



Active News Consumers and the News Service in Transition

Report from the project

“News Media in the Nordic Consumer’s Everyday Life –
Exploring Experiences and Practices”

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document summarizes the main findings from the project “News Media in the Nordic Consumer’s Everyday Life – Exploring Experiences and Practices” funded by Helsingin Sanomain Säätiö. The project studied how news services are integrated into consumer’s everyday lives, and how they fit into the consumers’ own activities and experiences. The project applied a combination of interviews, surveys and photographic methodology to study how news consumption fits into peoples’ everyday routines. The project emphasises the active roles of news consumers in constructing their own “newscapes”, i.e individual landscapes of everyday news consumption. Based on collected data, we created five different news consumption personas, and described them. The personas were the following:

- 1. The traditionalist** Older consumers who maintain strong routines, favour traditional media, and to some extent see news consumption as a duty.
- 2. The omnivore** Consumers who are lightly involved in all types of news media, both traditional and digital. Thus they appreciate tradition, but also convenience.
- 3. The convenience-seeking digital native** Digitally oriented younger consumers, who often see news as a way to relax or pass the time.
- 4. The news enthusiast** Consumers who display a passion for news and insight, and thus maintain a high involvement in every type of news media throughout the day.
- 5. The busy digitalist** Busy professionals who appreciate insight, convenience and flexibility in their news services.

We identify three generic impulses for news consumption activities: boredom, interest and routines. Even though the impulses can serve as initiating factors in most kinds of news consumption behaviour, each impulse is most strongly associated with a particular technology. For example, traditional news media, such as newspapers and broadcast news is more strongly connected to the routine aspect of consumption activity. Due to the strong connection to certain times and places, this traditional media serves to create strong routines. As for mobile technology, on the other hand, the central impulse is boredom. Mobile technology is constantly available in all situations, and can be accessed whenever convenient. Thus, it more often used as a tool for filling in gaps between other activities, or as a tool for alleviating boredom. Finally, laptops, desktops and tablets are more associated with the interest factor, as they allow the consumer to achieve more complex understanding and interaction with the media than small mobile devices do.

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1 INTRODUCTION

There have during the last few years been many studies and reports on the changing news media field, and much effort has been put into understanding how Nordic news media actors should adapt to the changing conditions in the media field. For example, a report by Finnish Ministry of Transport and Communications on the Finnish media market (Vanjoki et al. 2015) concluded that the power over media use and choice was now irrevocably at the hands of the consumer, and thus the report argued that only actors who can deal with this situation will be able to cope and survive.

However, news media actors are still struggling with this changing situation. Especially the traditional newspapers are finding it increasingly difficult to make money through their current business models. A recent report by the Council of Europe highlighted how the traditional news media actors have an important role as producers of news, but that the consumers are not very willing to pay for it due to new competing actors in the expanding news ecosystem (Nielsen et al., 2016). Combine this with rapidly shrinking advertising revenues (Ohlsson and Facht, 2017) and the situation looks alarming for traditional news media actors.

Thus, many have studied the prerequisites and uses of news media, and how they are developing and changing (e.g. Novak et al, 2015, Struckmann and Karnowski, 2016, The Media Insight Project, 2014, to mention a few). The current project, described in this document, takes a somewhat different perspective on news consumption compared to previous studies of news media use. Whereas media research traditionally has tended to focus on the use of technologies (i.e. the medium) or on the use of media itself and its meanings (the content), the current project focuses on the everyday situations in which news media is used. The purpose of the project is *to understand how Nordic consumers integrate news media into their everyday lives*. This refers to understanding the everyday situations in which news media is used. The purpose was broken down into the three following research questions:

- 1) What roles do different types of news media play in consumers' everyday routines and experiences?
- 2) How are these everyday routines currently changing?
- 3) In light of this, how do people choose their news media?

These research questions were answered by means of applying a mixed-method approach. An initial set of seven surveys (four in Finland and three in Sweden) yielded a combined number of 1653 responses. This data was used to create generic news consumption profiles and gain insight into general media routines in people's lives, as well as the importance of said routines. Next, a set of twenty-four interviews with news consumers across different age groups and life situations were used to gain detailed insight into attitudes, thoughts and experiences concerning news media use. Finally, a photographic study using the PhotoActive smartphone tool was used to gain access to news consumption activities as they happened in the consumers' lives. Twenty-two participants recruited among the survey respondents installed the application on their smartphones and documented situations where they used news in some form. This led to a data set of 180 pictures with descriptions of what is happening in the pictures, as well as the associated moods and meanings in the documented situations.

This report begins with a section where we discuss the current state of the news service and different models for understanding it. We then move on to introducing the specific themes we will be discussing, i.e. the active news consumer, news consumption experiences and news as a transformative service that contributes to consumer well-being. Next, we present our data collection and methodology, and our results. The report ends with a discussion of conclusions and general insights gained from the study.

2 THE NEWS SERVICE IN TRANSITION

The news media industry is currently undergoing changes, and is witnessing a shift from traditional media forms such as print and broadcast to digital and internet-based services (Schlesinger and Doyle, 2015). This has implications for both news service provision and consumption. Roles and boundaries are changing, which poses new challenges for news service providers.

2.1 A former licence to print money

The news service used to be one of the few direct links between advertisers and consumers, which for example made newspapers a highly lucrative affair. This is no longer the case, however, as many new ways to reach consumers have emerged with the digitalization of media. Figure 1 shows statistics on the development of advertising revenues over the last fifty years. As can be seen, the digitalization process has led to a sharp drop in print revenues. More concerning is that the losses from the print side are not balanced by gains in digital advertising. For example, a report by Enders Analysis shows that British newspapers lost 154 million pounds on the print side during 2015, but only gained 5 million on digital (Edwards, 2017).

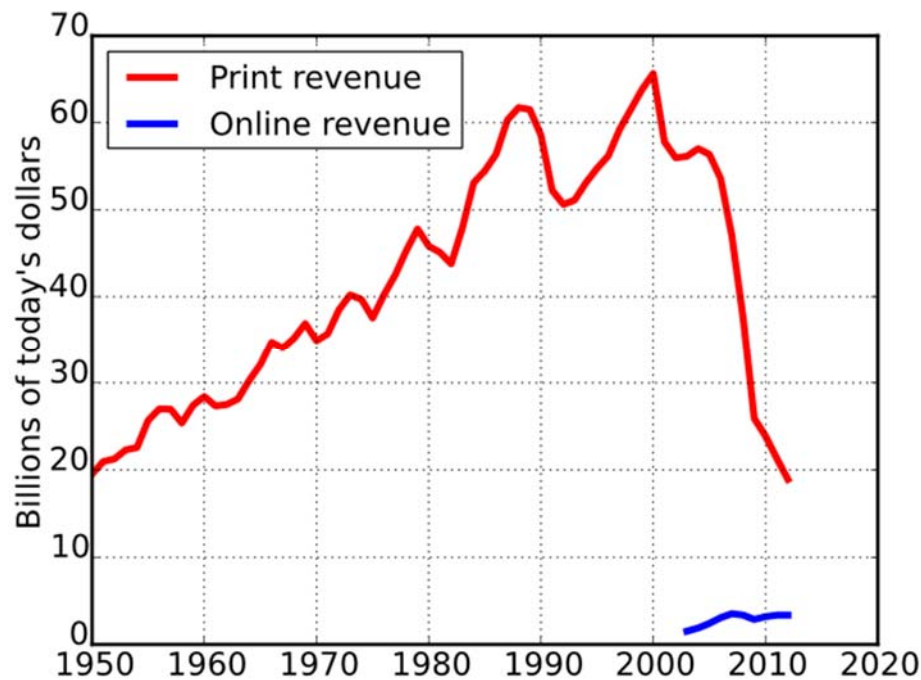


Figure 1 Newspaper advertising revenues

What is the specific reason for this sudden drop, beyond the challenges of digitalization? A recent report on advertising in the Nordic countries explains why newspapers are losing out (Figure 2). Newspapers are not anymore one of the prime media channels for advertisers, and advertisers are instead moving their advertising budgets over onto other digital advertising platforms, such as Google or Facebook (Ohlsson and Facht, 2017).

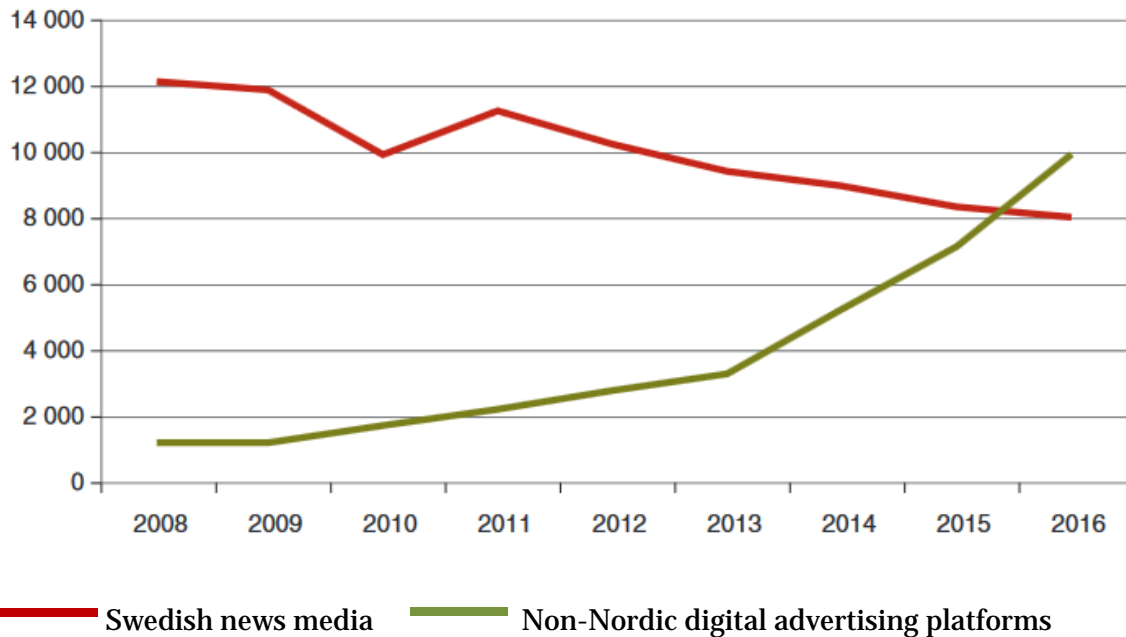


Figure 2 Advertising spending in Swedish News Media and in non-Nordic digital media platforms (Ohlsson and Facht, 2017)

This shift in spending is tied to the change in the basic model and technology for distributing news media. From having been one of the only direct channels to consumers due to high entry costs, news media are now facing a situation where they are only one of the possible channels for connecting with customers. The news provider is no longer in control, which means that there is a need to find new perspectives on the news service and its consumption.

2.2 Three models of the news service

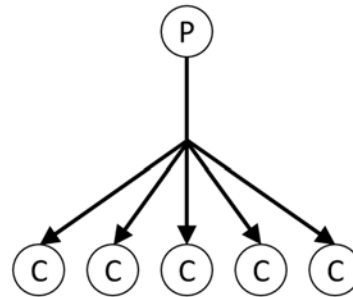
As the nature of news services is changing, the models for understanding news services are in transition as well. Thus, we argue that one can see a general shift from provider- and distribution-focused models to user- and interaction focused ones.

Figure 3 illustrates three perspectives on the relationship between news consumers and the news service. The first perspective – the traditional provider perspective – can be said to represent a one-to-many view of communication and marketing (Livingstone, 2004, Timmers, 1998). The provider creates the message and distributes it through provider-controlled mass-media channels. From this perspective, consumers are seen as anonymous and homogeneous recipients, the passive “audiences” of traditional media research (e.g. Gans, 1979).

