Chapter 4 Emergent Social Roles in Wikipedia's Breaking News Collaborations

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1 Introduction

Disasters and accidents are endemic to social life but so are the unique forms of social 2 behavior and organization that emerge following them. The "improvisation of order 3 out of chaos", equanimity of victims, emergence of serendipitous and egalitarian 4 social ties, and redemptive moments of solidarity have characterized postcatastrophe 5 communities for centuries but are also intrinsically ephemeral and recede as the most 6 acute phase passes (Quarantelli and Dynes 1977; Solnit 2010). Following unexpected 7 and traumatic news events such as a major natural disaster, transportation accident, 8 or mass shooting, familiar reference sources such as Wikipedia become the focus of 9 many people seeking information to help them share information, learn about the 10 response, and make sense of the event (Keegan 2013). 11 However, the vast majority of Wikipedia contributors are personally unaffected 12 by the immediate consequences of these events and may not have the most up-to-date 13 information about these events. This should inhibit their motivation to devote their 14 time and expertise to topics so remote from their interests. Furthermore, Wikipedia's 15 policies repeatedly emphasize that the content of its articles should take a historical 16 perspective and rely upon neutral and reliable secondary sources; prerequisites that 17 are obviously absent in the coverage immediately following a breaking news event. 18 In addition to these barriers, developing a collaborative account of a breaking news 19 event on a site where "anyone can edit" would seem to inhibit rather than promote 20 the generation of a reliable account. Editors' diverse motivations and skills, their 21 lack of experience working together, no expectation of collaborating in the future, 22 and their volition to contribute as much as they prefer should lead to major break-23 downs in the process of collaborating together. The responsibilities for integrating 24 and updating content, reverting vandalism, formatting citations, and mediating dis-25 putes are likewise diffused among all editors. This lack of clear roles or strong ties 26 to bind participants together undermines crucial but unstated assumptions in many 27

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E. Bertino, S. A. Matei (eds.), *Roles, Trust, and Reputation in Social Media Knowledge Markets*, Computational Social Sciences, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-05467-4_4, © Springer International Publishing Switzerland 2014

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theoretical approaches for understanding online communities and organizational be-28 havior. Furthermore, the volatile information environment, lack of a central authority 29 to assign tasks, make decisions, or enforce rules, and need to sustain attention to de-30 velopments over long periods of time and across broad topical areas likewise should 31 be a recipe for profound organizational dysfunction. Yet, the top 25 Wikipedia arti-32 cles by contributors every month since 2003 consist exclusively of articles pertinent 33 to current events. Similarly, articles receiving the most unique edits and pageviews 34 in any given week or month likewise demonstrate a substantial bias toward articles 35 about current events. Wikipedia's coverage appears to thrive in spite of the serious 36 challenges for organizing and coordinating responses to breaking news events on an 37

open and large-scale collaboration system (Keegan et al. 2013). How is Wikipedia able to cover breaking news events in spite of itself? I argue 39 Wikipedia's ability to manage the complexities of breaking news collaborations de-40 rives from the ability of its contributors to improvise and regenerate organizational 41 resources such as interactional roles, routines, and resources developed in previous 42 collaborations. This would imply that breaking news collaborations involve editors 43 who have repeatedly worked together or even specialized in editing content about 44 breaking news articles. Analyzing these patterns requires data that can capture the 45 interactions of Wikipedians with each other as well as changes in these interactions 46 over time. Empirical analyses of Wikipedia collaboration structure use event logs 47 that archive records of changes editors have made to artifacts. Event logs gener-48 ally contain information about the agent, artifact, order, and action taken such as a 49 Wikipedia editor (agent) making an edit (action) to an article (artifact) at a specific 50 time (order). The event logs of multiple articles are often combined to extract rela-51 tionships about which editors modified which articles. The resulting networks reveal 52 large-scale patterns of collaboration around who edits which articles (Keegan et al. 53 2011a) and how these editing patterns are distinct from typical forms of collaboration 54 on Wikipedia (Keegan et al. 2012a, 2013). 55

However, these analyses usually examine patterns of editor collaboration across 56 articles rather than the evolution of editor behavior occurring *within* an editor's con-57 tribution history. The temporal ordering of sequential contributions with a single 58 editor's event logs also encodes relationships reflecting the editor's shifting interests 59 and attention. Looking at these records of what an editor modified over time can 60 provide a new perspective on the structure and evolution of their role within collabo-61 rations. A "user sociotechnical trajectories" reflects the time evolution of how a single 62 editor's behavior changed through his or her contributions to articles (Iba et al. 2010; 63 Keegan et al. 2012b). These implicit, indirect, and latent interactions of editors' 64 sequential modifications potentially capture unique social roles and collaboration 65 processes that have been overlooked before. 66

This chapter reviews prior work that has examined relationships and social roles 67 within Wikipedia, provides methodological detail about the construction of so-68 ciotechnical trajectories, and explores the concept with a case study of several users 69 who edited articles related to the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami. These col-70 laborations bring together a unique cast of characters with disparate backgrounds 71 that fulfill distinct roles in these collaborations. This analysis suggests that breaking 72

news article collaborations rely to a great extent on interactional roles of motivated 73 editors self-selecting into these collaborations rather than structural roles such as 74 news editors wholly dedicated to editing breaking news articles. Editors exhibit 75 considerable variability in the structure of their editing trajectories reflecting their 76 diverse backgrounds. The emergence and expansion of collaborative infrastructure 77 on these breaking articles employ more improvisational features like disaster re-78 sponse rather than the regeneration of collaborative infrastructures like emergency 79 room care. I conclude by outlining a research agenda for how researchers can employ 80 the sociotechnical trajectories of editors to understand social roles, organizational 81 routines, and behavioral patterns that lead to more reliable user-generated content, 82 and emergence of leadership within self-organizing systems. 83

