Everybody or somebody? Assessing the impact of social media on newsroom organisational structures

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With social media's increasingly important role in fast-paced news, there is a need to identify the occupational and professional implications of social media specifically in terms of jobs and roles in newsrooms. This paper serves as a preliminary enquiry into what social media jobs have been created in newsrooms under which job titles. It explores trends associated with this and the tasks being carried out in those roles to assess the extent to which social media is ring-fenced as a responsibility. From this it is possible to query the wider impact of social media on organisational structure in newsrooms. Two main newsroom models are identified: firstly, newsrooms that place an emphasis on everyone being responsible for social media and secondly, newsrooms where social media is a specified role. The study further serves to guide social media skills for inclusion in journalism training.

Newsroom roles relating to social media have been evolving over the past decade. Their first guise was as community coordinators with The *Portland Press Herald* being one of the first newspapers to hire one full-time (Pew Centre for Civic Journalism 1998). Since 2011 'the concept of community management has become a hot topic' (The Community Roundtable 2013) and major news organisations such as the Associated Press, the BBC and the Wall Street Journal have made high-profile appointments.

The evolution of social media roles, however, has been the subject of much experimentation. Then head of digital engagement at the Guardian, Meg Pickard, tweeted how social media editors would become obsolete if they were successful (Pickard 2010). Yet the Guardian now has one of the most advanced social media teams of any newsroom with specialists embedded across editorial, community and commercial departments. The New York Times eliminated its social media editor position. Jennifer Preston said at the time: "Social media can't belong to one person. It needs to be part of everyone's job" (Tenore 2010). But the NYT went on to shift its organisational structure in 2012 and appointed Liz Heron as its social media editor.

This evolution is in some ways inevitable given the speed and dynamism of social media in newsroom practice. Even roles which once had clear start and end points have changed. Sub-editors, for example, are often now expected to be aware of sub editing for social media. Job listings in media spheres have become increasingly broad: job titles such as information architects, community coordinators, social media strategists have begun to emerge. Equally, strategies around newsroom management of social media are still very much in a transitional phase.

As the creation of social media roles has emerged, so has an active and dynamic community around those roles, including job boards and professional conferences such as the Virtual Community Summit, or the informal Community Manager Appreciation Day (on Twitter under #cmad). Lively discussions exist on Twitter under #cmgr, #community and #socialmedia hashtags.

Yet there has been little academic study to date on the occupational and professional implications of social media specifically in terms of jobs and roles within newsrooms. This paper poses three questions. What social media jobs have been created in newsrooms? What tasks are being carried out in those roles and to what extent is social media ring-fenced as a responsibility? What is the wider impact of social media on organisational structure in newsrooms?

Literature Review

Overview principles from the field of human resource management (HRM) serve as a fitting context for understanding the impact of social media on resourcing in newsrooms, notably in terms of organisational structure and labour supply (Foot and Hook 2005; Bratton and Gold 1999). Creating social media roles is a move to maximise the HRM principle of a 'competitive advantage through people' (Pfeffer, 1995) that is often overlooked (Dyer 1995).

The media workplace has a tradition of no formally organized personnel departments (Lindley 1958) and a 'news flow' historically subject to complex political, press agency and internal service factors (Oestgaard 1965). All bets were off as to how newsrooms would shape and be shaped as journalism encountered the world wide web in the late 1990s (Hall 2001). Defining the specifics of a professional model of online journalism was particularly problematic (Deuze and Dimoudi 2002). From the perspective of more practical organisational structures, the impact of convergence on newsrooms has received much academic attention (for example Dupagne and Harrison 2006; Lawson-Borders

2003; Deuze 2008).

There are competing theories on how and why such change occurs in newsrooms. Bardoel and Deuze articulate 'network journalism' as the convergence between the core competences and functions of journalists, but argue that technology in itself 'cannot be seen as the determining factor in defining what professional convergence and overall change in journalism' is (2001). The competing antithetical approach is based in the social shaping of technology (Mackay and Gillespie 1992). These two approaches have been combined into the determination-contingency framework (Lievrouw 2002) and, later through the impact of social media, to the concept of journalism as 'a shared, distributed action with multiple authors, shifting institution-audience relationships and altered labor dynamics for everyone involved' (Robinson 2011). Boczkowski (2004) finds that "new" newsroom jobs in online newsrooms are brought on by multiple information flows. The alterations in journalistic practices lead to journalists living 'out in their everyday practices a tension between tradition and change' (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). The adoption of interactive technologies follows a traditional S-shaped diffusion curve – slow at first, building more rapidly and then easing off as saturation point is reached (Rogers 1995: 5). This is of particular note when the social media specialist acts as a change agent (Rogers 1995:6), persuading or advising other people.

