

## **IMPACTS OF THE INTERNET ON NEWSPAPERS IN EUROPE**

Conclusions

**Richard van der Wurff**

### **Impacts of the Internet**

The contributions in this special issue show that the internet has several and contradictory impacts on newspapers. The internet intensifies competition on mature newspaper markets, but also offer newspaper publishers additional means to reinforce their competitive position. The way in which publishers use these new opportunities results in the 'mediatization' of the internet. The corresponding trend of the 'internetization' of traditional media is less strong and clear-cut. One consequence of these developments is that online news media, and in particular online newspapers, are subordinate and subservient to print newspapers, and therefore still in search of their own online role at the beginning of the 21st century.

### *Competition between Print and Online News and Information Media*

The growing use of the internet intensifies competition and reinforces the threats that newspaper publishers face. Newspapers see their readership declining. They are not able to attract sufficient numbers of new, young readers to compensate for the natural decline in older readers. Besides, as a consequence and to complicate matters further, they face a declining share on the intermedia advertising market (Cowen, 2001; Hendriks, 1999; Mueller and Kamerer, 1995).

The internet exacerbates these threats by enabling the entry of new competitors with new (online) products. On the internet news market, newspaper publishers face new competition from internet start-ups and stronger competition from foreign newspaper publishers and other media organizations. A large number of these competitors offer online news for free. The same or other companies also use internet technology to create electronic markets and job sites that compete with newspapers in the classified and job advertising markets.

Newspaper publishers therefore are threatened in both their core businesses, the sales of news and the sales of 'access to audiences' (Cowen, 2001; Hendriks, 1999; Saksena and Hollifield, 2002).

At the same time, internet technology empowers newspaper publishers to innovate their product and to target new audiences. Publishers can use the internet as a marketing channel to reach (young) potential customers who do not (yet) read printed newspapers. They can use the internet to serve (foreign) customers (with electronic editions) that could not be served cost-effectively before. They can also use the internet to strengthen relationships with existing readers by offering new services (breaking news, classified ad sites), by collecting reader information, and by establishing two-way communication with readers (Cowen, 2001; Mings and White, 2000; Peng et al., 1999).

Van der Wurff has argued, in his contribution to this issue of *Gazette*, that publishers make better use of these opportunities when they face stronger competition from online competitors – provided that they possess the financial means to do so. Comparing developments on the online news market with other online information markets in the Netherlands, he concludes that there is a relationship between the number and type of companies that enter online markets, the online strategic responses of incumbent publishers and the availability and quality of online services.

On the (specialized) markets for IT and agricultural information, a relatively high number of new companies enter the online information market. Incumbent publishers respond to these challenges by creating their own online publications. On the online agriculture information market, where new competitors are primarily original content producers and attention-seekers who distribute limited (product) information, incumbent publishers keep access to their comprehensive websites restricted to subscribers of (paid) print magazines. On the IT market, in contrast, where new online intermediaries offer news and information from various sources to their customers for free, incumbent publishers necessarily provide their comprehensive websites for free, too.

These developments contrast markedly with developments on the market for generalist consumer information. At the beginning of the 21st century, very few new entrants have started online websites that compete with generalist consumer magazines, and – probably for that reason – online initiatives of print publishers in this field lag behind the initiatives in other markets. Print newspaper publishers, finally, face some competition online, from ISPs and other information providers. Like publishers of agricultural magazines, newspaper publishers have developed their own online editions, but they increasingly tend to keep access of the most valuable parts to print subscribers.

### *The Mediatization of the Net and the Internetization of Traditional Media*

Some scholars envisage that the internet enables – or requires – newspaper publishers to change their business completely. According to those observers, the 'media logic' of the internet demands interactivity, immediacy, personalization and multimedia. The traditional role of newspapers as gatekeeper is predicted

to finish; their new role would be to facilitate communications between readers and between readers and journalists. Users rather than journalists would decide what news users would receive, and users would become important originators of content, too. Online editions would make this content available in real-time, and text would be 'sexed up' with moving images and sound (Boczkowski, 2002; Massey and Levy, 1999).

Fortunati, in her contribution, rather argues that the 'internetization' of newspapers is complemented and counteracted by the mediatization of the internet. Available evidence suggests that the latter process is developing with more force and speed. Rather than that the internet changes the formats and manifestation of newspapers, traditional media organizations play an increasingly dominant role on the internet. For example, in Italy as elsewhere, traditional media organizations sell their news to many website publishers, and give their news a dominant position online. Alternative news services such as weblogs occupy marginal positions. According to Fortunati, traditional offline news might even get a dominant position on the mobile net, which was from old a network for personal interaction and communication rather than traditional media distribution.

