

## **Internet and Cross Media Productions: Case Studies in Two Major Danish Media Organizations**

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### **Abstract**

Convergence is one of the hot topics in Internet studies. Recently, however, media organizations have turned their focus to cross media communication. Media organizations are interested in optimizing communication across platforms such as TV, radio, websites, mobile telephones and newspapers. The aim of this article is to examine the roles of the Internet when emphasis is put on cross media rather than convergence. This article proposes not one unidirectional convergent tendency but manifold roles of the Internet in cross media communication. Inside the media organizations, however, the Internet continues to play a minor role when compared to older media. The content of the cross media concepts and organizations' history are crucial elements in deciding the priority and use of platforms. Methodologically, the article approaches cross media and the roles of the Internet on a micro-level by studying case examples in a regional news organization and a national broadcasting corporation in Denmark.

**Keywords:** Cross media; media convergence; media divergence; the Internet.

## Introduction

At present, media organizations worldwide are challenged by possibilities in digital communication and production (Pavlik & McIntosh 2004). Convergence was described by economist Ithiel de Sola Pool as the 'convergence of modes' (Pool 1983). He also described how technology brought all modes of communication into one grand system (Pool 1983). This grand system was digital. In the same way in 1979, Nicholas Negroponte predicted a total overlap of the broadcast and motion picture industry, computer industry and print and publishing industry by the year 2000 (as discussed in Gordon 2003). Contrary to these assumptions, cultural theorist Henry Jenkins is critical towards the idea of 'one black box' (Jenkins 2001). In his comment *Convergence? / Diverge* he distances himself from the idea of convergence whilst arguing for a state of divergence: "...media will be everywhere, and we will use all kinds of media in relation to one another" (Jenkins 2001: 93). On the one hand then, there appears to be a "movement directed towards or terminating in the same point" (*convergence* according to the Oxford English Dictionary) and on the other hand, a "moving off in different directions (away) from the same point" (*divergence* according to the Oxford English Dictionary). This same starting or vantage point is assumed to be digitalization in general and the Internet as digital network, in particular (Gordon 2003; Jenkins 2001; Pavlik 2001; Pavlik & McIntosh 2004; Pool 1983).

Moving from a macro- to a micro-level this article argues that the Internet plays a much more nuanced role in actual media organizations than a mere starting or vantage point for the specific productions taking place. The contemporary media scene is dominated by cross media and the starting or vantage point is not digital media or the Internet but, to a large extent, traditional media. Accordingly, the overlap of broadcast, computer and printing industries is far from a reality and the older media platforms still exist side by side with new Internet platforms. This diffusion of media (Bechmann Petersen 2006) or co-existence of platforms, still challenges media organizations. Among others, the media organizations studied here have redefined their communication strategies on different singular media platforms, and they have changed their organization physically as well as structurally. The dominating management tendency is to view media not as closed entities but as open platforms with a division of labour for each individual platform in overall cross media productions. The aim of the current article is to examine the roles of the Internet when emphasis is put on cross media rather than convergence. This requires a short definition of what cross media means.

## Cross Media Productions

The field of cross media is related to many similar or competing concepts such as transmedia (Jenkins 2003), multiple platforms (Jeffery-Poulter 2003), hybrid media (Boumans 2004), intermedia (Higgins 1966; Rajewsky 2002), and divergence (Jenkins 2001). This lack of homogeneity with regard to both concepts and meanings calls for a clarification of cross media in this article. Here, the term will be used to describe the communication of an overall story, production, or event, using a coordinated combination of platforms. Platforms are understood as physical devices such as TV-sets, mobile phones, newspapers and radio-receivers. The degree of coordination and cross-over between the platforms varies greatly, as shown by the cases studied here. Cross media can be conceptualized from an outward as well as an inward perspective: outward towards the users, and inward within the media organizations themselves. Cross media towards the users (the outward perspective) includes focuses on creating cross promotion (Dailey, Demo & Spillman 2005) and cross media storylines (Dena 2004; Jenkins 2003). Cross media

productions employ several media platforms in which each is involved in a communicative division of labour with an expected added value to the users, or increased user attention (shares) and retention strategies. Within the media organizations themselves (the inward perspective) cross media involves focusing on cross media facilities in the productions. This includes possibilities for cooperation between platform employees: bringing them physically closer together, sharing knowledge, research and stories, planning cross media initiatives and incorporating a cross media routine to enhance the efficiency of the organizations. Both tendencies – outward and inward – are termed cross media, and are fundamentally interrelated: cross media communication is facilitated or decelerated by production processes.

