Terhi Kinnunen

OLD MEDIA IN NEW MEDIA
Comparing the front pages of three British and three Finnish print and online newspapers

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Abstract

This Master’s thesis explores the front pages of three Finnish (Helsingin Sanomat, Aamulehti and Kaleva) and three British print newspapers (the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph and the Times) and their online outlets. The study focuses on news stories introduced on the front page and the main method used is descriptive content analysis.

Comparison is made across media (print versus online) and across countries (Britain versus Finland). Two general questions aimed to be answered are: how the Internet has affected newspapers, what differences can be found in Finnish and British journalistic cultures. The data was originally gathered for European A COST A20 project, which studies Internet’s impact on mass media.

It was found in this study that British and Finnish newspapers do not differ from each other greatly. The largest amount of space on the front page is devoted to news in print and online. Domestic news is the most popular geographical location of news stories. The most popular topics were politics, economics, crime and safety.

Online newspapers do not use the potential web publishing offers. Personalisation is nonexistent. Multimediality and hypertextuality, linking outside own outlet is shallow. All six online newspapers studied in this sample mimic the content and the form of print newspapers. News stories are shovelled from print paper to online. Photographs and info-graphics are used to illustrate news pieces.
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1. Introduction

This Master’s thesis is a comparative and descriptive content analysis on print newspapers and their online outlets. The material for this study has been gathered from Britain and Finland. The British newspapers included in the sample are: the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph, the Times and the Finnish ones: Helsingin Sanomat, Aamulehti and Kaleva.

1.1 Research questions

My task is to show a review on how the Internet has affected newspapers, what type of online newspapers they offer and how they exploit the possibilities made available by the new technology.

The original question I wanted to tackle in my thesis was: How do British and Finnish journalistic cultures differ from each other. When I got involved with Cost A 20 project and knew what type of data I was going to get from that for my thesis, I shaped the question concerning journalistic culture as well. How do the front pages of British and Finnish print and online newspapers differ from

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1 Cost Action A20 that focuses on ‘The Impact of the The Internet on Mass media’ will in this text be referred as Cost project. For more information see van der Wurff, 2005.
each other? I have focused on analysing the front pages and news stories presented there.

My interest in comparing British and Finnish journalistic culture has its roots in the three years I studied journalism at Napier University in Edinburgh, Scotland. Especially in the beginning of my studies I constantly compared British media with Finnish and noticed a number of differences. For instance in British newspapers Finland existed only in sports section and the world presented in the foreign news consists of fewer countries than in Finnish newspapers. Business stories have more coverage in Finnish television news than in Britain.

When I was offered a possibility to take part in a European print and online newspaper research project called, I decided to grab this opportunity. I coded the Finnish newspapers for the project and in return I received British data. In this paper I describe the British and Finnish data, analyse it and compare these two countries.

Because I coded the Finnish material for Cost project I have deeper knowledge on Finnish data. In autumn 2004 I had an opportunity to visit the University of Westminster in London and discuss British data with the British project leader Professor Colin Sparks and Aybigey Yilmaz, who coded the British material\(^2\).

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\(^2\) \textit{This Short-Term Scientific Mission was made possible by Cost Office and it took place in the beginning of October 2004.}
1.2 Expected results

My hypothesis was that British newspapers would be more advanced in online than Finland. I expected to see clear difference between these two countries concerning original content, more hypertextuality and more personalisation. I thought that British newspapers would have invested more into online newspapers than Finnish ones.

These thoughts were based on the fact, that the British papers included in this study are owned by large media corporations that have money and face fierce competition in their own market. In addition British online newspapers have larger potential audience than Finnish ones since people around the world speak English as a foreign language.

From the beginning I was rather sceptical on Finnish online newspapers and was sure that most of the material in online paper was shovelled from print counterpart. In short, I suspected that I would get the same results as in another rstudy done a couple of years earlier (Kiviranta 2001).
2. From newsletters to the World Wide Web

2.1 Print and online newspapers

In this chapter I will place my objects of study, print and online newspapers, in a broader context. I will give a glance to the history of print newspaper in general and describe newspaper industry in Britain and Finland. I will also tell about the history of Web publishing and how online newspaper differs from its print ancestor.

2.1.1 What is a newspaper?

The Oxford Dictionary defines newspaper as “a printed publication, typically issued daily or weekly, consisting of folded unstapled sheets and containing news, articles, and advertisements” (Oxford Dictionary, 1999, 960).

Although it is now generally admitted that printing was invented in China, for us westerners German Johann Gutenberg is the father of printing. Gutenberg introduced a typographical system in the 1440s in which each letter was moulded
individually and could be reused. This invention quickly revolutionised printing in Europe. Printing press facilitated the circulation of news throughout society in a way that was not possible before. (Allan, 1999, 9.)

In the beginning of the 16th century printed pamphlets, which sometimes presented news narratives in the form of prose or a ballad, started to replace hand-copied newsletters. The roots of modern newspaper are in 16th century Venice where weekly news-sheets called gazette (the name came from the coin called gazetta) became very popular in the end of the 16th century. Stories published in gazette concerned mainly business and were written by travelling merchants and diplomats. As popularity grew, news coverage increased and by the 1600s gazette began to resemble a newspaper, as we know it. (Ibid., 10.) However, newspaper was a medium of elite.

Mass circulation newspapers emerged during the 19th century as they became cheaper and people more educated and they developed an appetite for reading material (McNair, 1994, 124). So-called pauper or penny press had an important role in this development. I will tell more about the rise of pauper press in Britain in chapter 2.2.1.
2.1.2 Origins of online publishing

The Internet is a worldwide communication network of computers that use the TCP/IP network protocols to facilitate data transmission and exchange. It has its roots in the 1960’s U.S. Defence Department’s network project called ARPA. One of the goals was to develop a network that could survive a nuclear strike, and enable military to use nuclear arms for a counter-attack if America was attacked. (Castells, 2000, 45-47.)

Mass audiences gained access to they the Internet in the 1990’s when Web software World Wide Web (WWW) was launched. This new application organised the Internet sites’ content by information rather than by location. It made locating desired information easier than before. (Ibid., 50.)

Deuze has described the age of the Internet aptly:

> The Internet is both hype and reality; both an elitist playground of freaks and the ultimate synergy of communication-related phenomena. It is the network of networks, the only medium where access, abundance and citizenship blur the lines of the public and private sphere into chaos - but fascinating and - from time to time highly relevant and important chaos. (Deuze, 1998, 2.)

The Daily Telegraph was the first paper of this sample to go online in November 1994. According to the Daily Telegraph online it was the first British newspaper that launched online paper (telegraph.co.uk General Information, 2004). In Finland Turun Sanomat was first, it launched online paper in 1995. Aamulehti, Helsingin Sanomat and a tabloid Italehti followed Turun Sanomat’s example a year later (Sauri, 2002 and Rinkinen, 2004).

1995 saw newspapers settling on the web as their electronic publishing environment of choice. At the end of 1995 more than 175 US dailies were publishing on the web according to a count by the Newspaper Association of America. (Boczkowski, 2002, 273.)

According to a study published by the Finnish Newspapers Association in 2001, circa 80 per cent of newspapers (published at least once a week) had an online outlet and more than half of them were planning to increase the journalistic output in the Web (Kiviranta, 2001).

For a long time it was believed that online newspapers somehow harmed the circulation of print paper, since readers have access to free news sites. It has been proved that combined print and online publishing increases the circulation. According to Pressflex4 those French newspapers that had a website in 1999-2001 had better circulation than papers without a website. Pressflex studies carried out in the UK, France and Hungary online stated that the Internet has a beneficial effect on sales. The amount of information on the Web page correlated
with the number of subscriptions received via web pages. (Internet Strategies…, 2002, 10.)

The Net in this current phase can be seen as an extension to mass media, Peter Dahlgren notes (2001). Online versions of television, radio, news services and daily newspapers constitute a considerable degree of Net activity and many major media companies have their own online service. (Dahlgren 2001, 74.)

In a survey of US online newspapers it was found that the three top reasons for web publishing were availability of a large number of readers worldwide (57%), ease of publishing (27%) and thirdly superior graphical presentation (15%). (Peng et al., 1999, cited in Boczkowski, 2002.)

Rinkinen (2004) studied the relationship between the print and online newsrooms in Helsingin Sanomat. Many of those working in the print paper told her that newspaper has to have an online service and that it is crucial to Helsingin Sanomat’s image. (Rinkinen, 2004, 30.)

Bolter and Grusin point out that older electronic and print media are seeking to reaffirm their status within our culture as digital media challenges that status. Both news and old media are invoking the twin logic of immediacy and hypermediacy in their efforts to remake themselves and each other. (Bolter and Grusin, 2000, 5.)
2.1.3 Three key characteristics of online journalism

According to Deuze three key characteristics of online journalism are hypertextuality, multimediality and interactivity (Deuze, 1998, 5). Texts that are connected with each other through links, hyperlinks, can refer internally (within the domain) or externally (to texts that are elsewhere on the Internet). If only internal links are used, it in a way denies the idea behind hyperlinking, existence of the "worldwide" Web. Ted Nelson (1999), one of the founders of hypertext, has said that the problem with internal linking is that it creates “a delivery system for separate closed units – a system that allows only embedded links pointing outward.” (Nelson, 1999, cited in Deuze, 2001, 5.)

Multimediality refers to the variety of ways news or other content can be presented on the Internet. Jenkins has said that multimediality is just another way of producing more content with less newspeople (Jenkins, 2001, cited in Deuze 1998, 6).

The Internet has also a potential power to empower readers. Some scholars prefer the word “users”, since “readers” do not have to be passive any longer. Online newspapers can provide interactive facilities and give users more direct access to the journalists and other producers of news (Gunter, 2002, 87). Pavlik calls new media as contextualised journalism and assures that it will benefit democracy and citizenry and lead to more diverse and pluralistic society. According to him “only in an interactive, broadband online medium can context be provided for complex, multidimensional news events where perspective and
point of view are centrally important in understanding the complete truth behind the news”, (Pavlik, 2001, 23).

I am more sceptical or realistic concerning online journalism effects on audience and society. It is definitely a good thing that people have the possibility to be as active or passive as they want. On the other hand I do not believe that audience on a larger scale wants to become particularly active when it is a question about journalism. But there are some signs that among younger people, boys especially, the Internet is becoming the favourite medium and source of news. (See for example Sulamäki, 2004 and Sauri, 2002.)

Deuze divides interaction into three categories: navigational, functional and adaptive interactivity. Navigational interactivity means that user can navigate on the site for instance with the help of Next Page, Back to Top buttons or scrolling menu bars. The second form, functional interactivity, includes a possibility to participate in the production process of the site for example by interacting with other users and/or producers in discussion areas, writing messages on Bulletin Boards or by email. The third type of interactivity, adaptive interactivity is rare, it is used when every action of the user has consequences for the content of the Web site. This means personal customisation through smart Web design, offering users possibility to upload own content and discuss about it. (Deuze 2002, 6-9.)