Nevertheless, traditional media in Italy do take on some internet features. One example consists of multimedia experiments in which the distributional features of television and the interactive aspects of the internet are combined. Another, and potentially more radical, example is the adoption of internet-like layouts for television news programmes.

Also O'Sullivan observes in his contribution that traditional media, including newspaper publishers, dominate the online news environment, in his case in Ireland. Traditional media have the largest supply of online news, and in addition syndicate their content to other online news providers. He also shows that websites of newspaper publishers in Ireland tend to look like transmission sites. They offer little interactivity and multimedia, and mainly provide the same news as their counterparts in the offline world.

This does not imply that editors do not see that the internet, in principle, offers them opportunities to improve the print format, and to provide greater depth and diversity. Yet, online editors operate in the same political-economic environment and face at least the same problems and time constraints as their offline counterparts. It is therefore as difficult for them as for editors of printed newspapers to give minority views an equal voice. In addition, standards in online journalism are threatened by publishers who attempt to reduce costs by employing inexperienced journalists on low pay, and by tight deadlines. According to the editors, maintaining high journalistic skills is imperative – but costs money, as does offering interactivity and communication between journalists and readers. O'Sullivan concludes that online news, when distributed for free, cannot escape from the traditional norms of broadcasting media.

### *In Search of a Role Online*

The combined developments of the mediatization of the internet and the internetization of traditional media do not resolve the competitive challenge that

newspaper publishers face. Increasing competition between old and new news media forces newspaper publishers to find an appropriate position or niche for online newspapers in the news market, next to other news media and in particular next to printed newspapers (Chyi and George, 1998; Li, 2001). Only few providers of specialized newspapers are successful on the 'long-distance market' (Chyi and George, 1998), the market where the print edition is not available and the online edition cannot cannibalize offline sales. Most providers, in contrast, operate primarily or equally on the 'local market' (Chyi and George, 1998) where print and online editions are potential competitors (Boczkowski, 2002). To prevent cannibalization, these providers must differentiate the online from the print edition (Deleersnyder et al., 2002). Differentiation can be realized by emphasizing internet-specific features (e.g. interactivity), by offering different content (e.g. local community information), or both (Chyi and George, 1998; Mueller and Kamerer, 1995; Peng et al., 1999). Differentiation, however, brings additional costs for publishers (Massey and Levy, 1999; Neuberger et al., 1998; Schultz, 1999) – as was also argued by O'Sullivan in this issue of *Gazette*. Two articles in this issue discuss the differentiation and complementarity of print and online newspapers.

Salaverría investigates in his contribution whether and how online newspapers have an informative and critical role to play in emergency situations. He analyses how Spanish and international online newspapers reported in 'real-time' on the events of 11 September 2001. He argues that the internet has become a global information medium on its own. A multitude of people used the net directly after the events to be informed. This created technical problems (congestion, long download times), which suggests that the internet has not yet reached maturity as a technological medium. Nevertheless, publishers responded adequately to this problem by trimming down the sizes of home pages. Another problem was that the pressure to keep up with the events led online newspapers to make mistakes. More troublesome is that newspapers did not formally rectify their mistakes, but simply removed the wrong statements from the web.

All in all, however, Salaverría concludes that online newspapers performed relatively well, especially those that were able to combine continuous updates with analytical and background information. The frequently updated infographics offered by *El País* and *El Mundo* provide a good example of what good internet reporting in emergency situations can accomplish.

The increase in the use of online newspapers on September 11 was sustained in the following months, suggesting that users learned to appreciate the medium. Also in the months following the events, when time pressures were reduced and website traffic returned to more normal proportions, online newspapers continued their reporting on the September 11 events by developing integrated multimedia information sources. These developments in demand and supply suggest that there is a role of newspapers online, both as provider of breaking news and as on-demand providers of multimedia background information and analysis.

In the final contribution to this issue, Oblak focuses on two other typical internet features. She investigates to what extent Slovenian newspapers make

use of the interactive and hyperlinking features of the net. Her point of departure is the observation that the internet in principle facilitates dialogue between newspapers and readers, as well as between other users of the net. Yet, her analysis shows that the mediatization of the net (as discussed earlier) threatens making the internet a monological space.

