The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Professor Carolyn Gideon
Assistant Professor of International Communication and Technology Policy, Director of the Hitachi Center for Technology and International Affairs
Boston, January 6th 2016

Digital Journalism Business Models
Do interactive features contribute to the success of digital journalism business models?

Capstone
Franziska Schwarzmann
Candidate for the Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy, class of 2015
Student ID: 1146514

Table of Contents

Introduction and Research Question 4
Literature Review 6
Theoretical Approach 10
Data Description and Analysis 14
Conclusion 25

Introduction and Research Question

Print news in Europe is no longer profitable. Advertising expenditures declined from 2009 to 2013 by 20%.[1] In the same period, the total number of paid-for daily newspapers in these countries fell from 2130 to 1315. In only 4 years, 40 percent of the newspapers have either consolidated or quit the market. Yet, democracies need news. Even though not officially, journalism is commonly referred to as the fourth pillar of a democratic system, practicing control over the branches of government, informing citizens.[2]

Digital delivery and the instant availability of news online have disrupted the print news model- a business model that has worked for the newspaper industry for almost a century. As a result, traditional newspapers are struggling to come up with economically sustainable digital business models, while non-traditional market entrants, mostly from the digital technology industry, capture market share.[3]

How to make money with their digital offerings is the key question for newspapers. Although there is a body of literature regarding digital content, delivery and pricing, there is a gap in the research when it comes to determining the success factors of digital newspapers. Current research has been anchored in the thought patterns of the old business model. But what is needed now is unrestricted thinking into different potential revenue channels. In this paper I have set out to make a contribution to thought leadership on digital newspaper business models by asking what factors determine a successful digital newspaper. In particular, I am focusing on a certain feature that online news content offers: interactivity.

Online news, compared to print news, provides opportunities for the reader. Online, the reader has the option[4] to become active once the content has been consumed. Possible activities include to give feedback on content immediately, to speak to others about it or to easily share content via social

[1] Calculations from the WAN-Ifra report, calculated by author. http://www.wptdatabase.org/.
[2] Donica Mensing, "Online Revenue Business Model Has Changed Little since 1996," *Newspaper Research Journal* 28, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 33, accessed November 8, 2014.
[3] There is an active debate between traditional media players and digital companies that want to enter the market. Representatives of the former like David Pemsel, Guardian News & Medie chief executive, emphasize how long they've been around, thus implying that they know the business best: "When I have been on panels with BuzzFeed and others, they sort of try and say 'the industry of which we are a part'. Some of those platforms have been around for three years and we've been around for 200. They try and step into our space."(Robert Andrews, "Old Media's Prospects Have Improved but the New Media Threat Looms Large," *The Guardian*, accessed March 22, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/media-network/2015/mar/20/new-media-threat-buzzfeed-vice.) On the other hand are massively venture backed, digitally obsessed start-ups like "briefme", an app that ranks news according to their spread within social media. (https://i-lab.harvard.edu/venture-incubation/resident-teams/briefme).
[4] Ester de Waal, *Online News: Uses and Effects of News Websites*, 2007, 245, http://dare.uva.nl/document/51514.

media or email. With time, there has been a social aspect added to reading the news and consumption patterns have changed in such a way that readers expect content to be interactive. This is why I have hypothesized that content interactivity has become a necessary condition for the success of newspapers.

My hypothesis is that there is a positive statistically significant correlation between interactive website features and the success of journalism business models, represented by the amount of unique monthly users to a website.

What will I be able to observe if my hypothesis holds true? The more interactive features on the website, the more unique monthly visitors a newspaper has. While I do acknowledge that there are multiple factors contributing the amount of unique monthly visitors such as content and advertising, I have tried controlling for some factors by limiting my sample to national daily and paid for newspapers from Europe. There will be a positive significant correlation between interactive website feature and unique monthly visitors.

What will I be able to observe if my thesis does not hold true? There might be newspaper websites with high unique monthly visitors that do not have many interactive features on their websites. Second, there might be newspaper websites with a low number of unique monthly visitors and many interactive features. The hypothesis is neither proven nor disproven if there is a low number of unique monthly visitors and a low account of interactive website features.

In order to answer the question, I self-designed and gathered a dataset with indicators measuring interactivity as well as standard indicators that I want to control for. I looked at the national daily paid for newspapers in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, summing up to a total of 24 newspapers. I reasoned these indicators to be necessary to indicate whether a website offering can be categorized as interactive, based on existing research and my reasoning. With the data set I have put together, it is possible to distinguish between the possible answers. That being said, I have included a section on learning that will be helpful for future research to gather more comprehensive data.

I will first lay out the state of current literature on the topic of digital journalism business models. Next, I will explain my analytical framework and then turn to the structure of my data set and what questions it can answer. Finally, I include how my contribution to digital journalism research can be further used in the academic community as well as thought leadership in the industry.

Literature Review

As key to further development of online news describes Richard van der Wurff the question of business models and revenue sources.[5] According to him, the internet offers a plethora of choices to publishers. His study "Print and Online Newspapers in Europe" gives an overview over what types of internet-specific features are offered by online newspapers and in what proportions. His definition and operationalization of interactivity are the basis for my data collection, because he distinguishes between interpersonal and content interactivity, whereby the former means that the reader can interact with other individuals and the latter implies that the reader can interact with the content. In addition to that, van der Wurff tests all newspaper websites for specific features on one day. An approach that I have used for my data collection as well.

Comment [T1]: This sentence does not make sense

While van der Wurff's research design and his operationalization serve in part as the basis for this paper's operationalization and data gathering design, his book lacks a perspective: He only offers a theory in which online news is an addition to newspapers. His hypothesis is that the internet potentially functions as three different – complementary to print - channels, (1) the internet as a marketing channel, driving engagement with the customer (2) as an additional distribution channel to long-distance audiences or (3) a channel offering additional multimedia services for the core print audience.[6]

Just as van der Wurff, Robert Picard has offered research that considers online as an extension of print. Robert Picard's argument is the basis for my consideration that besides content there are other success factors of online journalism. He stresses that online has not triggered a revolution of content, but rather a revolution of content distribution and use. He argues that the success of online content is contingent upon obtaining and maintaining usage by offering products and services that understand the altered behavior of individuals and society.

