Notes

Chapter I

1 The next study among us journalists is planned for 2002, according to David Weaver in personal-
communication, August 2001.

2 The countries included in the overview edited by David Weaver are: Algeria, Australia, Brazil,
Canada, Chile, China, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Hungary,
Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Pacific Islands, Poland, Spain, Taiwan, and the United States
(Weaver, 1998). Other countries not included in this specific book, but where surveys with the
same research method and design among journalists are known to have been conducted, are
Austria, Belarussia, Egypt, India, Iran, Italy, Slovakia, Switzerland, South Africa, Sweden, and the
Ukraine (source: David Weaver in e-mail communication, October 1997).

3 Remarks here based on Weaver (1998: 455-480) and specific country reports in Schoenbach,
Stuerzebecher, Schneider (1994); Delano and Henningham (1995); Henningham, (1996);
Weaver and Wilhoit (1996); Weischenberg and Scholl (1998); see also argument in Allan (1999).
For purposes of comparison only the findings of surveys in Western democracies more or less
comparable with The Netherlands are used and presented in this chapter; a comprehensive
overview is offered in chapter III.

4 Before one can discuss the meaning of conclusions regarding the 'global' or 'national' nature of
characteristics of journalism and the possible consequences for the situation in The Nether-
lands, one has to determine what kind of journalists the survey researchers like Weaver (us),
Henningham (Australia), Delano (Great Britain) or Weischenberg and Scholl as well as Schoen-
bach (both projects in Germany) are talking about. Weaver and Wilhoit described their popu-
luation of journalists – following Johnstone and colleagues – as ‘...full-time editorial or news peo-
ple responsible for the information content of English-language mainstream general interest news
media in the United States’ (1996: 247; see also the similar definition used in Germany by
Schoenbach et al., 1998: 214). The Americans excluded all journalists working for special interest
media (disregarding the rise of niche media and popular genres such as talk shows on television
or tabloids in print) but also excluded freelance journalists from their population, in effect
excluding between one-tenth to a quarter of all journalists in the us, according to a December
1999 survey on the social and economic status of freelance journalists by the International Fed-
eration of Journalists (IFJ, 1999: 41-43 on North America). Worldwide on average 23% of all jour-
nalists are self-employed or freelance, which number is increasing rapidly according to most
journalism organizations all over the world (1999). Although the consensus seems to be that
freelance work in journalism is increasing worldwide, a study in Germany (conducted early in
the 1990s) reveals that editors in German media expect the number of freelance engagements
to remain more or less the same in the future (Weischenberg, Altmpehen and Loeffelholz, 1994).
In general one has to realize that the findings and conclusions from earlier survey studies as re-
ported here are descriptive for full-time reporters and editors working for ‘classical’ media
types only (Schoenbach et al., 1993: 355).

5 See for example evidence to this effect regarding differential meanings of the shared ideal of
objective reporting in Donsbach and Klett (1996).

6 Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) in this respect talk about ‘elements’, instead of characteristics of
journalism, as they argue that universal standards are what journalists should strive for, rather
than characteristics that can be measured among journalists. A similar argument is developed
in Randall (2000). Us authors dominate the literature on the necessity of ‘universality’ in jour-
nalism standards; handbooks in for example Australia (see Breen, 1998), Great Britain (McNair,
seem to be more ‘pluralistic’ in their claims. All general books report on shared characteristics
of journalism, focusing on ‘hard’, mainstream news in doing so.

7 Tunstall (1977: 201ff) in this respect writes about the ‘value neutrality’ of Anglo-American jour-
nalism as a worldwide ideology, where Tuchman (1971: 177-180) speaks similarly of object-
ivity as an ideological professional practice of news workers; see additional arguments further

8 See for a classic reference in this respect: Gans, 1979: 183. Carey (1989 [1975]: 47-48) in this respect suggests – following the work of Clifford Geertz – that ideology should be seen as providing answers to the invariably contradictory and inconsistent situations one finds oneself in as an individual between the ‘chronic malintegration’ of the personality and society. This interpretation of ideology – called strain theory – seems to be most fruitful for the project at hand; see chapter 11 for details on how to model this approach into a framework for analysis.