84 Background

Networks on Wikipedia

Wikipedia is not only the "encyclopedia that anyone can edit", but the accessibility 86 of its databases has also made it the "dataset that anyone can analyze." There are a 87 variety of user-to-user, user-to-artifact, and artifact-to-artifact relationships that can 88 be explored within Wikipedia (Keegan et al. 2013). Prior work on Wikipedia has 89 analyzed the structure of editors contributing to articles (Capocci et al. 2006; Jesus 90 et al. 2009; Laniado and Tasso 2011; Keegan et al. 2012a), articles linking to other 91 articles (Kamps and Koolen 2009; Kane 2009; West et al. 2009), editors modifying 92 other editors' contributions (Brandes et al. 2009; Turek et al. 2010; Keegan et al. 93 2012b), editors' discussions with other editors (Laniado et al. 2011; Leskovec et al. 94 2010; Massa 2011), and changes in these structures over time (Buriol et al. 2006; 95 Iba et al. 2010; Scripps et al. 2009). In addition to characterizing the structure of 96 the networks of collaborators and hyperlinks among articles, researchers have also 97 examined how these structures influence the quality of articles (Ransbotham et al. 98 2012; Wilkinson and Huberman 2007; Kittur and Kraut 2008; Hu et al. 2007) and 99 the relationships between concepts across languages (Hecht and Gergle 2010; Bao 100 et al. 2012). However, the network structure of an editors's changing interests and 101 roles is more difficult to capture with static network analyses—which articles did she 102 edit first and which has she contributed to most recently? These shifts in topic and 103 type of page over time are strong behavioral signatures of social roles yet ignored in 104 most empirical network analyses of Wikipedia and other peer production platforms. 105

106 Social Roles on Wikipedia

Social roles describe the positions individuals hold within social structures and
 the expectations individuals have for their own and others' behaviors. Theories
 of social roles abound, but two dominant theories merit discussion. Interaction ists perceive roles as focused on the individual and his or her subjective perceptions,

negotiations, contextual demands, and informal interactions. Structuralists perceive 111 roles as focused on the social environment and the cultural or institutional processes 112 that generate patterns of behavior and relationships that individuals occupy (Biddle 113 1986). However, roles are not stable, but can change in accessibility (barriers to 114 entry), prestige (social and cultural value), and contingency (relevance to specific 115 contexts) (Callero. 1994). Gleave et al. (2009) provide a detailed theoretical and 116 operational definition of social roles in online communities as emerging from behav-117 ioral regularities, network attributes, social actions, self-identification, and formal 118 classifications. Social roles may also be defined as an "ecology" in which one role 119 operates in relation to others such as antivandals acting to revert the damage done 120 by vandals (Welser et al. 2007; Geiger and Ribes 2010). 121

Several previous studies have employed a social role framework to examine 122 knowledge collaboration in Wikipedia and provided diverse findings. Although 123 Wikipedia has some formally credentialed roles such as administrator and bureau-124 crat, these are a tiny minority of the editor population. The majority of editors inhabit 125 emergent roles organized around practices such as vandal fighting, copyediting, new 126 page patrolling, content standardization, administration, article evaluation, tool de-127 velopment, and new editor welcoming. Gaved et al. (2006) gave one of the earliest 128 examinations of role ecologies on a Wiki identifying "locators" who identify specific 129 information on a topic, "explorers" who gather general information on a topic, "graz-130 ers" who move between topics, "monitors" who check known sources, and "sharers" 131 who make information more accessible. Kane et al. (2009) identified "flitterers" who 132 place ideas then leave, "idea champions" who ensure the kernel of idea is maintained 133 and evolved, and "defenders" who use technology to respond to adverse changes in 134 the content. Yates et al. (2010) identified "placeholders", "completers", "housekeep-135 ers", and "shapers" who contribute, integrate, and synthesize content on Wikipedia. 136 Welser et al. (2011) identify four distinct social roles: technical editors correcting 137 small style and formatting errors, vandal fighters reverting vandalism and sanction-138 ing norm violators, substantive experts who specialize in improving articles within 139 a particular domain, and social networkers who use the Wiki as a platform for inter-140 personal relations rather than substantive contributions to content or administration. 141 While these analyses of social roles in Wikipedia are instructive for identifying gen-142 eral behavioral regularities and interactions, they do not examine the roles used for 143 high tempo knowledge collaboration that operate under very different coordination 144 conditions. 145

146 Social Roles for High-Tempo Collaboration

Social roles also play an important part in the operation of organizations that must respond to unpredictable and urgent tasks such as disaster response (Majchrzak et al. 2007), emergency medicine (Faraj and Xiao 2006), aircraft carrier flight decks (Weick and Roberts 1993), or breaking news journalism (Berkowitz 1992). Highly differentiated and formalized roles such as attending doctor versus nurse allow individuals to adopt a swift and depersonalized trust based on arbitrary category Author's Proof !

membership heuristics alone (Meyerson et al. 1996). The roles in these systems are 153 often stable and endure through successive temporary organizations (Bechky 2006; 154 Bechky and Okhuysen 2011; Klein et al. 2006). However, some temporary organi-155 156 zations like disaster response teams lack the role clarity or group stability of other temporary organizations like emergency room teams. The former have diverse moti-157 vations, mixed perspectives, varied resources to contribute, and substantial volition to 158 come and go as they please. Factors like these contribute to unstable task definitions 159 and the pursuit of multiple and potentially conflicting goals. These emergent response 160 groups are characterized by participants orienting to what is known about the situa-161 tion, the history of actions already taken, developing "swift trust", and focusing on 162 relationships between people and tasks rather than people and expertise (Majchrzak 163 et al. 2007). Even these theoretical approaches assume colocation of group members 164 and material or physical tasks, neither of which apply to distributed online Wikipedia 165 collaborations. However, this approach emphasizes the ability for Wikipedians to 166 step in and assume roles without prior qualifications, which is appealing for mod-167 eling Wikipedia's "anyone can edit" ethos. However, these interactionist roles have 168 problematic implications as it suggests that editors need to "learn the ropes" and im-169 provise the necessary social roles and behaviors rather than regenerating previously 170 effective roles and behaviors. 171

