістські нагороди частіше присуджують за таблоїдні матеріали – дослідження, URL: https://ua.ejo-online.eu/3147/etyka-ta-yakist/журналістські-нагороди-частіше-прис

Himma-Kadakas, Marju; Ivask, Signe (2013). Abstract of research report: Diminishing role of the journalist in interactive online formats. *Mediální studia/Czech and Slovak Media Studies*, pp. 364−365.

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2016–2017	Tartu Ülikool, Sotsiaalteaduste valdkond, ühiskonnateaduste instituut, praktilise ajakirjanduse assistent (0,50)
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2010–2012	Postimees AS, reporter
2009–2010	Eesti Päevaleht AS, spordireporter

Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad: ühiskonnateadused ja kultuur; kommunikatsiooni- ja infoteadused; meedia ja kommunikatsiooniteadused; ajakirjanike läbipõlemine ja stress; toimetulekumehhanismid; ajakirjanike ahistamine ja ründamine.

Doktoritöö teemaga seotud täiendavad publikatsioonid:

Ivask, Signe; Harro-Loit, Halliki (2018). Ajakirjandus, mis on oma instinktidega vastuolus. *Müürileht*, 70.

Ivask, Signe; Siil, Virgo (2018). Olümpiamängud kurnavad, aga ka rõõmustavad spordiajakirjanikke, URL: https://novaator.err.ee/682877/uuring-olumpiamangud-kurnavad-ajakirjanikke-pea-sama-palju-kui-sportlasi

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