

Entrepreneurial journalism

The market adjustments of journalists in the digital age of journalism

Student name: Cherish Wirabangsa

Student number: 360189

Supervisor: Chris Aalberts

Co-reader: Bernadette Kester

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master thesis Media & Journalism

June 19, 2015

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the results of the market adjustment of journalists to the digitally, mediated news landscape. Digitalisation has led to budget cutbacks in journalism productions, dismissal of fulltime editorial staff, shortage in journalism jobs and free content. Fierce competition from the abundance of (freely accessible) content and freelance journalists has changed the work process, responsibilities and (public) roles of journalists and correspondingly the labour market. There is no automatic legitimacy anymore both for journalism organizations and the individual journalists.

The adjustments to such a competitive market were explored through personal interviews with freelance journalists. The interview transcripts were analysed through open, axial and selective coding in an inductive grounded theory approach. The main findings include an explanation about why market adjustments were necessary in such ways and a description of what entrepreneurial journalism is in the field. The experiences, adjustments, the interpretations of entrepreneurial journalism and the expectations for the future of journalism are thoroughly discussed.

The main outcome is that journalists should not only provide content, but also be involved in ensuring the probability of creating good journalism by taking action of the business side of journalism. The business involves the distribution/publishing, marketing, sales and budget management of editorial content and other events around it. This is what is considered to be entrepreneurial journalism. Reacting and adapting is not enough anymore, the journalist should take initiative and action for reaching an audience and making money with their journalism products by taking financial risks. However, Internet provides ample opportunities to lower the financial risks, which is why most entrepreneurial journalists find their successful business model for their journalism product online.

Furthermore, journalism does not pay the bills anymore and therefore journalists have commercial jobs on the side that are non-journalism related. A discussion is whether or not the commercial side jobs in which journalism independency is not always kept intact are good or bad for journalism. Journalism is also considered to be a craft instead of a profession in which additional responsibilities and new roles have been added to the traditional job description: the role of the journalist is shifting from news provider to information specialist *and* entrepreneur with the main responsibility of reaching an audience in a profitable way. Moreover, journalists will have to be willing to learn new (entrepreneurial) competences, in order to survive financially as a journalist.

Thus, even though it was traditionally not expected of journalists to be involved in business, the financial circumstances of traditional media (mainly) due to digitalisation have redefined this understanding. It has led to a new term that is used to stipulate what the future of journalism may look like: entrepreneurial journalism, which refers to the need for journalists to act in an economic sense.

Key words: *entrepreneurial journalism, commercialisation, information specialist, market adjustments, business models, new labour market, journalism responsibilities, financial survival.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Entrepreneurship has always fascinated me: the exercise of creating and developing a product or service that might be a profitable solution to a problem for someone. Entrepreneurship on itself could also be seen as a solution to anyone who wants to make a living out of their passions and hobbies. Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship can therefore make a difference in people's lives.

The same is true for storytelling, which I consider an essential part of journalism as stories appear to be a fundamental mode of human understanding. The interactive art of using words and images to share a narrative account of a real or imagined event that encourages a listener's or reader's imagination, is a wonderful and powerful tool to inspire and motivate people. And now with multimedia, stories can be told in many different designs.

The combination of the two is what sparked my interest for entrepreneurial journalism. In my opinion, the foundation of every journalism production is the message that is processed in a story. And now that online opportunities have made it possible for the individual journalist to publish stories and reach a large audience without the help of an organization, the journalist can now become an entrepreneur for much lower financial risks. That is why at first, I was so excited to explore the ways in which journalists are exercising entrepreneurial journalism.

Along the way I have learned so much more and become even more passionate about online entrepreneurial journalism that I now know that I want to become one myself or at least be involved in my daily work in the business behind information technology. That is why am thankful to all respondents who were prepared to provide me with valuable input for this research, because I have personally learned a lot from them as well.

I would also like to thank my supervisor Chris Aalberts for his willingness to become my supervisor while he had already so many other students. His guidance - the insightful questions and invaluable advice on the subject - and his humor, encouragements, optimism, flexibility and prompt responses to my questions and queries, helped me throughout my research and made me truly enjoy our collaboration.

Another teacher I would like to thank, who was also my co-reader, is Bernadette Kester. It is obvious how much she cares for her students and her enthusiasm about her research field is contagious. It has been a pleasure to follow her lectures and receive her advice and guidance during the study.

Completing this work would also have been all the more difficult were it not for the support and friendship provided by the other class members of the Media studies at Erasmus University Rotterdam *and* my friends and family: my parents for relieving much of my stress by helping me move into my new house, which took place at the most inconvenient time with all kinds of deadlines; and my amazing friends Leonor van Groningen, Sunita Aurora and Božan Čolić who experienced all of the ups and downs of my research and who were always prepared to be there for me. In particular, Božan Čolić, who was always in for a helpful, critical discussion and review of the topic.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 Introduction	7
1.1 Inducement	7
1.3 Vision of an entrepreneurial mindset	8
1.4 Problem statement	8
1.5 Gap in literature	9
1.6 Research aim and relevance	10
1.7 Research question and setting of study	10
1.8 Structure of thesis	10
2 Literature review	11
2.1 Digitally mediated news landscape	11
2.1.1 Journalism (newspapers) interrupted by digitalization: changed news distribution and increased competition	11
2.1.2 Changing market and roles	12
2.1.3 Innovation: new technologies and initiatives for practicing journalism	15
2.2 Changing horizons of journalism	16
2.2.1 Modern forms of journalism and trends explored	17
2.2.2 Types of digital news ventures	19
2.2.3 Traditional journalism versus entrepreneurial journalism	20
2.3 Opportunities in disruption	22
2.3.1 Entrepreneurial journalists	22
2.3.2 Ambiguous definitions of entrepreneurial journalism	23
2.4 Conclusion	24
2.4.1 Summary	24
2.4.2 Entrepreneurial journalism in the field	26
2.4.3 Research questions	27

3 Methods	28
3.1 Research questions	28
3.2 Qualitative research method	28
3.2.1 Grounded theory approach	29
3.2.2 Inductive analysis and sensitizing concepts	29
3.2.3 Systematic text analysis	30
3.2.4 Challenge of grounded theory	30
3.2.5 Method of data collection: in-depth interviews	31
3.3 Data collection tools	31
3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews	31
3.3.2 Conceptual framework: sensitizing concepts	32
3.3.3 Topic list and interview questions	32
3.4 Population and sampling	34
3.4.1 Population	34
3.4.2 Sampling	35
3.4.3 Respondents	36
3.5 Data analysis	39
3.5.1 Coding.....	39
3.5.2 Open coding.....	40
3.5.3 Axial/categorizing coding.....	40
3.5.4 Selective coding.....	41
3.5.5 Theoretical saturation	42
4 Results	43
4.1 Experiences of the digitally, mediated news landscape	43
4.1.1 Mentioned causes of the changes in media landscape.....	43
4.1.2 The effects of the changes on the labour market	44
4.1.3 Shortage of journalism jobs: forced freelancers and extended internships	48
4.1.4 Sub-conclusion: A new reality in journalism.....	50

4.2	Adjustments to the digitally, mediated news landscape	51
4.2.1	Commercial thinking and its challenges	51
4.2.2	Commercial collaborations with partners and readers	54
4.2.3	Specializing in a niche market	56
4.2.4	Online as solution	57
4.2.5	Business models online	59
4.2.6	Sub-conclusion: Commercial shift in journalism	61
4.3	Entrepreneurial journalism	61
4.3.1	Entrepreneurial journalist vs. Fulltime employee and traditional freelancer	61
4.3.2	A combination of functions	64
4.3.3	Competencies	65
4.3.4	Sub-conclusion: the entrepreneurial mindset	68
4.4	Future expectations of journalism	68
4.4.1	Traditional journalism vs. modern journalism	68
4.4.2	Journalism in different contexts	70
4.4.3	Sub-conclusion: journalism has become a craft with genres	71
5	Conclusion	72
5.1	Synopsis and relevance	72
5.2	Main findings	72
5.2.1	Experiences	73
5.2.2	Adjustments	73
5.2.3	Interpretation of entrepreneurial journalism	74
5.2.4	Summary	77
5.3	Discussion	78
5.4	Limitations and future research	80
6	References	82
7	Appendices	87
	Appendix A: The ‘Tartu Declaration’	88
	Appendix B: Category scheme	92
	Appendix C: Full biographies of respondents	96
	Appendix D: Interview transcripts	103

1 | Introduction

1.1 Inducement

The main premise of this study was derived from the recognition that many journalism schools in the Netherlands do not teach entrepreneurial journalism and business of journalism awareness, or has just recently started teaching it (Leurdijk, 2014). This was surprising, because now that news has become more freely accessible for audiences through digitalization, resulting into lower streams of income, shrinking newsrooms, fewer jobs available for journalists and finally a highly competitive market, one would think that new perspectives and skills are required. The digital opportunities have changed the news landscape in a way that journalists can even become their own publisher. However, they have not only competition from their competitor-colleagues, but also have to compete with all other outlets of free news for audiences (Briggs, 2012). That is why journalists will have to become more aware of the commercial business side behind journalism, in order to survive as a journalist (Benson & Neveu, 2005; Demasi, 2013; Gynnild, 2005). Even though the convergent ways of media providing their audience with information from different platforms is a theme that is being exercised in many journalism schools as the way of the future, the increasing business opportunities and the need for entrepreneurial competencies for journalists are still poorly covered (Leurdijk, 2014). Journalism and business should no longer be separated from each other, as journalists have more opportunities now than ever to venture in news (Briggs, 2012).

1.2 Changing market

The biggest opportunity that the Internet has brought is the emerging of a complete new ecosystem for news in which people on the business side do not determine the business strategy of the news industry anymore. They are not on one side of the wall anymore with journalists on the other side, because this wall has been torn down by technology advancement (Briggs, 2012; Cohen, 2002). Where journalists were traditionally taught to keep their distance from moneychangers, they are the ones who can create their own efficient, business models now. The very nature of news and the value of it to the public have changed. There is more interest and demand for news than ever. There are more ways to gather, analyse and distribute news than before the Internet. Journalists have now the responsibility to build the future of news through entrepreneurial ventures and become pioneers in the once so established marketplace of news. They will not be able to keep to only the traditional

activities of being a journalist, but should also have an entrepreneurial mindset to be able to sustain their work.

1.3 Vision of an entrepreneurial mindset

There are more journalists who create their own blog, brand their profiles, and generate unique audiences to their sites. Also, more journalists are acting entrepreneurial as they are exploring other ways of generating income beyond their editorial product. The changed information gathering, editing, packaging and dissemination are reshaping journalism and the roles of the journalist. Online journalism is now part of the job description, but also entrepreneurial competencies and an entrepreneurial mindset are considered to be a necessity (Drok, 2011). Where one may see crisis and disappearance of traditional journalism as the consequences of digitalization, others see it as the rescue of journalism and a profitable source of opportunities for journalists to become business owners or self-publishers.

1.4 Problem statement

The news industry seems to experience a similar development like the music industry; just as music became free, news has become more freely accessible through the Internet. Traditional business models are crumbling and journalists are losing their jobs due to shrinking newsrooms. There is more competition than ever between competitor-colleagues for employers and audiences. Even Google has seen the decline of the news industry and started an initiative worth 150 million dollars to find new ways of sustaining news online. The question is how will journalists manage to financially survive in this competitive market in which news is considered to be a free product? Also, UWV states on its website that there was an 18% increase of journalists who became unemployed in 2014. Another question is where do they go or what do they do?

Digitalization has not only brought challenges, but also opportunities for journalists, as they themselves can now become a publisher or an entrepreneur. “The only way that journalism is going to be sustainable is if it is profitable, and out of that market relationship comes many other benefits: accountability to the public it serves; independence from funders’ agendas; growth; innovation” (Jarvis, 2009). This is by some considered to be the future for journalism; a future in which commerce collides with journalism and in which journalists have to become more business-oriented with entrepreneurial competencies in order to financially survive. Others argue that journalists will have to include other competencies and mindset to their job description, or take on other roles than the traditional role of the journalist (Drok, 2011; Sykes, 2012). However, most journalists are not aware of this or do not agree with this vision. Most news media and journalists even fail in sustaining their work, because they have not been taught the business side of news. Some journalists are ignorant of

entrepreneurial competencies they should have, in order to find ways of sustaining their journalistic activities (Briggs, 2012; Drok, 2011). A main reason for this ignorance might be that entrepreneurial journalism is considered to be challenging long-standing beliefs about the influence of commerce. Still, like Demasi (2013) puts it nicely in his abstract: “journalists need not sacrifice their core values and beliefs of independence, truth telling and impartiality if they choose to become business owners (or selfmade publishers)” (p. 3). So, another question is how do journalists adept to all of these changes and how pessimistic or optimistic do they see their future in journalism?

1.5 Gap in literature

It is striking that there is much literature about how new media have transformed traditional journalism, but just a few about the opportunities of the collision of commerce with journalistic practices. When searching for studies in entrepreneurial journalism, most studies found were about the lack of business education in journalism schools. And these were moreover about American or British news media and journalists (Demasi, 2013; Leurdijk, 2014; Ndole, 2011; Nowacki, 2011; Quin, 2010). Overall, there was not much literature about the concept entrepreneurial journalism in general, its uses in practice among journalists and the role it takes in the future of journalism. When discussing the business behind news or journalism as “entrepreneurial journalism”, people from inside the industry frown their eyebrows. They might refer to Deuze’s work about how new media have transformed the activities of traditional journalism, but an expansion of journalism activities is just a part of it. Technology such as the Internet has changed and presented new ways of practicing journalism, but it has also changed the traditional roles and activities of journalism (Sykes, 2012). In a highly competitive market, among colleague-competitors competing for both employers and for audiences, journalists need to become more commerce-oriented. The Internet offers multiple opportunities to journalists to become commercially involved or start their own business in news. Some might argue that entrepreneurial journalism is nothing new, because freelance journalists are similar to entrepreneurial journalists. However, the concept of “entrepreneurial journalism” goes much further (Leurdijk, 2014, Nowacki, 2011). Yes, freelance journalists are as old as tale, but the entrepreneurial activities and competencies that freelance journalists need to survive in this competitive market, is for most journalists something new or unfamiliar both in the field and in literature. Also, more journalists who are becoming their own publishers, is quite unexplored yet.

1.6 Research aim and relevance

There is just a small body of research on media entrepreneurship and even less in specifically entrepreneurial journalism, because the term is still very ‘new’. It is also still unconventional for most journalists to think about a dual role in news and commercial interests (Koch and Obermaier, 2014; Sanderson, 2014). Moreover, most literature available is about the British or American news market. Therefore, this research will focus on the Dutch news market and on mapping the ways Dutch journalists adapt to the digitally mediated landscape. Also, the aim is to find out in what ways their adaption to the changes can be considered entrepreneurial journalism and which entrepreneurial competencies are considered to be necessary and important.

Thus, the aim of the research is to help provide insights into the understanding of entrepreneurial journalism, if not to define, then at least to describe what entrepreneurial journalism means in the field, and identify and analyse the ways in which Dutch journalists are entrepreneurial journalists. Finally, the results will be used to answer the research questions as well as to argue the need for entrepreneurial competencies. Findings will contribute to existing literature, because the impact of the integration of digital network technologies and with that the rethinking of news, is “[...] one of the biggest challenges facing journalism studies and education in the 21st century” (Deuze, 2005, p.451).

1.7 Research question and setting of study

Since the research objective is to gain a better understanding of the ways journalism adapt to the competitive market and in what ways this can be considered entrepreneurial journalism, the research question is therefore as follows: *How do journalists adapt to the digitally, mediated news landscape and in what ways can this be considered entrepreneurial journalism?* The sub-questions are:

1. How do journalists experience the digitally, mediated news landscape?
2. How have they adjusted to the digitally, mediated news landscape?
3. In what ways can their adjustments be considered entrepreneurial journalism?

1.8 Structure of thesis

The following section will discuss literature and studies that are relevant for the scope of this research. The literature review will form the theoretical framework for the research by introducing and defining the main concepts. Then, the section thereafter explains the chosen methods to conduct the research in a systematically, scientific way, derived from the theoretical concepts. It will explain how the research methods have been operationalized and why. Lastly, the results of the final analysis are discussed leading up to the conclusion and answering the research questions in the final chapter.

2 | Literature review

2.1 Digitally mediated news landscape

A digitally mediated news landscape implies that the news landscape has been interrupted, changed and transformed into a news industry with online and digital news consumption. There is much written about the transformation of the news industry in a period of digitalization and there is a wealth of media research that explored the changing practices of journalists. However, there is little scholarly work on the thought of an entrepreneurial mindset as a necessity among journalists. The modern, entrepreneurial role of the journalist is poorly covered by existing literature in journalism studies. Yet, in order to understand the impact digitalization has (had) on journalism, it is necessary to understand the changes. Therefore, before we dive deeper into the business behind news in the digitally mediated news landscape, it is relevant to discuss how we got here in the first place.

2.1.1 Journalism (newspapers) interrupted by digitalization: changed news distribution and increased competition

Internet, World Wide Web, or simply web and digitalization are terms that are often interchangeably used by scholars, even though they have different meanings. Internet is a massive infrastructure of networks and functions as a super highway for information to travel from one computer to another computer (Carlson, 2003). The World Wide Web or simply web, is the vehicle that is used to access information on the Internet (Allan, 2006). The difference is that the web is the portal that gives access to the Internet through web documents or web pages. News is published on web pages and is shared with others on the Internet. That is why the term Internet will be used in this research to refer to the technology behind online news. At the same time, new media refer to new technology developments made possible by the Internet, such as social media, applications, etc. Furthermore, according to Sanderson (2014), digitalization is the integration of these technologies into everyday life, such as reading online news on different kinds of media or a platform that gathers and filters all news based on a user's personal preferences etc. Digitalization has endless possibilities and most opportunities have yet to be discovered since technology is in a constant state of flux (Dickinson, Matthews, & Saltzis, 2013).

Digitalization and the development of new media have changed the way information flows from producers to consumers, and pushed convergence of media communication technologies. This development made it possible for anyone with access to the Internet to produce, publish and choose his or her own news (Gordon, 2003). Deuze and Fortunati (2011) argue that the increased media access flattened hierarchies of gathering, editing and

publishing, and caused a power shift from journalists to the audience. The audience can now do something different and for free through tools of reporting, such as blogging, podcasting, vodcasting and other merging forms of social media. New forms of legal protection of publishing and sharing creative work also emerged. Digitalization also made it possible for professional media organizations to increase publication of user-generated content. As a result, the audience has become both a reader and a producer of news, as well as more news is produced and consumed online. Subsequently, the most important changes are that the majority of advertisers in newspapers have relocated part of their spending to the Internet and reduced it on printed publications.

At the same time newspaper circulation and readership figures are in decline as more (online) news outlets become widely available and affordable to news consumers (Deuze, 2003; 2011; Gordon, 2003, Bakker & Scholten, 2014). According to the State of the News Media report, the total print circulation of the 15 largest newspapers in the US has decreased with about 45% and is hardly the monopoly position and ‘fortress journalism’ they used to be in the past. Also jobs in American newspaper organizations were lost with a total downfall of 33.3% over the last six years (Mitchell, 2014). A similar fall in figures is taking place among Dutch newspapers, in which almost all Dutch newspapers experienced a decline in print circulation and cutbacks in fulltime personnel (Bakker & Scholten, 2014). So, what does this environment actually look like in the Netherlands?

2.1.2 Changing market and roles

Compared to countries like the US and the UK, there is not much research to be found about the social demographics of journalists in the Netherlands. Deuze (2001) conducted a research about this occupational group in 2001. He states that the Dutch population of journalists consists of 66% men and 34% women. The average age is in between 36-45 and most have finished higher education in journalism. The group of journalists is not diverse as only 2% has another ethnicity than Dutch. Interesting is that only about 7% mention they work for an online medium, while 85% state they have or will have their own website (portfolio) and are represented online. Furthermore, 68% of journalists in the Netherlands are employed with a contract-based arrangement, which is still the majority, while 21% consider themselves primarily freelance journalist. However, UWV states on its website that there was an 18% increase of journalists who became unemployed in 2014. If we integrate this number with Deuze’s (2001) numbers, it would mean that the employed group of journalists would now be about 50%. Where do these journalists go and what do they do are questions that arise from these numbers and are ones that are not researched much yet.