The basis for his thoughts is that there is a priori demand for a product; and new technologies offer a service extension to already existing customers: "Many believe the rhetoric that new and unique products and services are being created that will significantly alter the behavior of individuals and society. In reality, most of these products and services are just creating faster, easier, and more flexible means for consumers to do what they are already doing." [7] The reader is given more choice and this

[5] Richard van der Wurff and Edmund Lauf, *Print and Online Newspapers in Europe. A Comparative Analysis in 16 Countries* (Het Spinhuis Publishers, Amsterdam, 2005), chap. 2.
[6] Richard van der Wurff and Edmund Lauf, *Print and Online Newspapers in Europe. A Comparative Analysis in 16 Countries* (Het Spinhuis Publishers, Amsterdam, 2005), chap. 2.
[7] Robert G. Picard, "Changing Business Models of Online Content Services : Their Implications for Multimedia and Other Content Producers," *International Journal on Media Management* 2, no. 2 (January 2000): 61.

choice alters the relationship between the user and media. New methods of content presentation combined with technologies enabling more flexible use give an advantage to the consumer, for which he is willing to pay. However, the customer's willingness to pay is a result of a perceived value added.[8] Picard's focus is on online content services. Thus, he does not give any examples of what this perceived value add could look like in the newspaper sphere.

This is where van der Wurff's research sets in: When van der Wurff published his study in 2004, he introduced a dichotomized way of thinking about the internet as a news medium: He said the internet could either be leveraged to improve the incumbent business model by improving secondary functions or the internet could be leveraged to transform a business model. Van der Wurff suggests that as soon as news is published online, there is an internet-specific feature added to a business model: Interactivity in content and interpersonally, multimediacy and immediacy.

The definition of interactivity is highly contextual. Technologically, interactivity can be defined as "the extent to which users can participate in modifying the form and content of a mediated environment in real-time".[9] There are also more journalism-specific definitions; they all have the common notion that digital journalism can empower the audience. These definitions differ regarding their sub-categorizations of interactivity: Communication researcher Jensen argues for four subconcepts of interactivity, Deuze categorizes three levels and Liu and Shrum focus on structural versus perceived interactivity.[10] In 2004, Bucy distinguished two types of interactivity: content interactivity, meaning consumers exercise control over editorial content and interpersonal interactivity, meaning real-time or delayed person-to-person conversations mediated by the news site.[11] For the purposes of this paper, Bucy's categorization makes the most sense as the simple dichotomized version of interactivity fits my research design the most.

For years, interactivity has received praise as one of the key factors of digital journalism. In 2001, Deuze argued that interactivity is the added value of online journalism, J.D. Lasica claimed in 1998: "Online news publications have been so swept away by the graphic grandeur of the Web that they've all

---

[8] Ibid.
[9] Jens F. Jensen, "'Interactivity'. Tracking a New Concept in Media and Communication Studies," *Nordicom Review* 19, no. 1 (1998): 201.
[10] Mark Deuze, "The Internet and Its Journalisms - Part I: A Typology of Online Journalism," *Online Journalism Review*, July 11, 2002, 84, www.ojr.org/ojr/future/p1026407729.php; Deuze, "The Internet and Its Journalisms - Part I: A Typology of Online Journalism"; Yuping Liu and L.J. Shrum, "What Is Interactivity and Is It Always a Good Thing? Implications of Definition, Person, and Situation for the Influence of Interactivity on Advertising Effectiveness," *Journal of Advertising* 31, no. 4 (2002): 55–64.
[11] Erik Bucy, "Second Generation Net News: Interactivity and Information Accessibility in the Online Environment," *International Journal on Media Management* 6, no. 1–2 (2004): 102–13.

but ignored the truly revolutionary promise of the Internet: interactivity." [12] Content interactivity is the answer Vin Crosbie gives regarding the question of how to design a successful newspaper business model. In 2004, Vin Crosbie argued for content as well as channel customization, suggesting that readers needed to be able to decide what kind of news they received. In his opinion, the newspaper industry had wasted its energy on the wrong means and should have concentrated on creating more interactive papers tailored to readers' individual interests. He stresses that declining readership numbers as well as declining willingness to pay may mostly be attributed to the lack of individual relevancy.

The world's first newspaper published stories that the editors anticipated would be of the greatest generic interest and this decision had been due to the technical limitations of printing, Crosbie continues. "Nearly four subsequent centuries of new printing technologies have increased the speed and image resolutions of analog presses, but that generic limitation has remained."[13] Reasoning that on average a reader is not interested in more than four articles of a generic newspaper, Crosbie concludes that this represents a "lousy satisfaction ratio".[14] Just as the invention of the transistor had initiated a revolution which enabled readers to choose a mix of media that best satisfied each of their own unique preferences, so should interactivity shatter that antiquated limitation.

The industry, Crosbie continued, shall (1) use new technologies in order to match reader's interests, (2) be more courageous to think out of channel silos and vision a truly converged product, (3) not limit itself to being a content producing machine, but instead deliver heroes of a content package. Even though his article in the Journalism Review is a solid analysis, it lacks any sort of academic justification because he presents his opinion, but does not prove that the generic limitations and reporters stuck in the culture thereof are to be blamed for the demise of newspapers.

Interestingly, Ester de Waal produces an argument countering Crosbie's suggestions. Her findings suggest that while generic print newspapers were good at making people read what they would otherwise not have read, online newspapers are less successful with this. [15] This sample of the research on interactivity suggests that it is not clear whether interactivity is a success factor for online news and thus far, this question has not been the subject of research.

---

[12] Mark Deuze, "Online Journalism: Modelling the First Generation of News Media on the World Wide Web," *First Monday* 6, no. 10, accessed November 28, 2015, http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/893; J.D. Lasica, "A Great Way to Strengthen Bonds. Online News Publications Should Take Better Advantage of the Net's Interactivity.," *American Journalism Review*, March 1998, http://ajrarchive.org/Article.asp?id=1789.

[13] Vin Crosbie, "What Newspapers and Their Web Sites Must Do to Survive," *USC Annenberg Journalism Review*, 2004, http://www.ojr.org/ojr/business/1078349998.php.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ester de Waal, "Online and Print Newspapers: Their Impact on the Extent of the Perceived Public Agenda," in *Online News: Uses and Effects of News Websites*, 2007, 69, http://dare.uva.nl/document/51514.

Customization of distribution channels is a factor for attracting younger target groups, according to the Media Insight Project. Their study about how millennials consume news found that “Millennials also appear to be drawn into news that they might otherwise have ignored because peers are recommending and contextualizing it for them on social networks, as well as on more private networks such as group texts and instant messaging.”[16] 88% of the respondents answered that they visited Facebook in order to get news.