1. PROVIDER PERSPECTIVE

One-to-many
(provider controlled)

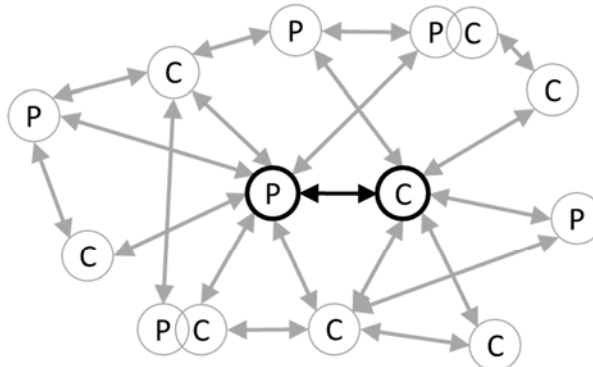
P = provider
C = consumer



2. INTERACTION PERSPECTIVE

One-to-one
(interaction/collaboration)

Many-to-many
(interaction in networks)



The second perspective on news business depicts news consumption in terms of complex networks of actors who communicate, interact and collaborate. Some media researchers have lately moved from thinking in terms of passive *media audiences* and instead started favouring the term "*media users*" (Livingstone, 2013). Thus, actors' roles are not as fixed as in the one-to-many model: consumers can also be producers and distributors of news by means of tweeting or blogs, for example. The central dyad between a particular news provider and customer is highlighted to illustrate how the two parties interact in the context of a surrounding network of users and producers.

Finally, the third perspective depicts a many-to-one situation. This is how the second model (the interaction perspective) looks from an individual consumer's viewpoint: The consumer has the option to pick and choose between any number of news sources according to his or her own interests and tastes. The consequences of this type of situation can be seen in current discussions of the echo chamber effects of people's selective exposure to news (Flaxman et al., 2016). The argument presented is that the large amount of news sources available on the web allows people to tailor their news consumption to closely mirror their own personal beliefs, thus limiting the exposure to contrasting viewpoints (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009). Moreover, according to a report by the Pew Research Center (Madden et al., 2013), teenagers are likely to block users that they disagree with in social media. This all serves to allow consumers to create their own tailor-made news consumption worlds.

The current project applies this third model, seeing the news consumer as an active combiner of news sources, who integrates news consumption in their own everyday lives. The next section will discuss the idea of an active news consumer.

3 NEWS CONSUMPTION IN EVERYDAY LIFE

This project assumes a view of the news consumer as active and the one leading the news consumption process. This means that we start with trying to understand different types of news consumption activities, as well as the experiences associated with them. Thus, the project roots its understanding of the news consumer in Activity Theory (Leontyev, 1977, Kaptelinin and Nardi, 2006, Mickelsson 2017) and customer experience literature (Lipkin 2016, McColl-Kennedy et al. 2015). Thus, experiences are seen as emerging within customer activities. However, we argue that focusing on only activities and experiences will bring a very short-term focus for the discussion, ignoring the long-term and indirect effects of news consumption activities. Consequently, we include a third theoretical stream in the project: Consumer well-being and the transformative role of news services (Rosenbaum et al., 2011, Anderson et al., 2013).

Thus, we propose a three-component model which describes three dimensions that the news providers need to work with in order to become a truly transformative news service: Customer activities, experiences and well-being (figure 4). These three factors are intertwined and have interactive effects on each other.



Figure 4 Framework for the transformative news service

First, the customer's activities serve as the frame for news service use. Elements of the news service are used in the customer's activities. For example, during the activity of riding the bus to work, the customer may check his news app for the latest news. Thus, the news service becomes embedded in the customer's everyday life (Lipkin, Heinonen and Strandvik, 2016).

3.1 The active news consumer

Researchers have long emphasized that interactive contexts require an understanding of consumers as active participants (Slywotzky & Morrison, 2001; Stewart & Pavlou, 2002). Indeed, media research has increasingly started depicting media consumers as participants or users rather than passive audiences (Livingstone, 2013). The interactive aspects of digital media has given consumers a level of control over the use experience in a way which has not previously been possible (Cover, 2006). This means that whereas the form of media content in the past was static and pre-defined, media content is increasingly interactive and malleable. In the media context, interactivity has traditionally been characterized as a phenomenon that involves communication and user perceptions in technology-mediated environments (Kioussis, 2002). According to Stromer-Galley (2004), on the other hand, interactivity can be understood in two ways: Either as a) interactivity in terms of communication between people (e.g., Rafaeli & Sudweeks, 1998), or as b) interactivity between people and technological systems. If understood as the latter, interactivity can be characterized as a set of interface actions that such a system allows the user to perform (Bucy, 2004).

The previous serves to emphasize the news consumer's increasingly active role, both in terms of seeking out and selecting media content, but also in terms of interacting with media content, sharing it, or even producing it. Sharing and commenting behaviours in social media has been a very popular subject of study in media research (e.g. Hermida et al., 2012, Lee and Ma, 2012). Similarly, the news consumer emerging new role as simultaneous producer and consumer of news has also been studied (Napoli, 2016). However, the very nature of digital media imbues it with the inherent opportunity for malleability in terms of manipulating content (Berthon et al, 2012) as well as the opportunity for interactivity in terms of interface actions (see Bucy, 2004)

All of this highlights the need to understand the news consumer not only as a recipient of messages, but as an active doer, who carries out a set of news consumption activities. Thus, the current project does not consider news consumption in terms of channels and channel use. Rather, the project looks at news consumption in terms of *activities*. Activities are seen as having reasons ("done because of") and goals ("done in order to"), and form units that consumers are able to identify themselves. Heinonen et al. (2010) and Mickelsson (2013) conceptualized three different types of customer activity: *core* activity, *related* activity, and *other* activity. Core activity denotes all those customer activities that are directly related to interacting with the various service elements offered

by a focal provider. Related and other activities are such activities which are relevant to the consumer or customer, but invisible for the provider. The challenge for the provider then becomes to understand how visible, service-enabled customer activities relate to other, private and unseen activities in the consumer's life.

When it comes to news consumption, the use of news media can be considered core activities. Traces of such activities are recorded in the news provider's databases in terms of subscription and sales numbers, as well as more detailed digital data such as click-through rates and shares. What is invisible to the provider are the actual contexts in which these activities happen (reading, watching, sharing), as well as other activities such as discussing news with friends and acquaintances. The challenge then becomes to gain an insight into the full repertoire of relevant customer activities, as well as their motives, contexts and associated experiences. Thus, this project will attempt to gain an understanding of how consumers combine different news consumption activities beyond the use of a particular media channel or content. To describe this, we introduce the term "newsscape", which we define as the consumers individual "landscape" of recurring news-related consumption activities. Thus, the term "newsscape" does not primarily refer to the consumer's repertoire of news media channels or outlets, but rather to a set of news-related activities, in which the direct use of news media content may or may not be involved. This means, for example, that talking to friends and acquaintances about news is a part of your newsscape. The activity would not, however, show up in a study of news media repertoires. Thus our study extends on previous studies of news consumption.

3.2 News consumption experiences

Practitioners have argued that customer experience is an increasingly important issue for news media business (Ray, 2016, Giesler, 2016). As mentioned, the news media industry is currently undergoing changes and is witnessing a shift from traditional media forms such as print and broadcast to digital and internet-based ones (Schlesinger & Doyle, 2015). To be able to compete in a digital market, news providers need, in addition to focusing on content, to start considering how their service can lead to desirable customer experiences. Despite the popularity of the experience concept in both service and marketing research, there does not seem to be many applications of the concept in the context of news services. Researchers have studied consumers' experiences with 360° news services, meaning ones that are multimodal and multifunctional (Vishwanath,

2008). This research suggested that affect and attitudes towards a particular news network are related to how satisfied the customer is with the customer's multimodal offering. Other research has, somewhat unsurprisingly, shown that elements such as usability have an important role in customer's experiences with news aggregator services (Chowdhury, 2006).

A narrow view of customer experience sees it as a consequence of consumed content or the functional aspects of a service. This project goes beyond such a view, and applies a sense-making-based perspective on the news consumption experience, meaning that experiences form as a part of the customer's ongoing life (Helkkula, 2013). Moreover, a customer ecosystem lens is applied to understand customer experience. This means that the news consumption experience is seen as holistic and dynamic, and that it emerges in a particular social and material setting (Lipkin 2016). The experience is formed through subjective, active, collective, and dynamic sense-making, with the individual seen as being in control of the experience (Lipkin 2016).

Such a view fits well with the activity-based and digital view of news services: News services are with us all the time, and can be consumed in any context. Thus, we must understand the situation and consumption context in order to understand the experience. Thus, the current project also attempts to understand how news consumption experiences emerge in the context of everyday life environments.

3.3 News as a transformative service

Transformative service research (TSR) focuses on creating positive changes and improvements in the well-being of individuals, communities and social and economic ecosystems (Anderson *et al.*, 2013). More specifically, the research paradigm focuses on how to improve consumer well-being in service-settings (Rosenbaum *et al.*, 2015). Typically, the focus is on governmental services or health care (e.g. Sweeney *et al.*, 2015). However, other types of services also have the potential to be transformative in different ways. For example, Mende and Van Doorn (2015) studied how financial services can support consumers' financial well-being.

This project suggests that the concept of transformative service also is applicable to news services. A transformative news service is one that focuses on the well-being of the news consumers. However, research has indicated that news can have a detrimental effect on well-being. For example, research has shown that increased viewing of traumatic content

in TV-news leads to higher likelihood of developing stress symptoms (Bodas et al., 2015). Similarly, other results have also – not very surprisingly – shown that exposure to graphic news imagery leads to higher levels of anxiety (Feinstein et al. 2014). Moreover, research has shown that, if presented the choice, people tend to choose news with a negative tone (Trussler and Soroka, 2014). In combination, these findings suggest that certain types of news are likely to have a negative effect on personal well-being. People gravitate towards negatively skewed news, and if these negative news are traumatizing enough, they will lead to higher stress and anxiety.

Indeed, news often presents a negatively skewed picture of reality (Trussler & Soroka, 2012). Media's focus on negative aspects has been criticized by, among others, Professor Hans Rosling, who argues that the media does not provide us with an accurate understanding of global affairs (Rosling, 2014). Similarly, Ulrik Haagerup, Director of News at the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, argues that the dominance of negative news might even undermine democracy; journalists do not only have an obligation to point out problems, but also to suggest solutions and ways forward (Haagerup, 2014). Indeed, fresh research has suggested that negativity in news could be a contributing factor to the rise of populist political figures around the world: In the interest of gaining attention, news often presents us a skewed, frightening picture of reality. Among a certain part of the population this perceived threat will activate an authoritarian mindset, which makes them more likely to support populist candidates in elections (MacWilliams, 2016).

Beyond making consumers see the world around them in a negative way, news media might also make us see ourselves in a negative, critical way. Opinion pieces about how to live your lives and raise your children come up in our news feed every day. We have access to an over-abundance of information about how to improve our lives, and media projects images that we struggle to live up to (Stice and Heather, 1994). This gives additional weight to the idea that news media may have a negative effect on individual well-being. On the other hand, research has suggested a positive relationship between youths' news use and their well-being (Beaudoin, 2007). The argument presented is that news use will increase youths' social capital, which in turn increases well-being. So which is it? The answer is probably that news can have both positive and negative effects. The challenge then becomes to understand which types of news have a positive effect, and which have a negative one. How can we maintain a balanced news diet? The previous discussion suggests that the contents of our news diet has effects on well-being on both the

individual and social levels. However, we seem to easily fall into a habit of eating only junk food. How can news media rise to this challenge? What could be the news media analogue of a healthy, well cooked meal? Indeed, some of the thinking behind food and nutrition might be applied to news consumption. If food can have both a functional and hedonic dimension, why not news as well?

So if the function of news is to help us orientate and make sense of our world, we need to consume news that actually helps us do that. Thus, the current project will also study well-being from an individual, emotional point of view.

