

Attracting Young Readers – Tactics for Engagement.

A report for the Robert Bell Travelling Scholarship, 2011
University of Canterbury
Christchurch
New Zealand

Shanna Crispin, BA, GradDipJ
crispin.shanna@gmail.com
www.shannacrispin.weebly.com

Abstract

Readership of newspapers has been consistently declining worldwide over recent decades as the Internet and other new media become dominant in the news market. Key to print publishers retaining a hold on the market is effective engagement with youth, which should subsequently result in increased levels of youth readership. In New Zealand, efforts to successfully gain the interest of youth are yet to prove truly successful, and hence the future of the print medium is in jeopardy.

In comparison, media companies in Europe have been focusing on how to capture the attention of the so-called ‘digital natives’ for the better part of two decades.

This paper outlines lessons to be learned from the successful European experiences and suggestions for introducing similar tactics to newsrooms in New Zealand.

A visual resource has also been created in conjunction with this report, which sets out the key themes in a less detailed manner.

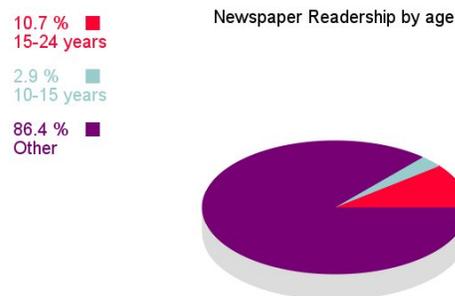
Introduction

The print industry in New Zealand has been faced with declining readership since digital media, such as the internet and new mobile technologies, emerged in the 1990s.

The decline of newspaper readership figures in general is, in itself, cause for concern. But what should be of more concern is the rate at which members of the younger generations are rejecting traditional media, and thus, newspapers.

During 2009 the number of young New Zealanders who classified themselves as never reading a daily newspaper rose by a significant 8.9 per cent (Nielson National Readership Survey, Q3 2008 – Q2 2009 v Q3 2009 – Q2 2010).

Of the total newspaper audience in New Zealand, only 10.7 per cent are in the 15-24 age group. An even smaller figure of 2.9 per cent are between 10 and 15 years old (*World Press Trends, 2010*).



The issue is replicated in readership figures worldwide. When Rupert Murdoch addressed the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 2005 he drew on a report by the Carnegie Corporation, which highlighted receding youth readership in the US.

“What is happening is, in short, a revolution in the way young people are accessing news. They don’t want to rely on the morning paper for their up-to-date information. They don’t want a god-like figure from above to tell them what’s important. And to carry the religion analogy a bit further, they certainly don’t want news presented as gospel” (Murdoch, 2005).

Research conducted in 2007 found that ‘Millenials’ (those born between 1981-2001) consume most of their media via the internet, with print the least preferred resource for news.

Media	Time Spent (Weekly, Hours)
Internet	37.16
Television	11.4
Radio	4.1
Print	2.9

(TechWyse, 2008)

The reasons for youth’s rejection of traditional news formats are varied. Meijer claims the declining appetite has to do with “fundamental technology changes in our culture” (2006, p.1). This aligns with the statistics set out above, and will be explored more in the first segment.

But first, it is important to examine why youth’s increasing disinterest in print news has been overlooked for decades.

Aralynn McMane, Executive Director of Youth Readership Development – WAN-IFRA, states: “like everyone else, we used to believe people naturally became newspaper readers when they became adults, an archaic concept by today’s standards” (McMane 2007, p.7).

According to McMane, and other industry experts (Meijer 2006, p.1; Graybeal 2009), the ‘negative cohort effect’ explains the trend of newspaper readership among younger demographics being overlooked.

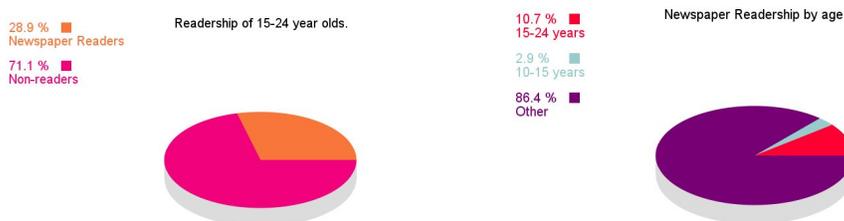
The theory proposes younger readers today have less interest in newspapers than what people of the same age did five years ago. The way statistics have been analysed has failed to recognise this downward trend of newspaper readership. A snapshot of readers in the early 90s, for example, showed a smaller number of newspaper readers in the 15-24 age group, compared to the 25-34 age group. Editors thus assumed that the younger readers would eventually become interested in news as they got older.

However, what has occurred throughout the 90s is that these younger readers did not become any more interested in news as digital media took hold. The negative cohort effect states that within the older group of readers, the percentage of newspaper readers within that group was higher when their cohort was examined five years earlier, but it has declined over time. It has not increased, as the figures suggested and publishers have assumed. McMane explains:

“Let’s say you have a 70 per cent penetration rate between 19 to 25 year olds, and 80 per cent in 25-35 - that looks like people pick up the newspaper when they get older. But if you look at the 25-35 year olds, when they were younger their penetration was probably higher than 80. This younger group; this will be the highest they will ever be...so that will decline over time” (McMane, 2011).

The theory does not bode well for assumptions that younger readers will become more interested in newspapers as they get older. When the New Zealand statistics are taken into account, which show that only 10.7 per cent of 15-24 year olds are reading the paper, it presents a dire situation for the print industry if this is to decline even further over time - as the negative cohort effect theory would suggest.

But there is hope – this 10.7 percentage of newspaper readers which are aged 15-24 years old, is only 28.9 per cent of the total potential readers within this age range. This means the industry has ample room for manoeuvre, as it has the opportunity to engage with the other 71 percent of 15-24 year olds which are not reading newspapers, and draw them into becoming part of the audience.



But in order to engage with the remaining 71 per cent which are not interested in print news, publishers need to realise and accept the situation, and significantly change their news production practices in order to produce a product which aligns with the modern desires of the digital natives.

1. Understand your audience.

In order to engage a youth audience, a publisher needs to understand both how that audience prefers news to be presented, and exactly what news is of interest.

Both the way youth consume news, and their preferred news media, have significantly changed from the preferences of generations before them. A key reason for, firstly, the change in news consumption, is the birth of digital media: the Internet has worked to provide much more information for the digital generations in comparison to what was available to earlier generations.

“An array of media services is available anytime, anyplace” Meijer states (2006, p.1). This has led to a significant change in *where*, *when* and *how* young people access news, and has subsequently changed the *way* in which that news is consumed.

Youth can now access news via their mobile phone on a bus, through email alerts, social networking sites and various other digitally-enabled mediums, in addition to the traditional news sources which have been around for decades.

Their familiarity with living in a digitised world has shaped their news consumption so it is a habit which is fragmented, and only focuses on significant news items or issues (Meijer 2006, p.9). It is widely agreed that youth do not want to spend time, nor do they have the patience, to read a newspaper from cover to cover as their parents or grandparents did. Nor is it necessary for them to do so in a world where they are bombarded with information, 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Youth no longer sit down at the breakfast table to read the newspaper – they are much more likely to flit through key headlines on their iPhone as they walk to the train station.

