before sending tweets, to minimise the risk of inaccurate or incorrect stories (Hamilton, 2012b).

Several existing journalistic practices and norms have shaped the incorporation of social media into BBC journalism. These have included verification, accuracy, impartiality, and reliability of sources (see Robinson, 2007; 2010; 2011; Ryfe, 2012). Social media have not eradicated traditional journalistic practices. Indeed, most journalists I interviewed emphasised—even romanticised—traditional journalistic practices. For instance, in an interview, a female foreign correspondent pointed out that "there is no substitute for having face to face contact, seeing things. It is very important for a reporter. You can spend a lot of time on the phone or the Internet, but you can't find big pictures and leads. As a reporter, you need personal contacts with people".[6] As another example, BBC journalists contacted social media users such as Athar by phone and by e-mail. By combining new approaches with old principles, the public broadcaster is able to retain its institutional and cultural significance in the new media logic.

NEW RELATIONSHIPS, NEW ROLES

Importantly—and unexpectedly—the increasing use of social media in BBC journalism acted as a catalyst for the increase in power of tech-savvy journalists in the newsroom. With the emergence of social media and the ability of ordinary citizens to take part in news production and dissemination post-7/7, the BBC's need to seek, organise, and curate user-generated content in crisis reporting has grown dramatically in recent years. The demand to manage social media material and the development of new structures in the newsroom allowed for the surge in power of tech-savvy journalists at the BBC. The gain in power of this breed of journalist needs to be understood within the larger political, economic, and cultural changes occurring at the BBC during this period. The BBC's reconstruction of its journalism in crisis reporting is the result of a large-scale organisational effort to become closer to its audiences.

With the arrival of social media in BBC journalism, tech-savvy journalists have enjoyed heightened significance in the newsroom. Since 2005, journalists working at the UGC Hub desk have centrally verified user-generated content and redistributed that material to BBC programmes around the clock. The BBC UGC Hub has acted as consolidator by processing digital videos and images, mobile text messages, blogging content, message boards, e-mails, audio material generated by the audience, and other social media-related activities. According to BBC journalists, these practices have reduced the cost of materials to cover news events. Since 2009, the UGC Hub has assigned a full-time staff member to search for potential news stories and contacts. In November 2009, the BBC appointed Alex Gubbay as the first Social Media Editor. In 2011, when Gubbay left his position as Social Media Editor, the BBC appointed Chris Hamilton.

In response to high demand from journalists seeking social media training, journalists working at the BBC College of Journalism have also developed a series of social media courses for BBC journalists and journalists from other news organisations. The emergence of social media within the context of the 2004 Neil Report's dedication to truth, accuracy, public interest, diversity of opinion, accountability, and independence from the state and commercial interests ushered in these courses.

Since then the BBC has strived to become closer to its audiences and be at the forefront of technological developments in the United Kingdom. It also responded to the emergence of social media that created a need for structures to manage this new and abundant user-generated content. This multifaceted transformation is closely associated with the BBC's "martini media approach", meaning BBC on demand "anytime, anyplace, anywhere". The BBC martini media approach has significantly altered journalists' working environments and identity. This will have implications on the shape public broadcasting journalism will take in the coming years, as the broadcaster finds that social media are an increasingly important source of collaboration with audience, content, and dissemination of news. Tech-savvy journalists are a good point of reference to explore and understand the emerging culture of journalism in a digital age. This will happen as they are taking on increasingly significant roles at the BBC.

The BBC's need to manage social media material and the development of new structures in the newsroom have allowed for the revival of a new breed of tech-savvy journalists in the newsroom. Tech-savvy journalists or other do not lack agency in shaping the structure or taking leadership roles. Structures do not dictate journalists' behaviour. The formation of these structures and the growing volume of social media material coincide with tech-savvy journalists' rise in number and power in the newsroom. Meanwhile, journalists working on the digital side of the newsroom have had the ability and resources to develop guidelines on how to use social media within the practices, norms, and values of BBC journalism. Tech-savvy journalists have been at the forefront of new media changes in the newsroom, such as by providing social media courses to journalists on how to manage social media. These journalists also have joined in the traditional structures that determine the news agenda, including the 9 a.m. morning editorial meeting in the multimedia newsroom.

Tech-savvy journalists have gained influence in the newsroom by their presence within the newsroom and the activities that they have generated. These techies did not appear with the emergence of social media. On the contrary, techies such as Vicky Taylor and Matthew Eltringham were part of BBC News Interactive, from which the UGC Hub emerged. They were already part of the structure and culture of the Corporation. The ascent of the new generation of tech-savvy journalists at the BBC suggests that beyond being normalised in journalistic norms and practices, social media have become part of the fast-changing media logic.

This transformation of the newsroom is not the result of a fluke; the effect of social media in BBC crisis reporting and the Corporation-audience relationship should be understood within the political, economic, cultural, technological, and institutional shift occurring at the BBC, particularly in the aftermath of the 2004 Neil Report. The BBC's re-making of crisis reporting is in large part the result of an organisational effort to become closer to its audiences. The period since the London bombing attacks of July 2005 has seen developments in the way crisis events are reported at the BBC: The journalistic uses of social media have fostered a more collaborative form of journalism at the public broadcaster, with more personal accounts of news from afar (Allan, 2013; Andén-Papadopoulos and Pantti, 2013; Andersen, 2012; Beckett, 2008; Chouliaraki, 2010; Cottle, 2009; Hjorth and Kim, 2011).

NOTES

1. I presented this chapter at the World Social Science Forum Panel on Media and Democracy 1 in Montreal in October 2013.
2. Nevertheless, disaster communications involve "overlapping communication flows and interpenetrating communication forms and also often generate new communication hybrids that transverse both 'old' and 'new' media" (Pantti et al., 2012, 180). This renders difficult "the tendency to conceptualize the contemporary media and communications fields, and disaster communication within this, in essentially dualistic terms, or indeed informed by a notion of progressive suppression of 'old' media by 'new' media" (Pantti et al., 2012, 181). Given the complex and quickly changing media logic, I recognise the complexity of conceptualising a dualism of "new" and "old" media norms and practices.
3. Research has found that data journalism is easier to practice in countries where the data is accessible. For example, through open government journalists can gather data, but many governments are not transparent (Stray, 2013).
4. UGC Hub journalist, interview 2011.
5. Since September 2012.
6. Female foreign correspondent, interview 2011.