## **The Internet**

The role of the Internet as a focal point requires a short definition of what the Internet means in the contemporary cross media landscape. Internet theorists such as Castells (2001), Slevin (2000) and Abbate (1999) describe the Internet as primarily a network and secondary as different applications (such as www). Castells states: “the Internet is the technological basis for the organizational form of the Information Age: the network” (2001: 1). This digital network is said to inherit fixed essential characteristics of the computer such as logics of remediation (Bolter & Grusin 1999: 45), the procedural, the participatory, the spatial and the encyclopaedic (Murray 1997), as well as the trends of modularity, variability, automation and transcoding (Manovich 2000).

In the contemporary media scene the Internet is not only network and applications but also products and platforms (Bechmann Petersen 2006). Media platforms are the physical devices for use and/or production. Platforms can supplement each other in relation to different user contexts and productions. The obvious Internet platforms are the stationary PC and the portable laptop. However, mobile phones and Personal Media Players can also act as Internet-related platforms when they communicate with the Internet network; for instance, when downloading material from web servers. The media products on the other hand are the specific ‘media outputs’ of the productions, independent of which platform they are distributed on. Media products can also be embedded within each other; as TV-programmes as podcasts or as a part of a website. In this sense, theorists speak of media convergence at the level of products because in the digital media they can be embedded within each other. However, when interpreting media as platforms, the Internet-related platforms still co-exist with platforms outside the Internet (TV-sets, printed newspapers and radio-receivers) in cross media communication, which is the object of this study. In this article the term ‘the Internet’ encompasses network, products and platforms. Accordingly, a distinction between the three will be made.

## **Current Studies**

Leaving little room for observing and describing variation, creation and interpretation in abstract theories on media environments in the media ecological tradition (Nystrom 1973), the study presented here, will analyze the role(s) of the Internet in cross media productions, by focusing on the agent’s point of view and how employees and organizations are forming the media. Swiss media researcher Kung-Shankleman (2000) studied the strategic options and organizational culture of CNN and the BBC as they confronted the digital challenge and the changing technological landscape and consumer tastes. Even though both media organizations are broadcasting industries, they handle the challenge very differently according to the history of the organizations. Australian sociologist Marjoribanks (2003)

conducted similar studies at the newspaper-oriented multinational, News Corporation. He points to the agent's worldview, the history of the organization, and the national/global context, as significant elements in understanding digital challenges and transformations.

In the particular context of this article, the studies of Küng-Shankleman and Marjoribanks are interesting because they analyze the production processes of broadcasting and newspaper industries, respectively, in the challenge of the digital landscape, including the Internet. They point to the agents' worldviews and the history of organizations as important factors in the transformation of production routines, as this study will also show. However, their studies concentrate on strategic options and execution, and do not aim at an analysis of the shifting role(s) of the Internet in the organizations. On the other hand, communications theorist Pablo Boczkowski (2004) has undertaken empirical observational studies of three online newspapers – one having reporters from the newspaper doing the online version, one having its own reporters, and a third using user-generated content in their production. The study shows that the established understanding of Internet potential reported by media theorists (see for example Bolter & Grusin 1999) is challenged by these different types of reporters, resulting in totally different ways of using the digital material of online newspapers. The culture of the different reporters and organizational placement are the main factors to be considered when examining the use of the Internet in specific productions. Boczkowski's focus is solely on the online newspaper and how the relationship between the reporters and the organization results in shifting online formats. The focus is not on the Internet in relation to the printed newspaper, which is the focus of this study.

