

THE INTERNET AND DUTCH MEDIA REPERTOIRES

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ABSTRACT

Data from the 2000 Time Use Survey (TUS; n=1813) are used to analyze the composition of media repertoires of the Dutch population, with particular reference to the Internet. Based on an entire media supply of 19 items, factor analysis identified eight factors underlying the repertoires. Multiple regression analysis confirmed that the eight repertoires identify audiences that are clearly distinct in terms of status, gender, age, labor market position, as well as religion and political interest.

Two separate groups of Internet and PC users were discerned: 1) Users of the Internet for serious information, who are young, over 70% male, with slightly above-average schooling level and also above-average cultural and economic occupational status; the group works long hours but spends little time on household chores. They combine using the Internet with using a PC (offline) and reading hobby magazines. 2) Users of the Internet for purposes other than serious information; who are more often female (40%), and also more highly educated and of a higher cultural job status.

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Media use can be regarded as a cultural indicator of peoples' lifestyles, particularly in the Western world, which spends most of its leisure time on media-related activities. But the term 'media use' refers to a practice which varies greatly in intensity and scope. People differ in the amount of time and mental effort they spend on media, the regularity of use, the quantity of media in their repertoire, and their preferences for specific media over others. Moreover, the set of media available to users is constantly changing, as evidenced by the addition of the Internet, which has become rapidly available to a majority of the Dutch population (see the previous article by De Haan and Huysmans).

The purpose of the present study is to gain greater insight into the nature of media repertoires and their corresponding audiences. This study may clarify the premise of the active and selective audience concept that underlies contemporary media research (McQuail 1991:233; McQuail 1997; Kubey 1996). In the present study, one assumes media use implies activity, consumers making free choices from the broad media supply the Western media markets provide. Given time restrictions, users are obliged to choose among media because they cannot passively absorb everything that comes their way.

In the Dutch 2000 time-diary study, a complete range of media is accounted for since radio (both public and commercial) and new media (PC, Internet) are included, allowing the analyst to examine to what extent Internet use represents a repertoire in itself. Furthermore, in this study Internet use is differentiated according to user purposes, reflecting the diversity of both content (e.g., information, entertainment) and type of medium (magazines and newspapers, radio and television, and new interactive media).

MEDIA REPERTOIRES

In his research on media use by the Swedish audience, Weibull (1992) made the valuable suggestion that people differ in their media use according to their media orientation or mindset regarding the perception and valuation of the media supply. The nature and acquisition of media-related schemes depend on a variety of factors (e.g. socialization, age, gender, life stage, status, time pressure and, foremost, previous media use). Thus the configuration of media types and content that constitute a repertoire may change, due to changes in job situation or family composition (life-cycle effects), changes in ideology (norms and values) and changes in the media supply itself (new media, new programs).

The notion of media orientation can be connected with Bourdieu's (1979, 1980) theory of taste and his view of the habitus as a set of schemes of perception, appreciation and action (Rosengren 1996). One can test two central theses in Bourdieu's theory, first the thesis of homology and second the thesis of homogeneity. The thesis of homology asserts that the structure of organizing cultural practices (e.g., their hierarchization according to degree of legitimacy) is homologous to that of class fractions ordered by status (1979: 196 and following).

The thesis of homogeneity asserts that taste repertoires are homogeneous per class fraction.

To identify and distinguish dominant forms of media orientation, researchers may examine whether users focus on a media type (e.g., print, screen, degree of interactivity), on specific content (e.g., serious or light information, legitimate or popular entertainment, infotainment), or on a combination of these. Underlying users' focus on media type is the assumption that the audience chooses content on the basis of its preference for a specific medium. Thus, if the differences between print, broadcast and interactive media are relevant to choice (implying that the *type* of medium is given priority in people's decision whether or not to take note of it), one might expect to find a group of fervent readers, a group of intensive television viewers and a group of heavy Internet and PC users—irrespective of content. In other words, if media type determines peoples' decisions, one might expect those people to be fervent readers, intensive television viewers, and heavy Internet and PC users, whatever the content. On the other hand, an alternative view presumes that media users base decisions on dominant content, irrespective of the medium that provides it. Here, the differentiation in use of print or electronic media is accounted for by the extent to which media consumers focus on information, entertainment or a mixture of both. In other words, content-driven media users who focus on information, entertainment, or a mixture of the two, use whatever print or electronic media provide the content. Repertoires that are more or less homogeneous along these lines, or preferred by groups distinguished on the basis of their class position, would corroborate Bourdieu's theory of taste. This particular study follows a third approach, an approach that combines and adapts the other two.