Many other scholars, for instance Gunter (2002), Heinonen (1999 and 2002) and Pavlik (2001) have listed many other features they consider important or
significant in online journalism. These characteristics include for example: freedom from space and time limitations print newspaper, dynamic content, which means that people get the news when they want (on demand) and fresh (real time). One of the widely adopted features is called “produce once publish through many channels”. Shovelling print newspaper stories to online paper is just that.

2.1.4 Hopes and dreams

These three key characteristics give online news publishing advantages over traditional print newspaper publishing. But there are also other features that distinguish online journalism from print papers. Online newspapers are not constrained by space limitations the same way “as their hard-copy ancestry”. Stories can be linked to archive databases offering user background information. Web-publishing also offers more flexibility for users than before, users can access stories they want (it does not matter whether the story is fresh or in the archive) and they can be offered a possibility to customise front page, “create their own paper”. (Gunter 2002, 59.)

In addition there are no extra expenses for an online newspaper to have its content being accessed by users located 1 or 10 000 miles away. Online publishing can open up non-local markets to local papers and also non-local competitors can challenge that local dominance. However, online newspapers have mostly settled for their local markets. (Boczkowski, 2002, 274-275.)
Online newspapers can also provide people a more in-depth coverage than print newspapers for instance through archives. Online newspapers can be updated more readily; print newspapers tend to be published once a day. Web publishing has put newspapers on the same footing as broadcast media in terms of the rapidity to which they can respond to new development. (Gunter, 2002, 87.)

Online publishing offers all these wonderful options, but unfortunately few online newspapers have taken full advantage of these opportunities. Many newspapers simply copy and paste the material written for print paper to online paper. Gunter blames lack of investment and insufficient professional development. Despite this he believes that new rules and standards will be set for news providing. He argues that the old culture of a newspaper that presents news once every 24 hours is no longer tenable. In future consumers will have more control over the process of consumption, different assumptions and expectations of news services. The Internet users are able to experience a much-expanded range of choices of news delivery that enables them to customise (their) news to meet their personal tastes and interests. Moreover, the Internet is offering all these services around the clock and for free in most cases. (Ibid., 59.)
2.1.5 Grim reality

Most newspapers in Western countries have their own online newspaper. However, it can be argued that the Internet has not really revolutionised the newspaper industry.

According to Pavlik news content on the Internet has been evolving through three stages. At first stage news contents produced for older main medium is republished. In stage two online journalists create original content and improve it with some hyperlinks, interactivity, multimedia and/or customisation. In stage three news content is specifically designed for the Web, new ways of storytelling (such as immersive storytelling, which means presenting and interacting with the news in a three-dimensional environment) are tried. In other words Web is considered as a legitimate news medium. (Pavlik, 2001,43.)

Pavlik wrote in 2001 that better news sites were then in stage two and news content originally designed for Web was rather rare. In my opinion, Finnish and British newspapers’ online pages are still stuck at the second stage.

O’Sullivan (2003) has compared in a research project Irish print and online papers. The data he collected did not support the view that web is fundamentally changing the nature of news from within established institutional frameworks. O’Sullivan argues that the Internet is an arena of continuity and legacy. Web
newspapers mimic the content and the form of printed newspapers. The promise of many-to-many media, as expressed via interactivity, is according to him scantily implemented. For instance linking of content is narrow and shallow. He calls scholars to be more sceptical of claims of transformation of media, or at least they should realise that change will take longer than some have anticipated. (O’Sullivan, 2003, 783-784.)

Van der Wurff, Lauf and Lancee took part in the same research project as O’Sullivan and studied print and online newspapers in the Netherlands. Most of the online news services were free, and for that reason potential substitutes for traditional newspapers. But what else was different from print papers? They concluded that online papers provide mostly bullet news on their front page and have a large number of pointers (links). Print front pages are devoted to news items. (Van der Wurff et al., 2003, 877.)

Dahlgren refers to a study by Hill and Hughes who argue that when getting news from the Internet people favour a few specialised news providers the same way they do with the mass media. Often they are probing deeper into something that they have seen in the traditional mass media; they are getting more, but largely not different information. This suggests that the Internet does not change people so much, it tends rather to allow them to do what they usually do, but do it better. (Hill and Hughes, 1998, cited in Dahlgren, 2001, 77.)

Although this American study was carried out six years ago I dare to argue that the situation is still much the same. Free content and up to date information of
online news services attracts people, but only for few the Internet is the primary source of news. People check online newspapers during a day at work or school briefly, just in case if something interesting has happened.

At the moment newspapers are careful with Web publishing. The burst of new media business bubble in the beginning of the 21st century made newspaper people cautious. After the exciting period of exploring the possibilities of online journalism, many had to face the truth that it is difficult to make money publishing general news online. Now online newspapers are living in a stage of stagnation, one has to stay on the Net, but do it with as little money as possible.

This strategy can be dangerous. Changing the way people acquire news takes time, but unless the online newspapers offer users something new compared with traditional media, they might stick with the traditional old media, such as print newspapers.

Pavlik believes that most serious news companies are in new media for the long haul and want to emphasise quality. These organisations know that young people, their possible customers, are turning to online media (Pavlik, 2001, 44).
2.2 British newspaper industry

In this chapter I will concentrate on the history of the British newspaper industry and introduce the three British papers included in this study, the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph and the Times.

2.2.1 The history of British papers

The first British daily newspaper was Daily Courant and it was launched in 1702. At first Daily Courant only had a single sheet of two columns and it included both domestic and international news. After that other dailies were established as well. By 1750 newspaper publishing was a competitive business in London. There were six daily papers, six papers published three the Times per week, five weeklies and several other newspapers published in the capital. Altogether these papers had a total circulation of 100 000. (Smith, 1979, cited in Allan 1999, 11.)

General population growth, the spread of literacy and expansion of road and railroad systems speeded up the growth of newspaper circulation throughout the 18th century. However, British newspapers did not reach mass audience until the following century when prices of some newspapers decreased and working-class readers could afford to buy them. These cheaper newspapers were mainly
weekly papers and they were called in Britain ‘pauper press’ and in the USA ‘penny press’. In addition to affordable price, pauper press emphasised entertaining human-interest stories, such as crime stories. (Ibid., 11-13.)

People did not buy papers purely to fulfil their hunger for news but also to amuse themselves and escape from their monotonous lives. British government considered mass circulation papers as a potential threat especially since many of them promoted social change and various newspaper taxes and duties were imposed during the first half of the 19th century. Politicians wanted to force cheap newspapers out of business and guarantee status quo. But their aggressive approach was unsuccessful. The duties were abolished by 1861 and strong growth in circulation and number of titles followed. (Ibid., and Negrine, 1994, 41.)

2.2.2 Media tycoons

Although it is often claimed that media concentration, conglomeration, and internationalisation are products of modern society, these characteristics were true in British press even before the First World War. For example Lord Northcliffe had a bigger share of Fleet Street morning circulation in 1910 (39%) than Murdoch in 1989 (35%) and the same number of titles, three (Seymour-Ure, 1991, 107). The three papers Northcliffe owned were: the Daily Mirror, the Daily Mail and the Times.
Britain has always had powerful newspaper owners that are very visible in the society. Many consider News Corporation’s Rupert Murdoch a typical tycoon who edits the contents of his paper to suit his own opinions. (Curran, 1997, 87.) For some people he seems to represent everything bad and evil in news business.

This is quite different from Finland where local people have traditionally owned newspapers. Nowadays newspaper corporations are usually owned by unknown and “faceless” groups of shareholders. It is the CEO or chief editor who is visible to public.

Many media scholars argue that the British national press is more right-wing than its readers. In three general elections (1983, 1987, 1992), the Conservative vote never rose above 42 per cent. However, Conservatives backing press dominated 64-78 per cent of national newspaper circulation.

One reason why papers have been promoting right-wing ideas is that it suits the interests of their owners. And they do not hesitate to use their influence. It suits them very well if Britain is run by a government that understands the needs of media proprietors’. That is why it has not been rare that a newspaper owner is a member of the Commons. From 1892-1910 there were 20-30 newspaper owners listed as members of the Commons. In 1987 43 publishers/journalists were elected in the Parliament, 26 of them Conservative. (Negrine, 1994, and Curran, 1997.)
Many claim that the meeting between Rupert Murdoch and Labour party leader Tony Blair just before the general election in 1997 proved how influential Murdoch is. After the meeting the most popular paper the Sun started to back Labour and Labour won the elections. How much the Sun and Murdoch had to do with the poll results has been studied and discussed a lot. (Curran, 1997, 87.)

Advertisers are another reason for a newspaper bias towards right end of political spectrum. Newspapers need advertisements and advertisers pay more to reach readers with high income, so it is wise to please them. The largest share of broadsheets’ revenues comes from advertisers while for tabloids selling figures are more important. Broadsheets are targeted at people with high quality of living. Quality papers operate in a type of double market where they try to sell the paper to the consumers and then to sell readership to advertisers (Sparks, 1999, 51).
2.2.3 Wapping revolution

In the beginning of the 1980’s Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government introduced employment laws that narrowed the possibilities of trade unions to organise industrial action against employers or support actions taken by other unions (McNair, 1994, 129). Many newspaper proprietors complained that papers were making loss mainly due to high labour costs.

From 1980 on publisher Eddie Shah had been trying to start electronic production of his paper Stockport Messenger in northeast England. The National Graphical Association (NGA) objected the introduction of new technology since it meant reducing the number of staff. In November 1983 NGA organised an illegal strike outside Shah’s plant in Warrington. Shah took the union to the court and won. (Ibid., 31.)

This was good news for Rupert Murdoch’s News International. In 1985 a new printing plant for the corporation was constructed in Wapping London. News International also had a plant in Glasgow, but it was idle because printing unions did not allow the facsimile transmission of copy from London. Murdoch continued conversation with the unions, but started to prepare the transfer of all newspaper production from Fleet Street to Wapping. (Ibid., 132.)
Murdoch and printing unions met last time before the move to Wapping on January 23, 1986. The following day Fleet Street unions announced a strike that closed down News International papers. Some argue that Murdoch had calculated that there would be an illegal strike and this suited him because employment law allowed him to fire striking printers without paying compensations. Same evening the strike begun journalists and support staff were told that if they did not turn up for work at Wapping the next day, it was considered they had resigned. On January 25, the production lines at Wapping begun to run. In total 5 000 print workers were sacked.