## Case-Sampling and Methods

Inspired by Boczkowski's ability to put theories of the Internet into a more nuanced agency-driven perspective (see Cottle 2003), the current study shifts the focus to the Internet as a platform in collaboration with, not only the printed newspaper but with two to four other media platforms. This provides an opportunity to study the role(s) of the Internet in diverse and differentiated media production contexts. Prompted by Küng-Shankleman and Marjoribanks' studies in broadcasting and newspaper industries, this study will bridge the two types of organizations by studying cross media productions in both. However, this increase in both the number of media platforms and the types of organizations calls for the need to delimit the study considerably. Accordingly, two specific productions were studied. The first was the coverage of a premier league soccer match by a regional news production company called Nordjyske Medier, and the second was a weekly youth entertainment production called SPAM, by the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR). The case-sample (as described by Hammersley & Atkinson 1995) aimed at choosing very different productions with parameters:

Parameters	Nordjyske Medier	DR
Economic and political conditions	Commercial	Public Service
Content	Sports	Youth Entertainment
Employees	Reporters	Different backgrounds
History	Newspaper	Radio/TV
Platform-constellations	Newspaper, TV, radio, mobile phone, PC	TV, mobile phone, PC
Market	Regional	National

**Figure 1.** Parameters for the case-sample of the study

This selection of parameters increased the opportunity to examine differences (and similarities) in the role(s) of the Internet in the division of labour with other media platforms. The empirical methods used included observation studies of daily work and the development of cross media productions, interviews with production employees and management, text-analysis of cross media productions and internal / external writings on cross media. The different approaches were used to place the observations in individual, organizational and historical contexts. However, the methods used for the two productions differed significantly according to the organization and production type. For example, interviews and a questionnaire were used to uncover past development and general tendencies at Nordjyske Medier, because they had very little written archival material; whereas the organizational culture at DR was self-reflecting, and so written material that was directed towards the public and politicians was available and was used in the study. Nordjyske Medier's coverage of the premier league soccer match was analyzed in terms of registration and text-analysis of the actual end-products in all platforms, and by observation studies and informal conversations with the reporters before, during and after the game. Similar registration and text-analyses were made at DR. However, in contrast to the soccer match, the youth entertainment concept had a weekly routine concentrated around the TV-programme, and an extensive planning and experimentation period. For this reason, the observations at DR were done over a one year time frame, with two intense observation periods: one lasting a month during the development of the concept, and one lasting one week at the end of the year of studying the actual production routine. As it was not possible to follow the whole process over the entire year, interviews were held with several employees from the production unit to clarify understandings, experiences and developments in the production.

### **Introduction to Nordjyske Medier**

Nordjyske Medier is a commercial regional news production company which has a market share of over 90% in northern Denmark. The company has a history of newspaper production, but has recently expanded or merged with other media platforms, including a free newspaper, two radio channels, a 24-hour news TV-channel, mobile phone services, Tele-text, an online newspaper and other web services. In September 2003, the production for all platforms was physically united in the former newspaper building, now modernized for the multiple platform production. According to management, their decision to transform the newspaper into a multiple platform company was primarily due to decreasing newspaper sales. The reporters were therefore forced to think not only in terms of newspapers, but of several platforms – in the management's own words this meant a focus on *'stories instead of channels'*. The management introduced new physical facilities with the capability of producing for all media types in different content groups (for example, sports), and the centre of the building was arranged to contain a so-called 'Super-Desk', where each media platform was represented by a media editor. The production unit studied was the sports group, and the specific production, the coverage of a premier league soccer match between the teams AaB and OB. The production unit was equipped with different recording facilities for the production of all platforms, but individual reporters were hired for single platforms only. The reporters were not obliged to produce for platforms other than their own. This was due primarily to a strong union presence. Additionally, of all the reporters, only two had the ability to produce for all media types.