Why there is such a low pricing for online news has been the focus of a paper by Cunningham and Compaine. They found that online newspapers were offered for free because the early online subscription ideas failed and readers were not willing to pay. So the "free" model emerged, with the expectation - the hope - that advertisers would pay to reach the larger numbers that will click when the price is zero. Today, publishers are dealing with that legacy. Advertising revenues have grown, but not as fast as the revenue base for the printed newspaper has evaporated."[17]

One reason why online journalism has not been successful can be attributed to the fact that “newspaper managers as a whole do not appear to have altered their online strategies significantly”[18], concludes Donica Mensing. The old business model for the print newspaper had two revenue sources, advertising and subscription. Newspapers have mainly tried to alter their ways around these revenue streams. Mensing attests that “despite massive changes in the market for news and aggressive competition for advertising revenue, newspaper managers as a whole do not appear to have altered their online strategies significantly during this nine year period.”[19]

The success of online newspapers has been looked at from different perspectives: In comparison to print editions, measured in its ability to generate revenue by attracting subscribers. However, what is not existent in the current literature is an analysis looking at what makes newspapers successful without directly linking success to monetization.

---

[16] “How Millennials Get News,” *American Press Institute*, accessed March 22, 2015, http://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/reports/survey-research/millennials-news/.
[17] Benjamin Compaine and Brendan Cunningham, “Addressing Real Issues for the Uncertain and Challenging Environment of the Media Industry,” *Journal of Media Economics* 23, no. 3 (August 31, 2010): 112.
[18] Donica Mensing, “Online Revenue Business Model Has Changed Little since 1996,” *Newspaper Research Journal* 28, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 22, accessed November 8, 2014.
[19] Ibid., 33.

Theoretical Approach

My hypothesis is that there is a positive statistically significant correlation between interactive website features and the success of journalism business models, represented by the amount of unique monthly users to a website. Why? I base this hypothesis on two trends: The demand for print papers has been decreasing, and traffic to news sites depends on unique content as well as repeated visits. And "winning sites are those that are more convenient, user friendly, better organized and more visually appealing".[20] Interactivity has been described as the key element of economic viability for Web news organizations[21], yet academically it has not been subject of research whether and if yes, what kind of interactivity is the secret sauce to news site traffic.

Independent Variables

I have operationalized interactivity with a subset of indicators which I will discuss in this section. This research is mainly based on van der Wurf's framework of operationalization. The dimensions of interactivity are based on Bucy. Additionally, I have chosen 20 national daily, paid-for newspaper websites from four countries which I will introduce in this section.

Content Interactivity

Customization of Channels and of Content

Donica Mensing notices two trends, but does not make a connection between them. First, from 1996 until 2005, advertising became more important as a source of revenue and concurrently more fragile due to online competition. [22]Second, customization services can become a new source of revenue. This thesis follows the hypothesis that customization, hence the ability from a readers perspective to interact with content as well as the producer, reinforces advertising as a revenue channel, because once you understand your customer's preference, you can target the advertising much more efficiently. This is especially in line with Mensing's conclusion that "while advertising may generate sufficient revenue to keep some or many online newspapers operating, it appears they will need significantly to accelerate the scale and scope of this revenue source if they are to thrive successfully in a market that is fundamentally different from the market print newspapers have grown to dominate in

[20] Paschalia-Lia Spyridou and Andreas Veglis, "Exploring Structural Interactivity in Online Newspapers: A Look at the Greek Landscape," Journal Article (University of Illinois at Chicago University Library, April 28, 2008), http://firstmonday.org/article/view/2164/1960.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Donica Mensing, "Online Revenue Business Model Has Changed Little since 1996," *Newspaper Research Journal* 28, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 22, accessed November 8, 2014.

many communities."[23] I see customization as a subset of interactivity, because it enables the reader to become active and choose that channel or content that she prefers.

35/17 *Customization of Channels*: Does the newspaper offer its content via different channels?
I observe different channels (Email, Ebook, Smartphone, Tablet, Website) in order to understand what can be seen as standard and what might make a difference.
This is a dichotomized variable, with the answer being either yes or no for each channel.

35/17 *Customization of Content*: Can the reader get individualized content packages?
This is a dichotomized variable, with the answer being either yes or no.

35/17 *Interactivity of content*: Does the newspaper offer more content on the website in the form of a search engine, hyperlinks or an archive? I have included archives because Donica Mensing found in 2007 that "the revenue from archives, while very small, provided measurable income in 1996 and 2005." From an interactive perspective, archives give the reader an opportunity to Hyperlinks are an option because Harvard's Nieman Lab called them web journalism's "currency of collaboration"[24].

Interpersonal Interactivity
Social Media

35/17 *Social Media*: Indicates whether a newspaper has a Twitter channel. This is a dichotomized variable, with the answer being yes or no. I realize that there are several ways to operationalize Social Media and several social media channels like Facebook or Pinterest that matter. I have decided to go with Twitter as an indicator for journalism, because Twitter is a platform that has been knowingly used for the distribution and social dissemination of news.[25]

The presence of newspapers in social media channels offers several opportunities for interactivity. The 2015 digitalnewsreport listed as one of its main findings: "We see a

[23] "Little Change_Online Business Models.pdf," n.d., 33.
[24] Jonathan Stray, "Why Link out? Four Journalistic Purposes of the Noble Hyperlink," *Nieman Lab*, accessed December 28, 2015, http://www.niemanlab.org/2010/06/why-link-out-four-journalistic-purposes-of-the-noble-hyperlink/.
[25] Haje Jan Kamps, "Who Are Twitter's Verified Users?," *Medium.com*, May 25, 2015, https://medium.com/@Haje/who-are-twitter-s-verified-users-af976fc1b032#.jp2mycdo2; John Jewell, "How Twitter Has Helped the Emergence of a New Journalism," *The Conversation - Academic Rigor, Journalistic Flair*, November 4, 2013, http://theconversation.com/how-twitter-has-helped-the-emergence-of-a-new-journalism-19841.

strengthening in the role played by Facebook in finding, discussing and sharing news. Facebook-owned Instagram and WhatsApp are playing a big role amongst younger groups."[26]

Newspaper can engage with readers in order to understand what content readers like, they can listen to their feedback and opinions and become part of the conversation. Social media is also way to attract new readers.[27] How much of a role social media plays in today's journalism is already reflected in the curricula of journalism MA programs.[28]

35/17 *Interpersonal Interactivity*: Does the newspaper offer the opportunity for the reader to engage with the author or other readers? I have observed whether there is an opportunity to get directly in touch with the author, whether there is a commenting function underneath the article, whether the newspaper publishes letter to the editor on the website, whether the newspaper provisions a chatroom or a discussion forum and whether there is a sharing function for each article.

