

Roles and Routines in Investigative Journalism in Collaborative Environments

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Abstract—A global network of journalistic networks has transformed investigative journalism over the past two decades, adding layers of collaboration to what was previously an individual pursuit. A recent case of collaborative investigative reporting at its best was a worldwide effort to reveal breaches of tax haven information, through the Panama Papers (2016). As a result of these remarkable accomplishments, study on multicountries partnership is rising. However, it's still unclear how this combining of facilities, connections, and time has influenced day-to-day operation. Newsrooms in developing and heritage newsrooms are navigating their patterns and duties while creating new investigative journalistic practices. The Guardian, a mainstream media firm that has worked at both the domestic and international levels, and Bureau Local, a society/neighborhood journalism co-op, are all given as examples. These actors use a language of justification to explain the differences between the old and the new. While “new” ideas become more common with time, notions like cooperation are also becoming element of decision-making process, and information and information development take place within the conventional context of reporting.

Keywords—Collaboration, Investigative journalism, Journalistic roles, News ecology.

I. INTRODUCTION

Several investigations journalism studies have been done (Feldstein, 2006; Protess et al., 1991; Aucoin, 2005). In the 1970s, the Watergate crisis reinforced investigative journalism's status as a crusader position (Schudson, 1992). Within the framework of a media ecosystem that promotes cross-border cooperation, an increasing number of academics have noticed the loss of the investigative journalist (Sambrook, 2018; Konow-Lund et al., 2019; Carson and Farhall, 2018; Konieczna, 2018; Heft et al., 2017; Berglez and Gearing, 2018) and all allude to a lack of academic knowledge into investigative journalism's latest reorganization. Nonetheless, in the aftermath of the Panama Papers narrative (2016), some scholarly and professional additions to the subject of study have arisen (Graves and Shabbir, 2019; Stonbely, 2017; Alfter, 2019). The employment of digital technologies in journalism collaboration has also gained attention (Baack, 2018, 2016). However, these researches are unable to catch up with the program's ever-changing cast of characters and (frequently vast) resources.

We examine the factors that shape this journalistic practice in the present study. This paper examines the factors that relates to journalistic practice in collaborative environment and followed rules and routines. Jenkins

and Graves (2019) wrote in their study, these projects have gotten little recognition than strong domestic and international cooperation.” It starts with a broad definition of cooperation, which is defined as the act of working together toward a common goal (Konow-Lund et al., 2019). Researchers struggle to define investigative journalism and several experts argue that there is no specific description (Grndahl Larsen, 2017). As stated by Rnebring and Steka (2013), investigative reporting is a practice as well as art with transferable skills. It advances when practitioners try to reach and surpass the reporting's superior quality benchmark, argues James Aucoin. According to Baggi, 2011; Houston, 2009; Lewis, 2018; Gynnild, 2013, 1960s were the era when investigative journalists and editors rejuvenated investigative journalism as a social practice in the United States.

After offering training courses, workshops, cooperative, and topical initiatives, the Investigative Reporting Education Association (IRE) defined investigative journalism as “the reporting of important matters, upon one's action plan and piece of work.” It is common for subjects of reporting to request that certain information be withheld (Houston, 2009). According to numerous academics, investigative reporting and reporting for public utility are fourth pillar of state (Gearing, 2016; Konieczna, 2018).

As cases, we chose three investigative journalism organizations that are in transition, but more importantly, we chose three organizations that reach addressees in separate, but similar, fields of interest. Bristol Cable operates on neighborhood level, another information bureau is Bureau Local which coordinates data on domestic level and mainstream media company. The Guardian has been operating on domestic and international level for many years. When traditional organizations and innovative new ones are undergoing transformation, as well as veteran experts and participants who have no previous experience of investigative reporting, the issue is that how to determine the rules and language of the practice.