### **Introduction to Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR)**

The Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) is a public service institution (the Danish equivalent to the Australian ABC) which is divided into production units responsible for

different productions; and three chief editorial staff responsible for Interactive Media, TV and Radio respectively. The chief editorial staff are responsible for filling out the platforms and requesting productions from the production units, whereas the production units make production bids for the chief editorial staff. The request is a platform-specific routine. Recently, DR hired a project manager to promote cross media between the different chief editors, but the production units were unacquainted with the project manager and her role. The production unit studied was DR-Ung (DR-Youth), and the specific production was their first experiment with user-generated content through mobile phones and other equipment with digital cameras. The production was first called *Blokken* and later changed to *SPAM*. The original idea was that users (the public) would send in material from their daily lives from camera mobile phones or digital cameras. The host would then act as guides for the user-content under the slogan '*you deliver, we present*'. The users had the potential to film incidents that were not otherwise accessible to a camera crew. This, however, did not work very well. The users were not interested in contributing to the production, and the material received was of very poor quality with regard to both resolution and storyline. DR changed the production to *SPAM* which has similarities with home-video shows. The viewers can now send in funny, strange or wild content (not necessarily made by them) received on their mobile phones or through the Internet (hence the name *SPAM*). A hit-list is added to ensure that only the most interesting movies are shown on the TV programme.

## Results and Discussion

In presenting the results of the study focusing on the role(s) of the Internet, the perspectives of outward and inward cross media will be used. The outward perspective is instantiated by a cross media circuit. The cross media circuit registers the time and content / functionality of each platform, and shows the possible use of the productions. The inward perspective is instantiated by both viewing the Internet as a production tool and as a part of the production routine and organizational culture in general. This will be elaborated on later.

### The Internet in the Cross Media Circuit: Versioning

The studies of the soccer match and SPAM show that the roles of the Internet (understood as website-products on the PC or mobile phone platform) are outwardly very different from one another. From the registration and text-analysis of the actual end-products in all platforms, a *cross media circuit* can be made to illustrate these differences. The coverage of the premier league match between AaB-OB can be summarized in Figure 2 below:

1. A newspaper story was published the day before the match in the sports section.
2. The same story was versioned for Tele-text and online newspaper, published the night before the match.
3. In the morning on the day of the match a radio lead-up with the coach was broadcast.
4. The sound file was also versioned for the story on the online newspaper shortly after.
5. Just before the match a TV-feature, containing a short interview with players was shown.
6. Radio transmitted the match live.
7. Just after the match, an SMS-alert was sent to subscribers with the result.
8. A TV-feature was shown on the 5 o'clock news with comments from players.
9. A short written version of the match was published on the online newspaper and Tele-text (the same version replacing the existing one) right after the TV-feature and was linked to previous stories on the local team.
10. The day after the match a full-page in the newspaper sports section covered the match with background information, remarks and news material from the two teams pointing to future matches.

**Figure 2.** The media circuit of the premier league soccer match

Even though the management at Nordjyske Medier endorsed the idea of publishing to all platforms, the sports group could not describe any strategic connection between content of the different platforms and the users. As many products (versions) as possible were made, before, during, and after the game, but there was no cross promotion (Dailey, Demo & Spillman 2005) between the different platforms. From an outward point of view, the user is evidently not supposed to cross between the different platforms but to use only the platform which is relevant to him or her. This conclusion is backed up by an interview with management of the company: *'Because of the commercial interests [advertisements] of the company the ideal strategy is not to have the user crossing platforms but to target the users on different platforms. In this way we can potentially target more users'*. An exception to this lack of cross-over between the platforms is the activation of SMS-alerts, although the service can only be activated through the online newspaper. In the cross media circuit the newspaper functions as lead-in and follow-up, with background statistics, longer stories and additional material.