*Legendary Fleet Street, the synonym for British national press, ceased to exist at the end of January 1986 ‘the day on which Rupert Murdoch proved it was possible to produce mass-circulation newspapers without a single member of his existing print force, without using the railways and with roughly one-fifth of the numbers that he had been employing before’. (McNair, 1994, 123.)*

### 2.2.4 Competition and concentration

Britons are fairly middling consumers of newspapers when compared to other European countries. Commercialisation and industrialisation have reduced the overall number of newspapers in Britain. It has also led to a narrowing of the range of political views represented in the press. (Negrine, 1994, 54.)

Newspapers and the press have declined in relation to other mass media and also in absolute terms. Most British newspapers sales records were established in the
1940s and the 1950s. In 1955 50 million Britons bought 30 million newspapers each Sunday. In 1975 and 1996 the national daily newspapers were selling 14 million copies. Television had passed newspaper as the main news media. (Tunstall, 1997, 249.)

The dominance of the national daily press constitutes a highly unusual feature of the British press. Top 10 titles account for at least 99 per cent of the total circulation and form a distinct group. According to Sparks there are three reasons for the dominance of London-based national papers. Firstly, Great Britain is a rather prosperous population concentrated within a small geographical area. Transporting national newspapers from printing plants to shops all over country is not a problem. Secondly, political, economical, legal and social power is mainly concentrated to London. And thirdly, newspapers are business. Government does not pay any subsidies for newspapers, which makes British press truly competitive. (Sparks, 1999, 44-46.)

British press has been polarised sharply into two sections, downmarket tabloid newspapers that are financed by sales revenue and upmarket broadsheet newspapers funded mainly by advertising. So called midmarket newspapers (such as the Daily Express and the Daily Mail) have suffered big sales losses since the 1950s. (Østergaard, 1997,249.)

Polarisation of the press has led to the dominance of big national dailies and the strong role for local, small newspapers. The non-national press has become more and more local and there has been a big expansion of local free daily
newspapers. It is national broadsheets versus tabloids, national nationals versus local locals. (Ibid., 49.)

Competitive market expenditure reached new extremes in the early 1990s and led to aggressive price-cutting in 1994 – 95. This was initiated by News International’s Sun and the Times (down from 45 pence to 20 pence) and it put great commercial pressure on competitors.

Lower price gives advantage over competitors in a market where readers are not loyal to one newspaper, but make the decision of buying a newspaper each day. In Finland readers tend to have almost a personal relationship with newspaper. For many reading newspaper while eating breakfast is as vital part of their morning as coffee or tea. In addition, regional newspaper rule in Finland and it could be argued that Finnish newspaper business is not as truly competitive as in Britain.
2.2.5 British media consumption

Britons are still a television watching nation. European Interactive Advertising Association (eiaa) interviewed 1 000 people in the United Kingdom in 2003. Television was the number one media, 97 per cent of interviewees watched it. A third of them spent 3 – 5 hours with telly during working week (Monday to Friday). For almost 80 per cent television was also the favourite source of news. (eiaa, 2003.)

Radio became second with 83 per cent of those interviewed. Circa 30 per cent of them listened to the radio 1 – 3 hours during week. Almost half of interviewees considered radio as a favourite source for news. (Ibid.)

Seventy per cent of the British interviewees read newspapers regularly. Nearly 70 per cent of them said that newspapers are their favourite source of news. However, the time people spent reading newspapers during week was on average less than an hour. (Ibid.)

The Internet has overtaken magazines in terms of typical working week media consumption. 47 per cent of those surveyed surfed the Net, and 60 per cent of them spent 1 – 3 hours on the Net. It should be noted that 35 per cent used the Internet every day, that is 7 days a week. Only a quarter considered the Internet as a favourite source of news. (Ibid.)
The way I see it the Internet could in a few years time pass newspaper as a news medium in Britain. Already now many people spend more time on the Internet than reading papers. But it is not clear precisely how much time people use on the Internet for acquiring news. It is most likely that people use the Internet as a working tool at work and school for emails and searching for information. It is possible that the news use of the Internet for most people means just quickly checking if something important or interesting has happened, but not for instance reading background information from online paper.

It should also be noted that radio and television have become background media. For instance one can iron a shirt or drive a car while listening to the radio. But newspaper or reading requires attention of another degree. One has to concentrate more when reading than when listening to someone.
2.3 Media landscape in Finland

2.3.1 The birth of Finnish press

In the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century and in the beginning of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century Finnish newspaper reading upper class was rather satisfied with Swedish papers, mainly because Finland was a part of Sweden. In 1771 Aurora society established the first Finnish newspaper Tidningar Utgifne af et Sällskap i Åbo (also called as Åbo Tidningar). The language of the paper was Swedish, the official language of that time. The first newspaper in Finnish was published in 1776 and it was called Tieto-Sanomat. However, it took almost 40 years, until 1820’s before a Finnish language newspaper had better preconditions to succeed. (Tommila, 1994, 35.)

At the end of Swedish reign in the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, few Finns had access to newspapers. Finland was a developing country in terms of press when compared to western European countries. In 1809 after a war between Russia and Sweden, Finland became an autonomous part of Russia. Finnish became the language of majority in Finland. According to Tommila Finnish press was born between 1810 – 1820. Publishers started to print Finnish language papers regularly in 1844 and after that Finnish press grew rapidly. New political parties and ideologies played a big part in founding new newspapers in the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. (Ibid., 36-51.)
The circulation of newspapers and magazines in Finland grew 50 the Times larger in 60 years. In 1860 the number of annual subscriptions was 12 600. In 1900 the figure was 240 000 and in 1950 1,6 million.

From the 19\textsuperscript{th} century originates still common custom of subscribing to a newspaper and getting it delivered to home. In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century agrarian and sparsely populated Finland, subscribing to a paper was the only way to get it if one was living in the countryside. (Ibid., 49 - 51.)

Home delivery is certainly one of the reasons why newspaper circulation is so high in Finland. One will not have to walk to a shop or a kiosk in order to get a daily paper.

2.3.2 Strong growth and the beginning of concentration

Years 1905 – 1906 were a time of rapid growth in Finnish newspaper business. The second boom started in 1925 when a number of new local papers were established. Regional newspapers started to build their number one status in their own region in the 1940’s. In the 1990’s local papers improved their position. (Ibid., 37-39.)

During the Second World War Finnish newspaper business was in standstill. Paper was rationed and news content subjected to censorship. People also
listened to the radio more than before the war. However, the circulation of newspapers increased, because information and news were very important for people. (Tommila, 1988, 11-15.)

After the Second World War political party papers’ position started to diminish. In his Master’s thesis Pihlajasaari studied newspapers that had proclaimed free from political parties. He found out that in those papers he analysed the ties to political parties were only formal in the 1980’s. Papers followed their own policy although they said they supported a certain political party and received subsidy for political papers from the Finnish government. (Pihlajasaari, 1996, cited in Tommila and Salokangas, 1998, 304-305.)

When the political colours started to fade, newspapers became more business like or a commodity that could be bought and sold. Jyrkiäinen notes that before the end of 1970’s selling and buying the ownership of a newspaper was rare. But from the 1985 onwards acquisitions have been common. In the 1980’s and 1990’s professional investors became interested in newspapers and changed the structure of Finnish press ownership. (Jyrkiäinen, 1994, cited in Tommila and Salokangas, 1998, 309-312.)

At first regional papers started to buy local papers. Tampere based Aamulehti corporation and Helsinki based Sanoma group that published papers Aamulehti and Helsingin Sanomat (studied also in this sample) started to grow at the end of 1980’s. The 1990’s economical depression speeded up the change, big newspaper publishers bought small ones and corporations grew (Ibid.).
2.3.3 Economical depression turn growth in decline

According to statistics almost all Finnish households subscribed to a newspaper in the 1950’s. In the 1980’s and 1990’s 90 per cent of households had a daily newspaper delivered home. Economic recession in the beginning of the 1990’s dropped this percentage to 70. From 1990 to 1993 Finnish newspapers lost almost 160 000 subscribers. Although economy started to grow in 1994, total circulation decreased with 114 000 until 1997. (Mervola, 1998, 60 – 63.)

Depression also decreased the number of papers published. In 1985 the number of newspapers published in Finland was 257, this is the highest figure ever. In 1991 the figure had dropped to 241 and in 2003 the number of newspapers was 199. Depression hit hardest local and daily regional papers. Tabloid papers Ilta-Sanomat and Ittalehti survived depression with fewer damages than many other papers. (Tommila and Salokangas, 1998, 298-301.)

Mervola points out that in the beginning of the 1980’s a year long subscription of a regional newspaper cost approximately a half of the price of a TV-licence. In the 1990’s newspaper subscription prices climbed up and it became more expensive to get a newspaper every day than paying television licence. From 1985 to 1995 the number of television broadcasting hours grew 2,5 the Times bigger than before, but the content of newspapers did not change. Because of this newspapers were no longer as attractive for readers as they had been before. Unemployment and smaller incomes were partly to blame. But Mervola notes that people also watched more television and listened more local radio stations.
than before. He says that the success of daily newspapers is based on society becoming more middle-class. (Mervola, 1998, 69-70.)

Leinonen analysed in her Master’s thesis the media consumption habits of people living in Pyhäjärvi, countryside in northern Oulu region. She concluded that for the growing number of alienated and entertainment orientated people newspaper is no longer necessary, they rely on radio and television. (Leinonen, 1997, cited in Tommila and Salokangas, 1998, 303.)

As I noted earlier, subscription and advertising revenues decreased in the 1990’s because of recession and competition from other media. Less money meant less content made by fewer journalists. Many regional newspapers started to cooperate with each other and produce for instance TV- and entertainment sections and Sunday pages together. Papers wanted to offer better stories for readers while keeping costs reasonable. For instance newspapers published in middle parts of Finland produce together Sunnuntaisuosomalainen (in English Sunday pages). The cooperation has been justified by saying that regional papers have to defend their weakening position in their own territory against Helsingin Sanomat, broadcasting and local papers.

Recession’s economical changes, more fierce competition from television and radio and the change in society into a type of neo liberalism have according to Jyrkiäinen affected journalism. For example the line between a news story and promotion has become blurred. He fears that newspaper differentiation and neo liberalism can change the Finnish press in that way that elite and ordinary people
will have their own papers some day, just like in the past. (Jyrkiäinen, 1994, cited in Tommila and Salokangas, 1998, 319-320.)

2.3.4 Current situation in Finnish newspaper industry

The Finnish newspaper market is characterised by increasing concentration. The market is divided between three largest companies, Sanoma-WSOY, Alma Media and a looser chain of Väli-Suomen Media (that is a corporation which consists of newspapers published in the middle parts of Finland). Traditionally local people have owned Finnish regional newspapers.