9 Hall’s reference to ‘deep structure’ follows the early work of Noam Chomsky on deep structure, surface structure, and semantic interpretation of texts (see in particular: Chomsky, 1965 and 1971).

10 Genealogy as a particular concept in assessing the historicity of a concept has been introduced by Foucault (1971; translated and reprinted in Rabinow, 1984).

11 One exception in particular has to be made here: during the final write-up of this book, American authors Bill Kovach and Tom Rostenstiel published a book titled “The Elements of Journalism” (2001), which text does exactly what I describe here, as it operationalizes the dominant ideal-typical characteristics of the ideology of journalism. In a review typical of the acclaim the book got and more or less in line with the argument I am pursuing in this book, David Halberstam writes on the book’s website: “At a time when technological and financial forces are creating formidable challenges to journalism’s traditional values, Kovach and Rosenstiel have written an immensely valuable primer on who we are, what we do, and how we should do it.”

12 I would like to argue that these values can indeed be seen as ideal-typical in the Weberian sense, in that they involve an accentuation of (arche-) typical courses of conduct for the professional group of journalists – one might say serving as a yardstick or measuring rod to ascertain similarities as well as deviations in concrete cases – and thus contributing to the exclusory potential of ideology – without necessarily being ‘real’ (see for example: Hekman, 1983).


14 The literature will be discussed in detail further on in this chapter. The overall conclusions regarding earlier studies on characteristics of journalists in The Netherlands are based on a selection of publications available during this project, which feature scholarly work involving a (more or less) representative and national sample of the population (or a significant part thereof; such as all newspaper journalists, or all women reporters) of Dutch reporters and editors. This includes, in chronological order, the work of: Muskens (1968); Kempers and Wieten (1976); Diekerhof, Elias and Sax (1986); Wermuth and Kaiser (1989); Meier and Van den Berg (1991); Van Gaalen-Oordijk, Offenberg and De Vries (1993); ISK (1994); Van Schuur and Vis (2000); Neijens (2001).

15 Please see previous footnote on a listing of published research in this respect.

16 Characteristics summarized using earlier Dutch surveys which were specifically intended for the purpose of gathering sociological data on the occupational make-up of the profession: Muskens (1968); Meier and Van den Berg (1991); Van Gaalen-Oordijk, Offenberg and De Vries (1993).

17 In fact, almost completely absent from the literature are studies among populations of regional or broadcast journalists in The Netherlands – a regrettable oversight indeed.


19 Considering this argument, it is not surprising that all three developments have met with fierce skepticism and criticism among journalists and scholars alike. See for example arguments doubting the impact of new media on journalism (Koch, 1990; Porteman, 1999; Fallows, 1999), against a mix between information and entertainment elements in the news (McManus, 1994; Hallin, 1996; McChesney, 1999), or challenging the need for different journalism because of the
increasingly multicultural society (Dickson, 1995; Patterson and Donsbach, 1996; Campbell, 1998).

20 Additionally I should mention that during the final writing sessions for this book (July/August 2001), the n ij applied for (and received) government funding for research and development programs regarding the impact of the Internet on Dutch media.

21 See in particular literature overviews in: Brants, Crone and Leurdijk (1998), and LBR (2000). During 2001 a national network of (professional and scholarly) researchers into the role of the media regarding ethnic diversity was established (see their website at: http://www.yahoogroups.com/group/beeldvorming). Furthermore it is notable that the Netherlands Press Fund - also sponsor of this project - announced in September 2001 that they would only subsidize research in the future if it addresses either multicultural issues, Internet and new media issues or (commercial threats to) local and regional media. This is the first time such specific topical claims are made.

22 At the World Association of Newspapers (WAN) conference of 2001, University of Southern Carolina's Lynn Zoch correspondingly argued that: "By now it should be apparent that tomorrow's journalist will be a much different person" (source: wan website at: http://wan-press.org).

23 Juergen Habermas - originally writing in the 1960s - in this respect for example expresses worries regarding the invasion of 'the private' by 'the public', while Zygmunt Bauman (2000) argues for the same process working the other way around.

