

Public service media news consumption across Europe: Views from a Q-methodological repertoire study

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Abstract:

This article examines how, in a very strong and competitive media market across Europe, people use public service media (PSM) as a news source within their personal repertoires of news media. Using findings from an international research project, this study integrates qualitative and quantitative methods within a Q-sorting study on news consumption.¹ By conducting qualitative in-depth interviews with a wide diversity of audiences and implementing Q-method procedures of qualitative analytical generalisation, we explore the audiences' perceptions of the roles that news from PSM companies play their everyday lives and their understanding of the public service mission and remit in contemporary European societies.

Key words: public service media news, media repertoires, factor analysis, audiences, Q-sorting method

Introduction

The concept of traditional public service broadcasting, its *raison d'être*, and the ways of financing its activities continue to be actively debated. With the new environment of media plurality, with ever-stronger competition for audiences, and the growth of a multinational media and IT industry, the situation is in flux. The increasing role of private broadcasters in many countries and a media landscape saturated with digital, mobile and social media have weakened the dominant position of public service media (PSM) organisations and fragmented the audience.

However, while wholly private media companies work primarily in the interests of their owners and the shareholders, public service broadcasters are obliged to serve the

whole society by enabling and enhancing social, political and cultural citizenship (Amsterdam Protocol 1997). In doing so, they provide media content with the following characteristics (McQuail 2005):

- universality of content and access
- editorial independence
- high quality of services and of output
- accountability

Although the degree of market fragmentation varies quite significantly from country to country, the overall trend in the landscape of broadcasting is more or less the same: more operators and more channels continue to offer new radio and television options to the audience, resulting in a general long-term decline of many public service channels (Fletcher & Nielsen 2017). PSM organisations across Europe have reacted in different ways to the move towards an increasingly digital, mobile and social environment, where traditional broadcast channels are relatively less important than they have been in the past.

Because public broadcasters are making an increasing amount of content available through streaming or on-demand services, the programming offer of public broadcasting organisations is now available on multiple distribution platforms. According to a recent report by the Reuters Institute (2016), PSM organisations in six countries studied (Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and the UK) have a high reach for news offline (via television and radio), and only Finland and the UK have a high-level reach for news online:

(...) YLE in Finland and the BBC in the UK, (a) operate in technologically advanced markets, enjoy relatively high levels of per capita funding, are integrated multiplatform organisations, and have a relatively high level of strategic autonomy from direct political influence and (b) are internally characterized by a pro-digital culture and senior leadership committed to delivering public service via digital as well as traditional broadcast channels'. (Reuters Institute 2016, p. 30)

PSM organisations have been facing serious challenges to their ability to deliver news online effectively. Entering the cross-platform environment compels public broadcasters to shape their programming offer to reach all possible segments of the audience, wherever possible, at any time. Their programmes and websites continue to make possible the idea of a 'common experience' for the whole population of a country (Syvertsen et al. 2014). Studies carried out in many countries highlight the need to develop the PSM model and to create a new discourse or narrative about PSM media, and new modes of public participation in order to enhance PSM as a revitalized background of citizenship (i.e.

Aslama 2009, Coppens 2002, Lowe 2007, Moe 2007, Jakubowicz 2008, Carlsson 2013, Suárez Candel 2014, Horowitz 2015, Volkmer 2015, Glowacki & Jackson 2016).

New technologies and media (Amazon, Facebook, Netflix, YouTube and Twitter) exert a strong influence on how media are used (participatory culture, civic journalism). About six in 10 Americans now get news from social media (Gottfried & Shearer 2016). However, outside the United States (and the UK), growth in the use of social media for accessing news seems to have reached a plateau, particularly in Portugal and Italy (Reuters Institute 2017). In addition, while the sharing of and commenting on news in social media over the last two years has declined or remained static in many Northern European markets, such as Denmark (-14%), and Germany (-18%), it remains high in Southern European countries such as Portugal (-29%) (Reuters Institute 2017).

Nevertheless, relying on the findings of market audience research, it is difficult to reach a complex understanding of the extent to which the strong indicators of the use of and support for PSM on various platforms (radio, TV and online) result from a positive assessment of the programming offer and a high level of trust in public service media.

Taking into account the quantitative and qualitative findings from cross-media news consumption research, this article investigates how people in very strong and competitive media markets across Europe use PSM as news sources within their individual repertoires of news media.