If one assumes that the media type takes precedence over media content, it can be expected that (serious) print media would be preferred by higher-status groups, television by middle and lower-status groups, and new media by younger generations. On the other hand, if one assumes that media content takes precedence over media type, then selection of content that fits users' status has priority (high with high, etc.). One may then expect to find within each type of media use a differentiation by status (particularly by education). In addition to preferring quality newspapers, opinion magazines and books, higher-status groups should also prefer serious television fare and serious Internet sites, whereas lower-status groups should prefer lighter entertainment through popular newspapers, the yellow press and, increasingly, commercial television and chatrooms. In this view a rather strong structure is presumed in the way people combine kinds of media, without sufficiently taking into account issues such as the nature of processing medium types, the variety of gratifications sought by users across media types, and the growing heterogeneity of taste patterns. With respect to content, media types may provide a range of programs, or gratifications, which hold a similar position on the imaginary scale that runs from serious information to light entertainment.

This ought to make one appreciate how print, broadcast, and the Internet involve quite different processing mechanisms. For certain groups, one-sided socialization at an early life stage may later lead to one-sided use limited in range—more likely in the case of lower-status groups (who are known to watch more television while doing less reading and spending less time on a PC, cf. De Haan and Huysmans 2002a; Breedveld and Van den Broek 2001). Higher-status groups seem more inclined to combine various content across distinct media. Today's younger and educated audiences are focused predominantly on new interactive media, making less use of traditional media.

The third more refined approach, attempting to simultaneously account for content type and medium type, imposes stronger conditions. One must have clear indications of the content of the media used, and their categorization (e.g., in terms of degree of legitimacy) may raise problems. Even though the categorization offers only limited possibilities, the resulting operationalizations of kinds of media and content categories in the current TUS study do take into account content aspects of both print and broadcast media, as well as the Internet. Through this it is expected that basic differences in media repertoires of types of media users can be brought to light.

Factor analysis of these data can be used to identify the dimensions that underlie consumers' selections and their construction of specific repertoires, a crucial step for the first research question of whether media type or content type predominates—or more a mixture of the two. Rather than an exclusive choice, one might expect to find audience segments for each case, thus segmenting 'the' mass audience into distinct sub-audiences.

It is hypothesized that older, more politically interested people will use print media more frequently than young people, regardless of their level of education (Van Eijck, Knulst and Van Rees 2001). Despite politicians' optimism that creating the electronic super-highway will improve citizens' interest in politics, political interest is not yet expected to be related to Internet use. Members from higher-status groups, men and younger people can be expected to be the most avid Internet and PC users (De Haan and Huysmans, 2002a). People with limited time are likely to spend less time on media, with reading suffering most from this time limitation (Knulst and Kraaykamp 1996: 211-216). Commercial television should be more popular among men, regardless of educational level, while for the Internet, a positive education effect may be expected. Public television is more popular among the older generations, especially women, who are also more likely to be readers of books, regional newspapers, and women's magazines. In addition to their greater interest in Protestant newspapers, people with a religious affiliation may also be more reluctant to watch commercial television.

DATA AND METHOD

This study uses time-diary data collected during a full week in October 2000. The diary, sandwiched between two in-home interviews, covered seven consecutive twenty-four hour periods. For each quarter of an hour, respondents were asked to indicate their activity by means of pre-coded categories. With financial support from two publishing trade organizations, the diary contained targeted information on the categories of print media perused by respondents. The sample consisted of 1813 respondents, aged 12 or over. Weighting for degree of urbanization, gender, age and profession resulted in a representative sample of the Dutch population. By eliminating outliers on the media variables, a sample of 1791 respondents was obtained.

In contrast to what occurred in previous time-diary surveys, for this study, information was collected on Internet use, allowing an examination of whether and to what extent new media belonged in the repertoires of younger generations (cf. De Haan 2001: 87-93). As with print and broadcast media, IT use was differentiated according to content, with Internet use classified according to the kind of information people used via the Web. It was not possible to make such a differentiation for the use of personal computers and VCRs. However, by taking into account the repertoire in which the latter were embedded, one can indicate what kind of content-related interest is likely involved.