24 Sources: yearbooks of media organizations such as the Commissariaat voor de Media, the Bedrijfsfonds voor de Pers, Nederland's Uitgevers Verbond, Holland Media Group, Omroep Handboek, Handboek voor Pers & Publiciteit.

Chapter II

1 See for example recent overviews in the us: Shoemaker and Reese (1996); Australia: Breen (1998); Germany: Loeffelholz (2000).

2 David Weaver has been kind enough to work with me (during June 1999) on the research design and questionnaire particular to the Dutch context.

3 This description of what journalism's function in society should be has its formal basis - especially in Western countries - in the period right after World War II, particularly in the American report of The Hutchins Commission on the 'Social Responsibility of the Press' of 1948. The powerful notions in this perception of journalism are still upheld and endorsed in some of the most recent normative assessments of journalism in for example Germany (Ruehl, 2000; the works of Niklas Luhmann also have to be mentioned in this context), the us (Reese, 2001) and The Netherlands (Coster a Meijer, 2001a).

4 Several attempts have been made to group and model the various findings and theoretical approaches of such studies; one could think of the work by Dimmick and Coit (1982). Ettema and Whitney (1987), Shoemaker and Reese (1996), Sievert (1998), Reese (2001). Such summarizing is not without its problems; most studies differ widely in approach - any attempt to amalgamate the vast array of data findings leads to issues of whether or not such a framework really means anything at all. One of the original models or 'taxonomies' of journalism was offered by Dimmick and Coit in 1982, based on us survey data from the Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman project of 1976. They conceptualized nine factors of influence on mass media decision-making, which taxonomy varied from macro levels like supranational, pan-national and societal-level influences to micro levels: the intraindividual or cognitive level (1982: 8-16). Most existing models of journalism are conceptualized quite similarly, varying from the Weischenberg and Scholl (1998)'onion'-model to the 'hierarchy-of-influences'-approach of Shoemaker and Reese (1996; see also Reese, 2001). As it is not my intention to test or apply these models to the data gathered in the project at hand - nor did Weaver and Wilhoit aim to do so - these models are not further pursued in this book.

5 This argument builds on the work of Anthony Giddens (1984: 6-8), where he identified discursive consciousness, practical consciousness and unconscious motives/cognition as guiding concepts in studying the intentions and actions of individual 'competent actors'.
This particular argument has been further developed in: Bardoe and Deuze, 2001.

See figure II: 'subjectivity'; measured in the survey as: basic characteristics.

See figure II: 'structure'; survey variables: occupational characteristics.

See figure II: 'structure'; survey variables: professional characteristics.

See figure I; in figure II this can be defined as the agency of individual actors.

Schudson (1998) makes a convincing critical point regarding this normative notion of an informed citizenry; in his historical analysis of transformations in American citizenship he notes describes the emergence of so-called 'monitory' citizens (particularly near the end of the 20th century); citizens who want to be citizens whenever they want to – whenever they feel this is in their own best interest. This certainly challenges traditional notions of how what kind of role and function 'traditional' journalism is in contemporary democracy.

See respective MA-theses based on these interviews, regarding online journalism: Dimoudi (2000), Yeshua (2000); on infotainment: Lamkamp (2000), Tuip (2001); and on multiculturalism: Van Lankveld (2000). Christina, Daphna, Marleen, Willeijm and Marleen deserve full credit for the excellent (and hard) work they have put into their own (and thus this) project.

The Americans used, like their colleagues in for example Great Britain and Germany, mainstream media directories to select news organizations at random, yet oversampling minority groups from directories of journalists’ organizations such as for example the National Association of Black Journalists (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1998: 396). The Netherlands does not have a general directory of journalists, although some media-specific organizations (like the NDP for newspapers, the nrvj for periodicals) have lists of individual members (see sampling method used in Gaalen-Oordijk et al, 1993). Vasterman and Aerden (1995: 19) claim that the nvj represented about half of all Dutch journalists in 1993.