Other scholars criticize approaches emphasizing temporary organizations' man-172 agement of ephemerality through improvisation and "swift trust". Coordination and 173 self-organization in temporary teams can also proceed by participants regenerating, 174 adapting, and improvising roles and routines used in previous projects and collabo-175 rations (Klein et al. 2006; Bechky 2006; Bakker 2010; Bechky and Okhuysen 2011). 176 Temporary organizations can be organized around enduring, structured role systems 177 that are negotiated, reproduced, and reinforced across collaborations within indus-178 tries characterized by temporary organizing. Entrants to a position find expectations 179 through socialization and interaction, encounter and deploy resources with which 180 to negotiate expectations, and enact the position in response to particular situations. 181 Role expectations guide interpersonal relationships and the execution of tasks, but 182 this role structure simultaneously provided continuity and stability that temporary 183 projects lack (Bechky 2006; Ratcheva and Simpson 2011). This approach is ap-184 pealing for the study of Wikipedia's breaking news articles because it suggests that 185 editors occupy structural roles that allow them to specialize in particular types of 186 editing. But because they can regenerate and adapt social roles and behaviors from 187 prior work, this may limit their ability to incorporate innovations and best practices 188 learned outside of this community compared to interactionist roles. 189

190 Event Logs and Sociotechnical Trajectories

To explore which of these role types prevail in Wikipedia's breaking news collaborations, editors' behavioral histories need to be collected and analyzed. Many sociotechnical systems archive records and other meta-data about changes in the state of the system into event logs. These data are valuable for editors to trace changes

across versions of documents, evaluate other editors' contributions, and build addi-195 tional tools to support collaboration.¹ Wikipedia editors can review the history of 196 every change made to almost any article since the first edit as well as every revi-197 sion made by any user. A *temporal adjacency* is the relationship from an artifact 198 a user acted upon to the next artifact the user acted upon. Because sociotechnical 199 trajectories are built from temporal adjacencies in event log data, they capture im-200 portant temporal contexts and dependencies in the structure of the network itself. As 201 we review below, these temporal adjacencies are overlooked in traditional network 202 analysis approaches, but nevertheless encode complex behaviors into micro- and 203 macro-level structures denoting distinct behavioral patterns and dispositions. 204

A sociotechnical trajectory of a user traces the path of users "moving through" the 205 artifacts they have interacted with over time. The aggregation of temporal adjacencies 206 in an editor's contribution history reflects the shifting interests, motivations, and roles 207 from his or her first contribution. These contributions may be highly erratic in the 208 case of vandal fighters moving rapidly between articles or they may be highly focused 209 on a single topic. Using an event log archiving the records of a single user's actions 210 to one or more artifacts, a temporal adjacency exists from artifact i to artifact j when 211 a user's actions on artifact *j* immediately follow an action on artifact *i*. The final 212 user trajectory ultimately contains the set of artifacts that the user has taken action 213 on and the temporal adjacencies between artifacts based on the user's event log. 214

The differences in the construction and interpretations of a traditional editorarticle collaboration network and sociotechnical trajectory are illustrated in Fig. 4.1. This example is drawn from the event log in Table 4.1 where one editor makes six contributions to four articles. Using the same event log, the traditional method of constructing collaboration networks of editors and articles is illustrated in the left column and the construction of the user's sociotechnical trajectory is illustrated in the right column.

At time 1, editor X makes a contribution to article A. In Fig. 4.1a, this creates
 a link between the editor and artifact in the collaboration network but creates an
 isolated editor node in the sociotechnical artifact trajectory. Note that editor X
 does not appear in the user trajectory because the trajectory is unique to this user
 based solely on her behavior.

- 227 2. At time 2, editor X makes a contribution to article B and the number of articles 228 in the collaboration grows to two which is reflected in both types of networks. 229 However, the trajectory captures the temporal adjacency $A \rightarrow B$ that is missed 230 in the collaboration network. In other words, the editor can be said to have moved 231 from article A to article B.
- At time 3, the early stages of a "chain" begin to form in the artifact trajectory
 (Fig. 4.1c) as the editor modifies a third article but never returns to the articles
- she previously edited.

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¹ In the remainder of this chapter, I will use the terms "editor" and "user" interchangeably to refer to members of the Wikipedia community who make contributions to the project on articles, discussions, and other pages. However, "users" can refer generally to individuals within other sociotechnical systems while "editors" are specific to Wikipedia.

Description	Co-authorship network	User trajectory
(a) User X modifies artifact A.	X	A
(b) User X modifies artifact B.		B
		B
(c) User X modifies artifact C.		
(d) User X modifies artifact A.	A D-X-B C	
(f) User X modifies artifact A.	A D-X-B C	

Fig. 4.1 A user sociotechnical trajectory. The user (*blue square*) contributed to 4 pages (*red circles*). Pages outlined in *green* received the most recent contribution. The edge width reflects the number of revisions the user made to the page

- 4. At time 4, this nascent chain $(A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow A)$ is closed and creates a "cluster" or "cycle" where the editor returns back to editing an article she previously edited. This cycle is a particular structural form that can be detected with traditional social
- 238 network metrics.
- At time 5, that modifies article *D*. This temporal adjacency reveals *A*'s increasing
 centrality as a place where the editor returns to and departs from that is obscured
 in the collaboration network.

Table 4.1 Example of aneditor's event logs. The	Activity	Case	Performer	Order
activities are all edits and the	Commit	А	Х	1:01
order are the timestamps of	Commit	В	Х	2:02
the contributions. The	Commit	С	Х	3:03
performer is user X and the	Commit	А	Х	4:04
cases are the set of artifacts	Commit	D	Х	5:05
$\{A, B, C, D\}$	Commit	А	Х	6:06

At time 6, editor X's sixth contribution modifies article A yet again, reenforcing
article A's centrality in the behavioral repertoire of the editor as well as creating
a reciprocated link between A and D that is distinct from the cycle.