II. ROUTINES AND ROLES IN THE CONTEXT OF ORGANIZATIONS AND CONCRETE PRACTICES ARE DISCUSSED

Journalism's interprofessional roles have progressed over conventional newsroom responsibilities and procedures (Ryfe, 2017). The researchers have limited knowledge that how reporting process changes, alluding to how news creation routines and practices are evolving, how reporters interpret these changes, and what it is meant for reporter production and self-concepts (2011). Defined routine is therefore central to any discussion of news creation. Routines of reporters are defined as sequences and forms (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). According to Ryfe (2017), routines, on the other hand, do not lead practice but instead legitimize acts independent of the practice being conducted.

They emphasize a practical understanding of routine over industry, habit, or consensus oriented definitions (1996). "Routines should not be viewed as expressions of external pressures on journalists" (Ryfe, 2017). Ryfe makes this connection between practical knowledge and news production, rather than formal knowledge. Routines can be viewed in two ways: "As organized by organizational settings, regulated and replicated in actions, or formed by social practices" (Westlund and Ekström, 2019). Routines are thus linked to patterns of action. As stated by Westlund and Ekström (2019), these variables denote different stages of social structure." This component describes how routines emerge from daily activities and usual and recurring behaviors (Ryfe, 2017).

Planning and structuring of routines and their occurrence as a result of socializing must be in the knowledge of Ethnographers. Westlund and Ekström (2019) highlighted those social activities are both preceded by and shaped by routines. Westlund and Ekström (2019) use the two categories of organizational setting and solid actions to investigate several dimensions of updated and digitalized news creation. Routines are necessary because one of the organization's main goals is to generate knowledge. News actors have a lot of work to do and must do it in a systematic way. To justify routines and practices, the organizations and participants have to develop a system of reasoning (Westlund and Ekström, 2019). According to Ettema and Glasser (1987), investigative journalism is characterized by the presence of knowledge construction, which highlights

the fact the factual assertions are not uniform instead depend on their circumstances (Westlund and Ekstrom, 2019). The pre-justified facts, Ettema and Glasser (1987) refer to in investigative journalism, are used in reporting and contacting sources. It's crucial to pay attention to how patterns are invoked and managed to comprehend changing trends; this should be regarded as a combination of organizational setting and particular practices, where information building and information cooperation are critical resources.

III. METHODS AND EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

In three case studies, 20 news workers from three different organizations participated in semi-structured qualitative interviews. Investigative journalism has alternative working models in each of these three cases. The local and the national are also a common theme in all of their discussions. Furthermore, they all necessitate personnel learning new jobs and developing new abilities. A case study is useful when the researcher wants to know "how" and "why," has limited influence over what happens, and wants to focus on "comprehensive" and "useful" aspects of real-life occurrences, according to some scholars (Yin, 2003). Journalists of new and existing news agencies are impacted by collaborative practices and digital technology changes. There are two cases which include creative start-ups that engage communities and connect with people (i.e., Bristol Cable and BL). Another case is The Guardian. Reporting, coordination, and community engagement are among the traditional and hybrid journalistic functions performed at these locations, as are roles played by citizens, activists, and hackers.

The article gathers information not only by ground remarks and surveys but also by internal records and, most crucially, through recurrent observation sessions throughout time, using a hermeneutic approach (Gans, 1979/2004; Schlesinger, 1978; Tuchman, 1978). For instance, several months following my first trips, I returned to BL and Bristol Cable, and conducted partially organized qualitative surveys with a number of informants outside of The Guardian's workplace (Wadel, 1991; Johansen, 1981). According to Knut Helland (1993), fieldwork is a particular form of interpretive action. Because field observation and partly organized qualitative surveys are used together, one's analysis can be continuously refined by asking disagreements, clarification of hypotheses and findings, and even more precise queries.