Besides a shift in power from journalists to the audience, there has also been a power shift between journalists to employers (Deuze, 2009). Not only has the competition for new

audiences increased, but also the competition for employment among journalists. Until the 20th century, employers traditionally offered their workers permanent contracts with all the additional benefits. Nowadays, these types of labor arrangements are rare, because most employers rather hire flexible workers, freelancers or govern other informal labor arrangements, due to the transformation of the news industry, financial global crisis and internal cutbacks (Quinn, 2010). The layoffs of professional fulltime employees among Dutch news organizations and an increase of atypical and flexible working arrangements have lead to a larger group of freelancers. Journalists have to compete with other journalists for employment, which is not made easy by the fact that the audience can now also provide news (Deuze, 2011). Vinken and IJdens (2013) support the statement that there are increasingly more freelancers. The findings of their survey show that 30% of Dutch journalists state that they have become freelancers, because they felt they had no other option. Another research report by Lokaalmondiaal (2014) shows that even foreign correspondents experienced a definite change in flexible working arrangements in news organizations. If so many journalists become freelancers, one might wonder how they compete with other freelancers in an already competitive market? Both researches also conclude that more freelancers consider themselves as entrepreneurs or feel the need to become more entrepreneurial in finding alternative ways of sustaining their work in a competitive environment. This statement suggests the thought that freelance journalists have to become more entrepreneurial savvy. However, what does this exactly mean and what does entrepreneurial role look like in practice?

Furthermore, nowadays journalists should know about digital and technological skills, as online content is becoming more important. Gordon (2003) introduces the term “backpack journalist”, as a consequence of convergence in media technology. He suggests that the worldwide web became this “one grand system” of media formats, of which the next generation of journalists will have to learn how to work with (p. 59). The backpack journalist is someone who can collect multiple types of content at the same time, such as word, video and audio (Gordon, 2003). Another example is the camera journalists, the so-called “camjo’s”. Everyone who has a basic understanding of the different communications media can become a backpack or camera journalist. This means that journalists are now able to produce a journalistic product by themselves. Thus, convergence has not only changed the way the news and information is produced and delivered, but also the traditional role and the needed competencies of journalists. Even though there will always be a need for specialists, reporters and editors will need to become more flexible and multi-skilled, in order to keep up with the trend of convergence journalism. The new generation of journalists will at least need a basic understanding of the different communication media (Gordon, 2003). That is why he

claims that journalism has changed and that the Internet has disrupted the traditional role of journalists, in which the journalists is not only occupied with the content.

So, the changing market asks for new perspectives and skills. By definition, competencies consist of the elements knowledge, skills and (professional) attitude (Drok, 2011). Drok (2011) conducted a quantitative research among journalists and academics with a journalistic background about the competencies that are most needed in the changing news landscape. An important outcome besides the trend of more flexible workers is the consideration of commercialization of journalism as an increasingly important trend. Also, the tested list of competencies from Drok's research (2011) originates from the Tartu Declaration of 2006. This conventional list is composed by 60 journalism educators from 25 European countries and is meant to serve as a framework of professional competencies, that journalists ought to have after education or training. The Tartu Declaration have been criticized on not being up to date with the list of the profound changes that has happened in journalism practices, which is why they have added new competencies to the list in 2013 (Drok, 2011). The ten journalism competencies after revision are (Tartu Declararion, 2013):

1. Reflect on the societal role of and developments within journalism;
2. Find relevant issues and angles, given the public and production aims of a certain medium or different media;
3. Organise and plan journalistic work;
4. Gather information swiftly, using customary newsgathering techniques and methods of research;
5. Select the essential information;
6. Structure and present information in a journalistic manner; in appropriate language and an effective journalistic form;
7. Evaluate and account for journalistic work;
8. Cooperate in a team or an editorial setting;
9. The competence work in a professional organisation or as a freelancer and to act as an entrepreneurial journalist;
10. The competence to contribute to the renewal of the profession

The last two competencies and a few detailed descriptions of the other competencies (as provided on ejta.eu and in appendix A) that were not part of the list in 2006, come down to entrepreneurial journalism. The revisions illustrate the recent debate about the growing importance of entrepreneurial journalism.

Furthermore, journalists think that the quality of journalism is no longer guaranteed in a commercial environment. Future journalists should have more insight into the reality of economics behind journalism. They should be able to sell ideas and products, and react to

changing circumstances. Drok (2011) mentions that competencies such as being prepared to take initiatives, to be innovative, creative and proactive in finding new ways of producing and publishing content, are becoming more and more necessary in a commercial environment. He refers to this complexity of competencies as “entrepreneurial journalism”, which requires an innovative, entrepreneurial attitude from journalists (Drok, 2011, p.19).

Deuze (2001) also found that most journalists in the Netherlands fulfill different roles in their jobs than just one, as the results included hundreds of different job descriptions. Vinken and IJdens (2013) again support this by arguing that more freelance journalists are doing different professions other than journalism only, in order to generate sufficient income. Koch and Obermaier (2014) confirm in their research that nearly half of all freelance journalists have a second side job. . According to Nygren (2008), the role of journalists consists of daily activities, norms, values, ideals and role in news production. Drok (2011) and Sykes (2012) found that journalists have changed their perspectives on their traditional roles. And that they can have multiple roles than the traditional roles of being a watchdog, the mediator, the informer, etc Especially now that the focus in the digital landscape is more on attracting and engaging the audience, it looks like the so-called entrepreneurial competencies have been added to the traditional tasks of news production. These findings suggest the notion that journalists are adapting to the consequences of a digitalization by taking up other roles and become more entrepreneurial. However, is this really the case in the field? Are journalists even thinking of the business behind news and are they truly taking up other roles are questions that could be explored more.

2.1.3 Innovation: new technologies and initiatives for practicing journalism

The distribution of news via Internet and mobile applications has lead to a more competitive environment. Competition for news audiences is now greater than ever before and where profit margins in the print-dominated sector of the industry were once high, it is threatened by new production technologies. To remain competitive in this environment many news organizations feel required to provide output on multiple media platforms to deliver a truly continuous product (Deuze, 2004; Bakker & Scholten, 2014). This is also the case for the individual journalist. Journalists can no longer focus on only the editorial side of their work, but should also engage themselves with the business side of journalism, such as innovative ways of producing and publishing news, both in content and format (Leurdijk, 2014). They should think about other aspects as well, such as distribution, marketing and the price of their products. This new mindset has lead among others towards entrepreneurial journalism.

Leurdijk (2014, p.11) mentions examples of innovative initiatives within an environment of entrepreneurial journalism. Think of journalists who have started their own blogs, amateurs who have set up their own websites, young people who choose to start their

own business or work independently rather than for a boss, or investors who want to finance serious investigative journalism. Also, traditional journalistic organizations pay more attention to innovative initiatives. For example, *TMG* and *RTL4* have set up special departments that are dedicated to start-ups and innovation, the *VVOJ* raises money for investigative journalism and *De Groene Amsterdammer* has set up a newsroom dedicated to investigative journalism. Also, more master classes and events for innovative ideas in journalism are organized by organizations such as *Verspers.nl*, *Nederlands Media Netwerk*, *Nu.nl*, etc. Another Dutch initiative is *Persinnovatie*, which started the *Stimuleringsfonds voor de Journalistiek*. They organize contests, such as *The Challenge*, a search contest for the most innovative business ideas for journalism, in which participants can win money prizes to finance their ideas. For example, *LocalFocus*, the winner of 2013, provides a data platform where data journalists and regional reporters can find each other and work together on articles and creative data visuals. Or take *Journalism* and *Correlations*, winners of 2014, respectively a new type of crowdfunding platform for investigative journalism projects and a global network platform where foreign correspondents and freelancers all over the world can find each other and start working together. All these type of initiatives are focused on increasing the quality of journalism and finding innovative ways of making journalism profitable again, within a digitally, mediated news landscape.

According to Leurdijk (2014), innovation in journalism within the digital domain is not only about the adoption of new technologies, but moreover about searching for answers of how the public role of journalism can be fulfilled. New technologies can lead to such innovative initiatives in which new forms of journalism are found. New forms of journalism might stimulate growth in the news market and can help fulfill and maintain the public function journalists traditionally have had. Just recently, even Google started a digital news initiative worth 150 million dollars that is aimed at finding new sustainable ways of earning money with news. Collaboration with the major European titles like the French *Les Echos*, the British *The Guardian* and *Financial Times*, The German *Allgemeine Zeitung* en *Die Zeit*, the Spanish *El Pais*, the Italian *La Stampa*, shows the need for innovation in journalism, which stimulates the entrepreneurial environment within journalism. And in a time where digital disruption caused a highly competitive environment and a more market-driven and audience-interaction oriented attitude, entrepreneurial journalism in combination with innovation, could be considered as an opportunity to respond to the changing news landscape, or also known as the digitally, mediated news landscape.

2.2 Changing horizons of journalism

The digital disruption has not only changed the news landscape and affected the perspectives, roles and competencies of journalists. It also changed traditional journalism. As already

mentioned before, new forms of journalism are found and further developed. This section will discuss how the horizons of journalism has changed, what role technology has had on these changes and what forms of journalism as a product of digitalization is mostly talked about in literature.

2.2.1 Modern forms of journalism and trends explored

There is a body of scholarly literature available on the outcomes of technological change. Some scholars think change in journalism is revolving around the development of new and innovative technologies, in which technological change determines the transformation of journalism (Pavlik, 2000). Pavlik (2000, p. 229) proposes in his article that changes in technology influence journalism in at least four broad areas: “how journalists do their work; the content of news, the structure or organization of news; and the relationships between or among news organizations, journalists and their many publics”.

However, others argue that change in journalism practices is part of a production process with several parties involved, such as the journalists and their sources, media organizations, technicians, users and audiences, whom in turn influence the uses and developments of technologies (Dickinson, Matthews, & Saltzis, 2013). Take for example the fact that the audience could now become producers of news through Internet, blogs and other forms of media. Dickinson, Matthews, and Saltzis (2013) refer to this as citizen journalism. They consider citizen journalism as the foremost outcome of technological change in journalism. One could argue that technology determinism is at work here. Yet, citizen journalism changed the ways in which media organizations and journalists gather news, which has lead to all kinds of platforms and innovative uses and developments of technology. For example, it has lead to a growing awareness of the importance of disclosure transparency and participatory transparency in the production process of online news (Friend, 2007; Karlsson, 2010). Disclosure transparency includes an openness of the way news is selected and produced, for example by publishing links to original material and the sources that are used. Participatory transparency is about inviting users to participate in different stages in the news production process. Both emphasize that communicating with the audience and getting the audience involved in the news production process in various ways, are increasingly important. New technology has influenced the ways of publishing news and opened up the process for citizens.

However, these developments have lead to needs that in turn influenced the use and development of technologies. It is obvious that technology influences journalism practices, but also the other way around. Journalists can use technology to their benefit as it offers opportunities of publishing news and stories in a different way and reaching a (larger) audience in a faster, innovative manner.

Furthermore, digitalization has led to online journalism, a type of journalism that is becoming more important nowadays. However, scholars do not always define this term similarly, because it changes a lot just as fast as technology develops. Deuze (2003) gives a thorough definition. He defines online journalism as journalism that is produced for the World Wide Web, in which journalists have to think about the multimedia ways of presenting a story, the interactive ways of communicating with the public and all the connective ways of linking the story to other stories, resources, etc. Online journalism is also seen as the fourth kind of journalism, next to print, radio and television (Deuze, 2003, p. 206). He also identifies four types of platforms for online journalism: facilitating, share and discussion sites, alternative news websites and meta-comment sites, index and category sites with aggregated content and mainstream sites.

Deuze (2003) further argues that different kinds of journalism online amplify and affect different kinds of journalism offline. Internet for example made it possible to immediately publish news online, a development that many scholars consider a main factor of interruption of quality journalism. The pressure of the so-called fast journalism, being the first with the scoop, caused many journalists to less double check and follow up on stories, which diminishes the quality of content through a loss of accuracy and credibility (Tunney & Monaghan, 2010). It also brought more 'churnalism', which are stories that are written based on pre-packaged news from public relations and press agencies, due to time constraints. Writing stories in this way could provide a distorted view of news, because it might not be correct or objective. Le Masurier (2014) argues that commercial values, technological advances and core values of journalism such as feeling responsible to report to the public, mainly drive the pressures of the need for speed. At the same time, the dominant culture of fast news leads to information overload and a distracted, overloaded, disinterested audience. That is why some believe that the counter trend will be that the audience will seek slow news, a long-form qualitative journalism with in-depth research, explanation, context, and lengthy narrative storytelling focused on an experience and exclusively untold human-interest stories (Le Masurier, 2014, p. 5-11).

Citizen journalism, online journalism, the growing importance of online journalism ethics of disclosure and participatory transparency, churnalism, fast news versus slow news etc., are examples of how Internet and digitalization have changed the horizons of journalism. It illustrates that different (f)actors in the production process influence technology, as well as the other way around. It also shows that Internet and digitalization affected traditional journalism practices and journalistic values and in turn, the professional perspectives of journalists. Gordon (2003), Dickinson, Matthews and Saltzis (2013) even insist that convergence of media communication technologies changed the traditional roles and

responsibilities of journalists, as they have to become multi-skilled in using cross-media. Gynnild (2005) also agrees, as she argues that multimedia and cross media journalism suggest requests for changes in reporters' technical and journalistic skills, and even demands changes in personal attitudes among journalists. Modern technology in the era of globalization, market liberation mechanisms and reporter's own comprehension of their journalistic role, are all part of modern journalism.

2.2.2 Types of digital news ventures

There are so many types of websites in all kinds of categories that offer information and news that it might become confusing of what these entail. Deuze's (2003) identification of four types of platforms for online journalism provides more clarity. The mainstream news websites are websites of the mainstream news organizations. For example, *CNN* or the *BBC*. The Dutch mainstream news websites are also catching up. Think of the recently renewed websites of *NOS*, *NRC* and the *Volkskrant*. These websites often consist of news that is originally produced by the organization and their employees. However, it seems like the news mainstream websites are providing more aggregated content as well, although separately mentioned under the tag "popular on the web". Aggregated content is content that is originally from an external source, somewhere else on the web. There are even websites that are fully dedicated to being a platform for aggregated content, such as *Buzzfeed.com*. Deuze (2003) calls these types of websites 'index and category sites', which have often no original content at all. He puts blogs also in this category, because most bloggers also include aggregated content and links to external sources. He also refer to these kinds of websites as 'user generated content websites'.

The third category of news websites is the 'meta- and comment sites' (Deuze, 2003). These websites are often so-called alternative news sites that are aimed at providing alternative news besides the mainstream news. Think of citizen and community news blogs that provide a different angle on news topics by showing perspectives from people that are not shown on the websites of the bigger news organizations. The fourth category comes quite close to the third one, as the fourth is called the 'share and discussion site'. Where citizens can contribute to alternative news websites, they can also do that on share and discussion sites. Deuze (2003) refers to the fourth category of websites, as platforms on which several kinds of topics are intensely talked, discussed or written about by individuals through personal accounts and experiences.

Deuze (2003) discusses only four categories of news websites, maybe because of the date of writing, but there are so many other types of websites that contain news. However, there are increasingly more news websites that focus on long, narrative stories, in innovative, interactive ways. Or news websites that are focused on human-interest stories only. Another

trend of news websites are the platform or network websites that offer services, such as crowdfunding. Or bringing journalists and other specialized freelancers from all over the world together in one place, where they could meet and work together on multimedia projects. Thus, online journalism can take place in many different ways and result into many different innovative initiatives.

Also, just like there are also different kinds of clusters in print journalism, think of lifestyle journalism, such as fashion, travel, food, health, etc., there are also different clusters of online journalism. We have now explored examples of hard news websites, but there are of course also soft news websites for example lifestyle news. Most blogs are specialized on a certain topic and have become more professional in providing and reporting content. Think of *NSMBL.nl*, a blog website about fashion with millions of unique visitors per month or cooking blogs, such as *Chicks Love Food* (Adfactor.nl). These are all examples of individuals who started their venture by themselves or with one or two other people, and eventually grew into a media organization with large streams of advertisement income. A critical note however, is that the business in online content is often higher in lifestyle news than in hard news, because such content can be quicker linked to product advertisements, which is still the biggest online business model (Mitchell, 2014).

Still, all these start-ups, hard news and soft news websites, can eventually grow and will be in need of editors and contributors in digital reporting (Jurkowitz, 2014). Where the offline journalism market is shrinking, one could also say that the online journalism market keeps growing. More journalists, also freelance journalists, are finding their way to digital news ventures. For example, *Buzzfeed* was an index and category site with aggregated content, but has grown so much that they have now many high profile journalists who create original content. According to Leurdijk (2014), online journalists are also engaged in entrepreneurial journalism, as they will constantly have to think about innovative ways of how to reach the audience, in which (new) multimedia format and what kind of interactive options, distribution, marketing, etc.

2.2.3 Traditional journalism versus entrepreneurial journalism

Modern journalism, or in other words the journalists of today who are also active online, depends on values that are quite different than the traditional values in journalism. Sykes (2012) discusses four traditions and beliefs that informed journalistic practices and attitudes: the first draft of history, the fourth estate, the enlightenment and the right to free expression. Journalists used to consider journalism as a calling to make sense of the world through rational information. By sharing this information with the public, their traditional role was to hold other people, politicians and organizations accountable, through the right of free expression. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) claim that the elements of journalism are the

obligation to the truth, the first loyalty to citizens, the discipline of verification, objectivity and an independency from the content. Journalists serve as an independent observer or watchdog of power, provide a platform for public criticism, assessments and compromise, and strive to make the impactful topics interesting and relevant, to keep the news understandable, inclusive and proportional, and to exercise personal morals.

However, Sykes (2012) argues that these traditional beliefs have changed in modern journalism, in that journalism has become part of an entertainment product with more sensational news, engagement in emotional debate, reasonable criticism and alternative news options. Most journalists are traditionally taught to be objective and independent by staying away from the influence of money, advertisers, and commerce. However, that ‘Chinese wall’ where traditionally moneychangers were on at one side, and journalists on the other side, has been torn down by digitalization. Journalism has become market-driven; viewers and readers are transformed into customers and news into product (Cohen, 2002).

Commercial pressures of the new media environment are changing journalist routines and shaping traditional news values. The journalist of nowadays has to compete for audience share and profits on the Internet, in which commercial goals and editorial values may come into conflict. Koch and Obermaier (2014) agree that journalists with a dual role in commercial interests, experience conflict with their public duties to inform the public. Entrepreneurial journalism may therefore challenge long-standing beliefs about the influence of commerce, because journalists value autonomy over many influences, such as financial pressures. On the surface, it looks as if entrepreneurial journalism is incompatible with the occupational ideology of journalists. However, as a business owner or publisher, journalists will have even greater autonomy, they can make their own decisions and do not have to answer to an editor or publisher. According to Demasi (2013), a radical departure of personal ethical norms, such as core values of autonomy, truth telling and impartiality, is therefore not necessary when journalists choose to become entrepreneurs. He points out that an entrepreneurial journalist is similar to the historical model of the newspaper business, in which one person acted as both publisher and editor (Demasi, 2013).

Even though entrepreneurial journalists are greater risk takers, because they usually have no big financier as back up, they can still in turn receive even more potential reward than ever before. Of course, not every journalist can become an entrepreneur, but every journalist needs to have a mindset that at least includes skills and competencies to think and act entrepreneurial in the digitally mediated news landscape, in order to find ways of sustaining their journalism activities.

2.3 Opportunities in disruption

The digitally, mediated news landscape has many pros and cons. One may argue that one of the main negative consequences of the Internet undermining the traditional business model of traditional media, is the loss of quality journalism. For example, the Internet brought about the replacement of many professional journalists by amateurs, churnalism, automatic news production, fast journalism, etc. One might be afraid that this disruption will eventually lead to the disappearance of journalism in the near future, in which the world does not need journalists anymore (Tunney & Monaghan, 2010). However, optimists could argue that never before has there been so much access to sources of news and information from all over the world (Dickinson, Matthews, & Saltzis, 2013; Gordon, 2003). They see citizen journalism and audience-interaction as a pro for quality journalism. There are many new ways and instruments to gather and analyze information, find sources, and combine text with image through cross-media productions. New ways of telling a story is made possible and there are many promising, innovative online initiatives.