This may seem as a surprising number, compared to the original sample of 2,039 – a difference of 888 people. It turned out then that the way the nvj has to update its membership directory is a yearly postcard, reminding members to notify the organization if their registration information has changed. If the nvj does not receive a reply, the original listing is maintained. Over the years this has resulted in a contaminated database, containing quite a lot of retired, unemployed or ‘relocated to unknown address’ people.

During the final months of writing this book, freelance researcher Ellen de Vries was contracted by Dutch trade journal De journalist to establish a database of names and addresses of working journalists with an ethnic minority background. I was fortunate enough to work together as a consultant with De Vries on that particular project. She found a total of 316 journalists, including trainees and interns, with Surinamese, Antillean, Moluccan, Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds (De Vries, 2001; also in personal communication, 25 July 2001). Cross-referencing that database with our database – which was constructed during 1999 – we found largely similar names and numbers, which led us to assume that our database was still valid to be used for a more or less representative picture of the population of minority reporters in The Netherlands.

The Website URL for this extensive database is: http://www.jorislange.nl/media/ adressen.html (last visited: 17 August 2001). In June 2001 a similar online database project was started by the Dutch Press Institute, the nvj and the Netherlands Press Fund, at URL: http://www.mediamonitor.nl/ (last visited: 17 August, 2001), but that particular site does not offer contact addresses and direct hyperlinks to Dutch newsmedia online.

For completeness and comparison’s sake, we replicated this phone survey among online newsdesks two years later, during August 2001. This resulted in 205 online journalists, working for the same news sites (several new news sites had started in the meantime, putting the total number of online journalists in our most recent count at 242, see http://www.internetjournalist.nl for updates). In September 2001 publisher pcm announced to cease its online activities – which would mean that the journalists working for websites En, Volkskrant, Parool, NRC and vrouw will be fired; in total 33 online journalists.

For this purpose the scholars involved were contacted and John Henningham, Klaus Schönbach, Armin Scholl, Anthony Delano and David Weaver were all kind enough to answer questions and
offer advice for this particular project.

19 Developing and standardizing the Dutch questionnaire has also benefited greatly from personal correspondence and work with David Weaver (at ASCoR, June 1999) and Armin Scholl. Furthermore researchers in Austria (Stefan Weber), Switzerland (Mirko Marr) and the US (Thomas Patterson) have been so kind to send me their survey questionnaires as well. Our questionnaire has also been (partly) tested and used by colleagues in The Netherlands (Peter Neijens, Arie de Jongh).

Survey by Kim Griggs of MacQuarie University, Sydney – using the Online News-list moderated by Steve Outing of Editor & Publisher Interactive, reported in Quinn (1998 and 2000).

20 My thanks to all of them: Arjen Berghouwer, Maaike de Vos, Remco Andersen, Pascal Frohn, Marleen Lamkamp, Mariette Heres, Daphna Yeshua, Christina Dimoudi, Annemarie van Lankveld, Ingeborg van Beekum, Maurice Sistermans, Ramon Schimmel, Jop van Kempen, Coralie den Adel, Silvia den Heyer and Sara Muusze.

Chapter III

for Germany: Schoenbach, Stuerzebecher and Schneider (1994), Weischenberg and Scholl (1998a; 1998b), for Great Britain: Delano and Henningham (1995; 1998); for Australia: Henningham, Voorster and Henningham (1996; 1998) and for the US: Weaver and Wilhoit (1996). The tables used here were checked and verified (through e-mail correspondence during the project from 1997 to 2001) by Armin Scholl (German data), John Henningham (Australian data), Anthony Delano (British data) and David Weaver (US data), for which unconditional and friendly help I am extremely grateful.

Although this does seem like an upward development, a parallel survey we held among the first-year students of the three largest journalism schools shows that 67% is female (n=825; see Deuze and Rennen, 2000: 28).

A note can be made regarding the score on this question posed to the first-year journalism students (n=528): 6% said they belonged to an ethnic minority (be it Turkish, Moroccan, Surinam or other).

HBO in The Netherlands translated to higher professional education, equivalent to a bachelors degree; on the university level a degree is more or less equal to a masters’ degree – both typical Dutch systems which are to be replaced by the international BA/MA system by 2002 or 2003.

