

Journalists in a digital age

Trust will rule in the future of journalism

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Abstract

This thesis researches the future functions and practice of journalists. Both are subject to a lot of societal and technological changes. Technology changes to way journalists gather and present their stories and it changes what an audience can do as well as their needs and wants. The public has more power over their media experience and produces content themselves, which challenges the functions of journalists. Moreover, the public is fragmenting. To find an answer to what the future of journalism will be, articles written by or about the thoughts of journalists are analyzed.

Five challenges are noticed, these are the fragmenting of the public, the empowered public, the explosion of blogs, the loss of monopoly of journalists and the trend of free information. In order to cope with these challenges the journalistic practice must involve the public, be transparent over their work, provide specialized information, present their stories with multimedia features and at last, report more immediate. Those actions are classified as the keys of success which reveal something about the future role of journalists.

To what degree a journalist will be what in which situations is still being debated, but it is clear that multimedia features will be indispensable to tell a story, that specialized information is what is needed to compete with blogs and get the scattered attention from the fragmented public and that a journalist will be a guide in this information overloaded society who filters relevant from irrelevant articles.

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Chapter one: Journalists in the digital age

We are living in an information overloaded society. Everyone can have access to all the news from all over the world at any time of the day. Thousands of news sites and a bunch of television- and radio channels make that possible. Since the mid 1990's online versions of newspapers have significantly increased (Boczkowski, 2004). As a consequence, the media industry has to make some adjustments to this digitalization of the news. New tools require new skills for the journalists and editors working in the media industry and new possibilities increases and changes the demands of the consumers. As more is possible in terms of production and interaction, what consumers do changes. They get used to new standards. As such those who supply the information have to consider new technologies in order to please the new standards of the consumers.

This paper focuses on the changing journalistic practice. The altering is caused by societal and technological changes. The societal changes involve the empowered public. The public is gaining more power as they can produce (news) content by blogging for example. But they also have more control over their media exposure. They decide for themselves when they want to see what news content. Technological change is caused by new possibilities with the internet, as involving interactive features to present news content, and because of that also making more (free) information available.

In order to understand what the societal and technological changes imply for the current function and practice of journalism, it is important to know what the fundamentals are of classic journalism as a benchmark. By considering the basis of journalism the impact of conflicting trends and new technology on the profession of journalists can thoroughly be understood and put in the right context. Therefore I will start by briefly discuss the classical journalistic values and the classical functions of a journalist. Based on the values and functions, considering the societal and technological changes, I will analyze the profession of journalism in terms of how journalists can survive the societal and technological change. The research will be done by analyzing the discourse of American and Dutch professional experts on the practice of journalism and new media.

Conceptualization

There are three major conceptions to consider which are key to this paper. Those are the journalistic values, the journalistic functions and the journalistic practice.

- The values are the premises on what a journalist does his job. These are the fundamentals of journalism, the basis of every journalistic act, and give journalists legitimacy to what they do (Deuze, 2005).
- The functions are *what* a journalist does. A function also refers to goals as you do what you do in order to realize or reach something. For journalism the main goal is providing citizens accurate and reliable information. As functions say something about what journalists do, it also tells something about the role of journalists in a society (Overholser & Hall Jamieson, 2005).
- The practice is about *how* a journalist works. It's about the way he works, the methods and techniques he applies to reach his goals and fulfill his function. There are more ways to fulfill one function and to obey to one value. Practices are about the daily routine of a journalist (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2006).

To clarify the distinction between those three terms, I will make them concrete by considering the main obligation of journalism, which is telling the truth. How can telling the truth be translated to values, functions and practices? What the journalist does is providing reliable information. In order to achieve this he will apply the method of verification, namely considering more than one source and report all sides involved. Both are legitimated by the value objectivity, referring to one of the conditions of journalism.

It's important to know what the values and functions are, although they are subject to change, in order to discuss the journalistic practice. The values give meaning to the functions and practices. The values legitimate why and how a journalist does what he does. For example, he reports neutrally (practice) to serve democracy (function) which is legitimated by the value objectivity. This will be explained more elaborately later in this chapter.

Problem of the definition

The journalistic values and functions have always been quite steady, as I will claim later on. The question however is if they still are. Have they changed, will they or do they have to in order to survive the societal and technological changes? And what does that mean for the journalistic functions and practice? The main question of this paper is:

What will journalists have to change, if they have to, to survive the challenge of societal and technological change?

This question can be answered on either a functional level or on a practical level. The functional level is about what a journalist is meant to do, his functions and role. The practical level refers to the daily practice of journalists, how he manages to accomplish what he is ought to do and which legitimates it at the same time.

It will be impossible to get one straight answer, since there are so many elements involved in the discussion. There are the societal and technological changes and there is the profession of journalism which has more facets than solely writing articles. Critical issues as the newsroom culture, the question of timing and verification are to be considered as well. All of these elements are different in every situation and edition. In every situation a journalist can either make good or bad choices. What is right is always different. As for the editions, they all have the same obligation to provide reliable and accurate information, but the information they provide and how they present it is different. For example, financial information is different from inland news on the level of specialization. This means that the answer to survive the societal and technological changes will be slightly different depending on what kind of information is presented by the journalist and in what kind of situation he is.

Relevance

Whenever changes, either technological or societal, come up they tend to be perceived as threats. (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2007). For example, violent videogames would affect young gamers and computers would reinforce social isolation.

The popularization of the web threatens journalism, or at least implicates some changes that can not be ignored (Deuze & Dimoudi, 2002). Journalists are overwhelmed by the immense impact of the internet. Internet implies new forms and processes to work with to which all journalists will have to adjust. For example, being able to write solely for the internet – web-only – is very different from writing for a paper or magazine. But there are also new tools available: search engines, directories and news groups. Since online versions of newspapers have made their appearance and *web-only* media organizations have been established journalists have to acquire new skills and think ahead of all the multimedia formats they can include to tell their stories (Deuze, 2003). Not every content is suitable for every format. Journalists have to forecast a match between those in order to do some justice to the content presented and attract the attention of the public. Depending on the happening, reporting by video or text might be better. For example, an in depth analysis is better off in a printed publication, but breaking news should be accompanied by video and not an elaborate article.

Secondly, there is the impact of the consumers having access to the internet as well. Journalists are not the only ones to publish anymore. While consumers use media they are producing at the same time. They write, publish and edit: blogging, posting videos on the site Youtube, add comments to forums and react on articles. As soon as the public has a computer, a photo camera, a video camera and a mobile phone, which most of them have, they have the tools to publish text, video and audio. Moreover, it appears that already 51% of the American consumers are interested in what others create, meaning content not made by the media industry, but amateurs (Steinberg, 2007).

The public has more control over what and when they are being exposed to media content and they want to be involved in the production process. (Boczkowski, 2004). Moreover, the public is fragmenting, which

leads news organizations to become a niche player. Professionally produced journalism is no longer a major part in the information mix the public acquires (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2007).

Hypothesis

In this paper I will argue that the classic journalistic values don't change. Based the values, the fundamentals of journalism, on what a journalist does his job will not change. However, what (functions) he is ought to do and how (practices) he reaches those functions/goals is subject to change, because of the societal and technological changes. For example, as for the practice, since there are new tools available a journalist will be forced to use them to please the new standards of the public. There are new ways and strategies to practice those functions, meaning there might be a new role for journalists ahead.

The classical functions of a journalist

The basis of what a journalist does is telling stories. He is an information provider. He gathers news based on facts rather than on opinions in an objective way. This means he is giving a balanced report between all the parties involved without any judgment. In this way he is providing the information the public needs in order to have a healthy citizenship. Journalism is a service in the public's interest and for that matter also one in the interest of democracy (Zelizer, in Overholser & Hall Jamieson, 2005).

First, in order to come to the journalistic functions, we should consider the journalistic values. Based on these the journalist accomplish his functions.

Defining journalistic values

I will use the five journalistic values mentioned by Deuze (2005) to give a closer look at how journalists operate whenever they are gathering and presenting information, regardless what the medium or age it is.

- Public service: journalists gather, present and disseminate news in the public's interest. They are the watchdog of society for its citizens.
- Objectivity: journalists have to be neutral, impartial and fair. Every party involved in a certain issue should be able to comment on their actions equally.
- Autonomy: a journalist must be independent. He must be free to report on what he sees and hears.
- Immediacy: In order to bring something new is immediacy necessary. Journalists must act fast; they have to chase the news in order to be actual.
- Ethics: Journalists must have a sense of what they can and can't do. These 'rules' are merely based on common sense, such as being fair and report truthfully.

Based on these values a journalist accomplishes his functions. These values can be considered as the fundamentals of journalism and these fundamentals are the *raison d'être* of journalists.

Defining journalistic functions

Below the classical journalistic functions, as they were first pictured, are listed. These tell us what journalists do, what their job is, what they are ought to do.

First of all, a journalist is an information provider. He is giving knowledge on a truthful and accurate basis and shaping consensus. The media functions as a window on the world. They give meaning to what is happening out there by handing out objective reports. Being exposed to impartial information makes it possible for involved citizens to think critical and form an informed judgment. As a window on the world, the news media also functions as a surveillance system. They alert and signal (Patterson & Seib, in Overholser & Hall Jamieson, 2005).

Second, a journalist has a social responsibility as in serving the democracy. A journalist intends to provide the public the information they need in order to act as a self-governing citizen in a democratic society. According to the democratic system and to the perception of journalists, the public needs balanced reports between diverse parties so they can make up their minds by themselves. The media can act as an intermediary between government and other institutions and the public, and give a mediated and neutral voice to both of them (Curran, in Overholser & Hall Jamieson, 2005).

This leads me to the third function of journalism, which is truly rather a consequence of the journalistic practice, namely agenda setting. By reporting multiply about a certain subject, which is providing information, it can get growing attention and as such is put on the public agenda. It is a possible consequence of providing a lot of information on the same subject during a short period of time.

Agenda setting is the ability of the press to focus attention on public issues. The media agenda lies in between the one of the policy and the one of the public. There is a flow of influence between the three of them, either direct or indirect. As for the public agenda, the media is able to tell the public what to think about. This is linked to the prominence of the issue, how relevant the issue is to the individual, how much someone already knows about the issue and what the level of obtrusiveness is. Focusing attention may

lead to shaping opinions and have influence on the behavior of the public (McCombs, in Overholser & Hall Jamieson, 2005).

The fourth function of a journalist is being a watchdog of society, which is related to their role in a democracy. A journalist has to be critical, investigative, independent and vigilant. He must alert the public, challenge public institutions by asking them penetrating questions and he has to clarify complex issues (Bennett & Serrin, in Overholser & Hall Jamieson, 2005).

These functions are subject to change. They are not as steady as they used to be. In an information overloaded society where news is being produced and consumed by millions of individuals, there is no such thing as one single public, one message/product or one time to produce or consummate news anymore. The journalistic values however, will remain unaltered, despite the current meaning of the function. A journalist will still provide fair and impartial information aimed at citizens with a notion of actuality.

In the next section the technical changes and their effects on the journalistic practice will be discussed more closely.

The changing media landscape

Technology has an impact on every aspect of society. So it is for journalism. The internet has been a source of concern as in threats, but also one of opportunities since the popularization of the web in the mid 1990's (Boczkowski, 2004). In this section I will discuss what these technological changes embrace and what influence it has on journalism. In order to give a better understanding of what the impact of technology is, I will first list the features of new media, namely of the internet.

What are the features of the digital age?

They key characteristics of the internet and its possibilities are (Deuze & Bardoel, 2001):

- **Interactivity:** This means you can make the user part of the news experience. This feature is extremely important in the digital age. Consumers want to be involved in the production process. As soon as they consummate media, they also produce. For example, after reading an article, they would want to comment on it.
- **Customization of content:** The users can choose for themselves to what content they want to be exposed. They can either do that by pulling content (online archives) or by pushing it (subscribe to newsletters). Custom content allows the user to create their own homepage at a search- or news site. The public is in control of their media consumption. Individuals can make up their own news.
- **Hypertextuality:** With hyperlinks additional information can be added to an article. For example linking to the source or to an infographic.
- **Multimediality/convergence:** This means that a story online can be told across different media formats. Image, text and sound can be integrated in one story.