Thirty semi-structured qualitative interviews with anonymous stakeholders were conducted in conjunction with field studies at The Guardian, Bristol Cable, and Bureau for Investigative Journalism spanning over 3 days, 3 weeks, and 4 weeks (distributed over almost 7 months), respectively. By the end of July 2019, Bristol Cable had 2000 paying members. As well as producing a quarterly newspaper, it organizes workshops, events, and annual meetings for members as well as open meetings for the general public. The Omidiyar Network, among others, has provided funding. BL is not only part of BIJ, but it is also a platform which is funded by Google, and it is supported when necessary. Founded in

1821, The Guardian's print edition adopted "digital first" approach in 2011 which resulted in a substantial growth in readers worldwide. However, The Guardian's reputation for quality journalism has not diminished despite recent financial setbacks. Scott trust has been funding this Liberal British Newspaper since 1936 (Ilan, 2012). To make a comparison of young business organizations such as BL and Bristol Cable with traditional organization that has recently adapted to the digital age (The Guardian), I chose these case studies as examples. After describing the organization's structure, the sections that follow discuss any changes to its routines or roles that may have occurred since the organization's formation.

IV. COOPERATIVE'S ROLES: FROM JOURNALISM CRITICISM TO BECOMING JOURNALISTS

Bristol Cable was founded by three college friends who saw a need for accountability in domestic market of British media (Informant, January 26, 2018; Informant, December 22, 2017). Due to the recession's impact on local media and the closure of publications, the founders of Bristol Cable envisioned an organization capable of fostering collaborations with the engagement of citizens and the neighborhood population. In nutshell, they used their reporting to influence their "close areas" (Informant, December 22, 2017). The goal of Bristol Cable was to show that holding authority accountable did not require a formal institutional set of journalism; instead, shared beliefs and aims can maintain a set up capable of incorporating the contribution of everybody involved in the task. A quarterly journal was published by Bristol Cable, and it also hosted activities for members to gain knowledge regarding news industry and decisions concerning editing of content and coverage through a flat production system. As a result, everyone in the organization was paid the same amount that was initially set as basic salary. "I'm not making enough money from Bristol Cable to support myself," one source bemoaned. "Working for Bristol Cable costs me money in certain aspects, without even considering foregone earning ability." (The Informant, December 21, 2017). This source returned toward this statement in 2019: Adequate compensation is given to us now to survive; however, the wage is anything but fair, and the primary motivator is a passion for cause and work. Compensation, on the other hand, has been crucial in instilling a sense of worth in our work and enabling us to devote time to Bristol Cable without working for another employment or dip into our reserves. When we get older, with more experience and some expecting children, there will be a need to raise our wages even more to stay afloat, or risk losing employees who will be unable to work for basic wage. (Informant, August 7, 2019). In initial days, everyone needed to supplement their income – two of the pioneers had to work in the catering industry, while others relied on their savings (Informant, December 21, 2018). Despite the fact that journalism requires organization (Tuchman, 1978), job designations were purposely selected to minimize hierarchical implications, which meant that although everybody in the room was

described as a media coordinator, all of them were doing different tasks.

My research at Bristol Cable uncovered more flaws in the desired flat organizational set up, since a rank hierarchy had started to emerge purely to assist task assignment to avoid repetition and maximize efficiency. At the time, my informants claimed to be actively seeking to reorganize the co-op in response to this trend, holding whole day sessions to build an agreed set of principles, standards, and procedures to lead the organization. The sessions were designed to improve interaction and identify common goals to build routines, procedures, and responsibilities that would reduce possible disagreement and stress. During these meetings, there was always a show of mutual respect, but there were also open conversations on how to be "horizontal" while actually completing the task. One source highlighted how important it was to juggle numerous roles that were difficult as well as beneficial. I work as an assistant editor, coeditor, commissioning editor, reporter, and production manager, so I do a lot of different stuff. which is incredibly challenging. I wish I had more time to devote to larger sections of reporting, but it is still a fascinating career. I would have no say in what I reported and researched if I worked for the mainstream media, therefore, it is a tremendous advantage. It's a genuinely unique experience to be able to pick what you want to do and the way you do that. In spite of getting instructed that what we need to do, getting a voice in what we need to do and how we should be doing it sets us apart from any major media organization. According to a source, January 26, 2018, several discussions with the actors of Bristol Cable along with my fieldwork remarks in 2017 uncovered contradictions and stresses regarding the roles at the co-op. There is a possible explanation that the majority of sources of Bristol Cable began their careers with insignificant reporting expertise. The aforesaid source makes derogatory statements about mainstream journalism despite knowing very little about it. When I questioned my sources in response to my question regarding this inconsistency during my research, my sources stated that they were gaining knowledge through experience, and few of them acquired ideas and advice at conferences on journalism and from regional experienced reporters with whom they interacted (field observation, November 9, 2017). As previously stated, Bristol Cable's stated goal was to develop a sustainable media entity that would enable people to make local government accountable, my sources emphasized that the process was just as crucial as the outcome. A horizontal newsroom structure, on the other hand, allowed citizens, pioneers, journalists, as well as other coworkers to present ideas and themes. A project of Bristol Cable grew into a partnership with The Guardian and BL/BIJ to draw attention to the fact that one out of five persons questioned by teams of immigration control in the UK is a British citizen. Bristol Cable managed the collaboration's coordination, whereas BIJ/BL offered technical skills and expertise; and this combination allowed them to acquire access to data of Home Office about the issue. A source of BL/BIJ lauded Bristol Cable for attempting to leverage cross-institutional collaboration to broaden the