2.3.1 Entrepreneurial journalists

As mentioned before, the amount of unemployed journalists in the Netherlands has increased with 18% in 2014 to 2.475 in comparison with 2013 (UWV). Surprisingly, the amount of freelance journalists is also declining. Besides the UWV and HOI, there are not many other statistics and trends available about journalists in the Netherlands. However, as discussed before, journalistic trends from the US have been very indicative and similar to journalistic developments in the Netherlands. The US State of the News Media report (2013; 2014) states that despite a competitive environment, online advertising revenues may not be as profitable as before in traditional advertising, but it has become sufficient to support a substantial digital journalistic enterprise.

According to Jarvis (2010), the traditional newspapers are not going to be replaced by their digital news editions, but by an ecosystem of hundreds of different online places that have different motives, means and business models (Jarvis, 2010). Briggs (2012) even argues that every journalist will have to become an entrepreneurial journalist. Nowacki (2011) supports these ideas, claiming that entrepreneurial journalism is a necessity if journalism is to survive and remain useful to the public. The question remains if journalists themselves see it this way?

Another claim is that journalists should specialize. An overflow of products and services often results in price declines, while lack of an attractive product or service stimulates the opposite. So freelancers who are dealing with many competitors in a shrinking market, have to profile and brand their valuable expertise in an attractive niche, in order to set them apart from the rest and find alternative ways of income. It is like Benson and Neveu

(2005) point out by quoting Bourdieu: “to exist in a field... is to differentiate oneself” and “nothing is more threatening than the lookalike who dissolves your identity” (p. 39).

It is further argued that the economic and branding options for successful freelancers in our digitalized and globalized era are nearly unlimited (Gynnild, 2005, p. 113). Most freelancers are therefore already entrepreneurially active, in the sense that they take part in differentiation and personal branding. All these notions suggest that journalists adapt themselves to the changing market by becoming entrepreneurial and more commercial. However, again, the concept of entrepreneurial journalism is not covered much yet in scholarly work.

2.3.2 Ambiguous definitions of entrepreneurial journalism

An interest in media entrepreneurship is growing, but the present body of scholarship offers no single concept of entrepreneurial journalism due to lack of consent. Jarvis (2010) points out that there is not just one model for entrepreneurial journalism, just like there is not just one model for “fixing” newspapers. Yet, the small body of available scholarly work does separate freelancers from entrepreneurial journalists. Demasi (2013) states that some journalists are entrepreneurial in the sense that they work as freelancers for one or more news media business, but defines entrepreneurial journalism as something different, as the “journalist who is the owner, as opposed to working for an owner” (p. 2). Ndole (2011) defines entrepreneurial journalism as any actions by journalists who aim to innovate and do journalism in non-traditional ways. Nowacki (2011) keeps rather to a description of the characteristics. She describes entrepreneurial journalists as a “mash up of freelancer, enterprising beat reporter, niche publisher, small business owner... and something new” (p.8). An entrepreneurial journalist is someone with focus, drive, creativity, deadline-driven, someone who thinks of how they would do something new, not how it has always been done. Perhaps the most important characteristic that Nowacki (2011) points out is that the entrepreneurial journalist is curious about technology and how it can advance journalism, as well as an understanding of how to make a business viable. As mentioned before, entrepreneurial journalists should be able to sell ideas and products, and proactively react on changing circumstances through innovation (Drok, 2011).

Most journalists already inherit entrepreneurial skills, by being creative, able to meet deadlines, being flexible, by working independently and through networking. However, according to Briggs (2012), entrepreneurial journalists need a serious attitude adjustment, because most of them still feel uncomfortable in combining journalism with commercial interests. That is why Leurdijk (2014) mentions most of all an open attitude. She divides entrepreneurial journalism into several dimensions, all tied together with an entrepreneurial attitude, just like Drok (2011) already mentioned; Entrepreneurial journalism exists of an

open attitude to changes in media use, innovation in technology, learning new skills, developing an intense relationship with the audience, and working more intensely together with others. This attitude makes it possible to search for innovative ways of reaching the audience with content in a digital news landscape, and to uphold the public roles of journalism.

As we can see, there are many interpretations of what entrepreneurial journalism entails. It is also quite extensive. Most of these definitions originate from foreign researchers; there is not much research done in this area about Dutch journalists who focuses on entrepreneurial journalism, except for Leurdijk (2014). And even her research includes a lot of theoretical notions instead of field research. It is time that this concept and its role is researched more thoroughly in the field and be explored from the experiences from Dutch journalists.

2.4 Conclusion

2.4.1 Summary

Due to the global crisis and the shift in power from journalists to employers and audiences, the news industry is shrinking and more journalists are becoming freelancers or unemployed. The competition for audiences and employers is heavily increasing. Also, digitalization has caused loss of audiences and with it (advertisement) income, because they can now find news for free. These fundamental changes in the news media landscape have brought about the necessity for new competencies and innovation in journalism through new forms of journalism or practicing journalism in new contexts.

The biggest cause for mentioned changes and the need for innovation are the Internet and digital applications, as they are seen as the main disruptions of the news market. The distribution of news via Internet and mobile applications has made it possible for amateurs to share information and start their own news start-ups. Also, professional journalists can become a news publisher themselves and/or have their own medium. Most journalists who are adapting to these changes argue that they need to include digital and technological skills, as online content is becoming more important in the news industry (Drok, 2011).

However, these skills are not the only skills scholars argue that journalists will have to learn. Some argue that journalists will have to become more entrepreneurial and commercially active (Benson & Neveu, 2005; Briggs, 2012; Demasi, 2013; Gynnild, 2005; Leurdijk, 2014). They should think about other aspects as well, such as distribution, marketing and the price of their products. This new mindset has lead to the concept entrepreneurial journalism (Demasi, 2013).

It does not mean that traditional and mainstream news organizations are not necessary anymore. On the contrary, the decrease of offline advertising revenue and the market-driven

and audience-oriented environment, has lead the mainstream news organizations 1) to become active online as well, through multiple digital platforms; and 2) to dismiss fulltime employees and change to more flexible working arrangements. These developments lead to a competitive environment for job-seeking journalists.

The high competition and commercialization make it no longer possible for journalists to focus on editorial content alone, as they were traditionally used to. The hypothesis is that one might now have to focus on business aspects of journalism as well, such as innovative content and formats, distribution, marketing and pricing of their product. Journalist will now more than ever have to be able to convince others of their ideas and sell their products, if they want to generate sufficient income out of it. New technologies can be seen as a threat to journalism, but it can also be seen as an opportunity to find new forms of journalism. This search is still in a trial-and-error phase though. Still, many initiatives already focus on such innovations and even provide funding.

The changing media landscape does not only require journalists to adopt new technologies and with it certain skills, but the competition and commercialization also requires journalists to develop an entrepreneurial mindset and attitude. Entrepreneurial journalism now also impacts newsrooms and individual journalists more thoroughly. Not only the bigger news organizations are able to undertake entrepreneurship, but also the individual journalist can or is forced to take up entrepreneurial projects in order to gain alternative income (Briggs, 2012). That is why most freelance journalists may take on other roles than that of the journalist only, in order to generate more income and survive in a competitive market.

There might be some challenges in this, as most journalists think commercial interests should not be collided with editorial content. Yet, entrepreneurship does not consist of commercial interests only; it can also serve public goals. And innovation is also argued to be part of entrepreneurial journalism (Drok, 2011; Leurdijk, 2014), because it means that new forms of journalism can help stimulate economy and growth in the digitally, mediated news landscape. Most journalists and especially future journalists might have to learn these entrepreneurial competencies, because it has never been really integrated into the curriculum of journalism schools. However, some argue that commerciality will endanger the quality and thus, future, of journalism.

Above summarized conclusions from literature lead to many questions. Mainly, whether or not journalists in the field see it or experience it in this way? How do or have they adept to these influences and does entrepreneurial journalism really plays a big role in the future of journalism?

2.4.2 Entrepreneurial journalism in the field

There is much written about the changing market of journalism, but not a lot about the ways in which journalists adapt to the changing market in an entrepreneurial manner.

Entrepreneurial journalism is not a well-known concept in the field, as most journalists might not even be aware of the necessity of it or might not define entrepreneurial activities as entrepreneurial or commercial. Some may not be aware of the fact that they are already branding, pitching, selling and negotiating, in order to differentiate themselves from others. Those that are aware of it might consider themselves as entrepreneurs or feel the need to become more entrepreneurial in finding alternative ways of sustaining their work in a competitive environment. That is why this research focuses on how journalists themselves think they are being entrepreneurial active and the ways in which they think an entrepreneurial mindset is necessary to financially survive as a journalist.

Also, the suggestions of an entrepreneurial mindset mostly originate from scholars who did their research in foreign markets other than the Netherlands. That is why this research focuses on what the environment looks like in the Netherlands. Secondly, there is not much literature on entrepreneurial journalism in general, as most literature is about the need for curriculum reform in journalism schools instead of the meaning of the concept in the field. And the researches that are available about entrepreneurial journalism have all ambiguous definitions of entrepreneurial journalism. Therefore this research also focuses on the personal definitions journalists give to the concept entrepreneurial journalism.

We also discussed the highly competitive market and the notion that journalists of nowadays will need other (entrepreneurial) competencies. That is why another research question is about the competencies journalists think they need the most. They are the ones who could best tell how they have adapted to the changing market. This also includes the question how they are competing with other freelancers. As discussed before, many scholars suggest the thought that freelance journalists have to become more entrepreneurial savvy. However, what does this exactly mean and what does the entrepreneurial role look like in the field? These are therefore questions that will also be answered in this research.

As reviewed before, competencies such as being prepared to take initiatives, to be innovative, creative and proactive in finding new ways of producing and publishing content, are becoming more and more necessary in a commercial environment. This complexity of competencies is referred to as “entrepreneurial journalism”, which requires an innovative, entrepreneurial attitude from journalists (Rok, 2011, p.19). So, are journalists in the field really taking on this entrepreneurial attitude? If not, then how are they adapting to the changing, competitive market?

All the mentioned questions in this section seem to lead to one overarching research theme: the ways in which journalists have adapted to the digitally, mediated news landscape. A thorough review of literature shows us that it is expected that journalists are behaving or should behave more entrepreneurial in a competitive market. That is why another question is about the ways in which the adaptation of journalists can be considered entrepreneurial journalism.

2.4.3 Research questions

Since digitalization seems to be the main disruptor of the traditional news market that has led to changes in (possible entrepreneurial) behavior and attitude among journalists, the main research question in this study is: *How do journalists adapt to the digitally, mediated news landscape and in what ways can this be considered entrepreneurial journalism?* In order to answer this research question as thoroughly as possible, the research question is divided into three sub-questions:

1. How do journalists experience the digitally, mediated news landscape?

This question is necessary in order to explore and describe the views of journalists on the current media landscape and labour market. This way, context is provided for further exploration and explanation of the motivations behind choices they have made so far until now. It might also just be that journalists do not experience the current landscape as is discussed in the literature review.

2. How have they adjusted to the digitally, mediated news landscape?

The different ways in which the journalists have adjusted to the resulting landscape and labour market of digitalization are explored. Are they doing things the same way as before or are things completely shaken up? And if they are different, then what are the reasons why journalists have chosen to do things differently in the first place. This question is necessary to explore the motivations of choices for possible changed behaviours and perspectives to a changed market. It will also explore the ways in which journalists have come by financially until now.

3. In what ways can their adjustments be considered entrepreneurial journalism?

By exploring the ways in which journalists have adjusted to the market developments, it will be possible to analyse the lengths in which their adjustment correspond with the expectations from literature. The main purpose for this sub-question is therefore to find out if theory about entrepreneurial journalism resembles the field experiences of Dutch journalists.

The sub-questions are explored first, before the main research question can be answered. However, the sub-questions will be researched by using theoretical conceptual categories derived from this literature review. These so called sensitizing concepts as well as the research methods will be further discussed in the following chapter.

3 | Methods

3.1 Research questions

As discussed in the literature review, there is not much written about how entrepreneurial journalism works in practice. The few definitions are all still very theoretical and ambiguous and not much researched yet in the field. Journalists themselves might not be aware that they might be acting as entrepreneurs or that they are taking up other roles than the traditional journalist in a competitive news market. The expectation is that the competition and commercialization requires journalists to develop an entrepreneurial mindset and attitude. For example, the individual journalist can or is forced to take up entrepreneurial projects in order to gain alternative income. These expectations and definitions of entrepreneurial journalism are explored in this study by answering the following research question. Digitalization seems to be the main disruptor of the traditional news market that has led to changes in behavior and attitude among journalists, which is why the research question in this study is:

How do journalists adapt to the digitally, mediated news landscape and in what ways can this be considered entrepreneurial journalism?

The keywords in these sub-questions are the experiences, the adjustments and entrepreneurial journalism. That is why the research question is narrowed down by the following sub-questions, in order to answer the research question as best as possible:

1. How do journalists experience the digitally, mediated news landscape?
2. How have they adjusted to the digitally, mediated news landscape?
3. In what ways can their adjustments be considered entrepreneurial journalism?

3.2 Qualitative research method

The grounded theory approach is used in this research to read (and re-read) interview transcripts and find, discover and label variables of the interrelationships between them. The variables are the codes, concepts and categories related to the market adjustments/behaviour of journalists and the concept entrepreneurial journalism. Grounded theory is a systematic research method (Grounded Theory Institution, 2013) and in this research the method is mostly used in an inductive approach and is therefore considered to be a qualitative research method. Since interview transcripts are analysed, this research involves a systematic text analysis (Mayring, 2000).

Furthermore, there are various systematic steps of coding to analyse a text in grounded theory methodology. The systematic design of three steps of coding (open, axial and selective) are chosen to develop categories, themes, concepts and principles. The aim was to eventually be able to describe journalist's adjusted behaviours and explain why they had to adjust in such ways and how it relates to entrepreneurial journalism. The motivation behind these decisions are further explained below.

3.2.1 Grounded theory approach

Some expectations that are mentioned before are going to be examined in this study, but testing is not the focus of this research. The main purpose is to study and gain more knowledge about entrepreneurial journalism, by describing and possibly explaining the (changed) behaviours of journalists. The found constructs in this study are derived from the qualitative analysis of data that comes from field knowledge, from the journalists themselves. This approach of building theory from field data is called grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2009). Grounded theory is a research approach that enables to develop a theory, which offers an explanation about the main concern of the population of the substantive area and how that concern is resolved or processed. It is also the study of a concept (Glaser, 1992).

In this study the main concern is the ways in which journalists adapt to a shrinking, competitive news market in which a concept is entrepreneurial journalism and the population are freelance journalists. Since this research approaches the subject from the perspectives of respondents, it calls for a continual interplay between data collection and analysis to produce a theory during the research process (Bowen, 2006). As a result the developed theory is grounded in data. That is why the grounded theory approach in this research mainly involves an inductive data analysis.

3.2.2 Inductive analysis and sensitizing concepts

Grounded theory has a major principal technique called inductive analysis, which is also the chosen analysis technique in this research. The (coding) steps undertaken to apply this technique is discussed later on in this chapter. It should be noted that a few steps could be considered to have a deductive character rather than inductive, such as the few theoretical concepts that are used as basic ideas of what to search for in data analysis and some expectations that are verified during the process of constant comparison. However, the overarching approach was still an inductive analysis, as the focus was on identifying codes, concepts and categories that *emerged* from data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis. (Bowen, 2006, p. 2).

At the start of such an inductive process, *sensitized concepts* are often used as departing points from which to study the data. Sensitizing concepts are background ideas

from literature that inform the overall research problem. They are called sensitizing concepts, because they have no clear definition yet with specified and fixed attributes such as definite concepts (Bowen, 2006). Thus, sensitizing concepts provide guidelines for research specific settings and lay the foundation for the analysis of research data. Sensitizing concepts will be used in this inductive research.

A challenge however, is to move beyond the sensitizing concepts and instead of describing, start interpreting and explaining. Then, explained concepts could lead to themes and themes to theory. This inductive process is a challenging process though, because there can be major differences in steps of interpretation and thus in theory among researchers. This would not make the research repeatable and controllable. That is why a step-by-step systematic design was chosen.

3.2.3 Systematic text analysis

There are three dominant designs in developing theory from data in a grounded theory approach: the systematic design, the emerging design and the constructivist approach (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1992; Corbin & Strauss, 2009). In the systematic design, data is analysed through steps of open coding, axial and selective coding. These codes form the properties of categories and then the categories are grouped into themes. In the emerging design, theory is emerged from data without the use of specific, pre-set categories and focus, like the former design, on gathering facts and describing acts. However, the constructivist approach focuses on the importance of *meanings* that individuals attribute to the focus of the study, for example, by looking at the thoughts, feelings, values, viewpoints and assertions.

Since this study is not focused on the importance of meanings that journalists give to entrepreneurial journalism, but on mapping their behaviours by gathering facts, describing acts, with the use of pre-set categories, the systematic design of coding was most suitable. The systematic design of coding in three steps (open, axial and selective) is chosen as research method to analyse a text, because the aim was not only to identify variables, but also to relate them to each other with the help of sensitizing concepts (Boeije, 2012). The specific steps of coding will be discussed in the final paragraphs ('data analysis') of this chapter.

3.2.4 Challenge of grounded theory

The aim of grounded theory is to develop theory completely inducted from data only, but it is impossible for a researcher to be completely free from preconceptions in the collection and analysis of data. That is a limitation and major point of criticism for some (Thomas & James, 2006). That is why a constant comparison of data took place. Also, a systematic approach of clearly defined and repeatable steps, such as the three steps of coding, helped with generating consistent results that are verifiable.

3.2.5 Method of data collection: in-depth interviews

Since the research question seeks to describe experiences, perspectives and acts of journalists, qualitative research interviews were chosen as method of data collection. The perspectives of journalists were collected through interviews, because qualitative interviews are useful for getting the story behind a respondent's experiences and to cover both a factual and meaning level (Kvale, 1996). An advantage of qualitative research is that it can yield rich data with detailed analysis that can lead to important conclusions about the research theme.

However, some limitations of descriptive research are that it heavily depends on observational methods, which are often difficult to replicate (Boeije, 2012). For example, the situation and mood of the participant changes over time. That is why the interviews are semi-structured, which will be discussed in the following paragraph. Secondly, the researcher was also the interviewer, which may have affected the subject's responses, such as personal bias and idiosyncrasies that may have occurred in the interpretation of the responses. In contrast with quantitative methods, qualitative research can therefore not provide a definite answer to a research question or approve or disapprove a hypothesis. Yet, findings can provide valuable pointers as to what hypotheses, concepts and variables could be worth testing in further quantitative research. Also, despite the challenges of qualitative research, data based on human experience can be very insightful and explanatory, maybe even more than quantitative data (Boeije, 2012).

Furthermore, the aim is not to generalize findings for the whole population, but to explore the personal experiences of freelance journalists and entrepreneurial journalists in a digital environment, which is why the group of respondents is as diverse as possible. Not the differences in meanings, but the similarities, are focused upon in this research. The interviews took at least 50 minutes each and were conducted face-to-face, because this made it possible to pursue in-depth information in order to understand the context in which a respondent is providing the answers (Boeije, 2012).

3.3 Data collection tools

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

There are several types of interviews, from unstructured to structured interviews. The aim of the interview is to let the respondents feel free to answer and discuss anything that comes to mind at the moment, which is why a focused interview with pre-set questions and answers, such as surveys, would be too structured. However, a certain structure in the interview was necessary, because the purpose of the interviews was to obtain data about specific themes from literature.

An interview is furthermore like a verbal exchange that is subtly managed by the researcher. This means that the communication skills of the researcher are equally important, as the effectiveness heavily depends on the ability to clearly structure questions, listen attentively, pause, probe or prompt appropriately, and encourage the respondent to talk freely (Bryman, 2004). That is why the interviews are semi-structured with questions ordered thematically, which made it easier to refer to during the interview.

Furthermore, the topic list is used as a general interview guide, which is intended to make sure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee, making it easier to compare with each other. The semi-structure also helped with gathering data in a consistent manner. Each theme or topic included specific questions, to make sure enough relevant information came available. These themes were created in the form of a topic list, which helped with guiding the interview in a natural, spontaneous conversation, without going off topic. Even though a semi-structured topic list is partly focused, it still allowed a degree of freedom for other themes and ideas to emerge.