Many different terms have been applied to this manner of news consumption, such as “zapping” or “grazing” (McMane 2007; Meijer 2006, pp.10-15). This has resulted in newspapers being left behind when it comes to the preferred medium, as they do not fit with the fragmented news consumption habits. Newspapers now must be different to what was on offer and accepted by youth’s parents, and instead should simulate the digital environment in which they live. All this is possible by simple changes in the ways in which news is produced.

The observances that youth now follow news in a fragmented pattern has transgressed into assumptions that youth are not interested in news. That is, if youth do not fully engage with a news source, then they must not care for current affairs as previous generations before them did.

However, there is significant research discrediting that assumption.

In 2008 the World Association of Newspapers commissioned research consultancy DECODE to outline key issues within youth newspaper readership. More than 60 studies, reports and academic papers covering six continents were reviewed, summarised, and followed up with surveys of youth in different countries (Barnard 2007, p. 15).

One of the key findings showed youth value the control surfing the net afforded them in comparison to the lack of control when reading a print product. However, most participants said they still valued traditional media sources and formats as they appeared more accurate, reliable and trustworthy (Barnard 2007, p. 18) – thus rejecting the assumptions that youth do not value news.

If they state they value traditional news sources because they are more accurate, then they clearly have an interest in reliable news and current affairs. Rather, what appears to be the issue is the medium and style that the news is presented in which is turning youth readers off newsprint.

All of the media companies visited for this research confirmed youth value print publications; youth were more concerned about seeing their name or picture in the newspaper rather than online - the newspaper appeared to be the ‘premier product’.

These research examples provide indications of how youth are now behaving in terms of news consumption, and show lagging readership levels appear to be related to an issue with the medium rather than a rejection of the content.

However, publishers which take these findings into consideration have only taken the first step in the process of understanding their audience. To be successful in a particular market, publishers need to take a harder look at their target audience to understand exactly who and what they are; one market in a quiet country region will have different preferences in terms of newspaper content compared to a city-based market, despite the fact that youth may hold the same fragmented pattern of news consumption.

The majority of companies visited for this research have followed strict lines of research to uncover what the audience wants in terms of content, and then deliver on those desires. Basic market research may seem like an obvious thought, but it breaks the mould of traditional

newspaper production where editors decide what the most important things are for the audience to know without consultation.

Going back to Murdoch's quote, youth do not want to be dictated to. In order to avoid this, a publisher needs to learn to adhere to the audience's wishes without playing a role which dictates the news.

Poland's third most-read daily, *Metro*, has consistently adhered to the wishes of its readers, and has succeeded because of this. *Metro* was crowned Newspaper of the Year in the WAN-IFRA annual awards in 2010 and boasts a daily circulation of around 526,000. The paper is owned by Agora SA, which also publishes *Gazeta Wyborcza* – *Metro*'s 'big brother' and Poland's most read daily. *Metro* was initially launched as part of *Gazeta* in 1998, but branched out and became a paper specifically for the younger demographic in 2008.

It was not initially intended to be a youth newspaper, but after several years in production, it became clear the majority of readers were becoming young and active people mainly living in big cities.

When this first started becoming apparent, the publishers began to monitor Poland's nationwide dailies in order to assess the market.

"It appeared that none of the existing nationwide dailies had the young audience as its core target group. Of course – they did undertake their problems – but not on an everyday basis," Editor in chief, Waldemar Pas, said (*Agora SA, 2010*).

Pas says the paper then aimed to be the voice of that younger generation, the platform for discussion and a special place for interaction. It started to develop a new strategy, looked at overseas success stories, and began 'testing the audience'.

To get to know the audience even better, Agora commissioned professional research institute Millward SMG/KRG to investigate.

"We wanted to find out what kind of people the young are, learn about their hopes and ideals, and what the political class should expect from them," Pas said in 2008. (Pas 2011; Agora SA 2010).

The research analysed behaviour and preferences of the young Polish market and provided insights into their hopes, aspirations, fears and problems.

As well as providing an invaluable resource for the publisher to take into account when putting the newspaper together, and consideration of what content to include, the research results also formed the foundation of a large-scale editorial debate.

Since the decision to target the youth demographic in 2008, *Metro* has consistently had its readers at the forefront of every activity it undertakes. On an everyday basis the entire production team is challenged to imagine people in the target age range and say; "I'm writing for you" (Piechota 2011).

In Osnabruck, Germany, a social networking platform with an affiliated magazine adheres to similar principles by constantly undertaking reader surveys. Furthermore, the company publicly adheres to the responses from readers.

OsCommunity.de was formed in 2002 as a student project, but quickly became so popular the local daily newspaper *Neue Osnabrucker Zeitung* wanted to be part of the project as a way of accessing the elusive young reader. In 2008 the partnership created the magazine *Blue* (now *OsCommunity.de - Daz Magazin*), which consists of ten issues per year.

The magazine combines a variety of materials including news, feature articles and tips on hot places to visit, for example.

In 2010 the online platform underwent a relaunch and changed the design, which resulted in the online platform consisting of more white than blue.

Community Manager Ben Ellerman says this was a mistake emanating from a lack of research conducted prior to the relaunch. He addresses readers in the April 2011 edition of *Daz Magazin* about the redesign (translated);

“In September last year we made the biggest change to our online platform in its history. The new version was called Stayblue, which, above all, looked more white than blue. The long and short of it is you did not like Stayblue. It was an error. We have had 3,500 private messages sent to our community manager about this.

In January this year we did a survey of our 8,500 users – the biggest survey we’ve ever conducted. 90% of users wanted the old blue design back again. OsCommunity is your community. Your desire was the blue colour. Here, in April, we are now blue again” (OsCommunity – Daz Magazin, May 2011).



OsCommunity.de screen shot. Accessed 3/04/2011

Ellerman describes the redesign, of something so seemingly insignificant as the colour of the platform, as the biggest mistake in the history of the community, which cost the publisher a lot of users.

However, its commitment to its users and readers is key to its success – it is giving users what they want, and by publicly owning up to mistakes it is proving the platform is the product of audience desires.

In the publisher’s newsroom ten photos of different ‘youth’ are prominently displayed. These are what Ellerman describes as their target ‘personas’. The interests of these personas are taken into account in every phase of production: “during the concept phase,

the design phase, the implementation phase and the advertising phase, we check regularly with the personas, to see if we are really creating something that really fits with stereotypical attributes within that target group” (Ellerman 2011).

To be successful in providing a print news product which appeals to youth, a publisher first needs to accept the newspaper can no longer continue to be produced in the traditional format – it needs to be fast, snappy and colourful in order to simulate the digital environment which youth are accustomed to. Secondly, publishers need to go out of their way to understand their audience and what they consider to be important topics for inclusion in the product. Without completely understanding the audience, a publisher has no hope of successfully engaging with it. This goes beyond having a simple understanding of how news consumption habits have changed with the introduction of digital media, to instead also fully understanding the audience’s hopes, dreams, desires and key issues which affect them. But it should not end there; publishers should deliver a service which gives the audience value in their lives by covering issues and topics which affect them, in a format which replicates the digital media environment they are familiar with. This commitment to delivering a service of value and worth to the youth demographic should be questioned on a daily basis with publishers asking themselves if what they are creating is delivering on youth’s key requirements, and should continue to reassess and test the audience.