story's impact outside the community scale, possibly lending it national political resonance (and even resolution; informant BIJ/BL, December 15, 2017). This story was originally published in *The Guardian* (Gayle et al., 2017), but the findings have been picked up by a number of local news organizations. One BIJ/BL source praised Bristol Cable for aiming to use cross-institutional collaboration to expand the story's influence beyond the local level, potentially giving it country's political relevance and solution (Source BL/BIJ, December 15, 2017). *The Guardian* originally published this story (Gayle et al., 2017), however, it was picked up by a variety of local media outlets.

A number of obstacles were faced by Bristol Cable as it carried out its idealistic organizational project. One of the challenges they faced was balancing their personal beliefs with the need to produce high-quality monitoring reporting through professional cooperation with BL or *The Guardian*. Another was the establishment of a media hub for live events, open meetings, and door knocking to propagate the concept of a citizens' media cooperative. Professional arrangements had to be prepared as well to entice participation from neighborhood reporters. Participants regularly highlighted involvement, openness, and retaining power accountable when I watched discussions about how to modify norms and values at Bristol Cable. "Our goal is the construction of a set up that allows people to develop their own press," one source said at a session (field observation, Bristol Cable, November 10, 2017). According to a source, they wanted to achieve a compromise between the concept of involvement and the desire to create a product that people would like to read (Ibid). The ability to address social inequalities was the most important value, and the significance of creating an affect was stressed multiple times (field observation, Bristol Cable, November 10, 2017). It was suggested that the media organization must be "natively orientated but internationally and domestically oriented" (field observation, Bristol Cable, November 10, 2017).

These conversations revealed that sources had noticed an uptick in reciprocal support and sympathy across reporters' organizations, and that were termed as a "cooperative atmosphere," which prompted Bristol Cable's employees to try hard to encourage its members to engage. Several informants stated that they had grown to value investigative journalism's work and that monitoring reporting was good to impact of Bristol Cable, despite their initial harshness against the mainstream media in general. As these amateurs developed into professionals, they acquired the discernment necessary to make sound judgments and justify those judgments to other people.

V. BL: BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER AND EDUCATING TOMORROW'S IMPACTFUL JOURNALISTS

While the participants in Bristol Cable lacked news reporting expertise, the BL from the beginning included individuals with media expertise, comprising education and/or experience. BL was the invention of BIJ's managing editor who had been tracking the management and coordination

of roughly 400 reporters of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, from 80 countries and 107 news organizations working on the Panama Papers. This editor questioned if a national level version of that kind of international cooperation, built on a more proactive data hub, and could be successful. An independent charity created in 2010, the BL was surrounded by conventional investigative reporters and their procedures because it was situated within BIJ. The BL was established to replace what Howells (2015) characterizes to as journalism "dark matter" left by the death of several neighborhood news organizations in a super competitive, digitally enabled domestic press market.

