

This is a self-archived version of an original article. This version may differ from the original in pagination and typographic details.

Author(s): Lindén, Carl-Gustav; Villi, Mikko; Lehtisaari, Katja; Grönlund, Mikko

Title: From Clicks and Time Spent to Value Creation

Year: 2022

Version: Accepted version (Final draft)

Copyright: © The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer

Rights: In Copyright

Rights url: <http://rightsstatements.org/page/InC/1.0/?language=en>

Please cite the original version:

Lindén, C.-G., Villi, M., Lehtisaari, K., & Grönlund, M. (2022). From Clicks and Time Spent to Value Creation. In V. J. E. Manninen, M. K. Niemi, & A. Ridge-Newman (Eds.), *Futures of Journalism : Technology-stimulated Evolution in the Audience-News Media Relationship* (pp. 329-346). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-95073-6_21

Beyond audience metrics: From clicks and time spent to value creation

Carl-Gustav Lindén (carl-gustav.linden@uib.no), University of Bergen; Mikko Villi, University of Jyväskylä; Katja Lehtisaari, Tampere University; Mikko Grönlund, University of Turku.

Abstract

This chapter explores how three Scandinavian legacy media companies have reinvented their business models to focus on creating value for digital subscribers. They have developed similar strategies to measure value, for instance, with tailor-made analytical systems that are attuned to the editorial goals of the newsroom. In general, metrics-based audience behaviour measurement has become the main tool for making data-informed and data-driven decisions on what type of content should be on offer to the audience. However, we point to the need for a more sophisticated understanding of “authentic” audience engagement with both quantitative and qualitative elements. We underline the need for value creation strategies and data literacy that involve all journalists, not just those at the management level. The chapter contributes to the literature on audience engagement particularly by demystifying the concept through practical examples of successful editorial strategies. We see that value creation for both the audience and the organisation should be at the core of journalism.

Introduction

The tech giants from Silicon Valley, especially Facebook, have demonstrated for media companies the importance of having a strong focus on logged in users, as well as deep understanding of customer behaviour and needs (Lindén, 2020). Accordingly, analysing users with the help of audience metrics has become a new mantra for the media industry (Cherubini & Nielsen, 2016; Hansen & Goligoski, 2018). This development has come to a point, which can be called an “audience turn” in media and journalism studies, looking at audiences as “fundamental to keeping journalism alive as a constructive force in democracy” (Meijer, 2020, 2330). The metrics obsession is firmly connected to the shift from the two-sided business model of news media – the reliance on both advertising revenues and subscriptions (Anderson & Gabszewicz, 2006) – towards relying much more on reader revenues. Advertising revenues from print operations have declined and as of yet digital ad revenues are not materialising to replace them, and thus news media

companies need to rely on people paying for news (Cornia et al., 2017). News consumption patterns have also changed, and the main channel for digital news is apps on the smartphone, which means that usage is focused on swipes, scrolls and taps, not clicks as with computers (Dou & Sundar, 2016). In all, deeper engagement with loyal paying readers has become the goal for newsrooms (Campbell, 2018).

Metrics for the world of web

When targeting digital subscriptions the common approach in news media organisations has been to imitate how digital-first companies (such as the social media platform companies) mine user data, evaluate and predict user preferences. However, the present metrics approach was developed for the advertising industry and is not very suitable for news. Tools for measuring web traffic have originally been developed in the 1990's for creating and sustaining maximal and instant attention (Kiesow, 2018): "the brute counting of page views and likes as indicators of success" has been labelled 'vanity metrics', a critical term that captures its feel-good function (Rogers, 2018, 450). Several larger media companies have developed their own software such as Ophan at the Guardian and Lantern at the Financial Times. Likewise, the American Press Institute has developed an analytical tool for newsrooms called Metrics for News that it offers to members.

Journalists are generally sceptical towards the metrification of journalism despite the proven efficiency of editorial analytics (Moran, 2019). There is also some level of agreement among researchers that audience measurement results in the dumbing down of news and a development of content and headlines that appeals to the lowest common denominators of the audience (Nguyen, 2013; Petre, 2015; Tandoc & Thomas, 2015).

Furthermore, journalists feel that web metrics are reducing their professional autonomy when algorithmic market-driven decisions are replacing human judgement (Belair-Gagnon, 2019). Consequently, there is a critical need for new methods and tools to evaluate audience behaviour that goes beyond a mere metrics strategy. These include traditional methods of approaching news user engagement, such as focus group interviews and observation studies. In all, there is a need for a comprehensive approach that doubles down on crucial *qualitative* components (Domingo, Masip, & Meijer, 2015).