These four features of the digital age have influence on the journalistic practice, meaning how a journalist gathers and present information. What this influences will be discussed below.

What does this imply for journalistic practices?

Because of those new possibilities for how to tell stories, a journalist nowadays will have to acquire new skills and he will have to take the new possibilities for the public to gain more control over their actions into account. These changes affect the meaning of the classic journalistic functions.

Pavlik (2001) sees journalism being transformed by the new media in four ways:

1. News is becoming more fluid and convergent. There is an increased news flow. It is constantly being updated. News can be published with loads of multimedia features. This is changing the way of storytelling. Stories can be hyperlinked to other content in any format, including formats that give the users the feeling they are actually there. This creates a richer context. Moreover, news content is becoming dynamic. It can be purchased on demand and customized.
2. Journalists have new tools to work with, like powerful search engines and email. These tools enable him to create a mobile workplace. On the other hand, a journalist is more and more less in the field because he has everything at hand to work from the office. However, with these new tools it is easier to work up to a deadline. The whole process is fastening. Because of converging computing and computing technologies a journalist is able to do more than solely writing and gathering information. Journalists nowadays have to acquire new skills, such as producing and editing videos.
3. The newsroom is more decentralized and flexible. The structure between editors and editors in chief has flattered. The same goes for blurring lines between editorial and advertisement content.
4. The journalist has to serve a larger public that is not bound to geographical boundaries anymore. He is more and more an omnipotent storyteller. The public is also more informed because of the global access to the news all over the world at any time of the day. The relation between the journalist and its public is not as hierarchical as it was before. Because of interactive tools more dialogue between both is possible and necessary, because the public wants to be heard. The public serves as a source and as a producer. As for the journalist, he is increasingly becoming a neutralizer and an escort for the public in this information overloaded society.

So it's the convergence of the news, the tools a journalist works with, the newsroom and the public that changes. This implies acquiring new skills. A journalist has to be a multitasker, he has to be able to produce content for different media platforms using the right multimedia formats while being constantly under time pressure since the news cycle never stops. Klinenberg (2005) characterizes this as a news cyclone. He also mentions the fragmentation of the public. The public is larger in terms of disappearing geographical boundaries on the one hand, but smaller on the other because of small communities being interested in very specialized information. Therefore journalists have to meet higher standards in order to please their multiple publics. A journalist has to be more flexible nowadays. And as mentioned earlier, because of the sky-rocketing amount of information, an increasing task of a journalist is to filter relevant from irrelevant issues (Trench & Quinn, 2003). Telling stories on the net means also to learn how to write for scanning readers. The internet is a fast medium and its users are too, they are impatient. Users want to be able to know at any time and wherever they are on the site what the story is about in a fraction of time. This means writing a story in short pieces which is spread across the site, or in other words this is non-linear writing (Deuze, 1999).

To sum up, a journalist nowadays has to be flexible, fast, act as filter, know how to write non-linear, serve a large as well as a fragmented public, integrate multimedia formats, interact with his public and be computer literate. This influences the way a journalist works. It doesn't tell us anything about the journalistic function yet. However, involving digital features to present information, changes the function as well. This is discussed in the next paragraph.

Journalism revisited

The features of the new media affect the classical functions of journalists. Interactivity means that journalists have to interact with their public. They should take their contributions as in information, rectifications and feedback seriously and they should be open to discussion. Public contributions could be useful for an even more complete coverage of a certain topic, to open a discussion or the simply connect the public to the medium. Several journalists such as Robert Niles (2007) and Mark Chavannes (2007) encourage this attitude towards the public. By doing that a journalist isn't solely an information provider anymore. At that moment the one way communication is transforming into a two way communication. Storytelling journalism changes into a 'dialogue journalism', which also alters the position of the journalist. He isn't so much above the public anymore, but among them.

Hypertextuality makes it possible to link to additional information. This means a journalist could link to the information he used to write the story. To please the skeptical public it would be advisable to be open about sources. It's in the interest of the public and their healthy citizenship to do so. But also in the interest of the journalist as being transparent, the confidence of a suspicious public can be gained. Knowing which information to trust is increasingly important since there is so much information at hand. This doesn't change as much a function, as it changes the position of journalists. Their authority is being challenged by the increasing control the public can have. In order to be perceived as objective and faithful, a journalist has to share his information.

Multimediality changes the way of storytelling. Multiple formats can be used to tell a single story. It's up to the journalist to use the adequate ones to prevent the public from being bored and 'zap' (public control) away to another news site. This means the composition has to be optimal to gain some attention among millions of other information providers, including consumers, doing the same thing. This also implies that a journalist nowadays has to be more than just a good reporter or writer. He has to be able to work with audiovisual material and distinguish what the best way is to portray images and sound that will do some justice to the story. Technique requires more skills of a journalist.

The fourth feature, namely the customization of content or the control of the public, is dispersed all over the other features as well. The bottom line is that the public decides what the news is and what balanced reports are to them, which weakens the journalistic function as serving democracy. There are too many news sites and other news media having all kinds of different news messages, which makes it hard to create a consensus. As a consequence the public decides what they want to read, watch or hear. Because the news can be followed at any time of the day, the public also get to decide when they want to be exposed to it. This means journalists can't impose something as much as they used to. The value of their position as a watchdog has decreased over the past years. As there is no one major news item or one public anymore, it is harder to alert them. People do this for themselves now. The same goes for agenda setting. Nowadays, it's harder to get the message through, as there a bunch of them and the fragmented public is interested in divergent issues.

In short

What have always been quite steady are the journalistic values and the journalistic functions. The values are public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics. The journalistic functions are information providing, serving democracy, setting an agenda and being a watchdog. I'm claiming the values will remain unaltered, since those differentiate journalists from other writers or information providers. The functions are subject to change.

They are because of the new digital features, which are interactivity, hypertextuality, customization and multimediality. They transform journalism in four ways: convergence of news, the tools a journalist works with, the hierarchy of the newsroom and the notion of the public. Those changes affect the journalistic practice, how he works. New features give meaning to new ways of acting. But might also change the journalistic functions, what he does, since those are challenged by the public control.

By analyzing publications written or about the thoughts of journalist on how journalism can survive the societal and technological changes, I want to find out what journalists will have to change in the future, in terms of what and how.

Chapter two: Method

Technology and a changing society have influence on the functions and the practice of a journalist, as discussed in the first chapter of this paper. New digital features challenges the way of storytelling. Besides that, it is more difficult then ever to reach and bond with the fragmented and empowered public. The goal of this research is to find out how journalism can survive. What does a journalist need to be or to do to remain a journalist in the future?

The experts

To answer this question published pieces by or about the thoughts of twenty five journalists, twelve Americans or working in the United States and thirteen Dutch, will be analyzed. (A brief description of all the journalists will be enclosed in the appendix.) From the thousands of journalists working in both countries, only these few have been selected since they are experts in what is journalism all about. These twenty five journalists aren't just journalists, they reflect critically on their profession as well. Hence, they participate in public debates where their opinions are constantly being revisited and challenged by others. Moreover, these people interact with new media. They face the technological and societal changes by experimenting with new ways of practicing journalism or by simply using new possibilities to tell their stories, such as blogging.

This research will analyze fifty seven articles which are either interviews with them, newspaper articles encountering some of their thoughts or columns or blog posts written by them. Whenever they say something related to journalism it is enlisted in one of the two grids explained below. The first one has been designed with knowledge I already had, which is what is written in the first chapter, and with the knowledge I acquired after a first reading of all the articles. But to be able to encounter all discussion elements of interest a second grid had to be designed as well. Both are designed as such that all elements can be encountered.

A list of the analysed articles is to be found in the appendix.

The first grid

Two grids are used to analyze the thoughts and opinions encountered in the fifty seven articles. The first grid encounters everything that is related to what has been discussed in the first chapter, that is: the journalistic values mentioned by Deuze (2005), the classic journalistic functions described in Overholser & Hall Jamieson (2005), the digital features listed by Deuze & Bardoel (2001) and its influence on the journalistic practice. Pavlik (2001) points out four elements of the journalistic environment that are being affected, namely the way of storytelling, the tools a journalist works with, the newsroom he is working in and the public he is addressing his stories to. At last, all of these changes together affect the practice of

the journalist in terms of acquiring new skills and having an adjusted fulfillment of his functions in some situations.

Those values, functions, digital features and influenced elements of the journalistic practice are classified within changes, since this research is about what is changing and what should still change in order for journalism to survive the challenge of technology and the powerful *prosumers*. This grid is about underlining how the authors feel about the evolution of the journalistic environment. Three forms of changes are taking into account: a conversion that has already been completed, a change that is still in transition or as something to come or that should come. In short, a done, in transition or future change. To clarify how these changes are classified, examples of statement for each change are listed beneath.

Done: 'This turns things upside down. Information isn't what it used to be anymore. Where there was once scarcity, there is now abundance. The consequence: everything with value becomes free (Blanken).' Statements as this one are clearly about something that has already occurred, even if the trend of abundance is still there. The conversion has been completed and will thus be classified as something done.

In transition: A change is in transition when it is still ongoing or being done. For example, statements about how the internet has changed things or the public gaining power are done alternations. The internet is there and the power as well. What is still in transition are the opportunities that internet has to offer as gaining more power by contributing to journalistic publications. A quote as 'And today crowdsourcing is on the raise across a wide social landscape' by Jay Rosen points visibly toward an alternation which is still ongoing.

Future: 'We can't be afraid of reaching our audience in new ways. It will be one of the keys to our industry's successful future (Curley).' Just like this one, all the statements enlisted in future changes are about how the author thinks it should be, what should be done, what is needed or what will happen in the future.

The second grid

If the opinion isn't related to an alternation that has already occurred, that is still ongoing or that should come, then is the opinion classified in the second grid. This grid takes opinions without indication to a change and notifications about a development into account. The opinions and developments are grouped between the public, the news industry and the journalists. With these three classifications the entire discussion is covered. Below an example of an opinion and of a development are listed.

Opinion (without reference to any kind of change): 'The greater parts of the people don't contribute. They don't reply a lot, they never reply. It's even worse: the greater parts of the people don't even clique (Van Jole).' This is an opinion about the lazy behavior of the public.

Development: Statements about something developing are an opinion as well, since they are expressed by the thoughts of the author. It's an opinion about how they think the public, the news industry and journalists are evaluating. The authors describe a happening which isn't related to any topic in particular encountered in the first grid or goes further than that. For example, drawing consequences on the basis of interaction. Philip Meyer is explaining how journalism lost his monopoly position since there are other ways to publish news. The following quote illustrates this ongoing process: 'High-quality journalism is still economically feasible, but it will never be again as profitable.' Statements like these will be encountered as a development, as it is about a shifting progression that isn't directly relatable to one of the topics of the first grid.

However, a side note must be made about ambiguous statements. Some are clearly an opinion without having any about any kind of conversion, but is obviously about one of the topics enlisted in the first grid. Such statements are enlisted in both grids. In the first as a change in transition, since it is an opinion about how something currently is, and in the second grid as an opinion or development.

The grids below clarify how the articles will be analyzed and classified.

		Done	In transition	Future
Values	Public service			
	Objectivity			
	Autonomy			
	Immediacy			
	Ethics			
Functions	Information			
	Democracy			
	Agenda setting			
	Watchdog			
Digital features	Interactivity			
	Customization			
	Hypertextuality			
	Multimediality			
Influenced elements of the journalistic practice	Storytelling			
	Tools			
	Newsroom			
	Public			
	Role			
Public News Industry Journalists	Opinion		Developments	

Chapter three: Results

The results won't be discussed as the grids are classified, since a lot of the statements involve several topics enlisted in the grid which are related to each other and as such can be grouped together. For example, the value immediacy doesn't stand by itself but is related to notions of the empowered public; the public is empowered since it has access to producing tools like editing software and platforms such as blogs to report about happenings immediately after they have occurred. Therefore, I think it is more useful to discuss the results by covering broader topics as the challenges the news industry is facing, how they could survive this and what they need to do to meet these keys of success and at last, what lies in the future of journalists. The topics are linearly linked together; it is the cause of the discussion, what should be done about it and what does it tell about the future. Within those three major topics all the small elements encountered in both grids will be discussed and immediately linked together which presents an in depth picture of what it is all about. Quotes are integrated in the results to illustrate what is being discussed.