35/17 *Digital Payment Method*

I included Digital Payment Methods because giving the reader the opportunity to pay as she wishes, and wherever, is a part of a customized and interactive offering.

Table: Overview over independent variables

Categories	Question	Outcome
Content Interactivity		
Customization of channels	Does the paper offer several channels? - Email - Ebook - Smartphone - Tablet - Website	Yes or no (for each observation)
Customization of content	Can the reader get individualized content packages?	Yes or no
Customization of subscription	Are there different digital subscription models?	Yes or no
Interactivity of content	Does the newspaper offer more content on the website in the form of a search engine, hyperlinks or an archive?	Yes or no
Interpersonal Interactivity		
Social Media Conversation	Does the paper communicate with readers via Social Media?	Yes or no

[26] Nic Newman, "Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2015" (Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism), accessed December 28, 2015.
[27] "How Millennials get the news," accessed March 22, 2015, http://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/reports/survey-research/millennials-news/.
[28] "MA Interactive Journalism - School of Communication, American University," December 28, 2015, http://www.american.edu/soc/journalism/degrees/MA-ITRJ.cfm; Tom Felle, "MA Interactive Journalism," *City University London*, December 28, 2015, https://www.city.ac.uk/courses/postgraduate/interactive-journalism.

Interpersonal Interactivity	Does the paper offer an opportunity for the reader to engage with the paper/each other? Via - direct opportunity to contact journalists - a commenting function underneath article - display of letter to the editor - provision of chatroom or discussion forum - sharing-function for each article	Yes or no (for each observation)
Digital Payment Method	Does the paper offer digital payment methods? - credit card - paypal - Google Play - Itunes	Yes or no

Dependent Variables

The Media Insight Project study report elaborated on the topic of monetization of millennials' news consumption. Whereas many millennials subscribe to paid services for movies, music and television and claim to pay for it themselves, they seem reluctant to pay for digital news. In-depth qualitative interviews revealed the sentiment valuing news as a universal right for which one should not have to pay. Without a doubt, a newspaper needs readers. Readers are a necessary condition for the success of a newspaper. However, a viable future business model might not depend on a consumer's willingness to pay for news. Thus, readers might not be a sufficient condition for the monetary success of newspapers. Since the industry as a whole seems stuck and unable to answer the question of monetization, I wanted to choose a dependent variable on whose basis new research and ideas could be leveraged, thus my dependent variable is "unique monthly users". The dependent variable, monthly unique visitors, comes from the World Association of Newspaper's World Press Trends database.

Scope

In my selection of newspapers, I have chosen all national daily paid for newspapers in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. I limited this selection to those countries for which language does not produce a barrier to me. While all countries are European, Austria, Germany and Switzerland comprise one cultural region within Europe while the United Kingdom represents another language and a culture that stands in contrast to the German speaking region. Additionally, the UK, Germany and Austria are bound by policies of the European Union, Switzerland is not.

Table: Selection of Newspapers

Germany	BILD	http://www.bild.de/
	Süddeutsche Zeitung	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/
	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	http://www.faz.net/

	Die Welt	http://www.welt.de/
	TAZ	http://www.taz.de/
UK	The Guardian	http://www.theguardian.com/us
	The independent	http://www.independent.co.uk/
	Telegraph	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/
	The Times	http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/
	Daily Mail	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/ushome/index.html
	Daily Express	http://www.express.co.uk/
	Daily Mirror	http://www.mirror.co.uk/
	Daily Star	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/
Switzerland	Neue Zürcher Zeitung	http://www.nzz.ch/
	Tages-Anzeiger	http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/
	Blick	http://www.blick.ch/
Austria	Der Kurier	http://kurier.at/
	Der Standard	http://derstandard.at/
	Die Presse	http://diepresse.com/
	Neue Kronen Zeitung	http://www.krone.at/
	Salzburger Nachrichten	http://www.salzburg.com/
	Wiener Zeitung	http://www.wienerzeitung.at/
	Wirtschafts Blatt	http://wirtschaftsblatt.at/

Data Description and Analysis

Description

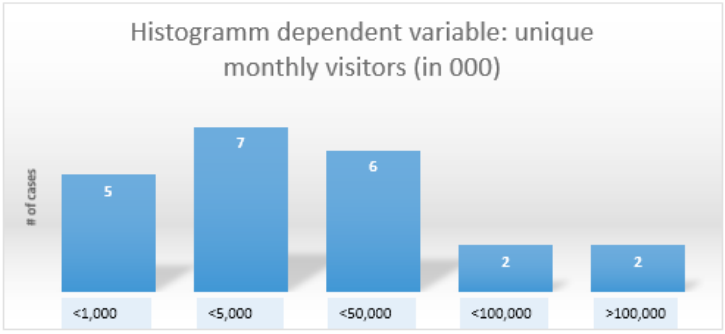
Dependent Variables

I collected my dependent variables data at Harvard Business School's Baker Library, they have a full access account to the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers.[29] In total, there are 22 newspapers. Their unique monthly users vary from 219,000 to almost 200 million. The mean is 25.1 million, the median being 3.1 Million. The standard deviation for the data is 47378.116. In order to make more sense out of some correlations, I have put the data into five different buckets, in accordance with the histogram. Thus, there are two dependent variables available:

Unique: the unique monthly visitors for a website

Unicat: the unique monthly visitors for a website, grouped into categories

Table: Histogram of dependent variable



In the above histogram, on the x-axis you can see the different buckets that all the cases have been sorted into. The size of the bucket indicates the number of cases that fits into the bucket. The variable shows great variability. The four papers with the most unique monthly visitors are all located in the United Kingdom, and that there is no paper with my characteristics with more than 5,000million unique monthly visitors in Switzerland or Austria. The greatest variability within a country is within the UK and Germany.

[29] "World Press Trends Germany 2014," World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/germany; "World Press Trends Austria 2014," World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/austria; "World Press Trends United Kingdom 2014," World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/united-kingdom; "World Press Trends Switzerland 2014,", www.wptdatabase.com/2014/switzerland.

Comment [T2]: You really should number your tables!