BL's newsroom and news desk were structured in a proactive manner. Reporters would host events to involve the public in conversations on making authority accountable and then build interdisciplinary partnerships. My research took place between 2017 and the spring of 2018, the same year the platform was formed and thus depicts the organization's early stages. The BL's initial focus was on connecting its stakeholders with local reporters, activists, writers, hackers, and students of journalism across the country. This was done by providing information and stories through Slack, a digital collaboration medium with "enormous potential" for building and maintaining pro bono connections (Bunce et al., 2018). However, the problem of such virtual newsrooms, in the contemporary setting, is the difficulty players have in differentiating their work and personal lives (Bunce et al., 2018).

Slack is one of the technologies utilized at the BL for linking of actors in the local media scene. The director of the BL and the managing editor of the BIJ both stressed the necessity of combining physical press events with efforts to make statistical reporting as approachable as feasible. "Director of BL explained that how hard they had to work in order to raise awareness about the concept, to get individuals to join, and made copious notes on it." "We spoke with freelancers, with local news organizations, and with a significant number of individuals" (interview, April 26, 2018). The first serious test for the BL came almost immediately, when then – Prime Minister Teresa May called an election on the spur of the moment. Rather than slowly establishing a new organization, the BL was compelled to step right in and start producing content. In some ways, the staff (and the structure) was defined by the immediacy as they chose technologies and began cooperation.

As BL aimed to involve a wide spectrum of players in the news media ecosystem, its main goal was to encourage collaboration. According to some sources, the Panama Papers inquiry was more cooperative than collaborative, with confidential information shared between individuals and organizations (Konow-Lund et al., 2019). BL, on the other hand, was all about collaboration in the most imaginative sense.

It was collaborative when all of the local journalists participating in the investigation entered all of the fantastic quotations, from the interviews they performed, on an immigration spreadsheet. It had the journalist's identity, the names of the people interviewed, and nature of the people

interviewed; was it a parliamentarian, a lawyer, a community organizer, a representative of a campaign organization, or an academic? Following that, these are the questions I posed and the responses I received (Informant, December 15, 2017).

Due to the fact that my observation occurred shortly after BL began, my sources characterized the members of BL as largely local reporters. The goal of the organization was to maintain a high standard of news reporting and content through interdisciplinary cooperation amongst a variety of players who benefited from the BL's expertise.

Our team of expert reporters handles the majority of Bureau Local's work, and many of the journalists with whom they interact are likewise skilled, long-serving local reporters. Each investigative story has included a pair of non-traditional journalists who get benefit from the knowledge, information, journalistic techniques, and assistance given by Bureau Local (Business Intelligence Journal, Managing Editor, April 18, 2018).

One of the numerous structural developments that have enabled local and domestic watchdog journalism is collaboration across institutions. Investigative journalism's "new news ecology," as described by some interviewees, requires not only reaching a varied readership with reporting materials but also incorporating a number of transdisciplinary actors in their creation. BL and Bristol Cable have both made great progress in this regard, and once outlying functions have been standardized due to internal or external demand (similar changes also contributed to the creation of data reporter jobs at The Guardian, which faced the similar new news ecosystem as of BL and Bristol Cable).

According to few sources, they ensured that they do not take the responsibility of editor for the content produced through their group associates:

The ownership and accountability component of the approach is intriguing since we do not own the tales being told by those indigenous peoples and, in some respects, we cannot be held accountable for everyone. I feel that those persons should be held personally responsible for their conduct and should be prepared for the implications of making a mistake. It is totally our responsibility if we do something wrong and present them with misleading data (The Informant, December 15, 2017).

Because any writer, influencer, local reporter, campaigner, neighborhood personality, or concerned individual can become part of BL, this editing obligation applies to whoever Slack reporter or BL subscriber is. The BL had five employees when I was doing my field research: Two journalists, a director, former Sunday Times data editor, and a statistical reporter. A new community organizer was recruited not long after. This team functioned as a coordinator group as well as an editorial newsroom, conducting its very own investigation for specific articles. According to a source, if BL media ecosystem partners requested assistance, they would be given guidance and directives (Informant, December 15, 2017). During the early days of my research work (also in Bristol Cable's history), the director offered a bottom-up method to evaluate values and beliefs with her workforce. Despite her openness to recommendations, it was evident that she will be

making the final decision. To put it another way, as Bristol Cable aspired for a horizontal newsroom across the board, it chose a more typical newsroom hierarchy.