Oblak's analysis shows that online newspapers are relatively similar to printed newspapers in that they refer frequently to other pieces of information inside the same outlet, but only infrequently to information outside the outlet. Online-only news services differ in this respect from newspapers. They offer links to other sites as well, and thereby open up more diverse information sources for users. Online newspapers and online-only news services also offer different types and levels of interactivity. Online newspapers have more interactive features. In particular, they publish more letters to the editor, and have more message boards and discussion forums, while online-only news services have more polls and chat rooms. One conclusion Oblak draws from these findings is that different types of interactivity should be distinguished, that are more or less anonymous, and more or less news-oriented. Online-only news services are stronger in anonymous, not-news related interaction, while online newspapers seem to be stronger in not-anonymous or news-related interaction.

## **A Comparison of Print and Online Newspapers in Europe**

The contributions of Oblak and Salaverriá show how online newspapers are trying to develop their own role online. O'Sullivan and Fortunati instead emphasize the influence of traditional media on online media, while van der Wurff argues that competition between online-only and traditional media stimulates print publishers to develop more sophisticated online publications. To get more insight in the actual differences between print and online newspapers and online-only news services, we conducted an exploratory content analysis of different news outlets.

This study was performed by Gustavo Cardoso, Pedro Pereira Neto and Joana Azevedo (Portugal), Leopoldina Fortunati (Italy), John O'Sullivan (Ireland) and Richard van der Wurff, Edmund Lauf and Bram Lancee (the Netherlands) on the basis of a codebook provided by the Dutch team and adapted on the basis of group discussions. Country results have been published in the proceedings of the second COST conference in Pamplona, 2003 (Cardoso et al., 2004; Fortunati and Sarrica, 2004; O'Sullivan, 2004; van der Wurff et al., 2004).

The analysis starts from the observation that newspapers are bundles of regularly and frequently updated editorial information, advertisements and other types of content (Sparks, 2003). One way to differentiate print from online newspapers is by offering a different combination of these content items. We therefore investigate what specific types of content print and online newspapers offer.

News items are arguably the most important type of content offered by newspapers. We therefore additionally investigate what kind of news items are offered in print and online newspapers. In both cases, we compare print and

online newspapers with online-only news services. This is because we assume that online-only news services make more use of the opportunities of the internet and therefore indicate how an online newspaper could look.

### *Method*

We analyse standard, national broadsheet newspapers that provide facts, background information, analysis and opinion on all current affairs, including political events, that may interest the general public. We exclude monothematic newspapers (e.g. sports or financial newspapers) and regional newspapers.

In each country, we select (depending on national circumstances) the three or four largest-circulation national broadsheet newspapers. We add one online-only news service. An online-only news service is similar to a newspaper, in that it produces and provides its own editorial information (news, background information, analysis, opinion). It differs from an online newspaper because it never had a print counterpart, and because it is not (yet) owned by a traditional media organization (either a newspaper publisher or broadcaster). A complete list of news outlets included in the sample is available from the authors on request.

We analyse only the front pages of the selected news services, to keep the content analysis manageable (Ha and James, 1998; Kenney et al., 2000). The front pages contain those news items and those other content items that the editors consider the most important and illustrative for the content offered by the news service. Front pages are therefore appropriate for our analysis. Finally, we limit our analyses to the front pages that were published on 5 March 2003 only, again to keep the content analysis manageable.<sup>1</sup> We study the morning print edition, and the morning and evening online edition (published between 9 and 10 a.m and at 8 p.m. respectively) – to take into account that online news services can be updated continuously.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, our results are influenced by what happened on 5 March 2003. However, we do not think that that is a major problem, for three reasons. One, as far as we can tell, 5 March 2003 was not a special day in news terms. Second, we expect that the layout of newspapers and websites does not change rapidly. Consequently, we assume that the types of content that were offered on 5 March 2003 are similar to the types of content that are offered by the same news services on other days. Third, we expect that the news items offered on the front page of the selected news services reflect the choices that editors make, given the supply of news that day. Since national print and online news services are in principle confronted with the same supply of newsworthy events, differences in the types of news items presented inform us about differences in the news selection by editors. These differences cannot be generalized into general profiles of news services (newspaper X provides primarily international news); but they can be generalized into relative profiles (given the supply of unknown newsworthy events, newspaper X emphasizes international news more than newspaper Y).

