On the Spot

New Ways of Reporting in British and Dutch Newspaper Journalism, 1925 - 2005

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Abstract

New, innovative ways of reporting changed newspaper form and content in Western Europe over the course of the twentieth century. In this article, the changing forms of the newspaper are analyzed on three distinct levels: the national, the transnational, and finally the diachronical level. Two British and two Dutch newspapers, subdivided in those adhering to the information model (The Times and NRC Handelsblad) and the story model (Daily Mirror and De Telegraaf), were subjected to a content analysis. Three samples representative for 1925, 1965 and 2005 were analyzed. Our results show that, in contrast with general assumptions by media historians, the new journalistic routines and forms associated with the ‘news paradigm’ were still far from established in 1925 and still greatly developed even between 1965 and 2005. Form and content of the newspapers underwent many changes, in the way they identified authors, mentioned sources, used different genres, or in their subjects of choice. A closer look at the developments shows that the styles of journalism manifest themselves transnationally, but that newspapers show national characteristics as well, especially in the Netherlands.

1.1 Introduction

From the end of the nineteenth century, journalism was subject to far-reaching changes in Western Europe and the United States. Gradually, a new set of journalistic routines and norms emerged. At the heart of these developments was the idea of a much more active news gathering. Journalists were no longer expected to piece together information from behind their desks, or write verbatim accounts of political debates and company meetings, but to go out into the streets to find the news and cover it. Instead of writing long analyses, opinionated pieces, or passively relaying information that was put forward on prearranged meetings and events, they were on the prowl for newsworthy events, and tried to uncover the facts of the matter by talking to the people involved.1

Traditional ideas about the very nature of news changed and the way in which it was presented to the public evolved as well. Between roughly 1880 and 1920 the layout, structure, and content of the newspaper were reconceptualized, which thoroughly changed the appearance and the content of newspapers. Scholars often regard these decades as a transition period in which European journalism shifted from an ideologically charged, reflective journalism to a more neutral, fact-based practice termed the ‘news paradigm’.2

These new ideas about journalism were interwoven with institutional, political, and social developments occurring during that period such

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as the rise of a commercial mass press, the legal incorporation of press freedom, the emergence of an affluent middle class with more spare time, and a gradual journalistic professionalization. Although similar developments were present throughout the western world, the extent and impact of these changes differed between countries, and depended on the journalistic cultures that were there to begin with. Moreover, the stratification of the different press landscapes meant there existed differences in attitude towards these innovations within countries as well. These differences in attitude led to disparities in the nature and pace of the changes.

The new routines and conventions that are introduced in the second half of the nineteenth century are embodied in particular by two new journalistic genres: the interview and the reportage. First, we have to make clear what we mean by ‘genre’, a concept that has been defined in various ways. We define genre as a textual form that structures a story by the use of certain writing conventions. Genres articulate a certain style of journalism and the way in which they are used provides insight into the underlying journalistic norms of a newspaper. Since we see the reportage and the interview as the genres that best embody the routines associated with the news paradigm, it is important to make clear how we delineate these genres. Genres are not static, but rather dynamic concepts that can differ somewhat between countries and that evolve over time. Because of the diachronic and comparative nature of our research, we have therefore chosen to use inclusive definitions that are not too narrowly defined. The reportage entails journalistic accounts that not only give a clear description of the event, but also convey the experience of the event vicariously. They employ several narrative techniques like tension building, the use of couleur locale, or colloquial dialogue to accomplish this, but they never abandon their claim to truth. The interview is a more straightforward genre and is defined here simply as the textual reflection of a conversation between a journalist and another person.

