

The ongoing relevance of local journalism and public broadcasters: Motivations for news repertoires in the Netherlands

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Abstract:

The average Dutch news user can choose from an overwhelming number of sources to find, consume and engage with news. This increase in media choice and the growing possibilities for users to navigate all these options may make people's news consumption more fragmented and individualized, calling into question whether it is still possible to discern any common patterns of news use. This article explores and maps news media repertoires in The Netherlands, analyzing the value of specific compositions of different platforms, genres and outlets from the point-of-view of the Dutch news user. Employing Q methodology, it identifies five distinct patterns of news media use: 1) regionally-oriented 2) background-oriented 3) digital 4) laid-back and 5) nationally-oriented news use. It finds that while ongoing circulation drops and budget cuts at regional news media may suggest differently, most participants still strongly value the local press for its high perceived relevance and impact on everyday life. Furthermore, the news users in this study considered public service television news bulletins as playing a large role in daily life across all five media repertoires, suggesting a continuing connective role of public TV broadcasters.

Keywords: cross-media, news consumption, news audiences, news repertoires, Q methodology, democratic engagement, Netherlands

Introduction

Digitalization fundamentally changes how people consume, (re)distribute and use news. Users have increased possibilities to compose their own configurations of news media out of an increased array of different sources. In many cases, these can be accessed where-, when- and however they prefer. Accordingly, previous patterns of news use have come to shift. Among the key trends that have been identified are a growth of news consumption through mobile devices, increased cross-mediality, and the growing significance of social network sites for accessing and using news (e.g. Picone, Courtois and Paulussen 2015, Newman et al. 2016). The Netherlands is no exception to these developments. It has one of the highest internet penetration rates in the world and Dutch users have quickly adopted digital devices to employ new ways of accessing and engaging with news and information (Swart and Broersma, 2016). This increase in possibilities to find, follow and consume news raises the question whether one can still distinguish common patterns of news use in the Dutch media landscape, and if so, which ones.

This country report¹ analyzes which news media repertoires (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012, Schrøder 2015) can be found in The Netherlands and studies the various motivations underlying the construction of these repertoires.² Using Q methodology with think-aloud protocols, it distinguishes five Dutch news media repertoires and discusses how different perceptions of the value of news in everyday life lead them to compose different subsets of media. First, this report addresses the national context of the study. Then, it briefly discusses the process of data collection and analysis. Finally, we present the found repertoires and explain what makes these combinations of news media valuable within people's repertoires and the role they play in their daily lives.

News in The Netherlands

The Netherlands has a population of about 17 million people and has a long history of democracy and press freedom. Despite its small size, the Dutch media market offers ten national newspapers next to regional and local papers, a diverse public broadcasting system, a range of commercial broadcasters, and a growing number of online-only players. Consequently, the average Dutch news user has a wide variety of available news sources to choose from.

Dutch newspapers have a subscription-based business model. While quality newspapers such as *de Volkskrant*, *Trouw*, and *NRC Handelsblad* historically held strong catholic, protestant and liberal affiliations respectively, stemming from a tradition of pillarization³, these associations are now something of the past and it is very uncommon for dailies to endorse political candidates or parties (Swart and Broersma 2015). Due to declining print circulations and decreasing revenues, the print sector has become highly concentrated in recent years and chains are now mainly owned by Belgian publishers. Publishing house De Persgroep owns 47,4% of the newspaper market, including flagship paper *de Volkskrant*, popular daily *Algemeen Dagblad* and a majority of all Dutch regional

titles. Mediahuis owns the quality paper NRC Handelsblad and *nrc.next*, targeted to a younger demographic, as well as regional newspapers (10,5% market share). Early 2017, it also acquired Telegraaf Media Groep (TMG), publishing popular newspaper *De Telegraaf*, regional dailies and the country's only free daily *Metro*, which has a 31,8% market share (Commissariaat van de Media 2015).