In 1976 only 17% (n=1,485) of journalists mentioned a HBO-degree in journalism, 23% reported having studied at an university. Most journalists (60%) got trained ‘on the job’ directly after high school.

This point of critique did not prevent them from answering the question and position themselves; this item had a 4% refusal rate.

Most of the interviewed first-year journalism students (n=528) in The Netherlands also positioned themselves left-of-center (56%), suggesting that a ‘leftish’ orientation cannot be seen as being shaped through socialization within a newsroom (survey held in the academic year 1999-2000).

This finding can be collaborated by the author’s own experience of having worked for regional newspapers Eindhovens Dagblad, Helmondse Dagblad and Brabantse Dagblad (period 1990-1994) and national newspaper De Telegraaf (period 1992-1993), also having visited and observed national newspaper newsrooms of the Volkskrant and Trouw (in 2000), Algemeen Dagblad (2001). All these newsrooms shared the ‘cocooned’ characteristics as described by Esser (1998) of the German newspaper organization.

The ranking of these interests is generally the same among the interviewed first-year students of journalism – with only ‘culture and the arts’ scoring lower than ‘news regarding the multicultural society’ (Deuze and Rennen, 2000; more on journalism and the multicultural society in chapter IV).

In earlier studies German journalists have been described as people with less of a tradition in ‘neutrality’, especially when compared to their US counterparts (Donsbach, 1983 and 1999). This may be a typical feature of its communication culture; a recent overview of research projects
and history in German communications research showed that the scholars in Germany are also more likely to be normative-theoretical rather than objective-empirical in their work (Brosius and Holtz-Bacha, 1999).

The scores for the Dutch first-year students of journalism (n=528) in the same order: analysis 56%, breaking news 72%, adversity 43%, trends 45%, people's views 48%, audience 48%, claims government 37%, develop interests 50%, entertainment 40%, disadvantaged 55%, influence 46% and Umfeld 6% (see Deuze and Rennen, 2000: 28). The students can be profiled as idealistic, keen to have some kind of influence and seem to be less interested in reaching as many people as possible, providing context or being particularly critical of businesses and government.

The full scores for these categories were only available for Germany and the United States.

For sake of counting the new variables factor loadings of .49 and higher were used as selection criteria, adding 'giving people to express their views' to the audience revenue role, and adding 'signaling trends' and 'developing interests of the public' to the advertising revenue role – indeed following the argument of Tunstall, that the three sets of goals always have an element of ambiguity and interdependence (1972: 264).

Several other questions regarding journalists' views on their audience were asked; see table vii.

No significant interaction effect was found between working for national or regional media and opinions about ethnical dilemmas, which suggests that each of these variables has a main effect on one's audience orientation.

No significant interaction effect was found between working for national or regional media and audience orientation, which suggests that each of these variables has a main effect on ethical sensitivity.

Likewise we found in our parallel survey among Dutch first-year students of journalism schools (n=528) a general 'easiness' with using questionable methods of newsgathering (Deuze and Rennen, 2000).

I have to note here that we did not ask for employment patterns across media types and companies, which would have furthered our understanding of the labor market; based on the (trade) literature and experiences on the workfloor, I would like to suggest that cross-media employment is not (yet) common in the Dutch journalism workforce.

The wealth of data gathered in this survey suggests one could do more, specifically multivariate analyses of for example role perceptions. My central aim here is to offer a descriptive profile of Dutch journalists and their professional identities in the context of the society they work in (see the following chapters on multiculturalism, the Internet and infotainment). Therefore I feel that a multivariate approach at this stage would ignore particularly Hall's (1991) warning that this kind of quantitative data analysis – for example a multiple regression to see how much of the variance is explained by certain variables – tends to generalize the identities of respondents, and reduces identity theoretically to constructed, not necessarily 'real' categories (like for example 'television' or 'regional' journalists). This would require a follow-up and detailed study – which I consider to be beyond the particular research purposes and framework of this project and book (see also Stevenson, 1995: 15-16, who builds on a similar argument to problematize the construction of independent and dependent variables in quantitative data analysis, claiming that this procedure inherently assigns certain variables to 'a lesser degree of reality').