It took a while though before the textual descendants of the new routines developed into well delineated genres. The interview and the reportage were considered synonymous until the end of the nineteenth century. Gradually, the reportage and the interview started to denote textual forms instead of journalistic routines. Furthermore, these genres often met with cultural resistance, and were adapted to the journalistic norms that already existed. As a result the reportage is double-faced, and can take on the form of a subjective and analytical account of an event seen through the eyes of the reporter, or an impartially told story in which many people are consulted and in which the perspective of the journalist is almost invisible. The introduction of the interview also shows how cultural factors influence the manifestation of a genre. In this case, the struggle takes place between the ‘visit’, and the ‘interrogation’. In the ‘visit’ form, the interviewer has the low status of a visitor, only passively observing and relying on what he sees and what he is told, whereas the ‘interrogation’ considers the interviewee almost as a suspect, that is to be questioned in order to find out the truth. The latter form is, obviously, closer connected to the new routines of reporting in which the journalist actively searches for news and pursues the people involved. The struggle between traditional reflective journalism and the conventions and routines of a more fact-based and neutral reporting practice is thus embodied within these genres.
1.2 The news paradigm: an American straitjacket

Although the development of Western journalism in the long twentieth century has been a popular object of scholarly attention, the changes that took place in this period of time are analyzed from a perspective which too often neglects the journalistic diversity between and within European countries. In general, scholars situate the origins of the shift from a reflective to fact-based journalism in the United States, and argue the subsequent diffusion of these new norms, routines and forms in Europe. Furthermore, it is suggested that from this transition period onward, Western journalism is increasingly dominated by the new norms, routines and forms of a fact-based reporting that revolves around the ideal of detached neutrality, or even objectivity. This ‘grand narrative’ of journalism history is very useful as a broad outline of the journalistic development of Europe and North America. It points to important innovations in Western journalism practice on the level of norms, routines and forms. However, especially for European journalism history this grand narrative can become an overly rigid straitjacket that is modeled too strongly after the journalistic developments in the US, and is at risk of becoming both teleological and normative. By considering detached, fact-based journalism as the final phase of journalistic development, scholars risk adopting the dominant norms of the news paradigm as their own instead of analyzing them. Broersma advocates a more nuanced approach to (European) journalism history, in which more attention is devoted to the diversity between, but also the variety within journalistic cultures and discourses. He argues for research into journalism history that analyzes historic developments in a comparative context, paying attention to national idiosyncrasies as well as phenomena that exceed national boundaries. Such research should not only be based on the historical expressions and statements of contemporary actors in the journalistic domain, which often position themselves strategically and emphasize the innovations too much, but on a solid systematic analysis of the actual newspaper content. This critique of the grand narrative of journalism links up to the current debate on transnational research. Many scholars in the field of transnationalism point to the lack of nuanced comparative research. They all criticize the traditional emphasis on the nation as the obvious unit of analysis. Such an approach takes national uniformity for granted, and does not pay any attention to the possible diversity within a nation’s culture, or to the possibility of a culture that crosses borders making it ‘deterritorial’. They argue for a multilevel research perspective that accounts for both national and transnational influences on historic developments – in our case European journalism history. We think a multilevel research effort could be highly beneficial to journalism history research. Firstly, comparative research into journalism history is scarce – although recently it has gained momentum. Most journalism histories deal with a single country, and as a result they are unable to determine whether developments happen within national boundaries or take place on a transnational level. Secondly, most of the research that has attempted a comparative project adopted the nation as the obvious unit of comparison, without paying enough attention to internal plurality. Finally, as mentioned before, existing research often assumes a general development towards fact-based and neutral journalism, risking a teleological and normative perspective on journalistic development.

1.3 Towards a multilevel approach of comparative journalism history

With their influential work on media systems in the West, Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini have laid a foundation for research that is very well equipped to take into account national differences without adopting a teleological perspective on the

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12. Schudson, Discovering the News, 6-11, 158-159; Hoyer and Porthke, Diffusion of the News Paradigm, 12-13; Chalaby, The Invention of Journalism, 128-133.


development of European journalism. They have postulated three different media models, which can be used to classify the media systems of the different countries in Western Europe and North America. Hallin and Mancini expect that the differences pertaining to the institutional and political landscape, on which they have based their models, also have important implications for the discursive practices of journalism in the different countries. Although the media models of Hallin and Mancini are an important step towards a more nuanced perspective on the diversity within Europe, their perspective is still quite broad. A more elaborate perspective on national pluriformity in relation to transnational developments is necessary to be able to accurately examine the complex dynamics of European journalism history.