Operationalization: The analysis continued the differentiation set forth in earlier time-diary surveys by Van Eijck and Van Rees (2000). Media repertoires were constructed from 19 media items. For television viewing, the basic categorization refers to the kind of broadcasting network: public or private, with public broadcasters tending to be located more at the serious information end of the scale and the commercial networks at the light entertainment end. For print media, the partition distinguished serious information (quality newspapers and opinion magazines) from other print media (popular newspapers, women's magazines, special interest magazines, etc.), although the latter category is obviously susceptible to further subcategorizations. The distinction between types of Internet users was based on a list of 17 topics sought with respect to each medium, where respondents were asked whether they used it as a source of information for each topic.

Ten topics were selected to reflect an interest in serious information: foreign news, foreign politics, national news, national politics, local politics, local affairs, financial news, socioeconomic news, environment and science. Respondents who reported using the Internet as a source of information on at least one of these items were labeled as 'serious' Internet users (n=97); otherwise, they were labeled 'other' (n=330). These two Internet variables correlate significantly negative (-0.079), indicating that the two are distinct.

Column 1 of Table 1 lists all 19 media items: scores in the other columns reflect the time respondents spent on each item during the diary week.

The independent variables used in the regression analysis were derived from the in-home interviews. Social status had three measurable components: respondent's level of education (highest level attained or present level of enrollment measured with six categories), respondent's cultural job status and respondent's economic job status (both measured as standardized score; see Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Kalmijn 1987). Gender (1=male and 2=female) and age (three categories: 12 to 29; 30-54; 55+) were included. To control for respondents' time constraints, the following variables were also included: the time spent on obligations related to household and child care (measured in hours during the diary week), the hours spent doing paid work during the diary week, respondent's employment status (paid worker, retired, unemployed/ laid off, housewife or student) and household type (family with children, partners without children, single or living with parents).

Also included were two indicators of ideological involvement—political interest and religion—because they may affect the selection of specific media. Disinterest in these two topics is presumably connected with (types of) media at the entertainment end of the scale, and positive interest is presumably related to the selection of quality print media and public television, if at all. Political interest was measured using two categories: 1=not interested; 2=moderately and/or highly interested, and religion was divided into Catholic, Protestant, other religion and no religion.

Factor analysis was applied to determine the dimensions needed to distinguish media use, with each factor representing a set of media items which jointly forms part of one of the dimensions. Each respondent was assigned an individual score on each factor, and for each dimension, a user profile was designed. These profiles identify 'active' audience segments that proved to be selective in their use of available media possibilities. The aforementioned independent variables were regressed on each respondent's dimensions to determine which user characteristics actually affected respondent preference for each of the dimensions.

RESULTS

The media repertoires: To find subjects' media repertoires, a factor model (principal components with varimax rotation), yielded a model with eight factors and a proportion of explained variance of 52.5%. The results are reported in Table 1.

The eight factors represent various dimensions of media use. Factor 1 is the combination of regional newspapers, local television, and public television: these omnibus media offer a combination of information and entertainment, emphasizing one's immediate, or everyday, environment. Factor 2 represents an

TABLE 1: STANDARDIZED ROTATED FACTOR SOLUTION FOR DIMENSIONS OF MEDIA USE

	Regional & public	Serious info	Popular & public	Women	Commer- cial	PC & hobby	Internet	Story
Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Regional papers	.665	.114	.033	.346	-.074	.005	.083	-.124
Local TV	.639	-.129	.010	-.118	-.019	.003	-.110	-.075
Opinion mags	.065	.730	-.063	.086	-.100	.075	.003	-.040
NRC/Financial	-.079	.638	.188	-.104	.039	-.055	.007	-.011
Pop Nat. paper	-.055	.220	.706	.041	.169	.053	.040	.032
Public radio	.087	-.135	.620	-.030	-.169	-.035	-.039	-.069
Public TV	.454	.204	.461	.097	-.106	.042	-.040	.125
Women's mags	-.107	-.082	-.005	.688	.003	-.198	.032	.058
Home ad. Newspaper	.216	.044	.048	.660	.092	.119	-.041	.026
Commercial TV	-.073	-.099	-.090	.177	.627	.022	-.015	-.011
Commercl radio	-.157	.174	.040	.002	.559	.037	-.214	-.138
Relig newspaper	-.234	.231	-.080	.211	-.546	.086	-.236	-.275
Personal comptpr	-.166	-.065	.023	-.144	-.059	.639	.268	-.110
Hobby mags	.165	.090	.078	.116	.145	.598	.073	.151
Internet, serious	-.003	-.032	-.116	-.123	-.092	.571	-.447	.049
Internet, other	-.072	.025	-.054	-.020	-.088	.157	.808	-.047
Video	-.161	-.187	-.030	.068	.068	.156	-.040	.655
Books	-.109	.125	.189	.160	-.350	-.072	-.148	.495
Volkskrant	.232	.337	-.282	-.218	-.030	-.100	.123	.466