3.3.2 Conceptual framework: sensitizing concepts

The sensitizing concepts that are discussed here formed the starting points for building analysis in this study. It served as an impetus for the formulation of theory. These concepts are derived from a thorough review of the literature on entrepreneurial journalism and digitalization in journalism.

The reviewed literature indicated that the basic theoretical argument was that the competitive news market could require journalists to become more commercially oriented in generating income, by becoming entrepreneurs or self-publishers and partake in commercial roles and competencies, in particular. This led to three major conceptual categories that formed the research question: the experiences of journalists, adapted behaviours of journalists and entrepreneurial journalism. The theoretical concepts *financial survival*, *competing behaviour*, *needed (entrepreneurial) competencies* and *entrepreneurial role* from the literature seemed to underpin the experiences, adapted behaviour and entrepreneurial journalism. That is why they formed the sensitizing concepts in the analysis of data, as well as the basis for the interview questions that are elaborated upon in the following paragraph.

3.3.3 Topic list and interview questions

Financial survival

This sensitizing concept is about the indirect changes and impact digitalization has had on the journalist's activities and the ways they are coming by. The focus is not directly on numbers as in how much they earn, but more on the ways in which they manage to financially survive as a journalist.

First, the journalist is asked about their expectations they had from the news market and occupation as a journalist during their studies and/or before they started their career in journalism. They are asked to shortly summarize what journalism activities they have done up until recently and elaborate on the choices they have made along the way. It was then possible to ask comparative questions, such as the ways in which they think their expectations were met or not, and the reasons why or why not. Also, the lessons they have learned were explored. These questions partly measured their changed perspectives and behaviours as a journalist in the news market. It could then be linked to explanatory questions about their career moves and the ways in which they are generating income at the moment.

They were also asked to what degree digitalization has impacted their career moves. This led to possible challenges they have had to face, which formed a good starting point to link questions from the next topic to. Finally, more probing questions were asked about their financial income, such as how they are coming by at the moment and how much they need each month to be financially stable. These questions thus explored the ways in which the journalist is generating income as a journalist or for example in another occupational role (Drok, 2011).

Competing behaviour

The journalists were asked about how they experience the news market. For example, they were asked to describe what the digital news landscape looks like to them and to what degree they think it made the market more competitive. Then they were asked in what ways they are putting themselves out there in order to attract employers and get paid assignments. This led to questions of the ways in which they are competing with other journalists for audience and for employers. The answers formed a good bridge between this topic and the topic of needed competencies.

Needed competencies

The previous topic already explored the ways in which the journalist is trying to differentiate from competitive colleagues. They were asked to discuss more specifics, such as in what ways they think they are more commercially oriented than before, or if they consider themselves to be commercial at all. Also, they were asked to explain what commercialisation means to them. Also, they were asked to discuss the ways in which they cope with commerce in their occupation and how it might challenge their traditional role as journalist and/or might influence their editorial content (Demasi, 2013).

Then, they were asked which competencies they need to become successful freelance journalists and elaborate on the competencies they already possess and those they still need to develop. The questions included a discussion about the digital skills, attitude, mindset, norms,

values, ideals and role in their daily activities of news production (Nygren, 2008). The answers on these questions already somewhat illustrated in what ways the journalists are operating as an entrepreneur or adapting to a commercial environment.

Entrepreneurial journalism

Finally, they were asked if they would consider themselves an entrepreneurial journalist or not. For example: What is the first thing that comes to mind when you heard about the concept entrepreneurial journalism? And how do you further define entrepreneurial journalism? How do you think you are entrepreneurial active? Would you consider yourself an entrepreneur or an entrepreneurial journalist? What do you think is the difference between a regular entrepreneur and an entrepreneurial journalism? Their understanding of entrepreneurial journalism was thus explored by asking what their understanding is of entrepreneurial journalism, but also how they think entrepreneurial journalists are different from non-entrepreneurial journalists. The answers on these questions made it possible to explore the definitions of an entrepreneurial mindset and the role of an entrepreneurial journalist.

They were furthermore asked to also name examples of who they see as true entrepreneurial journalists and why. They already described the meaning of entrepreneurial journalism to them, but the questions of naming examples helped with double-checking the consistency of their answers, and with approaching suitable respondents.

Finally, the answers about all previous topics led to answering the question about whether or not an entrepreneurial mindset is necessary to financially survive as a journalist. They described the ways in which the journalists has adapted or is adapting to the changing, digital news landscape and in what ways this can be considered entrepreneurial journalism.

Other

However, in addition, a few other questions and topics emerged from the interviews that were not anticipated. Respondents discussed their future career goals and with it their perspectives on the future of journalism and their role in it. The role of innovation was another topic that emerged during the discussion of needed competencies and the meaning of entrepreneurial journalism.

3.4 Population and sampling

3.4.1 Population

As already discussed in the literature review, there are more men than women occupied as journalist, of whom half is freelancer and the other half employed. The sampling of

respondents was following the population information that is retrieved from Deuze's (2001) research on the demographics of journalists in the Netherlands. It appeared that some of the freelancers were also employed, but on a part time base. Most of the respondents engage in activities other than journalism. A total of 18 freelance journalists were interviewed, of which 12 were men and 6 women. Since it is not often the case that fulltime-employed journalists are also entrepreneurs, this group was excluded.

3.4.2 Sampling

Participants were mainly recruited at journalism master class events, such as the seminar *Entrepreneurial Journalism* and the *Challenge*, but also through the own network and referrals from the respondents. The main criterion for sampling was that the journalists have an online presence, such as a professional social media account, work for online media, and/or own an online medium or platform. From this group of participants, some started out as employed journalists and some as freelance journalists. The freelance journalist is defined as the journalist who has no full-time contract with an organisation, is registered at the Chamber of Commerce and work for more than three employers a year on a flexible-based arrangement. The employed journalist is generating income on a regular base through a full-time permanent position in an organization. The entrepreneurial journalist is the journalist who operates as a publisher, owns a medium and/or started a (online) journalism related business initiative.

However, the distinction between roles was difficult to make, because most journalists consider themselves to fulfil more than just one role that is not easy to differentiate from each other (Deuze, 2001; Koch & Obermaier, 2014; Vinken & Ijdens, 2013). This was also the case for the respondents in this sample. For example, some are freelance journalists with different companies as employers, while some worked as a freelancer for the same companies for months to years. Some are not only freelance journalist, but also engage in non-journalism activities. Others are freelance journalist on top of being part-time employed. Or some own an online initiative or are a news publisher with employed personnel, besides being a freelance journalist. The roles are much diverse and difficult to distinguish, which is why the respondents in the sample are grouped into three categories:

1. The journalist with only journalism activities;
2. The journalist with journalism activities and non-journalism activities;
3. The journalist as publisher or as owner of a publishing medium or online initiative.

At least 5 respondents from each category are interviewed, to make sure that the group was diverse.

Figure 1: Three categories of respondents

	Freelance journalist	Entrepreneurial journalist
Journalism activities only	Koster, Robert Munsterman, Ruben Nanninga, Annabel Swanborn, Kim Welling, Marjolein	Heij. Jan Jaap Liukku, Eeva Livestro, Joshua Luyendijk, Joris Pfauth, Ernst Jan
Journalism and (other) non-journalism activities	Bolle, Joram Haasbroek, Nico Janse, Inge Joosten, Ties Leurdijk, Andra Maarse, Geert Pleijter, Alexander	van de Berg, Karel van Haren, Geesje

3.4.3 Respondents

The following respondents participated in a personal interview. Only one respondent was interviewed over email. A brief biography is given from each respondent¹. The list below is ordered alphabetically by sure name.

Joram Bolle is a recent (2014) journalism graduate and is a freelance journalist, a part-time web editor, producer of business commercials on the side and was a final candidate in the *Challenge* with online travel guide *Block's Journal*.

Nico Haasbroek is a freelance journalist and was chief executive officer for *Stads TV Rotterdam* and editor in chief for *NOS News* in Hilversum and *Radio Rijnmond* in Rotterdam, for some time. Before that he worked for *VPRO* and *VARA*, and has written the books *KLM Affaires*, *De Journaaljaren* and *Nico's nieuws*. He promotes himself as an expert about the crisis of journalism and the media solutions, mainly via his personal website nicohaasbroek.nl, and has an evident opinion about the future of journalism.

Inge Janse is a freelance journalist for NRC and Hogeschool van Rotterdam and a copywriter for business organisations. He has years of experience as journalist, researcher and editor for various media and was adjunct editor in chief for *VersBeton* for some time.

Ties Joosten started as an intern at *De Nieuwe Pers*, which is now *The Post Online*, is now a format creator at *The Post Online* and works part-time as freelance adjunct editor in

¹ a full biography with summary of the respondent's points of view on the research topic is provided in appendix C

chief at *VersBeton*. As format creator, Joosten is experimenting with reaching an audience through new business models for journalism on a daily basis and coaching journalists in finding the best viable format for their content.

Robert Koster is a journalism graduate, a freelance journalist who specialises the business side behind journalism, and was a final candidate in the *Challenge* with *TwoFiveFifteen*. Koster provided insight on the expectations of the labour market from the perspective of a student and as entrepreneur in spe.

Andra Leurdijk is freelance part-time lector and researcher in entrepreneurial journalism at Windesheim University and part-time consultant at her consultancy company *For all media*. She is also board member of the *Stimuleringsfonds voor de Pers/journalistiek*, an organisation that wants to financially support journalism in the Netherlands.

Eeva Liukku is the editor in chief and founder of *VersBeton* and program maker for *Rotterdams Festivals*. Liukku provided insight into the challenges of the business model of an online media foundation.

Joshua Livestro is the founder, publisher and editor in chief at conservative opinion website *Jalta.nl* and right-oriented news blog the *Daily Standard*. He has worked for years as a freelance journalist for titles such as *Reader's Digest*, *European Voice*, *de Volkskrant*, *De Gelderlander*, *Algemeen Dagblad*, *Vrij Nederland*, etc. Livestro is both involved in the business aspects of the news website and writing articles.

Joris Luyendijk is a freelance anthropology journalist, writer and speaker. He has written many books of which most recent was *This cannot be true* (2015). He has worked as a news correspondent for various news media organisations in the Netherlands and currently writes for *NRC Handelsblad*, *De Standaard* and *the Guardian* about economics and anthropological perspectives on various themes.

Geert Maarse is a part-time journalist and program maker/host for Erasmus University Rotterdam with a CAO contract, and part-time freelance presenter, opinion leader and program maker for various media and organizations. On a daily basis, he produces talk shows and writes articles for *Erasmus Magazine*, *NRC*, *Pasisonate* and *de Volkskrant*.

Ruben Munsterman is the editor in chief in payroll at *M&A Community*. He has worked before as an editor and journalist for *Follow the Money*, *IEXProfs* and *925*, and specializes in finance and economics.

Annabel Nanninga is a freelance journalist. She was adjunct editor in chief of the conservative opinion website *Jalta.nl* and writes columns on a daily basis, also for *De Nieuwe Revu*. Before she has worked as employed journalist for *G+J publishers* and *Mama Magazine* and as editor for *De Dagelijkse Standaard*, *De Jaap* and *GeenStijl*.

Ernst-Jan Pfauth is founder and publisher of the conservative opinion website *De Correspondent*, an online news platform with background, analysis and investigative reporting. Pfauth was also the editor in chief of the online section of *NRC-Next* for one year and a blogger technology for two years. Pfauth has diverse projects as a publisher every week, but currently he is focussed on attracting an audience of students as paid members and on improving online audience interaction tools.

Alexander Pleijter is a freelance journalist. He is lector at Tilburg University, editor in chief at *De Nieuwe Reporter (DNR)*, blogger at *toekomstvandejournalistiek.nl* and regularly give presentations and readings. Pleijter writes mainly about researches in journalism, new media and the future of journalism.

Jan-Jaap Heij is the founder, publisher and editor in chief of *The Post Online (TPO)*, formerly *De Nieuwe Pers (DNP)*, an online platform that enables freelance journalists to sell their articles directly to an audience. Heij has worked as editor in chief for various offline media, such as *Mountain media*, *Credit media* and *WPG Media*.

Kim Swanborn is a journalism student and lifestyle blogger of cosmetics and food at *learntheheartway.com* and *eatcleanqueen.nl*. She has worked as an intern for *NOS news* and was a freelance journalist for a year. Swanborn provided a student perspective on journalism and insight into business models of lifestyle content.

Karel van den Berg is a freelance journalist, writer and founder of *demediapraktijk.nl*. He has worked many years for several newspapers and other media organisations before, *Wegener media*, *RTV Drenthe*, *NCRV*, *AVRO* and *NOS* amongst others. On a daily basis van den Berg develops products for journalism creativity, writes articles and books and give workshops and trainings to journalists.

Geesje van Haren is a freelance journalist and founder of *verspers.nl*. On a daily basis she is maintaining and developing new business models for *VersPers*, further develop trainings and crowdfunding tools for the starting journalists, and produces films about sustainability on the side.

Marjolein Welling is a recent (2014) journalism graduate and currently a freelance journalist for *NRC-Next*, *National Geographic* and *Utrecht University*. She likes to write articles about foreign cultures and profiles herself as anthropology journalist.

3.5 Data analysis

The data that is collected through interviews needed to be preserved in a form that could be analysed, which is why the interviews were written down. The interview transcripts were then analysed through steps that are explained in the following paragraphs.

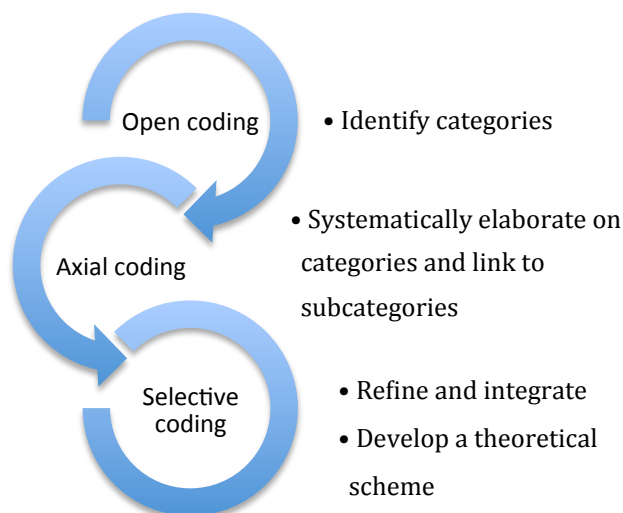
3.5.1 Coding

The data is analysed with a systematic technique called ‘coding’. This technique is one of the dominant designs in grounded theory research, as discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Coding is an inductive process and is part of grounded theory, because in this method theory is inductively and iterative developed from data.

Coding is the systematic process of naming or labelling things, categories, and properties (Boeije, 2012). In this technique, parts of data are labelled and newly collected data are constantly compared with initial results until the coded parts gradually advance to the identification of conceptual categories and themes. Each code was constantly compared to all other codes to identify similarities, differences and a general pattern.

The process of coding happened in three stages: open, axial and selective coding (Boeije, 2012; Corbin & Strauss, 2009). The steps of coding were done until themes moved from a low level of abstraction to become overall themes originating from the tangible evidence provided by the data. Themes gradually emerged as a result of the combined process of becoming close with the research data, drawing logical associations with the interview questions, and considering what knowledge was acquired during the initial review of literature. The steps of coding taken in this study are discussed more thoroughly, together with some examples, in the following paragraphs.

Figure 2: Qualitative coding (Boeije, 2012)



3.5.2 Open coding

During open coding, the collected data were distributed into segments and then scrutinized for commonalities that reflect categories or themes. This was done line by line as well as per sentence and paragraph. Then, a list of codes was found. The sensitizing concepts helped with decoding, as they were used as a searchlight to construct initial codes for organizing the data. For example, the sub-questions were used to search for answers among the data. Other codes that were found, did not associate with the questions were examined more thoroughly.

Examples of initial codes were *fierce competition*, *living on financial reserves*, *forced freelancer*, *finding new ways of reaching an audience* etc. It appeared that these initial codes are common codes that reflect the conceptual category *competitive labour market*. Another example is *creating commercial value*, *online publication platform*, *reaching an audience*, *marketing*, *profiling*, *differentiation*, *selling content* that reflect the category *self-publicist*.

After the data were categorized, they were further examined for properties that characterize each category. For example, properties of *Internet journalism* were *using multimedia*, *recycling stories*, *building an online file*, *using the audience as experts* etc.

The aim was furthermore to reduce the data to a small set of themes that appeared to describe the adapted behaviour of journalists and entrepreneurial journalism in the field. For example, initial themes were *rock and roll journalism*, *commercial thinking* or *from content creator to self-publicist*.

3.5.3 Axial/categorizing coding

In axial or categorizing coding, the open codes are clustered with other codes that fit into one category. At this point, meaning is abstracted from the data and codes are interpreted. Initial code clusters emerged and a code list was constructed. An overview of the clusters with categories is provided in figure 3. The thorough, fully detailed category scheme with all codes can be found in the appendix.

Figure 3: Initial category scheme

Cluster: The new labour market

- Category: Mentioned causes
- Category: The experienced consequences

Cluster: Commercialisation

- Category: Commercial thinking
- Category: Online as solution
- Category: Challenges

Cluster: Categories in freelance journalists

- Category: Forced freelancers
- Category: Traditional freelancers
- Category: Entrepreneurial freelancers
- Category: The freelance journalist as self-publisher

Cluster: Entrepreneurial journalism

- Category: Employment vs. entrepreneurship
- Category: Competencies

Cluster: Future expectations of journalism

- Category: Traditional role vs. modern journalism
- Category: Expected developments

3.5.4 Selective coding

Then, in the third analytic level various code clusters were carefully selected by deciding how they relate to each other and what stories they tell. In this stage, a set of relational statements that could be used to generally explain the phenomenon that is researched in this paper was constructed.

For example, respondents spoke about reaching an audience and agreed on the need for journalists to become more commercially oriented and think like an entrepreneur. Entrepreneurial journalism seems to be understood as being a self-publicist, but with an entrepreneurial mindset of thinking commercially. There are different dimensions in which a freelance journalist is considered an entrepreneurial journalist. And while there seem to be a similar interpretation of what commercially thinking includes, there are different interpretations of the mindset of the fulltime employee and the traditional freelance journalist versus the entrepreneurial journalist. That is why some sub-chapters in the results section are

dedicated to the themes ‘commercial thinking’ and ‘entrepreneurial journalist vs. the fulltime employee and traditional freelancer’. Other found themes and relational statements that explain the relationships could be summarized as follow:

Figure 4: Summary of found themes and subthemes

A new reality in journalism

- Mentioned causes and effects of changes in media landscape/labour market
- Shortage of journalism jobs

Commercial shift in journalism

- Commercial thinking and its challenges
- Online as commercial tool

The entrepreneurial mindset

- The entrepreneurial journalist vs. the fulltime employee and traditional freelancer
- A combination of functions and competencies

Journalism has become a craft

- Traditional journalism vs. modern journalism
- Journalism practiced in different contexts

3.5.5 Theoretical saturation

After 18 interviews it became clear that no new conceptual insights were generated. Already after 12 interviews the same information started to repeat itself, but then not all concepts were well developed yet and additional data was needed. Saturation was finally reached when the additional data did not uncover any new ideas about the concepts in the developing theory and evidence for the conceptual categories repeated itself. There were a few more names left on the list that were mentioned by respondents as true entrepreneurial journalists who could provide valuable input, but since no new information or themes were observed in data, theoretical saturation was determined after 18 interviews. Subsequently, the themes led to conceptual modelling and theory development (Boeije, 2012), which are discussed in chapter 4 and 5.

4 | Results

4.1 Experiences of the digitally, mediated news landscape

4.1.1 Mentioned causes of the changes in media landscape

The media landscape has changed and with it the labour market for journalists as well. According to respondents, there is one foremost reason that comes to mind immediately: digitalization. They also mentioned that before digitalization there was already less money available in the media industry, but they consider digitalization as the main cause for the further shrinking of the market.