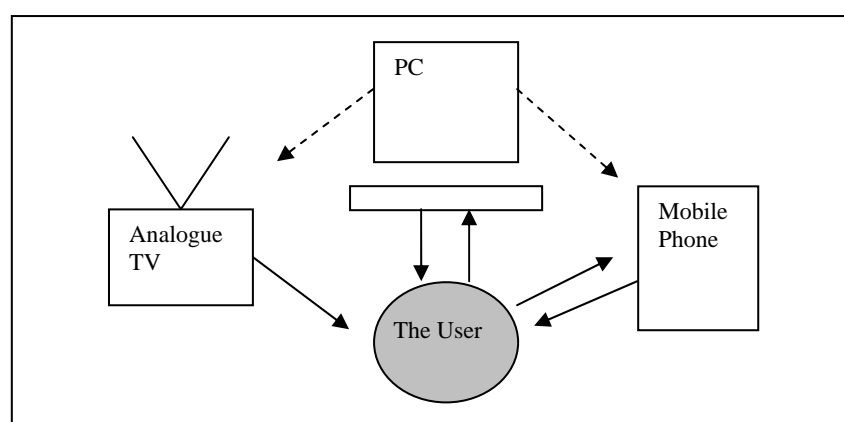
The radio functions as both lead-in and live platform, as radio primetime is in the morning. The 24-hour TV-channel functions as a 'meeting' with the players before and after the game, with commentary on the match (Nordjyske Medier does not have the TV-rights to televise the match). The mobile phone or SMS-alert functions as the fast and obtrusive ('push') platform. The Tele-text product functions as a secondary product, only versioning from the newspaper and online newspaper. Last but not least, the role(s) of the online newspaper is more complex. First of all, the versioning from radio and newspaper places it as a secondary product, but at the same time it functions as an archive, linking to different sound files and material on previous coverage of premier league matches. The 24-hour TV-channel product can also be viewed live from the website, but previous programmes cannot be accessed. Therefore, it has both an archival and a live function, corresponding to Manovich's notion of variability (Manovich 2000). Furthermore, the online newspaper demonstrates that media products can be transported or 'versioned' for the Internet, for instance through Web-TV, sound files and online newspaper stories. On the other hand, the notion of participation (Murray 1997) is very limited. The coverage of the premier league match does not provide any return possibilities for the users. It consists only of communication *from* Nordjyske Medier, and the company does not need or request any *input* from the user to execute the coverage.

With regard to the outward directed cross media, this case study is an example of the Internet being the object of versioning from newspaper, radio and TV. User participation is not prioritized, but the Internet has the role of being available with all products at all times (apart from WebTV which is live transmitted only). The different platforms are not interconnected through cross promotion or through strategically planned storytelling in any way. However, the different products on different platforms supplement each other according to different user-times, user-contexts and target groups. The idea of 'one black box' is supported by the versioning on the Internet and the fact that the Internet incorporates all products and some platforms (such as PC and mobile phones). However, the idea is made less compelling by the fact that these platforms still co-exist with platforms outside the Internet such as newspapers, analogue radio and TV. The diffusion of media platforms gives Nordjyske Medier the opportunity to target more users.

### **The Internet in the Cross Media Circuit: Participation**

According to the cross media circuit, the analysis of DR's *SPAM* production shows other roles of the Internet. In *SPAM*, the explicit timeline of the soccer match is not present. However, there is a rhythm to the products themselves. The TV-programme, containing

primarily a presentation of the *SPAM* hit-list decided by the users, is sent once a week. The website is available and constantly updated, providing the opportunity to upload new movies, vote, view older movies, comment on *SPAM*-movies, share information in a community, watch past TV-programmes, and download *SPAM*-movies for the mobile phone. The mobile phone functions as a user-controlled production and viewing platform. The user can record and download movies to the mobile phone at any time, and choose the movies she wants to watch. Accordingly, the use of this platform is not time dependent but controlled by the user. DR, as a public service organization, and DR-Ung, with its specific target group, are primarily interested in added user value (according to interviews with the project manager of *SPAM*). The interest lies in showing the users the opportunities in cross media production by using the same hosts, graphics, explicit references (written, verbal and visual cross promotion) to the other platforms and strategically providing each platform with different roles, as outlined below in Figure 3:



**Figure 3.** The media circuit of *SPAM*, showing the central role of the Internet as user participation tool. The arrows indicate information flow.