Broersma has proposed a solution to fill this void by providing a tentative categorization of different styles of journalism, which can coexist within one country but also operate on a transnational level. He discerns two styles of journalism that played an important role in 19th and 20th century journalism: the reflective and the news style. The first corresponds to a value-laden journalistic practice, whereas the second pertains to the conventions and routines of the news paradigm. The latter can again be subdivided in the information and the story model. The information model is typified by a fact-based way of reporting in an impartial and detached manner. The story model also focuses on facts, but integrates them in a more emotional account that tries to involve the reader.

By analyzing the diachronic development of these styles of journalism within countries and across countries, without seeing them as consecutive, a much more nuanced light can be shed on the dynamic development of the discursive formation and development of journalism as a result of both national and transnational influences.

1.4 Comparing the two-faced news style in Great Britain and the Netherlands

To be able to analyze the interplay between national and the transnational influences present within European journalism, we have conducted a quantitative content analysis of two constructed weeks of newspaper material in 1925, 1965 and 2005 for two British newspapers, the Daily Mirror and The Times, and two Dutch newspapers, De Telegraaf and NRC Handelsblad. This sample method offers a very reliable representation of the year in question.

Firstly, we examine the newspapers at three moments in time starting at the point that supposedly marks the end of the transition period. Analyzing the newspapers at these different moments in time shows both the general as well as the idiosyncratic developments the newspapers experience.

Secondly, we analyze the newspapers on the level of the nation to see if a shared national journalistic culture exists. Great Britain and the Netherlands respectively represent the liberal media model and the democratic corporatist model, and are therefore both expected to be influenced by a specific national journalistic culture. Great Britain is a good representative of the liberal model, as it acquired press freedom at an early stage, and from that moment on the British press landscape is dominated by press barons, like Lord Northcliffe and his modern counterpart Rupert Murdoch.

The Dutch press landscape differs in important ways from its British counterpart. It fits in well with the democratic corporatist model, as up until the 1960s the Netherlands was a ‘pillarized’ society, which meant that every sociopolitical group (Catholics, Protestants, liberals) was represented by its own newspaper. However, from the end of the nineteenth century a commercial press had developed as well.

Finally, we scrutinize these newspapers from a...
transnational perspective by comparing the information and the story model, represented respectively by *The Times* and *NRC Handelsblad*, and *De Telegraaf* and the *Daily Mirror*. We have chosen newspapers that resemble these styles of journalism as closely as possible, but their ideal typical nature makes a perfect fit impossible. Especially the position of *The Times* as a representative of the information model becomes problematic after 1981, as it was bought by media tycoon Rupert Murdoch who changed the editorial line into a direction that bore many resemblances to the story model.

The newspaper material has been measured and coded integrally – meaning all the newspaper articles in the sampled newspapers – for a fixed set of formal features such as genre, subject, and author of the articles. Additionally, we have also examined whether they contain direct quotes, sources, and pictures. We decided to concentrate on the formal aspects of newspapers because the choice for a specific set of formal features expresses the underlying discursive norms pertaining to the journalistic practice. In other words, comparing specific choices with regards to structure, style and layout of a newspaper provides insight in the different ways journalism might be conceived.

As a result we were able to map the diffusion of journalistic practices associated with the news paradigm. As we are interested in the dynamics of the development of European journalism on both a national and transnational level, we have focused on the genre of the interview and the reportage, for they fully capture the struggle of journalists in adopting and adapting new routines, and translating them into genres that can be integrated in the existing journalistic practice.