$R^2 = .53$
Source: TUS 2000

interest in serious information, as it combines opinion weeklies and the quality newspapers. Factor 3 represents the combination of popular national newspapers, public radio, and, to a lesser extent, public television; subscribers to popular national newspapers, like regional newspaper readers, are relatively intense users of public television. Factor 4 represents women's magazines and free papers; Factor 5 is commercial radio and television. Factor 8 combines video, books and *de Volkskrant*.

Importantly, Factor 6 combines PC, hobby magazines, and use of the Internet for serious information. In contrast, Factor 7 represents using the Internet for other than serious information purposes; Factor 7 is not very much

related to any other media variable, except for a slight and obvious positive loading of the PC on the same factor.

The audience segments: Each respondent's score on each dimension was added to the data set as a new variable, this score representing the degree to which the respondent used the media belonging to this dimension. For each dimension a user profile was constructed, using respondents whose factor scores on this dimension were within the upper quartile to identify who selectively (but actively) used part of the available media. This quartile boundary is, of course, arbitrary, but useful for providing a description of the typical representatives of a certain dimension, without ending up with subgroups too small to render reliable results. Thus, in each column in Table 2, scores are based on a subsample of almost 450 respondents. The right-hand column contains the means for the entire sample (n=1791), shown because the subsamples of the other eight columns consist of respondents who actively use the media for at least one repertoire (since they belong to at least one upper quartile). To illustrate, note that the large sample mean for 'hours of paid labor' exceeds the means of seven out of eight subsamples, because people who spend a lot of time on a particular media repertoire (except for the Internet) are less likely to work long hours than the average person. That is why comparing only the upper quartiles may be a misleading way to develop profiles. Comparing the audience profiles to the right-hand column shows the extent to which the audience deviates from the average respondent.

Table 3 adds to the descriptive results shown in Table 2 by showing the effects of each background characteristic regressed on the preferences for the two Internet repertoires. In contrast to Table 2, which shows differences in background between audience segments consisting of the upper quartiles only, Table 3 shows which characteristics affect the (degree of) preference for repertoires 6 and 7, using a standard multiple regression on the entire sample.

Those with high scores on Factor 1 (regional and public) are more often male than female (in Table 2 42% are women. Regional and public users are the oldest audience segment. The group with high scores on Factor 2 (serious information) has the highest level of schooling and the highest degree of political interest.

Factor 3 (combining popular national newspapers and popular broadcast media) is most common among people with just below average education levels and a strong interest in politics; it is also common among older people, often members of mini-households (partner, no kids). Factor 4 (women) has an audience of mostly women. The average number of hours in paid work is below average, whereas the chances of being aged 55 and older, Catholic or Protestant are well above average. Factor 5 (fans of commercial radio and television) has the lowest average schooling level, and the highest proportion of people