Accordingly, the TV-set functions as a 'window' for user-voted content, and the mobile phone functions as a potential production unit and viewing device, that enables the selection of one's favourite movies. Last but not least, the website has a central position as an archive of *SPAM*-movies and TV-programmes, a production channel for the users (uploading new *SPAM*-movies, voting and sharing comments), and a viewing facility (individual *SPAM*-movies and TV-programmes). In contrast to the premier league match coverage, the website here has a fundamental participatory function (Murray 1997) and extends the TV programme by retaining the users in the '*SPAM*-universe'. Additionally, the website serves as a return channel for the TV platform, which does not support this functionality. The website also plays a fundamental part in the very concept of the production. If the users did not send the spam movies to DR-Ung, and vote through the website, *SPAM* could not exist. As articulated by the project manager: *'The website can do without TV but TV will die without the website'*. In contrast to the soccer match coverage; this case study is an example of the Internet (PC) playing the central role of user-generated production. The Internet is in focus as storyline (*SPAM*-movies across platforms), as product (website), as platforms (PC and mobile phones), and as network (being able to send and receive content, and thereby expand the 'editorial staff'). Both studies point to content and economic and political conditions as being possible influential factors on the outward role(s) of the Internet in cross media. The different types of content provide disparate bases for strategic planning of the roles of the platforms. Furthermore, the target groups for each type of content use different platforms. As for economic and political conditions, the case studies provide examples of ways in which the

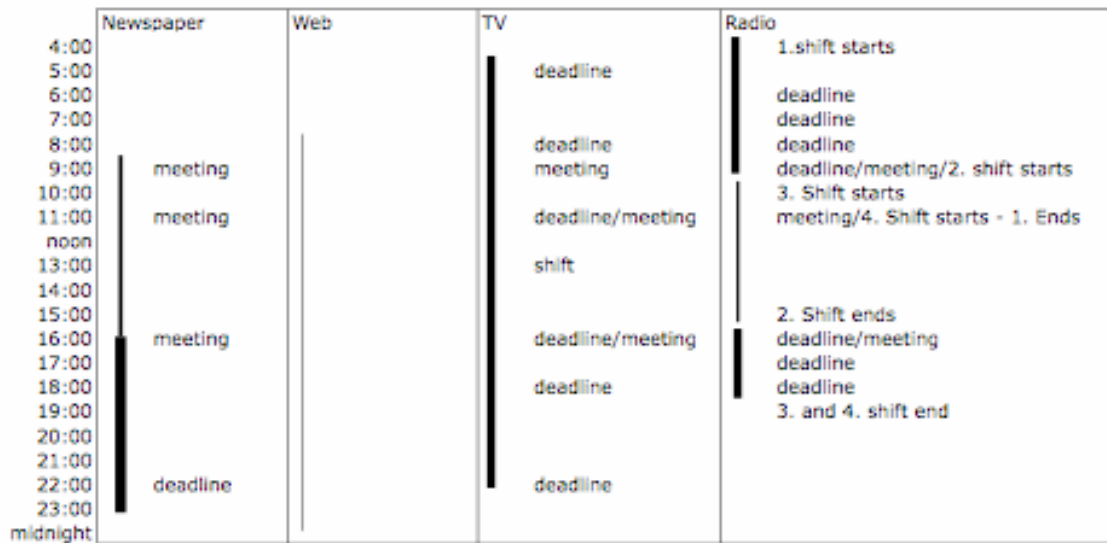
commercial company prioritizes the broad reach of target groups, whereas the public service corporation aims for added user value and retention strategies.

### **The Internet and Production Routines: Hierarchy at Nordjyske Medier**

The inward roles of the Internet in cross media productions are surprisingly unstudied in the few major international contributions to the field (Boczkowski 2004; Dailey, Demo & Spillman 2005; Küng-Shankleman 2000; Marjoribanks 2003). As a communicative strategy, cross media also imply great challenges within the media organization, and the process of cross media production has not been without obstacles. Placing formerly separate production environments beside one another, integrating them with new media, and urging them to cooperate on shared productions - without knowing exactly what the end product looks like or how to get there - is a demanding task. Among other things, the production crew has to see their production routines in a new light. At least two perspectives can be used when studying the Internet in cross media productions from the inside. First, the Internet can be studied as a tool (especially as network) for the production of cross media products. Second, the Internet can be studied as the production routines surrounding production for specific platforms; for instance, the PC in comparison with other platforms. Nordjyske Medier's coverage of the premier league match shows extensive use of the Internet network and products as tools in the production process. They use specific websites prior to the game to compile an overview of statistics on the participating teams, and they use the network to send in their material from the stadium to the editorial building.