In terms of newsroom resourcing, early studies pre-Internet go some way to mapping how responsibilities can be divided out according to different organisational structures (Esser 1998). Garrison identifies a 'computer elite' (2000), those with greater experience and training for use of online resources. Garrison (2001) goes on to present a redefinition of roles in the newsroom resulting from adoption of the web and other online technologies 'breaking from traditional news-researcher, reporter and editor roles'. It is Aldridge who sets the most fitting precursor to the level of autonomy afforded in social media roles. Stating the 'iconic individualism' (2001) of journalists she notes how the operational meaning of being 'professional opened up spaces for radical change in what the job is, what it ought to be and how it is done' (Aldridge and Evetts 2003). A study of Finnish Broadcasting staff focussing on job descriptions, tasks, responsibilities and skills found journalists are faced with a fusion of job responsibilities and the mixing of competencies (Rintala and Suolanen 2005). Much can be learnt about organisational structures from the analysis of web production workers in general. Damarin (2006) identifies 'distinct sets of tasks that are not permanently assigned to workers but rather mixed and matched in the composition of jobs and in the contents of careers' (Damarin, 2006: 431). Where Weiss' (2009) study moves forward is in how journalists, specifically, 'are frequently faced with the transference of duties and additional tasks'. Deuze concludes that 'the routinization of newswork becomes a crucial strategy in managing the accelerated newsflow – a flow further supercharged by the addition of citizens as producers next to consumers of news through online platforms' (2008). There is a general recognition that social and networked media have prompted the emergence of new roles (Beckett and Mansell 2008). Cross-industry studies have looked at how organizations structure social media teams (Ragan 2013). However there have, to date, been no specific studies on the occupational and professional specifics of social media jobs in newsrooms.

Inevitably, social media has impacted on who does what. Hedman and Djerf-Pierre

(2012) identify three main categories of journalists in their use of social media: skeptical shunners, pragmatic conformists and enthusiastic activists with evidence of a professional digital divide between categories. The differences in social media use are mainly associated with journalists' age and type of work but also with professional attitudes towards audience adaptation and branding. Lewis' framing of journalistic 'boundary work' - a natural inclination to patrol and preserve what is familiar, while also dominating activities such as blogging and user-generated content - offers a pertinent perspective when set against the evolution of social media roles which juggle user-generated content or social media production (2012). This results in a professional-participatory tension (Singer et al 2011). The tendency has been to normalize audience material to meet existing recognisable formats (Singer 2005), within the flow of news that is required opportunistically (Bruno 2011) or simply demoting it to the periphery (Singer et al 2011; Karlsson 2011), potentially demonstrating resistance to change. This relationship between journalist and audience is important in contextualising any new role which has as its aim to specialise in social media, bridging between the news worker and 'active recipients' (Hermida 2011) 'the people formerly known as the audience' (Rosen 2006) also known by the NUJ as 'witness contributors' or 'information providers' (Stromback 2005) depending on the level of news professionalism accorded.

As social media has been normalized into journalistic processes, focus has turned to its use in sourcing, producing and disseminating stories. Gulyas (2013) explores the uses of social media by journalists and their views about these tools in four European countries, but stops short of attributing that usage to roles or structures. Other studies have focused on social media as a professional journalistic tool (Hjort et al 2011), how social media can create a beat for journalists to manage or be part of (Armstrong and Gao 2010; Broersma and Graham_2012) or the impact of blogging on newsroom practices (Hermida 2009; Sheffer and Schultz_2009; Nielsen 2012). Research is increasingly specifying how Twitter is being used in storytelling whether at the individual journalist level (Artwick 2013; Lasorsa et al 2012; Hermida 2010) or in specific genres such as sports journalism (Price Farrington and Hall 2012). There is also a clear evolution of academic analysis in sourcing practice from early critiques of journalists relying on official sources and 'readymade' news events (Fishman 1980; Shoemaker and Reese 1996) through lack of objectivity and distortion (Davies 2009) to the complexities of modern-day sourcing practices through social media (Diakupoulos 2012). This has also impacted on journalists' professional norms, ideals and identities in relation to social media (Bogaerts 2011) and on a general perception of journalist roles and visions of the future of the industry (de Macedo Higgins 2009).