2. Do not trivialise news.

As discussed earlier, youth consume news in a much faster, fragmented and less thorough way than previous generations before them. With this knowledge has come an assumption from news publishers that youth are not interested in serious news, such as politics or business. As a result, print publishers have attempted to ‘dumb-down’ news in a technique intended to make news more accessible to the youth audience.

This “almost automatic” response that accommodating young people “equals popularisation; equals trivialisation” needs critical reflection Meijer states (2006, p.21).

Instead, Meijer’s research found youth want news to “address major issues, to be reliable and not to be made more entertaining” (2006, pp.11-13). In effect, Meijer states there is no basis to assumptions that youth are not interested in serious news.

She goes on to say the attempts to make news more entertaining are actually having the reverse effect on attracting youth because the ‘dumbing down’ implies news is no longer important.



The study conducted by DECODE, and other researchers (Meijer 2006, pp.12-13; Baym 2005; Feldman 2007) accept that youth are drawn into media through entertainment. But at the same time, they are turned off when news is presented in a trivial tone.

Metro learned this lesson the hard way. When it initially launched, the paper adopted a light-hearted approach to news which included constantly injecting humour – a technique which failed.

“What we found is that young people expected a serious newspaper. When they are looking for alternatives they have mediums that are

the best for those. You don't look for this stuff in the newspaper...so we found out that we don't have to try to look like somebody else, like somebody we are not. You don't have to be some youth magazine because young people don't expect it, they even find it confusing” (Piechota, 2011).

After realising its mistake, *Metro* used the comprehensive survey discussed earlier to establish what its readers were interested in and accommodated these desires in a serious and professional way. Similarly, the layout of the tabloid paper reflected a more modern approach – while the tabloid size makes it more appealing to youth, it is clear there is no trivialisation or ‘youth’ aspect.

The paper targets readers in the age group 25-35, but in actual fact, it captures the attention of readers much younger.

This is because, according to *Metro*'s publisher, the younger generation is aspiring to be older – like a younger brother or sister aspiring to be like their older sibling. Therefore, if the newspaper tried too hard to be ‘young’ and ‘hip’ it would not attract those younger readers – it would not be ‘cool’. What makes *Metro* attractive to the younger readers is that it always appears older, more professional and more serious – the product that their older siblings are interested in (Piechota 2011).

It is important to note there is a difference in the visual presentation of news, and making that appealing to youth, and trivialising the content. Considering youth's familiarity with short snippets of information, fast images and being bombarded with information, it makes sense to produce a newspaper with this in mind when it comes to visual design.

This was the logic behind the creation of the Croatian daily *24sata*. The paper was launched by Styria Medien AG in 2005 to solely target the young, urban and modern audience. It aimed to bring all the elements of the 21st century into one print product. This included imitating a) the Internet through a product that was fast, varied and colourful; b) mobile telecommunications in short, concise and compact copy; and c) digital photography. This style of presentation is reflected in the visual layout of the paper. However, the visual design should not transgress into the content or style news articles are written in. While youth may want their news packaged in a certain way adhering to new, modern formats, the above references to research show this does not mean they want news cut down and filtered in a similar way, other than, perhaps, the length of the stories. *24sata*'s marketing manager, Alice Almer says the paper is similar to the United Kingdom's *Daily Mail* or *Sun* tabloid newspapers.



I think this is really important to understand when you look at the success of the newspaper here is that it brings you the same topics in different ways, and therefore is different to the rivals. The thing is whereas others would give exhaustive reports on different things, this is fun, this is entertaining. (Almer 2011)

While the newspaper says it is “fun and entertaining” this relates more to the visual aspect than the way stories are covered - it does not affect the stories the newspaper chooses to cover, or the tone. Being ‘fun’ and ‘entertaining’ is not synonymous with also being immature. A newspaper

can present serious stories in a lighter way by finding a careful balance in the length of stories, visual layout, and tone, without appearing immature.

While it will publish a front-page article on the current Big Brother competition, *24sata* is just as likely to publish an expose of a corrupt politician. And if this is the case, the issue will be covered in a serious and mature way because the publisher recognises that if there is a story relevant enough to warrant front-page coverage, their readers will be interested.

We are not afraid to put them on the cover and say you're guilty or whatever, there is that bravery, not just to see what sells. (Almer 2011).

In some respects this 'bravery' Almer talks about may be what the youth audience values in the newspaper because it clearly positions itself on one side, if there is a side to be taken. Rather than taking the 'objective route'. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Ellerman from *OsCommunity* agrees there are times when, as a publisher, you need to inject some humour into copy so it aligns with the audience's desires, after all, research has shown too much depressing copy will not attract young readers (Meijer 2006; Lewis 2008, pp.46-47).

Sometimes you have to be a little bit entertaining...[but] also we make it clear we are not some sort of silly little magazine. (Ellerman, 2011).

A final note on the trivialisation of news comes again from Grzegorz Piechota of *Gazeta Wyborcza*. While it may still be tempting for publishers to present news in a tone that makes it easier for youth to understand, there is a fine line to be walked when doing so – publishers need to avoid talking down to youth in a tone which may appear condescending. Piechota says it is like a teacher or a mother talking down to a student; youth don't like it so why would they pay money for, or actively seek out a newspaper which replicates this relationship? They do not want to be dictated to, nor do they want to be patronised. Publishers need to find a balance between making news accessible in a modern and snappy format, while also maintaining regard for their audience by covering issues which interest them in a serious and non-patronising tone. 'Youth' does not indicate stupidity, so a publisher should not present news as though this were the case.

3. Do not 'ghettoise' youth.

In 2008 Time Magazine published an article about youth in Britain. It stated the country was frightened of its own young and quoted 'sources' urging people not to go out if they could avoid it lest they encounter a group of youths.

The article is the perfect example of what has become known as 'ghettoising' youth. This is the radical stereotyping of the younger demographic that would not be tolerated if it were another segment of society, for instance, an ethnic or religious group. In most cases it is not done intentionally – publishers realise not all youth are involved in gangs or boy-racing. However, the reality is that this news is more interesting to the majority audience than a good news story about a teenager winning a sports award. Take the 2011 rioting in London for example, which stayed headline news for two weeks. If an editor had the option of printing a story related to the rioting over this fortnight, or another news story, which could positively represent the youth demographic, the publisher would undoubtedly opt for the riot story.

Of course there may be many factors considered prior to arriving at this decision, general audience readership being the most obvious - the majority of the newspaper audience may well prefer to read articles about the riots over anything else, hence selling more newspapers.

Unfortunately, while articles about youth causing havoc may often satisfy the majority's interests, it is marginalising youth and making them less likely to read the publication.

A study done by the British Youth Council (2006) found 98% of respondents felt the media portrayed them as anti-social and more than four out of five thought the media portrayed them as a group to be feared. Instead of this negative coverage, the survey respondents wanted their achievements to be recognised, and to be given positive attention.

Lewis' research found that if young people had positive perceptions of news they were significantly more likely to anticipate becoming heavy users of "traditional" news sources (2008, p.45). Therefore, if publishers continue catering to the majority audience and ghettoising youth, they will further marginalise the youth demographic. If it continues, youth are going to increasingly turn away from the traditional news sources due to lack of positive experiences; if youth constantly feel a publisher is attacking them and not representing them and their peers in a fair way, they are unlikely to choose that news source over another, which would perhaps represent them more fairly.