Since I have decided to limit the scope of newspapers to national daily newspapers, but gather data from different countries for a bigger sample size, it makes sense to include a set of characteristics to control for misinterpretations. All these characteristics are from the World Press Trend Reports.[30] This data helps to better understand the possibility that a combination of several external factors is an important determinant of how much interactivity is needed for a successful website.

Table: Variables to control for

	Germany	Austria	Switzerland	UK
Newspaper Readership	67.4%	69.2%	75.1%	56.7 %
# of all newspapers	2,028	291	79	1,016
# of national paid-for dailies	7	6	n/a	11
Circulation of total dailies	16,307 million	2,905 million	2,790 million	11,999 million
Circulation of National Paid-for Dailies	1,100 million	1,243 million	1,810 million	7,161 million
Total Advertising Expenditure	18,520 million Euros	4.058 million Euros	5,527.0 CHF	14,442.7 BP
Advertising expenditure for newspapers	4,935 million Euros	664.7 million Euros	1,334 million CHF	1,897.7 million BP
Primary mode of distribution of papers	Subscription: 70%	Subscription: 85%	Subscription: 90%	n/a
# of newspaper online editions	659	n/a	n/a	1,725
Total newspaper online unique monthly visitors	31,400.0	4,281.0	195,105.1	483,655.0
GDP	2,737.6 billion	313,2 billion	603.2 CHF billion	1,613.4 BP
GDP per capita	45,100 Euros	49,100 Euros	80.5	39.4 BP
Internet Users	69,718.7	6,912.9	7,125.5	59,098.0
Population	80,890 million	8,534 million	8,190 million	64,510 million

Comment [T3]: Control Variables; BTW these are also independent variables and should not be included in a section called Dependent Variables – it is confusing

[30] "World Press Trends Germany 2014," World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/germany; "World Press Trends Austria 2014," World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/austria; "World Press Trends United Kingdom 2014," World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/united-kingdom; "World Press Trends Switzerland 2014,", www.wptdatabase.com/2014/switzerland.

Average Age of the population	46.1	44.3	42	40.4

Independent Variables

In March 2015 I have collected a dataset with all my interactivity indicators for all newspaper sites. I have collected the data with the same process that van der Wurff proposed; Navigate to the website and go through my questions all in one day. I have been able to find observations for 22 newspapers out of the 23 newspapers that I had chosen. I eliminated or altered several variables from the analysis for a lack of variation.

Content Interactivity

Of all the customization of channel variables, only ebook and email remain, since all of the observed papers have an optimized version for smartphone, tablet and their website. I added a binary new independent variable that asks which papers offer all customized channels. Thus, for customization of content, there are the following independent variables:

Ebook: Indicating whether there is an ebook optimized version

Email: Indicating whether the newspaper offers an email version

Allcuschan: Indicating whether the newspaper offers optimized versions for smartphone, tablet, website, ebook and email

When I thought about the customization of content-variable, I expected to see some newspapers offering customizable content. For example the option that I could receive the Guardian finance as a subscription emailed to me every day. However, gathering the data I understood that this option is not offered. What almost all newspapers offer is at least one newsletter. Thus, I have created a different binary variable that reflects whether there is a newsletter offering or not: *newslet*.

With regards to content interactivity I eliminated the search engine variable since all papers have an internal one on their website. Of the 22 papers observed, 14 use hyperlinks, 12 have a fully accessible archive. I included Hyperlink (*hyperl*) and Archive (*archiv*) as individual variables and created a new binary variable that distinguishes those papers offering all three interactive content features from those that do not: *conin*. Regarding the Customization of Subscription, 19 out of 22 papers offer multiple subscription options. The variable is called *subscr*.

Interpersonal Interactivity

Since every newspaper has at least one Twitter account and I have created this as a binary variable, I have excluded Social Media. The observations summarized as interpersonal interactivity show the most variability. One paper offers all of the options, 19 papers offer a commenting option, 18 a

sharing option, while 2 offer the opportunity to directly contact the author of an article. 6 independent variables result: 5 binary individual options (*directcon; comment; letedit; chat; share*) and a summary of how many options each newspaper offers with 0 – 5 outcome possibilities (*perint*).

Directcon: direct opportunity to contact journalists

Comment: commenting function underneath article

Letedit: display of letter to the editor

Chat: provision of chatroom or discussion forum

Share: sharing-function for each article

Perint: how many options each newspaper offers

Regarding the Digital Payment Method, I have created a binary variable that distinguishes whether newspapers allows for digital payments at all (*digpay*), for which I have sorted all those papers that only allow for direct deposits or credit card payments into the no category. I have decided to do so, because paying by credit card is not a digital payment feature, it has become one of the standard ways of transaction. Additionally, I have created one that indicates the amount of total payment options, from 1-4 (*digpay2).*

Table: Updated Overview over independent variables after the data collection

Variables	Question	Outcome
Content Interactivity		
Customization of channels	*Ebook*: Indicating whether there is an ebook optimized version *Email*: Indicating whether the newspaper offers an email version *Allcuschan*: Indicating whether the newspaper offers optimized versions for smartphone, tablet, website, ebook and email	Binary: Yes or no (for each observation)
Customization of content	*newslet:* Indicating whether there is a newsletter offering or not	Binary: Yes or no
Customization of subscription	*Subscr*: Indicating whether there are different digital subscription models?	Binary: Yes or no
Interactivity of content	*Hyperl*: Indicating whether there are hyperlinks within the texts *Archive*: Indicating whether there is an archive *Conint*: Indicating whether the newspaper offers all three of the content interactivity indicators, a search engine, hyperlinks or an archive?	Binary: Yes or no (for each observation)
Interpersonal Interactivity		
Interpersonal Interactivity	*Directcon:* Indicating whether there is a direct opportunity to contact journalists *Comment:* Indicating a commenting function underneath article	Binary: Yes or no (for each observation)

	Letedit: Indicating whether the newspaper displays letters to the editor *Chat:* Indicating whether the newspaper provisions a chatroom or discussion forum *Share:* Indicating whether there is a sharing-function for each article	
	Perint: Indicating how many interpersonal interactivity options each newspaper offers	From 1 - 5
Digital Payment Method	*Digpay:* Indicating whether newspapers allow for digital payments at all	Binary: Yes or no
	digpay2: Indicating the number of payment options a newspaper offers - credit card - paypal - Google Play - Itunes	From 1 - 4