So far the ownership has been national with the exception of Alma Media of which Swedish Bonnier Corporation has owned a third (20 Principal Shareholders … 2005). But now in February 2005 it seems that Alma Media’s broadcasting arm will be sold to a joint venture of Sweden's Bonnier and Proventus. Bonnier bid followed the announcement by Norwegian Schibsted, which in December 2004 offered to buy the whole group for 705 million euros. If the deal goes through, the ownership of the new Alma Media would be very scattered and entirely Finnish. The biggest owner would be Sampo bank, with some 20 per cent. (Almamedia Corporation Stock Exchange… 2005.)

There are no longer many independent newspapers in Finland. Kaleva, which is in research sample is one of them and owned by local families in Oulu.
Ideologically most newspapers can be positioned roughly to the centre or to the right from the centre although practically all have declared to be independent from political parties.

Regional newspapers have strong role and large readership in Finland. There are no national broadsheet papers, although Helsingin Sanomat is popular around the country. However, stories concerning capital region amount to a significant share of editorial content. In addition there are two national tabloids and two business newspapers. In 2003 there were 199 newspapers published in Finland, of which 29 were published seven times per week. Their total circulation was 1.6 million and they covered 50 per cent of the newspaper market. (Suomen Lehdistö, 2004.)

In the beginning of 2004 a new law called the “Act on the Exercise of Freedom of Expression in Mass Media” was issued. This new law is remarkable because in addition to traditional media it also gives guidance to online publishing. (Act on the Exercise of Freedom of Expression in Mass Media, 2004.)

The act says, among other things, that each publication must have a responsible editor, it defines the procedures of right to reply and correction, it rules about the confidentiality of sources, and it demands, e.g. that a recording of electronic programmes or publications must be kept for a certain time. It should be noted that this act deals with more or less established media only, and for instance weblogs and individuals’ home pages are not its main focus. (Ibid.)
2.3.5 Media consumption in Finland

Earlier I noted that Finns are avid newspaper readers. In 2003 we were number one paper readers in European Union and number three in the world after Japan and Norway with 532 copies sold per inhabitants. The total circulation of newspapers in a country of 5,2 million inhabitants was 3,2 million. (Facts about Finnish press… 2004.)

In 2002 Finnish people spent every day approximately 3,5 hours watching television and 3 hours listening to the radio. Newspaper was still the thirdly most used medium, Finns read papers for 48 minutes per day. The Internet got attention for mere 20 minutes. (TNS Gallup, 2002.)

As I stated earlier, Britons use approximately just a little less than an hour per week reading newspapers. Finns spend more time reading newspaper in a day than Britons in a week.

From 2002 the time Finns surf on the Internet has surely increased. According to a recent study by 15/30 Research company teenage boys aged 15 – 18 spend daily more time on the Internet (slightly over 2 hours) than with television (48 minutes). Television is still the most important media for young people 15 – 24 years old. In average they watch it for 1 hour and 40 minutes every day. Finnish youth consider newspapers as the most reliable and readable medium, but the time they spend with newspapers is only 23 minutes. (Sulamäki, 2004.)
To summarise, newspapers have longer history in Britain than in Finland. However, newspaper became popular mass medium in Finland fast and Finns are still newspaper reading people, although people spend more time watching television than reading newspapers. Television is the most popular medium in Britain as well. The time used surfing the Internet, and possibly reading online newspapers, is increasing and often this means that use of some other medium decreases.

2.4 From theory towards analysis

Newspaper has a longer history in Britain than in Finland. However, newspaper has become a popular mass medium in Finland. In online journalism theory and practice are still far apart from each other. There are many scholars (e.g. Castells and Pavlik) who have spread the gospel of new media and placed high expectations on its potential. In general, news people have been more realistic or sceptical, particularly after the hangover from technological hype in the 1990’s.

Some newspapers have experimented with new ways of narrating news (for instance Helsingin Sanomat “webortages”), but it has not yet become common practice in general online newspapers.

It took a couple of decades for print newspaper to become a mass medium. The Internet and online journalism became “a must” faster. The traditional form of
newspaper and print news story are strong and have had a significant effect on online journalism.

How to make money with online newspaper is still a mystery to most news proprietors. So far mainly business papers have succeeded in it. But there are signs indicating that people’s media consumption habits are changing. Many teenagers regard the Internet as the most important medium and spend more time surfing the Net than watching television. They are attractive possible customers for online news producers.

Audience will not settle forever for online news content that is not originally made for online publishing. Eventually they will demand more and on the World Wide Web they will probably find something that will please them. Newspapers should not wait forever that the business situation in online journalism would become suitable by itself. They should act and experiment.

In the following chapter I will introduce the methods used in this study. In chapter four I will present the findings of my analysis.
3. Methods and material

In this chapter I will present the material of my thesis and methods I have used. This includes a short presentation of each paper included in the sample as well as basics of content analysis and comparative method. I will also describe the codebook and the questions to which data is expected to give some answers.

I coded the Finnish data for Cost project and decided to use data that I gathered in my Master’s thesis. I am comparing Finnish data with British data. Content analysis breaks front pages and news stories into little pieces and with the help of comparative method I am trying to create a new picture of those pieces.

The core of my paper is comparing. I compare print and online newspapers with each other, in order to find out what effect new media is having on old media and news content. I am interested in what types of news stories print and online newspapers provide, and what other types of content they offer. And as I stated earlier, I am comparing the situation between Britain and Finland.
3.1 Quantitative and qualitative research methods

In quantitative research the relationships between variables are quantified. For instance in a hypothesis “women are better educated than men”, sex is one variable and education another. If according to the data that is used there is correlation between these variables, the hypothesis is true. (Manninen 2000.)

In qualitative study the data is seen as a totality, even though there were a number research units and variables (Alasuutari, 1995, 11). Alasuutari notes that qualitative research methods do not differ from quantitative methods so drastically that they would exclude each other. In all scientific research the goal is logical argumentation and objectivity that is based on data and not on the opinions of the researcher. On the contrary both methods can be applied in a same study. (Ibid., 6.)

In my Master’s thesis I have used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The main method types I have used are content analysis and comparative method. Examples of research units that are analysed are newspaper (print and online) and individual news stories.

Differences between these different variables are not important in themselves, because in qualitative research data is scrutinised as a totality (in this case a newspaper).
In my paper I am comparing Finnish and British data. My aim is to find out how much print and online newspapers in Britain and Finland differ from each other. The answers that I am looking for are verbal, not numbers. From the answers to codebook questions I am trying to create a bigger picture of print and online newspaper situation in Finland and Britain. (See Tuomi and Sarajärvi, 2002, 95-96.)

3.2 Content analysis

The main method I have used is content analysis. Tuomi and Sarajärvi define descriptive content analysis as an analysis of documents that describes for instance text in quantitative terms. (Ibid., 107.)

According to Pietilä documents have direct information about themselves and indirect information on other phenomena. Indirect information can be explicit or implicit and these can be used in a study in two different ways, one can look into content and describe or interpret it, or based on documents one can gather information and make inferences to other phenomena. (Pietilä, 1976, 22-23.)

Both Pietilä and Neuendorf (2002) declare that content analysis is suitable for testing relationships within a basic communication model such as Shannon-Weaver model of source message, channel and receiver. (See also Pietilä, 1997 and McQuail, 2000.)
Berelson proposed five purposes for content analysis, (1) to describe substance characteristics of message content, (2) to describe form characteristics of message content, (3) to make inferences to producers of content, (4) to make inferences to audiences of content and, (5) to determine the effects of content on the audience. (Berelson, 1952, cited in Neuendorf 2002, 52.)

But Neuendorf does not believe that making conclusions about source or receiver on the basis of an analysis of message content alone is appropriate. She refers to Carney (1971) according to whom there are three uses of content analysis, descriptive, hypothesis testing, and facilitating inference and adding extramessage variables, that is, variables measured on source or receiver units. (Ibid., 52.)

The main focus of my study is on the first two purposes Berelson listed. I am describing channels (print and online newspapers) and messages (stories and front pages).
3.2.1 Creating a codebook

Content analysis is not a research method without problems, especially when there are many coders and they are from different countries.

Raittila has used qualitative and quantitative content analysis for instance when he studied how nuclear waste management issues were discussed in Finnish media (2000) and in an international study on how the tragedy of passenger ferry Estonia\(^3\) was covered in media (1996). He says that quantitative content analysis is partly mechanical measuring, but mostly interpreting the content (Raittila, 2000, 77).

This is why clear definitions, *conceptual definitions*, for each variable used are essential in a content analysis project, especially if many coders are involved. With conceptual definition researcher declares what exactly he or she wishes to study. Usually these definitions are collected in the form of a codebook. Codebook and coding forms should be so complete and unambiguous that almost all individual differences among coders will be eliminated. Even the most mundane details need to be spelled out. (Neuendorf, 2002.)

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\(^3\) 852 people died in September 1994 when passenger ferry Estonia sunk in Baltic Sea.
Neuendorf says that conceptual definition is a guide to the subsequent measurement of that variable – the *operationalisation*. The conceptual definition and operationalisation need to match, this matching is called *internal validity*. The making of a codebook is involving process, with repeated revisions right up until the moment when coding begins. (Ibid., 107.)

*Categories*

There must be an appropriate code for each and every unit coded. Coder should be able to choose “other” or “unable to determine” codes in case other categories are not suitable. “If other, please specify” category diminishes the possibility that some codebook questions are left unanswered. This is called categories that are exhaustive. (Ibid., 118-119.) Question C080 from Cost A 20 project codebook (Van der Wurff et al., 2004, 32) is a good example of this.

**C080** Main origin (who wrote the article)

1. News agency
2. Third party / press release
3. Journalist (this should be *explicitly* indicated in the news item, either because the name of the journalist is mentioned or because the article is ascribed to an anonymous reporter). A journalist writes as employee or free-lancer for the news outlet / news provider.
4. An independent author (mentioned by name; identified as not belonging to the news outlet, or as writing in personal capacity).
5. Unknown source
6. Other, please specify on a separate place on the code sheet.
There should also be only one appropriate code for each unit coded. That is because then coding categories are mutually exclusive. Multiple codes, that is two or more codes, would be right answers at the same time, would cause validity and reliability problems. (Neuendorf, 2002, 118-119.)

Let’s look at the question below.

**A043** How accessible is the archive in terms of costs (choose the highest possible number)?

1. Free access for everyone.

2. Must register to access archive, but no fee required.

3. Must register, no fee required, but registration restricted to newspaper subscribers (or paying members of any other offline group).