It is fair to say traditional newspapers, particularly national dailies, are not good at representing youth in a fair and representative way. There are two issues with this; firstly, how can a paper expect to engage with an audience which feels the publication consistently misrepresents them? And secondly, what about fair representation of other members of the youth demographic which are not involved in negatively-portrayed activities such as boy-racing?

A 'positive achievement' story may not sell as many papers, but there needs to be consideration of how the youth demographic is represented and the relationship the publisher is hoping to forge with that segment of society.

Ghettoising youth readers comes in two forms; firstly the stereotyping as discussed, but secondly, filing coverage of youth issues away in the least read pages of the newspaper as though it is not worthy of inclusion in the front pages.

The Belgian newspaper *Het Belang van Limburg* has demonstrated a clear duty to its younger readers and resists ghettoising its readers. The newspaper has been operating in the small city of Hasselt, outside of Brussels, since 1933. Former Editor-in-chief Marcel Grauls is very clear in his view that "everything you do, you should take them [youth] with you".

Grauls' advice is to bear a 15-year-old reader in mind as every article is written – this means being honest about the portrayal of those youth readers – not just making it easy to read.

It holds a clear dedication to youth in the Flanders region and takes pride in writing good news stories about its youth audience, and has no qualms about a youth story appearing on the front page. It needs to be recognised that this is easier for a regional paper to do, rather than a national daily. But the positive response *Het Belang van Limburg* is receiving from younger readers in the region should be seriously examined.

The newspaper did initially attempt to have a separate children's page, as is a typical attempt daily newspapers make to cater to the youth audience. Grauls says this was "not so clever" and McMane goes even further describing it as "idiotic" (2011).

You don't just talk to them and put them on a special page only when there's a specific issue that seems to address that group. One page that's going to serve all their needs? That's idiotic. (McMane 2011)

Despite McMane's view of it being idiotic, it is a mistake which many newspapers have made in the past and continue to make.

A study conducted by the University of Georgia found newspapers are spending very little time and editorial space dedicated to attracting youth – 87% of survey respondents said they devote 10% or less of non-advertising space to content for youth. In addition, the majority said they devote 10% or less of their newsroom financial budget, their non-

newsroom financial budget, and their total financial budget to producing youth content (Graybeal 2009, p.137).

Population figures from Statistics New Zealand show the number of “youth” comprising at least 20% of the overall population. Given this, and the fact that it is these people the print industry should be trying to engage with, surely it is imperative publishers allocate more time, money, and editorial space to these readers as a duty to the survival of the print product.

It shows through in all media companies visited for this research there is a clear dedication to youth – they are not an after-thought where only a special section is dedicated to them, and they are not stereotyped or represented unfairly.

What is needed in order to increase the attention youth are given, and decrease the likelihood of them feeling ‘ghettoised’ by print publications, is a widespread cultural shift in thinking within the print news industry: youth need to be considered as valuable readers, rather than an afterthought. The industry cannot continue to solely serve its current majority readership as this is working to further marginalise youth.

4. Recognise and facilitate reader involvement.

The emergence of digital media and, more specifically, the Internet, has changed the relationship between news providers and consumers. The traditional relationship involved newspapers being relatively disconnected and separate from readers - simply presenting news and readers being content to consume the product without being involved or consulted. However, the emergence of digital media and its ability to facilitate news production from any willing producer is breaking down barriers and changing the rules around who produces and who consumes news. People who were traditionally impartial readers now want to be involved in the news production process and have access to avenues which enable them to do so. It is a situation publishers need to acknowledge, accept and facilitate if they are to meaningfully engage with young readers.

Voakes recognised this in 1996 (p.2):

Unless newspapers make people in their communities feel a part of them, as if they have a stake in them, they will disappear. Papers cannot be observers and reporters of a community. People no longer want to be merely observed.

The internet has largely been responsible for creating this desire for involvement in news production since it enables any willing person to publish whatever they desire to the entire world.

Newspapers have been struggling to come to terms with this fact since it originated, and have not yet found a suitable answer which allows the publisher to conduct its traditional news production, while also satisfying the youth audience’s desire for involvement.

Youth’s desire to have a role in news production is even stronger than previous generations since they are the ‘digital natives’ and have been raised in a world which gives them constant access to tools for instant news production – they are social networkers, bloggers, tweeters. With the wide array of news production tools on offer, there is no reason for youth to settle for a print product which does not facilitate their involvement.

Cokley considers newprint’s inability to facilitate reader involvement to be a strong inhibitor of newspaper’s appeal - as the product has the lowest level of interactivity (2005, p.5).

Despite this widely-accepted concept that youth readers are enthusiastic about producing their own news, the print industry has made very little progress on establishing ways for this involvement to occur at a level satisfactory to the target audience.

A survey conducted by the Readership Institute (2007) at Northwestern University in America asked newspaper executives to name the three most effective responses for declining readership among young people – while it is not a New Zealand study, it gives good indication of where print publishers' priorities lie.

The most popular response was to create non-print products, followed by marketing, understanding the audience, adding special print products aimed at youth, improving content and hiring younger staff.

It should be a concern that the idea of allowing readers to be involved in news production did not surface in any of the 12 answers for solving the declining youth readership debacle.

However, the successful European media companies visited during this research have identified that facilitating reader involvement is a key technique to successfully engage the youth demographic.

In particular, *Metro* regularly takes submitted stories direct from its readers for publication. Any reader has the ability to submit stories, which will be published with minimal editing. This is a very significant technique in that it gives readers the ability to contribute, as the Internet does, but even more so as readers are able to see their name in print, which, as discussed earlier, is more satisfying than an online publication because newspapers are still considered the 'premier' product.

However, *Metro* Editor Waldemar Pas says involving the audience has to start before the stage of simply asking for articles to be submitted.

You cannot just one day ask people to send stories – because getting engaged is a process, so you need to repeat it many times. It also means that when you ask people to get engaged you really have to ask them to do something serious and something important (2011).

In 2009 the paper took reader engagement a step further and, after striking up a rapport with the audience throughout the relaunch of the newspaper and series of debates, it asked youth readers to get involved in a campaign to decide what the 20 most important goals for Poland should be over the next 20 years.

A list was formulated from reader suggestions, alongside expert suggestions. This initial request for reader input is not unusual. However, what *Metro* did next sets it apart from other news publishers. It took the suggestions from readers and held a roundtable debate with experts, young scientists, trade unionists and other representatives to reduce the 20 goals down to five. The example here shows that the readers' involvement clearly led to a significant outcome which was publicised greatly – their time spent contributing to the paper was not wasted.

24sata and *OsCommunity* also actively facilitate involvement and contribution from readers.

OsCommunity's main editorial team is made up of what it calls 'user-editors'. Ellerman says it was the users that initially pushed for editorial content and articles to be published on the site.

Subsequently, the desire to self-produce news for the site was realised with a team of about 20 users who expressed a desire to write being established. The team is made up of interns and volunteers, while an editor oversees their work and teaches journalistic standards. Once the writers finish outside studies they then have the opportunity to become paid writers. However, the company regularly throws 'get-togethers' for the team as a way of rewarding their involvement.

Ellermann says his goal is now to get more involvement from the readers, but it is a difficult task unless there is some reward involved. The situation between reader and publisher has now

become more of a relationship – if a reader is going to participate in the active discussion, there needs to be a reason or incentive for them to do so.