The discussion starts with the challenges the news industry is facing. A lot of these have already been mentioned earlier, but it is crucial to thoroughly understand what it is about, since those challenges are the sources of this research. The digital era has changed what is available to the audience and therefore has also changed their needs. New devices to gather, organize and present information influences the way journalists work and the structure of the media landscape. The internet dominates over traditional media like the newspaper or radio. All of these have an effect on what is researched in this paper, namely the journalistic practice.

The results are concluded with a model which covers the entire discussion. The three major topics, that are the challenges, the keys to success and the future, are being presented as a linear process. The challenges fill in what should be done to survive them which flows into five formulated keys of success. These keys express the future function and practice of journalists.

The analysis of the fifty seven articles filled out in the two grids is enclosed in the appendix.

Challenges

Fragmenting public

The public is fragmenting. Meaning there is no stereotype user anymore, nor a well defined single public for a certain publication.

... the disappearing of the term mass. Under influence of the relief in the sixties and seventies we collectively got an aversion of the mass, that it has now been disbanded, maybe not for real but at least as far as the experience goes. The internet is the ultimate result of that. We might still act as a crowd, but do this on our own. There are barely any sites with a stereotypical user (Van Jole).

Blanken would refer to *hyper individualism*. Everyone acts on its own behind their own computer. It is everyone for them selves now. There is no such thing as a society grouping anymore. As a consequence information is increasingly getting specialized in order to please everyone in his well determined needs. Since there is more information available the demands of the public are higher as well:

As the internet is improving with all kinds of information providing, the need of consumers to get the news they are really interested in is growing likewise. According to me this is the most important trend at the moment (Molenaar).

The internet as an individualized mass medium is ideal to serve a small audience with specific needs. An unlimited amount of information can be published and the user chooses what he wants to read. Currently blogs are ahead of publishing focused information.

Blogs can bring expert analysis which most journalists simply do not have. [Blogging] shows what people are interested in (Linnebank).

Weblogs foresee in the need of specialized information that consumers want and in an online platform to express themselves and communicate with others. Weblogs bring all the news from the entire world about one topic together. Who wants to read about a certain topic will easily end up by reading it on a blog (Molenaar).

The popularization of specialized information makes it harder for newspapers to be sold, since they mostly cover more general news in order to reach a broader public. As Blanken points out:

They speculate on a mass market that doesn't want to be a mass market. It is as such: there is a mass, but no market (Blanken).

Every individual is interested in some particular topics. On the internet he grabs whatever suits his interest from different news sites. He isn't limited to one newspaper or to one news bulletin on the television. The overload of information made possible in the digital era created the fragmenting of the audience. Another consequence of this splintering is the minimal attention an audience has for news content. The more information available, the more the attention has to be scattered over different publications.

Young people are beyond individualism. They are nodes in a network, links that change per part of day of brand and opinion as easy as of a ring tone. The world news interests them, but they are averse from society groupings or parties. Their interests are fluent, the latest hype is never more far than one click away, and because they are open to all those impulses, they have a minimal attention for whatever they expose themselves to. They live it largely, for depth life is too short (Blanken).

As especially young people grow up with the internet, they are not used to be dependent of one news publication to get the news. They 'google' around to get it from several publications.

Public control

In the digital age the public has growingly gained more control over the past few years. They produce and decide for themselves what news content they want to see, when and how. The control over the information flow and who sees what no longer belongs to news organizations.

So this is a fascinating time to be running a media company. The model has changed in many exciting ways. Not only is the internet providing a low-cost, almost free publishing channel. But it is has transformed how information moves around the world - we no longer have a choke-hold on the flow of information, whether technological, professional or financial. We don't decide what people see and when they see it. They have demanded and created the Two-Way Pipe. [...] The world we live in today is one in which everyone is a consumer, everyone a distributor, everyone an aggregator, everyone a producer. We live in the era of the two-way pipe. News organizations must realize everyone is both a potential partner and competitor. A 19-year-old sitting in a dorm room cranking out gossip, a well-established journalist blogging for her news organization, or a respected academic all have equal right to have a voice. For too long the public has been a face without a voice, a simple and unheard recipient of media reports, television footage and news pictures. The internet has changed all that, giving access to all voices on all sides of any debate (Glocer).

Losing control over what, how and when the audience is exposed to, means working in a highly competitive and challenging environment. It isn't up to the news organization, but to the public.

Now everyone can be a reporter, commentator or a film director — the days of owning and controlling these processes are over (Linnebank).

Everyone has a voice and uses it. Information and conversations are exchanged all the time. This makes the audience more engaged than ever. People want to contribute, they want to be heard and they want control over their media experience.

The great thing is that the power of the web has delivered a truly engaged audience. They decide what they want to watch or read, arrange for it to be saved, and pull it up with their remote control devices at times of their own choosing. People are participating in the debate (Glocer).

To Van Heeswijk however, the public having control over their news exposure doesn't have a radical impact. He agrees that it is challenging to make a single publication profitable, but he notices that this doesn't change the work of a journalist.

But I don't see why it is revolutionary to look at news from several media instead of reading one newspaper. It is off course difficult to sell subscriptions and complicated for media organizations, but it doesn't mean the end of the core business of journalism. The facts still need to be delivered by journalists, RSS-feeds or not (Van Heeswijk).

The public having more control over what they are exposed to and producing their own content is challenging for the news industry. They can't get a hold of one public, since there is none anymore, which makes it harder to get some attention for your publication. On the other hand, they are engaged, meaning they are willing to contribute, at least to most of the authors. But to Van Heeswijk this doesn't the way journalists work.

Blogs: immediacy and specialized information

The audience having access to all kinds of information and tools to produce content makes them a potential partner, but at same time a potential competitor as Glocer says. People can contribute to cover a story and as such make it more elaborate, but they can also produce news content themselves, posting it on their blogs and as such being someone to compete with over a limited time and attention an audience has.

The growing popularity of non-journalistic weblogs is dangerous. A news consumer has a limited time to read and watch, and considering the decreasing circulation numbers of newspapers, this attention is decreasingly being filled with traditional journalism (Van Heeswijk).

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is up to the audience to what news content they want to be exposed. The fragmented public increasingly chooses to fill their need for specific topics with the content of blogs. Bloggers tend to write what they know most about; in depth information about narrow topics.

It is easy for bloggers to compete with journalists. Bloggers don't write for money. They do it out of love for their profession. A weblog is often a side product of other activities (Molenaar).

Poised between media, blogs can be as nuanced and well-sourced as traditional journalism, but they have the immediacy of talk radio (Sullivan).

Besides the advantage of being able to provide specialized information, instead of covering more general topics as journalists do for newspapers or news bulletins, bloggers can be even more immediate than journalists, as Sullivan notices. Since there are more bloggers than journalists, scattered over more places in the world with more cameras and notebooks, they can report immediately after happenings have occurred. Moreover, there is no need for publishers or editors.

The second thing blogs do is - to invoke Marx - seize the means of production. It's hard to underestimate what a huge deal this is. For as long as journalism has existed, writers of whatever kind have had one route to readers: They needed an editor and a publisher. Even in the most benign scenario, this process subtly distorts journalism. You find yourself almost unconsciously writing to please a handful of people - the editors looking for a certain kind of story, the publishers seeking to push a particular venture, or the advertisers who influence the editors and owners. Blogging simply bypasses this ancient ritual (Sullivan).

Sullivan mentions another surplus value of blogs, namely their personal touch making it trustworthy at the same time. There is no need to take the importance of editors into account. They write because they want to.

Blogs are personal. Almost all of them are imbued with the temper of their writer. This personal touch is much more in tune with our current sensibility than were the opinionated magazines and newspapers of old. Readers increasingly doubt the authority of The Washington Post or National Review, despite their grand-sounding titles and large staffs. They know that behind the curtain

are fallible writers and editors who are no more inherently trustworthy than a lone blogger who has earned a reader's respect (Sullivan).

Blogs offer specialized information, they are capable of immediate reporting and they are personal, having a more conversational approach to news. To authors such as Sullivan and Gillmor this is challenging for the news industry. It makes their work environment highly competitive. To others however, blogs shouldn't be considered as challenging to journalists since they don't produce journalistic content. Neither do they take the journalistic standards, such as fact checking, into consideration.

Texts and photos made by citizens are increasingly named as 'citizen journalism'. This is confusing. It is has nothing to do with journalism. There are more like anecdotes, stories, experiences or opinions. Nothing wrong with that, but that isn't journalism. A lot of 'citizen journalism' is the digital equivalent of a conversation at the village pump. Observations, opinions, gossips and facts move smoothly over into each other. Nice, simulative – yes. But truthfully? Fact checking? All equally sides portrayed? Maybe sometimes. A term as 'public conversation' covers the meaning of this genre which is now being portrayed as 'citizen journalism'. Name contribution to this journalistic only if they are journalism, regardless if the author is professional or not (Van Eijk).

Don't let us be distracted by so called citizen journalism of bloggers and their ideologies, who think they can be journalist by simple putting words understandably in order and post them to the world. Off course there are always people witnessing newsworthy happenings. If they take their laptops and make their report accessible, that's the better. [...] But the rising of bloggers in their current format is for the bigger part a hype (Hofland).

Both authors disagree on the threatening impact of blogs. They don't consider it as journalism. Journalism will still be a profession, not something which can be done by amateurs. Van Heeswijk and Dasselaar don't express themselves about the content of blogs, but also town down their impact because of the bloggers itself. Since they do it as a side activity, there is a lack of continuity. They don't have enough time to post regularly, as journalists do.

Off course it is technically possible that journalism is being overflowed by the knowledge of the people. In theory they are much more competent and knowledgeable than those 15000 journalists [in the Netherlands]. But if it is technically possible, it isn't yet the reality. Not only is the human being lazy [...], but society is also organized by task setting. [...] Continuity is always a

problem. The task is simply too heavy, and there is a constant shortage of money and time, and the individual is normally fed up with it after a few years (Van Heeswijk).

A free society is organized by as much voices as possible, which makes the possibility of not hearing some important voices more little. But the bigger part of the bloggers I interviewed just didn't felt like it. [...] The reason citizen journalism doesn't break through is the same for citizen medical science or citizen motor mechanic not being successfully: it just costs too much time (Dasselaar).

Regardless of bloggers being lazy or not posting journalistic content, since there are so many of them they affect the news industry. They are involved in the same ecosystem.

They have joined the journalism ecosystem. It's more symbiosis than rivalry. I disagree with Big Media partisans who feel blogs are irrelevant, and with blog promoters who see the demise of professional journalism (Gillmor).

As will be argued below, blogs made the loss of monopoly of journalists happen.

Loss of monopoly

Since internet has made its entrance, not only an overload of information is at everyone hands, but also the tools to produce and share information. This created an empowered and fragmented public and flows into the weakening of the functions of the journalist. Once journalists were the only ones to report news content, now they have to share this information providing function with thousands of bloggers. But also companies and politicians tend to report more and more without the intervention of journalists thanks to new digital tools.

Journalism never had an information monopoly, but now there isn't one at all. Jan Marijnissen communicates directly to his voters through his weblog, Greenpeace has an online news letter and Shell publishes their annual reports themselves on their sites. This doesn't mean that Jan Marijnissen or the web editor of Shell becomes a journalist, but it does mean that these sources directly report to their audience. Exactly this step of the communication- and informing branch makes the information landscape much more complex. Companies feel they can bond people to them by getting round the critical journalism (Van Heeswijk).

Additionally, information can be provided on several platforms. Information comes from more channels than solely the newspaper or the radio for instance. This again gives evidence for the shredded attention the audience scatters over several publications.

But if you're looking at it from a literal perspective of what I think newspapers currently represent, the print product is just one of the ways we reach an audience. It's one of the platforms we use to keep people informed (Curley).