4. Must subscribe (pay a fee) for regular access.

5. Must pay per retrieved article.

6. Must pay per search.

When shaping a question on online newspaper archive costs, one might at first think that three categories, “free”, “must register” and “must pay” were enough. But one might have to add categories during coding for instance if more than one archive studied were restricted to print paper subscribers. Otherwise a coder might circle two options “must register” and “must pay” since both are required.
Four levels of measurement

Neuendorf presents Stevens’ classical four levels of measurement which divide measurement scales into different groups based on the level of sophistication. These four levels are nominal scale, ordinal scale, interval scale and ratio. The lowest level measurement is called nominal scale. The order of coding categories is arbitrary and numbers are used for labelling only. There were many questions using nominal scale, one example of this concerns the media category. (Ibid., 120.)

**ID4** Category of media

1. Newspaper
2. Online newspaper
3. Online only news service

The second type of scale is ordinal scale, which is based on categories that are rank ordered on some continuum (Ibid.).

**A006** For printed newspaper only. Code 9 for online newspapers and the online-only news service.

Has the printed newspaper one, two or more editions per day (24 hours)? Note, we do not refer to regional editions; only to morning, afternoon and evening editions.

1. One edition per day
2. Two editions (usually in the morning and afternoon)
3. More than two
8. Unknown
9. For online services, not relevant
The first three choices for question A006 represent ordinal scale. Numbers 8 and 9 are on the other end of the continuum in a scale from 1 to 9. One could as well use any other numbers (such as 100 and 101) that one would consider to be far enough from 1, 2 and 3.

Temperature scale (Celsius or Fahrenheit) is an example of interval scale. Zero point is arbitrary, it does not mean that there is a total lack of heat, and this makes interval scale different from ordinary use of numbers. Interval scale was not used in this research. (Ibid., 123-124.)

The fourth and the highest level of measurement is ratio. Age and in the case of this research project space (cm²) devoted to different content types are examples of ratio. These numbers are countable in ordinary sense and true zero is possible. (Ibid., 125)
3.2.2 Describing the Cost project codebook

It is obvious that Cost project group had done a lot of work before the coding started. The codebook is huge and it is divided into six different sections. Altogether there are 355 different questions. (I have attached a printed copy of the codesheet in the end of this paper.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part A</th>
<th>Background data</th>
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<td>General questions</td>
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<td>Additional services</td>
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<td>Personalisation</td>
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<td>Archives</td>
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<th>Part B</th>
<th>Front page analysis</th>
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<td>Space used for different content types</td>
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<td>Pointers</td>
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<th>Part C</th>
<th>News item</th>
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<td>Item content</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Origin, sources and references</td>
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<td>Content interactivity</td>
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<tr>
<th>Part D</th>
<th>Comparison of online news stories with print stories</th>
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<tr>
<td>Part E</td>
<td>Comparison of morning and evening front pages</td>
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<td>Part F</td>
<td>Comparison of morning and evening news items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part G</td>
<td>Qualitative description of newspaper landscape in your country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The structure of Cost project codesheet

In my thesis I am concentrating on questions that I find interesting and important for my research questions. I will tell more about my choice of questions later in this chapter. But first I will describe the codebook.
Part A concerns basic information on coder and outlet, as well as news provider’s services, personalisation and archive. Although e-mail editions, mobile phone services and electronic PDF replicas of newspaper are not analysed in this project, it was coded whether papers offer these services. Personalisation questions concern for instance if the front page could be personalised in terms of news content or technical aspects, the number of languages in which the paper can be read. (All papers use only one language, except online Helsingin Sanomat that has an English subsite.)

Part B looks into front page. Different types of content (e.g. news stories, advertisement, breaking news) are counted, described and measured.

Part C goes into the level of a news story. On the front page level the type of news item and whether it is part of a thematic section (such as sport, politics) were coded. The number of photos and graphs were counted and sizes measured, possible pointers counted and what they referred to (e.g. other photos, moving images, animation, sound files). Item content questions concerned for instance the geographical location and topic of a story. Also information on who wrote the story, which type of sources were used and whether there were any references or links to other outlet (from online to print or vice versa) or other media. Content interactivity included questions on if stories could be forwarded by email, whether user is invited to comment or go to a discussion area, and if the e-mail address of writer is given.
Stories that could be found from both print and online outlet are compared with each other in part D. It was coded for instance whether online stories were shorter or longer, had more AV illustrations or references than print stories.

Parts A to D were done for the morning editions. In parts E and F stories from morning and evening online edition are compared with each other. The number of news stories in each edition was counted, how many stories could also be found in other editions. Also the number of breaking news and space devoted to them was noted down. In part F stories that were in the morning and evening online editions were compared the same way as print and online stories in part D. In part G coders wrote few pages about the media landscape of their own country.

Online and print newspapers were analysed in the same way. The answers to the questions asked in the codebook were numbered and the number of appropriate answer was filled in the form.
3.3 *Comparative research*

My thesis is based on data from two journalistic cultures. Therefore the question is whether there are distinctions that can be defined. In a comparative research two or more cases are studied in order to examine their similarities and differences (Fulcher and Scott, 1999, p. 75). Edelstein links nation with comparative method and defines it as ‘a study that compares two or more nations with respect to some common activity’ (cited in Livingstone, 2003, 478).

Durkheim’s research on suicide (1897) is probably the most famous comparative research. Durkheim compared the rates of suicide in different countries and among different social groups aiming to uncover the factors responsible for high and low levels of suicide. He also classified suicides in a number of different types. (Fulcher and Scott, 1999, 75.)

I have made many comparisons in this study, I have compared print newspapers with online editions, papers are compared with each other and newspapers in Finland and Britain are compared as well.
3.3.1 Comparing countries and cultures

Some scholars say that a country or a nation is not a suitable unit to be used in comparative research. For instance Chisholm argues that societies and cultures are non-comparable and cannot be evaluated against each other. (Chisholm, 1995, cited in Livingstone, 2003, 482-483.)

Beniger is of opposite opinion. He sees cross-national research necessary and argues that all social science research is comparative, historians compare across time, geographers across space, linguists languages, international relations specialists countries etc. Comparing can open new avenues for research. (Blumer et al. 1992, 8 and 35.)

Globalisation has made cross-country studies more common than before. Comparative research is, however, far from easy, yet Livingstone says it is necessary. If a research is based in one country its specificity and generalisability can be criticised if there are no other similar studies to compare it with. In one’s own culture everything seems so clear and self-evident. (Livingstone, 2003.)

Comparison with another culture can broaden one’s horizon. (Alasuutari, 1995, 135). But it is also important to consider to which extent the findings may reflect national context, in other words how far conclusions apply in other countries (Kohn, 1989, cited in Livingstone, 2003, 478).
I agree with Alasuutari and Kohn and wanted to use cross-country research in my thesis from the beginning. As Alasuutari points out one sees one’s own culture from a little different perspective when it is compared with another culture. On the other hand, comparing research results is not automatically necessary. For instance Kiviranta’s (2001) review on Finnish newspapers’ online services is wide enough without comparison to some other country.

Kohn has divided cross-national research types into four different categories based on what role the “nation” has. Nation can be the object, context, unit of analysis or a component of a larger system. (Kohn 1989, cited in Livingstone 2002 and Reese 2001.)

If the comparison is made between different countries, researcher should be careful when selecting which countries to choose. If countries are too similar, it might be difficult to find differences. However, if societies are extremely different comparing might be impossible.

It can be argued that comparative research works best for quantitative methods, since quantitative data is usually collected, coded and analysed in accordance with universal conventions of sampling rules (Livingstone, 2002, 488).
3.3.2 Key issues in cross-national research

When doing cross-national research informed and explicit choices should be made regarding approach to comparison for instance on country selection, methodological standardisation, origin of categories, reporting style and so forth (Ibid., 492). Reese (2001) states that it is important to have a clear model and well-defined set of research questions to guide comparative investigation.

Livingstone is not impressed with those rather common studies that describe findings nation-by-chapter and making comparison is left to the reader (Livingstone, 2002, 481). If comparative method is chosen, then researcher should make comparisons. On the other hand, researcher should not straight away assume that the basic concepts have the same self-evident and comparable meaning in different cultures (Reese, 2001, 178).

In my thesis newspapers are objects of study and nation is the context. I am not interested in different nations as such but in the newspapers in these two countries. Differences in media industry and culture are interesting if they can be used to explain differences between online or print newspapers in different countries.
3.4 Introducing newspapers

The aim of this project was to analyse newspapers that are the most popular, general, national daily broadsheet papers. (See Van der Wurff et al., 2004). This means that tabloid newspapers, economical or otherwise specialised papers and local or regional papers were excluded. These requirements were slightly problematic when Finnish newspapers were considered, since there are no national daily broadsheets in Finland. (Although Helsingin Sanomat is popular around the country.) Regional newspapers have strong position and three big regional broadsheets were chosen for this research. In Britain the situation is different, three biggest national broadsheets, the Daily Telegraph, the Times and the Guardian were analysed.

General national newspapers were chosen because one of the research goals of this European study is to get an insight in mainstream developments in print and online news outlets (Ibid.). Popular papers have relatively high revenues so they have better possibility to invest in their online newspaper than for instance a small political paper that receives a subsidy from government. It is interesting to find out what this type of newspapers have decided to do on the Internet.
3.4.1 The British newspapers

THE GUARDIAN

http://www.guardian.co.uk/

John Edward Taylor established the Manchester Guardian in 1821 to promote liberal party politics. In 1872 Charles Prestwick Scott became the chief editor and he was the leader of the paper for nearly 60 years. Scott was near radical liberals and many writers and artists worked as journalists for the Manchester Guardian. According to Torvinen Finnish Päivälehti’s first decades were similar with this radical liberal era in the Guardian (Torvinen, 1982, 92).

The word Manchester was taken away from the name in 1959. The Guardian is the tenth biggest daily newspaper in Britain with circulation of circa 352 000 in October 2004. The figure a year earlier was circa 376 000 (Circulations October 2004 Figures, 2004.)

The Scott Trust, a not-for-profit holding, owns the paper and it is a left-of-centre broadsheet. This means that a large amount of the Guardian readers are public sector workers. The Guardian has been called a paper for academics, teachers and students.
The Guardian went online in 1999 and it has invested heavily in its online
presence ever since. It also uses material written for print outlet, but there are
large number of different sections such as Media Guardian and Education and
subsections within the sections, for instance New Media, Press&Publishing in
Media Guardian. The Guardian’s online newspaper differs from most other UK
online titles with its navigational layout. The Guardian’s website has received a
number of awards and it is the most popular UK newspaper website.

According to figures accessed from ABC Electronic database the Guardian
online paper had in October 2003 nearly 89 million page impressions and in
October 2004 circa 98 million. (In order to access figures, go to
http://www.abce.org.uk and search ABCE database with URL.)
The Daily Telegraph was established in 1855 by Arthur Sleigh. Back then it cost two pennies. Two decades later in 1877 the Daily Telegraph claimed it had the largest circulation newspaper in the world. (Torvinen, 1982, 96 and www.telegraph.co.uk.)