The printed magazine also started a regular section called ‘My Lovely Clothes’ where readers are invited to write about their favourite article of clothing. Four or five of the submitted stories are selected and printed in the magazine, and also then posted online for readers to vote on which story they consider to be the best. The writer who receives the most votes receives a 100 Euro clothing voucher – thus a clear incentive for involvement.

24sata offers a similar level of involvement for its readers. In the first instance, the editorial team makes itself constantly accessible to readers, who are able to contact the team directly through a freephone number, emails and text – a prime example of the barriers between editorial members and readers being broken down.

Readers are also invited to submit stories. If their story ends up on the front page they are paid 100 Euro. Marketing manager Alice Almer says it has positive results not only for the writer, but also because youth reading the paper can see that their peers are involved in the production process. Key to the success is the two-way relationship between the news publisher and the reader; the youth readers are being given a voice through the established print product, and receive rewards for going through the effort of writing articles.

Finally, the Rheinische Post based in Dusseldorf, Germany, has devised a Newspapers in Education programme which allows students to produce their own newspaper on completion of the programme.

While New Zealand has been undertaking NiE programmes for years, the German example does not restrict itself to only using the newspaper in the classroom.

The newspaper, which has circulation of about 400,000, has been recognised for its extensive NiE projects.

Twenty years ago it started the programme in which students aged 13 to 16 ‘experience’ the paper for six weeks and conclude the programme by being involved in the production of an actual newspaper. NiE manager Sarah Dickmann says the project is very successful because the pupils like to see that they have been involved in producing a physical product, which brings a high level of reward for the age group.

Dickmann says while the young participants do enjoy the reward of having an article published online, it doesn’t beat the thrill of seeing their by-line in print.

As Murdoch stated in 2005, youth no longer want to be dictated to. Instead, the rise of new media has changed what youth consider to be the role of newspapers – instead of a disconnected arrangement between publisher and reader, they expect the publisher to establish more of a relationship with readers and facilitate instances where readers can have their voices heard. It is imperative that newspapers start to accept reader involvement in a more meaningful way in order to give readers more value from the print news industry than what they are currently receiving.

Newspapers are in a constant battle with new media, which has the advantage of allowing digital natives to create any copy they wish and post it straight online for millions to see. But newspapers have a different advantage over the internet which should be exploited: the youth demographic continue to show a greater thrill in seeing their involvement represented in a print product. If print news publishers begin to create more meaningful ways of allowing reader involvement, it would undoubtedly draw enthusiasm from youth readers who continue to hold the newspaper in higher regard than online publications.

5. Lessen the grip on traditional news production practices

Facilitating reader involvement requires publishers to let go somewhat of traditional news production practices which are ingrained in the industry. Through visiting the successful European companies, it has become clear New Zealand publishers need to adopt a more modern approach to producing news by; abandoning thoughts that newsrooms should be staffed by journalists with 15, 20, 25 years of experience, being open about their biases, and becoming more than just a newspaper.

5a. Recognise the value young writers can bring.

One of the best ways to attract young readers is to place trust with young employees and recognise the value they can bring to a print product which is attempting to engage with an audience of the same demographic. There are unlikely to be better placed people to raise new ideas and content suggestions of interest to that audience. Publishers need to take advantage of this.

Aralynn McMane recognises that having young people around and placing significance on their views is a commonality among most of the successful organisations.

It's having that mix and listening to the young people in the organisation. (McMane 2011)

Graybeal says newspapers should make use of these competitive advantages held by young staff, and use this as leverage in attracting youth – young staff will give the newspaper more competitive advantage in attracting youth readers than a newspaper without young staff on hand (2008, p. 143).

Metro and *Gazeta Wyborcza* have both realised this technique and make significant attempts to employ younger journalists. Piechota agrees they are going to be the ones that can truly realise the interests and desires of the target audience.

However, it does not forsake the experience and knowledge of veteran journalists.

You need young voices, but you also need some editors who are experienced. Young people also tend to get excited about things that old people know aren't so important. You need those experienced people to stop a young team making some mistakes, but they cannot be the MOST important, they cannot take charge on every policy. (Piechota, 2011)

Piechota also does not place any relevance on whether a writer has been officially trained in journalism. Instead, he says he places value on people who want to get out and talk to people and make a difference, which he says is reflected in the tone of the newspaper – making it more ‘edgy’.

OsCommunity also accepts that youth writers are key to driving up youth readership - the age of the user-editor editorial team averages in the early 20s. *24sata* appears somewhat more mature, but has a very youth vibe. Almer says they try to incorporate a young feeling within the team, and the editors themselves are not over 40 years old.

While not intentionally employing younger writers, Sarah Dickmann from the *Rheinische Post* says the newspaper tries to continuously have direct contact with their younger audience to understand their interests.

5b. Be open about biases

Newspapers successful in attracting youth have also begun to abandon traditional ideals of objectivity, as it is working against attracting youth readers.

Piechota puts this new idea firmly in the statement: “we don’t believe in objectivity, only being open about our biases” (2011). This is clearly a view which goes against the impartial journalism rules typically practiced in the New Zealand print journalism industry.

Meijer states the modern world has taught youth there is not one single truth, and so value is now placed on products which show multiple stories and realities side by side (2006, pp.17-18). Meanwhile, the Carnegie report (2005) states: “young people want a personal level of engagement and want those presenting the news to them to be transparent in their assumptions, biases and history”.

Publishers cannot ‘fool’ youth readers into believing they do not have a view on particular issues. Instead, publishers should be open about their true standpoint on issues, which will result in youth having more respect for the newspaper. There would no longer be a sense of distrust formed by youth knowing a publisher must have a view on a subject, but the publisher effectively ignoring it by attempting to be ‘objective’. The publisher would no longer be standing by and watching events unfold with an uninvolved eye. Instead, they need to take an active role and act upon beliefs which the audience knows exist.

Alice Almer from *24sata* says the paper has no qualms about being open about what they believe in, and fighting for causes which are deemed significant. She says if a politician is found guilty of corruption, the paper will label them a coward and effectively air all their dirty laundry. Almer states a publisher can be open about their biases, but still cover news in a balanced way by presenting all sides of the story – but it does not mean the newspaper needs to appear to be objective and/or open minded about all the sides of the story it is covering.

This honest, open and sometimes confrontational technique is a successful way of attracting youth readers as they are more likely to respect a newspaper if it is honest – attempting to cover stories with ‘objectivity’ is not seen as honest in the eyes of a young reader, and even indicates there may be underlying and corrupt reasons for why a newspaper would not want to be open about its biases. Furthermore, using these views as a reason to get involved in activities outside of the newsroom will show readers that the publication is willing to go beyond the call of duty to serve their readers, and consequently develop more respect amid the youth audience.

This also involves acknowledging the changing role of the news journalist – and letting go of traditional concepts that the role is to simply research and report on stories.

5c. Be more than just a newspaper

Youth not only want more from the media in terms of content and presentation, they also expect the media to show they are involved and will act on important issues on behalf of its readers. This means more than simply sponsoring significant events, but also facilitating and getting involved in discussions and debates, and leading the way to make change as per the desires of its readers.