In order to remain relevant, journalism trainers must respond to the changes in process and skill set brought on by social media. Lowrey et al (2005) first assessed how journalism schools were experimenting with convergence in curricula and then how 'journalism as a process' could be incorporated (Robinson 2013; Bradshaw 2013). Others specify how social media skills can be best used in multi-faceted learning (Hewett 2013) or indeed the extent to which students themselves are the barrier to 'professional fluency' in social media (Hirst 2011). Specific social media training courses exist such as Get Satisfaction's Community Management Certification course, designed to train new and current commu-

nity professionals. This paper surfaces a range of social media tools and techniques that trainers should note in particular for use in the classroom, or at course and module design level.

Definitions

Because social media tasks in newsrooms, and the jobs relating to those tasks, involve evolving processes, the terminology surrounding them is also evolving. Definitions of social media follow the evolution of communication processes (Beer and Burrows 2007), through web 2.0 and the use of a technological platform to create, modify, share, and discuss content rather than passively consume it (Fuchs et al 2010) towards user-generated content, the sum of all the ways in which people make use of social media (Kaplan 2010; Kietzmann et al 2011; Hanna et al 2011) or add a degree of experimentation (Harrison and Barthel (2009:174). It is within the field of sociology where the most nuanced distinctions of social media can be found. Citing Ellison's (2007) work clarifying social network and social networking sites, Beer (2008) pushes for 'more differentiated classifications of the new online cultures' which have yet to settle. Social media can be conceptualized as 'flickering connectivities' (Hayles 2005) and 'cultural circuits of capital' (Thrift 2005: 93) that build towards an online 'participatory culture' (Jenkins 2006) that allows for 'networked public spheres' where audiences can share, discuss and contribute to the news (Hermida 2011). Social media is 'the space outside of the recognised structures… where people interact and create content' (Cook and Dickinson 2013).

Social media is defined here to reflect the impact of these wider shifts on roles and jobs within newsrooms. It is understood to be social platforms and interactions as part of the journalistic functions of news gathering, publishing and discussion that happen predominantly away from a home website or publication. This could include activity on social sharing platforms (such as Facebook, Flickr, Pinterest, Google), social communication tools (such as Storify, Twitter, Reddit, Tumblr, Topsy, Hootsuite, Facebook Opengraph) and social multimedia sites (such as Instagram, Youtube or Vimeo).

Social media jobs are defined as specific roles in newsrooms where the primary responsibility of the role is to engage with that social media. Engaging with users is a primary focus and a high level of social media competence would be expected. This also recognises the engagement in social media on behalf of a larger brand, or professional purpose, rather than personal use (Hedman and Dierf-Pierre, 2012). The most commonly cited job titles were: community coordinator, communities editor, community architect, social media manager, social media editor, and social media coordinator. These are classed as first generation social media jobs.

There is much subjectivity and diversity in roles, with some differentiating them from social media management (Pedde 2012). However there was not space within the confines of this preliminary study to explore these distinctions. Rather, the definition was more concerned with the distinction from other roles such as online editors and reporters.

Where the study does begin to draw a line is between first generation and management-level social media jobs. Evidence emerged of newsroom management roles which have specific social media responsibilities. These included roles such as head of audience and

engagement. These roles often included line management of community teams, as well as an emphasis on social media strategic perspectives and are referred to as second-generation social media jobs. There is a growing range of social media roles that exist in non-newsroom settings, the mapping of which would be of further value to journalism trainers.