PSM in the news mediascape across Europe: usage and trust

One of the most important initial conditions of using the programming offer of PSM, and shaping audiences' attitudes towards them, is how a given public organisation is positioned in the media market.

European Broadcasting Union (EBU) reports, which were developed based on routine audience research in particular countries, indicate a diversified participation of public media in the TV and radio market in the countries participating in the study (Audience Trends, EBU 2015; Media Barometer, EBU 2015). In the TV sector, Germany has the biggest market share of PSM (45.8%), followed by Belgium (Flemish broadcaster; 39.9%), Denmark (33.7%), Netherlands (33.2%), Poland (31.1%), Croatia (28.5%), Belgium (French broadcaster; 22.1%), Portugal (19.2%), Estonia (18.4%); the smallest market share of PSM is recorded in Israel (3.5%).

In the radio sector, Denmark has the biggest share of the public media market (75.4%), followed by Belgium (Flemish broadcaster; 61.3%), Germany (56.0%), Belgium (French broadcaster; 34.2%), Estonia (32.8%), Netherlands (32.1%), Poland (18.6%) and Croatia (18.4%); the smallest share of the public media market is found in Portugal (9.9%).

A significant indicator of the information potential of public broadcasters is the number of radio and TV stations owned by the public broadcasters in the participating countries (**Table 1**). Germany, Poland, Holland and Spain have the most public radio and TV stations, while Estonia, Belgium, Portugal and Israel have the fewest. The number of

channels relates largely to the size of the country, to the political system and the overall media landscape.

Table 1: Radio and TV: number of PSM stations and channels by type

| Country | Radio (national) | Radio (regional) | TV (national) | TV (regional) |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Flemish Belgium | 6 | 5 | 3 | n/a |
| French Belgium | 5 | n/a | 3 | n/a |
| Croatia | 3 | 8 | 4 | n/a |
| Denmark | 8 | 11 | 6 | n/a |
| Estonia | 4 | 1 | 3 | n/a |
| Germany | 4 | 66 | 11 | 33 |
| Israel | 7 | n/a | 2 | n/a |
| Netherlands | 10 | n/a | 11 | n/a |
| Poland | 7 | 17 | 11 | 16 |
| Portugal | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 |

Source: own, based on Media Barometer 2015 Geneva MIS EBU.

A significant indicator of the information potential of PSM in the countries that participated in our study is the number of hours per day which public radio and television news programmes offered as a source of news consumption for the national audience publics (**Table 2**).

Table 2: Radio and TV: volume of news programmes

| Country | PSM organisation | Radio hours/day | Television hours/day |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Croatia | HRT | 94 | 9 |
| Estonia | ERR | 41 | 9 |
| Denmark | DR | 39 | 18 |
| Poland | PR | 18 | 18 |
| Belgium French | RTBF | 16 | 12 |
| Spain | RTV | 9 | 11 |
| Belgium Flemish | VRT | 8 | 5 |
| Portugal | RTP | 5 | 62 |
| Netherland | NPO | n/a | 15 |
| Germany | ARD | n/a | 76 |

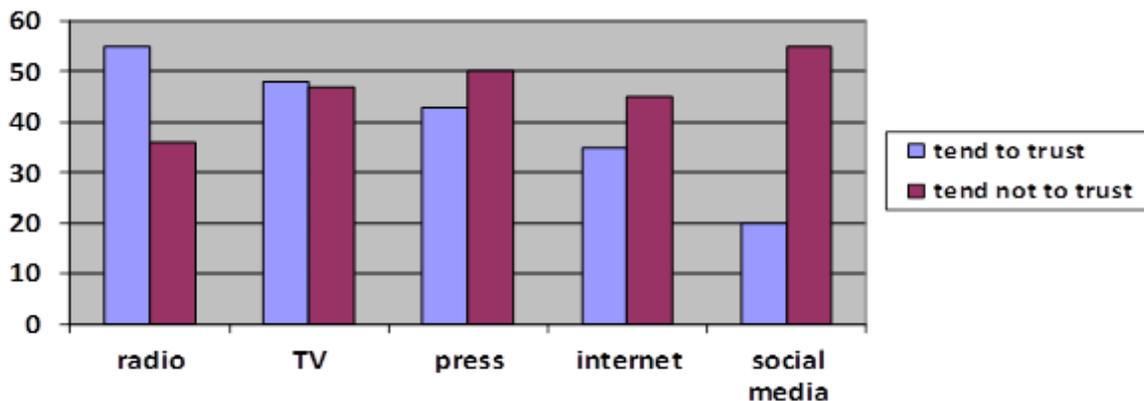
Source: own, based on Media Barometer 2015, Geneva MIS EBU.