Value propositions in news media

Audience engagement is strongly linked to the media brand and how it is promoted through value propositions that can be defined as a promise to customers, combining benefits and costs (Olsen & Solvoll, 2018). Picard (2006) notes that news organisations have difficulty creating value for the audience, and argues that they need to focus on providing a better value proposition than competitors provide. News organisations must be able to clearly explain why consumers should spend their money and time with their particular news and information products. Audiences need to feel that those media serve their needs and wants best (Picard, 2006). For example, the Danish media group Jysk Fynske has introduced the concept of "reader pledges", a form of contract between journalists and readers that is supposed to increase reader loyalty and subscriptions (Jensen, 2021).

It is certainly important for the news media to know what kind of content the audience finds interesting and meaningful (Meijer & Bijleveld, 2016) and newsrooms should focus on providing quality journalism as defined by customers in their sphere of interests. For example, a study of audiences and US broadcast television found that news stations producing the highest-quality investigative journalism also earned the largest audiences (Abdenour & Riffe, 2019). Still, Meijer (2010) suggests that journalism as a professional practice and discourse may have to look for alternative anchoring concepts as substitutes for 'quality journalism'. For instance, a study from Norway concludes that a minority of readers find that content behind paywalls have a higher quality than free content; most readers do not experience that news media live up to their value propositions (Olsen & Solvoll, 2018).

Quality journalism is not a clearly defined concept and we equate it with the creation and materialization of meaning for a paying audience or "sense-making as a service". According to Weick (1993, 635) the basic idea of sense-making is "efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs". In the empirical part, we will place sense-making into the specific context of three Scandinavian media companies.

According to Gülyaz et al. (2019) understanding, creating and managing *customer value* has long been seen by many marketing scholars as the cornerstone of a firm's business strategy (e.g., Almquist et al., 2016; Porter, 1996). Woodall (2003) has claimed that the term customer value has many meanings but two dominate: value for the customer (customer perceived or received value) and value for the company (value of the customer).

Motivation for the study

In our chapter, we discuss value creation in news media from the perspective of audience engagement. We aim at presenting insights that bring both theoretical and practical value. 'Engagement editors' are a new species in the newsroom (Powers, 2015), but a study of them by Ferrer-Conill and Tandoc (2018) seems to confirm our presumption, as it shows

that this new group of professionals in the newsroom are uncertain of their mission. The failure to define and exploit engagement can be a multifaceted problem located in newsroom leadership – ranging from the wrong managerial paradigm applied, for instance, reliance on inadequate advertising measurement tools, to no management guidance at all and lack of understanding of the complexity of the audience relationship.

To fulfil our aim, we explore how news media companies in the Nordic region are combining a purely data-driven understanding of the audience with a more qualitative analysis of why, when, where, and how people consume news. We see that media organizations are placing more emphasis on understanding user engagement.

Data and method

In spring 2019, when Apple launched its push into video, finance, news and gaming, the US investor Michael Moritz claimed that the world was looking in the wrong geographical direction: “the real story about the resurgence of high quality and profitable online journalism is being written elsewhere — and with no greater verve than in Stockholm (Moritz, 2019). During the past five years, the authors of this chapter have studied media business models in the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) as well as in the United States and Germany (Lehtisaari et al., 2016, 2017, 2018; Villi et al. 2020). Thus, we have been able to chronicle the development over time and cover the journey of Scandinavian legacy media companies towards a sustainable business model based on digital readership revenues.

Data for the study derives from five semi-structured interviews and two group discussions with senior media managers in Sweden and Norway collected in 2016-2019. The two interviews at Dagens Nyheter, two interviews and one group discussion at Svenska Dagbladet as well as one interview and a group discussion at Amedia were recorded, transcribed and thematically analysed. They form the empirical base for three case studies with news outlets organisations that capture the strategic journeys towards a better informed and interactive approach to audience relationships. We analyse the beginning of these journeys, how the newsrooms now engage with their readers and what is the outcome in terms of engagement measured by subscriptions and revenue. We also include a look at future orientations when it comes to audience engagement and the potential for innovation.

In the following section we will briefly present certain aspects of these cases and in the end we will summarize the common features.