**TABLE 2: INTENSIVE USERS' MEAN SCORES ON EACH DIMENSION
(MEAN SCORES OF THE ENTIRE SAMPLE IN LAST COLUMN)**

Factor	Regional & public 1	Serious info 2	Popular & public 3	Women 4	Commer- cial 5	PC & hobby 6	Internet 7	Story 8	Total Sample
% Women	42.3	43.1	46.6	67.7	54.5	28.2	40.3	55.6	51.5
Education level	3.47	4.15	3.58	3.43	3.13	3.81	4.04	3.91	3.65
Hours paid labor	17.2	17.6	14.5	12.3	15.4	19.1	19.5	19.0	19.4
Hours house care	14.4	13.9	14.8	19.6	16.0	11.0	12.3	14.6	15.3
Cultural status	-0.19	0.16	-0.01	-0.27	-0.42	-0.09	-0.01	0.03	-0.17
Economic status	-0.15	0.17	-0.05	-0.27	-0.36	0.02	0.02	0.01	-0.15
Political interest	1.76	1.95	1.83	1.61	1.50	1.67	1.67	1.68	1.64
Age 12–29	4.5	14.5	8.5	16.3	34.4	29.0	31.1	25.5	27.0
Age 30–54	43.8	40.9	38.8	39.9	37.8	46.8	48.3	45.6	43.5
Age 55+	51.4	43.3	51.9	42.1	26.6	22.7	20.0	26.8	27.7
Employed	51.5	49.4	44.8	42.2	46.8	52.3	57.9	56.6	54.4
Pensioner	30.2	27.6	32.0	26.4	17.5	12.0	10.6	16.0	16.3
Unemployed	4.4	5.5	5.8	5.7	6.6	5.3	2.9	5.5	4.9
Housewife	11.1	11.2	12.7	20.9	13.6	9.1	10.3	11.4	11.8
Student	2.8	6.4	4.7	4.7	15.5	21.4	18.2	10.6	12.5
Family + kids	32.9	34.5	28.9	37.9	38.2	33.7	37.3	33.3	37.4
Partner, no kids	48.1	39.5	49.5	40.5	30.0	32.5	35.1	38.5	33.6
Single	16.1	20.0	16.9	16.2	15.2	13.5	10.0	18.4	15.9
Live with parents	2.8	6.0	4.7	5.4	16.6	20.4	17.5	9.8	13.1
No religion	41.6	50.8	51.7	40.7	59.5	58.4	57.8	57.2	53.3
Catholic	38.3	22.2	20.2	31.7	22.9	22.7	23.4	22.9	24.9
Protestant	17.4	22.5	23.2	23.8	13.6	16.2	14.0	16.3	17.4
Other religion	2.8	4.2	4.6	3.8	3.7	2.7	4.8	3.6	4.4

Source: TUS 2000

TABLE 3: STANDARDIZED EFFECTS OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS ON THE INTERNET AND PC DIMENSIONS

Factor	PC & hobby	Internet
	6	7
Women	-0.294***	-0.073*
Education level	-0.067*	0.032
Hours paid labor	-0.222***	-0.177***
Hours housecare	-0.110**	-0.116**
Cultural status	-0.012	0.034
Economic status	0.116**	0.035
Political interest	0.007	-0.035
Age 12-29 ^a	-0.054	0.007
Age 55+ ^a	-0.140***	-0.033
Pensioner ^b	-0.048	-0.113**
Unemployed	-0.010	-0.084**
Housewife ^b	-0.017	-0.029
Student ^b	0.058	-0.007
Partner	-0.009	0.000
Single ^c	0.008	-0.071*
Live w/ parents ^c	-0.031	-0.036
Catholic ^d	-0.045	0.002
Protestant ^d	-0.001	-0.066*
Other religion ^d	-0.040	-0.053*
Adjusted R ²	10.9%	3.2%
<i>Significance levels: * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001</i>		
<i>a: Dummy variables: reference is 'age 30-54'</i>		
<i>b: Dummy variables: reference is 'employed'</i>		
<i>c: Dummy variables: reference is 'family with children'</i>		
<i>d: Dummy variables: reference is 'no religion'</i>		

belonging to the category aged 12-29. Factor 8 (story, or the combination of videos, books and *de Volkskrant*) is most popular among women and people with higher levels of education.

According to Table 2, those people with high scores on Factor 6, which represents the use of the PC, reading hobby magazines, and using the Internet for serious information, are much more likely to be men than women (fewer than 30 per cent are female). They are relatively young, with slightly above-average schooling levels, and they work longer hours than the groups belonging to the previous factors. In addition, high scorers on Factor 6 have above-average cultural and economic occupational status, but they spend less time on household chores and caregiving. All of these characteristics also have an independent, significant and negative effect on the Factor 6 score. That this also holds for the educational effect might seem surprising considering the observation that the average schooling level for those belonging to the upper quartile for this factor is somewhat above average. Yet, one can assume that this group is a young audience belonging to a more highly educated cohort, part of which is still enrolled in school. Within this group (with all its characteristics that have been controlled for in Table 3), it is not the highest educated who are most concentrated on this repertoire. Finally, it must be noted that using the Internet for serious information, including politics, does not mean one is particularly interested in politics—those with a high interest in this topic seem to prefer print media or public broadcast media.

Factor 7, indexing the use of the Internet for other than serious information, is predominantly popular among middle-aged working men. Nevertheless, the number of hours of paid labor has a negative effect, meaning that, within this group, those with fewer working hours spend more time on the Internet than those with an overloaded working week. The time spent on unpaid work also has a negative effect on the score for Factor 7. In addition, one finds negative effects for singles and religious people (except Catholics). The educational level of the Factor 7 group is the second highest of all audiences, but education does not have an independent effect. The high schooling level turns out to be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that this audience is young (see also the negative effect of 'pensioner'), is mostly male, and works long hours in jobs, with above-average economic and cultural status.