Formally, the sociotechnical trajectory of a user is a one-mode directed graph wherein 245 an edge from artifact *i* to artifact *j* exists if and only if the user made a contribution 246 to artifact *j* immediately following a contribution to artifact *i* in a temporally-sorted 247 event log. Thus, a $A \rightarrow B$ dyad in an article trajectory can be interpreted as "user 248 *i* contributed to artifact *B* after artifact *A*". These graphs are visualized using a 249 combination of spring-embedding algorithms within Gephi to ensure that nodes 250 with similar link patterns cluster together visually while nodes that do not share links 251 tend to be repulsed. While this structural method invites the application of existing 252 253 network analytic methods to understand positions, the focus here will instead be on qualitatively examining features in these editors trajectories' that predispose them or 254 uniquely qualify them to participate in breaking news article collaborations. 255

The nodes in these visualizations are colored by their namespace or the page 256 type. There are at least 14 distinct namespaces on Wikipedia, but activity is pri-257 marily concentrated in a handful of these. "Main" namespace is where the articles 258 themselves reside, "Talk" namespace is the discussion pages associated with these ar-259 ticles, "User" namespace is where editors post information about themselves, "User 260 talk" is where editors communicate with other editors, "Wikipedia" namespace is for 261 administrative and policy-related content, "Wikipedia talk" is for discussions about 262 these policies and procedures. The remainder about files, MediaWiki, templates, 263 help, categories, and portals is highly specialized and make up a tiny fraction of total 264 contribution to the entire project. Because these patterns of contribution to specific 265 namespaces reflect distinct types of work and varying levels of familiarity with or-266 ganizational norms, they are important for understanding editors' roles. The extent 267 to which editors' contributions are concentrated in any one of these namespaces re-268 flects some social role or specialization on the part of the editor as a contributor, 269 copywriter, consensus-builder, vandal-fighter, policy-enforcer, or other roles. 270

The edges in this graph also encode information related to the delay or lag between an editor's consecutive edits. Because an editor can potentially shift from editing article A to article B many times, this edge can contain multiple lag values that can vary dramatically in their values. To simplify this array of lags, only the median value reflecting a central tendency for the editor to wait before editing the next article is used. Some lags may be very short, of the order of seconds or minutes, reflecting a highly engaged editor moving quickly to update several articles in rapid succession

while other lags may be very long, of the order of months or years, reflecting an 278 editor who went on hiatus between successive edits. These time lags are reflected 279 in the trajectory by adjusting the darkness or opacity of the edges such that darker 280 lines indicate shorter (median) lags reflecting immediate engagement while fainter or 281 whiter lines indicate longer (median) lags reflecting incidental relationships. These 282 distinctions are especially important in the context of a breaking news collaboration 283 as the rapid engagement of editors across a variety of articles may reflect impor-284 tant coordination work responding to problematic editors, standardizing information 285 across articles, or executing a decision made in discussion with others. 286

287 User Trajectories

This section explores the sociotechnical trajectories of editors who were significant 288 contributors to articles around the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami such as the 289 "Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster" and "Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant" 290 (Keegan et al. 2011). These editors' contributions are almost exclusively focused on 291 a single article or handful of articles within this general topic. User L tak extensively 292 involved several articles related to the "Fukishima Daiichi nuclear disaster" and 293 "Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant" articles, talk pages, and related pages 294 beginning on March 11. He (or she) continued editing these articles on a daily basis 295 until April 1, ultimately making more than 211 revisions out of the 6165 revisions on 296 the article. User Flodded edited the main article about the earthquake and tsunami 297 exclusively approximately 14 h into the collaboration and continued to edit daily 298 until March 23 making 542 of the article's approximately 6000 revisions. L.tak's 299 contributions were also wide-ranging and varied. He was the most active editor on 300 the articles for the "power plant" article and talk page as well as the second most 301 active editor on the "nuclear disaster" article and seventh most active on its talk page. 302 Like Flodded, L.tak's involvement was extensive but temporary and appears to have 303 stopped contributing to either article after early April. 304

Remarkably, neither of these editors ever crossed paths: they worked on their 305 "own" articles independently of each other despite the similarity and timeliness of 306 their topics. Alternatively, a user like ACSE edited many articles related to this break-307 ing news event, but concentrated attention on a pair of articles, editing the "nuclear 308 disaster" article 160 times, the "earthquake and tsunami article" 83 times, and the 309 other articles no more than 13 times. Thus, highly active editors appear to occupy dis-310 tinct social roles as either specialists focusing solely on a single article (like Flodded) 311 or highly related topics (like L.tak) or as something like generalists moving between 312 several or articles like ACSE. This specialization of prolific editors contributing to 313 only a single article or subtopic is startling as it suggests substantive coordination 314 or collaboration in coverage proceeds through other channels and mechanisms than 315 coauthorship of articles. These features and these editors' interactions with them will 316 be explored in editor trajectory sections below. 317

318 Flodded

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Author's Proof !

User Flodded was the prolific contributor to the "earthquake and tsunami" article, 319 making the most contributions (560) in the corpus and is the first editor trajectory 320 (Fig. 4.2). Flodded's first edit was made in August 2009 to the article "Shellfish" 321 and involved updating and adding citations. He edited an article about a failed dot-322 com company "AboveNet" and then went on a lengthy hiatus until January 2011. 323 Flodded's renewed editing activity was related to another breaking news event, Jared 324 Lee Loughner's assassination attempt against Gabrielle Giffords in Tuscon, Ari-325 zona. Flodded edited the articles "2011 Tuscon shooting", "Jared Lee Loughner", 326 "Gabrielle Giffords", and "United States Congressmen killed or wounded in office" 327 in rapid succession over an 11-h period on January 11. Flodded was initially involved 328 in copyediting the articles to remove unverifiable speculation and unencyclopedic 329 content. As is often the case with breaking news articles, this article was "semipro-330 tected" by administrators to limit the changes made by novice or unregistered editors. 331 Unregistered editors or editors who have been active for fewer than 4 days and 10 edits 332 are blocked from editing, but may make requests for edits on the talk page. Flodded 333 was involved in responding to several of these edit requests and then became involved 334 in an intense discussion about whether Loughner identified as an atheist on both the 335 discussion page and "Biographies of living persons" administrative notice board. 336 He continued to perform copyediting duties on the Loughner article, fixing capital-337 izations, ensuring the consistency of names and styles, and correcting grammatical 338 mistakes as well as remaining involved in the article's discussion page. Despite the 339 marathon 11-h editing session, Flodded abruptly stopped editing the article and did 340 not make another contribution until February 21, performing daily antivandalism 341 work on unrelated articles about "Extremes on earth", "Bell Mobility", "Lowest 342 temperature record on earth", and other topics on a daily basis. However, he was 343 not deeply involved in the ongoing maintenance of these articles but simply made 344 a single contribution and moved on to other topics. In early March 2011, he edited 345 the article "Cheiracanthium", a genus of spiders, to update information implicating 346 them in a recall of Mazda vehicles. 347