Amedia: Culture and leadership

Amedia was formed in 2012 after a fusion of two struggling Norwegian newspaper companies, A-pressen and Edda Media, and, on the brink of bankruptcy, was saved by a foundation, Sparbanksstiftelsen DNB that lifted off all debts and gave management free hands to reinvent the business model. The management decided to focus on the core

capabilities of Amedia, what they were good at. In April 2014, when the company did not yet have any digital subscribers, it launched a unified login solution and a subscription layer for all of its 65 local and regional newspapers.

In 2018, Amedia had created a sophisticated system for analysing user habits, the key component being an “engagement index” with 36 parameters that showed what content worked best (Lindén, 2020). The editor-in-chief at each newspaper was responsible for a personal set of Key Performance Indicators (KPI) that indicated the individual goal for each publication. Using feedback loops with readers and advertisers, newsrooms listen carefully to local communities. Close communication with stakeholders, local execution and adaptation of a centrally developed strategy is the key to success for individual newspapers.

Through systematic testing and experiments, Amedia has been successful in rapidly increasing the number of digital subscribers. For instance in 2019, from the first quarter the number of subscribers grew from 567,000 to 625,000 during the fourth while digital only was almost 50% (Amedia, 2020).

Essential for Amedia's transformation is the development of a strong leadership and organisational culture that permeates all local and regional newspapers. There does not seem to be any magic involved, just a strong focus on creating valuable content. For instance, the management has produced a guide to reporters, called “Writing the journalism our subscribers wanted to read, in five easy steps” that actually reminds them of the key principles that are taught in journalism schools. So in this sense, the journalism business model is not new, it is rediscovered.

Svenska Dagbladet (SvD): From news to productupper

Svenska Dagbladet is a classic conservative newspaper owned by a subsidiary of the Norwegian large media company Schibsted, Schibsted Sweden. SvD has a clear strategy to focus on a specific group of subscribers who are using their digital news services more than four times a week. According to a SvD manager, “We think that creating habits and those relationships that we have in the print, we will have to transform that into digital products and habits”.

The media industry has become more focused on product design methodologies and structures, on measurement and KPIs, prototyping and experimenting (Eales, 2021). One of the new products at SvD is a very popular morning newsletter for subscribers with 90 seconds worth of reading time, published in the mornings at 6:30. A human journalist, not an algorithm, curates the newsletter. In November 2019, almost 50,000 people were reading the morning newsletter. Engagement is further increased through a Slack channel for feedback and iteration.

Product focus has been divided into four main types of reader interests called “bigger picture”, “daily life”, “interests/identity” and “news”. “Interests/identity” covers issues such as culture, literature, book reviews, history and languages. A manager at SvD

says that explaining the value of journalism has to become a much more central part of the product offering. This increased focus on tangible products has also become a necessity with the emergence of teams with different backgrounds – from business to tech and journalism – working together (for a discussion on the composition of teams, see Küng, 2017).

Dagens Nyheter (DN): Developing the data-informed newsroom

Dagens Nyheter is a legacy newspaper in Stockholm with a liberal background and privately owned by the Bonnier family, which has deep roots in publishing of books, newspapers and magazines. After a massive fall in advertisement revenues, the management decided in 2015 to focus on digital subscribers even though it had only 3,000 of them at the moment (Lindén, 2020). Five years later, DN had passed 200,000 digital subscribers (Opitz, 2020). Between 2015 and October 2020, DN managed to increase its *overall* number of subscriptions by 26% despite a decline in print. One of the reasons is that their management has a strong focus on analytical tools, data informed decision-making in all departments and visual analytics with hundreds of screens and dashboards in newsrooms. These monitor KPIs, analysing information that previously was the responsibility of data analysts but now involves journalists. A manager at DN notes how the most important daily meeting revolves around discussing the amount of new digital subscribers and “how we got them, how many we lost and why”. The editorial meeting follows this discussion.

Analytics is also used for linking the editorial calendar to Google trends to make sure that the newsroom coverage is optimised for current topics that people search for. At the same time, as the manager sees it, the newsroom should not try to keep up with the restless logic of social media where what matters is *now*: “There is an obvious risk that you get caught and endlessly want to optimise traffic.”

In addition to data analytics, DN also relies on surveys and qualitative interviews with subscribers to better understand their interests.