DISCUSSION

A factor analysis of media time-diary data identified eight dimensions that underlie the Dutch population's media use in 2000, along with the population's user traits. Only two of the eight repertoires, namely, those corresponding to Factor 2 (serious information) and Factor 5 (commercial, that is, light entertainment), show the highbrow-lowbrow contrast Bourdieu assumed. These two factors might be seen as more homogeneous than the other

repertoires, because each focuses on a single content type (serious information or light entertainment) that is derived from a single medium type (print or commercial broadcasting). For these repertoires, additional computations showed that Bourdieu's main predictor of cultural capital—education—has significant effects in the predicted direction (positive for factor 2 and negative for factor 5). Although this finding seems to confirm Bourdieu's theory, analysis in the foregoing section suggests that empirical reality is far more nuanced than suggested by Bourdieu's ideal-typical propositions.

Users of the Internet fall into two subgroups, reflecting how the Internet can be used for different purposes. One needs to distinguish between types of Internet users—those looking for serious information on politics, the news or science differ from those looking for usually less serious information. Serious information seekers on the Internet were more likely to be male, with somewhat lower education and a lower cultural job status. Otherwise these two types of Internet users were remarkably similar, in that both were highly educated, young, non-religious and with high occupational status. In terms of their interest, one cannot simply conclude that the audience of Factor 7 is less interested in serious information than the serious information seekers, only that they do not go looking for it on the Internet. The results actually suggest that those with somewhat less schooling are most likely to consider the Internet as an appealing route to serious information.

The next important question is whether the Internet elicited an interest in this type of information, or whether users would have gotten this information from print or broadcast media without the Internet. Robinson et al. (1997) suggest neither, as Internet users were found to be more likely than nonusers to use print media, radio newscasts and other media. Looking for serious information on the Internet was not significantly related to the use of general news media, but there was a strong positive relation with the use of hobby magazines. Does this suggest that the Internet is also widely used as a source of information regarding specific leisure pursuits? This issue is clouded, because 'hobby magazines' comprised three heterogeneous categories, one of which is computer & Internet magazines (besides sports and 'other hobbies').

The rapid diffusion of the Internet, in a sense an omnibus medium, is likely to change the relationship between background characteristics and media patterns. While not examining trends in usage in this article, it is clear that this relationship is less straightforward than traditional theory would have it, with its overriding stress on class differences. In no fewer than six of the factors in Table 1, the dimensions strongly differentiate between men and women and between age groups—crucial variables to understand media use. Traditional medium types (especially print media, but also public television) appear to be the exclusive domain of the elderly, whereas new media (Internet) are chosen by the younger generations (mainly men).

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APPENDIX

OPERATIONALIZATION OF ITEMS IN MEDIA REPERTOIRES

The original variables on which the media items are based indicate the number of quarters of an hour that respondents spent on each of the titles selected during the week of the diary. Both television and radio are divided into public and commercial TV and radio (TVNETPUB and RADIOPUB, TVCOM and RADIOCOM). In addition, the variable local television (TVLOCAL) is used. In 2000, through cabling, Dutch broadcast users could select from among three public and seven commercial networks in the Dutch language. The variable Book Reading was based on an interview question that asked respondents when and if they had finished reading a book for entertainment: (a) more than three months ago, (b) 1 to 3 months ago or (c) less than a month ago.

Although it was not possible to specify PC and video by nature or content, PC and video were maintained as separate media variables. The Internet is differentiated by the type of information one uses: information for serious purposes (INTSER) and other information (INTOTHER). The former comprises foreign news, foreign politics, national news, national politics, local politics, local affairs, financial news, socioeconomic news, environment and science. The seven items excluded from the set of indicators of serious information were crime, consumer news, new media, traffic, arts and culture, sports and education.

The 17 TUS categories cover only a small portion of possible uses of the Internet, especially for entertainment. The exclusion of categories such as arts and culture, education, or new media was inspired by the idea that, at the time, websites on these topics mainly served consumer information on the arts agenda, on school registration, and software to download music, among others.

Leisure time is defined *ex negativo* as time not spent on paid labor, household, child rearing, or education.