VI. THE GUARDIAN: CONTRIBUTING TO THE NEWSROOM'S UNIQUENESS AND EFFECTIVENESS

Several of my interviews at The Guardian, a historic news agency founded in 1821 with a strongly rooted cultural identity and production history, concentrated on creating relations between new and classic jobs. The Guardian stands out from the rest of the cases since it is a legacy case. That means, during interviews, veteran investigative reporters at The Guardian can use firsthand knowledge to assess if Julian Assange was a hacker or a real chief editor of a journalistic organization (Senior Reporter, July 26, 2018; Senior Reporter/Editor, April 26, 2018). They found him to be a hacker who lacked investigative journalism skills such as a specific approach toward monitoring reporting, a specific mentality, reluctance to self-glory, and a specific level of professional aptitude. Their WikiLeaks' experience taught them to differentiate between professional cooperation as well as other sorts, like cooperation with campaigners who are better considered as informants than collaborators (Senior Reporter, July 26, 2018). Furthermore, according to one reporter, partnerships get developed across the border when journalists exchange exclusive or unfamiliar sources.

The Guardian's current newsroom roles are the result of the organization's adaptation to rapid technological advancements, and there was some friction between conventional reporters and even more digitally native players (developers, programmers, visual designers, data reporters, etc.), especially when it came to editorials and credit for task. It all comes down to process management, according to a young digital journalist.

The notion of abandoning much of their authority does not sit well with the locals who have lived here for a long time. As a result, it's understandable that many individuals will like to maintain control and be able to call for our help whenever it is considered to be needed, whether it's merely putting a name on things or interior components (Interview with Digital Reporter, September 7, 2018).

Numerous newsroom employees, including graphic designers and the visuals team, are involved in large-scale investigative reporting like Panama Papers. As per one source (July 27, 2018), there has been a change away from emphasizing on specific positions and toward focusing on how people can work together throughout the newsroom. Several sources stressed the importance of having the ability to generate major news items and provide unique content using information reporting or technological resources. It was mentioned that excel was a great tool for finding, sourcing, and strengthening stories, as well as analyzing information (Interview, Digital Reporter, August 6, 2018).

Several sources also mentioned the challenges of defining one's identity in the newsroom, due to the ongoing clash between conventional and modern techniques; a journalist

defined the media scene as “tough” and mentioned that there had been a very few to almost no funds available when they initially started (Informant, July 27, 2018).

Furthermore, this source recognized that carving out a niche for herself required doing things that other journalists would not do or learning additional talents that veteran reporters lacked, like enhanced spreadsheet ability. Although data literacy is important, she determined that a competent reporter must prioritize presenting a good story. The earlier was simple to educate, whereas the later was more difficult. Several sources, at the newsroom of The Guardian, underlined the need of developing a specialist to define oneself as a media employee, echoing a notion shared by personnel of Bristol Cable and BL.

Other data expert added that today’s unique revelations are the product of a combination of legwork and conventional talents, as well as savvy use of digital technology. Data journalists required to interact with other members of the newsroom and develop their individual concepts to execute this task effectively. Numerous conversations touched on the conflict among both serving the press and creating a professional reputation.

We’re not a support desk; instead, we’re reporters. We’re reporters by skill and practice, and I don’t think the desire to find and publish individual stories ever goes away once you’ve developed it. Our reporting, on the other hand, works in a variety of approaches. It is frequently asked by the people that if you work on commission for the desk or develop your own work. Furthermore, it is a synthesis of all things. When people ask you where you get your tale ideas, you’ll tell them that they come from anywhere; each discussion which you hold, from any news report, or something heard by you, could contain the seed of a narrative idea. My sister proposes that I put “there might be a tale in here” on my gravestone, and I think it’s a great idea (Source, August 6, 2018).