4 DATA COLLECTION

The project collected three types of empirical data: Survey data, interview data as well as photographic data. The next section will go through the data collection procedure.

4.1 Survey data

Seven separate survey studies were conducted within the project, Five in Finland and three in Sweden. The Finnish surveys consisted of two student surveys and two newspaper reader surveys. The first student survey focused on first-year students of a Finnish business school, the second one on the students in a Finnish university of applied sciences (all levels). The first of the Finnish newspapers operates in the metropolitan area and has about 65 000 daily readers of its printed edition, while the second operates from a smaller city with many readers living in rural areas. The second newspaper has about 96 000 readers. Table 1 summarizes the respondents to the survey studies conducted in Finland

Table 1 Summary of survey studies conducted in Finland

Study	First-year business students	Students at university of applied sciences	Morning newspaper subscribers, larger city	Morning newspaper subscribers, smaller city
Sample size	346	2000	4000	4000
Respondents	120	117	445	473
Response rate	34%	5,9%	11,1%	11,8%
Average respondent age	21,1	30,6	62,2	57,3
Respondent gender	40 % female 60 % male	78 % female 22 % male	55 % female 45 % male	50 % female 50 % male

In Sweden, a series of survey studies were conducted among the readers of three different local newspapers. The newspapers belong to the same media group, and have a combined audience of 60 000 subscribers, and some 250 000 unique readers on the web.

Table 2 Summary of survey studies conducted in Sweden

Studies in Sweden	Local morning newspaper 1	Local morning newspaper 2	Local morning newspaper 3
Sample size	1500	1498	1500
Respondents	178	158	162
Response rate	11,9 %	10,5 %	10,8 %
Average respondent age	63	70	64
Respondent gender	60 % female 40 % male	47 % female 53 % male	48 % female 52 % male

The same online survey was presented to the respondents in all of the seven cases. The survey mainly focused on measuring to which extent consumers participated in a set of news consumption activities. The survey items were based on a set of ten interviews with news consumers, as well as discussions with practitioners from news media. Ten interviews were deemed enough, as saturation was reached (Guest *et al.*, 2006). The interviews yielded a set of thirteen generic news consumption activities, in which the news consumption experience was formed. The identified news consumption activities were applied in four different survey studies which measured the frequency of how often the respondents participated in said activities. In the survey, each respondent was asked to consider how often they generally participate in each of the activities. Each item had nine different response alternatives (*“many times a day”, “almost every day”, “several times a week”, “about once a week”, “several times a month”, “about once a month”, “several times a year”, “more seldom”* and *“never”*). These research items can be found in Table 3.

Table 3 Research items for news consumption activities

Consumer Activity Items	Mean	Std. Dev.
I read newspapers in paper format	5,27	2,59
Read news through a news app	2,99	3,14
I read free news magazines	1,81	2,34
I read news that friends link on social media (e.g. Facebook)	2,44	2,83
I share news items on social media	,51	1,40
I comment on news items on social media	,36	1,27
I read news websites	3,68	2,98
I follow news providers on social media	1,00	2,29
Read forums where news are discussed (e.g. Reddit)	,30	1,27
I watch TV news	5,06	2,51
I listen to news on the radio	4,35	3,01
I watch news-commenting entertainment shows (e.g. John Oliver)	,69	1,60
I discuss news with friends and acquaintances	4,29	2,43

To be able to analyse correlations and show differences, the responses were encoded into numeric form: Each alternative was assigned a value between 0 and 8 (from “never” = 0 to “several times a day” = 8). Beyond the activity items, the survey also measured time of day for each activity, as well as preferred news types and the emotions associated with news consumption.

4.2 Interview data

The second type of data used collected in the project was qualitative interview data. An initial 10 interviews with business students was supplemented by ten interviews with newspaper readers and four with applied sciences students. This made a total of 24 interviews, which was deemed enough for saturation. Table 4 contains a summary of the interview subjects. The subjects were selected from participants in the survey study, and chosen to represent different interest areas and levels of involvement in news.

The semi-structured interviews focused on mapping out news consumption activities, and emotions and concrete situations which were associated with them. The respondents also filled out a schema where they mapped out their weekly news consumption routines

according to weekday and time of day. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 1 the end of this document.

Table 4 List of interviewees

Respondent	Gender	Age	Occupation
R1	Male	22	Student
R2	Female	20	Student
R3	Male	21	Student
R4	Male	19	Student
R5	Female	20	Student
R6	Female	24	Trainee
R7	Female	20	Student
R8	Female	20	Student
R9	Male	21	Student
R10	Female	22	Student
R11	Male	53	Actor
R12	Female	35	Master of Science in Pedagogy
R13	Female	76	Retired social worker
R14	Female	59	Psychologist
R15	Male	31	Cook
R16	Male	58	Travel organizer
R17	Female	24	Real estate assistant
R18	Female	38	Social worker
R19	Male	37	Engineer
R20	Female	43	Unemployed
R21	Male	23	Student
R22	Male	31	Student
R23	Male	27	Student
R24	Female	40	Entrepreneur

4.3 Photographic data

The project also collected photographic material from consumers. The material was collected using a smartphone app called PhotoActive, which was developed in a previous project (Lipkin et al., 2015). The app is installed on the phone, and participants used it to document situations where they use news in some form. The respondents take photographs using the app, and the photographs are then sent to an online system, where they are stored in a password-protected personal account. The respondents are then able to log in and comment on their own pictures, explaining what is happening in them, and what their thoughts and moods were at the moment.

The material consisted of 180 photographs taken by a total of 30 consumers. Of these, seven were students at a Finnish business school, five were readers of Finnish newspapers and eighteen were Swedish news consumers. The respondents were recruited among the respondents in the previous survey studies. Recruiting was somewhat challenging, as many consumers were not interested in sharing pictures of their everyday lives. Moreover, due to that the respondent is largely alone in the process, and has to start taking photos by themselves, respondents sometimes lost interest in their assignment. Clearly, there is a need to develop clear routines for how to incentivize the use of this type of photographic app. The development of the research app was an important part of the project, and more data collection will be done in the future.

Despite the challenges in using the app, the project managed to collect a significant amount useful data that illustrated and provided insight into all of the news consumption situations and activities identified in the qualitative interview studies.

5 ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The following section will go through some of the core findings from the studies. It begins with discussing the different identified news consumption activities, proceeds to present a set of news consumer personas, and concludes with discussing the emotions associated with news consumption.

5.1 News consumption activities

News consumption activities were studied using all three of the methods employed, i.e. surveys, interviews and photographic material. For each activity, we will in this section summarize some of our core findings in terms of times, places and moods associated with the activity. We begin by comparing the perceived importance of different news consumption activities among respondents (Figure 5).

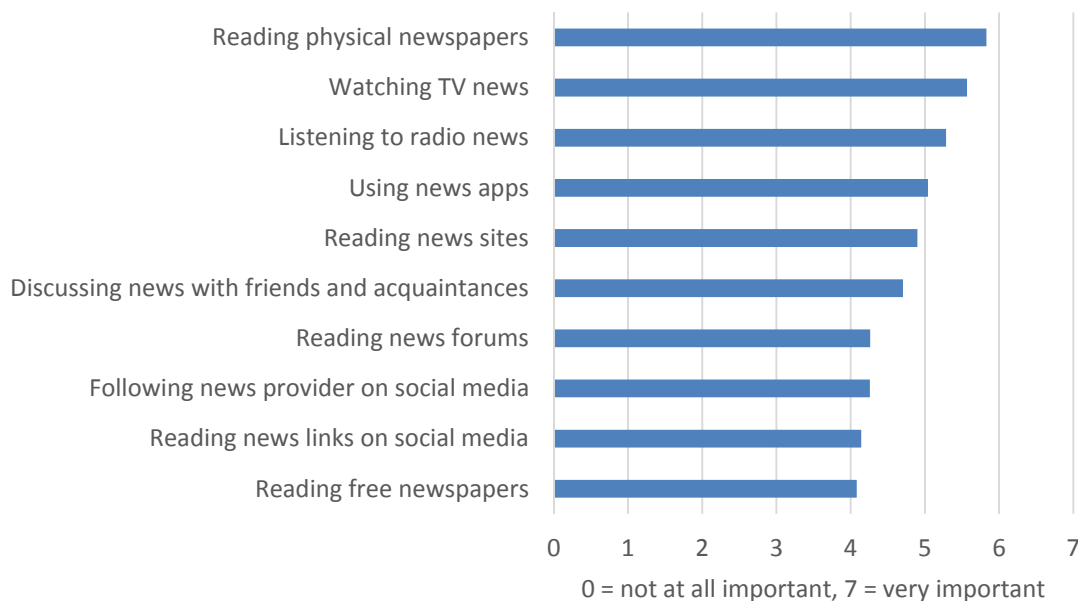


Figure 5 Perceived importance of news consumption activities

We asked the respondents to consider how important each of the activities were as a way for them to consume news. Figure 5 shows that respondents in general thought that using traditional media were the most important news consumption activities. This was probably due to that the overall age of our respondents was skewed towards the older. Consequently, we proceeded to compare age groups. The left part of Figure 6 shows how

the ratings of the top-three rated activities change according to age groups in the data. The three traditional news media consumption activities followed a clear trend, where younger respondents rated their importance lower than older respondents did. However, even though younger consumers tended to rate the importance of newspapers, TV and radio significantly lower than older consumers, all respondents over 25 still considered reading newspapers to be the most important news consumption activity. Only respondents of 25 and younger thought that using news sites and news apps was more important than reading newspapers.

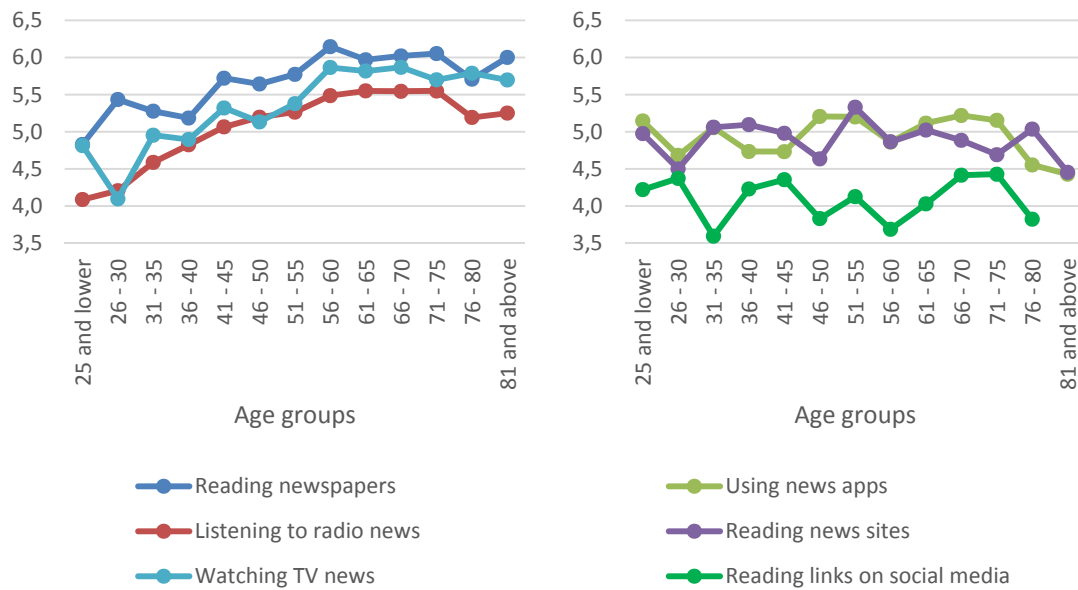


Figure 6 Average perceived importance of news consumption activities per age group

The right side of Figure 6 shows the importance ratings of activities where digital news were consumed. Interestingly, no clear age pattern can be seen in the ratings of these activities. This suggests that for digital news, age groups are not a useful segmentation tool for understanding how consumers relate to different channels. Even more interesting, the data suggests that younger peoples' lower ratings of the importance of traditional media news consumption are not offset by higher ratings for consumption activities involving digital media news. Thus, the data suggests that there might be something special in the news consumption activities that involve traditional media.