In the Dutch broadcasting system, independent broadcasters funded by members get broadcasting time on the public channels. Additionally, since 1989, commercial broadcasting by national and foreign companies is allowed. Three public and three commercial national TV stations and a number of local and regional TV channels broadcast news content daily. Moreover, there are six national public radio stations that bring news, alongside many public regional and commercial radio broadcasters. Regular cable TV subscriptions also give access to a broad range of international channels. The adoption of digital TV has further widened TV channel choice. Despite this, public broadcaster NOS still remains the most important offline news brand in The Netherlands (Newman et al. 2016). Services such as NPO Gemist (PSB), RTL XL (RTL) and Kijk (SBS) support on-demand watching, resulting in a 4.8% decline in time spent watching live television (Stichting Kijkonderzoek Jaarrapport 2015).

The Netherlands has one of the highest internet penetration numbers in the world: 94% of the Dutch have broadband access (Central Bureau for Statistics 2016a). Moreover, 73% of the Dutch households have a smartphone to go online and 58% own a tablet (Central Bureau for Statistics 2016b). In such a technologically advanced landscape, it should come as no surprise that both established and new players increasingly place strategic emphasis on investing in a strong online presence and digital innovation. Established in 1999, far ahead of newspaper and broadcaster-related competition, NU.nl has been the largest Dutch online news website for fifteen years. It was not until late 2014 that the popular newspaper website Telegraaf.nl managed to catch up, while De Persgroep's AD.nl and public broadcaster website NOS.nl complete the top four. In response to increasing online competition, traditional news brands such as NOS, NRC Handelsblad and NDC are moving towards digital-first policies. While almost every traditional news brand uses paywalls or other direct subscriptions to drive online revenue, the number of Dutch news users paying for digital news is only 12% (Newman et al. 2016). Recent digital journalism initiatives that experiment with new business models include long-read investigative journalism platform *De Correspondent* (subscription-based), aggregated distribution channel Blendle (pay-per-article) and *De Coöperatie* (crowd funding), which organizes freelance journalists. The most used social network in The Netherlands is Whatsapp (9.8 million users, of which 7.0 million daily), closely followed by Facebook (9.6 million users, 6.8 million daily). The use of Instagram, YouTube and Pinterest is increasing, while especially among teenagers, Twitter use decreases (Van der Veer et al. 2016).

As elsewhere, the expansion of available news outlets has enabled users to increasingly choose their own trajectories to navigate the Dutch news landscape, leading them to follow the news on multiple platforms (GfK 2015). Previous research has shown

that people tend to assess media relationally rather than individually, judging what different devices and outlets do for them and how they may complement each other (cf. Madianou and Miller 2012). However, most news consumption research in The Netherlands has concentrated on discrete use of news media instead (e.g. Bakker 2016, Newman et al. 2016). This study instead applies a media repertoire approach (Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012) to analyze how people combine different technologies, brands, genres and products to meet their news preferences. In other words, we first ask which distinctive sets of news media do news users compose out of all media that are available to them, before going on to query why they select these specific combinations of news media and ignore others.

Methodology

To discover the various news media repertoires and patterns of opinions about the everyday value of news among Dutch news consumers, we employed Q methodology (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Using quota sampling and with the help of two marketing panels (RegioNoord and De Persgroep), we recruited 36 participants of mixed gender, age and educational level in three different regions: the capital region of Amsterdam, which is also the most populous region in the country; the city of Groningen, which acts as a regional hub for the north; and the rural area in the province of Groningen. Data collection took place from October to December 2014 at a location most convenient for the participants. In most cases this was the respondent's home, but sometimes also their office or a local cafe.