Value proposition: Quality journalism

What these three media companies have in common is a total focus on paying subscribers and finding ways to recruit new subscribers and keep them engaged with quality journalism. This strategy originated with global news media such as Financial Times, New York Times and the Guardian and has gradually become mainstream thinking in the industry. However, execution is crucial and these three companies manifest how ideas are turning into successful editorial practice. Their value propositions are focused on quality journalism that can be captured by this promotional wording from SvD: "Svenska Dagbladet stands for serious and fact based quality journalism that challenges, questions and inspires." Based on interviews with paying readers, SvD has created 10 guiding principles that go beyond having the readers in focus. As one of the managers says: "We have to be much more relevant, we have to respect the reader's ability to think for themselves, but we will give multiple perspectives". News media has to be a platform for many voices and differences in opinion.

In all three media houses investigative journalism is an important part of the editorial mix: when previously framed as a cost and a luxury only for such news media that can afford expensive and long projects, it has now become a key component and an investment in the new business model. "It is all about the customer: what value are you delivering every single day? That is incredibly important," says a manager at Amedia who notes that they compete with content that is delivered free by the public service media in Norway (NRK). Amedia's newspapers need to build strong brands that convince readers that their unique value and quality is worth paying for.

Get the message through

Equally important is to communicate to the customers that quality journalism is costly but worth the investment, thus the value proposition of these news media companies is focused on a strong message that their journalists are doing important work that is worth paying for. Communicating this simple message probably reduces the need to define exactly what that journalistic product consists of, which has been a problem for newsrooms (Meijer, 2020). SvD also educates its readers on what journalism is and why it is valuable. As a SvD manager comments: "If you pay for something, you ought to know what you are paying for".

Beyond metrics

One feature that all three media companies have common is a focus on not just quantitative measurement of audience engagement but also qualitative evaluation using interviews, surveys, focus groups and panels. Such evaluation brought, for instance, Amedia the insight that people do not want click-bait. An interviewed manager at Amedia quoted an elderly female reader: "The newspaper is at its worst when tabloid headlines give the wrong impression of the story."

Similarly, DN have found out in interviews that their readers do not want personalised content. Instead, they want to read the same main stories as everybody else and they oppose the idea of journalists using their data to track reading habits. At SvD, a manager admitted that they were measuring pageviews for too long.

Discussion

We see the concept of engagement as entailing the complexity and strength of relations that media companies have with their audiences, which are reciprocal and maybe not even possible to measure in detail or be optimised through personalisation. Therefore, clicks and time spent are not adequate metrics for measuring audience engagement, which is more a social relationship with complex dynamics. Admittedly, as Nelson (2019) observes, there are many interpretations of what audience engagement means besides the general idea that journalists should better understand what readers are doing with the content they produce (Batsell, 2015). We believe that news media need to invest in a value-based business model where the most important task of journalists is to provide context, analysis and explanation of current development and events to citizens, a sense-making service for a paying audience. Journalists need to understand what is valuable to subscribers and how it can be delivered in the best possible way (Lindén, Hujanen, & Lehtisaari, 2019).

The studied three news media covered in this chapter are all offering more content than an average reader can consume, and they have analysed what content is actually considered valuable. Measuring and reacting to audience engagement can have unexpected effects on editorial decisions. Research shows that the use of metrics for page views and social media shares in newsrooms tends to trigger journalists to produce fewer stories about civic issues; they use fewer sources and let reader traffic guide news judgment (Arenberg & Lowrey, 2019). Our chapter shows that it can also be the other way around, since the studied media are making a successful transition to a business model based on quality journalism and deep understanding of how to engage readers. Reader-focused journalism is distinctly different from the ad-based model. Their secret is not hidden: people are prepared to pay for good journalism that helps them make sense of the world and offers experiences and services they feel bring them value. This approach necessitates a strong leadership, newsroom culture and a sense of mission shared with the audience that goes far beyond the understanding of clicks, time spent or other parameters.

Following Woodall (2003) and his definition of the term customer value, we find that quality journalism is a product that is perceived as valuable not just for the customers but also professionally for journalists, in addition to value of the customer to the company. Ferrer-Condill and Tandoc (2018) found that the definition of engagement in newsrooms almost entirely is centred on different types of metrics, not close encounters with the

public. In our chapter, we have shown that there does not need to be a mismatch between conceptual and operational definitions of engagement.

The future of metrics

Regarding the future of metrics, we see the potential of more advanced technological systems, such as blockchain, unsupervised machine learning and other AI technologies. However, a serious constraint in this is the access to user data as citizens have woken up to the fact that they are being tracked online. There are also other new limitations such as the demise of third party cookies on mobile operating systems. Media companies are searching for solutions to these problems. Recently, the German news agency DPA started an experiment where a group of eight news media companies share audience data infrastructure, analytics tools, and insights to achieve economies of scale and benchmarking best practices in digital subscriptions (Piechota, 2020).