It must, however, be acknowledged that the sample for the quantitative study is quite skewed, as the bulk of the responders are older newspaper subscribers who voluntarily answered the survey. Thus, these consumers can be expected to give quite high ratings for the importance of traditional news consumption activities. Nevertheless, the results

are enough to formulate a hypothesis that can be tested in future studies of a random sample of consumers. The hypothesis can be formulated as follows: There is a positive relationship between age and consumers' ratings of the importance of traditional media news consumption activities. However, there is *not* – as one might expect – a similar but inverse relationship between age and consumers' ratings of the importance of digital media news consumption activities. Rather, we hypothesize that there are inherent differences in the circumstances of how the news is consumed, which result in that traditional media news consumption is perceived as more important than digital news consumption. The findings from qualitative data discussed in this report gives some credence to this idea. Thus, we will now look at the different activities more in detail.

5.1.1 Watching television news

Among students, the frequency of watching TV news ranged between once a week and every day. The respondents who would watch the TV alone would usually do something else at the same time, such as home chores or scroll on their phone. One respondent liked having the TV on, as it sort of kept her company when being alone. She would feel tired but also relaxed, and thought that it was calming to watch the evening news. As TV was associated with relaxation overall, also the act of watching TV news would feel relaxing for the respondent.



Picture 1 –Picture taken by consumer watching television news after children have gone to bed

Another respondent would watch the TV news if the TV happened to be on. She felt that even if she did something else at the same time, she would still listen properly, as watching TV news was an activity where she genuinely wanted to know what had happened during the day, as opposed to when she would scroll social media during the day because of boredom.

A third respondent would watch TV news together with her family. She would do it out of habit because her parents also watched them, and she found the situation to feel quite cozy. She would also give it her full

attention as at that time of night she had already checked through her social media. Overall, respondents tended to watch TV at home in the evenings, as shown in figure 7.

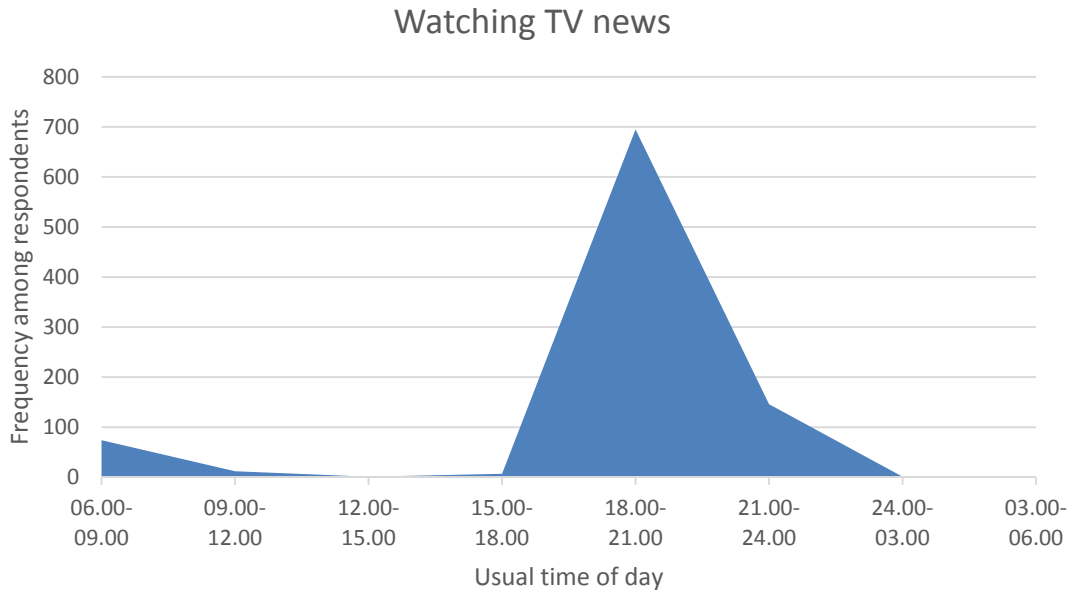
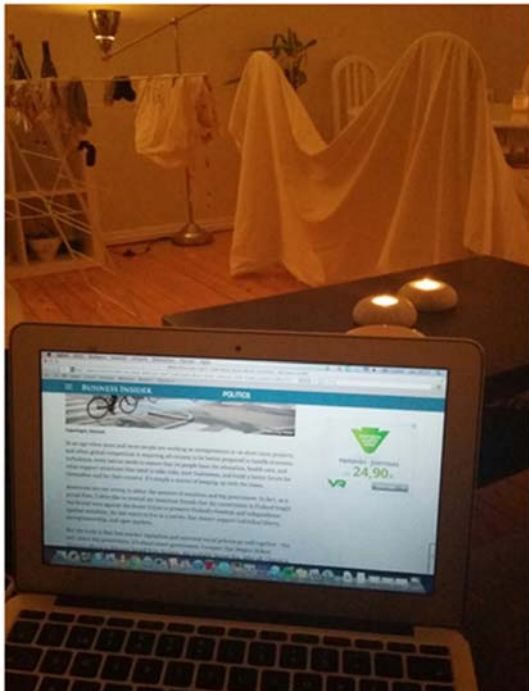


Figure 7 Most popular times for watching TV news

5.1.2 News through social media



Picture 2 – Picture taken by consumer relaxing at home in the evening, reading news article found through social media

Many respondents would use social media to get news, Facebook being the most common tool. The survey showed that social media was mostly used in the evening (Figure 8, next page), throughout the whole day. According to the interviews, this was usually when having a suitable break, when feeling bored, or when feeling curious. When using it during the day, most of the student respondents would do it out of boredom.

Not surprisingly, it seemed like some of the respondents' prioritized knowing personal news over other news. One respondent explained how she started by checking her private messages on social media, after

which she would start looking at news articles if she found something interesting. Similarly, another respondent explained how he during the day would start by scrolling through personal social media in order to entertain himself, after which he would start looking at digital news articles. However, there were also other reasons behind checking social media before actual news or news sites; another respondent would start by checking social media as she felt that the threshold was lower for looking at social media than opening a news app.

“... perhaps it demands more energy to open a news app, so it might get more easily neglected, but I will look at social media all the time, like it almost happens automatically that you scroll through social media, so the threshold to go there has started to diminish, you know like reading news there or going there, so it’s quite a lot lower than for an app.” –Female, 24 years

Overall it would seem like when using social media to get news, it would be the activity where the respondents would have the lowest engagement in actually wanting to read news, making news consumption mostly a part of the activity, and not a motivator. As the motivator for checking the news was boredom, then it made sense for the respondents to go to an easily accessible place they would usually go for entertainment. In contrast, when actually wanting to know the news, they might have been more willing to put more effort into getting them. Interestingly, one of the respondents who in the survey stated social media as one of her news activities, did not mention it during the interview. It could be that social media wasn’t really seen as a way to actively get news, but rather a place where one would happen to see news when being there.

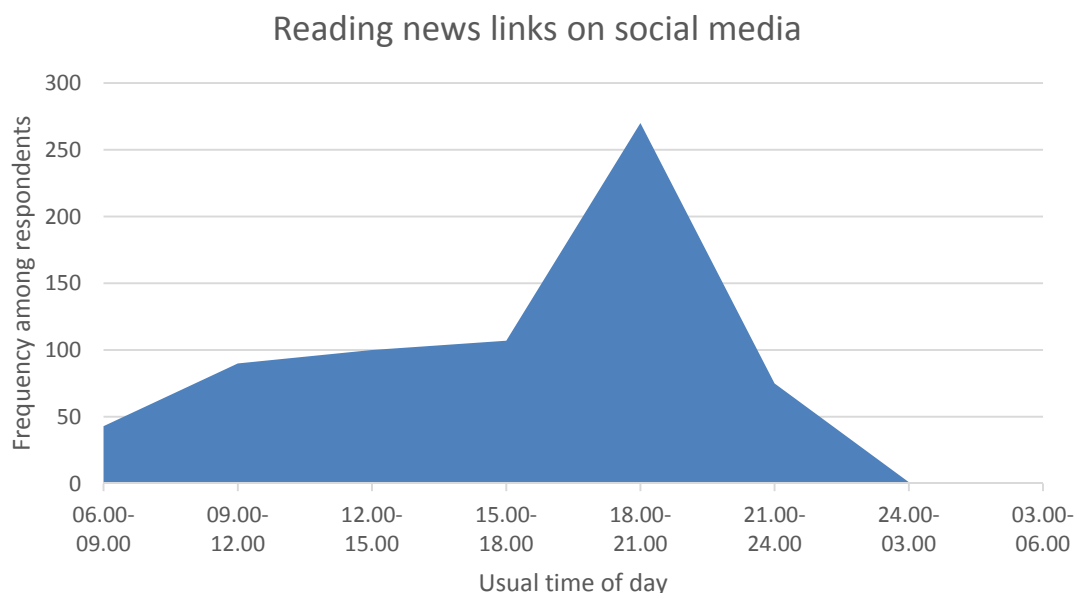


Figure 8 Most popular times for reading news links on social media

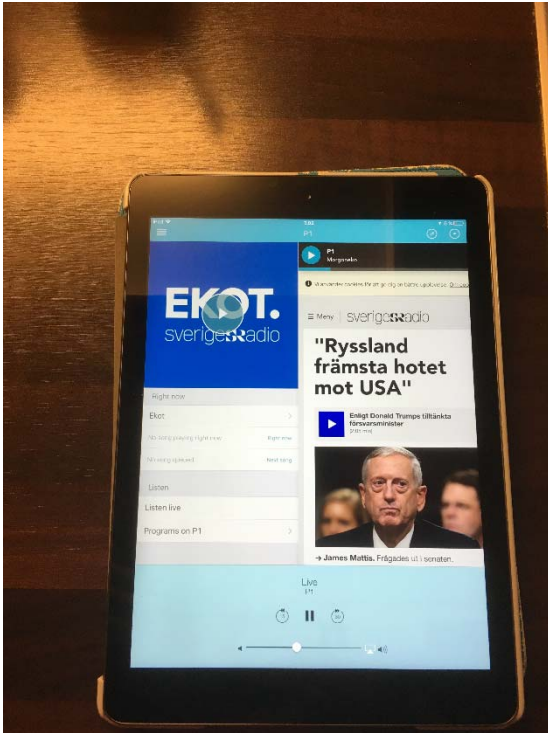
However, even if the main motivator for reading news via social media was to find entertainment, it did also seem like an opportunity for the respondents to keep themselves updated which they would gladly take. In fact, some of the respondents' overall relationship with news consumption seemed to be about fitting news consumption in whenever it suited them. Most of them viewed knowledge about world happenings as something important, however they were relatively rarely willing to explicitly make time for it. Thus, they seemed to be simultaneously curious about news and looking for a way to pass their time when using social media:

"If I wouldn't be bored, then I wouldn't check Facebook, but then again I wouldn't read the articles just because I have nothing else to do, I do really want to know." –Female, 20 years

The situation did however look somewhat different in the morning than during the afternoon. For example, one respondent would feel curious in the morning about what had happened during the night, and wanted to feel like she had everything under control, and would therefore check Facebook as soon as she woke up. She also felt that it was a pleasant atmosphere and a nice way to start the day. Another respondent, on the other hand, would use it as a way to procrastinate getting up in the morning, as well as going to bed in the evening. Therefore she would feel a bit guilty about doing it, as she knew she should be doing other things:

"Like I should probably not be doing this, like I should be getting up and getting to work and school, but then I need about ten minutes in the mornings to get up, so then I just check Instagram and Facebook and whatever there is." –Female, 22 years

5.1.3 Using news apps



Picture 3 – Picture taken by consumer reading news app at home while making a sandwich

Similarly to social media, news apps would also be used in the morning, as a part of morning rituals (see Figure 9). One respondent would, as soon as she woke up scroll through the headlines in bed, and read accordingly to how much time she had available. Another would read news apps while eating breakfast, also scrolling through the headlines and checking out if there was anything interesting. Both respondents seemed to feel curiosity when using news apps, however, the latter would start feeling indifferent if the news weren't good enough. Conversely, he would feel engaged and excited if he found news within his own interests.