“...big research projects [...] or [...] travel journalism, you cannot finance it yourself anymore. Those kinds of things, there is just no money for it [...] (There is) fewer money than there used to be [...] That is one big change. The other big change is digitalization” (JJH, p. 291)

The biggest effects of digitalization mentioned is the large quantity of free content available and with it the decrease of paid readers. Respondents agree that the Internet has caused an increase of free content that could be considered as competition. People can now choose from so much available content. Also, new online initiatives in providing online content are growing. As a result, more information and news is available than before, especially online. It is like one respondent puts it: “...what has changed the most is that the supply of content has extremely increased [...] due to Internet the supply has exploded [...]” (AP, p. 262). This has led to an even more competitive news market.

With fewer readers and fierce competition, the non-digital media became less interesting for advertisers. This has lead advertising models for newspapers to crumble. In the experience of respondents, these are the most recent and biggest changes in the media landscape that affected the labour market for journalism. These changes also correspond with the literature about the changes in media landscape, as well as the statistics of print.

“You can simply see from the statistics of traditional newspapers that it is not going well. Paid subscriptions are decreasing and newspapers are trying to compensate the loss by increasing the subscriptions fees. *De Telegraaf* for example is doing that. *De Telegraaf* is reaching an audience and at some point they are going to look at what they are paying... 3-4000 euro a year for a newspaper subscription. That is a monthly

rent for a lot of people. That is just too much money [...] And it will continue this way eventually. In the meantime, the whole advertising model is collapsed” (TJ, p. 145).

4.1.2 The effects of the changes on the labour market

First of all, respondents responded that there is no exclusivity of news and media content anymore and that journalism content could be produced at very low costs, hence, the abundance of (free) content. A respondent formulates these changes as follow:

“1) Media are not exclusively the ones anymore that ‘send’, whether via paper or radio/TV; 2) journalism product can now be stored and researched infinitely for very cheap; 3) Also, cheap to almost free are now the barriers for communication between the journalists and the audience that are lowered” (JLu, p. 219)

It is obvious that Internet is the main disruptor and that online presence is unavoidable. Readers are now more present on the Internet, at online platforms and social media, which is why many news media are trying to reach them (the audience they have lost to the Internet) by going digital as well. However, the experience of most journalists who have worked for such media organizations is that they often fail to reach the audience online.

“And yet you see that journalism does not know how to cope with digitalization. Look, it costs a lot of money to make news, as it is not free. What does not mean that you cannot read it for free or offer it for free to the consumer, but then it also means that the money will have to come from elsewhere.” (AN, p. 249)

The biggest issue is that media organizations are having difficulties coming up with new business models for online that are able to finance production. One of the main reasons mentioned for this, is that readers are not used to pay for content anymore.

“One could think that newspapers will not be printed anymore, because no one reads print anymore these days and is therefore not able to finance itself. Part of press and distribution costs will disappear with it as well, that is about 30%. So, when that falls away, they could of course use those sources to invest in content, for example, online. However, it will still be complicated, because people are also paying less for online.” (AL, p. 176)

So funding should be acquired in another way, in which even the journalists have to partake in. Even though they were never involved in this process before, as they were used to focus on content only and not on commerce.

“...because there was a commercial side of media organisations. And the writing part or the content side were actually never intertwined with the commercial side, as they had very little to do with each other. Thus in a way, the editorial staff found themselves in an ivory tower” (TJ, p. 145).

However, this pressure of acquiring enough funding to finance production and make it profitable has led to dramatical changes within news organizations. Since finding a successful model is difficult, news organizations became more commercially focused and with it, practiced stricter control on efficiency among personnel, ultimately decreasing the level of freedom that most journalists were accustomed to.

“...the freedom disappeared and there was an organisation coercion and being present became compulsory. And that is very typical of how this has developed further, due to the market pressure you see that many organisations have been building in control mechanisms. They wanted to do the same, with less people, but still aiming at making more money. And then you see, that they feel forced to organize and strictly control details [...] Then, an almost neurotic forced feeling comes up to keep it all under control of whom is where. It is a wrong response, it completely does not work and it is very difficult for management to let go of this.” (KvdB, p. 312)

The same respondent felt that journalism in newsrooms is becoming more commercial, where it is all about rules, protocols, hierarchy, ratings, etc. In fact, he found it illustrated distrust of the journalist's capability. He calls this management approach Anglo-American of which he thinks limits journalists in their independency, while before it was the opposite, which he likes to call 'Rijnland thinking'. This was a returning opinion among the experienced journalists. It is one of the reasons why some journalists decided to resign and become a freelancer.

“So, I have been captivated by the “Rijnland” way of thinking for a while, and I am a supporter of bringing back the Rijnland model in journalism. “Anglo-American” is focussed on steering the viewing ratings, the number of editions, control and hierarchy. Rijnland thinking is leaving experts in their value by letting them practice

their profession in their own way and trust that they will do their jobs as good as possible. Thus, Anglo-American is all about rules, protocols, procedures, hierarchy, bureaucracy, while Rijnland is: go and solve it.” (KvdB, p. 312)

Another reason is the fact that newsrooms became more fragmented and activities more focussed on profits from the volumes of sales. This was not the case for newspaper only, but also for magazines, or print in general. Instead of letting journalists focus on content only, organizations let them focus on non-journalism activities like commercial events as well, hoping to gain more profits.

“It was a small publisher, commercialisation started to play a big role. They were just managing to survive financially. So, extra editions had to be produced, in order to be able to offer room for advertisements. However, you noticed that they were doing more for the sole purpose of making more money. For example, organising congresses, master classes, etc. Those were things that had to be done on top of the rest. So, everything became more fragmented.” (IJ, p. 128)

As one respondent calls it, editorial staffs at print are nervously experimenting as they are panicking about their future: “you see panic at print, at paper. It is slowly dying of course” (AN, p. 249). Another respondent adds:

“The newspapers are dead. It will become very difficult for both the public broadcaster and newspapers to justify subsidy when anyone can start their own TV station and newspaper online.” (JLi, p. 211)

Furthermore, opinions about the future of print varied. A common pattern is that all respondents believe that there will be less print initiatives available than online and that print will have to partake online activities. However, where mostly the beginning freelance journalists and elderly freelance journalists believe that print will disappear eventually, the mid-career freelance journalists think that print will keep playing a big role in the industry.

“(the media landscape is) fairly old-fashioned of course, because the old media brands and organisations are still there. There is much speculation about the disappearing of newspapers and how important they will become, but actually most of them still exist. There were all kinds of mergers and more, but essentially old

media organisations still play a big role [...] there are more new things, but yet you do not see many old things disappear” (AP, p. 264).

Where some respondents think that print will disappear due to non-successful advertising business models, others think that print will eventually survive if they manage to find another business model. One of these aspects of a new business model is according to respondents the employment of flexible freelancers. For example, another common experience is that print newsrooms are cutting back in social capital preferring to work with journalists on flexible terms in a freelance construct, as this is cheaper and less risky for them.

“(print) will keep pressing. Even more so, print is increasingly more working with freelancers, because they are often resorting to thin out editorial staffs. That is why fulltime employees are getting more busy and why freelancers are approached for doing these things” (AL, p. 176)

Respondents think that this flexible layer of freelancers will only grow and will be more present than editorial staff workers with a long term CAO contract. A respondent calls the few journalists with a fulltime contract and old CAO’s at the bigger newspapers the ‘dinosaurs’, as they are in the minority while the amount of freelancers is increasing among the editorial staff at print (and also at online newsrooms). She refers to newsrooms with more flexible workers than fulltime workers as a “thinned out” editorial staff (or in Dutch a ‘romp’ redactie) of which all others are freelancers (AN, p. 249). Another respondent also expresses a similar experience in which he finds that the current media landscape is not catching up fast enough with the trends. Respondents consider the industry in a transition phase.

“(the media landscape is) in transition. (It is like) the car has just been invented, but most transportation is still going by horse. Even though actually only the elderly are taking this ‘beast’.” (JLu, p. 219).

The trend of more freelance journalists than fulltime journalists is a common experience among all respondents. For the starting journalists and the journalists who were discharged, becoming a freelancer was more out of necessity. Take for example, the respondent that applied for a job at the NRC with 1000 other candidates and was turned down. She could not find an editorial job and decided to start for herself.

“I applied for a job at NRC-Next with maybe 1100 other applicants and thus the competition was enormous. Then the choice was, do you go for less, for the fast news and the short news articles at local media, or will you make things that you have always wanted to make and find your own way of reaching your target audience?” (GvH, p. 330)

Finding new ways of generating income is the main shift in the market of journalism. Many journalists felt forced to become a freelancer and think entrepreneurial even though they do not want to be or do not consider themselves an entrepreneur.

“A lot of freelancers have become freelancers by force. They have not become freelancers, because they enjoy the freedom so much. They are freelancers, because they could not get a fixed job. Maybe you could call this “forced entrepreneurship”, but it is not a choice by will. That is why I think you cannot call that entrepreneurship, but simply freelancing” (RM, p. 235).

Thus, due to fewer funds and profits, digitalization and competition, a recurring observation is that journalists experience that there is no automatic legacy for the individual journalist and the bigger media organizations. Everyone faces the challenge to manage to survive financially in this changing market.

“You do not have an automatic legacy in journalism anymore. That is not only the case for individual journalists, but also for the bigger publishers. They are all constantly thinking of how they could adjust to the market. It is a challenge that we all have to face.” (JLi, p. 211).

4.1.3 Shortage of journalism jobs: forced freelancers and extended internships

The experiences of the digitally, mediated news landscape vary per journalist, but there seems to be a pattern of similar experiences among certain groups of journalists. For example, the starting journalist or the recent graduates without journalism experience among the respondents, found it extremely difficult to find a job in a newsroom at one of the bigger media organizations, such as the *NRC-Next* or *NOS*. For example, one respondent said that even though she interned at *NOS* and was already ‘inside’, it was still very competitive and they rarely hired new people (KS, p. 305). Another respondent said that he was not aware of the fact that there was so much competition among applicants at newspapers.

“I applied at NRC-Next, but without success [...] back then I had sent an email saying “it would be fantastic if I could write pieces for you when I am in New York”. And then I did not know yet that they receive emails like that almost every hour.” (EJP, p. 274)

Most respondents said they felt they were not properly prepared for such a competitive labour market, while a decade ago, the common thought was that there were enough jobs for journalists and that there would be a job waiting for them after graduating. One respondent said that the Journalism schools also used to have the general idea that after applying there would be a job (GvH, p. 330). Another respondent also thought that a graduating journalist would always find a job, but now he mentions that he experienced that there are no jobs available anymore and that the rare hiring of young people at newspapers are financed by the government (KvdB, p. 312). It is not a realistic idea anymore to think that right after graduating there will be a journalism job available. One respondent argues that graduates would have to invest in networking and write pieces for free for blogs and online websites, in order to gain more experience and build a portfolio. She calls journalism of nowadays ‘rock and roll journalism’, which means investing a lot of time in it and take what you can get (EL, p. 190). That is why most beginning journalists seek their journalism activities in internships, often for a very low financial compensation or even for free.

“I stayed around at *Follow the Money* after my internship for a very low compensation [...] the first year after my study ... I still considered that period as a learning school. That is also how Erik Smit from *Follow the Money* sold me that low salary, and also to others. You should see it as an extension of your internship and that is what I did “ (RM, p. 235).

Thus, the market has changed and the general experience is that there is a shortage in journalism jobs. The employers are also aware of the difficult, competitive market, in which there are more journalists than jobs available. They often recruit beginning journalists as cheap labour force; selling them the value of being associated with the title of their media organization as good profiling on their resume.

“That is also the argument that is used very often, if people want you to work for free for them, then they say: “Yes, but it is really good for your resume” [...] Actually, that is a bit dubious, because I think you should be very careful with working for free. You can quite ruin it (for others) in the market” (AN, p. 249).

However, not only the starting journalists experience difficulties in gaining a job. Also, many experienced journalists already working in a newsroom find it difficult to gain or retain a job. They encounter the consequences of the market pressure by having their employment terminated or feeling forced to resign due to internal changes. One respondent says that she is approached by lots of journalists, both inexperienced and experienced journalists, who cannot find a job asking her for work, even if it is not paid. She explains that they do not have anything else to do and rather want to keep busy with writing fun pieces for a platform than doing nothing at all (EL, p. 190).

So, it seems that both starting journalists and experienced journalist are experiencing difficulties in finding a job, especially with traditional media. The period where there was always job availability is gone, and more journalists do not see any other way then turning into freelancers in order to generate income in another way. Some even worry that new journalism graduates will only fuel the pool of unemployed journalists. For example, one respondent experienced that still most journalists are trying to get work at traditional media newspapers and argues that the real problem lies with the journalism schools: too many people are being schooled in something in which there is no work anymore (NH, p. 116).

It is a new reality for journalists that the labour market is extremely competitive and that the expectations of finding a job easily, are not valid anymore. In fact, most become forced freelancers and others work for low financial compensations or even for free. The next subchapter explores the thoughts of journalists on adjusting to this market by changing their way of thinking and attitude. This change of mindset is something that most journalists would like to see integrated in journalism schools, in order to better prepare new graduates for this new market reality.

“The point is that studies are very busy with working on how they could adjust their curriculum that is durable for the future. They also notice that lots of graduates cannot find a fixed job anymore in editorial newsrooms. One of the solutions is to train them as entrepreneurs so that they can work in their own company and still have a future for them and make sure they know how to work with multi media so they have something to offer to the market” (AP, p. 264).

4.1.4 Sub-conclusion: A new reality in journalism

Respondents experienced fewer money, digitalization and competition as the main causes for the changes in the news market. Fewer money in the industry has led to cut backs and

digitalization has led to an explosion of free content online. In turn, these changes resulted into a market where competition is fierce and journalism jobs are scarce.

Also, organizations are panicking and trying to find new business models in order to compete with free content. One of the consequences is the development of hiring more flexible freelancers and the dismissal of fulltime editorial staff and becoming more commercially oriented. Fulltime editorial staff therefore continues to shrink and more journalists feel forced to become a freelancer, in order to generate income in another way. This group of freelancers could not longer focus on writing editorial content only, now they have to think about the business side behind journalism as well.

Thus, the labour market for journalism has changed and it is time to face the new reality in journalism: the current, competitive market is tough and journalists will have to adjust, if they want to survive financially. Both media organizations and the individual journalists are not secured of their legitimacy anymore, and both have to think of other ways to generate more income.

4.2 Adjustments to the digitally, mediated news landscape

4.2.1 Commercial thinking and its challenges

Since the beginning of newspapers, there was a typical role division in which the journalists had the editorial freedom to write, while someone else managed the financial part. However, respondents argue that this role division has changed. One respondent explains that the commercial division of the newspaper had a business model based on exclusive knowledge gathered by journalists. Now that the role division is falling down, there is no exclusive knowledge anymore and journalists have another task of selling the own writing pieces (TJ, p. 145). Respondents therefore see the line between commerce and editorial content disappearing and find that any freelance journalist will now have to mind both sides. This change is a development that has led journalists to change their way of thinking.

“Yes, they used to be very good in the commercial side of building a mass medium and reach a large audience. That was the division of work and was quite handy, but that is not at all what journalists were involved in. They could spend 100% of their time, they could focus in hanging out in a bar, go to prostitutes, use drugs and then write a piece about it. And that was then sold by others, but [...] that role is indeed changing” (TJ, p. 145).

The new reality is that journalists will now have to sell contents themselves and find ways to reach their audience. It is like the previous respondent already mentioned: "... fortunately there are lots of opportunities to express and give way to that changing role" (TJ, p. 145). Most journalists cannot find work elsewhere or they feel pressured in an organization and therefore feel they have to create work themselves.

"... then after a year, I finally left, because it went financially bad with the publisher. I thought, well, or they fall down, or I [...] so I would rather go and create my own work" (IJ, p. 128)

Respondents refer to this new way of seeing and approaching things, as commercial thinking. Commercial thinking involves thinking about ways to generate income, besides creating content. It is about putting a product or service in the market in such a way that one can and generate money with it. Earning income as a freelance journalist is in fact similar to commercial thinking, because it is about profiling oneself in a certain way with other people, so that they are prepared to give money for what you can do for them. That is why respondents think that everyone that has to earn income in a creative manner other than through a fulltime payroll is busy with creating commercial value. For example, through one's knowledge of a certain subject or expertise.

"So, in fact you are already commercially active, because you are trying to profile yourself in a certain way with people, and in a manner of speaking, trying to convince them to be prepared to pay money for your services. And that could be for writing something, or asking you to give a presentation, workshop or congress, well, that kind of stuff. Actually, that is very important, that you are trying to create commercial value and show that you know a lot about a specific theme or have an expertise" (AP, p. 264).

This means that the journalists who became freelancers unwillingly are also partaking in commercial thinking. As a matter of fact, respondents consider the group of forced freelance journalists a direct consequence of commercial pressure.

"...those (freelance journalists) are the response on that. They are partly not participating in it (commerce) and partly they have no other choice, because they have to generate income. And then we are talking about a lot of journalists, for example, the self-employed freelancers who cannot find a job anymore, are taking on

commercial activities for organizations, such as PR and copywriting etc.” (NH, p. 116)

A respondent explains that they need to adjust to commercialization, because even as a freelance journalist it is difficult to find a job. “...it was falling down and rise up again. In the beginning it was definitely only loose jobs, a short movie production there... but almost none was journalism” (JB, p. 104). So they have to adjust and take on other jobs, otherwise they cannot make a living.

Another respondent also comments that writing for journalism organizations only, is not enough to finance all living costs. That is why he and many other journalists have other commercial (side)jobs besides journalism: “I present things and am chairman at debates. Yesterday I had to talk together a diner in Ahoy [...] (and) coming Tuesday I will lead a debate in Arminius, about Rotterdam a bike city. Those are all loose jobs on the side” (GM, p. 221). Other respondents agree and also mention that they take on other jobs, such as giving a workshop or perform copywriting, because it makes more money than journalism. That is why they argue that they need to think more commercially about the ways they can generate income in another way and be flexible in taking on non-journalism jobs that bring money in the pocket. It is like one respondent puts it: “it pays the bills” (AN, p. 249).

“That is the case for a lot of freelancers. Especially, when you are writing for traditional media, such as newspapers. Then you earn such a low income that you cannot manage to financially come by. I think freelancers take on writing jobs for commercial organizations, for example, because it pays much better. And from all the things that I write, I also notice that when I give a presentation or workshop that I earn much more money with that, compared with the time and effort I invest in it” (AP, p. 264)

Even though many journalists are commercially active, they are aware of the fact that commercial jobs can influence their journalistic independency and credibility. One respondent says that the combination of journalism assignments with other non-journalism assignments is necessary, but that it does come with moral predicaments: “you are not working independently on a fulltime base anymore and half of the time you are selling your soul to the devil, the commercialization” (RK, p. 162). For example, a concern expressed is that commercial writing jobs are not journalism anymore, but public relations (AP, p. 264). Journalists feel that they do not have the position to refuse a job, but they have also not “encounter anything of which I thought that I could not justify to myself” (JB, p. 104). The

interests of the commercial organizations may influence the writing process, especially when the organization wants to achieve a certain image. Some consider this as an alarming development, but others simply see it as a challenge to be transparent about it with their readers:

“In January we started a partnership, it is indeed a partner of us. We have written an article about it, about why we are doing this, what it means, and after every article within Architecture we put their logo with it, showing that it has been made possible by... And then you can click through to the original article in which we explain about the partnership. So, we are trying to keep that as transparent as possible.” (EL, p. 190)

It is also a change of perspective to consider commercial clients as partners, as previous quote illustrates. So, it is considered to be a challenge to think commercially from the perspective of what the consumer/reader or the advertiser/partner wants, and at the same time stay true to independent content. The concerns expressed by journalists are there because they feel that this development might lower the quality of journalism. However, a common reaction to the word commerce is the argument that commerciality is not wrong or ‘dirty’ anymore and not necessarily a bad influence on content:

“...commerce is a term with a negative association, because you let yourself be influenced by financial interests, but this is not entirely correct. Newspapers have always been commercial products and operated in a market in which they had to attract advertising and sell their products to customers” (AP, p. 264).