Newspapers, magazines and the radio are having a hard time. As said: there role is increasingly being overtaken by the internet (Mirck).

Since the internet everything can be available to everyone, as Glocer points out:

The internet has in many ways democratized information – with 3G wireless, wifi and wimax on the way, information is available almost anywhere in the world. You can read, publish, and comment from your laptop, as well as distribute on a scale never before possible (Glocer).

This weakens the function of democracy of the journalist as well. A journalist doesn't provide as much information in order to give citizens the information they need in a society as he used to. Nowadays citizens grasp it for themselves as there are tons of information sources available to fulfill their needs. Moreover, they tell each other what they need to know.

Especially the exclusivity of journalists in the selection of what newsworthy is what is not, is being overtaken by consumers who determines that for themselves or hear from people in their network (Gillmor).

Journalism is a threatened profession in the digital I-era. In the world of new media it becomes superfluous; the citizen sends and receives their own news (Van Exter).

The journalist as a middle man isn't as dominant anymore. People make up their own mind about what they need and want to know and rely on other people's recommendations. Likewise, they make their own agenda by making a personal news selection. And there are now also the blogs who can tell people what to think about.

Weblogs bring up the conversation (Gillmor).

Blogs hand out topics to talk about. Since they operate on their own, they can be as specialized and personal as they want and as such they can bring news that goes right into people's heart. As it touches them, they will feel the need to talk about this.

On a local scale journalists can still be a watchdog, but on the bigger they will have to encounter all the eyes and ears of the public. According to Jay Rosen crowdsourcing, a combination of professional and amateur contributions to cover a story, can be a new approach to the watchdog function:

'An outstanding fact of the Net era is that costs for people to find each other, share information, and work together are falling rapidly. This should have consequences for reporting big, moving stories where the truth is distributed around. By pooling their intelligence and dividing up the work, a network of journalists and volunteer users should be able to find out things that the larger public needs to know.'

This means journalists have to share every function with bloggers. Or at least with everyone being able to produce news content. As such they provide information, can set an agenda and alert their audience. As far as the function of democracy goes, journalists loses their function to everyone making their own news selection and have to share it with everyone else being a middle man by telling other what they need to know.

Free information

Since there is more and more information available, the information loses its value and becomes free. It's hard to make money out of it and therefore there is a loss of high quality journalism.

There are millions of consumers on the internet, but they are too busy being a producer themselves. The revolution of the internet was to make everyone their own editor. Differently said: every demand is being overflowed by an offer. Opposite four users online is one supplier: there are 100 million websites for 400 million internet users. This turns things upside down. Information isn't what it was anymore. What was once scarce is now overloaded. The consequence: everything of any value becomes free (Blanken).

With information being free, people get used to that and don't want to pay for news anymore, as many of them used to for the newspaper.

Don't think for a minute that young people don't read. On the contrary, they do, many of them voraciously. But having grown up under the credo that information should be free, they see no reason to pay for news (Penenberg).

This makes it very hard for newspapers to survive. They lose a lot of subscribers to updated and specialized information which can be found on the internet for free. Having a decreasing amount of readers challenges their business model as Gillmor explains:

It's disruptive to business models, which is always terrifying to people in high-margin businesses. While the ability of anyone to be a journalist -- and attract an audience -- is noteworthy in itself, the serious threat is a financial one. And not because of digital copying or other such stuff. It's the erosion of the advertising model that has supported journalism for so long (Gillmor).

With a decreasing reach it is harder to attract advertisers. And there are more consequences to it:

I know of no newspaper companies that are doing this consciously, but the behavior of most points in this direction: smaller newshole, lighter staffing, and reduced community service, leading, of course, to fading readership, declining circulation, and lost advertising (Meyer).

Because the newspaper isn't as profitable anymore they have to cut costs internally which ends up in a loss of high quality journalism.

Keys to success

According to the authors five factors determine the future of the news industry, namely: involve the public, transparency, providing specialized information, integrate multimedia features to present stories and immediate reporting. Some news organizations do already apply all of these or some factors to some extent. The point however, is that enforcing those factors outline if a news organization will survive the above challenges.

Involve the public

The public is more powerful than ever and therefore challenging to the news industry. Journalists can't control, neither compete with them. Instead of trying to beat them, journalists should join them. They have to get to know them, their needs and wants, and open themselves to them by being transparent about what, why and how they operate. Journalists need to make the relationship personal, embrace the citizen, because they know more than the journalist do and can therefore be a potential partner in making the story more complete.

In order to tighten the relationship with the users the news industry must make it easy for them to participate. They have to be open and invite them:

We need to be 'provider of tools'. This means promoting open standards and interoperability, which will allow a diverse set of consumer-creators to combine disparate types of content (Glocer).

The news industry should encounter the public in the production process since public contributions will enhance it. It will make better stories and make the coverage more complete because more knowledge is involved.

Embrace the citizen journalist. Journalists are more general, while readers are specialist on all kind of topics. You better use them. Look for the atom scientists, preachers, education scholars, chefs, econometrists, conductors in your own network and embrace them firmly; these are your best sources (Van Exter).

News providers will always need to perform the traditional job of letting people know what is happening, but they have the opportunity to do more. It ought to be possible to integrate professional journalism with the insights of amateur contributors in a valuable way for our audiences, as we at Reuters have begun to do. The future will be about mixing and matching the

voices that deliver the most value - be they professional or 'amateur'. [...] 'In the news industry, professional and "amateur" content combined created a better product.[...] There is no doubt that our business will be stronger if we employ a more collective and open-minded approach to content' (Glocer).

By involving the public, both parties are better off. The public has the control he wants and the news publication is able to offer a coverage with specialist insights. Moreover, by working together, the news organization bonds the public to them, which is crucial as it is getting harder because of the fragmenting of the public. News organizations need to answer the demands of the public.

I think our industry's opportunity right now is to show our audience that we really want to engage in a dialogue with them and we want to work with them when big events affect our community to help keep our community informed. We also want them to turn to us in any format they want. If they want us on an iPod, we need to be there. If they want us to send live scores from their favorite team's games, we need to do that. If we can figure out how to beam content directly to our readers' brains, we should do it (Curley).

Besides involving them, the news industry must engage in a dialogue with their public. A dialogue is more enriching than a lecture. Both parties must be equal, no wall between them, act as colleagues contributing to a better product.

The reader wants to hear a story that hits him, that makes complicated issues clear and concrete. Journalists must get closer to their reader, yes, involve in a dialogue. Not only because the reader mostly knows much more about a specific topic than you, but also to weld a relation with you reader (Mirck).

According to Mirck blogs are the ideal platform to have a dialogue. Therefore he suggests that all journalists should start blogging.

Developing an opinion means discussion, and a discussion means interaction. With the news consumer off course. Where can this better and faster be done than on a blog. [...] As long as journalists think from traditional media roles, fanatic bloggers are able to develop themselves exclusively on the fields of blogs and by doing so catching up on us. The only remedy is: join them. Go blogging. Use your own expertise as far as writing, topics and actuality goes to win. The ones who play their game will get respect for it (Mirck).

To involve in a dialogue, the news industry not only has to be open to the public, but also has to open itself. They need to let the public know who they are. This will be more inviting for them to get involved.

Be someone. A recognizable identity is for every medium a huge advantage. Off course some people will get excluded, but with the rest you can really do something. Moreover, the time of mass media is over. Fall in love. It's all about your audience. Get to know them, as you can better bond them to you. It doesn't matter if they have a subscription, buy a loose edition from time to time or only look for free on your website: they are all worth your love (Van Exter).

It all comes down to good stories and a complete coverage, give the public as much information as they want, have them participated in the process by sharing information and control and involve in a dialogue by also showing your own identity. Some however, as Van Jole, don't believe in the participation of the public. To them the public is too lazy to contribute and therefore don't believe in the strength of mixing their insights with the professional ones.

The cause is simple: laziness, or better inertia. Most of the people don't contribute. They don't respond little, they never respond. Even worse: most of the people don't even clique (Van Jole).

Transparency

Trustworthy and accurate stories will rule in the future. In a jungle of information it is increasingly crucial for the public to know who to trust. Trustworthiness will bond them to a publication. Reliable journalists will be needed more than ever.

Trust is an essential ingredient in our success in the digital age. We will always need a place for news organizations whose watchword is trust. Your independence will mark you out (Linnebank).

[...] we mustn't forget the value of trust. We mustn't forget that our actions and ideas must remain guided by impartial accurate information. The real opportunity – besides more voices – is that in a world of multiple choices, brands become billboards guaranteeing an experience. If your brand stands for accuracy, for truthfulness, for trust, you become a beacon – a trusted source – a hub in a plural media universe. Trust is what draws our audiences to our brand. Trust and professionalism is what makes our product cut through the clutter. Today - trust is more important than ever (Glocer).

Trust can be gained by being transparent about sources and how a journalist did his work. A journalist must be open about how he found out things and admit when he doesn't know something and when mistakes have been made.

Be vulnerable. It is still difficult for journalism to be transparent, admit mistakes and make up for them. But on the internet media critic is growing. Journalistic failure is faster known. Be prepared for that (Van Exter).

Being trustworthy is related to being independent. The journalistic value autonomy will be of increasing importance. Practice free from bias or other meanings. Report truthfully and accurately.

For a shrinking audience they do the best they can. The paper version of the newspaper had its best time. But independent journalism is more needed than ever. Internet can make this possible (Hofland).

On the internet it is possible to link to the sources that have been used. As such the public can check how the article has been established. This will enhance the trustworthiness of the publication in the eyes of the public. Moreover, it offers the public control. Trust, accuracy and truthfulness will make the difference. In order to bond a public, the news organization will have to earn credibility and respect.

Specialized information

Each individual of the fragmented public is interested in very particular topics. They look on the internet to find the information they want to have.

There is a growing need for personal news, also small-scale, if you want to name that news. It is for sure coming from curiosity (Molenaar).

A growing number of young people are interested in news and other information, but turn increasingly to their favorite websites and weblogs for that where they discuss about their favorite topics. They read about Bush, Iraq and the economy in weblogs. The 'real' news sites are left behind (Groenhuijsen).

Since there is a growing need for specialized information, journalists should respond to this by doing what they always did, but then even better. They have to provide high quality specialized information that isn't covered by any other media yet.

Try to find that little whole in the market where everyone will go to (Gillmor).

A blogging journalist has to mark himself by an extreme specialization or play the role of a guide and offer every day an overview of the most important and interesting weblog postings (Molenaar).

Specialized information is the way to reach the fragmented public. News organizations should seek for a niche, one-issue clans. It already shows success:

What remains isn't less successful: the niches. On extremely specific markets the new editors are increasingly gaining profit. Branches, amateurs, consumers and citizens with specific questions know how to find those specialized sites. [...] Internet makes it possible to cost effectively serve a small and very particular market and offers chances for journalism (Van Heeswijk).

Internet is indeed ideal to please the fragmented public with all kinds of information, since an unlimited amount of information can be published and people tend to turn to free and updatable information. The key is to find a topic where people might be interested in and which isn't covered anywhere else yet.

Multimedia

Since journalists have tools at hand which enables them to integrate image and sound into their stories, they shouldn't tell their story solely by text anymore. Stevens illustrates what is all possible with multimedia:

Multimedia storytelling uses some combination of text, still photos, animated, graphics, video and audio, presented in a nonlinear format in which all of the information in the elements are non-redundant - a very different form of storytelling. It's a two-way communications system: people can search for information. They send their own text, photos, graphics, video clips and audio to comment on stories or provide additional information (Stevens).

Multimedia features make it possible for the public to interact with the content. They can contribute by adding their own content and they can look for more information. But even within the site the amount of information can increase as other happenings occur. Information can be added, edited, updated and corrected.

Two of multimedia's most important characteristics are context and continuity, characteristics that television and print don't have to multimedia's degree. For example, many news organizations

created specific sites for the continuing developments after the September 11 terrorist attack. These sites contain the stories of the day. Wrapped around them, in a "shell", are archived stories, including slide shows and/or video of the events of Sept. 11; information about Afghanistan, Pakistan, the history of terrorism, etc.; and other resources in the forms of links. Print and television simply can't provide that much information around each story (Stevens).