The Daily Telegraph is a conservative right-wing newspaper and market leader amongst quality papers and the seventh most popular paper in Great Britain, but its circulation is declining. At the time of study, in October 2003 the Daily Telegraph’s circulation amounted to 890,000 and a year later in October 2004 it was slightly less, 861,000 (Circulations October 2004 Figures, 2004). Its readers are mainly elderly and wealthy and recently it has been trying to reach younger readers. The Daily Telegraph was among the first British papers to launch online newspaper in 1994. (telegraph.co.uk General Information..., 2004.)

During the time of sample collection the Daily Telegraph was still owned by the Hollinger Group, controlled by Lord Black. In summer 2004 Barclay brothers acquired Telegraph Group Limited the Daily Telegraph and the Sunday Telegraph. (Milmo, 2004.)

According to figures accessed from ABC Electronic database the Daily Telegraph’s online paper had 2.8 million users in September 2003 and a year later 3.5 million users. There were 31 million page impressions in September.
2003, 37 million in September 2004. (October figures were not available). (In order to access figures, go to http://www.abce.org.uk and search ABCE database with URL.)

THE TIMES

http://www.timesonline.co.uk/

The Times is a conservative and old British institution. Printer John Walter started to publish a paper called The London Universal Register in 1785. In 1788 paper changed its name to the Times. (Torvinen, 1982, 79.)

The Times is the second most popular broadsheet after the Daily Telegraph. The Times had a circulation of 589 000 in October 2003 and 614 000 in October 2004, an increase of 4 per cent (Circulations October 2004 Figures, 2004).

1960 – 1980 were critical decades for the Times. In 1965 it made huge loss, but survived. In November 1978 publishing of the Times and the Sunday Times ceased. A year later the two papers were published again, but they continued to make loss. In 1981 Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch bought the Times and the Sunday Times with circa 12 million pounds (circa 100 million Finnish marks or 17 million euros). Before the deal was clear Murdoch’s suitability to become new owner was considered. He already owned the Sun, News of the World and his papers were famous for sensationalism. Murdoch had to guarantee that he would stay out of editorial work, so the editorial quality and independence would continue under his rule. (Torvinen, 1982, 89-91.)
The Times is part of News International Corporation that is dominated by Murdoch family. With price cutting campaign the Times nearly doubled its readership during the 1990’s. It aims to take the Daily Telegraph’s place as the best selling broadsheet in Britain.

When compared with the other two British online papers included in the research, the Times Online is somewhere in the mid-way point. It should be noted that there were no user or site ranking figures concerning the Times Online available. It seems that News International wants to keep low profile and not give much information available to its competitors. General information on the Times online newspaper was also hard to find. The only recent news article I could found was from dot journalism Website. Kiss stated that the Times Online launched its first online brand marketing campaign in January 2004. (Kiss, 2004.)
3.4.2 The Finnish newspapers

As noted before, regional papers dominate Finnish press market and there are no general national broadsheets, except perhaps the largest daily Helsingin Sanomat. All three papers studied in this research have rather large circulation (all in top seven of the biggest daily papers’ list) and they are based on different parts of Finland, so nearly all regions of Finland are covered.

**HELSINGIN SANOMAT**

http://www.helsinginsanomat.fi

Although Helsingin Sanomat is a capital region paper, it is read all over the country and is the biggest newspaper in Finland. Its circulation in 2003 was 440 000 and net sales 220 million euros (Suomen Lehdistö, 2004). In Helsinki region its penetration is circa 66 per cent. Helsingin Sanomat was founded in 1889 and was at first called Päivälehti. It was liberal newspaper and family owned for a long time. (SanomaWSOY in the Media for…, 2004).

In 1999 three large corporations Sanoma Osakeyhtiö, WSOY and Helsinki Media merged into SanomaWSOY. It is Finland's biggest media corporation with a turnover of 2,4 billion euros in 2003. SanomaWSOY publishes a number of newspapers, periodicals and children's books; it has a commercial television
Helsingin Sanomat launched its online newspaper in May 1996. It was rather cautiously at first, but then it invested in it quite heavily. A few years ago Helsingin Sanomat’s online paper was famous because of innovative experiments. Its Webortage concept experimented with new ways of multimedia journalistic storytelling and it received international awards. In recent years, Helsingin Sanomat has cut down experiments, and at the moment its online newspaper contains re-cycled news material from the print outlet. However, more innovative elements can be found in the other sections of Helsingin Sanomat web-site such as Verkkoliite (“Online Supplement”) or Viihde (“Entertainment”). (Rinkinen, 2004.)

Since August 2003 Helsingin Sanomat’s online morning paper section has been available to subscribers only. In October 2003 it had about 778 000 monthly users (Suomen Web-sivustojen kuukausiluvut, 2003) and in October 2004, 309 000 weekly users (Suomen Web-sivustojen viikkoluvut, 2004).

*AAMULEHTI*

http://www.aamulehti.fi

Aamulehti is the third largest newspaper with a circulation of circa 136 000. It was founded in 1881 in the city of Tampere (situated 200 kilometres north of Helsinki). Aamulehti’s penetration in Tampere region is around 70 per cent and
its net sales 68 million euros in 2003 (Suomen Lehdistö, 2004). Until 1990’s Aamulehti was affiliated with the Conservative Party.

Until now Finland’s second largest multi-media conglomerate Alma Media has owned Aamulehti. Alma Media has been the biggest shareholder of MTV3, Finland's largest commercial television channel and national commercial radio channel Nova. In 2003 Alma Media’s turnover was 460 million euros. (Financial Statement 2003.)

But as I told in chapter 2.3.5 it seems that Swedish Bonnier will acquire Alma Media’s broadcasting. This would mean that Alma returns to its print media roots as it publishes the biggest economic newspaper, a tabloid and a number of regional and local newspapers. (Almamedia Corporation Stock Exchange... 2005.)

Aamulehti has been rather moderate in its online operations. First it was satisfied with an online version that offered mostly re-cycled contents. This was the situation at the time of the data gathering for this study, and the results reflect that. However, in June 2004 Aamulehti changed its online concept and now its online newspaper actually is the pdf-version of print paper that operates on the pay-per-view basis. In addition, Aamulehti offers now free latest news (as does Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva) as well as other free services. At the time of sampling, Aamulehti online had about 96 000 monthly users (Suomen Web-sivustojen kuukausiluvut, 2003). In October 2004 the weekly number of users was about 28 000. (Suomen Web-sivustojen viikkoluvut, 2004.)
Kaleva is the leading newspaper in northern Finland Oulu region and it was started up in 1899 by lawyer Juho Raappana. Kaleva is the seventh biggest newspaper in Finland and its circulation in 2003 was slightly under 82 000 and net sales 38 million euros. Kaleva is published by Kaleva Kustannus Oy which is an independent privately owned corporation. (Suistola, 1999, 19.)

Kaleva’s online newspaper offers latest news and re-cycled contents from the print paper. Like Helsingin Sanomat and Aamulehti, Kaleva also has several additional services ranging from special supplements (e.g. Olympic Games) to more permanent sections like High Tech Forum (targeted to the local entrepreneurial and research IT-community) and neighbourhood sites. Although the html-version is free, Kaleva charges for its pdf-version. In November 2003 Kaleva had circa 49 000 different users per week (WTM-viikkokeskiarvot…, 2003). In October 2004 the number of different weekly users was around about 77 000 (WTM-viikkokeskiarvot…, 2004).
Regarding the online work-force, Helsingin Sanomat has the biggest online staff. At the time of the sample, it consisted of nine journalists, one graphic designer and two assistants. Aamulehti had three journalists working for its online version in October 2003, and Kaleva seven of which two were technical managers. (Tyysteri 2003, Hurtola 2003 and Lähdesmäki 2003).

### 3.5 Describing data

As I said earlier the data I used in my Master’s thesis was gathered for Cost project in Finland and Britain. I coded Finnish data for the research project. In return I was given British data matrix and print papers and online paper front pages and stories of the day of the sample (October 8\textsuperscript{th}, 2003). British papers included in the sample are the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph and the Times.

On October 8\textsuperscript{th} 2003 at nine o’clock in the morning and at seven o’clock in the evening the front pages and stories presented there were saved on a CD-ROM. The maximum number of stories analysed was 15. Also the front page and 15 stories from that day’s print paper were coded. If there were more than 15 stories, those with most space, pictures, bigger headlines etc. were considered as more important news pieces than those with mere heading for instance.
After I finished coding Finnish newspapers, I was unsure what to choose from the large amount of data (355 questions) for my own thesis. As Cost project is an international comparative research project, it is wise to gather large amount of data that can be used also for a number of smaller studies. But for my purposes I had to select the most relevant data only.

From the beginning of this project the general question I wanted to answer was if and how Finnish journalism differs from British one. I also had formed a hypothesis that British papers would not shovel stories from print to online as much as in Finland.

In the core of this research project are the front pages and news stories presented on the front page. I decided to concentrate on front pages, new media characteristics found in online outlets and news stories. I compare front pages of print papers with their online counterparts, as well as print papers with print papers and online with online. News stories are the core of print and online papers and I want to know whether news selection is dependent on publishing form. I am also looking if there are differences or similarities between data from these two countries, Finland and Great Britain.

In conclusion, with the help of content analysis I have broken research objects, which are front pages and news stories, into pieces. By comparing Finnish and British pieces I tried to build new pictures of print and online newspapers in both countries.
4. Analysing the data

In this chapter I will explain I have found when analysing print and online front pages and news stories. First I will describe what content types could be found on front pages. Secondly, I will look into stories, for instance their topics and geographical locations. In the end I will also compare print papers with online papers and British papers with Finnish. I have attached in the appendixes print copies of the print and online front pages and tables, that are used for creating pictures. Electronic copies of print and online front pages are in a CD-ROM attached to this thesis. (Print and electronic copies of newspaper front pages are only attached to print copies of the thesis.)

4.1 Front pages

In order to keep the amount of data analysed reasonable, I decided that my main focus is on the front pages and news stories presented there.

Front page is the face of a newspaper; it shows what paper contains and tries to lure people to read it (Huovila et al. 1998, 48-49). Front page also reflects for instance what type of news is considered important in editorial room. It is rather interesting and perhaps tells something about the values, that print Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva had devoted front page for advertisement and page three
was the editorial content front page. One could argue that making money is more important than content and readers for these newspaper owners. I do not believe that the same is possible in Britain where the front page has to make possible readers to buy the paper.

What elements can be found on front page?

Let's look at which elements front page consists of. (See also appendix 14, Table 4.) The largest amount of space was devoted to news in print and online papers. Both British and Finnish print front pages have devoted circa 70 per cent of the space on news.