One digital technology expert (September 7, 2018) provided significant perspective concerning his position at The Guardian, particularly the value of headline. A headline, in his opinion, indicated his contribution both internally and publicly, and it clearly acknowledged the fact that the story’s magnificence was due to statistics and graphics in the very first place (informant, September 7, 2018). Despite the continuance of “conventional thinking” about what he does, he believed that new roles like himself will become more entrenched and professionalized with the passage of time.

VII. DISCUSSION

This study examined three types of collaborative public affairs reporting organizations to cover a research void that “includes direct observations of reporting activity and the way it is formed and replicated in achievement” (Ekström and Westlund, 2019). In contrast to other recent studies focusing on the way the interprofessional performers engage in with modern media room, this study looked at processes and activities that evolve both between and within organizations devoted to cooperative investigative journalism.

Participants in this new news ecology have little or no prior journalism experience where they work alongside established journalists with their established practices and routines. Procedures and activities are not overlooked anymore in the cultural framework of a common community (Ryfe, 2017). There are internal and external discussions taking place, as well as conferences and seminars. These discussions have a variety of effects on the collaborative actors.

Despite the recent attention given to cross-border collaborations by specialists of journalism (Carson and Farhall, 2018; Konow Lund et al., 2019; Berglez and Gearing, 2018), the collaborative capacity of journalistic activity at the neighborhood, domestic, and international levels has still to be explored by scholars. Researches on how a research process draws attention of both traditional and peripheral actors have emerged in recent years. The challenge is how, in the first place, such a diverse group of players will participate in activities defined as “cultural resources that link reporters to a mutual relationship of knowledge (Ryfe, 2017). Finally, this study stresses the importance of improving knowledge about: (1) How to place cultural resources such as procedures in the context of both conventional and emerging players; (2) how to interpret such cultural resources in the context of both conventional and emerging activities; and (3) how to coordinate the information provided by two groups of actors.

Investigative journalism actors and emerging stakeholders align (or do not align) on customs, beliefs, and rules taken for granted in the field, according to this study. Some actions are justified because of rules, according to Ryfe (2017). Ethnographic newsroom research, according to Western and Ekström (2019, p. 85), has indeed been near to solid activities, but has concentrated on procedures as such instead of how these are deployed and managed. The present study addresses this criticism. These three organizations, one with no journalists, one with non-reporters and experts, and a third with highly expert reporters, were all the subjects of ethnographic studies to illustrate how routines as cultural resources are re managed instead of cooperated.

No prior experience in journalism was needed by Bristol Cable, which had to explain why its routines and practices qualified as journalism (Ryfe, 2017). All stakeholders, including owners, staff, and members, participated in this process, which resulted in the development of a sophisticated narrative based on long discussions about their values and norms. It was easier for the BL and The Guardian because they have been in the profession for longer, however, they still had to make their job and ideas clear to new entrants of their media room or interactive environment. A variety of narratives could be created by each of these individuals. The new narratives and professional roles of all three organizations were normalized over time as part of a larger journalistic organizational and occupational discourse.

VIII. CONCLUSION

As a result of their awareness, the three organizations studied were able to coordinate routines, practices, and roles within the new ecology. BL’s collaborative software, Bristol Cable’s

coordinators, and agreed and articulated set of professional beliefs, of The Guardian, could serve as such an intermediary. Coordination allows performers to collaborate, but it can also serve as a channel for the unacknowledged fusion of conventional professional credentials, which can be harmful to the actors and organizations they represent. As a result, it is not always clear whether such neutral intermediaries are used to achieve a shared goal, or if they're used as a tacit strategy for coping with workplace conflicts. As a result, this is not always evident if these impartial facilitators are employed to achieve a common aim or as a covert tactic for resolving workplace problems. After all, routines and practices can create tension. Future research could look at why certain players or entities produce better results in these talks than others, as well as whether organizations choose to adjust to modern laws and practices or keep to old ones.

By investigating discussions within as well as among emerging and veteran players, this study sheds light on how patterns and practices evolve in reaction to a new ecology, and how these adaptations are executed both internally and externally. More research is needed to better understand what happens when conventional rules and practices meet changing positions and goals.

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