Another future trend is measuring audience emotions based on how customers react to editorial content. Experiments with emotional analytics, for instance, have been conducted at the Finnish newspaper company Keski-Suomalainen in collaboration with an analytics startup (Nayadaya, 2019). Ultimately, sometime in the far future the audience might engage with content through mind-reading devices connected directly to the brain, which will make today's analytics seem very ancient and rough (Regalado, 2019). However, we can only speculate what the implications of such a development will be.

References

- Abdenour, J., & Riffe, D. (2019). Digging for (ratings) gold: The connection between investigative journalism and audiences. *Journalism Studies*, 20(16), 2386-2403.
- Almquist, E., Senior, J., & Bloch, N. (2016). The elements of value: Measuring-and-delivering- what consumers really want. *Harvard Business Review*, 94(9), 46–53.
- Arenberg, T., & Lowrey, W. (2019). The impact of web metrics on community news decisions: A resource dependence perspective. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 96(1), 131-149
- Batsell, J. (2015). *Engaged journalism: Connecting with digitally empowered news audiences*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Belair-Gagnon, V. (2019). News on the fly: Journalist-audience online engagement success as a cultural matching process. *Media, Culture & Society*, 41(6), 757-773.
- Blomqvist, R., Dahl, J., Haeger, T. & Storbacka, K. 2003. *Asiakkuuden arvon lähteillä*. WSOY, Helsinki

Campbell, C. (2018). Engaged readers don't churn: Retention lessons for digital subscriptions. Frankfurt: WAN-IFRA.

Cherubini, F., & Nielsen, R. K. (2016). Editorial analytics: How news media are developing and using audience data and metrics. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Cornia, A., Sehl, A., Simon, F., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). Pay models in European news. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

Domingo, D., Masip, P. & Meijer, I.C. (2015). Tracing digital news networks: Towards an integrated framework of the dynamics of news production, circulation and use. *Digital Journalism*, 3(1), 53-67.

Dou, X., & Sundar, S. S. (2016). Power of the swipe: Why mobile websites should add horizontal swiping to tapping, clicking, and scrolling interaction techniques. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, 32(4), 352-362.

Eales, D. (2021). How INMA will advance transformation in 2021. Retrieved from <https://www.inma.org/blogs/main/post.cfm/how-inma-will-advance-transformation-in-2021>

Gülyaz, E., van der Veen, Jack A.A., Venugopal, V. & Solaimani, S. (2019). Towards a holistic view of customer value creation in Lean: A design science approach, *Cogent Business & Management*, 6:1

Hansen, E., & Goligoski, E. (2018). Guide to audience revenue and engagement. Retrieved from https://www.cjr.org/tow_center_reports/guide-to-audience-revenue-and-engagement.php/

Jensen, L. K. (2021). How Denmark's second largest news publisher combines journalism with product thinking. Retrieved from <https://productsinpublishing.com/how-jysk-fynske-medier-implements-product-thinking-with-reader-promises/>

Kiesow, D. (2018). What it takes to shift a news organization to reader revenue. Retrieved from <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/reader-revenue/what-it-takes-to-shift-a-news-organization-to-reader-revenue/>

Lamot, K., & Van Aelst, P. (2020). Beaten by chartbeat? an experimental study on the effect of real-time audience analytics on journalists' news judgment. *Journalism Studies*, 21(4), 477-493.

Lehtisaari, K., Grönlund, M., Lindén, C., Villi, M., Picard, R., Mierzejewska, B., & Röpnack, A. (2017). Uutismedian uudet liiketoimintamallit Yhdysvalloissa [New business models for U.S. news media]. Helsinki: Aleksanteri-instituutti.

Lehtisaari, K., Grönlund, M., Villi, M., & Lindén, C. (2016). Uutismedian uudet liiketoimintamallit Pohjoismaissa. [Nordic news media in search for new business models]. Helsinki: Viestinnän tutkimuskeskus CRC, Helsingin yliopisto.

Lehtisaari, K., Lindén, C.-G., Grönlund, M. & Villi, M. (2018): Uutismedian uudet liiketoimintamallit Saksassa [New business models for German media]. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan. Notat 3/2018.