The category of trust in public broadcasters also helps to understand the levels of access and the use intensity of the programming offer of public media. A high level of trust can be seen as the result of a high level of satisfaction with the programming offer, and/or a range of other broadcasters' activities. Research into social trust in the public media thus

considers the general assessment of their activities in the context of occupational ethics, professionalism, credibility, responsibility and authority.

For instance, an EBU Media Intelligence Service (2016) study revealed that, while trust in the media is generally declining, radio is the most trusted by EU citizens: 55% trust radio, compared to 48% who trust television, and fewer people tend to trust the written press and the Internet, specifically online social networks (**Figure 1**).

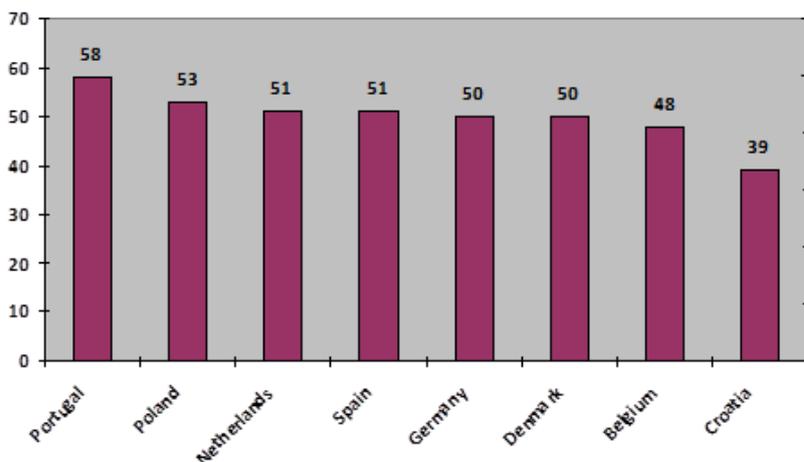
Figure 1: Trust in media across the EU (% of population, 2015)



Source: Trust in media 2016 MIS EBU.

The recent Reuters Institute report (2017) depicts broad variations in trust across 36 countries worldwide (**Figure 2**). In European countries, trust in the news is the highest in Finland (62%) and the lowest in Greece (23%). Greeks also have the strongest concerns about business and political influence over editorial content. The level of trust is fairly similar across the participating countries, with the exception of Portugal on the high side and Croatia on the low side.

Figure 2: Trust in media news in participating countries



Source: own, based on Digital News Report, Reuters Institute 2017

In conclusion, both the number of PSM news and current affairs programmes and their air time is an indicator of their presence in the communication environment in these countries. At the same time, this provides an indication of the position public broadcasters occupy and of their information potential in these countries. The level of trust these broadcasters and their content enjoy is an indication of how credible they are perceived to be in describing the world. Both dimensions show the potential influence of public broadcasters on public opinion.

In this article, based on the national news repertoire studies reported in other parts of this special section, I adopt a comparative perspective on those aspects of the joint news repertoire study which relate to public service media. In contrast to previous studies, this article, drawing on both quantitative and qualitative insights, shows in a cross-national perspective how public media are perceived as a source of information about the world and as an element of constructed media repertoires. This research thus broadens our understanding of public media, as reflected in the perceptions of the informants who participated in the study. It shows how these public media are perceived as important for their audiences as a source of information about the surrounding world.

Methodology

The results presented below are based on international research conducted in 2014-2015 in 12 countries in order to identify, using Q-sorting, media usage patterns and media consumption experiences (for further details, see the Introduction to this Special Section). The Q-sorting method synthesises qualitative and quantitative approaches (Schrøder 2012). One advantage of the Q-sorting method is that it allows factor analysis to be conducted using data from a relatively small number of informants. In this context, the news media environment treated as a whole is the platform on which a user chooses news platforms that match their interests, with different possibilities of access and cultural capital. The news content provided simultaneously by various platforms (TV, radio, press, internet, social media) is rich in ever more diversified forms, although the journalistic content is often similar. In addition, because the Internet and satellite TV reach beyond geographical borders, audiences can access extremely diversified content in foreign languages or from different political and cultural settings.