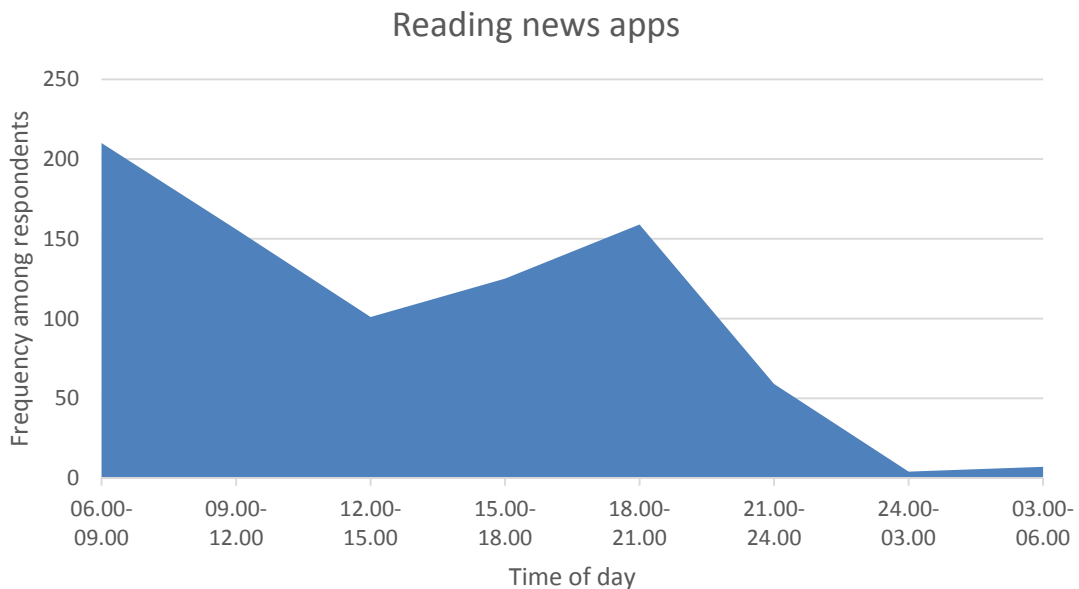


Figure 9 Most popular times for reading news apps

Student respondents would also use news apps during the school day in order to fill time gaps between lectures and such. The major difference between using social media and using news apps during the school day, was that when using news apps the respondents seemed to be more genuinely interested about the news. This is not surprising as a news app's mere function is to provide news, whereas social media provides other functions as well. Also in the survey both respondents had listed it as an important way to get news, which makes sense as they probably wouldn't pay for it if they didn't find it useful.

5.1.4 Listening to radio news



Picture 4 - Respondent listening to radio news on the way to work

The survey showed that people listen to radio news mostly in the morning, but would continue listening throughout the day (Figure 10). One younger respondent reported to listen to the radio while driving as entertainment, however she wouldn't be all that focused as she was also driving. Her focus would increase though if she heard something interesting. She also thought that it was a pleasant experience to get some news in between the radio music, which seemed to have to do with the fact that she overall didn't want to put too much effort into getting news, however still viewing it as important to know what's happening in the world.

Another respondent explained how he liked listening to the radio as he would be able to do other things at the same time, such as reading the newspaper and eating breakfast. He felt that radio news were less irritating as there were not any visual elements to it. However, he also felt that it could feel a bit hysterical to hear the same news over and over, making the news seem more important than they actually were. Moreover, he compared radio news to digital news magazines as he thought that they both were quite headline centric.

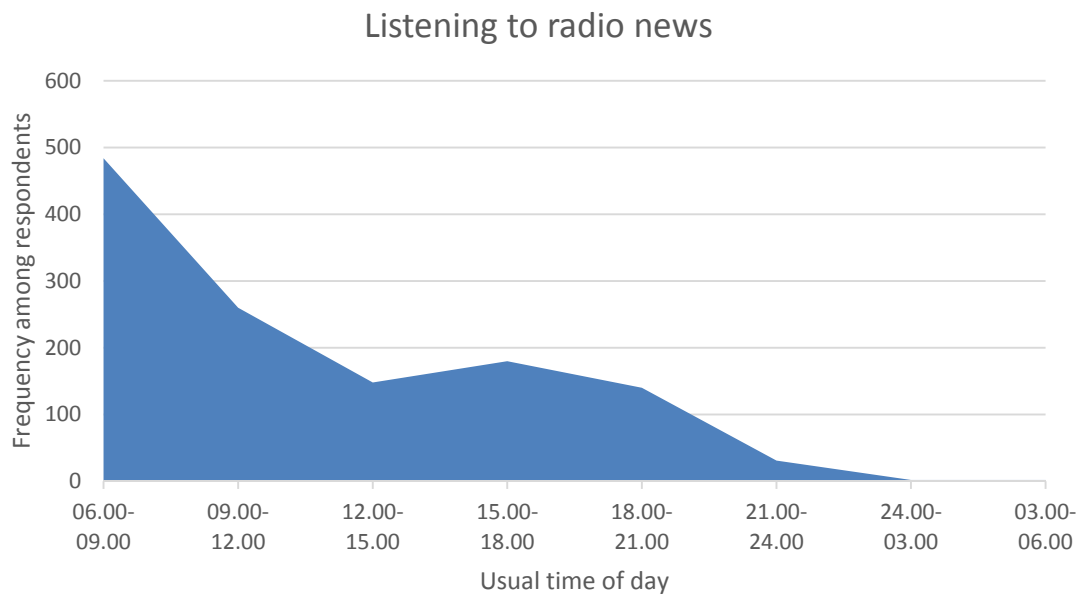


Figure 10 Most popular times for listening to radio news

5.1.5 Reading physical newspapers



Picture 5 – Picture taken by consumer reading newspaper in the morning

Newspapers were read most commonly in the morning (see figure 11). When done in the morning, it would usually be while eating breakfast. One respondent reported it as a somewhat stressful moment during workweeks, and that it was mainly done out of habit. Conversely, another respondent found this to be a moment when he would actually have time to invest in news reading, and found the session as more of an experience than checking news from the internet. He also felt that reading a physical newspaper had a better feeling to it.

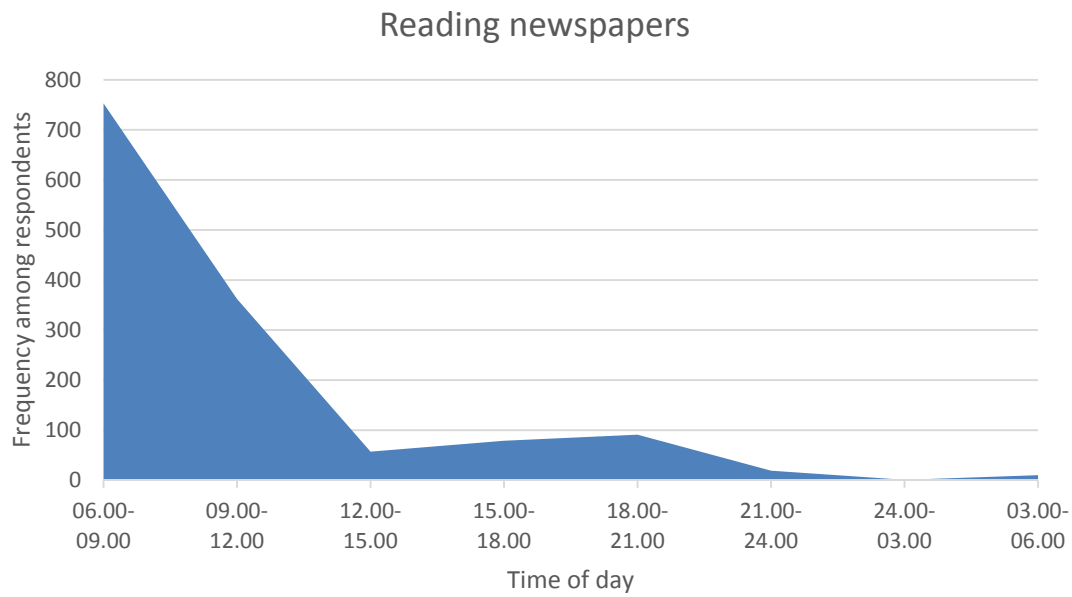


Figure 11 Most popular times for reading newspapers

Reading newspapers during the weekend was mostly reported as a rather nice situation. Here the respondents also felt that they had more time to read, and would therefore read more than they would during the workweek:

“It’s the weekend feeling that you have when you can get up a bit later, and take your time to drink coffee and eat breakfast and read the paper, and you can read it more thoroughly than during workweeks.” - Female, 20 years

A student respondent would read physical newspapers when visiting his parents during the weekends. He viewed it as a pleasant experience and wanted to use the opportunity to read a physical paper, but also thought that it required more commitment than reading news digitally:

“It feels like a physical newspaper is more time-consuming, it binds me to the physical, like you can’t just take it out of your pocket, you can’t carry a whole newspaper in your back pocket and then take it out when you have the time, so there’s more commitment to a physical newspaper.” – Male, 21 years

Another respondent would read physical newspapers during breaks at work. She thought of it as a good opportunity to catch up with her news reading, and even though she would read the paper for pastime, she was happy about the opportunity as she overall liked reading news. Furthermore, she liked stumbling over physical newspapers such as Financial Times, since when reading the paper online she couldn’t access all the articles for free.

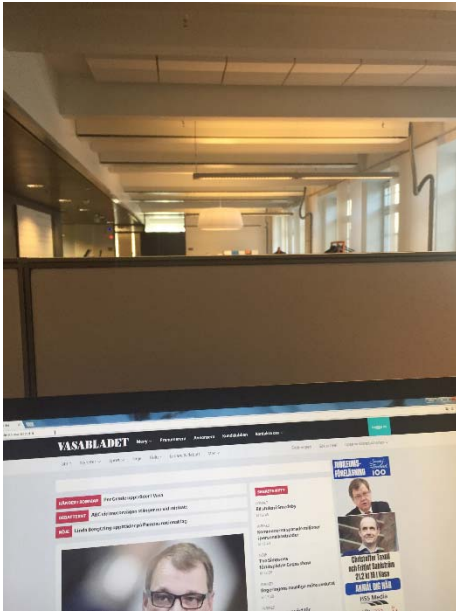


Figure 12 Most popular times for reading free newspapers

Figure 12 shows the times for reading free newspapers. As can be seen, the emphasis is more on the afternoon and evening, when the consumers have been able to grab a free newspaper. Besides taking advantage of free access, being bored, or reading papers out of habit, some of the respondents would read physical newspapers in order to relax. One respondent would read the paper after coming home from school. She described it as having her own little moment, as she would drink a cup of coffee, check the news and try to forget about school for a moment. She also felt that the atmosphere would be quite relaxing.

Overall it would seem like as long as the respondents weren't in a hurry, they would enjoy reading a physical newspaper, and their engagement would be quite high. Moreover, this would be an activity when they would be more open to reading news beyond important headlines or items of immediate interest.

5.1.6 Reading news sites / digital newspapers



Picture 6 Picture taken by respondent while reading digital newspaper at work, after lunch

Digital newspapers and news sites were read in various places and times throughout the day (Figure 13). A common motive was to read them whenever there was a suitable time opening. One student respondent would read them on the metro or bus on her way to school, as she had a rather long journey. Another respondent would read them at work if she had the time. Another student respondent would read during lectures or lunch break if feeling bored. Nevertheless, boredom or pastime weren't the only reasons for reading digital newspapers. The second of the mentioned respondents would also read digital newspapers as she started to relax during the night, usually when lying in the sofa before starting to watch TV-series.