### 2.1 Increasing visibility of journalists

With changing journalistic routines, the position of the journalist evolved as well. The changing position of individual journalists is reflected in the increasing percentage of articles of which the author was identified by name of professional position. In 1925, the status of individual journalists was still rather low, with exceptions for a few well-known and well-paid reporters. This is reflected in editorial policy: the author of a newspaper article still remains anonymous in 70 to 80 per cent of articles in all four newspapers. Newspapers wanted to appear politically independent and impartial, and let their own position take precedence over that of their individual reporters, who had not yet acquired a high professional status. With the rise of the commercial mass press and press freedom legally constituted, however, newspapers acquired a more autonomous position, as did their reporters. Journalists started to organize themselves as an occupational group and journalistic practice professionalized.

The anonymity of authors became less important to the newspapers, and from the perspective of the individual journalist, it could be beneficial to his or her career if people knew which pieces he or she had written.

The newspapers belonging to the story model are the most progressive in this respect. Moreover, they focused more on the personal status of the author by only mentioning his or her full name, rather than emphasizing the professional position of the author such as correspondent or editor, as both *The Times* and *NRC Handelsblad* did up until 1965. These results fit the difference in journalistic style, as the identity of the newspapers belonging to the information model revolves more around detachment, impartiality, and professionalism. *De Telegraaf* is a bit of an odd one out, as it not only mentions more author names, but also states the professional role of the author more often than *NRC Handelsblad*. This could indicate that up until 1965 a shared journalistic culture influenced the editorial strategy of Dutch newspapers.

### 2.2 Interviewing and quoting sources

Before the advent of on-the-spot reporting, journalists were less actively engaged in questioning people to seek out the truth. Even when they did

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23 Broersma, “Form, Style and Journalistic Strategies”, xxiii-xxv.

24 See e.g. Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland*, 13-28, 47-53.
ask people for information, it was highly unusual to mention these sources let alone to quote them directly. New journalistic routines changed all this. Journalists started to mention and quote their sources more and more, and the routine of interviewing grew into the ‘fundamental act of journalism’. By explicitly identifying his sources, journalists made their information-gathering process more transparent. They show their audience where they acquired their information, thereby increasing their credibility.

However, mentioning and quoting sources was far from ubiquitous in 1925. Only by 1965, the British newspapers had started to demonstrate their use of sources on a regular basis. Their Dutch counterparts lagged behind in this respect, which could indicate a difference in the pace with which the new reportorial routines were adopted. In 2005, the picture is more convergent: all newspapers are mentioning sources for almost half of all articles, with only The Times standing out a bit above the rest. The use of direct quotes shows a similar picture.

Our results show interesting similarities between the styles of journalism. Politicians are mentioned as a source more often in the information model. In 2005, this pattern is broken: the amount of political sources in The Times plummets. This result however can be explained by the changing proprietary and, with that, editorial strategy of The Times. No longer did the newspaper provide lengthy parliament reports, but instead the newspaper focused on ‘softer subjects’, as we will see in the paragraph on subjects. The story model newspapers use more laymen as their sources. Interestingly, a subcategory of laymen that we analyzed, the ‘vox populi’ (the proverbial ‘accidental passerby’ or ‘man in the street’) is confined to 2005 only, and thus seems to be a very recent journalistic invention. Finally, the differences between the Dutch newspapers are less divergent, again pointing in the direction of a shared journalistic culture.

2.3 New ways of presenting the news

The new routines of reporting also impacted the way the news was presented to the public. This is also reflected in the visual style of the newspaper, which shows important differences between the styles of journalism. The Daily Mirror stands out in comparison to the other three newspapers. Images in this newspaper occupied up to a third of the available space throughout all three sample