News and current affairs are usually seen as falling into two categories. On the one hand, news includes social, political, economic and financial events and phenomena, which are significant in shaping public opinion, so-called hard news. On the other hand, news applies to content connected with culture, entertainment, lifestyle and sports, so-called soft news.

As mentioned above, a fuller description of the method used can be found in the Introduction to this special issue; here follows a brief account, which merely provides readers with a skeletal picture of the research design. The study on news consumption involved 36 participants in each participating country, who varied in terms of their key

demographic characteristics. The sample consisted of people from both genders, three age groups (18–34, 35–60, 61+), three levels of education (up to secondary, BA, and MA and higher) and three types of geographical location (capital city, large city, and provincial town). As the main part of the study, informants were asked to sort 36 numbered cards: each of the cards represented one news media platform or format. The Appendix presents the full list of media platforms and formats. The sorting exercise involved ordering the cards according to the role they play in a person's daily life by arranging them in a pyramid grid. The participants were asked to place cards (news media platforms/formats) that did not play a role in their everyday life on the left-hand side and place the cards (news media) that played a significant role in their everyday life on the right-hand side. The far left end of the grid (the least important media) was assigned the ranking value -4, and the far right end of the grid (most important media) was assigned the value +4. The continuum between these extremes held values from minus to plus four, so that the participant could assign a value to each news media card; these scores were the raw material of the factor analysis which produced the news repertoires in each participating country. Readers are invited to consult the articles in this special issue which present the news consumption repertoires of the participating countries. The study used Schrøder's (2015) theory of the 'perceived worthwhileness' of news media as a guide to conceptualizing the user patterns and motivations which underlie the audiences' selection and appreciation of news media.

Presence of public media in the repertoires of media across Europe

In this study, we have attempted to determine the level of the presence of public media in the repertoires of media in the countries studied, and the motivations that make recipients inclined to use the programming offer of public broadcasters. It was assumed that the higher the position of public broadcasters in the market, the stronger the exposure of their programming offer, including news and current affairs. The public service media analysis is here based on three media platforms: national TV news bulletin on a public service channel (live or delayed), radio news as part of a general public service radio channel, and national broadcaster's online news. Starting with media with the least role in the everyday life of users (-4) to those which play the biggest role (+4), we calculated the sorted cards of all 36 informants. For each country a mean has been calculated from rankings of the three media types mentioned.

As **Table 3** shows, the highest means were obtained in Belgium (Flemish), Germany and Denmark; lower means were calculated for Belgium (French) and the Netherlands, followed by Poland and Croatia; the lowest means were obtained for Israel and Portugal. The values of the means indicate the position of public broadcasters in the above-mentioned country repertoires as perceived by recipients of their programming offer, and are related to the positions taken by public broadcasters in media markets of these countries.

Table 3: The level of presence of PSM news in nine country repertoires (average scores for public media in the country samples)

| Country | PSM (TV, radio, websites) |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| Belgium (Flemish) | 2,4907 |
| Belgium (French) | 1,5370 |
| Croatia | 0,9815 |
| Denmark | 1,7593 |
| Israel | 0,5370 |
| Netherlands | 1,4630 |
| Poland | 1,0370 |
| Portugal | 0,5093 |
| Germany | 1,7407 |
| Total | 1,3395 |