It is a more human side to news coverage. Facts are put in their context, which makes it understandable for the public. By updating the news it is as if the journalists are pursuing their dialogue with the public. The journalists explain what happens and the public can interact with what is exposed by watching videos or listening to an interview. In order to adjust to these new features, journalists need to be trained to know what is possible and what a story needs.

To create an environment that embraces convergence and multimedia storytelling, editors and news executives will have to lead their newsrooms through those changes. This means incorporating some new elements into the newsroom culture: formal training, informal training, and more teamwork (Stevens).

As Stevens already mentions, training is needed for the entire newsroom, including the editors. There should be a new media editor, someone who is specialized in multimedia storytelling.

There needs to be a real new-media editor. Not someone who just makes sure that things get posted to the site. Someone who knows when stories need to be posted early, when stories need some sort of multimedia, when stories need a live chat with a key source, when a story would be better by scanning in some supporting documents, when a database would be hugely important in helping to tell a story, etc. Not to mention all of the other things that go along with being a real new-media editor, such as alternate delivery, the technologies used, etc. (Curley).

Besides involving image and sound in a story, journalists should be able to produce for multiple platforms. They must be able to write an article for the newspaper, to shoot a video for a television broadcast and to make an entire coverage for the internet. By incorporating all those skills journalists must let go of the medium.

Newspapers are going to survive. Will we be doing things the way we've always done them? Absolutely not. In the United States, there are two types of newspaper publishers — those who think the most important part of the word newspaper is "news" and those who think the most important part of that word is "paper." If you work for a publisher or a company that thinks

"paper" is the most important part of that word, then my suggestion would be to get your resume ready (Curley).

Journalists must adjust their mindset to multimedia storytelling. It is about the content, not about the medium. If journalistic publications don't integrate multimedia features to make it more interactive and appealing, the audience will look somewhere else for his information.

A non-reading generation combined with the trend that information gets free means the last phase of life for newspaper editors as we know them now. They have to reinvent themselves, be multimedia, because with only news no money can be made (Blanken).

Only text is too boring for the audience. There is nothing to control or to interact with. It is just there. Multimedia is entertaining and will keep the audience attention.

Immediacy

Besides the focus on trustworthiness and autonomy, there is a growing one on immediacy as well, thanks to the internet. Internet is fastening the process of publication and information can be updated at any time of the day. People are getting used to this and thus want instant reporting. This makes it hard for newspapers.

I used to work at a newspaper where if something big happened in Israel at 7:30 in the morning our time, the managing editor at that newspaper would still insist that we lead with that story in the next day's newspaper because that is what this newspaper had been doing for decades. So, when our readers woke up the next morning, our newspaper's lead story was at least 24 hours old. With the Internet and 24-hour news channels and a million other ways to keep informed, newspapers can't keep pretending we're the only game in town.

Yet that's what a ton of editors in the United States still do every dang day. Should we have that Israel story in our newspaper? Absolutely. Should we pretend that the only way that people get the news is through us? Not if we want to send our kids to college.

The newspapers that pretend they are still they only way people learn anything are going to fail. As my friend Bob Cauthorn says, "Having a seat at the table is more interesting than sitting at the head of the table." And if we just embrace that idea, our industry will be fine. If we keep pretending that nothing has happened until we print it, then the newspaper industry is going to be in a lot of trouble (Curley).

Newspapers will have to adjust to survive this trend by making more use of their websites and by making use of the bloggers. As there are more bloggers than journalists, they are scattered over more places where the action happens, meaning they can report instantly. As for journalists, they first have to inform about what happened which takes inevitably more time. Since the public wants to be involved in the process and immediacy is required, a combination of both could be the solution, mixing the public's immediacy with the professional's journalistic standards.

We have to train our readers that they should want to turn to us several times a day, and absolutely turn to us when they know something big has just happened. Regardless of what some traditional print reporters think, you can't scoop yourself by posting something early on your own newspaper's Web site. Get over it. That sort of thinking will kill us in this new era (Curley).

Even without the intervention of the public, a journalist must report as soon as he figured out something by posting it on the news site and offer more elaborate background information in the next days paper. There shouldn't be any time between researching and publishing.

Future role of journalists

A consensus about the future role of journalists is hard to find. So far they all agree on the challenges the industry is facing and what should be done about it to survive those. The only thing they disagree on is the willingness of the public to contribute to the journalistic practice.

As for the role, two roles are noticed: guide and provider of specialized information. These roles don't exclude each other. They can be practiced both in different situations.

Guide, filter and signifier of trust

In an information overloaded society, the audience is having a hard time to find what they are looking for and to know what is trustworthy and what is not. Therefore a journalist will be guide. They will guide the audience through the jungle of information and filter relevant from irrelevant information.

Professional journalism will take advantage of the rise of expertise on particular topics. The role of the journalist will therefore surely change slowly. H/she will be more someone to resume, indicate the direction, a spider in the increasingly complex web that is called the information loaded society. Journalism changes, but I am definite that journalists – if independent – don't have to worry about the future of their profession. The journalist will be more indispensable than ever (Van Heeswijk).

Blanken don't agree with this. He says the audience doesn't need journalists to guide them, they can do it for themselves. They tell each other what they need to know and make use of search engines.

The reader will not need someone to indicate the direction or an information estate agent as Van Heeswijk claims. The reader doesn't drown in the information overloaded society – if we would want them to. The reader is better off with the help of other readers and not to forget Google-alike software. The only remedy is to tell better stories and seek for the truth no blogger can find (Blanken).

Regardless of a journalist being a guide or not, if he tells a story he will still need to tell it trustworthy and truthfully. As mentioned earlier, trustworthiness will make the difference, meaning a journalist can fulfill the role of a signifier of trust; tell people that his publications are trustworthy.

[...]more than ever the world needs a media company free from bias, independent, telling it as it really is, without the filter of national or political interest. [...]But I strongly believe that in the mixing of different voices we will always need a place for the news organization whose

watchword is trust. Trust will be the difference in the new media dynamic. Your independence and impartiality will mark you out. Telling the story truthfully is more important than ever. Reporting it without spin and without editorializing is critical if history is to accurately record events (Glocer).

Linnebank points toward the future role of editors/journalists as someone who initiates and leads a discussion and as such completing the role of a middle man. He also mentions the significant notion of trust:

To remain relevant, the role of editors has to change from someone who uses a megaphone to someone that brings people to the table. Editors and news organizations needs to be brands that signify trust (Linnebank).

A journalist as an intermediate can function as a guide by leading the audience through the audience the jungle of information. Tell them where they can find relevant information they are looking for. He can also tell them what is trustworthy and what is not by reflecting their own publications as an evidence for trustworthiness. At last, he can initiate a discussion.

Provider of the best specialized information

As said before specialized information is crucial. Therefore journalists should provide it. They need to know who their audience is, what they want and then present it to them. Since there are more people producing content about a wide range in interests, journalists need to write even better stories in order to have an audience.

Media companies need to be "seeders of clouds". To have access to high-value new content, we need to attract a community around us. To achieve that we have to produce high-quality content ourselves, then display it and let people interact with it. If you attract an audience to your content and build a brand, people will want to join your community. After all, just because everyone now has the ability to publish their own work does not make them the next Salam Pax, the pseudonymous blogger at the time of the invasion of Iraq. It is our job as media companies to find that new content gold in the pan of dust and dirt and give it a mass audience (Glocer).

Journalists will have to look more and more for specialization and originality. [...] I think that as a profession in which every party is equally portrayed everything should be done to keep your audience fascinated. Indefatigable fight for the best story, because that is to what it will come

down to in the future. That is not the umpteenth edition of that one press copy, but a real addition to the landscape (Molenaar).

Between all the information available to the public, journalists will have to outshine with their writing and reporting skills to attract an audience. Regardless of the challenges, the traditional journalistic skills remain important: a journalist still have to know how to write, how to tell a story, how to interview and to research.

Traditional journalism skills will never go out of vogue. I don't care what the latest gizmo is, the foundation that everything will be built upon are those core journalism skills (Curley).

Multimedia mindset

Having a multimedia mindset isn't a role, it isn't something a journalist will do, but is something a journalist will have to own in order to do what he is supposed to do to survive the challenges. Multimedia is related to a new way of storytelling and since high quality and trustworthiness is expected, a journalist will have to know what the best way is to present their story.

When you combine strong traditional journalism skills with a great mindset, you've got a journalist who's going to be fine regardless of what new things or technologies come our way (Curley).

Journalists have to open to new technology, be eager to learn the new possibilities they have to offer, and be open to the public. Specialized and truthful stories presented with multimedia features and combined with amateur inputs, or at least having the public involved somehow, will rule in the future. It's about the content, not the medium anymore.

For me, for journalism in 2007, mindset means a reporter who is more concerned about the journalism and not the medium that it will appear in (Curley).

Including multimedia features has the chances to attract an audience and as important, advertisers to support the publication financially.

As a producer you will have to do more than only give a piece of text, video or a photo, but really make something interactive that enhances the involvement with the public. There come much more opportunities for advertisers into being. Then it isn't only about the quantity of the public, but more about the time they spend. That will be more important: how much attention can you draw? (Molenaar).

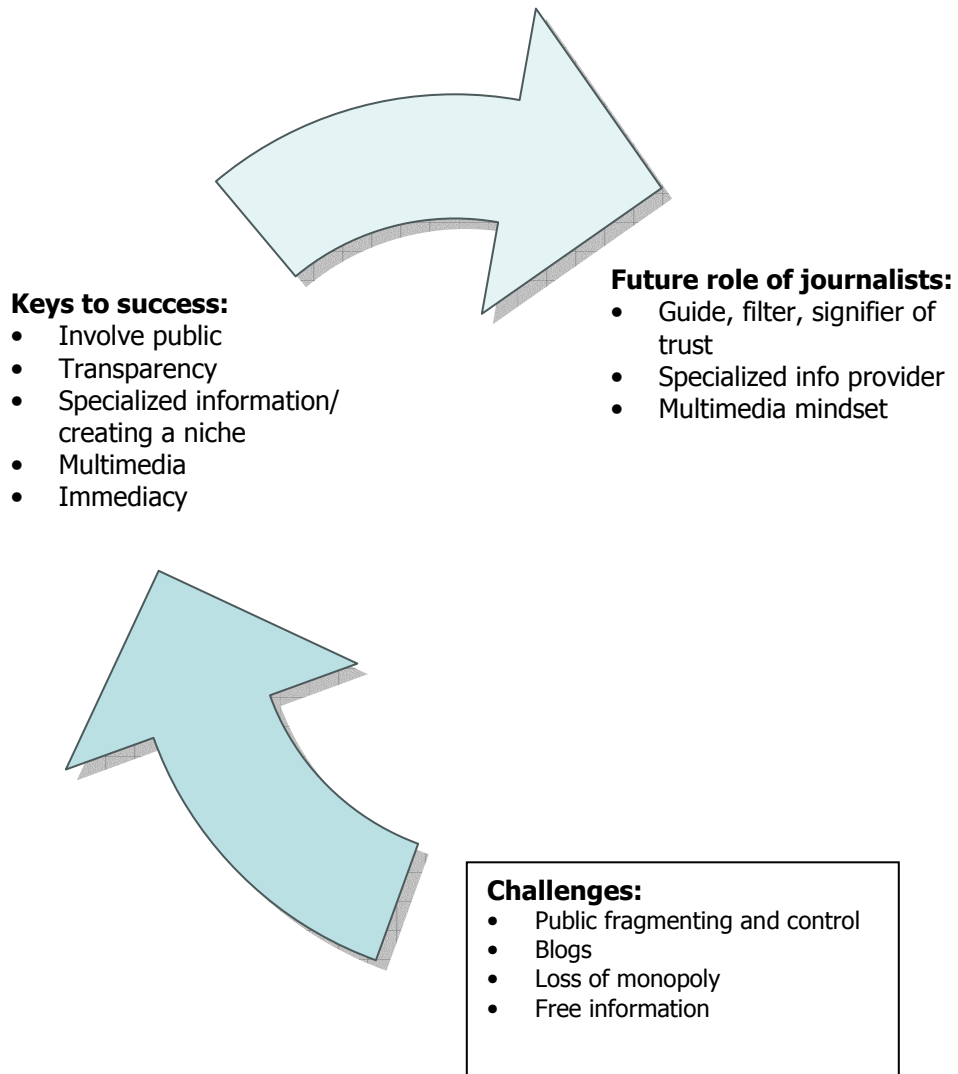
Multimedia is crucial to gain some public attention. Therefore a journalist has to know about those features, what a successful combination might be, to present his story. Additionally because internet is such a dominating feature. The future of journalism is on the internet.