## *Types of Content*

Following discussions within the COST network, we investigate how much space on the front page is devoted to six types of content items. These are news, advertisements, self-promotion, two kinds of pointers (see later) and communication elements. As we have already indicated, news is the single most important type of content offered by news services. Advertisements are also important, both in terms of reader interest and in terms of their contribution to the financial performance of newspapers. Third, we study self-promotion by the newspaper, because some newspaper publishers use their online primarily to ‘market’ the print newspaper (Mings and White, 2000).

Pointers are references or hyperlinks that bring readers to other pages in the outlet or to other outlets. Following the distinction between news and advertisements, as the two main types of content offered by newspapers, we distinguish between (1) pointers to news, background information and other content items that are offered by the publisher; and (2) pointers to non-content services, like e-commerce, and to content that is not provided by the publisher. Communication elements, finally, offer readers and journalists opportunities to interact. They include letters to the editor, chat rooms and other elements that represent interaction between readers, or between readers and the newspaper. Both pointers and communication elements represent the internet features that are discussed in many publications on online newspapers – namely hyperlinking and interactivity – but defined in such a way that they also apply to print newspapers.

The results of our analysis are presented in Table 1. They show, not surprisingly, that in different European countries, print newspapers primarily publish news items on the front page, while advertisements come second. Remarkably, and confirming the findings of Oblak, pointers are the third largest category of content on front pages of print newspapers. These include, for example, tables of contents that are frequently positioned on the front page.

In comparison with print newspapers, online newspapers provide less news and more pointers. These are primarily pointers to news and other content offered by the newspaper. This implies that front pages of online newspaper serve both as guides that make information accessible, and as informative pages in themselves. Online-only news services, finally, tend to devote more space on the front page to news items than online newspapers, with the exception of Italy.

Online newspapers differ not only from print newspapers and online-only news services in the amount of news that they offer. They also devote less space to advertising, and – in most countries – more space to self-promotion than the other two categories. In other words, if we study the amount of front page space devoted to news, advertisements and self-promotion, print newspapers and online-only news services are similar whereas online newspapers differ.

The one area where online newspapers and online-only news services look similar, and clearly diverge from printed newspapers, is in the amount of space reserved for pointers that refer to non-news content items. These include pointers to e-commerce services, to pages on other websites and to commercial information deeper within the website. Again, these findings confirm the

TABLE 1

## Relative Sizes of Content Type, as Percentages of Total Size

	Print Newspaper				Online Newspaper				Online-Only			
	IRL	IT	NL	POR	IRL	IT	NL	POR	IRL	IT	NL	POR
News	71%	82%	71%	76%	46%	47%	57%	44%	70%	38%	66%	47%
Ads	18%	10%	13%	10%	12%	7%	8%	7%	18%	16%	10%	32%
Self-promotion	0%	3%	5%	8%	17%	6%	3%	10%	0%	0%	4%	1%
Pointers to news	11%	5%	11%	6%	25%	31%	28%	31%	8%	46%	15%	17%
Pointers to non-news	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%	3%	8%	3%	0%	5%	4%
Communication	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Number of front pages analysed	3	4	4	8	3	8	8	14	1	1	2	4

Source: Cardoso et al. (2004); Fortunati and Sarrica (2004); O'Sullivan (2004); Van der Wurff et al. (2004).

findings of Oblak, who already established that references to other sources are a distinctive characteristic of the online news environment.

Finally, we observe that none of the studied news media devotes much space on the front page to communication. Judging from the front page, all news outlets present themselves primarily as display media rather than communication media.

### *News Items*

Next, we analyse the news items. Since online and printed newspapers are used in different settings by partly different users, we might expect that different outlets provide different types of news. Neuberger et al. (1998), for example, found that editors-in-chief or project managers responsible for online newspapers believe that online articles should be shorter, presented in an abbreviated 'news item' style and linked to other online features. Other studies discovered that users prefer or use electronic newspapers to acquire immediate information on global issues and to survey headlines, while printed newspapers are used for local and background information (Chyi and Lasorsa, 1999; Mueller and Kamerer, 1995).

If newspapers followed up on these opportunities and preferences, we would expect differences in news topic and geographical orientation as well as in story type and authorship. Online, we would expect factual reports and quick comments that serve users with immediate news. These stories would to a large extent be building around news agency footing and press releases. In the print edition, with its longer production schedule, we would expect analyses, portraits, reportage and in-depth editorials, written by the newspaper's own journalists. Yet in this issue of *Gazette*, Salaverría has shown that some online newspapers offer in-depth information, too.