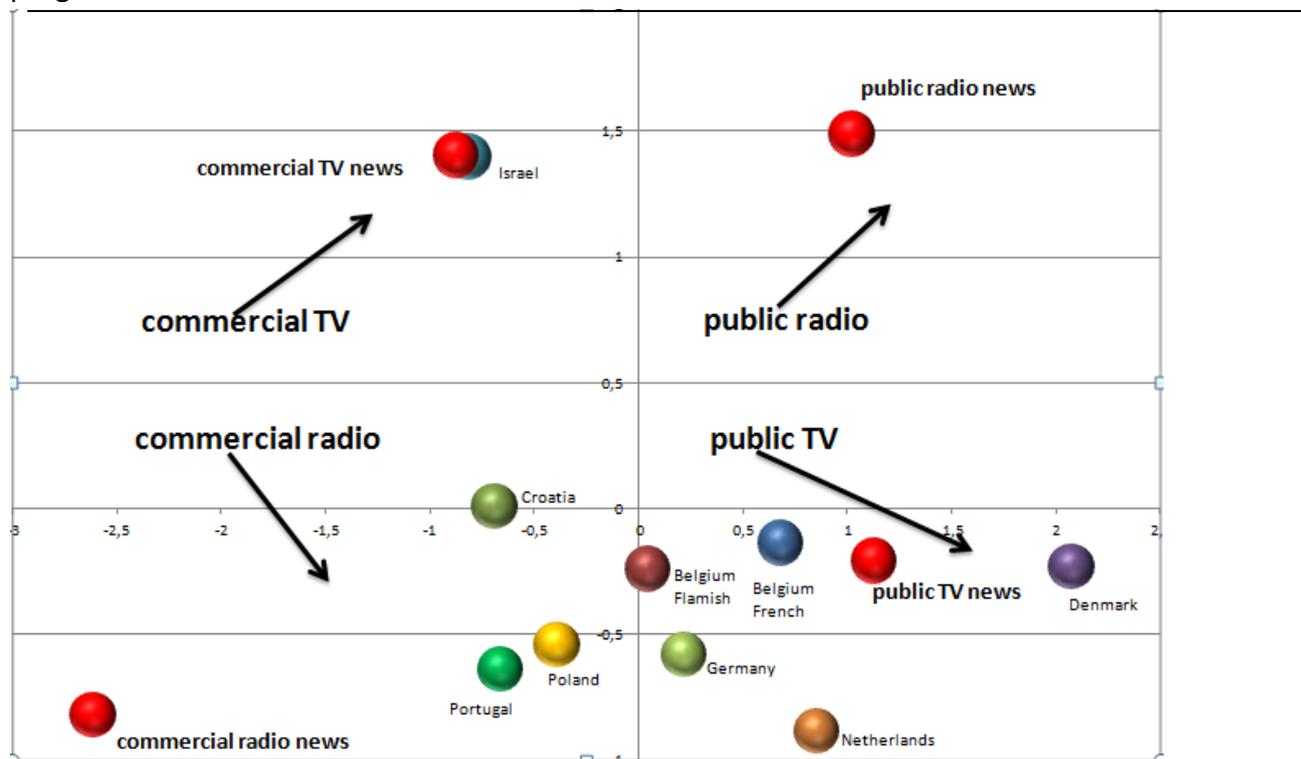
Table 4 and the graph show the dependencies between countries and news media. Countries with a dominant PSM position include Flemish Belgium, Germany (television and radio), French Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands (public service television). In Croatia, Poland and Portugal, television – both public and commercial – plays a major role. In Israel commercial television and in Croatia commercial radio were ranked significantly higher than any other media. The data also show that commercial radio was typically assigned lower ranks than other media, especially in Denmark.

Table 4: Average ranks in the Q-method country studies as a proximity measure for news media (public & commercial)

| Country | Public TV | Commercial TV | Public radio | Commercial radio |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------------|--------------|------------------|
| Belgium (Flemish) | 3.0 | 0.8 | 2.9 | 0.0 |
| Belgium (French) | 2.5 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 0.7 |
| Croatia | 2.1 | 2.4 | 1.0 | 1.3 |
| Denmark | 2.8 | 0.1 | 1.0 | -1.9 |
| Israel | 0.8 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 0.4 |
| Netherlands | 2.4 | 0.6 | 0.9 | -0.4 |
| Poland | 2.5 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 1.1 |
| Portugal | 1.4 | 1.7 | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| Germany | 2.7 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 0.8 |
| Total | 2.2 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 0.3 |

The graph presents the aforementioned relationships. The area of the graph is divided into four parts – news from commercial TV, commercial radio, public radio and public TV. Notably, the countries studied with PSM strong position are located close to public TV channels, particularly Belgium (Flanders and Wallonia), Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands.

Graph 1: Measures of proximity between countries and news and current affairs programmes



PSM in the repertoires of news media – an analysis of qualitative data

The quotations shown in this part of the article come from the extensive interviews conducted in all the countries as an integral part of the Q-sorting exercise. During these interviews, on the basis of which the media repertoires were developed, the interviewees essentially created their own world of news media. As demonstrated above, in this world a significant role is played by public media. What the respondents said about why they regard these media as important, how they view them, and what content they seek from them, both explains and broadens the understanding of their choices.