Every session consisted of three stages. The first was a day-in-the-life interview, in which we invited the participants to describe their news media use from the previous work day, from the moment they got up until they went to bed. In the second stage, participants were asked to sort and rank a set of 36 cards on a dimension ranging from 'does not play a role in my daily life' to 'plays a large role in my daily life', while thinking aloud. Each card contained a news category with a few illustrative examples, except when there was only one example in the Dutch media landscape for that category.⁴ The card set was designed to represent the entire Dutch media landscape (for the full list, see the Introduction to this special section). To ensure this, the card deck was tested beforehand in a small-scale pilot (N=5). Moreover, after each Q sorting, participants were asked whether they felt any news media were missing. Both measures did not provide any cause for adjustment. In the third and final stage, respondents were asked to reflect on their choices during the card sorting in an in-depth, semi-structured interview, to follow-up on responses from the previous phases. In this part, participants were asked to discuss themes such as the social value of news, news talk, opinion formation, civic engagement, normative pressures and reasons for disconnection from the news (for an extended analysis of these broader cross-repertoire, thematic findings, see Swart et al. 2016). All sessions were audio recorded and then fully transcribed.

Data analysis took place in two phases. First, a factor analysis was performed in SPSS to calculate correlations between the 36 Q sorts, using principal component analysis and varimax rotation (see Kobbarnagel and Schrøder 2016). This resulted in a typology of five

different news media repertoires (see **Appendix I**). To interpret these repertoires, the findings were then read alongside the transcripts of the day-in-the-life-interview, think-aloud stage and in-depth interview. Second, a grounded-theory inspired approach (Charmaz 2006) was used to analyze the interview transcripts to discover patterns of opinions about the everyday value of news across different repertoires. Every interview was coded line-by-line in software program Atlas.ti, resulting in a list of initial codes that were then tested against the total data set to develop focused codes. From the results of focused coding, theoretical codes were formed and tested. This report focuses on the results from the first stage of data analysis, discussing the five news media repertoires that we found below.

Dutch news media repertoires

The Q factor analysis revealed five different news media repertoires (see **Table 1** below). Presented in descending strength, we have labelled these as: regionally-oriented news use, background-oriented news use, digital news use, laid-back news use and nationally-oriented news use.

Table 1: Media repertoires and key thematic characteristics⁵

News repertoire	Regionally-oriented	Background-oriented	Digital	Laid-back	Nationally-oriented
<i>Characteristics</i>					
<i>Most important news media</i>	Regional dailies; regional or local TV; text TV; radio broadcast on public channels; TV broadcast on public channels	Quality newspapers print and online; news magazines print and online; TV broadcast on public channels	Online-born news media; websites of broadcasters; quality newspaper online; international news websites	Facebook; free local print newspapers; professional magazines; TV broadcast on public channels	Light TV current affairs programs; TV broadcast on commercial channels; Facebook; quality print newspaper
<i>Least important news media</i>	Twitter; Facebook; other social media; news magazines online; quality	Text TV; Facebook; free print newspaper; news via email or text messaging;	Facebook; popular and quality print newspapers; free newspaper online; radio	News via news aggregators and personalized news services; free	TV broadcast on 24 hour news channels; text TV, local newspapers

<i>Demographics</i>	newspapers	other social	broadcast	newspaper	print and
	online; light	media	commercial	online;	online;
	TV current	excluding	channels	international	international
	affairs	Twitter and		news	TV broadcast
	programs	Facebook		websites	
	Aged above	Aged above	Aged under	Aged under	Female,
35, lower	35, lower	35, male,	35, regional	capital city	
educated	educated	higher	city		
		educated			

1. Regionally-oriented news use

The first news media repertoire strongly emphasizes regional and local news. The Netherlands knows a relatively strong regional press, even when compared to other European countries that share a similar population geography distributed around a large capital ‘megaregion’ and series of much smaller provincial centers (see Newman et al. 2016). Regional dailies, for instance, account for approximately half of the newspaper market share (Commissariaat van de Media 2015). The most important news media in this regionally-oriented repertoire are regional newspapers and regional television, along with national TV and radio news bulletins on public channels and text TV. Participants sorted Facebook, Twitter, other social media, online news magazines and the websites of quality newspapers as least important to their daily lives.