Method

Methods in this study comprised analysis of job adverts and industry job news, case studies of seven newsrooms and a survey to triangulate the findings. Firstly, 6,088 job adverts were gathered from 16th September 2011 to 28th June 2013 from the weekly Gorkana Journalism Jobs email service. Gorkana were chosen as specialists in media recruitment. Guardian Media Job alerts and alerts from Hold The Front Page were also gathered, but were later dismissed in order to reduce the overlap of job adverts in the sample. The job adverts were systematically approached; firstly, the sample was divided into jobs and internships, with a total number of job ads counted for each. These were then divided into sub categories: social media jobs/internship and indirect social media jobs/internships. A job listing was categorised as social media, for example, where the job clearly stated in the title that the main responsibility was social media. Jobs for maternity cover were included while media training and freelance listings were not. It also allowed an assessment of change over time. Dividing subcategories relating to internships also evidenced the extent to which social media was a 'starter' job opportunity. The purpose of this method was to ascertain what social media jobs have been created in newsrooms and the job titles.

A qualitative analysis of media industry personnel news via monthly Gorkana Consumer Alerts was also carried out. A total of 173 alerts from October 2011 to June 2013 were included. These email 'newsletters' allowed for a more narrative insight of roles being created within the newsroom around social media, or those posts which were more transient in nature. A similar method was used to identify a set of curation competencies for professionals within the field of digital information services (Kim et al 2013).

Then, staff working in newsrooms in a social media role were invited to complete a survey. This was created as a Google spreadsheet and shared across social networks. This method was used to ascertain job titles, to what extent social media was a starter position, where the role fitted in the organisational structure and the skills involved. It also required a breakdown of the social media tasks completed in the role under six categories: monitoring, advising, evangelising, content creation, audience engagement, and dissemination to further guide journalism curricula. The survey was written to allow responses to be as free as possible and 14 respondents took part.

Finally a case study approach was used to research organisational structures and overall strategy behind social media resourcing. The case studies were made up of varied content including 40 semi-structured interviews with members of management and editorial teams, newsroom observations and organisational charts. This allowed for a relatively free exploration of the strategic reasoning which informed the social media resourcing plan as it is evolving, with specific focus on ring-fencing social media as a position. Seven newsroom case studies were included: *Channel 4*, *BBC North West Tonight*, *Sky News*, *The Guardian*, *Trinity Mirror*, *North West Evening Mail* from the CN Group, *BBC*

Africa. The sample was chosen to offer a variety of newsroom settings in both size and main platform. The case studies allowed for the categorisation of 'everybody' or 'somebody' models as adopted by Garrison (2001) in his breakdown of staff conducting online research in newsrooms.

Analysis

Evolving occupational characteristics

It is apparent that there is little consistency in the organisational and professional implications of social media, which are still evolving. The job alert analysis identified 92 social media roles and a further 418 were classed as indirect social media responsibilities from a total of 6,088 job listings. This data allowed for a preliminary categorisation of social media job titles in newsrooms. These included job titles such as social media, community coordination, social media strategy, community architects, digital debate editors, social media writers, community content curators and community evangelists. The market for external supply (Foot & Hook 2005: 53) of people into social media roles from outside newsrooms is therefore relatively niche. Specialist social media jobs represent a relatively new field with nine out of 14 respondents moving to their social media job since 2011. News of appointments on Gorkana Consumer Alerts between September 2011 and June 2013 confirms this. Social media jobs were notable for their absence with the majority of listings referring to traditional newsroom roles. Within 173 alerts read, only 17 specific social media roles were classified. In the sample period of job listings, 1.5% of the total job listings were classed as social media roles, and 6.8% for indirect social media jobs.

There is more evidence to support the case that social media jobs evolve from within the newsroom (Foot & Hook 2005: 50). In the structured online survey all but two respondents said they had been recruited into their social media post internally. One multimedia producer said: 'The role came from my own initiative. Social media became an add-on. The role evolves organically. The job changes all the time and I can direct the evolution rather than waiting to be assigned new tasks.' Another social media producer said: 'Social media has been a gradual shift in the last three to four years to become something that is the theme of the newsroom.' This is also supported by trends noted on specialist community coordinator job boards: 'I don't see roles like that advertised.' (John 2013) and in other industry sectors 'overwhelmingly staffed in house.' (The Community Roundtable 2013:11).