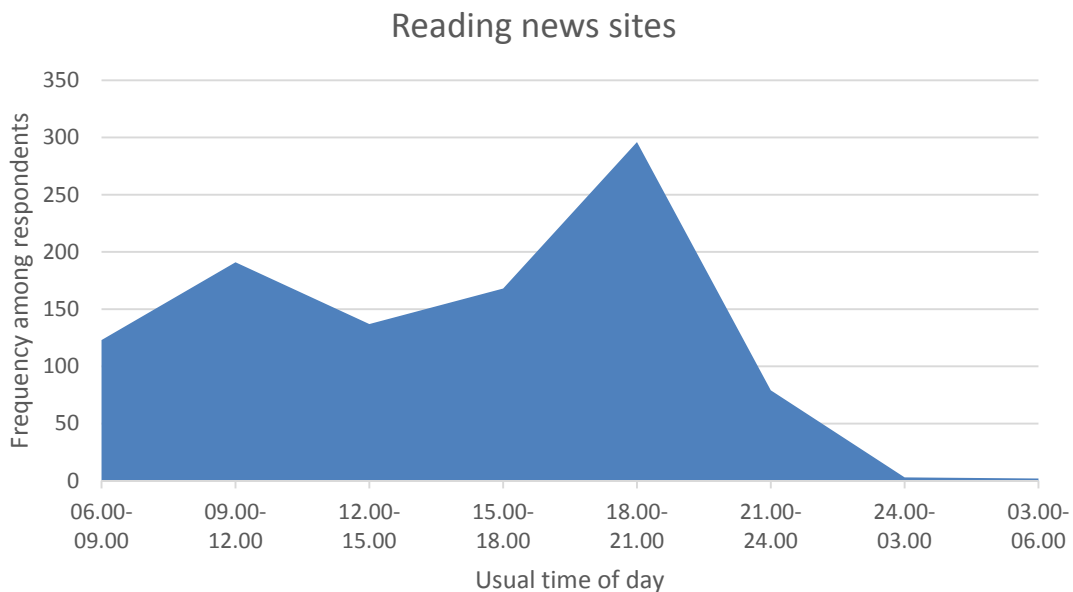


Figure 13 Most popular times for reading news sites

Overall, it seemed like reading digital newspapers filled the same function as checking news from social media, in the manner that it was also done during boredom and empty time slots. However, in contrast to news on social media, people would have a more genuine interest towards the news. However, some respondents also seemed to do it out

of habit, and the amount of time invested in reading digital newspapers seemed lower than in physical newspapers, as some would only use them to glance at the headlines in order to know what was going on. This was confirmed by the survey study, which showed that people on average had longer reading sessions with newspapers than they had with news apps. This held true across age groups.

5.1.7 *Discussing news with friends and acquaintances*



Picture 7 - Picture taken by respondent at home in the evening, while discussing news on the phone with friend

All of the interview subjects would discuss news to at least some extent. It could happen throughout the day, most commonly however in school or at work (see Figure 14). News were also discussed at the dinner table, at social events and online chats. One motive to discuss news was that news is an easy small talk topic. One respondent liked that she would have something to talk about with her older colleagues that she didn't otherwise have much in common with. Nevertheless, news were mostly discussed in order to get more clarity and to process them. Most of the respondents thought it was interesting and fun to hear different opinions about news. One respondent thought it was more fun to discuss news than it was to actually read them. If the news were

upsetting or caused fear, some of the respondents felt that it was important to talk about them. Another respondent thought it was important to discuss news as it was a way to get different perspectives and come up with better solutions. Yet another one thought that news discussion was a great way to get news that he might have missed himself, and also to hear about what was important to his friends. Some of the respondents would also talk about news on online chats.

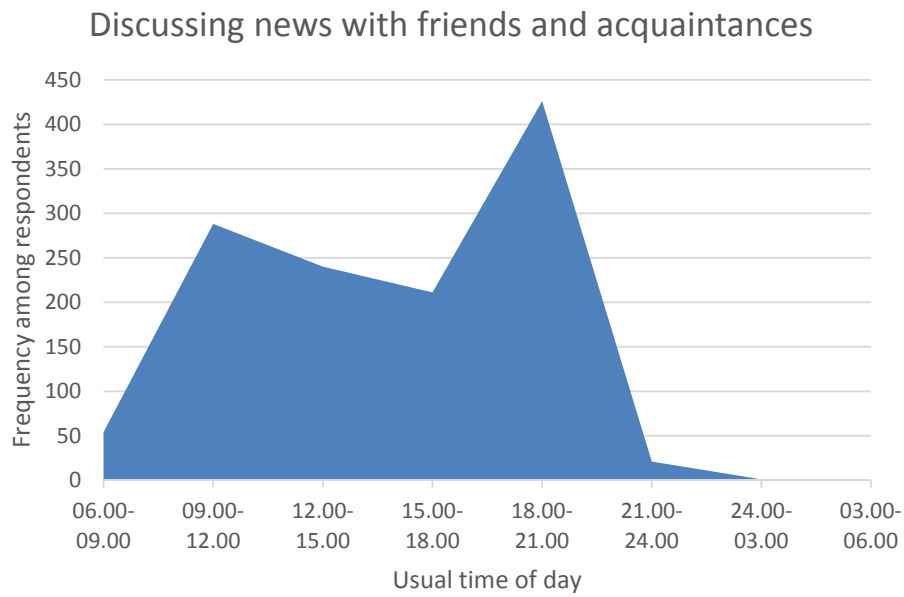


Figure 14 Most popular times for discussing news with friends and acquaintances

The social aspect of consuming news seemed overall to be quite important, as all respondents engaged in discussing news, and some were even motivated to read news in order to be able to discuss them. It seemed to be an important way to process news as well as learn about friends' opinions and what was important to them.

5.2 News consumption profiles

The survey data collected during the first part of the project was used to create news consumption profiles. To identify typical profiles of news consumption, we separately subjected all seven cases in Table 1 and 2 (p. 12-13) to a two-step cluster analysis. The two-step clustering method automatically suggests a number of clusters in a data set by two successive steps: Bayesian information criterion is used to estimate an initial number of clusters, and the estimate is then refined in a successive step (SPSS Inc., 2001). All of the cases, except the business school case, were divided into sub-groups using this method. The readers of the larger city newspaper was divided into two groups. The applied sciences students into two and the smaller city newspaper into three groups respectively. The business school case, however, was too uniform to yield such subgroups. As for the Swedish newspaper, the three papers yielded no subgroups on their own due to strong homogeneity among participants. However, when all the respondents from the Swedish papers were pooled into one group, the two-step clustering found two sub-groups. The identified sub groups in each case were called A, B and C respectively. Subsequently, all of the five resulting groups as well as the research items were placed in order of similarity into table 5.

Cases	1. Applied sciences school, group A	2. Applied sciences school, group B	3. Business school	4. Finnish newspaper 2, group A	5. Finnish newspaper 1, group A	6. Swedish newspapers, group A	7. Finnish newspaper 2, group B	8. Finnish newspaper 1, group B	9. Swedish newspapers, group B	10. Finnish newspaper 2, group C
Categorization	Busy digitalist	Convenience-seeking digital native	Traditionalist			Omnivore			News enthusiast	
Read newspapers	2,9	1,7	3,3	6,7	6,6	6,2	4,9	4,7	5,9	5,0
Watch TV news	5,0	2,3	2,8	6,3	6,3	6,2	4,0	4,0	5,9	5,8
Discuss news with friends and acquaintances	5,7	3,5	4,7	5,3	4,0	4,1	2,2	4,6	4,5	5,2
Read news websites	6,3	3,7	3,2	3,9	2,9	2,7	2,8	4,1	4,3	5,6
Listen to radio news	3,8	2,4	1,9	5,7	4,7	5,0	4,4	4,0	4,8	5,0
Read news linked through SOME	5,1	3,7	4,6	1,2	,7	,3	2,3	3,4	4,2	5,3
Read news apps	5,6	2,8	3,1	2,5	2,2	2,9	3,2	3,5	4,1	4,1
Read free news magazines	2,8	1,3	1,4	2,1	1,9	,8	1,0	1,9	1,3	1,9
Watch entertainment news	2,6	,3	1,1	,9	,5	,2	,0	,9	,3	,7
Share news links in SOME	2,1	,4	,3	,0	,0	,1	,4	1,2	1,2	1,8
Follow news provider through SOME	3,0	1,4	1,4	,0	,0	,2	,7	2,1	2,5	4,0
Comment news items on SOME	1,5	0,0	,1	,1	,0	,0	,1	,8	1,2	1,9
Read news forums	1,5	,3	1,0	,0	,0	,1	,0	,3	,1	1,2

Table 5 Groups and frequency of consumption activities

The table shows a pattern similar to what has been found in research on media generations, where younger consumers are found to favour digital channels, while older consumers favour traditional print and TV media (Bolin and Westlund, 2008). However, the picture is somewhat more nuanced, as it shows many different variations on the digital / traditional media divide. We paired up groups that were similar in activity styles, and gave them names that described their qualities. The groups can be found under “categorization” in Table 5. All newspaper samples yielded a group which could be characterized as “traditionalists” (groups 4, 5 and 6), where the consumers focused chiefly on using traditional media, i.e. reading newspapers, watching TV news, and listening to the radio. The newspapers also yielded a category which could be called “omnivores” (groups 7, 8 and 9), i.e. consumers who are comfortable with the consumption of both traditional and digital news media. The next two groups were categorized as “convenience-seeking digital natives” (groups 2 and 3), i.e. consumers that were not very engaged in news, and mostly consumed it through easily accessible digital channels, such as social media and websites. Finally, two somewhat different groups emerged. The first can be characterized as “news enthusiasts”. These consumers were very engaged in news consumption activities across the board. Finally, the last one was characterized as “busy digitalist”. They displayed the highest rates of discussing news with friends and high engagement in digital news. Even though they watched television news, they did not read physical newspapers or listen to the radio very much. Thus, we interpreted the results as reflecting a busy lifestyle, where news is important, but only consumed when convenient.

After creating the consumer categories, we went back to the interviews and identified respondents that corresponded with the proposed categories. We used the interviews to gain an understanding of how the activities of these representatives of groups were carried out in a habitat, thus resulting in descriptions of customer experience formation in context. The identified groups are presented in the form of personas.

5.2.1 The traditionalist

Being the oldest group (mean age over 60), the traditionalist uses mainly traditional news media, focusing on newspapers, TV and radio. Thus, news consumption has its particular routines and situations, usually in the home, where news consumption becomes the main focus. The traditionalists see news consumption as something that *should* be done – for many traditionalists, being updated about world happenings is seen

as everyone's societal responsibility. Therefore, they are motivated to consume news from a sense of duty, resulting in a sense of belonging to a community. Traditionalists are older, and have been doing it for a long time. Thus, they have formed strong habits around their news consumption. They are rather fond of their habits, and the situations usually feel calm, pleasant, and familiar. Receiving the newspaper every morning does not only mean that they keep themselves updated about, but also that they get to enjoy a nice quiet moment for themselves. Thus, their news consumption is mostly motivated by routines and a sense of duty, rather than boredom.

"To sit and drink morning coffee and browse through the paper in peace and quiet, is a different kind of experience than scrolling on a computer ... in some way it feels more relaxing to be able to browse back and forward" – Female, 59 years.

From a business perspective this means that news providers should foster the sense of belonging in some way, as well as emphasize the routines and positive feelings connected to them.

5.2.2 *The omnivore*

The omnivore casually consumes news through both digital and traditional channels, and combines specific daily routines with improvisation. Usually of middle age and upwards, omnivores are overall quite curious, and value getting news throughout the day. They partly perceive news consumption as something that should be done, but also find it entertaining and like doing it. They find value in their steady consumption habits, such as reading the paper every morning, but also in the little spontaneous moments when they get to satisfy their curiosity, or distance themselves for a while. Thus, they consume news partly out of routine, as they enjoy the nostalgia of reading the newspaper in the morning and how it gives structure to the day, but also in order to "break up the day" with online articles every now and then, at work for example.