These participants were attracted to regionally-oriented news media because of their perceived higher relevance and greater impact on their everyday life. They named many examples of news articles they liked, from minor issues (a local store going out of business) to major news events (earthquake damage to houses due to gas drillings). Moreover, news happening close by was more likely to feature people and places that they knew. Not only did this enable participants to relate to the news in a more direct way, it also made them feel more involved in their community. For Ria⁶ (62, female, rural city, secondary school), who was also politically active in her town and thus had a great interest in local developments, this was one of the main motivations to listen to the regional radio and read local newspapers: ‘Because you live here. Here is where you have to do it, together.’

News use, for these respondents, was strongly habitual. When asked about the news media they had used yesterday, they naturally transitioned into describing their everyday news routine instead. Despite sometimes decades-long traditions of reading a newspaper or watching a television show, they found their news media choices difficult to explain, saying that it was ‘just a choice’ (Ivo, 55, male, rural, vocational education), ‘just part of your experience of the day’ (René, 63, regional, vocational education), or that they had always done so. News, in this repertoire, provides structure and serves as an anchor point: turning on the radio when getting out of bed for instance, or reading the newspaper during lunch.

Some participants would not even remember the name of a radio or television show, but simply refer to it by broadcasting time instead. As Gert (60, male, rural, secondary school) explained his habit of watching the 8 o'clock news: 'Just because it's such a nice time. The ending of the evening, you know. We could watch *RTL Nieuws* (commercial TV news bulletin) too, but we never do so because we read the newspaper at that moment. So it has to do with your structure of the day and your daily rhythm.' Even though interactive television, smartphones and tablets had been added to the household, in practice participants hardly used these platforms, sitting down for the news in the evening at a fixed time, often with the family, rather than watching on demand or checking news individually on the go.

People with this news media repertoire expressed that they felt a strong civic duty to consume the news. Following the news for them was not a relaxing or educational activity, but a daily obligation. While smartphones and tablets can provide a quick brief overview, participants hardly used them as they clearly felt more comfortable around traditional, non-digital media that they had used for many years, such as text TV or public radio news bulletins. As Paul (50, male, capital, secondary school) explained: 'You could say that Text TV is an redundant medium. But it's very quick, you can have a short overview of what's happening in the world. And that's what I like.' Social media, ranked as least important by these participants, were seen as less convenient and requiring more effort. Karen (55, female, rural, vocational education): 'You need to keep [clicking] links to proceed further. [...] No, I don't think it's user-friendly.' Newspapers and news broadcasts instead allowed them to lean back and have a selection of events presented to them, without needing to search actively.

2. Background-oriented news use

Participants with the second news media repertoire, Background-oriented news use, preferred print and online quality newspapers, print and online weekly news magazines, TV news bulletins on public channels and serious current affairs TV programs. International news broadcasts – standard cable TV packages in The Netherlands have included Flemish, British and German channels since the 90s – and international news organization websites were sorted as relatively important compared to the other repertoires. On the contrary, news on Facebook, news via email or text messaging, and text TV were considered unimportant to participants' daily lives.

Whereas people with the regionally-oriented repertoire consumed news out of duty, for background-oriented participants, news use was seen as interesting and enjoyable activity. For them, following the news was not so much about finding out all new breaking events happening, but more about learning something new and to be able to understand and connect national and international developments. Bregje (62, female, rural, secondary school) explained how media offering detailed background information helped her draw links between issues in the news and her own daily life. She saw society as increasingly complex, with events in different parts of the world having an increasing influence on life in

The Netherlands: 'It's happening in a world that has become much smaller over time.' Participants with this repertoire repeatedly mentioned the importance the news had for them personally, naming regional (earthquake damage because of the extraction of gas in Groningen), national (increase in burglaries) and international examples (oil prices). News was frequently discussed with others, both face-to-face and online, and they were relatively politically active.

Participants with this repertoire preferred to use news actively and consciously, rather than consume it in a more passive manner. For example, Vincent (71, male, capital, vocational education) noted he did not like push messages, because they gave him a feeling of news overload. Instead, he would visit a fixed number of news websites to check for updates himself, wanting to be in control of his own news use. Edwin (37, male, capital, vocational education) refused to follow news organizations on Facebook or subscribe to Whatsapp news updates for the same reason, finding such continuous streams of notifications intrusive: 'In the middle of a meeting, in the middle of a conversation, a business call, then it fails to achieve its goal. Then it doesn't pull me in, but pushes me away. I look at it when I want to.' Thus, the people with this repertoire do not accommodate to broadcasting times, but their daily rhythms shape their news habits instead.