Over the next 20 years, if economic conditions don't worsen and technological developments continue apace, the content of the newspaper and the television news shows are likely to be delivered principally over the Internet. Stories will include breaking news, daily stories, features, and in-depth reporting. Breaking news, daily stories and some features will be delivered as short video spots, and combinations of text (Stevens).

But as long as journalistic publications appear on several media, journalist must be able to produce for multiple platforms. It is all about the content: delivering the best trustworthy stories along with multimedia features making it possible for the public to interact with it.

Model

Below a model is designed that covers all the topics of the previous discussion. The challenges the news industry is facing which calls for certain keys to success fulfilling a new role for journalists.



Chapter four: Discussion

In this chapter the shortcomings and the strengths of this research and recommendations for further research are discussed.

Shortcomings

Fifty seven articles by or about the thoughts of twenty five journalists from two different countries were analyzed. Based on these results conclusions are formulated. Considering the thousands of journalists or academics related to the journalistic practice in all kinds of media all over the world, twenty five authors is a very limited amount. The same is true for the fifty seven articles. This is fraction out of the hundreds of pieces available. As a consequence a lot of opinions haven't been included. There is probably much more to say about the future role of journalists. As such the content of this research can't be considered as general.

This research is a qualitative one. Fifty seven articles have been analyzed and classified within two grids. Those, the guidelines for the classifications and the analysis I designed on the basis of literature available at the time of writing. Including a second or even a third analyzer would have turned into a more accurate and reliable research, since individual perceptions differ. In short: the more interpretations, the more valid the analysis would be.

Only what experts have to say about the future of journalism has been analyzed. Although this encounters a variety of perspectives and ideas, these are solely of one group, namely of the ones actively involved in the profession of journalism. As such the results are one sided. The public, public relations from organizations and the government for example would probably have other comments on what they think about the current practice of journalists, what they use journalistic productions for, if they trust it or if they need it. Those comments would enlarge the discussion, as well as the conclusion about the future role of journalists.

Strengths

As every research does, whatever its sample size, the results contributes to the public debate about that specific topic. New findings are included to the discussion. This research expands the quality of the discussion about the future of journalism. The context has been created to enlarge it with more articles with the recommendations noted below.

The insights added to the discussion are sometimes contradictory. For example arguing that journalists should act as a filter on relevancy, but on the other hand saying that the public makes up their own mind

about what news is to them and as such don't need someone to tell them what is relevant and what is not. These contradictions are brought together in this research and likewise show that the issue about the future of journalism is a very complex one. It is not either this or that, nor is there one solution to the challenges. Every nod is linked together, meaning whenever a journalist says something about the role, function or challenge the profession is facing doesn't stand on its own.

The main conclusion by the analyzed journalists is that journalists should do what they always did, but then even better. They don't come up with any changes which might create a new way of practicing journalism, because anything which is done that isn't based on the journalistic values wouldn't be considered as journalism. It isn't surprising that journalists say so. They want to keep doing what they always did. But that is not what the public wants. The public wants more. The public wants to be heavily involved and continuously being challenged by new interactive features. Noticing that journalists think otherwise, not responding to the new needs and demands of the public by sticking to their old pattern of work, is one of the strengths of this research.

Recommendations for further research

Since the public is one of the most challenging elements to the news industry, more research should be done about their needs and wants. Some authors of this research argued that the public is lazy and that they are not as productive as many may think. The truth to this must be found. Research should also find out what a successful balance is between public contribution and professional journalism. Which strategy is the most successful? This can be done by analyzing new ways of practicing journalism, such as Assignment Zero of Jay Rosen. Analyzing what is profitable and as such formulating an advice for future journalism.

In order to obtain reliable and valid results free from bias, I would recommend taking a bigger sample size into consideration. The opinion of all kinds of journalists, working for different media in different countries, well-known or not, will prevent the sample from being skewed and will produce representative results for the entire discussion. Besides journalists, other perspectives should be taking into account to prevent the discussion from being one-sided. At last, more analyzers must contribute to the research to make the classification of data less subjective.

Chapter five: Conclusion

The journalistic values remain the same with greater emphasis on autonomy and immediacy. Journalists will still tell their stories aimed at a certain public by being objective and report truthfully. But they will have to report more immediate in order to prevent consumers from reading it on blogs. Independency, being impartial, is also of growing importance since the explosion of bloggers posting messages with a particular angle and meaning.

The public however, is a problematic aspect of the journalistic values. There is no such thing as one audience anymore. The public is fragmenting. They are individuals who are all interested in different subjects. Blogs are more appropriate to fulfill these needs than a newspaper or news bulletin that tends to serve a larger public. Furthermore, the public wants to be involved in the production process and produces themselves (news) content by blogging. They are threatening to journalists in terms of the limited time and attention an audience has to spend.

Moreover, journalists aren't in control anymore. The journalistic functions are less dominant and mainly overtaken by the public. The public decides to what content they want to be exposed and how, without any necessary intervention of journalists. Journalists provide information, but along millions of bloggers and companies avoiding their intervention. Since loads of information is available to anyone through the internet, it is now up to the public to choose what they need in order to act as a self-governing citizen in a democracy. They are able to make balanced reports for themselves. As such the function of reporting for them because they need it, isn't there anymore. Journalists still write for a public but they don't know who they are, if they read it and if so, what they do with the information. Absorb it as knowledge or ignore it? As making up their minds to what content they want to be exposed and to what not, the public makes their own agenda. In an information overloaded society, journalists are having a much harder time to imply their agenda. Consumers tell each other what they need to know and rely on these recommendations. They alert themselves and as such overtaking, or at least contributing, the journalist's function as a watchdog.

Therefore it is questionable why the public still needs journalists? Why would the public turn their attention to journalistic productions if there is enough other information available? And why trust a journalist if there are other far more specialized people writing about their specialization? At last, why stick to neutral journalists if you're looking to challenge your opinion? Information is abundant and to interact with it or its authors as well. As there is enough information, journalists would practically not be

needed anymore. People can perfectly function without. So why might people still want to read, hear or watch journalistic productions? What is their function?

As the results show journalists are still there to translate. They clarify complicated issues for the public. Out of tons of information they filter what is most important and present this on a accessible manner. Besides that they offer background information and make analyzes. Journalists add a context to a single issue whereby the public can get the whole picture. This is their job which is being challenged because people can do this for themselves now.

So why not change the journalistic values or add new values? Why stick to what journalists always did, namely telling stories objectively? Why not add something or radically change to offer an added value, something which is not already been done by others but which might be wanted and as such reach a larger public. Why would a journalist stick to objective reporting? It is how it was pictured at first, but infiltrating an opinion might be appreciated.

Besides the empowered public, there is the technological change to take into account. New media features make it possible for the public to interact with the content, to customize content, to add or link to content and image and sound can be integrated. This dramatically changes the way of storytelling and requires training for journalists. Additionally, it changes the demands of the public.

Those digital features are the source the fragmenting and empowered public, but are also the solution to meet their demands and experience with new ways of practicing journalism. First, interactivity makes it possible to involve the public in the production process. Secondly, a fragmenting public can be satisfied by customizing news sites to their needs and wants. Thirdly, in an information jungle, the public needs someone to trust. Rely on what they are exposed to can be achieved by being transparent about how the work has been done. Hyperlinking to the information on what the story is based can be a way-out. At last, since there is so much diversity in information, attention is hard to gain and to hold. Therefore image and sound should be integrated in a story to tell it more livelily.

As such a few determining elements for future journalism have been discussed, namely: the importance of trustworthy stories in an information overloaded society, the need of the fragmenting public for specialized information and the public wanting to be integrated in the production process. The amount of the future intervention of a journalist as a filter or guide is still debated. Yet, it is clear that what distinct journalists from other professions will be more important than ever and that is telling stories. The criteria though will be high quality. Mediocre stories with a certain angle are left over to bloggers. Independency will mark journalists out and is what a public will come back for. It comes down to truthful, accurate and

specialized storytelling, which has not been covered by any other media thus far, and involving the public in order to bond them to your publication and because they can be useful to tell the story more completely and immediately.

In short, since the public has the power and the tools to do it mainly for themselves without needing the intervention of journalists. This is why the journalistic values objectivity and autonomy become more important in order to get the public's attention. Those values are what will make the difference between professional journalists and bloggers. Journalists operate according to those standards which can be used by the public as a 'certificate' for journalistic productions. In an information overloaded society high quality storytelling dictated by independency and objectivity is the key to draw the public's attention. Once a journalist has the public's attention, he can fulfill his functions as a journalist and thus make the intervention of journalists happen. The contradictions in the results between the fragmented empowered public and the need for objectivity and independency are broken down by telling trustworthy stories.

On the other hand, newspapers, for as long as they are still there, and news bulletins will still be filled with more or less general news. And as the results suggest, specialized news is increasingly demanded by the fragmented public. Moreover, the journalists lack on the value of immediacy. Consequently, it is the battle for the public's attention between the specialization and immediacy of bloggers versus the objectivity and autonomy of journalists.

The advantage of journalists is that they can encounter the public for their specialization and immediacy. Moreover, the public can rely on the continuity of their publications. Then again, nothing keeps bloggers from working along journalistic standards and there are enough bloggers to keep up with the continuity on a specific topic. This makes it highly competitive and therefore should journalists fight it with what they are best in, namely storytelling.

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Appendix

List of analysed articles

By or about the thoughts of the American journalists:

Chris Anderson is the editor in chief of Wired Magazine., which has won a National Magazine Award. He is the writer of the Long Tail, a book about the fragmentation of society.

1. Anderson, Ch. (2006). *What would radical transparency mean for Wired? (part I)* The Long Tail. URL: http://www.longtail.com/the_long_tail/2006/12/what_would_radi.html
2. Anderson, Ch. (2006). *What would radical transparency mean for Wired? (part II)* The Long Tail. URL: http://www.longtail.com/the_long_tail/2006/12/what_would_radi_1.html

Rob Curley analyses the evolution of traditional media and is a fan of local news. He was the leader of the Lawrence Journal-World online and is the Vice President of Product Development of the Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive at the moment.

3. Bryan. (2007). ICM Interview: Rob Curley. Innovation in College Media. URL: <http://www.collegemediainnovation.org/blog/2007/03/02/icm-interview-rob-curley/>
4. Curley, R. (2007). *What is the role of an online managing editor?* Rob Curley. URL: <http://robcurley.com/2007/03/09/what-is-the-role-of-an-online-managing-editor/>
5. Curley, R. (2007). Interview with an Italian newspaper. Rob Curley. URL: <http://robcurley.com/2007/01/18/interview-with-italian-newspaper/>
6. Curley, R. (2007). *What sort of things should an aspiring journalist be thinking about?* Rob Curley. URL: <http://robcurley.com/2007/01/14/what-sort-of-things-should-an-aspiring-journalist-be-thinking-about/>
7. Beckham, J. (2006). *Catching up with Rob Curley.* Jeff Beckham. URL: <http://www.jeffbeckham.com/2006/05/16/catching-up-with-rob-curley/>

Tom Glocer is the CEO of Reuters Group PLC.