As discussed above, Flodded was a relatively early editor of the "earthquake and tsunami" article, but he was not among the first editors. His initial edits focused on removing over-specific information relating to areas where minor tsunami alerts had been issued justifying these edits on the talk page:

We could list out thousands of places with tsunami warnings or that received a few extra cm of water. Obviously this is not feasible, nor is it encyclopedic. I suggest a good balance would be to only list places that have reported more than minor damage, have reported casualties, have reported large-scale evacuations in mainstream media, or are otherwise notable.

Flodded was also an extremely active editor on the discussion pages, making 257 revisions between March 11 and March 22 on topics like the looming nuclear disasters, finding sources to verify the extent to which the island of Honshu had been displaced, and increasingly on the topic of establishing reliable numbers about the casualty tolls. Flodded went on a remarkable 24-h editing marathon; between 19:35

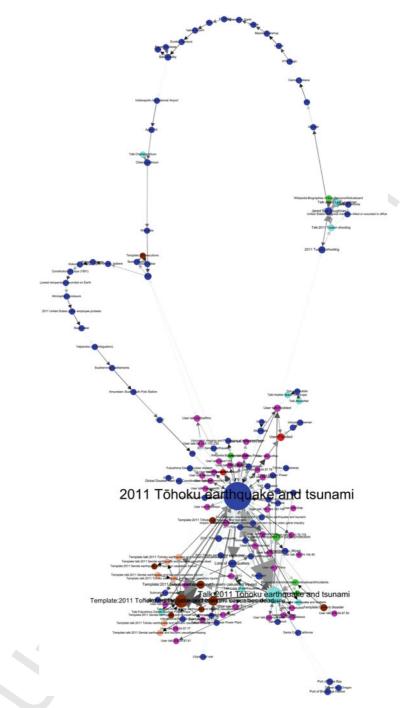


Fig. 4.2 User trajectory for Flodded

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UTC on March 11 and 19:47 UTC on March 12. Flodded made several edits per
hour presumably precluding the ability to sleep during this time frame. After a 7-h
break, he embarked on another 24-h editing marathon stretching from 3:34 UTC on
March 13 to 2:47 UTC on March 14 in which he made several changes per hour.

Returning to his editor trajectory, several structural features merit discussion. 365 First, the graph is comparatively small, having only 149 nodes and 285 edges, but 366 very dense (1.27e-2). The halo of light red points around the central "earthquake and 367 tsunami" article represents the talk pages of other users Flodded communicated with 368 about the article, warning them to stop reverting his changes or providing boilerplate 369 welcome messages to new users cautioning them about the norms of editing on 370 Wikipedia. This halo structure of pendants with reciprocated ties to the core article 371 reveals that Flodded would be working on the earthquake and tsunami article, go 372 to these users' talk pages to warn them, and then return immediately to editing the 373 central article again. Several articles are also present in this halo such as articles with 374 alternative titles for the event ("2011 Sendai earthquake", "Japanese earthquake and 375 tsunami", "2011 Tohoku earthquake") that each redirect to the main article. The 376 strong tie between the main article and the light blue dot reflects that a substantial 377 amount of his total activity involved shuttling between the main namespace article 378 and the article's talk page in rapid succession, 107 transitions in total with a median 379 edit lag of 4 min and 7 s. Flodded was also involved in a variety of administrative 380 processes related to requesting page protection as well as filing reports related to 381 user misbehavior which are the peripheral green nodes near the central node. 382

Flodded's intense editing sessions became shorter and more infrequent and he 383 began to shift attention to editing the casualty templates on March 16. As previously 384 discussed, this is highly specialized and technical work involving knowledge of how 385 to identify and locate templates, format them appropriately so they appear correctly 386 in the rendered pages, and update the information contained within them on a regular 387 basis. As the Japanese authorities released information about casualty numbers at 388 the beginning and end of each day, Flodded would take these reports and update the 389 numbers in the corresponding templates. Despite these contributions to the casualty 390 templates, Flodded remained involved in many other aspects of the article, a "jack of 391 all trades" involved in many discussion threads, communicating with users on their 392 talk pages, performing copyediting, updating information on related articles such as 393 "Lists of earthquakes by magnitude", and participating in administrative discussions. 394 His final edits on the topic were on March 23, and apart from 3 revisions to the Libyan 395 civil war on April 3, Flodded has not made a single contribution since then. 396

Flodded fulfills an interesting role as an editor demonstrating a latent interest 397 in not only editing articles about current events throughout his history but also un-398 usually dedicated by contributing for 48 h in a 55-h period of time and making a 399 substantial number of edits in the successive weeks. Although his edits were highly 400 concentrated, he nevertheless played a crucial coordinating role discussing a variety 401 of topics with editors on the talk and their user pages. Despite the apparent lack 402 of an editing history which would qualify him for this type of work, Flodded flu-403 ently engaged in a variety of tasks, demonstrating knowledge of Wikipedia policies 404 justifying his editing decisions when challenged by other editors, participating in 405

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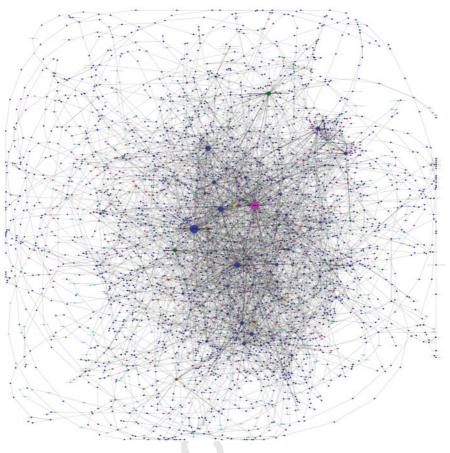


Fig. 4.3 User trajectory for L.Tak

arcane bureaucratic proceedings about protecting pages and notifying administrators of trouble, and actively developing and modifying highly specialized templates
about casualty numbers.