3. Digital news use

News from online-born media was the differentiating type of medium in the Digital news use repertoire. Here, the top 5 news platforms included these relatively new players in the journalism landscape along with websites of national and local broadcasters, online quality newspapers, and websites of international news organizations. News shared via email and SMS, news on Twitter and news shared by online video platforms also ranked relatively high compared to the other news media repertoires. In contrast, news on Facebook, print newspapers, free online newspapers and commercial radio broadcasts were ranked as least important in participants' daily lives.

Just as participants with a background-oriented repertoire, respondents with the Digital news use repertoire were frequent news users, who stated they were very interested in public issues. However, their relationship to news was more ambiguous: its negative content made them feel unhappy, yet, they found it difficult to stop checking. Daniël (33, male, regional, university education) explained how following the news felt like an addiction to him: 'Even though it makes me unhappy rather than happy, I can't break free from it. [...] I don't know, I'm always occupied with the society, politics and alternative issues.' The checking cycles of these participants consisted of a fixed set of 3-5 websites or apps that were visited in a fixed order, often several times a day. Contrary to respondents with other repertoires, they displayed little attachment to legacy news media brands. They visited relatively many online-born news media, such as Nu.nl, which despite not having a traditional print or broadcast counterpart is still one of the most visited news websites in the country. Traditional and online-born news sources, national and international, were then combined to achieve a complete overview of world events.

For participants with this repertoire, the value of news was in creating awareness and engagement. The mix of sources these participants used presented them with a range of perspectives on the same issue. This created a critical attitude towards the news: respondents questioned its objectivity, both within traditional and new media sources. In short, they took all information they consumed with a grain of salt. However, perceived subjectivity was not a reason for them to tune out from a particular news outlet. On the contrary: it made it more interesting, because it helped them to understand the point-of-view of others. Daniël liked how online news sources from other countries could address news events such as the war in Syria from a completely different perspective. Nathalie (27, female, regional, university education) gave another example: ‘Today there was an item about four girls who wanted to go and fight for IS. So that made me more focused on the radio news bulletin: why would people want that?’

While these digital news users were quite politically-engaged, news use for them was an individual act, rarely discussed with others. Lars (28, male, capital, university education) was a very active news user, but lacked people in his social networks that he could share his interests with: ‘I don’t have people who are really interested in substantial issues.’ Although the internet potentially could have filled this gap by offering new connections, these respondents hardly made use of such opportunities. According to them, discussing public issues on social platforms such as Facebook didn’t fit the social conventions on the platform (its content mainly revolving around fun things that can be liked) and would cost too much effort and time.

4. Laid-back news use

The news diet of participants with the Laid-back news media repertoire was composed of media that make the news come to you, rather than having to search for it actively. The most important news media for people with this repertoire were Facebook, free local print newspapers and professional magazines at work. News shared through email or messaging services was also sorted relatively high. News aggregators and personalized news services, which take effort to set up, were ranked as least important.

Participants with this repertoire consumed little news media and had low interest in news and public issues, for they felt most issues reported on by news media had little to do with their everyday life. As Kevin (30, male, regional, university education) noted, news generally offers little possibility to act on the problems presented by journalism, making news consumption pointless to him. ‘It’s nice to know, but you can’t do anything with it. [...] It’s pure curiosity, the occasional moment when I do watch or read the news.’ Participants with this repertoire can be characterized as typical monitorial citizens (Schudson 1998), who engage with news passively until they encounter issues that might require attention or some form of action. Flipping through the local free newspaper or having friends share headlines with them on social media allowed them to see whether they ‘should anticipate’ (Felicia, 59, female, regional, vocational education) and to know what was ‘about to go wrong’ (Nadine, 29, female, rural, university education). The reassurance that nothing

threatening had happened was a source of comfort and security for them.