More on the consequences of these findings for (Dutch) journalism education in the concluding chapter of this book.

**Chapter IV**

These publications are: the earlier mentioned 1998 report by Brants, Crone and Leurdijk, featuring an up-to-date overview of existing Dutch research regarding media and migrants; a 1998 book report on the role newsmedia play in covering racism en extreme-rightwing movements (by Van Donselaar, Claus and Nelissen), an annotated literature review on multiculturalism in the social sciences by the national anti-racism organization LBR (Landelijk Bureau Racismebestrijding; LBR, 2000), a book featuring research papers, essays and guidelines on the topic (edit-
ed by Sterk, 2000), and a collection of research into ethnic minorities and the media published on cd-rom later that year by researchers at the University of Nijmegen (Mediagroep, 2000).

2 Full archive of this debate has been available until 24 May 2001 on the Website of the NRC, at URL: http://www.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Multicultureel/inhoud.html.

3 Another indicator thereof: NVJ-workgroup Migranten en Media organized a meeting on April 25, 2001 for all researchers (scholars, professionals, and funding organizations alike) involved in related issues with the intent to formulate a national research agenda on media and multiculturalism. Several of the mentioned authors in this chapter (Brants, Van Donselaar, Leurdijk, Doppert, Top, Vergeer a.o.) attended, as well as representatives from journalism training institutes and the media.


5 See for further elaboration of this argument with respect to multicultural journalism education: Deuze (2001c).

6 National dailies: Algemeen Dagblad, NRC Handelsblad, De Telegraaf, Trouw and De Volkskrant; regional dailies: Het Parool (Amsterdam), Rotterdams Dagblad (Rotterdam), Utrechts Nieuwsblad (Utrecht), Haagse Courant (The Hague) and Noord-Hollands Dagblad (province of northern Holland, incl. Amsterdam); opinion magazines: Elsevier, HV/De Tijd, Groene Amsterdammer and Vrij Nederland; special multicultural interest: Contrast, Landelijke Allochtonenkrant. Note: the national organization against racism (Landelijk Bureau ter bestrijding van Rassendiscriminatie, LBR) started a new opinion magazine called Zebra in March 2001, well after the interviews were finished and transcribed and was therefore not included in our selected group of experts.

7 The author would like to thank Annemarie van Lankveld and Mariëtte Heres for their hard work on conducting and transcribing the interviews. See also the excellent MA thesis: Van Lankveld (2000).

8 All interviews were conducted in Dutch, therefore all quotes are the author's translation. Of the 18 participants, one has an ethnic minority (Moroccan) background, two are women.

9 Correspondingly Van Dijk (1991) described the news coverage of De Telegraaf as somewhat unique, in that he considered it to be more 'stereotypical' than any other newspaper. Several scholars have come to similar conclusions about De Telegraaf in more recent years (Wiersema, 1994; Wolfs, 1996). Although Brants et al. (1998:22-23) acknowledge these results, they also conclude that most of such research had been set up to find a negative bias in news coverage, often based on small and selective samples without taking a longitudinal perspective into consideration.

10 For a methodological discussion on the use of topical categories and interpretative repertoires, please see chapter II.

11 Several studies in the 1990s have specifically analyzed the ways in which Dutch newspapers cover Muslims and the Islam. These studies show that Dutch journalists seem to regard Muslims as a homogenous group, as people who share a fundamentally different culture (reported in Brants et al., 1998:19-20). Adbus Sattar (1995), in a project initiated by the Dutch muslim broadcasting organization NMO, signaled a similar 'de-personalization' of Muslims and a tendency to generalize isolated incidences to the entire Islam. A similar critique was voiced in many public debates in The Netherlands on the news coverage of the Dutch media after the '9-11' (2001) attacks on New York and Washington – attacks which resulted in the bombing of (the Islamic regime of the Taliban in) Afghanistan by us forces, supported by an international coalition including The Netherlands.

12 This remark came from a journalist specialized in asylum seekers and issues related to illegal immigration, which might explain the comment.