"For me it's the calmest moment during the day, I have two children and a husband so it's the time during the day when I get to be completely by myself, and that's maybe why I have developed an addictive relationship to the morning news, it's important that the TV is on because it's the only time when I can in peace and quiet listen to the news without anyone interrupting me" – Female, 38 years.

For news providers this means that supporting routines is one way of providing value. Moreover, providing information in bite-size chunks online, enabling small enjoyable breaks, could be a good way to satisfy the omnivore.

5.2.3 *The convenience-seeking digital native*

Convenience-seeking digital natives are young, and strongly favour digital news consumption over traditional news media. The convenience-seeking digital natives perceive it to be important to be up to date about world happenings, but aren't willing to put effort into it. Thus, they find value in being able to combine news consumption with other activities. They enjoy getting news on social media which they can check whenever being bored, or using traditional media whenever it is easily accessible. Their news consumption is not motivated by routine, but mostly by boredom as well as interest to a certain extent.

“... perhaps it demands more energy to open a news app, so it might get more easily neglected, but I will look at social media all the time, like it almost happens automatically that you scroll through social media, so the threshold to go there has started to diminish, you know like reading news there or going there, so it's quite a lot lower than for an app.” – Female, 24 years.

For news providers this means that receiving news should be made simple and convenient, as well as entertaining since the convenience-seeking digital native is often motivated by boredom and wants something to make the moment more interesting. Moreover, being able to choose news that feel relevant to herself will also bring value, as she feels obligated to keep informed in areas such as her study subject.

5.2.4 *The news enthusiast*

The news enthusiast is intensely engaged in most types of news consumption. News enthusiasts have grown up with traditional media and still use it regularly. However, due to their strong curiosity and need to feel updated at all times, they have started to use digital news services as well, as it enables them to get news at any point during the day. The news enthusiasts find value in their news consumption routines as they feel pleasant, but mostly they find value in getting to satisfy their curiosity, and being able to discuss news and form opinions around different matters. Therefore, their motives for consuming news are mostly interest and a feeling of being on top of things, and rarely boredom.

“I think it's important that you discuss these things, if we don't discuss them we become inferior or not as good or you know... it's essential for our society that we discuss, it's essential for myself on an individual level that I reflect on my world, my surrounding world, the society and the context we exist in” – Male, 53 years.

From a business perspective, the news enthusiast needs to receive news that provide analysis and have deep insight, so that the he can fulfill his need to understand his world and surroundings better. As he is constantly curious, he finds value in getting these types of news frequently and quickly after happenings and incidents.

5.2.5 *The busy digitalist*

Busy digitalists focus intensely on digital news media, but also watch TV news at home. The busy digitalists sees news consumption as an important activity, as they are interested in the way the world is developing, want to be able to form opinions about different matters, and be perceived as well-informed and insightful. Due to their hectic lifestyle, they find value in achieving this in a way that doesn't interfere with their daily duties. Hence, they prefer digital platforms as it allows them to consume news whenever it suits them, and choose to read the type of news they find most important. Moreover, as their lifestyle requires them to be practical, they don't find as much value in relaxing news consumption habits as they find in getting their news conveniently during the day. They do not have time for steady news consumption habits, or even being bored, and thus only consume news out of interest.

“I would say that my news consumption has increased drastically during the last two years. Maybe the development of technology, especially phones, has resulted in that – I have the news with me where I go. It's also feels easier to read now that phone screens are bigger and better.” – Male, 37 years.

For news providers, this means that they need to enhance convenience in a way so that it is easy for the busy digitalists to get the type of news they want. Moreover, the busy digitalists need to “know the score” and being knowledgeable, indicates that he should receive news framed as “here is what you need to know”; fostering the feeling of being on top of things, by emphasizing that the most important information is being delivered. Getting all the valuable information in one article, means that he doesn't need to do a lot of research in order to know what is happening, which saves him precious time.

5.3 News and emotions

In our project we also studied the emotions that respondents associate with news consumption. Our survey included a general item which was intended to capture how people related to news consumption in terms of emotion: “news makes me feel bad”. This item had a significant negative correlation with age, so that younger consumers reported to feel slightly worse from consuming news than older consumers did (Figure 15).

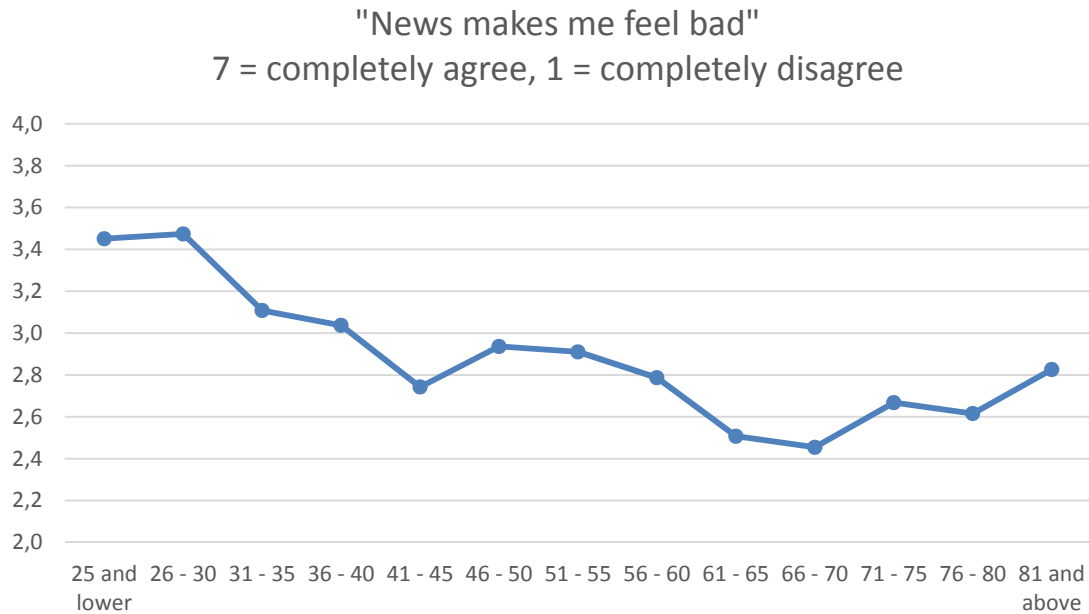


Figure 15 The average “feel-bad effect” of news in different age groups

We also did measurements for fear and sadness due to news consumption, and obtained similar results. Thus, it seems that younger consumers are either more sensitive to news content, or are more willing to acknowledge their emotions.

More insights into the relationship between news and emotions was found in the interviews. When asked about a time the respondents had been positively influenced by news, and a time they had been negatively influenced by news, it was easier for people to recall news that had affected them negatively. Three of the respondents weren't able to come up with any positive news, whereas everyone could remember a time they had been negatively affected. Furthermore it seemed as the negative news would more often affect the respondents whole day, whereas positive news would mostly only affect them in the moment. Interestingly, almost all the positive news that were remembered had something to do with either the respondents themselves, or with their own interests. The negative news on the other hand mostly had to do with larger disasters and crimes, or

things they could relate to in some way. Almost all respondents said that their whole day could be affected by negative news if it was big enough or happened close enough. One respondent also pointed out that as bigger news would show up everywhere in different media channels, she could be affected the whole day, especially if it was something that continued happening throughout the day. Not surprisingly, the respondent who seemed to be one of the least emotionally sensitive respondents to news, was also the only respondent who in the survey fully disagreed with the statement that news made him feel bad.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This study focused on understanding the relationship between news services and peoples' everyday routines. We studied this through a combination of survey studies, interviews and photographic material. These studies showed that consumers combine different activities to create their own individualized "newscapes". By looking at similarities in news consumption repertoires, the study identified five different news consumption personas: 1) the traditionalist, 2) the omnivore, 3) the convenience-seeking digital native, 4) the news enthusiast and 5) the busy digitalist. The personas used various combinations of traditional and digital media in their news consumption activities, and the result showed that there is not a clean shift from traditional to digital media, but rather that people tend to combine media according to taste and custom. In this concluding section, we will try to draw some more general conclusions about how people organize their everyday news consumption.

6.1 News consumption in everyday life

The results of our studies indicated that the type of media and devices that consumers use in their news consumption will serve to create practical circumstances that in turn shape how the consumer performs and experiences these news consumption activities. For example, why have people traditionally been reading their newspapers during breakfast in the morning? The answer is obvious: It is a result of practical circumstances tied to the activity of reading the newspaper. Newspapers have typically been delivered to the consumer's home in the morning. Moreover, a newspaper is a physical, cumbersome object, which tends to anchor it to a certain time and place, and will foster a certain type of everyday routine. Digital news services, on the other hand, do not function this way. The question of when and where people read news on their smartphones may even be somewhat difficult to answer, because the answer basically boils down to "whenever it's convenient", or "when I'm bored" (Westlund, 2015). Indeed, a study by the Reuters Institute finds that younger consumers are less likely to see news consumption as a part of their daily habit (Preston, 2015). Circumstances have never forced them to form stable routines. Thus, they are more likely to emphasize the role of news as a time-killer.

This was seen in our study when looking at the "traditionalist" respondent group, who tended to emphasize the emotional and experiential aspects of news consumption,

especially in the cases of newspapers and radio. Younger consumers, such as the “convenience-seeking digital native”, on the other hand, tended to fit their news consumption into whatever situations were convenient, and so were less likely to form fixed habits. This also meant that the act of news consumption did not gain the same ritualistic meaning for the younger consumers as it did for the older ones. Despite not fostering strong daily routines, the use of digital news is still habit-forming (Oulasvirta et al., 2011). However, digital news habits are more like ongoing urges than the traditional news consumption rituals that were tied to a particular situations and places. The reason is the following: Instead of a manageable physical object (such as a newspaper) which provides the boundaries for a particular batch of news stories, the natural format for digital news seems to be a continuously updated, ongoing stream. This results in what has been called the “checking-habit”. Such habits are not tied to specific times and places, but will run throughout the day. The checking-habit is also dependent on instant gratification (Diddi & LaRose, 2006). Each time you check a news stream, you expect to feel something. This emphasizes the short-term and experiential aspects of digital news consumption.

The conclusion we can draw for this is that there is a difference in emphasis on the source of the consumer experience is for traditional and digital news: In traditional news, the situation, routine actions and physical surroundings have an important role in creating a sense of familiarity and well-being for the consumer – thus important sources of the experience lie outside the news content itself. For digital news, on the other hand, the experience is to a higher degree tied to the content, as the situations in which it is consumed are more likely to vary.

There are also other differences between traditional and digital news that stem from their physical and spatial characteristics. Research has shown that people tend to organize their mental representations of texts as a type of map structures (Payne and Reader, 2006). The mapping process is easier for physical objects like books and magazines than for digital texts: Their tactile aspects help people to orientate themselves in their memories of the text and form a journey in their minds (Jabr, 2013). Our project’s interviews echo this – respondents claimed that they get a better overview of a news story when reading it in a newspaper. Thus, it seems that the physical newspaper is experienced as an understandable whole, something you can put on the table and say “this is the news today”. In a digital context, the news will never end: You can never feel that you have grasp on some type of finite batch of news. Moreover, studies have showed

that reading on an electronic screen is more mentally taxing than reading on paper (Mangen et al., 2013). Thus, people find it harder to concentrate when reading on screens, and especially on small ones, further shortening the span of engagement with news items. A report by the Nielsen Norman group argues that reading through a mobile phone is twice as taxing as reading on a desktop computer (Meyer, 2016). Incidentally, desktop devices are declining in popularity (Gartner, 2017). So, print media is in decline and news consumption seem to be moving from desktop to handheld. What does this mean for our daily news consumption behaviours?