409 **L.Tak**

User L. Tak was the second most prolific editor in the corpus, the most active editor of
the "Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant", and the second most active editor of
the "nuclear disaster" article with 211 edits (after User Sandpiper's 281 edits). L. Tak's
editor trajectory is plotted in Fig. 4.3. This trajectory reveals several significant
differences from Flodded's structure that in turn have implications for understanding
the role ecology of users responding to breaking news articles. First, it is clear

that L.Tak has a substantially deeper and more varied editing history than Flodded,
making 9907 revisions since making his first contributions in late October 2007
and then beginning the contribute regularly in May 2009 on the article "European
Parliament election, 2009". 63.9 % of L.Tak's contributions are in the "Main" article
namespace, 14.5 % in the "User talk" namespace, and 11.0 % in the "Talk" namespace
for article discussions. With 3206 unique pages edited and 6105 unique edges, L.Tak
has a substantially larger but also less dense (5.93e-4) trajectory than Flodded.

While Flodded had a predilection for contributing to articles about events in the 423 news, L.Tak's extensive editing history is more complex. The most central article is 424 his own talk page which suggests much of his activity involves responding to other 425 editors' queries and concerns. The history of this talk page suggests a problematic 426 debut and struggle with the learning curve of Wikipedia norms and rules initially but 427 more recently becoming a backchannel with other editors soliciting his opinion and 428 asking for elaboration on actions performed elsewhere. Other central articles in his 429 trajectory concern international trade, visa, and labor agreements as well as environ-430 mental organizations. L.Tak's intense involvement in and extensive contributions to 431 the "nuclear disaster" article motivating this analysis is, incidentally, very peripheral 432 in his trajectory residing in the dense outlying subgraph at approximately 1 o'clock. 433 The articles preceding his involvement in the nuclear disaster article are a variety of 434 copyediting tasks and linking to other concepts on a variety of outwardly mundane 435 topics like provincial and colonial governance in the Netherlands and the articles 436 following his involvement are about the foreign relations of European countries and 437 nuclear treaties. This trajectory suggests a passing interest in the social and cultural 438 history about nuclear technologies and the environmental movement, information 439 that became relevant in the aftermath of the tsunami-induced nuclear disasters. 440

The work L.tak performed was initially focused on the "nuclear plant" article 441 copyediting to ensure the consistency of times and timezones, removing alarmist 442 predictions, and plagiarized material. While L.tak did not have the marathon 24 h 443 editing sessions of Flodded, he nevertheless made regular contributions over 6-, 8-, 444 and even 14-h periods of time between March 11 and 15, with contributions slowing 445 thereafter. L.Tak also fulfilled an essential coordinator role, with his contributions 446 shuttling between the article page, discussion page, and user talk pages. The con-447 tributions L.Tak made during this time largely involved copyediting and removing 448 duplicate information as well as adding information about the timeline of events and 449 reliable sources. 450

451 Sandpiper

User Sandpiper was the sixth most active editor in the corpus and the most active
editor of the "nuclear disaster" article and his user trajectory is plotted in Fig. 4.4.
Sandpiper made 9240 revisions since starting June 2005, editing articles about Sussex
and Harry Potter. Like L.Tak, his editing trajectory is also substantially more complex
than Flodded but Sandpiper's trajectory also has distinct subgraphs corresponding

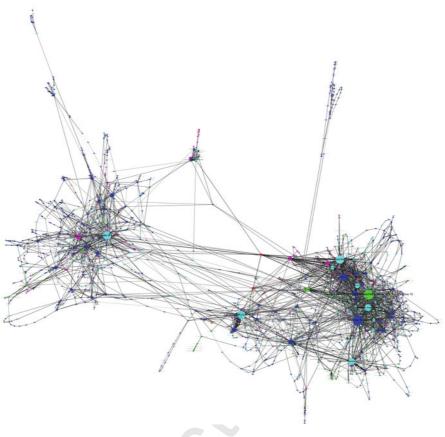


Fig. 4.4 User trajectory for Sandpiper

to distinct phases of his editing history. Dalliances with unrelated topics are also 457 apparent with a burst of editing relating to articles about English radio transmitting 458 station towers, "Cutty Sark", and a large amount of activity on the 1916 "Battle 459 of Jutland". Like L.Tak, Sandpiper's participation in the "nuclear disaster" is not 460 embedded within a larger subgraph of breaking news events, but a tangent from his 461 typical edits. This trajectory is emblematic of an editor who focuses on a particular 462 topic and works extensively on a variety of articles within it but then moves on to an 463 entirely new topic. The diversity of the colors also reflects a diversity of activity in 464 making changes to articles, participating in discussions, and talking to other users. 465 This user is a generalist who specializes in both time and topic, unlike L.Tak who is 466 a generalist, who also edits a diverse set of articles but returns back to earlier articles 467 throughout. 468