Lindén, C-G., Hujanen, J., & Lehtisaari, K. (2019). Hyperlocal media in the Nordic region. *Nordicom Review*, 40(s2), 3-13.

Lindén, C-G (2020) Silicon Valley och makten över medierna [Silicon Valley and the power over media]. Gothenburg: Nordicom.

Meijer, I. C. (2020). Understanding the audience turn in journalism: From quality discourse to innovation discourse as anchoring practices 1995–2020. *Journalism Studies*, 21(16), 2326-2342.

Meijer, I.C., & Bijleveld, H. P. (2016). Valuable journalism: Measuring news quality from a user's perspective. *Journalism Studies*, 17(7), 827-839.

Moran, C. (2019). You may hate metrics. but they're making journalism better. Retrieved from <https://www.cjr.org/innovations/you-may-hate-metrics-guardian-audience-twitter-images.php>

Moritz, M. (2020). A Swedish newspaper's reinvention points the way for the industry. Retrieved from <https://www.ft.com/content/26e123b4-508a-11e9-8f44-fe4a86c48b33>

Nelson, J. L. (2019). The next media regime: The pursuit of 'audience engagement' in journalism. *Journalism*, 1464884919862375.

Nguyen, A. (2013). Online news audiences: The challenges of web metrics. CJCR: Centre for Journalism & Communication Research, Bournemouth University.

Petre, C. (2015). The traffic factories: Metrics at chartbeat, gawker media, and the new york times. Retrieved from <http://towcenter.org/research/traffic-factories/>

Picard, R. G. (2006). Journalism, value creation and the future of news organizations. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy. Harvard University.

Piechota, G. (2021). Regional german publishers share costs of data science to drive reader revenue. Retrieved from <https://www.inma.org/blogs/reader-revenue/post.cfm/regional-german-publishers-share-costs-of-data-science-to-drive-reader-revenue>

Porter, M. E. (1996). What is strategy? Harvard Business Review, 74(6), 61–78.

Powers, E. (2015). The rise of the engagement editor and what it means. Retrieved from <http://mediashift.org/2015/08/the-rise-of-the-engagement-editor-and-whatit-means/>

Olsen, R. K., & Solvoll, M. K. (2018). Bouncing off the Paywall—Understanding misalignments between local newspaper value propositions and audience responses. International Journal on Media Management, 20(3), 174-192.

Regalado, A. (2019). Facebook is funding brain experiments to create a device that reads your mind. Retrieved from <https://www.technologyreview.com/2019/07/30/133986/facebook-is-funding-brain-experiments-to-create-a-device-that-reads-your-mind/>

Tandoc Jr, E. C., & Thomas, R. J. (2015). The ethics of web analytics: Implications of using audience metrics in news construction. Digital Journalism, 3(2), 243-258.

Villi, M., Grönlund, M., Linden, C. G., Lehtisaari, K., Mierzejewska, B., Picard, R. G., & Röpnack, A. (2020). “They’re a little bit squeezed in the middle”: strategic challenges for innovation in US Metropolitan newspaper organisations. Journal of Media Business Studies, 17(1), 33–50.

Weick, Karl E. 1993. "The Collapse of Sensemaking in Organizations: The Mann Gulch Disaster." Administrative Science Quarterly 38 (4): 628-652.

Woodall, T. (2003). Conceptualising ‘value for the customer’: An attributional, structural and dispositional analysis. Academy of Marketing Science Review, 12(1), 1-42.

Carl-Gustav Linden (corresponding author: carl-gustav.linden@uib.no)

Carl-Gustav Linden is an Associate Professor of Data Journalism at University of Bergen, Norway. His research interests range from computational journalism, more precisely news automation, to media business models. Linden was working as a business journalist for many years before moving into academia and he follows media development in Europe and the United States closely.

Mikko Villi

Mikko Villi is Professor of Journalism in the Department of Language and Communication Studies at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. An emphasis in his work is on the contemporary context for journalism, especially new media platforms and social media.

Mikko Grönlund

Mikko Grönlund is Research Manager in the Brahea Centre at the University of Turku. He has extensive experience in the field of development of media industries and businesses, their structure, operations and markets. Among his research interests are also news media business models, and the digital transformation in the media.

Katja Lehtisaari

Katja Lehtisaari is Senior Lecturer in Journalism at the Tampere University, Finland and Adjunct Professor (Title of Docent) at the University of Helsinki, Finland. Her research topics have varied from changing media structures and journalism to media business and media policy, often in an international, comparative setting.