Meijer’s research found youth want inspiration from the media – a sense of belonging and meaning in their life. Hence the media needs to create “appealing worlds of experience” (Piet quoted in Meijer 2006, p.2). This appealing world of experience should be an example the media sets in fighting for the causes of its readers – simultaneously building a strong foundation of loyalty within the youth demographic. If a publisher proves to youth it will stand and fight for causes relevant to them, those young readers will undoubtedly develop a loyalty and respect for the publisher.

Hollander (quoted in Ewart 2003, p. 2) says that: “Newspapers used to be an important part of what bound a community together, a common forum for ideas and discussion.” Ewart takes the idea further by saying that, with regional newspapers in particular, this role has eroded over time through tighter advertising to editorial ratios and shifts in the content of the newspapers. Now, there is more emphasis on the fact that newspapers should resurrect this role of the community enabler and representative (Ewart 2003, pp. 2-3).

Gazeta Wyborcza has consistently succeeded in acting not only as a facilitator of debate, but also as a leader in those debates. The publication was initially founded as the voice of the

Solidarity movement leading up to the country's first free elections in 1989, hence it has always had a distinct and independent voice, and is not weakened by ideals of objectivity.

This has carried through into its dedication to serving 500,000+ readers and acting on behalf of their views. In 2007 the newspaper led a multimedia national campaign to save the Rospuda Valley in Poland. The area was in danger amid the Government's plans to build an expressway through the valley.

The newspaper led a campaign to prevent the destruction of the valley which involved readers using protest letters, blogs, and mobile services to contribute their views and pledge their support for the campaign.

Gazeta also printed a special edition newspaper and information booklet on the issue. The campaign reached a climax with the newspaper's environmental reporter camping out for six weeks, blogging on the experience. The European Commission ultimately sued the Polish Government and blocked the razing of the valley.

Throughout the campaign 160,000 people had signed a protest letter, and over 100,000 letters and emails were sent to the publication – most of which were written by people under 24.

Editor Grzegorz Piechota says these actions were made on the publication's belief that being a newspaper should not be the one thing that defines its purpose – but rather it is a vehicle to get messages across and instigate change. This view should be taken on by every newspaper publisher – a newspaper is simply a vehicle to facilitate debate and affect change. Being a newspaper publisher and maintaining circulation figures should not be the most important thing in a publisher's mind. Rather, if the publisher is mostly concerned about engaging with the public, driving debate and facilitating change through instances such as lobbying the government – the respect and interest from the youth demographic which is desperate to have its voice heard will automatically follow.

However, being more than just a newspaper does not have to mean camping out in front of a bulldozer for six weeks.

Sarah Dickmann from the *Rheinische Post* says a publication simply has to show it is involved in community activities, which youth consider to be 'cool' events. For example, inviting readers to a football game.

We have to do some exciting things for young people, and different things to be a 'cool company'. We have to show this, and that we know a lot also. (Dickmann, 2011)

Het Belang van Limburg in Hasselt, Brussels, created a specific web platform in 2008 to help young musicians and bands get started in the industry, and to connect them with the newspaper.

Managers Rob Rodiers and Mark Van Luyk said when the newspaper changed to tabloid size there was no longer any room for the dedication it had traditionally given to local musicians. The pair decided to survey about 300 local bands asking if they would be interested in a networking/myspace type site being set up specifically for the region – initially taking the first step in successfully engaging with youth by understanding their audience.

After positive results, they went out and bought an off-the-shelf software package and put together their own website; www.limbolink.be

It operates as an effective social networking site for bands, with continuous news streams featuring both local and international stories, and a feature page in the Saturday newspaper showing activity on the site which occurred that week.

It is described as a 'newspaper with a soundtrack' and the site now has about 4000 members, which is estimated to be about 90% of the region's working bands.

The fact the site was set up solely out of interest for the musicians, and out of work hours, which shows a real dedication to the young audience *Het Belang van Limburg* sets out to include. Despite this being behind the scenes, it is clear to readers and those on the site that the newspaper it is affiliated with is willing to go out of its way to do something different to help the young demographic.

The screenshot shows the website's layout. At the top, the logo 'LIMBOLINK.BE' is prominent, with 'POWERED BY HET BELANG VAN LIMBURG WANAFRA' below it. A navigation bar contains links: HOME | ARTISTS | DJs | MEMBERS | VIDEOS | GALLERIES | Blogs&zoekertjes | GIGS/EVENTS | REVIEWS | CHARTS | NIEUWS | WAT IS LIMBOLINK | LIMBOLINKS. Below the navigation, there's a 'Please Sign In' section with fields for Username and Password, a 'Login' button, and a 'Remember Me' checkbox. To the right is a gallery of four images: a hot dog, a musician playing guitar, a red and white pattern, and a person. Below the gallery is a news section titled 'Site Nieuws - Heeft u nieuws? email naar : nieuws[@]limbolink.be'. A news item is displayed with a date '26/09/11', a title '30.000 Monkees speelt op Playfestival', and a photo of a musician playing a guitar. The text of the news item reads: 'Het jonge, vierkoppige noisecombo 30.000 Monkees - genoemd naar een song van hun grote voorbeelden van Lightning Bolt - speelt op Playfestival in Hasselt op zaterdag 1 oktober.'

www.limbolink.be accessed 26/09/2011

Ultimately, if a publication shows it is willing to work for its readers, and not stand-by simply reporting on debates, issues and/or serious acts of misconduct for instance, then youth will take time to appreciate what the newspaper can offer and be willing to pick it up and read it.

However, taking the step to work for the readers, and proving the publication is there to serve readers requires publishers to let go of traditional assumptions which are currently rooted in the New Zealand print journalism industry.

Taking the distant, objective role in covering news is not working to build respect and trust among youth readers – instead youth want publishers to show they care about issues by being open about their biases and using their views to fight battles which are deemed significant to both the reader and the publisher. This also means being more than just a newspaper and going beyond the core newsroom practices of reporting everyday stories, to instead getting involved in debates and being seen as physically present in the community – publishers have to simply play a larger, more significant role than reporting news. However, deciding which issues are of key importance to the youth demographic, and how to engage with that audience and get involved in debates, can begin by employing young workers and taking notice of their views. Placing the

highest importance on the older, more experienced, journalists is not the key to engaging with youth readers.

6. Be there for the firsts

The target audience newspapers are struggling to engage with - referred to as 'youth' - are typically 14-24 years old. During this age range people are undertaking many new experiences which they have never encountered before; graduation, relationships, buying a house.

In a report by the World Association of Newspapers, reference is made to Canadian strategic youth research consultancy DECODE, which stresses that the involvement in these first-time experiences can offer newspapers an "important chance to build loyalty in an era of high mistrust of business and of merchandising".

Robert Barnard is quoted saying: "Those between 14 to 24-years-old are beginning to shape tastes, views and identities, and make decisions on their own" (Barnard 2007).

Hence, it is proposed that being the "first in line" to be involved in one of these meaningful first-time experience offers an opportunity to build a lifetime relationship with that younger reader.

McMane says this also means reconnecting with youth after they leave the home, which newspapers are still figuring out how to do in a meaningful manner (2011).

Lewis agrees, stating: "it is during the transitional years of young adulthood that lifelong news habits are often formed" (2008, p. 39).

The only newspaper visited to fully understand and adopt the idea of being present for the youth audience's firsts was *Gazeta Wyborcza* – and perhaps it is telling that this is one the newspaper most recognised by the World Association of Newspapers for work in successfully attracting youth, so-much-so that it has been retired from the annual Young Reader Prize competition.