Due to lack of funding, it has not been possible to translate the entire body of qualitative data from the nine countries. Therefore, the majority of excerpts presented in this section are from the Polish part of our project; these are supplemented with examples from Denmark, Israel, Germany, the Netherlands and Flemish Belgium. The researchers who conducted these country studies have verified that the interview discourses about participants' perceptions of PSM shown below are fairly typical of the participating countries.

The German (R1: *Public Service Broadcasting omnivore*) and Polish (R4: *PSM followers*) repertoires are devoted users of PSM media forms, while the Dutch, Flemish, Danish and Israeli examples are taken from various repertoires, for example Repertoire 1 *Conservative Mainstream: Old Media* in the Israeli study, and the Flemish-Belgian repertoire called *Quality-seeking cosmopolitan*.

The Polish part of the study contained five repertoires (for details: see the Polish country article in this special section):

Repertoire 1: *Mainstream commercial TV and radio channel users* (12 informants)

Repertoire 2: *Omnivorous media users* (10 informants)

Repertoire 3: *Social and new media fans* (5 informants)

Repertoire 4: *PSM followers* (6 informants)

Repertoire 5: *Quality press readers* (3 informants)

The Polish Repertoire 4 is composed of informants who mostly live in the capital and who tune in to public broadcasters, Polish Radio and TV more often than those living outside of Warsaw. These participants prefer to obtain information from traditional electronic media, especially public radio.

I listen to Radio Three (public radio station), news during the day. Radio, definitely so. It is brief news. Just one moment, and I know if there's anything interesting happening. (#5 capital city, woman, 61+, up to 12 years)

I'm keen on listening to the radio, reading books, historical books. My husband taught me this; [my favourites] are biographies. (#7 capital city, woman, 61+, BA)

Radio is irreplaceable. I can listen to it any time (...) I'm not interested in social portals (...) I discuss things with my husband; his knowledge is quite extensive. I want to be with cultured people. The general public has been manipulated; there's no integrity. I fear for the young. (#7 capital city, woman, 61+, BA)

The radio is on all the time (Radio Three, public station), that's how I get the news. We mostly listen to it at lunch or at night, or first thing in the morning. (#29 large city, woman, 18–34, university)

An informant from Repertoire 2 (*Hybrid public service lovers*) in the Danish part of the study concluded the following:

In the morning and in the afternoon when we're driving in our car, we listen to the radio flow on DR P1 [intellectual public service radio]. I like the way they take the time to discuss things, to explain things thoroughly, instead of merely giving headlines and conflict' (#2, provincial town, woman, 54 years, university).

Informant #3 (provincial city, man, 35-60, up to 12 years) from Repertoire 2 (*Quality - seeking cosmopolitan*) of the Belgium Flemish part of the study considered PSM a valuable news source, because they 'observe the news closely and react rapidly'. PSM is said to bring 'trustworthy news'. Flemish informant #5 (provincial city, women, 35-60, BA) added that radio news is 'short, does not take long and is broadcast every hour. Those repetitions make it easier to remember it'.

However, while many people cherish radio news, various studies indicate that for many media recipients in Poland, TV is still the most important public medium (Nielsen 2016). Naturally, TV viewers do not confine themselves to public service television news; there are many information sources, so TV audiences also use the offers of commercial stations, the online services of both kinds of broadcasters and other online services not connected with radio broadcasters and TV (Garlicki 2015). However, in terms of information credibility, especially among the elderly people, public media enjoy a higher position. Those media evoke more trust and are thus seen as more credible in terms of the information they convey.

I watch it (TV, annotation by SJ) and I like it. It's a habit, they try not to be biased. *Wiadomości* (public TVP 1 news magazine) is broadcast when I'm free to sit down and watch it. I like the way they deliver it; I like the presenters. (#1 Warsaw, woman, 35-60, BA)

I don't have much time to search. I sometimes catch it so I watch it, especially TVP1. On TVP1, the news is quite objective; they have access to agency news from PAP. (#23 provincial city, man, 61+, BA)

I like watching reliable news. Sometimes, public TV news is more reliable than that online. Online people can write whatever they like. (#28 large city, man, 18-34, up to 12 years)

It is possible to observe that the choice of news programmes differs between regions. In Warsaw, commercial stations are popular, especially specialised thematic channels. However, smaller cities seem to prefer local public media conveying information from the region. This finding is proved by the words of one respondent, who praises public TV for its reliability and its stronger resistance to manipulation by other media.