13 See for a recent Dutch study on journalism and sourcing the dissertation of Rennen (2000).

14 Compare this observation with the discussion of being 'professionally distant' as an ideal-typical value in journalism's occupational ideology in chapter I.
Chapter V

1 See also the conceptual argument as presented in the second chapter of the book.

2 The yearly Middleberg and Ross 'Media in Cyberspace' surveys in the United States are more or less replicated in The Netherlands (for the first time in 2001/2002), by colleague Alexander Pleijter at the University of Nijmegen.

3 The first daily newspapers on the Web in The Netherlands were the Eindhovens Dagblad and the NRC Handelsblad (in 1995). The first e-mail based newsservices were the Internetkrant (starting September 1992), and The Daily Planet (May 1995). Daily newspaper Nederlands Dagblad was the first newspaper in the world to offer an online PDF-version to subscribers (from December 1997). Website Internetjournalist.nl maintains a historical database of Dutch online journalism (URL: http://www.internetjournalist.nl).

4 In this respect 'we' means student assistant Sanne Stroosnijder and the author.

5 The author would like to thank and compliment Christina Dimoudi (thesis: 1999) and Daphna Yeshua (thesis: 2000) for their hard work on conducting and transcribing the interviews.

6 At the time of data gathering none of the commercial broadcasters or other public broadcast organizations employed a specific online news department. At the time of writing this thesis (2000-2001), media production company Cameo Media - operating on a contract basis as news provider for predominantly commercial broadcasters such as SBS6 and Net5 - has started a separated online news division called Newsbytes. Also the Dutch national wire service ANP has recently started a commercial online-only service called ANP@Yoursite, and several other more or less recent online news initiatives can be mentioned here (such as special interest e-zines Emerce and Webwereld, news services Sapenda and Nu.nl, and community newssites Tweakers and Fokzine, showing a professional field in fast-paced development. Also, the national union of journalists (NVJ) founded in March 2000 a specific section for online journalists with its own trade journal - appearing only online as Internetjournalist.nl since April 2001 (see Van der Have, 2000). The NVJ also funds a separate website for Dutch journalists in general called VillaMedia.

7 At the time of writing this chapter, Worldonline was taken over by (originally Italian) telecommunications company Tiscali; the online newsdesk remained in place, though.

8 An online timeline of Dutch journalism on the Internet is available at URL: http://internetjournalist.nl/historie/.

9 As of early 2001, the section Internet of the national union of journalists (NVJ) has a concept 'Web statute' available online for discussion, located at URL: http://www.villamedia.nl/derden/internet/webstatuut.htm.

Chapter VI

1 Tabloidization is a term generally related to processes in the print media sector, infotainment is a term coined in describing broadcast media developments. In this project 'infotainment' is considered to be an overarching concept, in which the blurring of information and entertainment can be located (see also Brants, 1998). Gripsrud (2000: 290-292) argues that tabloidization can be seen as a subcategory of popular journalism and remarks that 'infotainment' is in fact a new term for a much older development of quality popular journalism such as for example family-orientated variety shows on television. Infotainment is used as the overarching (contemporary) concept in the context of the project at hand.

2 'We' in this case is MA-student Willemijn Tuij and the author; see Tuij (2001).

3 See table xi in chapter xi, where I show that specific sets of roles and goals can be ascribed to 49% of all journalists (N=773), of whom 11% share advertising-revenue goals.

4 With some more or less incidental exceptions, as for example lecturer Toon Rennen at the Fontys School for Journalism in Tilburg organized an elective course in 'studying infotainment journalism' during the 1999-2000 academic year.

5 See Manschot (1994) for a historical appreciation of Dutch broadcasting in terms of the development of entertaining (or: popular) genres.
Interestingly enough the American tabloids are all in the hands of one company, American Media. Its director, David Pecker, announced in September 2000 that his magazines would 'go factual' because of declining circulation and increased competition from mainstream media (Holm, 2000; Lunsford, 2000). This is also true for the German tabloids (see Schoenbach, 2000).