When it comes to the Internet as a product and a platform in the production routines, the conclusions are less encouraging. In the specific match studied, the reporters do not produce for the web because, as stated by the newspaper reporter at the stadium: *'it is not a part of my contract'*. The reporter who writes small updates for the web is not present at the stadium. He pulls the stories from live radio and TV transmissions. Taking a broader perspective on the organization from these observations, the neglect of the Internet in the production routine is evident. In a questionnaire to the reporters at Nordjyske Medier in the Spring of 2005, they were asked 'Which media do you produce for?' 78% responded that they always produced for the newspaper, whereas 25% never produced for the Internet. One reporter from the Super Desk articulated it very precisely: *'There is a problem with thinking web and the free newspaper at the same level as the other media'*. The study shows a strong identity connected to specific products.

One explanation is that most of the reporters came from newspaper production and, accordingly, feel identified with it. A radio station was bought, and with it came radio reporters whose identities were based in radio products. TV reporters were hired because the competencies of TV production were not available in the company. One reporter with a history in web production was hired to establish the production for the Internet, and student assistants were hired to version stories and update the product. The reason for this was that the reporters from the different platforms were also supposed to produce for the web in their daily routine. However, because of increased skill and work pressure on the reporters (see Aaløkke et al. 2005), union restrictions and different routines, this was practicable, but not realizable. As a newspaper reporter stated: *'The rhythms of the media obviously do not supplement each other very well'*. This statement is supported by the fact that newspapers only have one deadline per 24 hours (in the evening), whereas the web based activities have persistent, around the clock deadlines. Therefore, the web products may interfere markedly in the production routine of the newspaper. Through the registration of the activity at the central editorial desk (the Super Desk) where all platform responsible editors are seated, the low but constant activity for web is manifested. This is illustrated by Figure 4 below.



**Figure 4.** Summary of a daily workflow of the media, and hence the media editors, based on observations. The thickness of the line indicates intensity in activity.

In counter-argument, the study does not show that the platforms, products or networks have rhythms *per se*. The rhythms are constructed by the work of the reporters. Accordingly, the production routines can be divided into media specific routines and cross media routines. Media-specific routines support the idea of conflict between the different products and platforms, because the perspective enhances the focus on individual ‘closed’ platforms. An example is the conflict between web and newspaper routines. Cross media routines, on the other hand, support the idea of multiple ‘open’ platforms. Examples of cross media routines are neither conscious nor explicitly expressed by the reporters, but observations show that, for instance, the radio reporter at the stadium does interviews for the TV-channel as well, holding two microphones and acting two different interviewing roles. The versioning done for the website and Tele-text is another example, even though the employees in the interviews do not consider versioning as proper and satisfactory cross media. A potential cross media routine is also already present: the newspaper reporter sends in factual data on the match just before it has ended. These data could, without any obstacles, be published on the web. The writing of web summary from the live radio transmission could also be seen as a cross media routine, even though it is not the same reporter making the different products. Even though there is an evident hierarchy in the media, with newspapers as first priority, TV as second, radio as third, and web / mobile phone as fourth, the cross media routines indicate the potential for incorporating the routines of the products for different platforms in the daily work processes.

### The Internet and Production Routines: Hierarchy at DR

In the production of *SPAM* at DR, the Internet in the inward cross media perspective has a more central position. In *SPAM*, the inward and outward perspectives overlap, because the editorial staff include the users as content producers. As a production tool, the Internet is used by the co-producing unit: the users. For the most part, the stories are found on the Internet on different websites, and shared by email or by mobile phones between users (sometimes also recorded by the users). The users collect the movies and send them to DR

via the *SPAM* website. The Internet network, product (website) and platforms (PC and mobile phones) are central production tools for the users, and the Internet network and platforms are central to DR-Ung, because they are the backbone in the concept of user-generated content.