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25 Schudson, The power of news, 72.
26 Alfred Harmsworth wrote in the first edition of the Daily Mirror: “Our illustrations are themselves ‘news’ … Every day the camera and the artist’s pencil will produce for our readers the news of the day”, quoted from: David and Emily Seymour, A Century of News: A Journey through History with the Daily Mirror (London: Contender Books, 2003), 7.
years. This reliance on images dates back to the Mirror’s introduction in 1903. The large number of illustrations was a unique selling point at the time of its introduction. “Our illustrations are themselves news” as founder Alfred Harmsworth put it.26 Technological changes had made it feasible to publish images from 1900 onwards.27 It would therefore have been possible for other newspapers as well to rely on a visual style, but clearly they did not. The amount of images thus had more to do with the identity of the newspaper and the journalistic norms it embodied, than the availability of the technology, a conclusion Broersma also arrives at in his article on visual strategies in newspapers.28

With the rise of on-the-spot reporting new genres came in vogue, whereas certain more traditional ways of presenting the news lost ground. The acceptance of new genres by the journalistic community could take some time and depended on the extent to which the new genre fitted in with the contemporary journalistic tradition. This is reflected in the results as we can see that the amount of analysis does not diminish at all. Even more interesting – and puzzling – are the differences between the styles of journalism with regards to reporting, for the amount of reporting diminishes in the information model.

In the other three newspapers, illustrations moved from 5 per cent or less in 1925 to around a quarter of the available space in 2005. In 1925, De Telegraaf used less visual content than The Times and NRC Handelsblad, but by 1965 the newspaper outdistanced both papers of record in its use of illustrations. In 2005, the distribution of illustrations had become more uniform than in the two preceding sample years, showing a convergence in the amount of illustrations used. Nevertheless, these results show that the story model newspapers are more visually oriented, with the only exception of the 1925 Telegraaf. This difference is not surprising if we consider that the story model newspapers are expected to have a strategy more aimed at the emotional involvement of a wide audience, which is better achieved by visual content.29 The information model newspapers, as papers of record, attach greater importance to their intellectual status and remain more text-focused. In this case the differences between the newspapers thus seem to be based mainly on their journalistic style, rather than their nationality.

Before we look closer at the results, it is important to make clear which genres we discern. We distinguish four main genres: news report, analysis, reporting, and other. With the broad category ‘news report’, we refer to an often short account of the main facts of a certain event, whereas ‘reporting’ refers to the report, the reportage, and the interview, representing a category of articles in which the reporting routines are directly accounted for in the text. The category analysis entails all the articles in which an event is analyzed or in which a cemented opinion is given. ‘Other’ is our rest category and contains isolated images, weather reports, and puzzles, for example.

If we look at the assumed national and transnational differences, we get a complex, but interesting picture. There exist interesting similarities between the Daily Mirror and De Telegraaf. For instance, both newspapers showed a fairly regular increase of the reporting genre. Furthermore, the amount of analysis in 1965 was higher than in 1925, but remained steady in 2005. There are also interesting similarities between The Times and NRC Handelsblad. In 2005, analysis spiked in both newspapers, and the pattern of the news

29 Broersma, Visual Strategies, 177.
2.4 The fading of the report

It seems puzzling that the amount of reporting diminished in the information model in a period that is said to be dominated by the routines of on-the-spot reporting. This is a good reason to take a closer look at the broad category of reporting. This category is made up of three genres: the report, the interview and the reportage. Although these genres all pertain to routines of reporting, there exist interesting differences between the report and the other two genres, that can explain these surprising results. The report is a more traditional genre that embodies different journalistic norms and routines. It epitomizes a way of reporting, in which journalists primarily go to scheduled events such as political debates, annual shareholders meetings, or soccer matches, and write detailed chronological — and in case of meetings or debates sometimes almost verbatim — accounts of such events. This way the news was presented as mimetic as possible, with as little mediation of the journalist as possible. The norms and routines embodied in the interview and reportage appoint a much more active role to journalists. They look for news, and try to uncover facts instead of relaying events in a more passive manner. Moreover, the role of the journalist in the process of shaping a story becomes much bigger. It is therefore not surprising that the use of the report severely declined over time.