We therefore compare what types of news items are offered in different outlets. We distinguish between briefs, teasers, caption stories, news stories, analysis and other types. Briefs are very short news stories. Teasers are short introductions of one paragraph maximum that introduce articles on other pages. Caption stories are pictures or graphics with a byline. News stories are primarily factual reports of what has happened: when, where, who, what and sometimes also why. Analysis is an item in which a reporter sets out to explain developments and puts them in a wider context. The 'other' category encompasses all other possible news item formats, including reportage, comments, portraits, cartoons and columns.

In addition to the type of news item, we investigate how many news items are accompanied by graphics, what geographical areas are covered in the news items and by whom they are written.

The results of the analysis of the news items are presented in Table 2. They show that online news services provide primarily teasers on the front page, while printed newspapers in most countries – with the exception of Portugal – provide (also) news stories on the front page. Printed newspapers in the Netherlands and Italy even provide some analysis on the front page. This finding falls in line with our previous finding that front pages of online

TABLE 2

## Relative Number of News Item Types, as Percentages of All Items

	Print Newspaper				Online Newspaper				Online-Only			
	IRL	IT	NL	POR	IRL	IT	NL	POR	IRL	IT	NL	POR
Type												
Teasers	66%	21%	36%	100%	93%	88%	93%	87%	91%	100%	100%	80%
Brief	0%	33%	11%	0%	0%	1%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Caption story	0%	9%	6%	0%	7%	2%	2%	0%	9%	0%	0%	0%
News story	34%	16%	28%	0%	0%	4%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	20%
Analysis	0%	5%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	0%	16%	17%	0%	0%	4%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Items with illustrations	22%	32%	30%	59%	52%	22%	49%	27%	9%	0%	100%	100%
Geographical focus												
Local	6%	0%	6%	25%	0%	2%	2%	17%	0%	0%	7%	0%
National	63%	65%	60%	28%	66%	53%	50%	41%	64%	80%	43%	25%
National-international	13%	11%	4%	25%	14%	8%	5%	13%	0%	0%	0%	30%
International	16%	19%	28%	22%	21%	27%	30%	26%	36%	0%	43%	45%
Other	3%	5%	2%	0%	0%	10%	13%	3%	0%	20%	7%	0%
Author												
Journalist	34%	53%	43%	94%	0%	6%	10%	69%	0%	0%	0%	30%
News agency	0%	0%	2%	0%	3%	4%	2%	6%	27%	0%	0%	0%
Third party	0%	14%	2%	0%	0%	8%	2%	3%	0%	60%	0%	0%
Unknown	66%	33%	53%	6%	97%	82%	86%	22%	73%	40%	100%	70%
Number of news items	32	57	47	32	29	90	84	127	11	5	28	20

Source: Cardoso et al. (2004); Fortunati and Sarrica (2004); O'Sullivan (2004); Van der Wurff et al. (2004).

newspapers not only provide information, but also act as guides to other pages with information.

Apart from the differences between print and online news media, we also observe some striking differences between countries. Irish and Portuguese publishers, for example, provide no briefs on the front page of either print or online newspapers, while publishers in the Netherlands and Italy provide a few briefs online and a substantial number of briefs on the print front page. Dutch and Irish online newspapers publish more news items with illustrations online, while in particular Portuguese newspapers publish more illustrations in print.

The geographical coverage of print and online news services is very similar. The only difference that we observe is that online-only news sites focus more explicitly than print and online newspapers on national news and international news. They provide less local news, and fewer news items that discuss the relationship between the country and international events (the national-international category).

Finally, we note that print newspapers provide much more frequently the name of the journalist that wrote the news item. Even though large differences between countries exist (compare Ireland with Portugal), in all cases online newspapers have (even) more anonymous news items. One obvious explanation is that online outlets have more teasers on the front page, and that teasers do not include the author's name. But even after controlling for differences between small items (teasers, briefs and caption stories) and larger items (news stories, analysis, other), online news outlets still provide fewer names of authors.

## Conclusions

The results of the content analysis of print and online newspapers and online-only news services in four European countries confirm the conclusions emerging from the five previous contributions: online newspapers are still searching for their role. They perform several functions at the same time. Their front pages 'market' the print newspaper, provide short news items and guide the reader to other content items on the same website, and sometimes on other websites. The news items that they present on the front page cover more or less the same geographic areas as the news items on the print front page, though with less variation. Online newspapers differ more from printed newspapers in the functionalities that they offer rather than in content terms. Yet, publishers have not gone so far as to offer substantial interactivity and hyperlinking, which would make the online newspaper really different in functionality.