Because of their low interest in news, these participants were unlikely to pay for journalism products. Moreover, for these participants news should require very little effort and come to them. Respondents mentioned examples such as the free local newspapers being delivered to their doorstep, the professional magazines available at work or turning on the radio news bulletin while doing the dishes. While free, most news sites and apps were ranked relatively low, as they required users to continuously make active choices about which items to select.

For respondents with this repertoire, news becomes interesting when it directly affects themselves or people in their social networks. Thus, regional media were ranked relatively high, while internationally-oriented media were perceived as least important. As these participants used few journalistic outlets, their friends, family and colleagues played a major role for such news monitoring, recommending stories to them that might be of interest on- and offline. Social media were not used with this purpose in mind, yet in practice these became their main news sources. Friends of Evert (26, male, regional, university education), for example, would regularly share or like stories on Facebook, making news pop up in his timeline and occasionally causing him to click a few news stories, which he otherwise would be unlikely to encounter. Moreover, unlike Twitter that only recently started to personalize content, Facebook's algorithm would automatically learn from his online behavior and present stories similar to the ones he had clicked before, without having to adjust settings. 'So the news that passes by becomes more and more relevant and about what I find interesting myself.' Another social medium increasingly important for participants with this repertoire to receive and share news was Whatsapp, which is the most widely used social network within The Netherlands. During breaking news events, such as the M17 plane crash, people more regularly using news would notify them and others through group chats. Kevin therefore didn't need to search for news actively himself, but could trust that his friends and colleagues would keep him up-to-date with important events: 'When they have heard or read or watched some news online, they'll send it. If it's important to them, they'll forward it through the app'.

5. Nationally-oriented news use

Finally, respondents with the Nationally-oriented news repertoire sorted quality print newspapers, light current affairs TV shows, TV news bulletins on commercial channels and Facebook as their most important news media. Other light media, such as the websites of popular newspapers and commercial radio broadcasts, were ranked relatively high compared to the other repertoires. 24-hour news broadcasts, text TV and local free newspapers were perceived as least important in these respondents' daily life.

These respondents combined popular and quality newspapers, serious and light TV current affairs shows, and gossip and more traditional news genres into a very diverse news diet. They were interested in a broad range of topics and talked about the news with others frequently. This group was similar to respondents with the background-oriented repertoire

in that they enjoyed following the news, but their news use was more focused on relaxation rather than acquiring new knowledge. They would for instance watch a human interest current affairs show to unwind after a long day, or scroll through Facebook updates as a distraction from difficult tasks at work, describing such news as ‘just fun’, ‘relaxing’ or ‘tasty’. These respondents liked light news media for the diversity in topics and the way stories were presented. While Marina (41, female, capital, secondary school) condemned popular newspapers for being less trustworthy and more sensationalist, at the same time, they were one of her main news sources because their news was so easy to digest. She indicated that the stories didn’t require much thinking and therefore fitted perfectly in her five minute work breaks.

Moreover, participants stressed the value of light news media for establishing everyday connections, noting that because they were so popular among others they would steer the talk of the day. Nina (30, female, capital, university education): ‘Let’s say we meet each other on the train, that you just know what is going on.’ Marina mentioned the plastic surgery of a local celebrity: ‘Your colleagues, everyone is talking about it. And if I didn’t see it myself, I’ll ask: ‘Did you see it? I didn’t see it, was it really that bad?’ You’ll share, at home, with my sisters, or at school.’ Both Nina and Floor (28, female, capital, university education) remarked how reports of popular newspaper *De Telegraaf* were important to their customers, as it is the most read paper in The Netherlands. While Floor preferred other papers herself, she would therefore regularly read it for work. ‘It’s interesting to see what a newspaper with such a gigantic circulation publishes.’ Because news was seen as something important and valuable for social connection, these respondents were relatively likely to pay for it.