I have to admit that MA-student Marleen Lamkamp did attempt to interview journalists working for broadcast infotainment genres (NOS Radio: Langs de Lijn, sports; KRO tv: Ontbijtshow, breakfast television; RTL tv: Catherine, talkshow). Considering the argument in the literature and this chapter in particular, I decided against using this material. Interesting aspect to note: the people at these organizations were not cooperative at all; in fact, the RTL people refused an interview altogether.

MA student Willemijn Tuip and the author conducted interviews. In an earlier MA thesis, Marleen Lamkamp conducted more data analyses on the infotainment sample and interviewed journalists working for sports and breakfast television programs in the Netherlands – her findings are referred to in this chapter were relevant (see Lamkamp, 2000; Tuip, 2001).

In the analysis of the data of the phone survey among infotainment journalists no specific differences were found between the level of interaction with members of the audience between these reporters and their colleagues elsewhere in the media, although I have to note that these respondents claim to use e-mail for audience interaction a bit more.

One of the serious-popular magazine editors offered us a different explanation for the widespread dissatisfaction regarding Party. He suggested that all editors have had (verbal) fights with the current chief editor of Party, Ton de Wit, which arguments have led to such public disenchantment with the performance of the magazine, according to this source. A colleague of this particular editor also suggested that the editors of the other three magazines of the 'big four' (Story, Privé, Weekend, Party) did not like Party because it has invaded their market a couple of years ago and is taking away their (younger) readership. Interesting, but largely unsubstantiated, suggestions. What is furthermore interesting, is that most journalists in this field at some point worked for 'the competition': almost all tabloid editors at some time in the past worked for Story and/or Privé.

Party entered the market in 1994, had been around for seven years at the time of these interviews.

One would almost claim this reads like typical 'boyish-rebellious' behavior; here I would like to note that of the 14 interviewed editors 5 were women. Weekend, described by competitor-colleagues as the 'hardest' gossip magazine in the Netherlands, exclusively employs male journalists and editors.

See for example the contemporary debates at the American Civil Liberties Union's website at: http://www.aclu.org/morality/. In the Netherlands this debate is for example explicitized by the national government in terms of the multicultural society, online at: http://www.integratie.net/.

Compare this utilitarianism to the use of objectivity as a strategic ritual in 'hard' news journalism, as argued by Tuchman (1971).

Chapter VII

During 2000 and 2001 several media organizations – for example publishers like Wegener and PCM – announced cost-cutting measures by increasing early retirement options for employees, which suggests that over the coming years quite a few older journalists will leave the profession (the print media sector in particular).

In a heated public debate (on October 10th, 2001) between several editors, journalists, politicians, migrant and Muslim organizations about the media coverage of the Islam, the chairman of the NVJ – Ron Abrams – and the editor-in-chief of the NOS-Journaal – Hans Laroos – agreed that journalism in the Netherlands is 'catching up' when it comes to learn and be sensitive about migrant cultures, indeed acknowledging a process of change and perhaps redefinition of values and routines within the Dutch news organization in order to accommodate the multicultural society.
Dutch author De Wilde identifies this technologically deterministic optimism as a common response to the introduction of new technologies throughout history (going as far back as the Renaissance); his argument is similar to an analysis of the over-optimistic response to the Internet dubbed as 'the Californian Ideology', based on a profound faith in the emancipatory potential of new information technologies: "In the digital utopia, everybody will be both hip and rich", as Barbrook and Cameron (1996) write.

One could think for example about the necessity of making our sampling procedures in journalism studies more inclusive of subgenres and marginalized groups; about the articulation of (particular understandings of) ideology with discussions on benchmarking 'quality' in journalistic practices, about the need to be aware of the temporal-spatial dimension of the theories of journalism we test or apply as academics. Future research plans could also address in detail that which has been left out of this book, as the wealth of literature and data gathered for this project allows for much more analyses than included in these seven chapters. Examples are multivariate analyses of survey data regarding predictors of role perceptions, exploring all articulations of the topical categories and interpretative repertoires used by journalists to give meaning to their work in further detail, and tying these analyses together into a broader appreciation of the ways in which ideology works in representing the relationships of individual journalists to their conditions of news work.