Remarkably, these conclusions hold for all countries investigated – Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal – in spite of the economic, cultural and demographic differences between them. Of course, printed and online newspapers and online-only news services are not identical, and some country-specific differences could be established. For example, in Portuguese newspapers, author names are much more frequently mentioned. Nevertheless, the main differences between and characteristics of print and online newspapers hold in all countries.

### *Online MEDIA, or ONLINE media*

In the four countries, a process of mediatization of the net is occurring. Traditional media organizations increasingly dominate the internet, as the case studies of O'Sullivan and Fortunati for Ireland and Italy, and to some extent also van der Wurff for the Netherlands, have shown. The reciprocal process of the internetization of old media seems to take place at a much slower pace, and primarily results in the addition of token internet features to traditional media. The end result is that the internet, as Oblak argues, becomes more and more a monological instead of a dialogic space. The editors interviewed by O'Sullivan are not surprised by this development. Ultimately, in the online world, the same power relations reign as in the offline world.

If the online world indeed becomes increasingly mediatized, then the professional norms of the old media should apply with equal force in the online environment. Both the studies of Salaverría and O'Sullivan, and our content analysis, suggest that this is not the case. Online newspapers provide less information on article authorship. In haste, they make more mistakes, but do not rectify them formally. Publishers are at least partly to blame for this, because they hire inexperienced, low-paid journalists to make the online editions.

Nevertheless, Salaverría's study of how online newspapers reported on the September 11 events shows that online newspapers might become important news outlets in their own right. They are the only medium that can combine global real-time coverage of important events with in-depth background and analytical information that can be retrieved on audience demand. Even though they were troubled by technological problems and made mistakes due to time pressures, online newspapers performed their informative and critical tasks relatively well at this crucial moment. This indicates that when the internet matures in technological terms, online newspapers might grow further in this role. From the viewpoint of interaction and debate, this role might fall short of expectations. Yet, from the viewpoint of increasing availability of up-to-date, quality information on global events that concern us all, online newspapers might show that they do have a role to play in international news provision.

### **Epilogue**

The five articles in this special issue are based upon research carried out in 2002. The content analysis of printed and online newspapers presented in the earlier section was carried out by researchers of the COST network in 2003. At the time of writing (summer 2004), we are working on a larger-scale follow-up study. Partly based on initial results of this study, and looking backwards in time, we observe that our conclusions still hold in 2004. Obviously, the number of websites is gradually increasing, but the format and content of online newspapers have not changed considerably. If there were any changes, it would be that more newspapers now offer more sophisticated archives; that more newspapers tend to restrict access to the most valuable parts to online subscribers; and that some newspapers again try to charge for their online content.

Apart from that, most online newspapers still struggle to survive

economically. They provide relatively many hyperlinks, but little interactivity or multimedia features. As far as we can see, they have not seriously strengthened their informative and critical roles during and following emergency situations. Although the popular internet mythology tells us that 2004 is light years away from 2002 in internet time, online newspapers in 2004 are as subservient to print newspapers, and therefore as searching for their role online, as they were in 2002.

## Notes

The results presented in the middle section of this article are the outcome of the first phase of a collaborative research project of European scholars on print and online newspapers, carried out within the framework of COST A20, 'The Impact of the Internet on Mass Media'. The author acknowledges the support and feedback from Gustavo Cardoso, Leopoldina Fortunati, Pedro Pereira Neto, John O'Sullivan and Tanja Oblak, who have collaborated with the author on this project from the start. The author also acknowledges the contribution and support of Edmund Lauf, with whom the author developed the codebook for this initial study, and who has become a major driving force of the follow-up study. Finally, I would like to thank Colin Sparks, who has made COST A20 and consequently this project possible.

1. An exception is Portugal, where print and online newspapers were studied on 18 and 19 March 2003.
2. Here the exception is Ireland, where online newspapers and online-only news services were studied only once, at about 12:00 midday.

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**Richard van der Wurff** is lecturer at the Department of Communication and researcher at the Amsterdam School of Communications Research ASCoR at the University of Amsterdam. His research focuses on the economic and non-economic determinants of media performance in off- and online information markets, including newspaper, trade information publishing and broadcasting. He is coordinator of the newspaper working group of COST Action A20 on 'The Impact of the Internet on Mass Media'.

**Address** *The Amsterdam School of Communications Research ASCoR, University of Amsterdam, Kloeniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam, The Netherlands. [email: R.J.W.vanderWurff@uva.nl]*