8. Glocer, T. (2006). *Trust in the age of citizen journalism.* Tom Glocer's blog. URL: http://tomglocer.com/blogs/sample_weblog/archive/2006/12/12/142.aspx
9. Glocer, T. (2006). *Old media must embrace the amateur.* Financial Times. URL: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/e2bba176-ae0a-11da-8ffb-0000779e2340, i_rssPage=6e6e833c-cbff-11d7-81c6-0820abe49a01,Authorised=false.html? i_location=http%3A%2F%2Fnews.ft.com%2Fcms%2Fs%2Fe2bba

[176-ae0a-11da-8ffb-0000779e2340%2C i rssPage%3D6e6e833c-cbff-11d7-81c6-0820abe49a01.html& i referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.nl%2Fsearch%3Fsourceid%3Dnavclient](http://176-ae0a-11da-8ffb-0000779e2340%2C%20i%20rssPage%3D6e6e833c-cbff-11d7-81c6-0820abe49a01.html&i%20referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.nl%2Fsearch%3Fsourceid%3Dnavclient)

Dan Gillmor is the author of 'We the media', a book about the effects of citizen journalism, and works on a project called 'Center for citizen media'. Before that he was mainly a journalist, also writing columns.

10. Doppert, M. (2006). *Cross Media Week: PIC NIC 2006*. Doppert. URL: <http://www.doppert.nl/logboek9.htm>

11. Jardin, X. (2004). *We're all journalists*. Wired News. URL: <http://www.wired.com/culture/lifestyle/news/2004/08/64534>

12. Planet. (2006). *Gillmor: we still miss the reputation*. Planet. URL: <http://www.planet.nl/planet/show/id=118880/contentid=761663/sc=846791>

13. Tomlin, J. (2006). *Citizen Gillmor*. Press Gazette. URL: http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/?t=article&l=citizen_gillmor

Sandeep Junnarkar is an associate professor at the Graduate School of Journalism at the City University of New York. He won multiple journalism awards. He has worked for the New York Times.

14. Holliday, G. (2006). Journalism.co.uk blogging mini-series: the journalist's weblog. Online journalism news. URL: <http://www.journalism.co.uk/features/story1915.shtml>

Geert Linnebank was the editor in chief of Reuters and is now the senior advisor to the chief executive.

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16. Linnebank, G. (2000). Localisation is key on the net. Businessworld. URL: <http://www.jobsahead.com/services/jobworld/mag/0911/3/index.htm>

Philip Meyer is a professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina. He has been a reporter for the Knight Ridder Newspaper. He is the author of Precision Journalism. And the Philip Meyer Award is in honour of him.

17. Meyer, Ph. (2004). Saving journalism; how to nurse the good stuff until it pays. Columbia Journalism Review. URL: <http://www.cjr.org/issues/2004/6/ideas-essay-meyer.asp>

Nora Paul is related to the Institute of New Media Studies at the University of Minnesota. She recently launched an Online Journalism Review column examining the latest research how readers use news websites.

18. Paul, N. (2005). *'New News' retrospective; Is online news reaching its potential?* Online Journalism Review. URL: <http://www.ojr.org/ojr/stories/050324paul/>

19. Wilde, M. (2005). Nora Paul defines interactive multimedia. School of Journalism, University of Texas. URL: <http://journalism.utexas.edu/onlinejournalism/detail.php?story=165&year=2005>

Adam L. Penenberg is an investigative journalist. He has written for publications such as Forbes and The New York Times. He is a journalism professor at the New York University.

20. Penenberg, A.L. (2004). *Newspapers should really worry*. Wired News. URL: <http://www.wired.com/culture/lifestyle/news/2004/11/65813>

21. Penenberg, A.L. (2005). *The old new journalism*. Wired News. URL: <http://www.wired.com/culture/lifestyle/news/2005/04/67366>

Jay Rosen is a media critic, a writer and a professor of journalism at the New York University.

22. Bulldog Reporter's Daily Dog. (2007). *Collaborative Experiment Based on Wiki Method Aims to Enable Consumers to Contribute Directly to News Stories*. Bulldog Reporter's Daily Dog.

23. Editor and Publisher. (2007). Rosen's NewAssignment.net Launches First Citizen Journalism Project. Editor and Publisher.

24. Rosen, J. (2007). *Letter to all participants*. New Assignment. URL: <http://zero.newassignment.net/why>

25. Rosen, J. (2007) *Citizen journalism wants you!* Wired News. URL: <http://www.wired.com/techbiz/media/news/2007/03/72970>

26. Wired Staff. (2007). *Wired meets Assignment Zero*. Wired News. URL: <http://www.wired.com/software/webservices/news/2007/03/72974>

Jane Stevens is a freelance backpack/multimedia journalist using only a camera and a notebook. She also teaches multi-media journalism at the University of California.

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Andrew Sullivan is the former editor of The New Republic. Now he is a political commentator and has a blog about journalism. He once was a blogger for Time Magazine.

29. Sullivan, A. (2002). *The blogging revolution*. Wired News. URL: <http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/10.05/mustread.html?pg=2>

By or about the thoughts of Dutch journalists:

Henk Blanken is the editor in chief of Dagblad van het Noorden, a local Dutch newspaper. He recently wrote a book about the competition between the old and new media, together with Mark Deuze.

30. Pasterkamp, R. (2007). *The question is which newspapers disappears as first*. Reformatorisch Dagblad.

31. Blanken, H. (2006). We are afraid for the bloggers. Henk Blanken. URL: <http://www.henkblanken.nl/?p=206>

32. Blanken, H. (2001). *The Yahoo-generation and the end of newspapers*. Volkskrant.

Arjan Dasselaar is a freelance journalist. Since 2001 he also gives internet trainings to journalists and news organizations. He is a blogger for Planet Internet, a Dutch internet provider offering news as well.

33. Dasselaar, A. (2007). *PCM and KPN got it*. Planet. URL: <http://www.planet.nl/planet/show/id=118880/contentid=823493/sc=08b626>

Monique Doppert is a journalist and organizes several media and ICT projects.

34. Trouw. (2005). *Debate for better image of the media*. Trouw.

Dick van Eijk is editor of the NRC Handelsblad, a Dutch newspaper. Besides that he gives trainings and presentations to journalists in different countries.

35. Eijk, D. Van. (*Journalism is really a profession*. NRC Handelsblad. URL: <http://www.nrc.nl/binnenland/article378974.ece>

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38. Eijk, D. Van (2006). *Definition doesn't exclude anyone. Content of the contribution determines journalistic level*. NRC Next.

Frits van Exter is the former editor in chief of Trouw, a Dutch daily newspaper.

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Charles Groenhuijsen was for several years the correspondent of the United States for the Dutch public television broadcast, the NOS. Now he is a freelance journalist and writer.

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Erik van Heeswijk is an internetjournalist.

43. Heeswijk, E. Van. (2006). *The four dubious clichés about journalism and internet.* De Nieuwe Reporter. URL: <http://www.denieuwereporter.nl/?p=442>

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Henk Hofland is a writer and a journalist. He is well known columnist and commentator for the NRC Handelsblad, a Dutch newspaper. In 1999 he has been nominated the journalist of century.

47. Hofland, H. (2006). *Paper till the end.* Villa Media. URL: <http://www.villamedia.nl/journalist/n/2006.15.hofland.shtm>

Francisco van Jole is a journalist specialized in internet. He regularly appears in several Dutch television shows and is a blogger as well.

48. Jole, F. Van. (2007). *For the mass.* De Nieuwe Reporter. URL: <http://www.denieuwereporter.nl/?p=783>

49. Jole, F. Van. (2003). *Looking at heads and guessing the news.* Volkskrant.

Joris Luyendijk was for five years a correspondent in the Middle East. He recently wrote a book about practicing journalism in dictatorships.

50. Logtenberg, H. (2006). *Misery is misery and stays misery.* Intermediair. URL: <http://www.intermediairpubliekezaken.nl/artikel.jsp?id=380357&rubriek=303152>

51. Valk, L. Van der. (2006). *Luyendijk: Journalists don't want to change.* De Nieuwe Reporter. URL: <http://www.denieuwereporter.nl/?p=714>

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The filled out grids

		Done	In transition	Future
Values	Public service	No single public anymore, but a fragmented (Sullivan)		
	Objectivity		Threatened by spin doctors and commerciality (Blanken and Luyendijk)	
			Trust is being challenged by the explosion of available information (Glocer)	
			Public able to create open source truth on the internet (Blanken)	
	Autonomy			Independence, trustworthiness, more important than ever (Linnebank)
	Immediacy		Public is faster, more immediate, with noticing and publishing happenings (Hofland)	As soon as journalist know something put it on web, mobile phone, email etc. (Curley) Key to better journalism is immediacy. Have readers and sources to be one at the same time (Rosen)
			Blogs are ahead of immediacy (Mirck and Sullivan)	
	Ethics			
Functions	Information	Because of the overload of information, it loses its value and therefore turns into free information (Blanken)	Increasing amount of info for small groups. That is the most popular (van Heeswijk)	Publish loads of information, including databases and evergreen content (Curley) The more information, the more interesting it is for the audience and they can be sure not to miss out on something (Molenaar) Specialized information is increasingly popular. People turn to blogs for this and therefore will blogs have an increasing influence (Groenhuijsen)
				Content of the newspaper and tv news will be principally delivered over the internet (Stevens)
				Newspapers have to raise creativity, act as a real estate

				agent of information and be a shepherd of communities. All of them have to be niches. As soon as this is going they have to reinvent something new (Blanken)
	Democracy	The political anti-voice has been weakened because of the weak economic position of the newspaper (Hofland)	Government more and more reports directly to the public. Getting around critical journalists (van Heeswijk)	
		Internet democratized information. Everything is available to everyone (Glocer)	Everyone being able to publish a blog is democratic journalism at its purest (Sullivan)	
	Agenda setting			
	Watchdog		Local journalists reporting on local politics have an important watchdog function (Doppert)	Crowdsourcing as a new approach to watchdog journalism. Embracing the knowledge and creativity of the public. Together telling the story more completely (Rosen)
Digital features	Interactivity		More discussion because of blogs. Old media being challenged by online platforms (van Heeswijk)	Newspaper have to seek for dialogue with public (Curley)
			Possibility for the public to contribute in reporting stories. Crowdsourcing is on the raise across a wide social landscape (Rosen)	Include interactivity in your story to attract advertisements and compete with time (Molenaar)
			Lack of interactivity on Dutch traditional news sites: takes some getting used to for journalists and they tend to underestimate the inputs of users (Van Heeswijk)	
			Interactivity works when it's easy to operate, when the organization is open, when users are taken seriously and when the point of view is small. Moreover, it's enriching and connects users (Van Heeswijk)	
			We live in a two-way pipe. Everyone is a consumer, producer, distributor and	

			aggregator. With internet everything is exchangeable. Makes everyone a partner and a competitor. Everyone has a voice. Victim could be truth and fact-based journalism (Glocer) Since a few years increasing dialogue, everyone is producing and being an audience at the same time, multi media content and shared control over content (Anderson)	
	Customization	Power of the public over content (Glocer)		
	Hypertextuality		Little extern hyperlinking, some intern (Paul)	Database-driven coverage: tools for people to check (Curley)
	Multimediality		Context and continuity changes the coverage and expand local news. Constant update, therefore stories never die (Stevens)	Multimedia will change the newsroom. Backpack journalists will rule. Share information between journalists, makes it complementary (Stevens)
			Reuters developed NewsML to give the public the info they want and how. It's integrated multimedia package of information (Linnebank)	Multimedia requires new approaches and methods of storytelling. Two-way communication (interactive) and nonlinear (Stevens)
				Journalists have to adjust their mindset to report for multiple media (Curley)
Influenced elements of the journalistic practice	Storytelling	News adjusted itself to the consumers: continuity of brief information. It's all about the headlines (Van Jole)	Combining text and visuals (Stevens) Increasing visual information (Paul)	Newspapers should be more involved. No distant reporting (Blanken)
			On the internet there is no truth, only stories and no one wonders if they are true, because everyone can publish whatever they want. Nor censure nor control (Van Jole)	To win from bloggers, journalists should tell better stories, seek the truth no blogger can find (Blanken and Gillmor) Good stories will rule in the future and mediocrity will fade. Specialization and originality are of increasing importance (Molenaar) To save journalism build a new model