The data was somewhat contradictory as to whether social media could be described as a starter job. From the structured survey 13 out of 14 said their role was not their first newsroom job. However from analysis of the 981 intern job listings between September 2011 and June 2013 it is possible to suggest internships are more likely to include social media activities. In comparison to the full-time roles, the percentage of internships classed as social media was more than double the job listings (3.7% of internships were classed as social media compared to 1.5% of job alerts). The internships classed as maybe social media were also higher (9.7% compared to 6.8% in the job listings).

Organisational structure: everybody

The study found that the existence and creation of social media jobs in newsrooms related to two broader categories of newsroom organisational structure. This was evidenced in particular from the seven mainstream newsroom case studies. The first model placed an emphasis on all newsroom staff sharing responsibilities for social media. In this model there was often a social media champion or a member of the newsroom staff praised as being an example of best practice but the tasks were largely divided up across teams. S*ky News London, BBC North West Tonight, Channel 4 news* and regional title *North West Evening Mail* from publisher CN Group could best be described by this model. There were three main reasons cited for this strategic approach: a lack of staff resources to have a ring-fenced social media role; shift patterns which would make it difficult for a separate social media person to offer consistency in the tasks needing to be delivered; general championing of the team approach.

At *Sky News London* social media tasks are divided up across a complex organisational structure, which incorporates many teams such as newsdesk, online and iPad. 'We simply don't have the resource to have a dedicated social media team so this is the best way of managing things' (Richardson 2013). Similarities could be drawn with the workflow at *BBC North West Tonight* newsroom. The management team is made up of four editors, deputies and assistant editors. The assistant editors take on different responsibilities, such as social media.

> *'I would take responsibility for social media rather than it be a job, and it certainly was not specified in the job description. Everyone who is deemed responsible has the log-in details for the social media accounts so it is done by everyone.' (Steggles 2013)*

Presenters update the programme's branded Twitter and Facebook feeds, @BBCnwt and *BBC North West Tonight* page respectively, while on-screen correspondents run social media under their own branded accounts, at their discretion. Planning desk focus on retweets, call outs for stories, researching leads using tools such as Twitter lists and Tweetdeck and experimenting with different hashtags. A series of social media guides and training sessions help divide social media tasks to specific roles 'otherwise it would never get done':

> *'Presenters can offer a personal touch and people really like that - there is one who is very good and I can use them as an example of best practice. There have been no new jobs created because of social media; it's extra that people have had to take on.' (Dummigan 2012)*

At *Channel 4 News*, Twitter is used to inject the news programme's 'fun and personality', according to senior programme editor online, Paul Brannan. While there has not been a huge sea change in job descriptions, he advocates everyone in the 120-strong team being involved:

> *"Anna Doble was our social media editor and her role was to infect everyone with social media. But that role is anachronistic. The trouble is that everyone else thinks 'it's not my job -it's the social media editor's job. But social media should be part of the DNA of every journalist, part of their operating kit, and not something hived off to a specialist. Part of the process of writing a story now is tweeting, Facebooking and G+ing. If there is a social media editor they abdicate responsibility for it. You can no longer say you are this or you're that: you have to do everything." (Brannan 2012)*

A banner suspended from the ceiling at the *North West Evening Mail* reminds all report-

Articles

ers to use Facebook and Twitter. All the newsroom staff are expected to source and disseminate content on social platforms, with newsdesk putting out callouts for story ideas before conference. "All the reporters post questions and engage with social media: it's an important way of interacting, often with swift results. This is a small team with shift pattern; it would be impossible to have only one person responsible for social media." (Lee 2012)

Here, roles begin to resemble the post-bureaucratic model of work (Heckscher 1994) in which workers more independently self-manage their tasks (Carlson and Zmud 1999; Giuliano 1991). Separate and explicit job descriptions are being in some ways overshadowed by fluid, ambiguous and deliberately ill-defined tasks and roles (Dess et al., 1995) in this newsroom model.

Organisational structure: somebody

In the second broad category of newsroom organisational structure, there was evidence to suggest specified social media jobs exist. This model was evidenced at The Guardian newsroom, Trinity Mirror regional titles and BBC Africa Service. The Guardian has had a community team for three years, headed up by a Digital Development Editor (Social & Communities Editor). Laura Oliver, community manager, is in charge of the day-to-day strategic running of ten community coordinators who are each embedded in different desks.