TV news, public television, but local. It seems less manipulated, more reliable, as it comes down to facts. (#17, provincial city, man, 35-60, BA)

Similar observations were made in interviews conducted in the Israeli part of the study.

I do not really watch, or watch enough news; I like if I can watch the first channel (Public service TV Channel). I'm old-school in character, and it affects me. (# 13 provincial city, man, 35-60, up to 12 years)

In my eyes, the most neutral channel is Channel One. (# 22 large city, woman, 18-34, BA)

My husband only watches the news on Channel 1 or Channel 10. Channel 2 is too leftist for him. It's always on at full volume at home, so I hear it in the background. (# 25 provincial city, woman, 35-60, BA)

In addition, Dutch public service TV broadcasting was perceived as important across various repertoires. In four repertoires, the TV news bulletin of Dutch public broadcaster NOS was ranked among the top six news media. The only exception was the digital news use repertoire, where respondents ranked the broadcaster's website as one of the most significant types of news media.

The audiences of Belgian Flemish TV appreciate the PSM newscast. To Informant #24 (capital city, man, 61+, up to 12 years) the 7 o'clock (extended) newscast is the most valuable news outlet because it presents a general overview of the news and provides sports updates. Additionally, PSB news is perceived as higher quality or even 'more newsworthy' (#15 provincial city, man, 18-34, up to 12 years) than commercial broadcasters.

Informant #9 (provincial city, woman, 35-60, BA) watches PSM newscasts daily. She likes the images that accompany the news, and claims that 'it addresses everything! The topics are varied and concise at the same time'.

The German repertoire '*Professional commercialist*' prefers news from commercial broadcast media, online and offline. Some informants state that in the public service broadcasters the news formats are too boring. One informant stated:

I normally don't use ARD and ZDF (largest public service broadcasters in Germany). I'm not interested in them because the channels are, in my opinion, futile. Apart from that, I use news on ProSieben (commercial broadcaster in Germany) or similar programs. (#27 provincial city, man, 60+, up to 12 years)

Some Polish participants emphasized that they remain under the influence of public TV and radio, which is habitual to the greatest degree, but also relates to the need to build a habit that makes one familiar with the surrounding world:

Wiadomości (TVP main evening news magazine, annotation by SJ) is broadcast when I'm free to sit down and watch it. It's a habit. (#1 capital city, woman, 35-60, BA)

Every day *Teleekspres* (TVP afternoon newscast). I watch it at times when my father watches it. (#16 provincial city, man, 18–34, university)

Most importantly, it's news on current developments, interesting things. I watch it all the time. (#7 capital city, woman, 61+, BA)

However, other respondents pointed out that they select the offer of public media depending on individual specific interests. They can be either interested in current developments shown on prime time TV news, or in issues that matter in their personal lives and which are the focus of watchdog programmes that are not broadcast anywhere else. These particular issues appeal to them because of their own sense of being discriminated against – their subjective perception of having been wronged as a result of erroneous decisions by public authorities and administration, verdicts passed by common courts etc.

I try to be selective. *Panorama*, *Wiadomości* (TVP news magazines), documentaries. (#7 capital city woman, 61+, BA)

I like *Jaworowicz* (TVP watchdog and public mediation show); she tries to help people. I used to watch *Lis* (a current affairs debate show), but they argue there. (#19 provincial city, woman, 35–60, BA)

Conclusions

Despite many phenomena, which testify to the crisis of PSM and the search for new models of functioning for public broadcasters, the PSM organizations continue to play a major role in the daily lives of people in most European societies. Our study found that many news consumers consider public service broadcasters to be a significant and trustworthy source of information about the surrounding world and a major link to political debates.

Research into the consumption of news received from various, cross-broadcasting platforms, among 36 news media, showed that only the following were connected with public media:

- news (news bulletins) on public TV
- news services on national and regional public radio stations
- online news service of the public radio and TV broadcaster

The combined quantitative and qualitative data analysis in our cross-national study indicated that using the news provided by public radio and TV is connected with the position and shape of the programming offer of this media sector, particularly the news

and current affairs content, whose aim is to explain impartially how the world works. The consumption of the news provided by public service TV channels and radio stations is more intensive in countries with the strong position of public broadcasters, which our study found to include Germany, both parts of Belgium, Denmark and The Netherlands.