News content on the print front page consisted of teasers, headlines and briefs. In addition, British print papers had 2 - 3 full news stories. The most obvious
explanation for this is that Brits do not subscribe to newspapers, but make a
decision which paper to buy by comparing newspaper front pages. Finnish print
front page merely introduce the content and help readers to orientate.

Other type of content than news was marginal in Finnish print papers. Pointers
was the second biggest content group in Finland. In this research textual pointers
were defined as textual references and hyperlinks in a normal-sized font that
refer to content items. In online papers there are also graphic pointers. They are
graphical references and hyperlinks that refer to content in the same website.
(Van der Wurff, et al., 2004,15-17.)

In other words pointers are hyperlinks that connect text or front page to other
texts or content within (in this case) the same website. In chapter 2.1.3 I referred
to Deuze (1998) who divides hypertextuality into internal and external groups.
External hyperlinking refers to texts that are somewhere else on the World Wide
Web.

All Finnish print front pages had textual pointers (1.8–2.2 %) and interaction
elements (0.2 – 1.6 %). British print papers had somewhat fewer pointers than
Finnish ones; the percentages varied between 0.6 and 0.9.

Self-promotion items took up the second largest space in British print papers
(16.5 – 21.5 %). Self-promotion include items that promote newspapers or other
products sold by the publisher, for instance a webshop inside paper’s website is
self-promotion. Graphic pointers referring to self-promotion were excluded (Ibid.).

Aamulehti had one commercial advertisement (0.7 %) on the front page. The other two Finnish print papers had no advertisement on the front page. However, as I observed before the front pages of Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva were entirely devoted to commercial advertisements and news content was presented on page three. British print papers each had one advertisement on the front page. The Guardian and the Daily Telegraph had three adverts on the front page, while the Times had only one.

![Picture 2: Percentages of content types in online](image)

The space on online front page was more evenly divided between different sections than in print papers. (See Table 5 in appendixes.) News was also here the largest group; around 34 – 38 per cent of the front page of British online papers. Helsingin Sanomat (33 %) and Kaleva (43%) had devoted less space for
news than British papers, but Aamulehti had used more than half of its online front page to news stories, 55 per cent. However, when graphical and textual pointers were combined, the amount of pointers exceeded the amount of news stories in Helsingin Sanomat. The percentages were 33 for news and nearly 48 for pointers.

When I compared online Aamulehti’s news content with the other Finnish online papers, I noted that Aamulehti did not use just headings when presenting news. There were 6 – 8 lines of text with each news piece. Clickable headings were common in Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva.

Pointers took up the second most space on the online front page. Textual pointers were used more often than graphic pointers. Finnish papers used pointers more than British ones. As I noted above, Helsingin Sanomat had devoted almost 48 per cent of the front page space for pointers. The figures in Aamulehti and Kaleva reached circa 29 per cent. The Guardian and the Daily Telegraph had pointers worth 8 and 7 per cent, but the Times only for 3 per cent.

Distribution between other content types was 1 – 2 per cent for each type on average with few exceptions. Kaleva had devoted 16 per cent of the space for interaction, the Guardian 8 per cent for job, classified and commercial advertisements and Helsingin Sanomat 11 per cent for self-promotion items.
4.2 New media features

In chapter 2.1.3 I wrote that hypertextuality, multimediality and interactivity are the three key characteristics of online journalism according to Deuze (1998). I also mentioned that online newspapers could offer their users a possibility to customise the front page, create their own personalised paper (Gunter, 2002). Now I will tell how these features were present in the online papers of this project. It should be noted that I did not go deeper than a couple of mouse clicks from the front page.

4.2.1 Multimediality

Multimediality was almost non-existent in the sample. Photographs and informative graphics were the most common ways to liven up news stories and there were no moving images in the sample. A couple of British news stories had pointers to sound files concerning story. Finnish papers had not used sound files or moving images.

I was rather disappointed, yet not surprised that online newspapers so slavishly followed the form and tradition of print newspaper. After all, print paper is still
the breadwinner and online outlet the baby in these “newspaper families” studied.

4.2.2 Personalisation

None of the papers offered any type of possibility to personalise the front page on technical aspects or in terms of news content. It is not possible for a user to create his/her own paper, “daily me”.

All newspapers had only one geographical edition. Helsingin Sanomat was exceptional since it had an English subsite. Other papers had settled for one language. Helsingin Sanomat’s English subsite has just under ten news pieces transedited into English daily. Maybe the English subsite reflects Helsingin Sanomat’s desire to belong to the class of international quality papers and, of course potentially more international readership in the capital.
4.2.3 Interactivity

Interaction and communication include in this research the contact information of the paper, letters to the editor, chat forums, opinion polls and a tool to search the news website. Unfortunately, not many interaction possibilities were offered to newspaper readers or users.

For instance Pavlik (2001) has blazed about how the Internet can change the relationship between media producers and audience by giving people access for instance to news sources and forcing media to communicate with audience.

None of the print papers gave any contact numbers or addresses on the front page to their readers. Neither did the online paper of the Times have any contact information. It should be noted though, that these papers have contact information, but it is not on the front page. Readers have to make some effort if they for example want to give feedback to a journalist.

The Guardian’s online paper had a link on the front page contact information section to several offices. Online papers of Helsingin Sanomat and Aamulehti had one post address, phone or fax number and e-mail address. Kaleva.plus and the Daily Telegraph gave more contact information than the other online papers. In addition to the reception phone number and postal address, one could find the contact information of journalists working for the paper.
I want to point out that online Helsingin Sanomat had a “mail to writer” at the end of each story. By clicking the address the user could easily give feedback to the writer.

All but online Helsingin Sanomat, the online Guardian and the online and print Times had a link to the letters to the editor or readers –section from the front page. Online Kaleva, the Daily Telegraph and the Times invited their users to comment or ask a question.

The online Daily Telegraph and the online Times had a chat room in which the user could chat with each other on any topic. The online Daily Telegraph was the only providing discussion groups where users could debate on set topics. Kaleva’s online paper had debate forums where the users could discuss on any topic they fancied. Kaleva’s online paper was the only one that had a poll/user survey on the front page.

It seems that journalists are not yet extremely keen on listening to their readers. On one hand it might be a question of resources, journalists might not have time to reply on feedback, on the other hand it just seems that readers are not considered important. We write, you read mentality is still alive.
4.2.4 Hypertextuality

There were five questions concerning the hypertextuality, that is links outside the news website. Links that could be found at the end of news stories (e.g. the Guardian’s special reports or Helsingin Sanomat’s links under heading “earlier stories on the matter”) were not included here. Only those links were included which could be followed from the front page. (Van der Wurff et al., 2004, 24.)

None of the online newspapers had any links to governmental or public institution sites. Aamulehti was the only paper having links to community sites. They referred to ice-hockey team Tappara’s home page, to different schools in Tampere region and to a charity association Mummonkammari.

No other online paper but Kaleva had links to websites of radio or television companies. The links were situated in the item of television listings. The online Guardian was the only paper that had links to other newspapers, wire services or press agencies.

The print Daily Telegraph, the print Guardian and the print Times referred to their online paper. Finnish print or online papers did not refer to their print or online counterpart. The Times online paper was the only paper referring to its print paper.
4.3 News stories

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<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
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<td>Helsingin Sanomat</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aamulehti</td>
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<td>Kaleva</td>
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<td>The Guardian</td>
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<td>The Daily Telegraph</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
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<td>13</td>
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</table>

Table 2: Number of news stories on the front page

Finnish print papers had more stories on the front page than British print papers. Online British papers had more stories than Finnish online papers (table 3). (Kaleva was an exception.) Helsingin Sanomat and Aamulehti had 15 stories on the front page that were analysed. Kaleva had a few less, 13 news pieces. The Daily Telegraph and the Times had seven stories each, but the Guardian had far fewer stories, only three. Online Kaleva was equal with 13 stories with British online papers. Helsingin Sanomat and Aamulehti had smaller number of stories than the other papers, the first had nine stories and the latter seven stories.
4.3.1 Important stories

There was no news story that could be found in both Finnish and British print papers. (See attached printed reduction copies of print and online papers in appendixes.) Californian governor elections winner Arnold Schwarzenegger was on all online front pages in both countries. In both countries there were stories that were high in the news agenda and presented in all papers of that country.

Football related news pieces dominated in British papers. The Guardian and the Daily Telegraph presented on their front pages the sex assault trial against the Leeds’ united footballers. The Guardian had a big picture of Rio Ferdinand who was dropped from England’s team after he failed to take a drug test. The Daily Telegraph had a heading on its front page referring to Ferdinand, but it had a large picture of England’s coach Sven Göran Eriksson.

Another football related news piece was the number one in the Daily Telegraph; sex assault trial against Leeds’ United players. The Guardian had a small news article concerning the trial. The Guardian and the Daily Telegraph also had a rather long news article on the front page concerning Conservative MPs that were dissatisfied with the party leader Ian Duncan Smith.

All Finnish papers had put on the front page a teaser concerning the DNA-results of Sweden’s foreign minister Lindh’s murder case. The Californian governor
elections were considered most important news story in Aamulehti, there was a large picture of Arnold Schwarzenegger. Kaleva had a heading and a small picture. I found it rather peculiar that there was no mention of Californian elections on Helsingin Sanomat’s print front page. In the online outlet there was a news piece on elections in the latest news section. Nobel prize in physics made it to the front page of print Helsingin Sanomat and Aamulehti.

4.3.2 Geographical location of news stories

Domestic news dominated in print and online, out of 129 stories 48 per cent concerned domestic news. (See also Tables 6 and 7 in appendixes.) There were two exceptions, print Kaleva devoted 31 per cent to local/regional and national-European stories, Helsingin Sanomat online had 44 per cent of stories concerning international news and the online Daily Telegraph one third of stories international news.

It should also be noted that British print papers had far fewer news stories (3-7 stories compared with 13-15 stories in Finnish) presented on the front page and in this study only stories presented on the front page were analysed. For instance all of the Guardian’s three analysed news pieces fall into the domestic news category.
Finnish newspapers valued highly local/regional news. This is understandable since regional press is strong in Finland. Actually all three Finnish papers
analysed are regional papers, although Helsingin Sanomat is popular all over the country. However, when tables 4 and 5 are studied, it is evident that Finnish papers did not favour certain geographical location of stories compared to British papers that had a tendency to concentrate on 2 – 3 locations. International and local/regional stories were presented on the front pages in addition to domestic news.

4.3.3 Topics of news stories

Politics was a popular news topic in both countries and both media. (See Tables 8 and 9 in appendixes.) Stories analysed fell into 13 different categories in both print and online. One third (33%) of online stories concerned politics. The percentage in print is circa 25 per cent.