> *"The logic is that we want our editorial staff to be involved with social media and engaged with readers, part of their day to day. If we put it entirely on to one team or pool we risk it being syphoned off or too easily siloed. However it does still need to be a group of specialist staff who can test out new platforms and push ahead. We are the guinea pigs to keep updating and advising others on what works best. There is still a challenge to make sure everyone is on board but having community staff in each desk allows us to use different social media techniques for different needs." (Oliver 2013)*

Regional newsgroup Trinity Mirror has steered a comprehensive strategic shift to Newsroom 3.0 since 2012 with digital priorities on social media and live blogging. Newsrooms have been restructured to make way for Community Content Curators, non-journalists who manage social media accounts and prepare or process content from social media and community contributors. They work under the Communities Editor, who works with the digital desk.

> *"It's about putting digital and social right across the newsroom. On the outer levels all journalists are expected to use social media, on the inner circle is web editors and then at the centre of that is a social media champion who are immersed in social media, living and breathing it more than anyone else. Social media evangelist - enthusiast isn't enough"' (Higgerson 2013).*

In this model, social media has emerged as a specialist role. 'It has to be ring-fenced so that someone is away from the article with the attention to concentrate just on social. It really helps with the live blog, and suggesting social media strategy' (Harper 2013).

In 2011, *BBC Africa* created a full-time Social Media Producer to make changes to boost social media usage across the team. The role had four main aims: to find stories and eyewitnesses, to find unique contributors, to generate traffic to radio programmes and to

engage with audiences.

> *"The challenge was embedding a cutting-edge social media operator in the radio news team to get everyone to ringfence time in their day to engage with social media. Young, aspirational Africans are much more savvy on social media but as a manger it is difficult to quantify success: should we have a target number of Twitter followers? But we are in the land of disruption, the Wild West because of social media." (Mayoux 2011)*

However within this model there is a risk of other staff resisting social media. The challenges of a specified role include convincing other team members to enagage. 'Social media journalism is a different kind of journalism and you need to invest a lot of time to achieve it. The newsroom have been confused about the impact of this role on workflow.' (Quansah 2011) This was echoed by respondents to the survey, all of who said they expected their colleagues to engage with social media. Some expressed a wish that other newsroom staff came on board more.

Social media tasks

Findings from the survey and case studies were collated to ascertain the tasks being carried out by staff in social media roles, so as to better inform how curricula – or teaching and learning practice – can be adapted in recognition of these tasks. These were categorised under: monitoring, advising, evangelising, content creation, audience engagement, and dissemination. These categories were selected based on 'how-to' articles by experienced social media professionals (for example Knight and Cook 2013; Murphy 2013). This information is of particular value for those hoping to work in these roles, or trainers preparing others for these roles.

Monitoring: Tasks included managing branded Twitter, Facebook and Google+ accounts, Facebook pages and community pages, searching for people and content, tracking comments on content management systems, tracking analytics (on bitly and other software), and using Spundge and Tweetdeck (or other social media dashboards). Monitoring also included community management and sharing content with key influencers. Some monitoring was said to happen out of hours 'if the topic demands'. One respondent cited the need to monitor other social media staff.

Advising tasks included training other staff on social media and demonstrating tools, helping to implement best practice, and deciding how best social media could be shared across newsrooms. Several respondents cited an involvement in writing strategy. Story ideas from social media were also passed to the news team.

Evangelising included sharing ideas across the newsroom, encouraging journalists to build individual brands, promoting how social media can enhance and promote the print product, championing the uses and possibilities of social media, and suggesting stories for writers and crafting tweets. One said: 'I spend half my day doing this - mentioning others and getting their names out there.' Another said: '[Evangelising] is done by championing, praising, encouraging and sending out examples of great work recognised by [its performance] on shares.'

Content creation tasks included managing website content, using widgets and programme widgets, Facebook posts, writing breaking news events, feeding tweets through

to news teams, and internal newsletters about social media analytics. One respondent, a social media coordinator, said: 'I stare at Tweetdeck all day, gathering relevant tweets.' Other tools cited were Hootsuite, Topsy, Geofeedia and Trendsmap.