Despite this central role as production tool, the role of the Internet in production routines is quite vague. According to interviews with the production team members, *SPAM* was primarily conceived as: *'a TV production with the intention of using the existing SKUM-community as the foundation of the production'*. The request from the TV editorial staff was to make a TV-programme for young people. However, DR-Ung wanted the Internet (both website and mobile phone movies) to be the central element and foundation of the production, including the website and mobile phones as production and return channels for TV: *'as a public service organization we wanted to show what we can do'*. Because the TV editorial staff wanted *SPAM* primarily to be a TV programme, website and mobile phone employees adapted their wishes and routines to the TV routines. For example, ideas were discarded because they were not good TV, and meetings were held when problems with TV arose. According to an internal user evaluation report, the website was a success and not the TV programme, despite the internal focus on TV.

Studying this hierarchy of platforms and products on a broader organizational level shows evident media specific (especially TV) routines. As stated earlier, the editorial staff belonging to interactive media are placed under the editorial staff belonging to TV. The reason for this is that management views interactive media not as stand-alone media in themselves, but primarily as supporting media for TV (according to an interview with one of the strategic managers). For that reason, when requesting productions for the platforms, the Internet is only requested linked to TV or radio. Only an insignificant part of the budget of interactive media is spent on non-programme related initiatives (mostly developments). This means that even though the production unit wanted to use the platforms on their own terms, they had to focus on TV or radio in order to receive funding. The controlling position of TV is even more significant, because the budget is substantially higher than the radio budget. Another parameter that enhances the media specific routines is the absence of cross media evaluation. The evaluation takes place for each individual platform, rather than the overall cross media production. This is the result of clearly separated editorial staff, which are each responsible for a platform.

On the other hand, some cross media routines exist in DR. In the production team for *SPAM*, the average age is around 25, which appears to give an orientation towards experimenting with new platforms and different production ideas. For example, the TV-hosts are interested in blogging on the website, and record small features for the web only. On a broader level, the organization (as stated before) has tried to establish a cross media project manager who is supposed to help the editorial staff coordinate the requests for the production unit, so that major cross media initiatives can be launched. DR is also moving to new buildings to: *'enhance the co-operation across media platforms and organizational borders'* (DR's website). In DR, the media specific routines primarily exist at the managerial level, whereas the media specific routines at Nordjyske Medier can be found predominantly in the content groups. The Internet plays a subordinate role in the production routine in both organizations, but a major role as production tool. The similarly subordinate role of the Internet points to the organizations' history as a crucial element when deciding the priority of platforms.

## Conclusion

From the results and discussion presented in this article, it can be concluded that the Internet has a more manifold role in cross media organizations and productions than that of a mere

starting or vantage point in the movement from old to new media. This article has analyzed the co-existence of Internet-related media platforms and older platforms directed both outward towards the users and within the media organizations. The study has revealed no unidirectional tendency. Towards the users (the outward perspective): the cases studied indicate two very distinct functions of the Internet in conjunction with other platforms. In the first case the website plays only a small part within the overall platform-palette. It serves as an object of versioning for other more central platforms, such as the printed newspaper and analogue radio and TV. There is no cross reference to other platforms and no content is produced specifically for the website. In the second case the Internet has the central role of being the participatory platform for creating content and being the centre of navigation in the cross media platform-palette.

Inside the media organizations and within the production unit studied (the inward perspective): the analyses show two different perspectives. As a production tool the Internet plays a central role, even though the cases chosen were very different from one another. Study of the role of the Internet platforms in comparison with other platforms, according to production routines, shows additional similarities. In both cases the studies show the strikingly low priority and status of the Internet platforms in the production routines. In the public service institution, this occurred at the managerial level, whereas in the commercial news company it was most evident in the production unit. The similarly subordinate role of the Internet within the media organizations, in the two otherwise different cases, points to the organizations' history (in newspaper / TV / Radio) as being a dominant factor in this connection. The agency-driven approach to new contemporary cross media productions points to the Internet, not as primarily characterized by static roles and logics, but actualized according to different types of content and organizational contexts, supporting Boczkowski's related study of online newspapers (Boczkowski 2004). However, the cross media perspective does indicate the need to characterize the Internet not only as a network, but also as products and platforms.

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