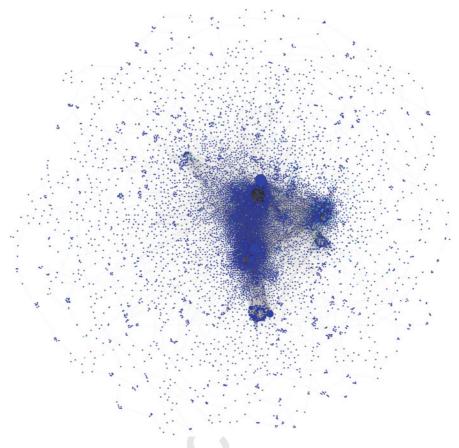


Fig. 4.5 User trajectory for ACSE

469 **ACSE**

User ACSE's trajectory is plotted in Fig. 4.5. His 41,778 revision editing history 470 focused predominately on a strange pair of topics, Japanese pop, and Japanese serial 471 killers. But ACSE was also the editor who contributed to 34 articles in the Tohoku cor-472 pus, updating information on many of the preexisting articles about towns, villages, 473 and other points of interest that had been affected by the tsunami as well as editing 474 the "earthquake and tsunami" and "nuclear disaster" articles extensively. This lack 475 of embeddedness in a larger context of current events editing occurs in many other 476 editor trajectories as well. Although he is not a regular editor of breaking news arti-477 cles, this editing trajectory reveals a specific and important types of expertise about 478 Japanese culture and geography. The preponderance of blue in this graph reflects the 479 fact that ACSE engages minimally with discussions on article discussions or user talk 480

pages—his contributions are almost exclusively audience-facing. This may reflect
preferences to eschew these discussions and move on to other topics or could also
reflect the inherent credibility of his edits. The fact he edits article namespaces almost
exclusively suggests his contributions may have high levels of credibility because
few editors are reverting him or attempting to draw him into discussions.

486 Discussion

A characteristic feature of breaking news article collaborations is shifting attention 487 across articles as collective effort initially focused on a central article (e.g., the 488 earthquake and tsunami article) but then diffused to other articles and recentralized 489 again on another related breaking event (the nuclear disasters) (Keegan et al. 2011a). 490 Despite the opportunity for a single editor to make substantial contributions to each 491 of the articles about parallel breaking news events, the most prolific editors on many 492 articles like the nuclear disasters had negligible activity on others like the earthquake 493 and tsunami. Examining the user trajectories of several top contributors suggests /0/ that prolific editors' investments in breaking news articles are at once novel but also 495 reflect a latent interest or expertise in the topic. Editors of the articles about the 496 nuclear disasters are drawn not from a cohort of editors dedicated to editing breaking 497 news events, but rather editors like L.Tak with a background in international trade or 498 ACSE's familiarity with Japanese pop culture. These editors' backgrounds conferred 499 the collaborative competence, editing skills, and norm familiarity to extend and 500 expand their repertoire of practices and routines necessary to manage a complex 501 collaboration even if they had limited or no prior experience working on breaking 502 news articles. This suggests that the capacity to engage in the intense coordination 503 demanded on these articles can be acquired and learned in situ rather than developed 504 from peripheral participation on prior breaking news articles or reliance on other 505 editors with whom they have previously collaborated. 506

Wikipedia's collaborations on articles about current and breaking news events 507 bring together a unique cast of characters with disparate backgrounds who fulfill 508 distinct roles in these collaborations. This analysis suggests that breaking news ar-509 ticle collaborations rely to a great extent on interactionist roles of motivated editors 510 self-selecting into these articles rather than structural roles such as news editors 511 wholly dedicated to editing breaking news articles. While editors exhibited consid-512 erable variability in the structure of their editing trajectories reflecting their diverse 513 backgrounds, trajectories within breaking articles follow regular structural patterns 514 reflecting the presence of a highly centralized coordinators and substantial churn in 515 contributor cohorts. Across breaking articles, these central coordinators appear to be 516 unique as well as otherwise inexperienced breaking news collaborators. This com-517 plicates attempts to frame these collaborations as communities of practice because 518 they lack the deference to tenure and peripheral participation and instead appear to 519 embody the improvisation and adaptation found in other high tempo and emergent 520 response groups. The social roles that emerged on these breaking articles reflect more 521

of the interactionist dimension of disaster response teams rather than the regeneration of collaborative infrastructures found in ER teams.

These findings have theoretical implications for understanding the origins and 524 transformation of social roles and structures. As other authors have noted, roles in 525 Wikipedia are highly informal but these breaking news articles appear especially flex-526 ible given the variance in participants' backgrounds. Breaking news articles about 527 major news events will inevitably attract a large number of editors making only pass-528 ing contributions. The responsibility for synthesizing, copyediting, and integrating 529 these contributions fall to everyone in an open peer-production system, yet editors 530 with some contextual background but wholly lacking the experience of working on 531 other high tempo articles nevertheless appear to thrive and invest themselves heavily. 532 As Bechky (2006) found in her study of role adoption, roles are not a consequent 533 of position in a structure but resources that are claimed, negotiated, and enacted. 534 Editors do not operate in a vacuum but continually encounter collaborations in the 535 midst of their unfolding development complete with dependencies on synthesizing 536 content across articles, copyediting new content, and explicitly coordinating efforts 537 with other editors working in parallel. These overlapping dependencies constitute a 538 dynamic environment of opportunities and resources which results in an ecology of 539 roles which editors adopt and negotiate in response to others' actions as well as their 540 own background. 541

542 Future Research Agenda

The cases above are illustrative of the types of analyses that can be conducted by con-543 densing large and complex event log data into sociotechnical trajectories. Given the 544 fluidity with which editors inhabit and shed roles in breaking news article collabora-545 tions, further analysis and methodological development is needed. In particular, the 546 method for extracting and interpreting users' sociotechnical trajectories outlined here 547 can be expanded into a larger research agenda to examine how users' trajectories in-548 teract with each other and overlap. The trajectory analogy can be extended in several 549 ways to reveal temporal patterns ("velocity"), pervasive forces ("fields"), recurring 550 patterns of actions ("orbits"), and actions preceding abrupt changes ("collisions") 551 within sociotechnical systems: 552

Velocity The edges which link the nodes in artifact and user trajectories reflect the 553 time elapsed or the delay between actions. Because some actions occur in quick 554 succession (e.g., an antivandal bot reverting changes made by a troll) while other 555 actions are prolonged (e.g., months passing between a editor's edits), these temporal 556 lags can be called "velocities" to reflect the rapidity with which a user or artifact 557 moved from one state to another. The distribution of velocities within a user suggests 558 the intensity of work that he or she engages in. The history of contributing to one 559 domain takes a leave of absence and then begins contributing to another. These low 560 velocity transitions can be potentially highlighted as transitions or discounted as 561 boundaries. 562