Audience engagement included sharing planning applications on Slideshare, organising guest posts on blogs, expanding debates and discussions, and asking for comments on stories. Specific tasks included Tweet of the Day, Flickr spreads, nostalgia pages, Pub of the Week, Ask the Audience web chats, setting up Jotforms, promoting surveys and polls, asking readers for case studies, and tailoring news to people's interests according to social buzz.

Dissemination responsibilities focussed around linking and verification tasks, often posting to social networks with links back to website content. Specific tools included Google calendar, Coveritlive, Youtube, Googlemaps, RSS and teaser content, writing posts on social networks. Competences included knowing how much content to send out to avoid being 'unliked' and knowing strategies on how to post to drive traffic back to websites, retweeting across accounts, creating lists, scheduling tweets and retweeting. Three respondents said they did not have dissemination tasks in their role.

Much of the task-based data support Damarin's (2006) findings that tasks involved in online work are multifaceted and ever-changing, presenting a particular challenge to journalism trainers.

Second-generation social media roles

In the relatively short period since 2011, the data suggests social media roles have already experienced a cycle of evolution. This has occurred in two prominent directions. Firstly, management-level social media, which includes roles such as 'head of' and include strategy (for example, writing social media policy documents, or identifying strategic objectives or partnerships). Secondly, social media roles that have moved beyond evangelising or day-to-day running (especially personal updates to Facebook or Twitter for example) into research and testing.

The management-level social media role often includes line management. Communities editor for Trinity Mirror regionals Jo Kelly says: 'The second generation social media role is very much about experimenting and listening. My job has become more about the process of social media across offices and community teams' (Kelly 2013). The role can also emerge as a level of expertise. Hannah Waldram is one of 10 community coordinators at The Guardian who are embedded into different desks (such as news, sport, music, global development) to reduce the demarcation of social media as a role.

> "Our role has evolved into more of a specialism. As more reporters get on board we can offer more specialist and advisory social media services. We can look ahead to bigger projects, do more on social search and analytics, following social trends - and because we are not in the day-to-day story pressure we can experiment with social media, try things and then feedback." (Waldram 2013)

In this way there was evidence to suggest a diffusion of innovation (Rogers 1995: 5) in that expertise – in this case around social media - had been communicated through the team over time, which frees up social media staff to become more specialist. 'There

is no need to be evangelising about social media any more, that is what we had to do before individual reporters were on board. Now I can focus more on partnerships and more technical developments' (Richardson 2013). The evolution of second-generation social media roles is broadly consistent with findings in other sectors (Caggiano & Hurst 2013) and concurs with broader commentary on the need for alternate processes to deal with social media (Millington 2013).

Conclusions

Echoing the changing habits that were indicative of the evolution in information gathering in the newsroom in the 1990s, there is a similar tentative redefinition of newsroom roles taking place as the newer social media expertise are adopted. The study finds that the organisational structure implications of social media are still evolving with varied approaches. As Rogers (1995: 738) indicated, this is a process and not a case of immediate transition. Two main newsroom models are identified. Firstly, newsrooms which place an emphasis on everyone being responsible for social media (but may have a social media champion), prompted by resourcing issues, shift patterns and a general championing of the team approach.

The second newsroom model is categorised as the 'somebody' approach in that social media is more ring-fenced or driven forward by social-media specific roles, both functionally and strategically. All newsroom staff are still expected to engage with social media, particularly day-to-day and one-to-one exchanges on personal accounts. However, specified roles exist to drive social media forward as a strategic editorial or experimentation priority.

Job titles relating to these social media roles include social media editors, community coordinators, social media strategists, community architects, digital debate editors, social media writers, community content curators and community evangelists. The study provides evidence to suggest how defined roles emerge from within the newsroom and can be led autonomously by individual competences. It is of particular note for journalism trainers that internships were particularly likely to include social media skills. In some cases, second-generation social media roles have emerged. These take two main forms: management-level social media roles, or roles where social media is acknowledged as a specific expertise.

As social media continues to evolve it is likely social media occupational and professional characteristics will also evolve. The study prompts extensive areas for further study in order to better understand the occupational impact of social media on newsroom organisational structures.

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