When considering stories to cover, the newspaper will often discuss topics such as house prices, employment, driving tests, graduation – all things which the young readers will be experiencing for the first time. But it will also discuss them in a way which is relevant to the youth audience, not simply reporting on the situation.

Editor Grzegorz Piechota says because people in the youth age group are experiencing many things for the first time, they are likely to appreciate a publication giving them information which is relevant to some of the most decisions in their lives.

If a person of 18 is looking for their first job, perhaps they have moved out of home, they are likely to be looking for guidance on how to best find that first job, or guidance on how to make the best decisions and which factors to take into account when making that decision. Publishers have a key opportunity here to acknowledge the youth audience's needs when it comes to making such big decisions for the first time in their lives, and facilitating that decision. Perhaps this means a feature spread on what to look for in a first job, how to successfully write a curriculum vitae, or tips on interviewing for a first job – not simply an analysis piece on the current job market or unemployment rates as typically seen. Publications should make a dedication to helping their youth readers, instead of simply analysing and reporting.

That guidance will be received gratefully by a young reader, and even more so if it helps that person secure their first job, for example. In the future that person is likely to remember that the publication enabled them to succeed in one of their first big endeavours, and is more likely to return to that source of guidance in the future.

Limbolink also believes its activity with helping emerging bands break into the industry will aide in creating an affinity with the audience of *Het Belang van Limburg*. If a networking

platform helped that band to break into the industry, a first for them, they are likely to develop a loyalty to the newspaper which is responsible for that.

7. Don't resist new media

While new digital media is largely responsible for creating the situation where newspapers are fighting to survive, it would be an ill-judged step for the industry to resist the possibilities such technology can provide.

Most newspapers have realised and accepted the benefits a simple website can bring by allowing readers to access their news online, but this needs to be done in a meaningful way.

Meijer states: “young people do not want to postpone their need for news to a fixed moment of the day or so; instead, they want to be able to satisfy this need instantly” (2006, p.17). The internet and mobile technologies are clearly the preferred platform for this need.

Meijer continues: “young people will – for reasons of efficiency, time, convenience, homey feeling etc – consult the latest news that has their interest more often through the internet.”

There is an argument which proposes the internet is gradually displacing traditional media, so much so that in the future newsprint will be pushed out of the market by new media. However, some commentators also believe the internet could be complementing the traditional forms by adding to what they already offer readers.

An Nguyen and Mark Western from the University of Queensland carried out an exhaustive study on this issue and found that: “the historical coexistence of old and new media will continue in the Internet age” (2006).

“The Internet will complement them in serving the seemingly insatiable news and information needs among a substantial segment of society.” Essentially, given this argument, it can be considered that the internet can help newspapers survive by enabling them to circulate content in a world which is now driven by digital technology.

If this is the case, how do newspapers integrate with the digital market? Jacqui Ewart's research concurs with Nguyen and Western's that online news may assist in the survival of printed newspapers. Ewart quotes Compaine in that the Internet is an important factor for the survival of newspapers because “there is evidence that internet users are looking for the same type of content as in the newspaper” – the audience is still looking for the same type and quality of news, but it is more the medium that the content is provided in which is the issue for youth readers (2003, p5).

Newspapers have an advantage here; they have survived for hundreds of years because they are able to provide the content desired - essential news on crime, politics and education for instance. As discussed earlier, the youth audience is still interested in serious news - it is only now, as the younger generation wants this information in a faster and more varied format, that newspapers have begun to struggle. Publishers need to exploit the experience that hundreds of years of existence has given them, and consider ways in which it can be channelled into digital and mobile formats so its product is more accessible to the youth audience.

How newspapers work to make a profit through moving to more collaboration with the Internet and mobile technologies is beyond the scope of this research. However, it is clear newspapers will be lost if they ignore the new technologies.

Every publisher visited for this report is incorporating new media into their production in some form – the *Rheinische Post* has opted to create an entirely digital Sunday newspaper without a print version.

Gazeta Wyborcza, *Metro*, and *24sata* collaborate consistently with radio, television and are moving more into producing mobile applications for people to access their material.

Clearly *OsCommunity* and *Het Belang van Limburg* have found ways to exist and create revenue through digital technologies, but have maintained their print publications.

A clear theme however is that pay-per-site is not the answer. Aralynn McMane says this is frustrating and goes against the immediate desire to view news which youth hold in high regard. There are millions of news-providers on the web so attempting to charge a young reader to view content would only work to the detriment of a publisher.

Ultimately, devising a collaborative relationship where news is presented in a cross-media fashion is the best way to ensure that the traditional newspaper survives, but that the content is also accessible to youth. In this situation, utilising digital technologies can create an environment where a reader first experiences the news in a fast and convenient medium, and reaches out to a print publication when more information is needed – such as guidance on successfully interviewing for a first job.

Conclusion

It has been apparent for years that newspaper readership figures are steadily declining as new media and digital news become more prominent in the market. Whilst it was previously assumed young readers would eventually become newspaper readers as they got older, this has been proven untrue, and is consequently likely to see readership figures continue on a downward spiral unless this youth demographic is engaged and convinced that newspapers are worthy of their time.

However, significant efforts within New Zealand to combat declining youth readership are yet to prove successful. There is no other way to ensure the survival of newspapers if nothing is done to engage with the youth demographic in such a way that they will want to continue reading newspapers as they grow older.

The first step publishers need to take is recognising that news consumption has changed with the introduction of digital media – youth now value fast, snappy and to-the-point news. But accommodating this does not mean publishers should sacrifice true, good quality journalism and strong news articles – significant research has shown youth value the accuracy and quality of news that newspapers have become renowned for.

Publishers should take advantage of this consideration and work to incorporate what they do best with techniques which simulate digital media consumption, and changing expectations of the media; youth want the media to stand up and fight for their beliefs instead of simply observing issues and events in the community and reporting on those situations.

Publishers are now expected to be more than observers and hence the newspaper should be considered as a facilitator of change. In order to do this, New Zealand publishers need to abandon traditional ideals of experienced reporters and objectivity. Youth input is key to attracting youth readers, and a way of showing dedication to those readers is to get involved in community activities which are not necessarily an impartial undertaking. A commonality between the publishers most successful in attracting young readers is a strong desire to fight for change and lead the way on important debates. New Zealand newspapers need to do this if they are to gain the respect of youth readers. Being ‘objective’ because it is simply an ingrained belief that our newspapers should not take one side or the other will not wash with young readers. If a newspaper ends up being too right-wing for a reader, then perhaps a young reader will not want to buy it. But at least, in this case, it will adhere to the desires of those readers which do associate themselves with that viewpoint. In the very least, a newspaper will have

some sort of loyal following, in comparison to the distinct lack of youth following newspapers now have.

Finally, publishers need to put much more effort into attracting youth by putting more resources into changing the way they produce news. Simple and easy to implement ideas such as ‘dumbing down’ news or creating one specific page for the desired demographic are simply not enough. If a publisher wants to survive it needs to prove to its readers it is willing to work for them and put effort into serving their needs, not just include them as an afterthought. Put young readers at the forefront of news production practices, in every technique or editorial decision made – the future of the print news industry rests on their shoulders, they should not be ignored.