Data Analysis

Table: Overview over data set

Country	unicat	ebook	email	allcuschan	newslet	conint	hyperl	archiv	perint	directcon	comment	letedit	chat	share	subscr	digpay	digpay2
GER	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	4
GER	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
GER	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	3
GER	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
GER	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2
UK	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
UK	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
UK	4	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
UK	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	na	1	na	na	na	1	1	2
UK	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	4
UK	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
UK	4	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
UK	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	3
CH	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
CH	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
CH	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
AU	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
AU	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	2
AU	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	2
AU	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
AU	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	2

AU	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	2

The content interactivity indicators show different variability. Every paper offers at least one customization option. Out of the four best visited papers, only one offers all customization channels. It is vice versa with regards to a newsletter offering. Only four out of the 22 newspapers do not offer a newsletter. A customization of subscription offerings is also offered by 20 newspapers. Content Interactivity does not show a trend: Only eight papers have all options on their websites, four papers do not offer any content interactivity features and all four have small unique visitors numbers. From the four biggest papers, two offer all interactive features, two only one. The first view into the content interactivity features reveals that there is a trend towards newsletter offerings and customized subscriptions becoming standard features. Moving deeper into the analysis, I will mainly look into the variables subsumed under content interactivity.

Within the interpersonal interactivity features, commenting and sharing are the most common, since they are not offered by three papers each. The display of letters to the editor or a chatroom do not indicate a trend, since they are variable within the countries across all newspapers. Only two papers offer the option to directly contact the journalist. The average number of options offered is 2.6. The payments indicators show variability as well. The average number of payment options is 1.9; there is a trend towards more payment options. Eight newspapers do not offer any digital payment option.

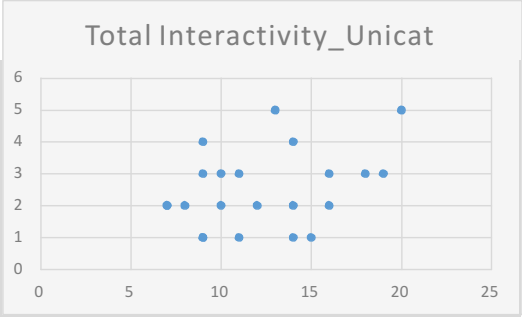
The correlation matrix shows a negative correlation between ebook and email channels of -0.4. Referring back to my data set this makes sense. Those websites that did not offer all channels offered either ebook or email as a channel and I would not establish a dependency. There is a low correlation between interpersonal interactivity and content interactivity of 0.16, which is something that struck me, because I would have suspected this to be different. This is due to the fact that the perint-variable, which indicates interpersonal interactivity is not binary. The correlation between perint and archive, with archive basically being a subset of interpersonal activity, makes more sense and in this case the correlation is 0.4. There is a negative correlation between both payment indicators and the variables newsletter. My first inclination is another hypothesis: That those papers offering newsletters, and basically big amounts of their content for free, have shifted away from subscriptions as revenues. However, the slight negative correlation might also not mean anything. The correlation of 0.38 between digpay and share is something to look further into. It seems to be an indicator of a changing mindset among some papers, because both share and digpay are indicators of the sharing economy and the diversification of channels.

Comment [T4]: Which is still not very high

Table: Correlation Matrix

	unicat	cuschn	ebook	email	alcuschcun	newslt	conint	hyperl	archiv	perint	dircecon	commet	letedit	chat	share	subscr	digpay	digpya2
unicat	1																	
cuschn	0.138039408	1																
ebook	0.331315493	0.741619849	1															
email	-0.286909521	0.288675135	-0.428174419	1														
alcuschcun	0.138039408	1	0.741619849	0.288675135	1													
newslt	-0.30775632	0.085749293	-0.508747019	0.841625412	0.085749293	1												
conint	0.25651113	0.069337525	-0.158940988	0.320256308	0.069337525	0.380521195	1											
hyperl	0.145483924	0.138675049	-0.03739788	0.240192231	0.138675049	0.368629908	0.615384615	1										
archiv	0.417022206	0.204124145	0.247716847	-0.07856742	0.204124145	-0.175035011	0.67936622	0.113227703	1									
perint	0.327975395	0.135768847	0.032037368	0.137175815	0.135768847	0.203736445	0.164742825	0.428331346	2.15379E-17	1								
dircecon	0.133869888	-0.244599795	0.033501261	-0.444444444	-0.244599795	-0.32673202	-0.272165527	0.244599795	-0.368513866	0.44228741	1							
commet	-0.063757671	0.288675135	0.116774842	0.222222222	0.288675135	0.148522131	0.040032038	-0.040032038	0.19641855	0.274351631	-0.32673202	1						
letedit	0.081978229	0.042796049	-0.123091491	0.272165527	0.042796049	0.34299717	0.375	0.385164443	0.123091491	0.650027085	0.068041382	0.34299717	1					
chat	0.401609664	-0.104828484	0.100503782	-0.333333333	-0.104828484	-0.140028008	-0.204124145	-0.104828484	-0.100503782	0.583819382	0.333333333	-0.140028008	-6.7987E-17	1				
share	0.133869888	0.244599795	0.301511345	-0.111111111	0.244599795	-0.140028008	0.272165527	0.454256763	0.368513866	0.265372446	0.111111111	-0.140028008	-0.068041382	0	1			
subscr	-0.272348343	0.229415734	-0.015467206	0.331133089	0.229415734	0.255739079	-0.079535595	-0.254513905	0.046829291	-0.272540709	-0.444444444	0.331133089	-0.068041382	-0.333333333	-0.111111111	1		
digpay	-0.015314097	0.138675049	0.355279856	-0.320256308	0.138675049	-0.130804161	0.009615385	-0.009615385	0.113227703	0.329485651	0.272165527	-0.040032038	0.25	0.204124145	0.40824829	0.079535595	1	
digpya2	0.317140533	0.215003291	0.3396093	-0.195064898	0.215003291	-0.084280595	0.046853073	-0.046853073	0.288402671	0.423265858	0.207869855	0.177331726	0.145478593	0.267261242	0.386044016	0.239579241	0.758167909	1

Earlier I stated that I will be able to observe the following if my hypothesis holds true: The more interactive features on the website, the more unique monthly visitors a newspaper has, all other factors held constant. Even though only an econometric analysis will be able to give an answer, I have added up all interactivity observations into a total interactivity score. The scatterplot shows the unique number of monthly users (shown on the y-axis as 1-5 in accordance to the buckets) plotted against the total interactivity score (shown on the x-axis). The total amount of points in the score is 22 (only including the digpay2 variable). The highest scored in my dataset was 20 and it was scored by the paper with the highest amount of unique monthly visitors. The scatterplot does not support my hypothesis.