Picture 5: Topics of print news stories
Let’s look at the picture 5 on topics of print newspaper stories. Bar representing the number of politics related news pieces in Finnish papers is highest with 26 per cent. In Britain sports and politics related stories reached 21 per cent.

The second most common topic in Finnish print newspapers was politics with 16 per cent share. However, Aamulehti was the only paper that had the second largest number of stories concerning economics (20%). Four topics, economics; nature, environmental and physical planning; culture and politics took up 20 per cent share each in print Helsingin Sanomat. On the day of the study Kaleva had more human interest stories (23%) and stories concerning crime and safety (15%) presented on the front page than economics (8%).

In British print papers news pieces concerning social, health and welfare issues (13%) and crime and safety (11%) were common topics after politics and sports. One must not forget that British print papers had considerably fewer news stories on the front page than Finnish papers.
Stories concerning political issues were most popular in all online papers. Politics was the topic of circa 38 per cent of British online stories and 27 per cent of Finnish stories. Economics (18%) was number two also in Finnish online news. The third most common subjects in Finnish papers were nature, environment and physical planning (10%) and crime and safety (10%).

Like in print, news related to social, health and welfare issues (11%) were popular in British online papers. Miscellaneous group amounted to 10 per cent and rather surprisingly sports became fourth with just below eight per cent.

When I compared Finnish online papers with each other, I noted that Kaleva.plus was the most diverse. While Aamulehti had stories from four different topics and Helsingin Sanomat from five, Kaleva’s online stories fell into nine different categories.
The Guardian was the most diverse of the British group in terms of topics with stories from eight different categories. The Daily Telegraph had stories from seven different topics and the Times from six.

4.3.4 Recency of news

In this research project breaking news was defined strictly as news-tickers and news explicitly identified as breaking news. Other types of news, including latest news are not breaking news. (Van der Wurff et al., 2004, 14.)

Finnish online papers that were included in this research had no breaking news, only latest news or news in brief. From the British papers the Guardian was the only one that did not have breaking news.

In my opinion, latest news is better a heading for continuously updated fresh news section that most online news services provide. After all, fresh news place online newspapers on the same line with broadcasting that for decades had monopoly over latest news. Now I will describe the latest news situation in the sample.
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<td>Kaleva</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
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<td>The Daily Telegraph</td>
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<td>The Times</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Table 3: Number of online latest news stories*

Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva had latest news section, which was updated repeatedly, and the material was mainly from STT (Finnish News Agency). Aamulehtti did not have latest news, but when morning online front page was compared with the evening version, it was clear that news had been updated during the day. There was only one story that could be found from the print paper.

All four papers that had some kind of latest news section, showed a couple of latest news headings on the front page. The Daily Telegraph only had one breaking news story, Helsingin Sanomat had five.
4.3.5 Content repurposing

Based on this sample it seems that shovelling stories from print to online paper is still a common procedure. (See Table 10 in appendixes.) Two thirds of Finnish online stories and circa 70 per cent of British ones could also be found in the print counterpart of each paper.

![Picture 7: Editing print stories used in online outlets](image)

In Britain half of these stories were identical in both outlets. In Finland this percentage was just below 30 per cent. Not surprisingly it was very common to make the online story shorter than the print version. Around 30 per cent of Finnish online stories were shortened and 20 per cent of British stories. There were a few stories in online papers in Finland and Britain that were actually longer than in print. In Finland one example of this was the DNA-results of
Swedish foreign minister Anna Lindh’s murder case. Maybe after the print paper had been closed more information came from news agencies and online journalist decided to add it to the original story.

British online papers were keener than Finnish ones to add more pointers and references to online stories. This makes sense, considering that hypertextuality and linking is one of the most important advantages online newspapers have over print papers. Hyperlinks fade out the time and space limitations that restrict print. This is good practice from the point of view of audience involvement and well-informed citizenry. (See Pavlik 2001.) Readers or users are offered a possibility to deepen their knowledge on a certain news topic by following hyperlinks.

4.3.6 Authors and sources

Most stories analysed were written by papers’ own journalists. (See also Table 11 in appendixes.) All of those few British print stories analysed had a byline of paper’s journalist. In Finnish print papers around 80 per cent of stories were written by salaried journalists. High percentages dropped somewhat in online stories. A larger number of British stories (79 per cent) were by own journalists than in Finland (57 per cent).
Finnish papers used more news agencies stories than British papers. In print the average percentage was 14 per cent (none in British papers) and in online 41 per cent, compared with mere 5 per cent in British papers. One explanation for this might be that some newspapers, especially print papers, edit news agency stories so much that they can put their own byline instead of news agency’s. On the other hand, British print papers had fewer stories on the front page and those that made it to the first page, were the most important stories and therefore written by papers’ own journalists. Finnish online newspapers Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva had latest news section and most of its material came from STT (Finnish News Agency). However, this does not explain why almost 60 per cent of Aamulehti’s online stories were by news agency. The Times did not use news agency news stories at all. Other types of authors found in the sample were independent writers and other writers. Independent writers concerned most often opinion articles.
Typical sources mentioned in news stories analysed were representatives for governmental and business organisations, non governmental or business sources and people personally involved with the topic. (See also Table 12 in appendixes.) I find it rather interesting that Finnish papers used more governmental and business sources than British papers. They were the number one sources in Finland with 70 per cent in print and 73 in online. These figures in British papers were 56 in print and 61 in online. Non governmental and non business representatives and people involved were more popular in Britain than “official talking heads”. On the other hand, there was no large variation in British figures, all three categories in both outlets reached an average of around 60 per cent. In Finnish stories there were big differences. As I noted before, governmental and business people were used in about 70 per cent of stories. In print stories the second highest was non governmental and non business sources, 50 per cent
4.4 How offline papers differ from online?

I was rather surprised that online newspapers resemble so greatly their print ancestors. Personalisation was nonexistent. Multimediality and hypertextuality, linking outside own outlet, was shallow. Furthermore, there were not much original content on online papers sample. Most of the news pieces could be found also in print paper. Aamulehti’s evening online edition was exceptional in the sample; there was only one story that could be found on the morning print paper.

Latest or breaking news was the main news type on online papers that could not be found on print papers. Out of these six papers analysed, one British paper (the Guardian) and one Finnish paper (Aamulehti) did not have a special section for breaking or latest news. But as I said earlier, Aamulehti updated its online paper during the day and at seven o’clock in the evening the news stories were different from those in the morning.

However, it should be noted that the sample analysed for this study represents only a part of the content of online papers. For instance Helsingin Sanomat, Kaleva and the Guardian have news videos on their online site. But they were not included in this study, because of how the sample was defined.

British or Finnish online papers studied do not invest large amount of resources on their web paper. News content is mainly copied and pasted from the print to
the online and breaking news, often provided by news agencies, are often the only real time content that is offered to online paper users.

I do not know whether papers are cautious because of the burst of new media business bubble in the 1990’s. However, these papers studied do not offer their users a possibility to be an active user of their web paper. Users can for instance discuss matters with other users on papers’ discussion areas, email journalists, order news messages on their mobile phone or email. But users cannot personalise the front page of online paper.

4.5 How British papers differ from Finnish?

Finnish print papers in this sample presented more stories on their front page than British papers. Unlike British papers, Finnish papers had no full stories on the front page. Instead the first editorial page is a type of map that helps the reader to orientate with the content. This means that there were significantly fewer British print stories analysed than Finnish stories.

It should also be noted that Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva had sold the first page for advertisement, so the first editorial page was actually page number three. However there were not many advertisements on the front pages of British print papers either.
The front pages of online papers were more similar in Britain and Finland than print front pages. News was the main content, there were clickable headings, textual and graphic pointers on both sides of the middle news column.

From this sample of three British and Finnish papers, it can be concluded that the potential online publishing offers is still not used much. Newspapers’ online publications are based on written news stories, multimedia features (sound, moving images) nor hyperlinking is not much used. Breaking news is the only real type of feature borrowed from broadcasting. Some news videos could be found, but none were included in this sample.
5. Conclusions

In my Master’s thesis I wanted to draw up a picture of how print newspapers have approached online journalism in Britain and in Finland. My aim was not to give a full and precise explanation on how British and Finnish journalistic cultures differ from each other. But it was from this question that the whole project started in my head.

My expectation of finding many differences between British and Finnish newspapers and journalistic cultures was proved to be wrong. Based on this sample I would rather say that there is a general western journalistic culture. Still, British and Finnish journalists stress on slightly different topics or style, for instance sport or business.

The situation in Finnish online newspapers has not changed greatly since Kiviranta’s study in 2001. Online newspapers are run with as little effort as possible and most news stories are shovelled from the print paper. Latest news is the only type of original content produced for online according to this sample. In Finland most of the latest news pieces are by STT (Finnish News Agency) so the degree of originality is rather low.

This data demonstrates that the situation in Britain is not much better, which was rather surprising, when considering how large and wealthy British papers studied
are. The front pages of Finnish print papers have more stories than British ones and the selection of news topics is wider in Finland. In Britain online news content is more diverse than in print.

It should be remembered that this study concentrated on the front pages and news stories presented there. Since all hyperlinks were not studied not all news stories were analysed. For instance Kaleva has news videos on its Web site, but not on the front page and because of that they were excluded from this study.

Consequently thesis does not give a full picture on online newspapers studied. On the other hand this study demonstrates what features and what type of news are considered important by online newspaper management. These papers still rely heavily on newspaper format, which is text and still pictures. It can be argued that for them the Internet is mainly another publishing platform. The full potential of opportunities that online publishing has made available is not used. I believe that the main reason for this is money and another that there are not enough skilled online journalists in news rooms.

It would be interesting to do a follow up on the same newspapers and check what things have changed within a bit over a year. In addition, interviewing people working in online newspapers (and in print as well) would give more insight on the relationship between new and old journalism.

In conclusion, based on this sample it seems that online newspaper is still a new phenomenon and not yet a legitimate medium in its own right. Newspapers see
online service as another channel through which print content can be made available to audience.

I hope that newspaper owners and management become braver in experimenting with online publishing although it will probably require more money than it will bring in. However, I do believe that online publishing profitability issues will be solved in a way or another in near future.

If newspapers continue to regard the Internet as a mirror or copying machine to print product, they might lose in the long run. Audience fragmentation continues. Latest media consumption statistics suggest that audience behaviour is changing. The Internet has passed television as the most important medium amongst teenage boys. Audience can only choose from what is offered. And on the Internet there is a lot to choose from.
REFERENCES

- the main titles of Finnish sources have been translated by the author and given in [square brackets]


Phone interviews

Kari Hurtola, development manager in Aamulehti online section. (November 28, 2003)

Jussi Lähdesmäki, development manager in Kaleva.fi. (November 28, 2003)

Tomi Tyysteri, manager of online version of Helsingin Sanomat online. (November 28 and December 3, 2003)