Bibliography

Agora SA, 2008, ‘*Metro Survey – The Boom Generation*’. Retrieved 3 March 2011 from http://www.agora.pl/agora_eng/1,66714,6114608.html

Agora SA, 2010, ‘*Readership Campaigns*’. Retrieved 28 February 2011 from http://www.agora.pl/agora_eng/1,66707,4317184.html

Barnard, Robert 2007, ‘Decoding Youth Media Habits’, *Engaging Young Readers – Strategy Report*, World Association of Newspapers, vol. 7 no. 2.

Baym, G 2005, ‘The Daily Show: Discursive Integration and the Reinvention of Political Journalism’, *Political Communication*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 259 – 276.

Bergstrom, A & Wadbring, I 2008, *The Contribution of Free Dailies and News on the Web – is Readership Strictly Deceasing among Young People?* Retrieved 3 May, 2011, from http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/nordic_media_papers/Bergstrom_Wadbring.pdf

Brown, M 2005, ‘Abandoning the News’, *Carnegie Reporter*, vol. 3, no 2. Retrieved 7 April 2011 from <http://carnegie.org/publications/carnegie-reporter/single/view/article/item/124/>

Charman, S 2007, *The Changing Role of Journalists in a World Where Everyone Can Publish*. Retrieved 20 May 2011 from <http://suw.org.uk/freelance-journalism/the-changing-role-of-journalists-in-a-world-where-everyone-can-publish/>

Cokley, J 2005, ‘The financial importance of audience involvement for media survival’, *Journalism Education Association Conference 2005*. Retrieved 15 April, 2011, from <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:102397>

Costera Meijer, I 2006, *The Paradox of Popularity: How Young People Experience the News*. Retrieved January 20 from http://ripeat.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Costera_Meijer.pdf

DJ Kennedy < <http://www.techwyse.com> > 2008, ‘Trends in Media Consumption Amongst Millennial’, weblog post, 20 July, TechWyse Internet Marketing. Retrieved 20 April 2011 from <http://www.techwyse.com/blog/internet-marketing/trends-in-media-consumption-amongst-millennials/>

- Ewart, J 2003, 'News Connections: Regional newspapers and the Web', *Transformations Journal*, Issue 7, Sep 2003. Retrieved from http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_07/article_01.shtml
- Feldman, L 2007, 'The news about comedy: Young audiences, The Daily Show, and evolving notions of journalism', *Journalism*, vol. 8, no. 406. Retrieved 21 March, 2010, from <http://jou.sagepub.com>
- Hackett, R & Zhao Y, 1998 *Sustaining democracy? Journalism and the politics of objectivity*. Broadview Press, Toronto.
- Hari, J, 2009, *How can we Save Newspapers*. Retrieved 2 March 2011 from <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/johann-hari/johann-hari-how-we-can-save-newspapers-1649488.html>
- Graybeal, G 2009, 'Want Young Readers? All it takes is Money, Time Staff and Space', *Journal for Communications Studies*, vol. 2, no 3. Retrieved 20 February 2011 from <http://www.essachess.com/index.php/jcs/article/view/68/38>
- International Newsmedia Marketing Association, 2005, '*The Successful Launch of a Newspaper: Croatia's 24sata*'. Retrieved 29 April 2011 from <http://www.inma.org/modules/article/index.cfm?action=articleView&articleId=33332&isSearch=false&criteria>
- Piechota, G 2008, '*How to win young readers?*' Retrieved 28 February 2011 from <http://forum4editors.com/2008/09/how-to-win-young-readers/>
- Lewis, S 2008, 'Where Young Adults intend to Get News in Five Years', *Newspaper Research Journal*, vol. 29, no. 4.
- McMane, A 2007, Introduction, *Engaging Young Readers – Strategy Report*, World Association of Newspapers, vol. 7, no. 2.
- Mayer, C 2008, 'Britain's Mean Streets', *Time Magazine*, 26 March. Retrieved 29 February 2011 from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1725547,00.html>
- Murdoch, M 2005, *Speech by Rupert Murdoch to the American Society of Newspaper Editors*, News Corporation. Retrieved 7 April 2011 from http://www.newscorp.com/news/news_247.html
- Nguyen, A & Western, M 2006, 'The Complementary Relationship between the Internet and Traditional Mass Media: The Case of Online News and Information', *Information Research*, Vol. 11, No. 3. Retrieved 3 March, 2011, from <http://informationr.net/ir/11-3/paper259.html>
- Piechota, G 2008, '*Parents back to school!*' Retrieved 29 February 2011 from <http://forum4editors.com/2008/07/parents-back-to-school/>
- Piechota, G 2011, *Forum for Editors*, Retrieved 25 February 2011 from <http://forum4editors.com/author/grzegorzpiechota/>

Paulussen, S & Ugille P 2008, 'User Generated Content in the Newsroom: Professional and Organisational Constraints on Participatory Journalism', *Westminster Papers in Communications and Culture*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 24-41.

Rideout, V, Foehr, U & Roberts, D 2010, *Generation M2, Media in the Lives of 8- to 18-Year-Olds*, Kaiser Family Foundation Study. Retrieved 20 April 2011 from <http://www.kff.org/entmedia/upload/8010.pdf>

Sopher, K 2010, 'Younger Thinking: An Evaluation of Young America and the Future of News Media and Civic Life', Retrieved 15 May, 2011, from <http://youngerthinking.com/upload/ResearchPaper-reduced.pdf>

Trombly, M 2003, 'Newspaper Web Sites Struggle to Attract Younger Readers', *USC Online Journalism Review*. Retrieved 20 March 2011 from <http://www.ojr.org/ojr/business/1059602230.php>

The Viewspaper. Retrieved from 14 May, 2011, <http://theviewspaper.co.uk/>

UK Youth Parliament Newsletter, *Media Portrayal Special Report*, Issue 6, May 2008. Retrieved March 25 from <http://www.ukyouthparliament.org.uk/ukypdebatable/issue6/media.pdf>

Voakes, P 1996, *Newspaper Journalists of the 90s*,

World Association of Newspapers, 2007, '*Campagin: Let's Save Rospuda*'. Retrieved 28 February 2011 from <http://www.wan-press.org/nie/articles.php?id=1010>

World Association of Newspapers, 2008, *Newspaper Galvanizes Country to Take Better Care of Children*. Retrieved 29 April 2011 from <http://www.wan-press.org/nie/articles.php?id=1556>

World Association of Newspapers, 2008, '*Croatia: Scrc Vatreno (The Heart of Fire) – A Football Song by Fnas*'. Retrieved 29 April 2011 from <http://www.wan-press.org/nie/articles.php?id=706>

World Association of Newspapers, 2010 '*Newsroom Barometer: Optimism Among Editors for the Future*'. Retrieved 20 April from <http://www.wan-press.org/article18684.html>

Interviews:

Grzegorz Piechota, March 2011, Warsaw, Poland

Waldermar Pas, March 2011, Warsaw, Poland

Aralynn McMane, February 2011, Paris, France

Ben Ellerman, April 2011

Sarah Dickmann, April 2011, Dusseldorf, Germany

Marcel Grauls, April 2011, Hasselt, Belgium

Rob Rodiers, April 2011, Hasselt, Belgium

Mark Van Luyk, April 2011, Hasselt, Belgium

Alice Almer, June 2011, Zagreb, Croatia

Radovan Klaić, June 2011, Zagreb, Croatia