Conclusion

Our data analysis yielded five distinct news media repertoires, which not only differ in which news media are selected or ignored, but also in the motivations that underlie the construction of these news diets and what users perceive as the everyday value of news. The sets of news media that Dutch news users composed were not exclusively organized around devices (as in the study of Hasebrink and Domeyer 2012): instead, they based their choices on various considerations. The Dutch Q factor analysis did result in one *platform*-based repertoire that was organized around digital news use, unsurprising in a country that ranks among those with the highest internet penetration rates in the world (Central Bureau for Statistics 2016a). However, the Regionally-oriented and Nationally-oriented repertoires were based on *geographical focus*, similar to topic- and location-related repertoires found in for example Austria and China (Trilling and Schoenbach 2013, Yuan 2011). Second, we found one repertoire – Background-oriented news use – which was motivated by the *genre* or form in which the news was presented. Finally, in the Laid-back repertoire, it was the mode of use and user *behavior* that drove the composition of the news media repertoire. Thus, our study shows that in a complex media landscape, many motivations come to play a role in the creation of people’s news media repertoires. Contrary to American repertoire

research (Edgerly 2015), we did not find any repertoire motivated by political affiliation or ideology. This is in line with the character of the Dutch news media landscape, in which since the 1970s it has become rare for newspapers or broadcasters to endorse political parties.

Interestingly, Dutch public service TV broadcasting was perceived as important across repertoires. In four repertoires, the TV news bulletin of Dutch public broadcaster NOS was ranked among the top 6 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. This confirms findings of recent Dutch survey research (Bos, Kruike-meier and De Vreese 2014) that found that news by NOS is used by both left-wing and right-wing oriented news consumers, frequent and less frequent users, and attracts both the lower and the higher educated. Thus, as The Netherlands' major public broadcaster, it seems to live up to its role of connecting the Dutch audience.

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Appendix I: Factor loadings

Q Sort	Regionally oriented news use	Background-oriented news use	Digital news use	Laid-back news use	Nationally oriented news use
31	0.792*				
08	0.773*				
17	0.711*				
10	0.697*				
05	0.691*				
06	0.686			0.543	
12	0.608*				
15	0.582*				
01	0.526	0.470			
18	0.530*				
33	0.463*				
19	0.446	0.464			
09	0.446*				
04		0.580	0.640		
34		-0.614		0.459	
28		0.616*			
29		0.557*			
24		0.556	0.592		
13		0.645		0.468	
11		0.466*			
16		0.453*			
27			0.741*		
02			0.733*		
03			0.603*		
20			0.532*		
30			0.456*		
22				0.764*	
21				0.655*	
07				0.614*	
35				0.474*	
25					0.777*
23					0.706*
14					0.575*
36					0.611*
26			0.479		0.547

<i>Eigenvalues</i>	8.856	4.000	3.413	2.472	2.085
<i>% of Variance</i>	24.559	11.112	9.482	6.866	5.793

Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 16 iterations. Factor loadings <0.43 are not reported.

Table 2: Rotated factor loadings for Q Sorts

Notes:

¹ This country report is associated with the international research project ‘Consumption of News as Democratic Resources’, organized by Hanna Adoni, Hillel Nossek and Kim Schrøder.

² The Dutch repertoires have been analyzed more in detail in: Swart, J., Peters, C. & Broersma, M. (2016). ‘Navigating Cross-Media News Use. Media repertoires and the value of news in everyday life’. *Journalism Studies*, online, 1-21.

³ From the end of the 19th century to roughly the 1970s, Dutch society was segregated into several segments or ‘pillars’ based on religion or ideology. Each pillar held its own social institutions, from political parties to unions, schools, sport clubs, newspapers and broadcasting organizations.

⁴ For instance, instead of using a card named ‘Free daily newspapers, print’, because there is only one remaining free daily print newspaper in The Netherlands, it simply stated ‘Metro’.

⁵ For a more detailed comparison of the repertoires’ characteristics, see: Swart, J., Peters, C. & Broersma, M. (2016).

⁶ Participants are mentioned by pseudonyms to protect their privacy.