Collisions Mapping the trajectories of multiple users together provides an oppor-563 tunity to analyze a trajectory's "field." Again borrowing from classical mechanics, 564 collisions occur when two trajectories intersect. If two editors edit the same article, 565 their respective trajectories will collide at that article (albeit at different positions 566 along their own trajectories) and these editors may exhibit similar behavior there-567 after, such as continuing to edit similar articles. If two articles are edited by the 568 same editor, again these articles' trajectories will intersect. The position of this col-569 lision in each article trajectory might reveal whether the editor has a tendency to 570 work on articles at certain stages of their development. The number of collisions be-571 tween different users' trajectories may reveal shared latent interests or even emergent 572 communities of practice. 573

Orbit Highly regular or periodic action sequences observed across many user trajectories are "orbits." An orbit might be a sequence of articles which always have a tendency to be edited in succession. For example, a user responding to a vandal would first revert the damage to the article itself, warn the user on his talk page, and finally notify administrators on a notice board to take action against the vandal. These types of orbits capture organizational routines, many of which have been automated within Wikipedia (Geiger and Ribes 2010).

Researchers can employ the sociotechnical trajectories of users to not only understand social roles as I did here but also to examine organizational routines that generate credibility, behavioral patterns that lead to more reliable user-generated content, and emergence of leadership within self-organizing systems. Trajectories were only computed for four out of the hundreds of users who contributed to these articles, but trajectories could also be computed and compared across all these editors as well to look for similarities in their behavioral patterns.

This type of comparative analysis could begin to unpack whether particular types 588 of sequences or structures are associated with editors becoming socialized into the 589 community and learning to making valuable and high-quality contributions. Take 590 for example an editor who wants to add new information across many articles. This 591 editor could make the changes herself, editing each article individually and creating 592 a "chain" within her sociotechnical trajectory. But these changes may also lack con-593 sensus within the community and lead to them being reverted and her then having to 594 make appeals on discussion boards *afterwards* for others to adopt the changes. This 595 would manifest as a high number of "collisions" with other editors across articles. 596 Alternatively, we might imagine her canvassing editors and discussion boards ahead 597 of time to develop consensus, creating a dense web of connections in her trajec-598 tory rather than a chain as she diplomatically shuttles between them. This pattern 599 of collaboration might lead to higher quality edits that are more accepted by the 600 community or may mobilize other editors to make the changes themselves. This 601 thought experiment thus also documents behavioral patterns that lead to more reli-602 able user-generated content and the emergence of a leader within a self-organized 603 system. 604

Researchers also might employ user trajectories to understand the dispositions and evolution of behavioral patterns that predict being elected to administrative roles. Author's Proof !

Wikipedia administrators, for example, are granted a variety of tools that allow 607 them to delete pages, ban editors, or protect articles from being edited after passing 608 through an intensive screening process. Comparing the trajectories of these editors 609 may reveal similarities in their behavior as they migrate toward particular editing 610 patterns around antivandalism efforts or new content monitoring. For example, be-611 havioral regularities in reporting vandalism might involve reverting changes on the 612 vandalised page, warning the responsible user on her talk page, and the notifying 613 other users on administrative notice boards that would lead to characteristic cycles in 614 a user's trajectory of moving from articles to user talk pages to administrative boards 615 repeatedly. Users' trajectories that are characterized by high levels of cyclicality and 616 reciprocity (consider again the example in Fig. 4.1) demonstrate higher levels of re-617 peat engagement and monitoring of articles. Thus the user's trajectory capturing the 618 "velocity" of edits and number of "orbits" can serve as a proxy for her commitment 619 and may forecast her effectiveness as a potential administrator. 620

The sociotechnical trajectory method outlined here opens up new domains for in-621 quiry into latent relationships that have been heretofore ignored in previous network 622 analyses of Wikipedia. More than graphs of who edited what, these trajectories can 623 be read as a narrative of editors inhabiting, discarding, and sampling different social 624 identities over their history. But more than inhabiting a particular social role, the 625 differences between trajectories may also reveal the extent to which authors product 626 valuable content that does not require them to litigate it in other forums and fore-627 cast their leadership and influence as they actively move between domains within 628 the system. Thus, sociotechnical trajectories allow the researcher to mix quantita-629 tive metrics for sampling or deductive inference with qualitative interpretations for 630 contextualization and inductive inference, making them superlative tools for mixed 631 methods research. 632

633 Conclusion

Wikipedia's coverage of breaking news events challenges traditional theoretical con-634 ceptions of organizational behavior and social roles. Despite being a radically open 635 platform for participation that attracts hundreds of editors with mixed motives and 636 expertise, the resulting articles are nevertheless exemplars of timeliness, depth, and 637 style. Drawing on theories of both social roles in online communities as well as 638 high-tempo organizing, this analysis examined whether the most active editors of 639 articles related to a breaking news event performed social roles characterized by a 640 regeneration of prior structural forms or improvisation of new interactional forms. 641 Examination of several prominent editors' sociotechnical trajectories revealed that 642 few possessed expertise specific to editing breaking news articles. However, these 643 editors' histories revealed editors migrated very credible local reputations from 644 other domains to these breaking articles. Editors improvised on their prior social 645 roles as dispute mediators or experts in Japanese culture and emerged as cen-646 tral coordinators—sometimes even leaders—in the efforts to coordinate work on 647

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⁶⁴⁸ breaking news articles. These findings suggest that rather than demanding explicit

649 credentials to engage in some types of knowledge work or occupy certain social roles,

editors focus on the task and trust each other to leverage their existing competencies

or adapt to the needs at hand.

Acknowledgements I want to thank Darren Gergle, Noshir Contractor, and Daniel Gruber for feedback on earlier versions of this chapter.

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