Building news media repertoires based on a factor analysis of qualitative data does not provide representative findings. However, in accordance with the logic of the Q-sort method of data analysis (Kobbernagel & Schrøder 2016), and considering the social and demographic diversity of the respondents, this typology and these practices reveals a wealth of insights about the ways in which these national populations navigate around the different news platforms available.

In addition, the analysis of qualitative data from the Polish, Danish, Israeli, German, Flemish and Dutch samples have revealed various circumstances and motivations by media recipients or users for selecting the news content provided by public media networks. The analysis has also highlighted the esteem enjoyed by radio as a medium. Radio is treated as 'a companion in everyday life', providing background to routine activities, but also as an important source of information and narration relevant to the world.

Regardless of whether audiences prefer radio, TV or online news services, a significant condition of using PSM news is its reliability, impartiality, credibility and accuracy.² Additionally, when users of PSM feel free to speak their mind, they allude to the intensive use of the news programming offers of other broadcasters (not public), including online news sites.

Let me conclude this chapter by making two recommendations for future study fields to be analyzed by researchers interested in conducting empirical assessments of PSM activities and strategies. Future studies should develop methods of analysing how news platforms and programming offers are realised in different media systems, and how PSM are located in these landscapes (see the article by Van Damme, Kobbernagel and Schrøder in this Special Issue). Future studies should also analyse not only single aspects of media and related behaviours, but also how media users combine different media usages as so-called media repertoires.

Biographical note:

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Appendix:

Media list (PSM highlighted in bold)

1. Watched national TV news bulletin on a public service channel (live or delayed)
2. Watched national TV news bulletin on a commercial channel (live or delayed)
3. Watched regional/local TV news bulletin (live or delayed)
4. Watched TV current affairs, light (live or delayed)

5. Watched TV current affairs, serious (live or delayed)
6. Watched TV news and/or current affairs on national 24-hour TV news channel
7. Watched TV news and/or current affairs from international providers (including 24-hour TV news channels)
8. Read news on Teletext-TV
- 9. Radio news as part of a general public service radio channel (P1, P2, P3, P4, 24/7)**
10. Radio news as part of a general commercial radio channel (Radio 100, Radio Voice)
11. Radio current affairs as part of a general radio channel and/or 24-hour radio news/information channel
12. National daily quality newspaper, print (including specialized dailies)
13. National daily tabloid newspaper, print
14. Free daily newspaper, print
15. National news magazines or weekly quality newspaper, print (news magazines mentioned first)
16. Local/regional daily newspaper, print
17. Local weekly/bi-weekly/monthly newspaper, print (no mention of 'free' vs. paid)
18. National quality newspaper online (any: computer, mobile device; including specialized)
19. National tabloid newspaper online (any: computer, mobile device)
20. Free daily newspaper online (any: computer, mobile device)
21. National news magazines or weekly quality newspaper, online (added, cf. #15)
22. Local/regional daily newspaper online (any: computer, mobile device)
23. Local weekly/bi-weekly/monthly, online (any: computer, mobile device)
- 24. Read national broadcaster's online news**
25. Read local/regional broadcaster's online news
26. Read international broadcaster's online news
27. News on Facebook (news as you know it from 'the news media'; any: computer, mobile device)
28. News on Twitter (news as you know it from 'the news media'; any: computer, mobile device)
29. News on other social media (news as you know it from 'the news media'; any: computer, mobile device; e.g. LinkedIn, Instagram, Pinterest)
30. News distributed by online video sharing media (e.g. YouTube, Vimeo)
31. Blogs with news (any: computer, mobile device)
32. News shared by email or SMS
33. Professional magazines (trade union magazines, professional associations' magazines)
34. News via news aggregators or personalized news services (e.g. Google News, Flipboard)
35. News from born-online news media (e.g. Huffington Post)
36. National, regional or international news sites online, not provided by media (e.g. national or local government, parties, NGOs, EU, UNESCO and Greenpeace)

Notes:

¹ See the Introduction to the Special Section for further information about the cross-national study of news repertoires.

² The research was conducted in Poland in March and April 2015, which was before the parliamentary elections that resulted in the arrival of a new political majority. Since then, the ruling Law and Justice party has turned public media into a mouthpiece of the party and government,

which has resulted in a lack of impartiality, bias in terms of providing information and analysis, and manipulation of facts.