Following my analytical framework from the beginning, the scatterplot does also not fully disprove my hypothesis. I reasoned that I will observe the following if my hypothesis does not hold true: There are newspaper websites with high unique monthly visitors that do not have many interactive features on their websites. The scatterplot shows that there are websites in bucket 3 that reach between 15-20 points in the interactivity score, but only one paper from buckets 1 and 2 has more than 15 points. There are also only two papers from buckets 3-5 that score below 10 points.

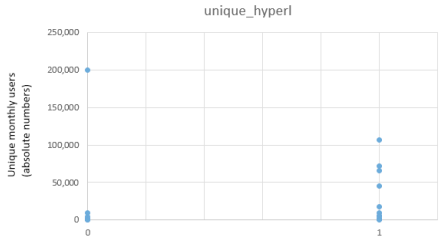
Selected Interactivity Scatterplots

Content Interactivity

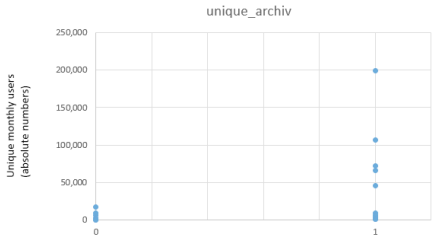
In the upper two scatterplots you can see that there are more newspapers with higher amounts of monthly users that use hyperlinks and have archives than ones that do not. This does not establish a correlation, it is a trend that needs to be investigated further. My next steps would be to assess for how long the papers have been using hyperlinks/searchable archives and plot a trend line with of the number of monthly users, because causality could be reversed. The papers with more users might have added these features because they had the money to invest in them from the higher readership. The lower

Comment [T5]: True. But I wonder if this is partly due to the categorizing of unique visitors. Have you tried a plot with actual unique visitors? Also, it is highly likely that some types of interactivity are more valued by users than others, and thus are more important than a count of how many types a paper has.

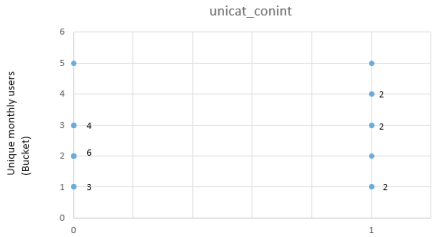
plot, showing the buckets of unique monthly users and those papers that use all content interactivity indicators does not support this trend.



Hyperl: Indicating whether there are hyperlinks within the texts
Yes = 1; No = 0

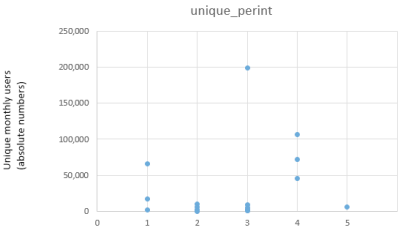


Archive: Indicating whether there is an archive
Yes = 1; No = 0



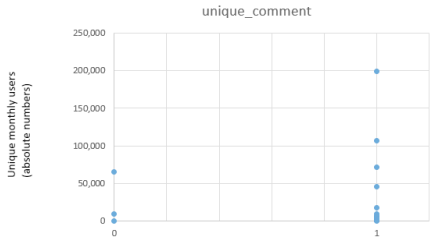
Conint: Indicating whether the newspaper offers all three of the content interactivity indicators, a search engine, hyperlinks or an archive
Yes = 1; No = 0

Interpersonal Interactivity

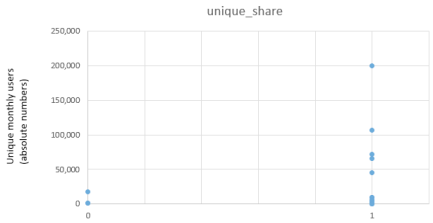


Perint: Indicating how many interpersonal interactivity options each newspaper offers
From 0 – 5

The number of interpersonal interactivity features plotted against the absolute numbers of unique monthly users shows that there is no trend to be observed regarding the amount of unique users and the number of interpersonal interactivity features.



Comment: Indicating a commenting function underneath article
Yes = 1; No = 0



Share: Indicating whether there is a sharing-function for each article
Yes = 1; No = 0

The plots of the comment and sharing indicators show that those papers that do not use a sharing or commenting function also have a relatively low number of unique visitors. Since there are also websites with low user counts that use these features, my further analysis might assume that commenting and sharing functions have become a standard interactive feature. In order to understand whether they are contributing to the site's traffic success, I would ask more questions; how many people are on average commenting? What's the nature of the comments? What percentage of articles gets shared each day, by what medium?

Missing Variables

In order to understand the relationship between unique monthly users and interactivity features better, I would propose collecting these variables: As concluded in the analysis section, my paper would benefit from knowing the introduction date for some of the interactivity features; when did they start introducing hyperlinks? When did they introduce sharing functions? Within the content interactivity features, the variable archive would yield more understanding if I would include a categorization of what kind of archive service is offered and what the pricing choices are.

It would make sense to introduce another variable to control for: The year of foundation of the newspapers. I suspect there is a legacy mindset that keeps newspapers from making better decisions in this agile digital environment. An opposing hypothesis would be that some papers, like the New York Times or The Guardian, are simply too powerful brands too fail.

Since I see different subscription models as part of an interactive content, I would alter the variable subscription offerings: the dichotomized indicator falls short of capturing the paper's pricing models. It will contribute to a better understanding to observe whether there is a paywall and you have to pay once to get access to all articles or whether you may purchase access to certain sections or individual articles.

Econometric Options

An econometric analysis is a way to estimate the impact of each independent variable while holding the other variables constant. A story to test for econometrically would be whether there is a critical mass of features that together produce websites that attract more users or whether it is the sheer quantity of interactive features that is correlated with unique monthly users. Is there a set of indicators that can only be found at those papers that have higher visitor numbers? Or negatively expressed, what features are those papers without high visitor numbers not offering?

Since digital newspapers have the chance to attract a more global audience, I assumed that interactivity features are global. This should be tested. Maybe there is a set of external factors for which certain interactivity features work better than for others. I would run regressions between all individual independent variables and all dependent variables.

The distinction between interpersonal and content features is based on current literature. I would use the econometric analysis to test whether this categorization makes sense and test for other categorizations: features that encourage sharing and different channels like digital payments in app stores, sharing opportunities and community engagement in social media channels. Another categorization could be most convenient user experience: fully accessible and searchable archives, hyperlinks, customizable apps or websites.