Another respondent literally gets annoyed when journalists get inclinations with the word commerce: “commerce simply means that you want to reach an audience. Journalists are writing for an audience and not for the writing itself. Journalism is not about journalism” (TJ, p. 145). That is why respondents see it as a responsibility for a journalist to engage, attract and interact with the audience. A responsibility that was not necessary before, but which is now, and actually always had been. The commercial side was always already a part of journalism, but journalists never really had to engage in this. Now it is different and commercial thinking is considered a necessary adjustment to the changing market.

4.2.2 Commercial collaborations with partners and readers

Respondents say they think it is possible to practice journalism within a commercial context, as long as they are being honest, transparent and open about it to readers. They are also

collaborating more with other journalists and organizations, and prefer to partner up with those who share the same intrinsic values. This way the commercial collaboration will make sense to the audience.

“Air, the architect center of Rotterdam has in a matter of speaking “adopted” our architect section. They support us with a financial amount every year, because they say: “our mission is to stimulate debate and urban development in the city. And you are doing that very well online, so we would like to be a part of it” [...] It does mean that we mention under every article that we are cooperating with Air” (EL, p. 190).

When the audience understands the choices made by the journalist or publisher, for example by being transparent, they will be prepared to support the journalist or platform. According to respondents, the same form of commercial collaboration in print through periodical fees from readers is possible for the individual journalists or the online platform. One respondent even refers to payment from readers as the purest form of finance in journalism, because they are the audience that is written for.

“Yes, it is possible of course. I think honesty and transparency are the most important ‘weapons’ for a journalist. The moment that you are busy with reaching an audience, that is one of the purest forms of financing. Look, if you go to Coca-Cola that is different, but the purest form of financing journalism would be if you could build a large enough interested audience with a financial infrastructure, so that your readers can pay for your work.” (TJ, P. 145)

Paid content is another development in adjustment. Both journalists and audiences are getting more accustomed to paid content. Where content was free for a while, more freelance journalists come up with creative ways of receiving funding from readers. This is what respondents call creating commercial value, which is therefore part of commercial thinking, or as respondents call it “commercial collaborations”. Since more journalists are thinking commercially, it is believed that we are in a transition phase of free content to eventually paid content, with audiences that are willing to pay for it. Again, the term ‘transition phase’ is used.

“I do think that consumers will get used to paying for content. For example, Netflix is a success. Of course, it is another niche, films and series. Still, I believe that people

are prepared to pay for content, but that we are yet [...] in a transition phase” (AN, p. 249)

4.2.3 Specializing in a niche market

Another noticeable adjustment is that journalists think they should specialise and become an expert in a certain niche. Even though one respondent say that most journalists want a little bit of everything and have “fomo” as in “fear of missing out”, she argues that there are just a few very good generalists (AN, p. 249). Even though generalists are easy to stir especially those in payroll, Specializing, for example in a couple themes is becoming increasingly important as one cannot be good in five things and that is why they should choose one or two to build a brand in (JJH, p. 291). According to another respondent, finding a niche and specialize in it is a way of building market value (NH, p. 116). Finding a niche and profiling oneself accordingly, is therefore something that is considered to be part of commercial thinking.

“... you create value in the market by differentiating [...] we are still searching like crazy for good journalists who have a specific niche or specialty, a correspondent ‘food’ or something. They are very difficult to find, because most people are still trained to be all-round journalists. For two years you are covering themes within the country, then for two years economics and then foreign correspondence. I think that Internet journalism requires people who can practice in-depth journalism in a specific niche” (EJP, p. 274)

Specializing is also another way of profiling and becoming more attractive to potential employers. A respondent that used to be a generalist and has worked fulltime for several newsrooms for years, has now created his own specialism: “My added value is that I have coupled journalism with creativity and that is my specialty. I am the only specialist in this on the planet” (KvdB, p. 312). He does believe that someone with a crazy specialism will be able to get hired by an online newspaper like NRC-Next, because they are searching for journalists who think different from the mainstream journalists, or who knows everything about media or have written a book about a trendy topic. Specialization is therefore considered to be a strong asset if one would like to become successful in this competitive market.

Another finding is that the inexperienced journalists, who had not much trouble with finding work as a freelancer, are those that already started a specialism early on and chose to do an internship from this perspective. They were prepared for the competitive market before graduating and got to pluck the fruits of their early work, because they are now financially combing by and are even approached with job offers. Take for example a recent journalism

graduate who made sure she interned at well-known media organizations, which helped her with getting regular freelance assignments from other prestige media, such as National Geographic (MW, p. 341). Or another recent journalism graduate who started writing blog articles specifically and purposively about a specific theme, finance and economics, during his study. Through his portfolio of articles, he landed another job right after graduating:

“(I think) that specialization is the future. Everyone has his or her own little garden and when a nuclear bomb explodes, then you know that you will need to go to the correspondent Energy for example. That is what I have taken into account [...] I have done my summer internship at *Quote 500* for two months and that did not count for my study, but was for the purpose of profiling a clear specialism of mine”
(RM, p. 235)

Another example is the respondent who found that almost all journalists know a little bit of everything and he decided to learn something that was rare, a language that most journalists do not know. He used that language to write a book during his graduation, about a culture of which not much was known yet about due to the language barrier. After that, his book got published and his specialty and expertise was well known and he never had to search for jobs anymore, because he got approached for work (JLu, p. 219). Thus, those that specialize and profile themselves early on, will not have much trouble with competition.

Interview data also revealed that those who still have to position themselves in the market and gain certain brand awareness in their specialism are prepared to finance themselves with savings or governmental allowances, such as unemployment benefits. They have adjusted to the market by accepting the fact that at least the first year they will probably not earn enough money to meet their living costs. Respondents compare this with entrepreneurship, since entrepreneurs also financially invest in something with the purpose to gain profit only after a certain period of time: “That piece is something you need to overbridge. I used my unemployment benefit for this purpose until I achieved a regular stream of income through sales” (KvdB, p. 312).

4.2.4 Online as solution

We have stated that respondents experience that there is not enough money to finance their journalistic work. As data has shown, not generating sufficient income with journalism work is one of the main reasons why they become more commercially oriented. Finding efficient ways of distributing content is also part of commercial thinking. Respondents see online as a solution for cheap distribution. They find that digitalization has not only caused challenges to the news industry, but that it has also brought opportunities.

For example, more online journalistic initiatives rise up, because the financial risks of online publishing are low. It is like a respondent explains it: “besides newspapers and broadcasters that put almost anything online, (there are) also new online initiatives [...] that have fewer start-up expenses [...] because they do not have the burden of high printing costs” (AL, p. 176). Online is easy, cheap and the most efficient way of achieving a large audience. A respondent mentions that producing a TV commercial will cost someone tons of money, while the same principle via digital distribution costs almost nothing (JJH, p. 291). Respondents find the thresholds to distribute and publish online to be lower than offline. As a matter of fact, respondents see offline media/newspapers as a ‘prestige’ or as already mentioned as a way of self-publicity (IJ, p. 128; JLu, p. 219).

Online publishing is therefore becoming more common, because anyone can do it. For example, blogging is seen as an easy way to publish articles, profile one’s writing and reaching an audience, both readers and potential employers. Online publishing is seen as a way of adjusting to the digital environment. That is why respondents find that a journalist nowadays, should be able to efficiently and effectively make use of online distribution channels, for example through blogging, social media or any other digital distribution platform.

“...we use a lot of social media. That is very important. Twitter, Facebook [...] And we are just starting with LinkedIn [...] free advertising and using the audience to advertise your content among them, in a manner of speaking, is how smaller media organizations can grow. And that is a beautiful tool” (JLi, p. 211)

Using online channels for distributing content requires thinking in advance of ways in which to exploit the content further. For example, in such ways that it will reach a large audience of both readers and advertisers, and generate income. A respondent sees this as the trend to survive as a medium. He says that it is part of commercial thinking, coming up with ways of generating as much as possible advertising money:

“Something like *Buzzfeed* for example, you undoubtedly know them, they do that by reaching a large audience as much as possible. They invest in distribution via social media with silly things, pictures and movies, and I do not know what, and by committing sponsors. And nowadays, at the same time they invest with that money in serious journalism. So, on the one hand they are extremely commercial, but on the other hand they are trying to practice serious journalism. *Nu.nl* is also doing that; they are trying to keep their reach of an audience as large as possible, because they know

that is their only chance to survive. If they are the biggest news website of the Netherlands, then they are very attractive for advertisers” (AP, p. 264)

Even though online advertising is seen as a way of generating income, respondents also think that online advertising is starting to crumble due to platforms for advertisement such as Facebook and Google. That is why journalists will have to come up with other ways of generating income and respondents believe that online has many other opportunities of which a lot are not even discovered yet. For example, online has changed the common work process of journalists as deadlines are faster, readers can be used as sources of news, and articles can be re-used. In an online environment it is possible to publish every second of the day and communicate with readers all day long. Articles can be distributed in many different ways via the Internet and there are many opportunities to generate income by selling something around the story (AL, p. 176; TJ, p. 145).

Online is also seen as a solution for beginning journalists to gain more experience and showcase their work. Also, for experienced journalists, online is a channel for profiling and gaining brand awareness.

“Something like *De Nieuwe Reporter* has a popular reputation and is repeatedly in the media. So, actually you should make sure that you are also present and publish at such podia. Even though you have news that is not yet popular. Well, then people will talk or tweet about it - Twitter also helps. It actually works the same as blogging. I notice that when potential employers are searching for someone to give a reading or presentation, they go on Google and then find you. That is why I have named my blog in such a way [...] A lot of people look for someone who knows how the future of journalism will look like, and when they Google those words, they will find my blog” (AP, p. 264)

4.2.5 Business models online

Digitalization has also affected the profession of journalism as well. Respondents find that Internet has made technological advances in journalism possible. Where online used to be free, journalists now increasingly exploit it as a commercial tool. Some journalists have created their own publishing platform as an online white label magazine on which other journalists can publish their articles for free or for a fee/commission, for example TPO Magazine or Blendle (GvH, p. 330; JJH, p. 291). Others use online for making money through advertising, crowdfunding, paid subscriptions, etc.

“The biggest change of digitalization is that more things are possible than 20 years ago. The system that I created in which journalists can sell their articles to readers would not be possible 20 years ago, because there was no such technology available to make this happen” (JJH, p. 291)

Online is also the base for online journalism. Respondents consider online journalism as working and interacting with readers and committing them to content. Online is furthermore seen as an alternative platform for types of journalism that is considered rare and expensive nowadays, such as new ways of financing investigative journalism or in-depth journalism. The following respondent gives an example of how Internet is used as a tool to innovate journalism:

“... of course there are many opportunities to gather news, new ways of getting in touch with sources, for example, all those open data files. As a consequence, there are many investigative journalists who specialize in analysing data files, in order to find out if they can find news in there. For example, Local Focus that specializes in this” (AL, p. 176)

One of the respondents that started out as a blogger and became the editor in chief of the online edition of NRC-Next, has become a publisher and owner of an online news website through a successful crowdfunding campaign. He explains that reaching a large audience is essential in online journalism or in generating income and profit through content. They use social media and other theme-specific online communities to find readers, interact with them and interest them to go to their website and read their content. Of course, the content should be “ridiculously good” as he puts it:

“And of course it starts with ridiculously good pieces. That is the basic, but then... we try to find an audience in place where they already are. So, we do not say that we are going to create our own community or stay at our own platform. No, we go and attract and engage people in other online communities where they already are, give them what they need over there and then attract them to our platform.” (EJP, p. 274)

Thus, respondents consider online as a solution. Online could be used as a profitable, efficient and effective platform to reach an audience and generate income through sales. Online is also seen as a way of experimenting with new business models.

4.2.6 Sub-conclusion: Commercial shift in journalism

Journalism does not pay the bills anymore and journalists are searching for other ways to finance the practice of journalism. More journalists are working for free or are using savings and governmental allowances to finance their living costs until they reached another stable stream of income. This is a shift in journalism, because most journalists are now engaging in non-journalistic and commercial activities in order to generate sufficient income. The traditional role of the journalist who only sticks to the editorial content and has nothing to do with the commercial side of it, has changed and journalists are taking on multiple roles.

A main change is that journalists are now adapting to the market by taking on a more commercial attitude and mindset. They are thinking more about how businesses can make money and from the perspective of what customers, the readers/audience and partners, want. Journalists are aware that they need to specialize in niches and profiling oneself for the benefit of attracting audience and potential employers. They are thinking of ways to market their work as a product or service and find customers willing to pay for it. Journalists are also increasingly using the Internet as a commercial tool and as an efficient distribution channel for content. Online is therefore seen as an opportunity to make money and reach an audience.

However, from interview data became clear that most journalists do find it a challenge to combine commercial thinking with independent journalism. It is a new area for most. Yet, the same journalists are not concerned about the commercial side behind journalism. As long as they are honest and transparent in their choices of commercial collaborations to their readers, they believe it will not cause any harm to add commercial thinking to the job responsibilities of the journalist of nowadays. In fact, the main responsibility in commercial thinking for a journalist is believed to be the responsibility to reach an audience, as they are the ones that are written for.

4.3 Entrepreneurial journalism

4.3.1 Entrepreneurial journalist vs. Fulltime employee and traditional freelancer

According to respondents, there is a difference between freelance journalists who regularly work for the same organizations and entrepreneurial journalists who have several customers. First of all, the former group does not work for themselves. For example, a common pattern is that journalists find it difficult to define themselves as something other than an employer or freelancer. They have a job somewhere with an editor who gives them instructions, or they are a freelancer and have a client who tells them what to do. A respondent refer to both examples as “feudal forms of employment” in which there is always someone who tells the journalist what he or she should do (TJ, p. 145). Journalists who act as an employee cannot

make decisions by themselves, because they always need to take organizational factors into account (EJP, p. 274; KvdB, p. 312). That is why respondents argue that some journalists are not able to survive in this market, because they are still behaving like employees waiting for instructions while they should start creating opportunities themselves.

“Journalists should learn from the music business, as they are an example of how you can cope with a similar development in a new way. The starting point is: we are going to make things that we like... Then we will look for ways of how we can finance it, for example, through a contract or distribution deal, or whatever. Or give performances and see if Youtube video or other channels are appropriate fits, etc. Again, the main point is: we are going to do something that we love and try to do that as best as possible.” (TJ, p. 145)

A respondent that has worked for various bigger media organizations and has now started his own news website, states that the first thing that comes to mind when he thinks about entrepreneurship is “freedom” (EJP, p. 274). The journalist who dares to think differently and see things from a commercial perspective is able to claim the freedom to make his or her own decisions as an owner and entrepreneur for the financial welfare of the business.

Besides seeing things from a commercial perspective, entrepreneurial journalists are also taking risks. Where fulltime employees and freelancers, who also work similarly as fulltime employees, are secured of income every month, the entrepreneurial freelancer is not even guaranteed of their existence in the nearby future (EJP, p. 274). Another example of taking risks is that entrepreneurs are experimenting with ideas. As mentioned before, thinking from a commercial perspective is coming up with ways to make money in the business with a journalism product that an audience want or need. The only way to find out what customers want and like is through experimenting.

“And you have to acknowledge that designers and developers are as important as journalists, for telling a story nowadays. They are the ones who can design the technology for the future. And we, journalists, cannot possibly come up with that as good as they can. And I think that you should know how to reach an audience. Know where they are and where not... and absolutely be not afraid of cannibalisation of which many other traditional media organizations are afraid. You should just dare to experiment” (EJP, p. 274).

Experimenting and taking risks of investing money in creating a journalism product that will sell with the hope of profit, is why respondents define entrepreneurship as daring to take financial risks: “I have just worked on a book without any income for 20 months; or in other words, I have risked my own capital. That is pure entrepreneurship” (JLu, p. 219). Another respondent adds to this definition of entrepreneurship: “the definition of entrepreneurship is taking risks. That what you want to achieve can work out well or fail” (JJH, p. 291). Taking risks is therefore why commercial thinking is considered to be part of entrepreneurial thinking.

Furthermore, journalists were traditionally not supposed to be commercially involved, which is why most journalists have difficulties to define themselves as entrepreneurs and behave accordingly, often failing to be successful in this profession nowadays.

“Nowadays every journalist needs to be an entrepreneur or at least be entrepreneurial. In general, this means that you should have at least a commercial awareness. It might be a weak interpretation of the term, but it does illustrate a very important shift in journalism. It has always been ‘not done’ to associate journalists with commercial interests and that they should be involved in creating a commercial product and selling it to people” (AP, p. 264).

It is also believed that entrepreneurial journalists have a certain inner motivation to do their work and make it a success. They do not work for the money, but for fun. They are considered to be entrepreneurial because they have goals that go beyond their individual self needs. They often have a vision of changing the market for the better through their products and services.

“A higher goal means; with my work, do I serve a goal higher than myself other than paying off my mortgage debt? And for me that “save journalism’ in some way, or “bring back creativity in journalism”. Make sure that creativity is an essential component, or even the existential component of journalism. My heart lies with journalism, because I think that it has a great appreciative value in a society and democracy. And I want to strengthen that with creativity. So, I have mission that is bigger than myself. It maybe too big, but I like to come close.” (KvdB, p. 312)

Respondents regard entrepreneurial journalists as modern freelance journalists compared to the employees and the classical freelance journalists who behave like typical employees. Even though employees can behave entrepreneurial if their job allows them to think

creatively and come up with commercial ideas, which respondent prefer to call “content related entrepreneurship” (AL, p. 176), they are still not fully dependent on or responsible for the financial side. Entrepreneurs on the other hand, need to market their product or services, taking into account the profitability on top of taking care of the editorial content. Respondents refer to this as “financial entrepreneurship” (GM, p. 221), which comes down to coming up with successful business models (online). Another respondent explains this as follows:

“...practice journalism in another way. And then not only having an idea about the product, but also about the overall financial picture [...] it is not about making productions only, but also knowing how much it costs and how you can raise funds for it [...] knowing how to appreciate the product for its value and to develop it further so you can bring it to a higher level” (GvH, p. 330).

4.3.2 A combination of functions

In entrepreneurial thinking the freelance journalist is taking financial risks to make profit. We have seen that commercial thinking is part of entrepreneurial thinking, but in fact, an entrepreneurial mindset goes even further. The main competence of entrepreneurial journalists is that they have to be creative to come up with ways of making money with the content or with activities around the published content. A respondent explains that most journalists write something and when it is published they take their hands off of it, thinking they are done. However, he explains, the journalism work process has changed in this current market and where publishing used to be the end result for the journalist, it is now only the middle part of their work process. After that, their main responsibilities are the many different ways of finding an audience and generate sales:

“After you have written a piece, do make sure you sell it. Make sure you can reach an audience with it, because when it is published, the work is not finished. As a matter of fact, it is not someone else who has to take care of it after publishing than the writer himself [...] Publishers have fewer budgets, while the opportunities to publish something yourself is increasing. For example, social media... You can very easily take care of an important part of marketing yourself, so it is not necessary to hide behind a big media brand. There are many ways for a journalist nowadays to be closer with their readers. And also to earn money in that way.” (TJ, p. 145)

Entrepreneurial thinking does not only include taking financial risks, it also includes reaching an audience by thinking of distribution channels and marketing. True entrepreneurial journalism is the marketing of oneself as a brand and the marketing and positioning of a

journalism product, but there are not a lot of journalists yet who dare to think from a marketing perspective (AP, p. 264). Another respondent defines entrepreneurial journalism by describing three aspects: “next to creating things, the three most important are sales, marketing and distribution” (JJH, p. 291). The same respondent also argues that entrepreneurial journalists are essentially publishers, because the main aspects of being an entrepreneur is the same for publishers:

“(Entrepreneurial journalists are) more publishers than entrepreneurs. You have to publish yourself [...] and a publisher has two main responsibilities, no, actually three: the positioning of the brand, the commercial execution and budget management [...] (so) the own marketing and sales. And lets say that in general, you should be (aware of) your own brand. You are your own newspaper.” (JJH, p. 291)

Other respondents agree that entrepreneurial journalism used to be the job of publishers, while nowadays it is also the job of every individual journalist who can operate in the digital domain (AL, p. 176). Others consider entrepreneurial journalism as a combination of functions, that of a journalist, publisher and marketer. Nowadays, a journalist is only complete when he or she knows how to put the other functions into practice (GvH, p. 330). Entrepreneurial journalism in practice is therefore a journalist who knows how to multi-task and take on different roles in sales, marketing, publishing, etc. According to respondents, it has become the extension of the journalist’s job.