What catches the eye right away is the enormous popularity of the report in The Times of 1925, compared to the two new genres. This image also holds for the other newspapers, although the report is not used as much as in The Times. Only the Daily Mirror differs, as the newspaper has its peak of the report in 1965 instead of 1925. This disparity however can be at least partially attributed to the very large amount of isolated images in 1925, which limited the space for reports considerably. The interview and the reportage were clearly not embraced right away, as they were still in their infancy in 1925. Only by 2005 these genres had come into their own. It is striking that all four newspaper adopted the reportage earlier than the interview, but the interview ended up being the most popular of the two. This might have financial reasons, as the costs of a reportage are often very high. The Daily Mirror, De Telegraaf, and NRC Handelsblad devoted more than 10 percent of their space to the interview in 2005. Only The Times maintained its reluctant attitude towards the genre. This belated popularity of the interview can be explained by the long remaining hesitancy towards intruding in the (private) lives of the interviewees. The interview was for a long time — and based on our results even longer than often assumed - regarded as somewhat of a rude genre. On the other hand, this genre has always been popular with the audience. This might explain why by 2005 when such objections were gone, the use of the genre peaked.

These results cannot be explained very easily in terms of national or transnational differences and similarities. We only see some similarities on a national level with regards to the acceptance of the interview and the reportage. Regarding the information and the story model, it is hard to see meaningful parallels. One explanation for these unequivocal patterns could be the fact that in 1925 and 1965 there were not that many reportages and interviews, which decreases our sample size and could have led to more varied results.

2.5 Changes and differences in newspaper content

An important part of a newspaper’s identity is reflected in the subjects that it does or does not write about. These choices are based on the audience that the newspaper wants to attract and on company, a detailed description of a trial or a political debate, but also a description of a soccer match.

Different from a news report, which is an often short account of the main facts of a certain event, a report is a minute-like chronological description of an event. Like the almost verbatim reproduction of a board meeting of a
the image and the reputation it wants to convey. With the emergence of the routines of on-the-spot reporting, newspaper identities changed and the topical emphases shifted. On a transnational level, the similarities between the newspapers are evident. In spite of a general decrease, the newspapers of the information model pay more attention to politics, international relations, and economy throughout the whole period. The Daily Mirror and De Telegraaf have a different profile, and clearly focus more on human interest and lifestyle. The attention towards sports is more equally divided, but is still higher in the story model newspapers. Overall, sports were gaining editorial interest.

However, there also exist certain national particularities. The differences between the Dutch newspapers, although in many respects similar to those between their British counterparts, are not as strong. De Telegraaf devoted more attention to politics, international relations, and economics than the Daily Mirror. This can be ascribed to the less important role commercialism played in the Dutch journalistic culture, as a result of a subscription tradition and a persistent loyalty between the readership and a certain newspaper based on a shared ideological perspective. Another striking development in this respect is the shift in content of The Times in 2005. Human interest, lifestyle and sports all increased sharply, making The Times and the Daily Mirror more alike. However, this convergence cannot be attributed to an increasingly shared journalistic culture, but rather on specific occurrence: Rupert Murdoch’s News International taking over the ownership in 1981, which led to a change in editorial strategy.

2.6 Content of reporting genres

Now that we have broadly delineated what topics newspapers wrote about, it is interesting to look at the reporting genres in particular. The three reporting genres we identified above illuminate the changes in content that accompanied the routines of on-the-spot reporting even more. With the decline of the report the diversity of the topics decreased as well. By 2005 the genre was almost solely dedicated to sports. The British newspapers also still used it to cover trials, and NRC Handelsblad still published reports on political debates. The focus of the interview and the reportage was more on human interest and lifestyle. The amount of attention devoted to it fluctuated within and between newspapers but it was a popular theme throughout the period.

Although the interview and the reportage have a strong focus on this topic, the by now familiar differences between styles of journalism and be-

35 Broersma, Botende stijlen, 56.
ween countries can be found. The information and story model have a stronger focus on politics, international relations and economy, and human interest and lifestyle. These results are however not as unequivocal, which might be caused by the small number of interviews and reportages that were published in the two earlier sample years.