Comment [T6]: I thought you were going to do an econometric analysis….

Conclusion

Academic literature has been focused on interactivity in the early 2000's, but there is a gap in the literature as to whether interactivity can actually be considered key success features of websites. The idea to research more than 20 papers all in one day alone was not feasible and I would recommend working in a team when collecting such a data set.

Some interactivity features have been adopted by the majority of websites and can be considered standard. Other features are used by only a couple of websites and the scatterplots indicate that there is a relationship between higher amounts of unique monthly users and content interactivity features. Even though I have not been able to test my hypothesis econometrically, this dataset gives insights into the interactive features that digital newspapers deploy.

Comment [T7]: It could be that these are the real important things and papers that did not use them are already gone

The correlation between digital payment and sharing opportunities presents an opportunity to measure a sharing economy digital mindset among journalism websites.

Being a trained journalist myself, I had chosen this capstone topic because I wanted to contribute something practical to the newspaper industry. What I can say for sure is that the elimination of some interactivity variables from my dataset due to a lack of variability shows that there are certain interactivity standards that will not make a difference. What I can also say for sure is that the site that has scored highest in the interactivity score has the highest amount of users and this paper is the Guardian, a website that has been at the forefront of digital experimentation for years, with a strong commitment of the management.

Even if I have not statistically proven my hypothesis, my analysis has revealed that those papers that offer commenting, sharing and several digital payment options are also the ones that have a high amount of unique users. This hints at the demand of users want to be involved and want to work with the content.

Bibliography

am. “How Millennials Get News.” *American Press Institute*. Accessed March 22, 2015. http://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/reports/survey-research/millennials-news/.

Bucy, Erik. “Second Generation Net News: Interactivity and Information Accessibility in the Online Environment.” *International Journal on Media Management* 6, no. 1–2 (2004): 102–13.

Compaine, Benjamin, and Brendan Cunningham. “Addressing Real Issues for the Uncertain and Challenging Environment of the Media Industry.” *Journal of Media Economics* 23, no. 3 (August 31, 2010): 111–16.

Crosbie, Vin. “What Newspapers and Their Web Sites Must Do to Survive.” *USC Annenberg Journalism Review*, 2004. http://www.ojr.org/ojr/business/1078349998.php.

Deuze, Mark. “Online Journalism: Modelling the First Generation of News Media on the World Wide Web.” *First Monday* 6, no. 10. Accessed November 28, 2015. http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/893.

———. “The Internet and Its Journalisms - Part I: A Typology of Online Journalism.” *Online Journalism Review*, July 11, 2002. www.ojr.org/ojr/future/p1026407729.php.

De Waal, Ester. “Online and Print Newspapers: Their Impact on the Extent of the Perceived Public Agenda.” In *Online News: Uses and Effects of News Websites*, 67–85, 2007. http://dare.uva.nl/document/51514.

———. *Online News: Uses and Effects of News Websites*, 2007. http://dare.uva.nl/document/51514.

Felle, Tom. “MA Interactive Journalism.” *City University London*, December 28, 2015. https://www.city.ac.uk/courses/postgraduate/interactive-journalism.

Jensen, Jens F. “‘Interactivity’. Tracking a New Concept in Media and Communication Studies.” *Nordicom Review* 19, no. 1 (1998): 185–204.

Jewell, John. “How Twitter Has Helped the Emergence of a New Journalism.” *The Conversation - Academic Rigor, Journalistic Flair*, November 4, 2013. http://theconversation.com/how-twitter-has-helped-the-emergence-of-a-new-journalism-19841.

Kamps, Haje Jan. “Who Are Twitter’s Verified Users?” *Medium.com*, May 25, 2015. https://medium.com/@Haje/who-are-twitter-s-verified-users-af976fc1b032#.jp2mycdo2.

Lasica, J.D. “A Great Way to Strengthen Bonds. Online News Publications Should Take Better Advantage of the Net’s Interactivity.” *American Journalism Review*, March 1998. http://ajrarchive.org/Article.asp?id=1789.

Liu, Yuping, and L.J. Shrum. “What Is Interactivity and Is It Always a Good Thing? Implications of Definition, Person, and Situation for the Influence of Interactivity on Advertising Effectiveness.” *Journal of Advertising* 31, no. 4 (2002): 55–64.

“MA Interactive Journalism - School of Communication, American University,” December 28, 2015. http://www.american.edu/soc/journalism/degrees/MA-ITRJ.cfm.

Mensing, Donica. “Online Revenue Business Model Has Changed Little since 1996.” *Newspaper Research Journal* 28, no. 2 (Spring 2007) (n.d.): 22–37. Accessed November 8, 2014.

Newman, Nic. “Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2015.” Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, n.d. Accessed December 28, 2015.

Picard, Robert G. “**Changing Business Models of Online Content Services** : Their Implications for Multimedia and Other Content Producers.” *International Journal on Media Management* 2, no. 2 (January 2000): 60–68. doi:10.1080/14241270009389923.

Robert Andrews. “Old Media’s Prospects Have Improved but the New Media Threat Looms Large.” *The Guardian*. Accessed March 22, 2015. http://www.theguardian.com/media-network/2015/mar/20/new-media-threat-buzzfeed-vice.

Spyridou, Paschalia-Lia, and Andreas Veglis. “Exploring Structural Interactivity in Online Newspapers: A Look at the Greek Landscape.” Journal Article. University of Illinois at Chicago University Library, April 28, 2008. http://firstmonday.org/article/view/2164/1960.

Stray, Jonathan. “Why Link out? Four Journalistic Purposes of the Noble Hyperlink.” *Nieman Lab*. Accessed December 28, 2015. http://www.niemanlab.org/2010/06/why-link-out-four-journalistic-purposes-of-the-noble-hyperlink/.

Van der Wurff, Richard, and Edmund Lauf. *Print and Online Newspapers in Europe. A Comparative Analysis in 16 Countries*. Het Spinhuis Publishers, Amsterdam, 2005.

“World Press Trends Austria 2014.” World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, n.d. www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/austria.

“World Press Trends Germany 2014.” World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, n.d. www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/germany.

“World Press Trends Switzerland 2014,” n.d. www.wptdatabase.com/2014/switzerland.

“World Press Trends United Kingdom 2014.” World Press Trends Database - World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, n.d. www.wptdatabase.org/reports/2014/united-kingdom.