			that finds profit in truth, vigilance and social responsibility (Meyer) Telling the story truthfully is more important than ever (Glocer) Journalists should be transparent about their resources. Access and reliability of sources will be determining (Gillmor)
		Taking how search engines work into account when creating a headline for an article (Verhagen) or blog (Junnarkar)	Journalists have to acquire a new style of writing for blogs. Need for mindshift (Mirck)
		Increasing need for personal and fragmented 'news' (Molenaar)	Include user control devices to tell the story. Involve users in stories (Paul)
		Headlines on the web are of increasing importance. The determine if a user will clique on the link (Van Jole)	Include multimedia features to tell your story (Curley and Verhagen)
			Many people contributing to one story; open-style (Rosen)
			Truly transparent media to encourage public participation (Anderson)
			Produce news for multiple platforms (Stevens)
			Personalized newspapers multiply accessible are the future: by the public chosen inputs from several publications. Therefore they now concentrate on the best they have (Molenaar)
	Tools	Using Flash to tell multimedia stories (Paul)	Need for graphic artist who can do motion graphics and Flash (Curley)
	Newsroom	Newsroom need training, knowledge and teamwork to embrace convergence and multimedia storytelling (Stevens)	Need for real new media editor (future planning, multimedia, chat, documents etc.) and publishing system that works as the internet do (Curley and Stevens) And hire a online managing editor (Curley)
		Less time for in depth reporting (Paul)	Editor in chief will disappear (Van Exter)
			Open-minded mindset is crucial. Let go of them medium, it's about multi

			media content (Curley)
Public	Public makes their own news selection (van Heeswijk) Internet made us all publishers. We decide when and what information. Made the public more engaged (Glocer) Young people googles the information together (Blanken)	The Yahoo-generation doesn't read anymore, they look at headlines and that's it (Blanken). Young people aren't interested in reading newspapers or magazines. They read pieces of several free publications. Newspaper is old fashioned (Penenberg) Individualizing. Reading a newspaper because you belong to a certain society grouping is over. Internet is the ideal medium to offer individuality (Blanken)	Young people don't need journalism. They will not subscribe to a newspaper, but vote for a voice or opinion. They can lead themselves in this information overloaded society. No need for journalists to resume (Blanken) Consumers help each other to find information without intervention of the journalist (Paul and Gillmor) Young people will turn to their favorite websites and blogs for specialized information, leaving real news sites behind (Groenhuijsen)
	No wall between news organizations and the public. Everyone can be a reporter. No control anymore (Linnebank)	People want to know in a flash what is about. Fast updating news. Problematic for newspaper content (Van Jole)	Publish hyper-local content in order to foresee the fragmented public with the info they need (Curley)
	Top down thinking is over. The power of the public rules (Gillmor)	Question how to transform audiences into communities, how to bond them to a brand (Linnebank)	Believe in wisdom, creativity, power and potential of the public. Working together for investigative reporting (Rosen)
	Public is fragmented. Subjects or issues hold them together, No mass, but fragmentation. Problematic for established media organizations (Blanken and Van Jole)	Since 9/11 the public is insecure. They don't know what to believe or who to trust. Journalists try to present the news together with the desirable interpretation of the public, but desire isn't fulfilled yet (Hofland)	Being continue mobile online is the future (Gillmor)
		What users make is increasingly attractive to the public (Molenaar)	Find a model were profit can be made out of the community (Meyer)
		Public produces (van Heeswijk and Glocer)	
Role		Role of journalists increasingly overtaken by the internet (Mirck)	Journalist as a clarifier in 'competent' information overloaded society. Journalist indispensable as a guide through the expertise. Need

			for independent journalists to resume happenings (van Heeswijk)
			Journalists have to make people engage in a discussion and signify trust (Linnebank)

	Opinions	Developments
Public	What public produces, blogs, isn't of any journalistic significance. Journalism remains a profession (Van Heeswijk and Hofland) 'Citizen journalism' is a 'public conversation' (van Eijk)	
	Disbelief about everyone being a journalist > task setting society (van Heeswijk)	
	Gross of the public is lazy. They don't contribute or interact as much as everyone thinks (van Jole) Blogging takes too much time, citizens don't feel like participating, that's why it's a good idea to pay them (Dasselaar)	
	Look for a niche (Gillmor, Van Heeswijk and Blanken)	
	Most of the public can't be a publisher of journalistic content. Lack of continuity, money, time and organizational support are the reason. Providers and search engines are the new publishers (Van Heeswijk)	
	Embrace newspaper subscribers for their loyalty and involvement (Van Exter)	
	News industry should make it easy for citizen journalists to participate since they are of great value (Gillmor)	
News Industry	Explosion of blogs is challenging for media industry. Difference is scale of distribution and ability to search (Glocer)	Because of blogs less time for other media (van Heeswijk)
	Media industry has to attract public by making high quality content, making it easy for them to interact and improve skills as filter and editor (Glocer)	Need to define the journalistic profession since it is being threatened by politics, publishers, dotcoms and citizens (van Eijk)
	Combine amateur 'immediacy and knowledge' and professional 'fact-checking, editing, setting standards' content. Mixing and matching voices that deliver most value. Otherwise old media will become less relevant (Glocer and Rosen)	Less subscribers to news papers, decreasing respect because of reporting trivial incidents, lack of successful magazine formulas and release of hundreds of journalists by publishers (Blanken)
	The newspaper as it is now isn't possible anymore. It will disappear. Because young people don't read anymore and the availability of free information. The Yahoo-generation swears by the internet and newspapers will have to adjust themselves to the network economy. If people don't read anymore, writing journalists becomes unnecessary. Newspapers try to reach the mass market. The mass is there, but the market isn't (Blanken) Newspapers will die in coming decades. Will be too expensive to produce (Penenberg) Newspapers will be gone in 50 years. In the digital world of young people there is no need for papers (Hofland)	Bloggging is changing the media world and could change the way how journalism functions. Writers are now able to publish for themselves. No need for publishers and editors anymore. Blogs are threatening to them, publishing revolution. Moreover, they provide specialized information, they are immediate and personal (Sullivan)
	Newspapers can't compete on specialized information with blogs, but they should integrate links to blogs in order to	Good credibility, accuracy, ease of use matters and staffing of newspapers slow

	provide a more complete report (Molenaar)	the loss of subscribers down. Raising prices and reducing quality is no good (Meyer).
	Future of journalism is on the internet. Regardless of everyone producing news content, journalism remains a profession (Hofland)	Internet great potential for local information. There is the growth (Linnebank)
	Need for strategy: own breaking news, publish hyper-local content, embrace databases, use multimedia, publish evergreen content, content has to work with any device and have a dialogue with your public (Curley)	Blogosphere influences the economy of the mass media and the journalism itself. Now it's about the network economy, individualization and fragmentizing. Newspapers need to build a community and be multimedial (Blanken)
	Newspapers have to change their attitude to survive. They have to be open to the public and technology and accept that they aren't the only source of information anymore (Curley)	Newspapers are now showing the audience that they are relevant from content and technological perspective. Showing they want to engage in a dialogue. Strengthen the relationship (Curley)
	Transparent media to encourage trust and participation: make organization personal and easy accessible, involve public in production process, immediate reporting and let public update, edit and complete the story, have the best comments published and have the public decide which articles to publish (Anderson).	Biggest threat to journalism aren't the prosumers, but the erosion of the advertisement model (Gillmor) Because of technology journalism lost its monopoly position. There are more ways to get the news published, meaning that it will not be as profitable as before (Meyer)
	Newspapers should adjust their marketing strategy to attract young people to them and shouldn't have subscriptions that are automatically prolonged (Groenhuijsen)	
	Success of blogs determined by narrow focus, not by amount of posts (Junnarkar)	
	High quality journalism and the influence of traditional media as in credibility and respect have to be preserved until a new platform is found. A way to do this is handing out certifications or practicing journalism in a non-profit organization (Meyer)	
	Old media will only survive if they give what the public wants and stay relevant (Linnebank)	
	Definition of newspapers will change. It will tell stories how the public wants them, that might be on paper or not. What matters most is relationship with the audience. Let go of the medium (Curley)	
	The distribution system should be better in order to please everyone with the information they need (Molenaar)	
	Since the news on the internet is mostly read in the morning, publishers could ask money for it and internetjournalists shouldn't fear their job (Van Heeswijk)	
	Blogs are part of the journalism ecosystem (Gillmor)	
	Traditional media failed to invite the audience. They should because the prosumers are a threat (Gillmor)	
	Content should be made for any platform, newspaper have to engage in a dialogue, include multimedia, hyper local content and database-driven (Curley)	
	The world needs news industries free from bias and independent and impartial. Trust will make the difference (Glocer)	

	The industry should be transparent. Let the public know what stories are based on, if and how pictures are edited (Glocer)	
	Bloggers will rule in the future (Mirck)	
	Less than 10 percent think of the newspaper as trustworthy, useful and entertaining. It is the less preferred news source (Penenberg)	
	With everything being published it is hard to tell what is trustworthy and what is not. Trust is what matters. Need for software to distinguish (Gillmor)	
	Although bloggers might not publish content according to the journalistic standards, they get the public's attention and that is a threat (Blanken)	
	Newspapers can still reach a mass audience. It's a platform to keep people informed (Curley)	
	Blogs are ahead of immediacy (Mirck and Sullivan)	
	Some sites use journalistic content to attract the public. But it's not independent reporting since they can't make money out of it (Van Heeswijk)	
	Interactivity works when it's easy to operate, when the organization is open, when users are taken seriously and when the point of view is small. Moreover, it's enriching and connects users (Van Heeswijk)	
	Lack of interactivity on Dutch traditional news sites: takes some getting used to for journalists and they tend to underestimate the inputs of users (Van Heeswijk)	
	Little extern hyperlinking, some intern (Paul)	
	On the internet there is no truth, only stories and no one wonders if they are true, because everyone can publish whatever they want. Nor censure nor control (Van Jole)	
Journalists	Journalists should embrace public contributions since it enriches the profession (van Eijk). Listen to bloggers and take them seriously (Glocer) Journalists should be more engaged with their readers, a dialogue, to strengthen the relationship and because the readers know more. Bloggers are ahead of this (Mirck)	
	Blogging journalist can only outshine by providing very specialized information or by being a guide. Seek for the one who can make a difference (Molenaar)	
	It's all about the mindset of the journalist. He has to be willing to learn and do new things. He has to know what a story needs in order add value (Curley)	
	Journalist should start blogging in order to compete with bloggers. They have to share their expertise and engage with new media. It is the ideal platform for interaction and opinion based content. Moreover, there is increasingly more public attention for new media (Mirck) Journalists should start blogging to act as a clarifier in the jungle of blogs (Van Heeswijk)	
	By having journalists explain how they work, the public will get a better notion of the media. Media has to be transparent (Doppert and Luyendijk)	
	Journalist should realize the value of bloggers and that their	

	main intention isn't to be a journalist. They make people discuss. Journalists should engage with that and let go of the gatekeeping role (Gillmor)	
	Even if journalists don't know, they pretend to. They should be honest about that. Seek for transparency. Be open about manipulations, chosen point of views, what have been and what couldn't been reported. Audience has the right to know how the image-formery was build. And journalists shouldn't ignore the restrictions of their work (Luyendijk)	
	Need for independent journalists, since the public needs rest and order. Internet can make this possible (Hofland)	
	Content, the intention of the producer (seeking for truth) and the societal effect determines if something is journalism (Van Eijk)	
	Definition of journalism erodes because of the multiple possibilities to gather, present and distribute information (Molenaar)	
	Journalists hold to much to what they already know and what they are familiar with (Molenaar)	
	Efficient distribution crucial for freelancers to maximize their reach (Molenaar)	
	Continuity keeps the amateurs apart from the professionals (Van Heeswijk)	
	Guidelines for journalism to survive: adjust yourself to consumers, advertisers and competitors, have an identity, get to know your audience, professionalize, be a guide by distinguishing yourself in reliance and independence, embrace the citizen journalist because they know more and offer them a platform, be transparent and admit when you make mistakes, be cheap and have good editors (Van Exter)	
	Although much more is possible with new media, good journalism still has to meet standards such as accuracy, fairness and balance (Junnarkar)	