3. Conclusion
The general picture emerging from our results, ranging from the mentioning of sources, to the distribution of topics in newspapers, but especially the embrace of the interview and the reportage, show that the new forms associated with on-the-spot reporting have been implemented later than generally assumed. The transition period is claimed to have been between 1880 and 1920, but our results prove that throughout the twentieth century, journalism is still in the middle of a process of coming to terms with the new norms, routines and forms.

From our results, certain broad developments can be discerned, indicating a convergence of British and Dutch journalism over time. With the emergence of on-the-spot reporting the journalistic occupation professionalized, assigning a higher status to the individual journalists. Furthermore, the expansion of mentioning sources and the increasing use of direct quotes point to the general adoption of the new reporting routines. This development is also reflected in the decline of the report and the gradual embrace of the reportage and the interview.

The differences between the hypothesized two newspaper styles, the story model and the information model, are clearly reflected in our findings. They are best visible when looking at the subjects of the articles and the kind of sources they cite. The Daily Mirror and De Telegraaf positioned themselves as papers of the ‘ordinary people’. They put forward the voice of the common citizen in their stories, and – as would be expected – paid more attention to human interest and lifestyle, traditionally seen as ‘soft’ subjects. The Times and NRC Handelsblad, on the other hand, emphasized the intellectual, professional, and serious character of their approach to news. This dichotomy is augmented by the more visually oriented style of the Daily Mirror and De Telegraaf.

On a national level, we also see intriguing results. The amount of analysis in De Telegraaf is much more similar to NRC Handelsblad than the Mirror is to The Times. The same goes for the attention that is paid to politics and international relations, and to economy. Finally, the use and development pattern of the reporting genres is much more alike in the Dutch newspapers than in the British. In general we can say that the differences between the British newspapers are much stronger than between their Dutch counterparts. These national similarities are the strongest in 1925, after which both newspapers seem to have diverged.

Thus, we see general developments, transnational equivalences, and, mostly in the Netherlands, national particularities. These results can be tentatively explained by an interplay of the differences in media system and journalistic culture, and the economic pressures on newspapers. Great Britain belongs to the liberal model, which means that the newspaper landscape is dominated by a commercial mass press and economic pressures are strong in comparison to the Netherlands. The newspapers had to compete with each other for readership and advertisement revenue. This also means that British newspapers have more room to move with regards to journalistic routines and forms. They were aware that they had to distinguish themselves from the other newspapers. All these factors might have added to the divergence of the newspapers. At the same time, it is often argued that economical competition leads to more uniformity. However, this process is strongest between newspapers that are alike and aim at the same audience. In this case, it seems to be less relevant, for if we take into account the different styles of journalism, it is likely that the newspapers wanted to emphasize their wholly different conception of journalism, which subsequently would lead to more divergence. In the Netherlands, with their loyal subscription audience, economic pressures were not as strong. Moreover, the strong reflective journalism tradition of the Netherlands with its democratic corporatist media model, made journalists much more reluctant to embrace the new norms and forms, which can explain the stronger similarities between the two Dutch newspapers. More qualitative research into economical and cultural aspects of the production context of journalism is needed to validate these preliminary explanations.

The empirical approach of this paper has proven

35 See also: Broersma, Botsende Stijlen, 56,64.
fruitful for critically testing broad notions about journalism and journalistic styles against what the newspapers really looked like and consisted of. Some of our findings are in line with existing ideas about the different newspaper styles and the broad developments of journalism throughout time, but at the same time, we have found strong proof for our claim that the development of European journalism is much more diverse and dynamic than is generally assumed. The transnational resemblances between newspaper styles are especially interesting and suggest the existing of an international exchange of journalistic routines and styles. In the future, we hope to gain more insight in the situation by examining this qualitatively, allowing us to go into the dynamics of national and transnational developments more in-depth.

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