“...in the past.. you just handed in your bundle of stories - still a lot of people are doing that of course - and then those were delivered to readers. While nowadays, you really have to get to work to make sure that your stories will reach people and be delivered to readers or an audience at all [...] (this means) that you are not only the author, but also the marketer and the publisher, all at the same time” (EJP, p. 274).

4.3.3 Competencies

When respondents talked about entrepreneurial journalism, a set of competencies repeatedly came up that is believed to be necessary in adjusting to the market. For example, journalists should not be afraid for commerce. They should strongly believe in themselves and in their ideas, product or services.

“You should not be afraid of commerce. You should believe you are better than your competitors and should not be afraid to say it out loud. You should be very clear in

who you are and what you can do. A part of it is true and the other part will become a reality after a while.” (GvH, p. 330).

Besides creating content and writing stories, the modern, entrepreneurial journalists want to change or add something to the journalism landscape. It is about finding a gap in the market or creating a need and then provide in that need. Knowing how to communicate about it, which is a feeling for marketing, and be able to sense (how to use) those kinds of opportunities, are competencies that journalists should possess or learn nowadays.

“Erik Smit for example has a clear idea of why *Follow the Money* exists and which value it brings to the journalism landscape. Or Rob Wijnberg from *De Correspondent*, has not established *De Correspondent* just to make stories, but to fill a gap in the market. They are trying to provide that what is still missing. That is also what Jort Kelder is trying to do with *925*. Thus, add something to the market is what entrepreneurial journalists want to do and are able to. So, it is about thinking further than the editorial content only” (RM, p. 235).

Specializing helps with gaining brand awareness and an entrepreneur needs to build his brand. That is why marketing and promotion is another important aspect of entrepreneurial journalism that is mentioned a lot. Journalists should be able to profile themselves, in order to be visible, not only for potential employers but also for readers, both online and offline.

“Specializing only is not enough. If you know a lot about real estate and people cannot find you by googling ‘real estate journalist’ then your specialisation is of no use. So, the visibility online has definitely helped me further” (RM, p. 235)

Respondents say that the same visibility is also important offline. Every journalist should be able to make use of the own network, or build a network of people that can be of use to him or her. However, networking seems to have a bad ring to it, just like the word promotion or acquisition. Some journalists mail all their contacts with a short introduction of who they are what they do (IJ, p. 128), others use social media and blogs as a way to profile themselves and showcase their work. However, most journalists prefer to use the old fashion way of mouth-to-mouth publicity.

“What I do is a lot of mouth-to-mouth publicity. And journalists are very critical people, so if you have been noticed by enough people and have left a good

impression then they will sell you to other people. And that is what happened [...] I really like new media, but my acquisition and promotion are showcasing what I can do by giving readings, workshops or trainings.” (KvdB, p. 312)

Even though they are doing it, they do not want to call it networking. They like to call it taking initiative and being assertive in approaching specific people and letting them know what they do (EL, p. 190; RM, p. 235). This could be via people one gets to know during work, or other journalists asking for advice and referrals, or remembering acquaintances from events and keep in touch with them.

“Networking is often used or applied in a wrong way, it is not about strolling off all network events and get noticed by editor in chiefs at those events [...] it is about finding yourself in a specific environment of your interest and then get to know people from there. Networking is simply not getting to know as much people as possible though, but knowing what you are interested in writing about and then talk to people about it from that sincere perspective. Then it will all start to roll...”
(RM, p. 235)

Other typical competencies entrepreneurial journalists should have are flexibility, internal drive and perseverance. Experimenting what works and what not is trial and error and one should be very motivated to keep on going. A large degree of flexibility and creativity is necessary when one does not get what he or she expected and as a consequence have to change their plans.

“you have to balance on the border of flexibility and at the same time still keep your dignity. Employers think that there are 10 other people in your place, so they can ask the silliest thing from you or offer you something low, or whatever. I think that when you can really make something happen and deliver quality, then you will be in a stronger position to make demands and be a bit picky. But then again, only when you can truly deliver” (AN, p. 249)

Another respondent says that the journalist of today should always be looking for new things to improve. That is part of an entrepreneurial attitude (EJP, p. 274). Entrepreneurship is about making products and following marketing, sales and distribution strategies, but when that does not seem to work well with customers, then one should innovate “because you need to connect with what your customers want. Only if you are failing in that, then innovation is

necessary” (JJH, p. 291). Another important competence is therefore the ability to evaluate results and improve where necessary. This requires creativity and flexibility, but also as mentioned before, the will to persevere.

We also saw that the sales component is another important part of the entrepreneurial mindset. Journalists admit that they could still learn more in this area, for example how to make budget plans, take taxes into account, pitch and negotiate their ideas and especially think from the demands and needs of the audience (AN, p. 249; GvH, p. 330; MW, p. 341).

4.3.4 Sub-conclusion: the entrepreneurial mindset

The biggest adjustment to the market among journalists is their way of thinking. Journalists have become more commercial and entrepreneurial. They have to think more from the clients/reader’s perspective in marketing their content. Putting the audience as consumer first in everything that the journalist does, is probably one of the main focuses of the entrepreneurial mindset. Besides creating and publishing content, reaching and keeping a loyal audience has become the end responsibility for freelance journalists nowadays.

Thinking entrepreneurial includes many competencies that a journalist should add to his or her daily set of activities and tasks. It means that the journalist of nowadays should be able to multitask and not sit still. Journalists have become entrepreneurial journalist, a publisher, a marketer and a bunch of other functions they combine when they accept commercial side jobs in order to financially survive.

Commercial thinking journalists are a shift in journalism that has resulted into entrepreneurial journalism. Where traditional journalism was focussed on creating editorial content only, entrepreneurial journalism includes many more commercial and entrepreneurial tasks. It is hard work and for some a complete change of thinking and acting, but it is considered by almost all respondents to be the way of surviving in the news market of today.

4.4 Future expectations of journalism

4.4.1 Traditional journalism vs. modern journalism

Respondents extensively elaborated on the traditional function of journalism. Besides creating content and write beautiful and critical stories, the journalist is still considered to be the watchdog of democracy: “journalists still see themselves as the controller of politicians” (TJ, p. 145). Journalists still have the responsibility to provide information and explain things in such a way that it is easy to digest, even though information is everywhere on the Internet. In fact, the abundance of information is why respondents think that this task will keep important:

“see the bigger connections (in the abundance of information) and be able to simplify and explain what is going on” (RK, p. 162). Respondents believe that the core of journalism will stay intact. In fact, they think that journalism will get even better, because the focus will now be more on what the public wants.

“In my opinion, the core of journalism is to be able to work independently and not be influenced by other interests, but only serving the interests of the audience and inform them in the best possible way” (AP, p. 264)

Another respondent explains that journalism is like a software, in which the software is the content that could stay true to traditional journalism values, and the way journalism is practiced and financed is the hardware, which could be changed without implications. He explains that the software is the essence of journalism that could stay intact, even though journalism is becoming more commercial:

“Software is the content and in content it is about practicing journalism in a democratic context, which means that you are basically a watchdog of democracy and controller of power [...] if you do that well and all those other things, then it is quite ok to have a commercial management, do you understand? However, the moment that you show characteristics of coping the wrong way with money [...] then is not ok, because then you are damaging the essence of journalism” (NH, p. 116).

As we saw from interview data, opposed to the traditional journalist, the modern journalist is considered to be the journalist who thinks from a commercial and entrepreneurial perspective. As previous quote illustrates, the essence of journalism does not necessarily has to change when commercial aspects are involved. We could therefore say that traditional responsibilities of the journalist will not change, but instead, more responsibilities could be added to the job description. Working processes have changed and combinations of functions with competencies are now part of the job. Respondents illustrated that they find these adjustments necessary in the current market. They say that journalism is not a regular profession anymore; it has become an expertise in which there will be fewer generalists and only the best will be successful to actually practice pure journalism (AN, p. 249; NH, p. 116). That is why respondents think that journalism will change, there will still be a need for journalists, but journalists will practice journalism in different ways.

The inexperienced or recent graduates have already adjusted their expectations from the market. They are aware that there are almost no fulltime jobs available for journalists and

that their opportunities lie online. Respondents are already expecting that they will be doing journalism on a part-time base, moreover for fun or because it is their passion, while doing other jobs pure for income.

“I hope to get at least one assignment on project base somewhere, so that at least half of my week is already scheduled in. The other half I would like to fill with freelance work in whatever or... as an editor for an online medium for a short while”

(RK, p. 162).

4.4.2 Journalism in different contexts

In a future where journalism is more commercially involved, profiling or specializing plays a huge role in the differentiation of one's work, product, brand or company from competition. Respondents already mentioned earlier that specializing in a niche is becoming increasingly important and it is even seen as the future (RK, p. 162). Another respondent sees specializing as the result of the fast changing technology that brought about abundance in content and in turn has changed the role of the journalist. He argues that society is depoliticised and therefore journalists as 'watchdog' or 'controller' has become less relevant. That is why journalists will go from news provider to information specialist.

“We are truly at the beginning of a massive change that will possibly keep changing, because technology keeps changing. Journalists as news providers have become redundant; everyone has a camera on his phone and prominent people can share their messages themselves on social media. There is a golden opportunity in the future of journalism though, as information interpreter in the chaos and tumult of information. However, not the sort of stories that stay at the surface that people are used to from newspapers, radio and TV. I think that journalists will manage a specific area of information and make that more approachable for the audience and frame themselves as 'insider' of that area...” (JLu, p. 219).

There will be no generalists anymore, but only the best of the best in a specific niche. All other journalists will not be practicing 'pure' journalism only, but partake in journalism related activities or practice journalism from other perspectives or in other 'genres'. For example, journalists will use journalism competencies, such as the curiosity for stories or the ability to write good stories for the use of arts, writing plays, or business, writing reports (NH, p. 116). Another respondent says that curiosity is one of the most important competencies a journalist of today should have: “independent/entrepreneurial curiosity. Invent questions yourself and answer these.” (JLu, p. 219).

Another finding is that respondents think that the objectivity of journalism will not be taken that strictly anymore. Since there will be more focused on what readers want, content will be adjusted from objective to a more subtle subjective, broader context.

“People are not fooled by *de Volkskrant* or *de NOS* that they are completely objective media, as this is not true. You can better be honest in what your angle is and explain what consumers can expect. People are also more interested in the opinions of journalists, thus in a broader perspective. Journalists do not longer necessarily have to be neutral about their opinion of political preference, as long as you are being honest about it. Not prescribing the readers what they should think, but providing an opinion will also sharpen the reader” (AN, p. 249).

4.4.3 Sub-conclusion: journalism has become a craft with genres

Traditional journalism values will stay the same, but new competencies, mindset and values are added to the job description of a journalist. The journalist could also take up other roles, for example, be a information specialist instead of a news provider, or even commercial roles such as PR. It is no longer possible to practice completely independent journalism, perhaps except for those who are working fulltime for a newsroom with a CAO contract. Journalists are practicing journalism in commercial contexts: writing stories for entertainment or commercial purposes, providing opinionated pieces, be an information specialist/adviser, etc. Journalism has become commercial, now that publishers are not the middle-man anymore and journalists will have to market their content and reach consumers themselves. From journalist’s perspectives it could be said that journalism is exercised in two genres: 1) practicing journalism with commercial jobs on the side without losing the essence of journalism/journalism independency, for example, give workshops or presentations, or 2) those that involve in copywriting and PR in which they lose their journalism independency. Either way, those who love to write or chase stories will practice journalism, because practicing journalism nowadays means financing it with other jobs. Journalism has therefore become a craft, instead of a profession.

5 | Conclusion

5.1 Synopsis and relevance

The news market is experiencing a similar development like the music industry; just as music became free, news has become more freely accessible through the Internet. Traditional advertising business models for newspapers and magazines are crumbling and journalists are losing their jobs due to shrinking newsrooms. There is more competition than ever between competitor-colleagues for employers and audiences, since more contractual based journalists become freelancers. What will exactly happen to journalists who cannot find a journalism job? And what does that mean for journalism in general? For example, is there still a future for journalism or in what ways will it change or maybe even disappear? How will journalists adapt? These sorts of questions were the main inducement for this research.

Moreover, literature suggested that journalists should operate more entrepreneurial by creating their own work opportunities, in order to survive financially. However, the term entrepreneurial journalism was not much covered yet by research, so there was no clarity about the interpretation of the term. There was also not much research available that was conducted among journalists in the Dutch market, so it was not clear if the statement corresponded with the field experiences of Dutch journalists. That is why the aim of this research paper was finding out how Dutch journalists have adapted to the news landscape that has been affected by digitalization and mapping in what ways journalists consider this to be entrepreneurial by conducting personal interviews with freelance journalists.

Furthermore, findings are relevant both for journalists and journalism in general, because it sheds light on what is actually happening in the market from the perspectives of journalists. The behavioural adjustments and plan of actions help provide ideas to journalists about how to cope with the shrinking market. It also illustrates that entrepreneurial journalism is indeed a way of survival for a journalist. That is why these findings may provide journalists valuable information about possible implementations of entrepreneurial journalism, as there is not much entrepreneurial awareness yet among journalists. Finally, findings contribute to the theories and explanations of entrepreneurial journalism in the Dutch market, because as mentioned before, the concept is not covered much yet in literature.

5.2 Main findings

The main findings provide an answer on the research question: *How do journalists adapt to the digitally, mediated news landscape and in what ways can this be considered entrepreneurial journalism?* First of all the experiences were explored, then their adjustments

and eventually their entrepreneurial endeavours. The following sub-questions are answered respectively in the following paragraphs: 1) What are the experiences of journalists of the digitally, mediated news landscape? 2) How have they adjusted to the digitally, mediated news landscape? 3) In what ways can their market adjustments be considered entrepreneurial journalism? Finally, a summary of the answers is given in the end that forms the main answer on the research question. Also, a conclusion is drawn about what these adjustments mean for the future of journalism.

5.2.1 Experiences

Respondent's main experiences involve the reasons why the media landscape has changed and the effects of it on the labour market: less money in the industry has led to many cutbacks, while free content due to digitalization, only doubled this effect. As a consequence, there is a shortage in journalism jobs and many journalists became forced freelancers. However, even as a freelancer it is still difficult to find paid assignments and most freelance journalists feel that they need to accept a new reality: the journalism market has changed into a competitive market in which journalism does not pay the bills; There is no automatic legitimacy anymore both for journalism organizations and the individual journalists. Journalists are experiencing that the industry is in a transition phase of several developments: from exclusive content to open content, from offline to moderately online activities, from editorial to commercial and/or entrepreneurial focused, from generalists and news provider to information specialist and finally from free content to paid content in the future.

5.2.2 Adjustments

Journalists feel that they have no other choice than to adjust to the new reality in journalism. Most journalists who could not find or keep a contractual based fulltime job became freelancers by force. Within the group of freelance journalists, there appears to be different categories: 1) the freelancer who is hired by organizations on a regular basis and work no differently than a fulltime employee, except for their flexible contract; 2) the classical freelancer who is actively searching for clients, but is operating like an employee, always waiting for instructions and mainly focused on delivering editorial content only; 3) and the freelancer with an entrepreneurial mindset who thinks from a commercial angle and experiments with ideas to make money that go further than the editorial content.

Despite the different categories, all freelance journalists find it hard to come by financially with journalism activities only. That is why they have accepted that they should be taking on other jobs on the side, such as giving presentations and workshops, or being a debate speaker or chairman/host - which are often based on a theme as extension of their editorial content- but also copywriting and Public Relations. For some, these journalism-

related and non-journalism jobs respectively, have become their main job and primary source of income, while practicing journalism has become the job on the side. It even goes as far as some journalists considering the practice of journalism as a craft and no longer a profession. Others fear that journalism will disappear, because more journalists are taking up commercial jobs and no longer practice pure journalism only. However, most are not very concerned about the commercial side behind journalism, as long as they are being honest and transparent about their choices to readers and make integer and responsible decisions. For example, mention that an “article is sponsored by/written in collaboration with...” or link to an article with a detailed explanation of what the commercial collaboration entails. It also includes making choices of whether or not to write about an organization when they are in the news, when the journalist has had a commercial collaboration with them in the past. Thinking commercially is not considered “not-done” anymore, in fact, it is considered to be the only way to survive financially as a journalist.

Commercial thinking comes down to making money with journalism, by selling content to both publishers and readers. It includes using the Internet as a commercial tool. For example, it is seen as a solution to many problems journalists face, such as reaching an audience and raising funds. That is why the Internet is mostly used for its efficient distribution channels for (publishing) content, such as blogs and social media, which are both also used as promotion tools of content. The same tools are also used for promotion of the journalist him or herself as a brand and since there is so much competition and less demand for journalists, specialization in a niche as an expert is considered a necessity. As such, content published in a newspaper is seen as prestige and for self-publicity purposes. Finally, journalists are supposed to find all kinds of new ways to raise funds for their work with help from their readers. For example, through crowdfunding, periodical fees for tweet posts, or selling tickets for activities surrounding the theme of the content, such as theme-specific events like tours and workshops.

5.2.3 Interpretation of entrepreneurial journalism

Where the standard competencies for journalism stay important - such as news judgment, reporting and evidence, language and storytelling skills, analytic and interpretation skills, taking responsibility for the quality of content, good writing skills, being a critical watchdog etc. (Drok, 2011, Tartu Declaration, 2013) - commercial thinking involves an additional set of competencies that is considered to be necessary in this new market reality. For example, where a journalist’s stronghold was his or her interest in a wide variety of topics, in other words being a generalist, it is nowadays all about being a specialist, as to differentiate oneself from the competition. The challenge in the competitive market of today is to reach and bind an audience, which means that journalists should think more from the customer’s perspective

in everything that they do. Reacting and adapting is not enough anymore, the journalist should take initiative and action for connecting with an audience and making money with their journalism products. Marketing skills, or at least a feeling for marketing and having a sort of antenna for what customers want or need, is important in reaching an audience. In short, sales, marketing and distribution define commercial thinking, but taking action and financial risks to achieve success, is where the entrepreneurial side comes in.

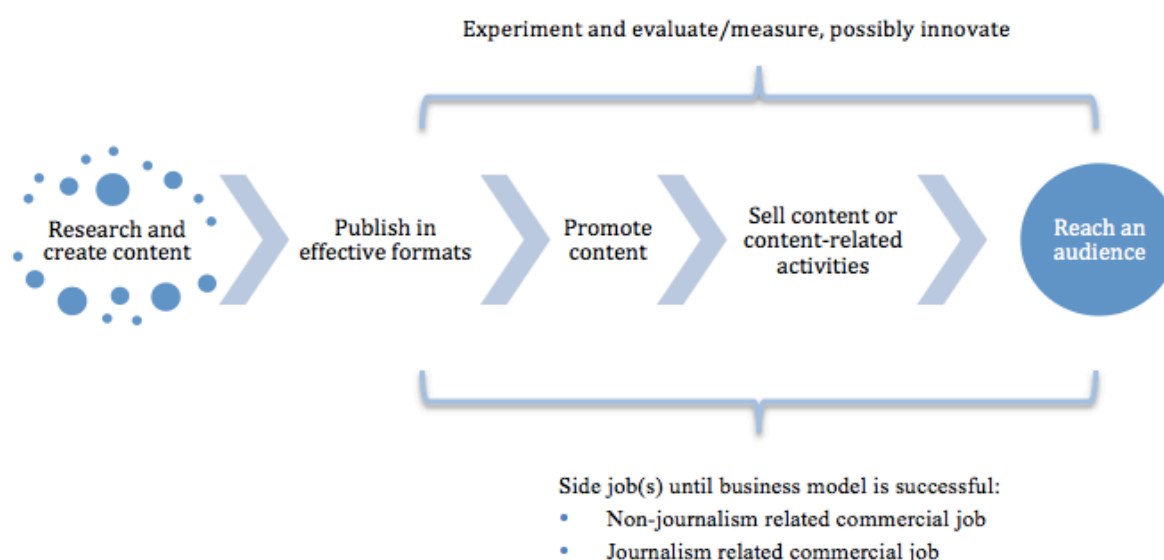
In other words, where commercial thinking involves marketing a product or service in the market with the purpose of making profit, entrepreneurial thinking is daring to experiment with ideas and risk financial capital. It is a trial and error process, because it requires the *courage* to try out something new that might fail, but then *learn* from it and try again. It requires *confidence* and *perseverance*, *believing* in oneself and the idea, because there might be long periods of uncertainty. It also requires a degree of *flexibility*, *creativity* and *innovative* capacity, to come up with solutions for problems, especially when ideas should be adjusted in another direction. That is why constant *evaluation*, measuring results and *self-reflection* are essential. Knowing how to deal with numbers and *manage budgets*, for example, in order to evaluate financial results, is another part of it. Also, taking initiative and coming up with questions to research and answer instead of waiting for instructions from an employer or client, is an entrepreneurial competence that journalists of today should have. Moreover, *networking* appears to play a major role in the lives of freelance journalists, with which is meant: getting in touch with people that are relevant in one's line of work through whom one might receive a paid assignment.