The time and place for consuming news previously used to come to people by circumstance. This also meant that peoples' engagement with news tended to take the form of a distinct activity, something that you set aside time and attention to do. Now, the time and place for news are not decided in advance, making the consumption process more free-form. Moreover, as consumers, we are simultaneously distracted by the rest of the internet and physical world around us. Someone might make the argument that this is the death of insightful news. Arguably, in-depth analysis is still possible on the mobile format, but this means the introduction of arrangements that fit with the consumer's preferred behaviors, tools and circumstances of use. Handheld devices are better suited to formats such as videos and interactive material. It seems Facebook have caught on to this, and are consequently prioritizing live video in their newsfeed (Kant and Xu, 2016). In the future, news consumption is thus likely to be either an interactive process of open exploration, or a semi-active process of looking and listening. As news use can happen anywhere, anytime, the service needs to be very easy to engage with, and the user needs to be able to decide themselves where to go, and how deeply to go into a particular subject.

Thus, one of the main conclusions from this study is that there are three main impulses that serve to initiate news consumption activities. These are *routines*, *curiosity* and *boredom*, respectively (Figure 16). These three were consistently mentioned in interviews as underlying the respondents' news consumption behaviour. As indicated earlier, the three types of impulses are compatible with certain news consumption technologies. Physical magazines and time-bound broadcasts are strongly tied to certain static times, places and objects in peoples' lives. Thus, these "technologies" (if you can call newspapers a technology) serve to create strong routines in peoples' lives. The routine then takes on a meaning of its own, in terms of consumers associating it with, for example, morning rituals, or relaxation after work. It is likely that this is why consumers

tended to think of traditional news consumption activities as being more important than new, digitally enabled ones. The meaningful routines associated with the traditional news consumption activities imbue their consumption with deeper meanings than just a direct consequence of the news content. The routine activity can thus become a meaningful part of the consumer's life, one that goes beyond the consumed content.

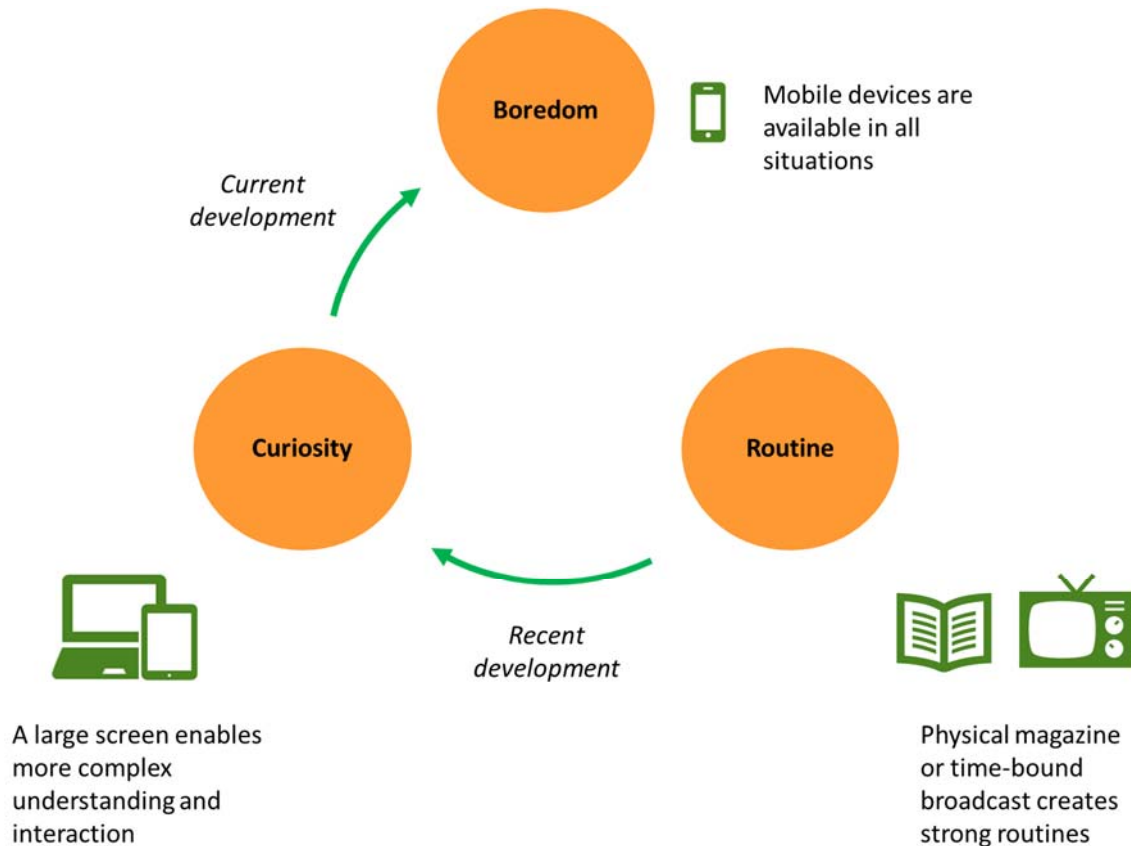


Figure 16 Impulses for news consumption activities

The arrows in Figure 16 illustrate how news consumption activities have recently developed, and are currently developing further. From being mostly tied to routines fostered by media sources anchored to certain times and places (such as TV or newspapers), news consumption has moved towards situations where curiosity can lead to exploratory behaviour. This development has been driven by devices that enable complex understanding and interaction, such as desktop computers and tablets. The size of the screen combined with the interaction interfaces (e.g., touchscreen, mouse, and keyboard) enable the user to get involved in exploratory behaviour. Currently, however, we are seeing an increasing shift towards smaller screens. Devices with small screens are carried around at all times, and can thus be accessed in situations where nothing else is

going on. Consequently, the role of news as a tool for alleviating temporary boredom is now becoming increasingly important.

Note, however, that the progression from routines to interest, and further from interest to boredom indicated in Figure 16 does not mean that the increasing emphasis on one particular type impulse is making the other ones irrelevant. People still create (and fall into) routines, and they still find themselves driven by curiosity. Rather, the nature of technology and the surroundings in which news is consumed makes it more compatible with certain kinds of impulses. Thus, a small screen is better suited for shorter, shallower engagement with news anywhere during the day, emphasizing the boredom aspect, while a large screen and a less constraining interface enables the curiosity aspect to take a more prominent position.

6.2 Three perspectives on the transformative function of news services

This project also made some initial efforts to study news services from a transformative perspective. Transformative service research focuses on how to improve consumer well-being in service-settings (Rosenbaum et al., 2015). Thus, we were interested in how news services might improve customer well-being. We will here discuss some of the ideas for how to understand the transformative role of news services that we developed during the project.

In the first section of this report, we suggested that news services can be viewed from three perspectives: 1) The provider perspective, 2) the interaction (or network) perspective, 3) and the customer perspective (see Figure 3 on page 5). The provider perspective was argued to depict traditional print and broadcast media services, where the news provider is in control of the media channel, and uses it for one-way communication to a large number of consumers. The interaction (or network) perspective reflects the current realities on the internet, where people share news and contribute to them through their social media networks. Finally, the customer perspective represents an individualist viewpoint where an empowered customer or consumer picks and chooses between many media sources, and combines the use of them within the activities in their own lives.

We argue that the three presented perspectives entail three completely different mechanisms for improving user well-being. The first one – the *provider* perspective - emphasizes provider control and the consumer's role as a passive recipient. Thus,

transformativity from this perspective is dependent on the provider's understanding of what contributes to consumer well-being, resulting in a unidirectional transformative process. This type of model can be seen reflected in the traditional values of journalism, where journalism is understood as having a societal role, promoting well-being on the aggregate level. Thus the focus will be on general issues of well-being, with focus on exposing social malaise, corruption and injustice.

When the *interaction* perspective is applied, the question of transformativity becomes more complex. Under the interaction perspective, the provider is not in control anymore. Instead, transformativity becomes part of an ongoing discussion between different network clusters. Transformative goals are constantly renegotiated by means of interactions, and consumers will interact with providers that offer transformative functions according to consensus in the consumer's relevant networks. Thus, the challenge of news providers becomes to involve themselves in relevant communities on a more detailed level than before. The transformative role consists in working within networks to promote the well-being of groups of people.

Finally, the *customer* perspective emphasizes the individual's idiosyncratic viewpoint and behaviour. Thus, transformativity from this perspective becomes a question of individual, personal well-being. Consumers decide on their own understanding of well-being, and try to enact that well-being through their own choices. Thus, they see other actors as vessels for transformativity: You may follow a particular blog, or interest yourself in news stories that correspond with your particular understanding of well-being goals. From this perspective, well-being becomes an individual, subjective issue.

There has recently been some public interest in the effects of news on well-being. Interestingly, the approaches suggested in these discussions seem to reflect the three perspectives mentioned above. For example, Haagerup's (2014) notion of "constructive news" seems to operate in accordance with the first model's worldview: He sees the negative tone of news as a factor that contributes to social ills and even undermines democracy. Thus, he places more responsibility onto the journalists: Through their style of reporting, they can either contribute to societal well-being, or detract from it. He stresses that news providers need to understand the effects of their actions on society. This reflects the top-down worldview of the provider perspective of the few communicating to the many.

On the other end of the spectrum, we have Gielan's (2015) idea of "transformative journalism", where the content of news stories have an immediate effect on emotions and capabilities of the individuals that consume them. Thus, her approach reflects the individual-centric worldview of the third model, i.e. that a person's combined news consumption activities will have an effect on his or her immediate well-being. However, For Gielan, this mainly means focusing on how news makes us feel, and how this impacts our everyday life and further news consumption choices (Gielan, 2017). She also focuses mainly on the role and impact of the *news story*, and thus does not provide very much input into the general function of news services, and how they could foster transformative processes among consumers.

Thus, there seems to be an opportunity for scholars and practitioners to start consider the transformative function of news services from a structural or organizational perspective. If we go beyond the impact of individual news stories, there is an opportunity for companies to create news services that are able to support the customer's well-being in many different ways that could go beyond what traditionally has been considered a "news offering". Digital technologies allow for a multitude of different ways of engaging with content and other people. Thus, we are increasingly seeing news services that go beyond the traditional formats of news. One simple example is the Quartz app, which presents you with news in the style of a message conversation between you and a friend (www.qz.com). However, this app is still quite traditional in its approach to news. News services could potentially become services that provide you with personal help with the tasks and insights you are interested in. For example, they could provide you with guidance and support in a process of engaging more strongly with your community. Related to this, there also seems to be a lack of insight into the problem of transformativity in the second model, i.e. the *interaction perspective*. What are the transformative mechanisms and roles of consumers and news services in a network setting? Thus, future projects should look into the role of transformative services from an interaction perspective, as the network model seems to be able to capture some of the dynamics of current news consumption processes.

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APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEW GUIDE

Step 1: Mapping activities

- How do you get your news? What do you do?
- How often do you do it?
- How do you benefit from it? What do you *do* with the news?
- What type of news do you usually choose? Why?
- How often do you go beyond those mentioned areas of interest? Why?
- Has your news consumption changed during the last years? How?
- How do you think you will use news in the future, in five or ten years?
- How do you find out about what happens in your local area / block / part of the city / city / region / country?

Step 2: The respondent fills out a schema for a typical week's news consumption

Step 3: News consumption experiences

- Tell me about the last time you read / watched / listened to a news item during **all the activities in the schema**? What was the situation (where were you, what did you do?) What was the news item? What did you think / feel?
- How does the time of day affect your news consumption experience?
- Can you tell me about some situation where you were especially positively affected by a news item? How did it feel? How did it affect your day?
- How do news affect how you feel? Do they have a positive or negative effect?
- Do you discuss news with friends and acquaintances? When / how / where?
- Tell me about when you last discussed news with someone. How did you feel?
- What types of news do you never read? Why?