Furthermore, now that publishers have fewer budgets and journalists have many online opportunities to publish their work, the individual journalists are considered to be their own publisher. Like mentioned before, differentiating oneself is crucial in a competitive market, which is why most journalists started positioning themselves as a brand, just like a publisher would do for its newspaper or magazine. The main responsibilities of a publisher have now also become part of the responsibilities of the freelance journalist, which are similar to the commercial aspects: sales, marketing and distribution. The entrepreneurial journalist is considered to be combining job responsibilities of other roles: besides being a creator of journalism products, also being a publisher, marketer, distributor and salesperson. The tasks of these functions are now seen as work-related activities of the journalist. As one respondent puts it: "you are the head of all departments of your own shop, for example, the CEO of Marketing and CEO of Sales" (JJH, p. 289). This means that the journalist should also be able to manage collaborations and communications with experts from other areas as well as with partners and consumers. These roles and extra responsibilities, including the entrepreneurial

competences, are considered to be an extension of the job responsibilities of the journalist of today.

Where publishing content used to be the end result in the distribution chain of journalism, a published article is now just the middle part of the process; the chain is extended with other responsibilities that include reaching an audience and making money with the journalism product or with non-journalism activities surrounding it (see figure 5). Along these lines, entrepreneurial journalism includes most competencies of traditional journalism combined with entrepreneurial competencies that are similar to the basis of other forms of entrepreneurship. However, the main focus in entrepreneurial journalism is to produce a qualitative journalism product with the purpose of selling it to an audience for profit. Furthermore, a commercial side job that is journalism related could be presenting, speaking or giving a workshop about content, while commercial non-journalism related jobs could be copywriting and PR.

Figure 5: Reaching an audience



Journalism has therefore shifted from a place once shielded from commercial interests, to a very commercial and competitive environment where commercial thinking and entrepreneurial behaviour is the only way to financially survive as a freelance journalist. Journalism has changed from a profession one could make money with, to a craft. A journalist is not in the business for the money anymore, since nowadays journalism needs to be financed by commercial activities, private savings or social benefits. At least for as long as this ‘investment period’ takes, before they find a sustainable business model that enables

them to practice sole forms of journalism again. Entrepreneurial journalism is therefore defined as taking financial risks to successfully market a journalism product.

5.2.4 Summary

To summarize, results has shown that journalists experience the consequences of a shrinking market as similar to what was reviewed from literature: as a very difficult, competitive market in which staffs are reduced, jobs are scarce and a growing restriction on producing good journalism due to changing (financial) circumstances. Digitalization is considered to be the catalyst for these major changes in journalism. However, where one thinks that the old values and ways of journalism will disappear, others think the traditional values will be extended with new ones that will help journalists adjust to a competitive market. Moreover, journalists find that they should stop accepting that the market is shrinking and start helping make the market grow again. Even though there is not a 'correct' way found yet to do so, the majority believes there *is* a best way to do so: with an entrepreneurial mindset. Journalists should not only provide content, but also be involved in ensuring the probability of creating good journalism by taking action of the business side of journalism. The business side involves the distribution/publishing, marketing, sales and budget management of the editorial content and other events around it. This is considered to be entrepreneurial journalism (see figure 6).

Figure 6: Entrepreneurial journalism (is about reaching an audience)



The work process of journalism is also different in entrepreneurial journalism, in which the journalist should be able to think commercially, combine roles and possess additional entrepreneurial competencies on top of basic journalism skills. These competencies could be learned along the way, but journalism schools could also include these in the curriculum. It is not without reason that the Tartu Declaration of 2006 (composed list of competencies by the European Journalism Training Association) has been revised with entrepreneurial competencies in 2013 (Drok, 2011; Leurdijk, 2014; Tartu Declaration, 2013). Furthermore, the role of the journalist is also shifting, from news provider to information specialist and entrepreneur.

Thus, even though it was traditionally not expected of journalists to be involved in business, the financial circumstances of traditional media (mainly) due to digitalisation has redefined this understanding. It has led to a new term that is used to stipulate what the future of journalism may look like: entrepreneurial journalism. The term refers to the need for journalists to act in an economic sense. Innovating where necessary and exploring new opportunities for making a living has redefined the profession. The future of journalism is not ill fated and will not disappear, as long as journalists are willing to change and learn entrepreneurial competencies, which could innovate and eventually bring growth to the market. Whether or not we should call it 'traditional' journalism versus 'modern' journalism, it is a fact that entrepreneurial journalism will play a crucial role in the future of journalism.

5.3 Discussion

In this research, entrepreneurial journalism is interpreted in a few ways. It is seen as a new way of creating profit in the media sphere and as a new understanding of part-time journalism, both for offline and online reporting. Since digitalization has been a major focus of this study, the term was approached from the perspective of online business opportunities. That is why Internet plays an essential role in the sense of how the definition of entrepreneurial journalism in this research is treated by journalists; it is defined by journalists developing new business models on the Internet as individual entrepreneurs or by journalists joining together in order to start a new business. As already discussed in the literature review, entrepreneurial journalism could be interpreted in many different ways from many different angles, for example, also from another perspective than just the online opportunities. It should therefore be taken into account that the interpretation in this research is not generalizable and therefore not claimed to be a universal interpretation. Nonetheless, since there is meagre research done on entrepreneurial journalism in the Dutch market, it is still of added value to journalism literature.

Secondly, some claims by scholars as reviewed in literature, do not completely correspond with the results of this research. For example, Jarvis (2010) claims that the traditional newspapers are going to be replaced by an ecosystem of hundreds of different online places that have different motives, means and business models. However, results have shown that most journalists have *only just* started profiling themselves on social media or a blog, while there are not much journalists yet that have started their own online business initiative. Even though the business of journalism is reaching more importance among journalists, Jarvis' prediction (2010) will not be a reality any time soon.

Thirdly, a theme in this research is commercialisation versus 'pure' journalism (journalism without the influence of commercial interests), in which the former is seen as part of 'modern' journalism and the latter as 'traditional' journalism (Pavlik, 2000). Albeit the term pure journalism is not much elaborated upon, it seems to entail a separation between editorial and commerce. However, commerce has always been a part of journalism, even though journalists were not involved in it. Therefore, who is to say that journalism of today, whether it is referred to as entrepreneurial journalism, commercial journalism or modern journalism, is not pure? Why should one replace the other and could it not be combined? Indeed, the digital age has made way for major changes in journalism, but is it truly the 'survival of the fittest'? One could argue that journalism was never supposed to be separated from commercialization and that it was supposed to be like any other business with commercial interests. For all we know, the newspaper monopolists purposively were not interested in teaching students and journalists how to make use of a free market and how to bypass publishing houses as distributors. As a matter of fact, entrepreneurial journalists are now even more focused on what the reader wants and needs; so if journalists take up this challenge, it can have a great opportunity in keeping up old values, such as the public function, in new media. Drok (2011) and Leurdijk (2014) already argued that entrepreneurial journalism could serve public goals. Entrepreneurial journalism could therefore just as well be part of pure journalism. Thus, one could argue against those who believe that journalism is going to disappear (Tunney & Monaghan, 2010) that they might not have realized that journalism with commercial interests is actually how it has always been. It (publishing, and with it the commercial side behind journalism) has only shifted from the media organizations/publishers to the individual journalist, who should now do it without the help of a middleman and the payroll of a fulltime position in an organization.

Another matter is that digitalization is also considered to be the main reason for the current crisis of journalism, but journalists could be held accountable as well. Technological and economical change has impacted every business, not only the news industry and the music industry. Take for example, the introduction of webshops that has greatly impacted the

tourism industry, because it bypassed the travel agencies as middleman for bookings. All industries have had to adjust to digitalization and perhaps one faster and better than the other, but journalists and journalism, just like every social institution or profession, could be held responsible for their performances. Therefore one could argue that journalists might have seen it coming and anticipated it, for example citizen journalism, if they had served and communicated better with their audiences. After all, is serving the public not part of the democratic practices of independent journalism? Therefore, it could be argued that even though there are less journalism jobs available, it does not necessarily mean that journalism itself is in 'crisis' and especially not mainly due to digitalisation as many scholars argue (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011; Dickinson, Matthews & Saltzis 2013; Gynnild, 2005; Gordon, 2003), since digitalization has brought ample opportunities to practice sustainable independent journalism in new forms (and) in close(r) collaboration with the audiences.

If we look at journalism from the view that journalism itself is not in crisis, then one could also argue that the market is not shrinking. As mentioned before, there are indeed lesser journalism jobs, but from the perspective of journalists there are actually now more jobs available; there are two 'genres' of journalism: one in which journalists broaden their horizons with guest lecturers and speaker positions for example, while still keeping their journalism independency intact; and another in which journalists become commercially active, for example in Public Relations and sponsorships/partnerships in which editorial content is influenced by commercial interests. If the jobs in both genres are considered an addition to journalism, then there are only more job opportunities. In light of this, journalism is becoming very diverse in which not every genre is entirely independent journalism, but perhaps just a 'soupçon' or 'partly' journalism. If this is a good or bad thing is an entirely other matter - even though respondents *have* expressed their opinions about it, it was not the main focus of this research - and could be an interesting area to investigate further.

All these arguments indicate a necessary rethinking of what journalism before the digital age was - and what not - and what it will be. Digitalization may have caused disruption of old ways of practicing journalism, but it is also an opportunity for improvement in new or additional ways of exercising journalism (Dickinson, Matthews, & Saltzis, 2013; Gordon, 2003; Leurdijk, 2014). Instead of fighting back, journalism could embrace the changes that could enhance the sustainment of the values of a democratic society.

5.4 Limitations and future research

There are some critical points about this research that should be taken into consideration. First of all, this research focused only on the Dutch market. This means that these findings are not generalizable to markets in other countries. Every country could have a different news culture

in which entrepreneurial journalism could be interpreted in a completely different way. It would therefore be interesting to conduct a comparative research in this area of other Western countries, which could be beneficial to existing literature as well.

Secondly, the concept entrepreneurial journalism is only researched among freelance journalists. It might be that the findings would differ if research was conducted among other groups of journalists, such as the full-time journalists with a permanent position in a media organization. One could also think of focussing only on journalists who already make money with an online business. Moreover, the journalists interviewed in this research all managed to (just) financially come by, while findings may differ among journalists who are unemployed and no longer exercise journalism at all. It would be interesting to compare the findings of the different groups with each other.

Furthermore, the aim of this research was to expand theory on entrepreneurial journalism and the interpretation of it. Even though practical issues, such as main business models and personal tips on how to successfully operate in entrepreneurial journalism were discussed in the interviews, these aspects were not fully elaborated on in this study. However, it became clear that there is still a majority of journalists who do not exactly know how to practice entrepreneurial journalism, as most have not learned it in school. Journalists could use practical information about successful and failed online businesses in journalism. Therefore, it is suggested to conduct research about successful and failed experiments within entrepreneurial journalism, as this would be a valuable addition to existing literature in this area. It would then also be advised to specify entrepreneurial journalism to the digital domain, since online media is where the most entrepreneurial opportunities are at the moment. Focus areas could be the basics of online journalism, ethics of online media, online business and marketing, website design and development, etc. This way, journalists who cannot afford retraining, could still get educated in this way. Naturally, these areas could also become part of the curricula of Journalism schools, as to prepare the next generation of journalists for the challenges and opportunities of the (online news) market of today.

6 | References

- Allan, S. (2006). *Online News: Journalism and the Internet*. Maidenhead: Open University Press [Chap. 2: The rise of online news, pp. 13–29]
- Bakker, P., Scholten, O. (2014). *Communicatiekaart van Nederland*. Adformatie Groep. ISBN 9789491560842.
- Benson, R., Neveu, E. (eds). (2005). *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press
- Bernard, R. (2006). *Research methods in antropology*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved from <http://www.antropocaos.com.ar/Russel-Research-Method-in-Anthropology.pdf>
- Bigi, H. (2012). *Journalism education between market dependence and social responsibility. An examination of trainee journalists*. UK: Department of Media and Communication of University of Leicester. Retrieved from www.books.google.nl
- Boeije, H. (2012). *Analyseren in kwalitatief onderzoek*. Amsterdam: Boom uitgevers
- Briggs, M. (2012). *Entrepreneurial journalism: how to build whats next for news*. UK: Sage publications.
- Bryman, Alan, 2nd Edition (2004). Chapter 15: *Interviewing in qualitative research*. In *Social Research Methods*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done? *Sagepub.com*. London: Sage publications. doi: 10.1177/1468794106058877
- Carlson, D. (2003). The history of online journalism. In Kawamoto, K. (Ed.), *Digital Journalism: Emerging Media and the Changing Horizons of Journalism*(pp. 31–55). New York: Rowma & Littlefield Publishers.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London, UK: Sage.
- Cho, J. Y., & Lee, E-H. (2014). Reducing confusion about grounded theory and qualitative content analysis: Similarities and differences. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(64), 1-20. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR19/cho64.pdf>
- Cohen, E. L. (2002). Online journalism as market-driven journalism. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 46(4), 532-548. Doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4604_3

- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2009). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3-21
- Demasi, M. (2013). *'Entrepreneurial journalism' a new practice consistent with historical norms*. (Unpublished master's thesis). Empire State College State University of New York. Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Database (UMI No. 1540714).
- Deuze, M. (2001). Dossiers: Onderzoek naar journalisten in Nederland. *Villamedia.nl*. Retrieved from <https://www.villamedia.nl>
- Deuze, M. (2003). The web and its journalisms: Considering the consequences of different types of newsmedia online. *New Media & Society*, 5(2), 203-230. doi:10.1177/1461444803005002004
- Deuze, M. (2004). What is multimedia journalism? *Journalism Studies*, 5(2), 139-152.
- Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism?: Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, 6(4), 442-464. doi:10.1177/1464884905056815
- Deuze, M. (2009). The people formerly known as the employers. *Journalism*, 10(3), 315-318. doi:10.1177/1464884909102574
- Deuze, M., Fortunati, I. (2011). Journalism without journalists: on the power shift from journalists to employers and audiences. In G. Meikle & G. Redden (Eds.), *News Online. Transformations & Continuities*, (pp. 164-177). Great-Brittain: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dickinson, R., Matthews, J., & Saltzis, K. (2013). Studying journalists in changing times: Understanding news work as socially situated practice. *International Communication Gazette*, 75(1), 3-18. doi:10.1177/1748048512461759
- Drok, N. (2011). *Bakens van betrouwbaarheid. Een onderzoek naar verschuivende journalistieke kwalificaties*. Zwolle: Windesheim. Retrieved from: <http://www.windesheim.nl>
- European Journalists Training Association (EJTA), (2013). Tartu Declaration. Retrieved from <http://www.ejta.eu/tartu-declaration>
- Friend, C. (2007). Gathering and sharing information. In C. Friend & J. Singer, *Online Journalism Ethics*, (pp. 54-79). USA: M.E. Sharpe.
- Glaser, B. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis: Emergence vs forcing*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

- Goddard, W., Melville, S. (2004). *Research Methodology: An Introduction*. Blackwell Publishing
- Gordon, R. (2003). The meanings and implications of convergence. In K. Kawamoto (Ed.), *Digital Journalism. Emerging Media and the Changing Horizons of Journalism* (pp. 57-73). Lanham, USA: Rowman & Littlefield
- Grounded Theory Institute (2014). What is grounded theory? Retrieved from <http://www.groundedtheory.com/what-is-gt.aspx>
- Gynnild, A. (2005). Winner takes it all: Freelance journalism on the global communication market. *Nordicom Review*, 26(1), 111-120.
- Hermans, L., Vergeer, M., & Pleijter, A. (2010). Nederlandse journalisten in 2010. *Radboud universiteit Nijmegen*. Doi 978946190-793-6. Retrieved from <https://www.scribd.com/doc/77207196>
- Hoonard, van den, W, C. (1997) *Working with sensitizing concepts, Analytical Field Research*. California: Sage Publications.
- Jarvis, J. (October 2, 2009). Journalism as capitalism: now that's Gods work. *Buzzmachine.com*. Retrieved from <http://buzzmachine.com/2009/10/02/journalism-as-capitalism-now-thats-gods-work/>
- Jarvis, J. (January 15, 2010). The hard sell. *On the Media.org*. Retrieved from <http://www.onthemedial.org/story/132639-hard-sell/transcript/>
- Journalistiek moet ondernemender. (2015). *Windesheim.nl*. Retrieved from <http://www.windesheim.nl>
- Jurkowitz, M. (2014). The growth in digital reporting. What it means for journalism and news consumers. State of the Media report 2014. *Stateofthedia.org*
- Karlsson, M. (2010). Rituals of transparency. Evaluating online news outlets' uses of transparency rituals in United States, United Kingdom and Sweden. *Journalism Studies*, 11(4), 535-545.
- Koch, C., Wyss, V. (2010): The weighting of different journalistic competencies: A survey with European editors in chief. *Winterthur: Projektbericht*
- Koch, T., Obermaier, M. (2014). Blurred lines: German freelance journalists with secondary employment in public relations. *Public Relations Review*, 40(3), 473. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1539581116?accountid=13598>

- Kovach, B., Rosenstiel, T. (2007). *The elements of journalism: what newspeople should know and the public should expect, completely updated and revised*. USA: Three rivers press.
- Kvale, S., (1996). *Interviews An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Sage Publications.
- Le Masurier, M., (2014). What is slow journalism? *Journalism Practice*, 1-15.
- Leurdijk, A. (2014). Entrepreneurial journalism. De bijdrage van ondernemerschap aan de publieke functie van journalistiek. *Windesheimreeks Kennis en Onderzoek*, 34. Zwolle: Windesheim. ISBN/EAN: 978-90-77901-65-6
- Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative content analysis. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1(2). Retrieved from <http://217.160.35.246/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.pdf>
- Mitchell, A. (March 26, 2014). State of the News Media 2014. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved from <http://www.journalism.org/2014/03/26/state-of-the-news-media-2014-overview/>
- Ndole, M., (2011). Building the 21st century journalist: Revamping journalism training to adjust to current changes in the media. *Proquest*. California state university.
- Nowacki, K. (2011). Entrepreneurial journalism: In search of something totally new. *University of Southern California*.
- Onderzoeksrapport: Buitenlandjournalistiek in de Nederlandse media. (2014). *Lokaalmondiaal*
- Pavlik, J. (2000). The impact of technology on journalism. *Journalism Studies* 1(2): 229–237.
- Quinn, S. (2010). Opportunities for journalism education in an online entrepreneurial world. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, (20), 69-79.
- Sanderson, A. (2014). New media business models, where content and commerce collide: strategies and ethical consideration for success in new media world. *California Polytechnic State University*
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273-285). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sykes, J. (2012). A reassessment of journalism's traditional beliefs. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 39(3), 105-115. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1508765651?accountid=13598>

- The State of the News Media, 2013. *Stateofthedia.org*. Retrieved from <http://www.stateofthedia.org/2013/overview-5/>
- Thomas, G. & James, D. (2006) —Re-inventing grounded theory: some questions about theory, ground and discovery|| British Educational Research Journal, 32, 6, 767–795.
- Tunney, S., & Monaghan, G. (2010). Blogging Journalists: The Writing on the Wall. In P. Bradshaw (Ed.), *Web journalism: A new form of citizenship?* (pp. 99-106). Brighton [etc.]: Sussex Academic.
- Vinken, H., Ildens, T. (2013). Freelance journalisten, schrijvers en fotografen: Tarieven en auteursrechten, onderhandelingen en toekomstverwachtingen. *Pyrrhula: Social Research Network*. Tilburg university.

