

New media – new norms

Transparency in Finnish online journalism

Sini Tuulikki Wirén

University of Helsinki

Faculty of Social Sciences

Media and Global Communication

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ABSTRACT

On the basis of technological advances, changing economic conditions and heightened audience expectations for openness and credibility, it has been suggested that transparency should be a new ethical norm for professional online journalism. While theoretical knowledge on this topic is constantly expanding, comprehensive empirical analysis of the practical implementation of transparency measures in news production is still rather scarce, particularly in Finland. To fill this gap in the existing research, this study focuses on transparency in the content of ten leading news websites in Finland. The content is examined with a mixed-methods approach that incorporates both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. While the quantitative analysis examines a total of 70 front-page articles from each of these news websites with a focus on systematic techniques that reflect transparency, the qualitative analysis scrutinizes these websites in their entirety by concentrating on the larger structures and elements that foster transparency through disclosure of information and supporting audience participation in news production. The results indicate that the level of transparency in the leading online media sources is still relatively low, and that there are no significant differences in transparency measures between the different kinds of mainstream news outlets, although certain techniques seem to be more popular in the tabloid media and others are more widely used by online-only or public service media. As practicing editorial and journalistic transparency does not usually require large financial investments, or involve legal restrictions, the discussion suggests that the main limitations for the utilization of transparency measures are the lack of audience demand on one hand and attitudinal resistance from the media professionals and organisations on the other. This study manages to add new knowledge to prior research on this topic by providing a comprehensive account of both the level and the nature of media transparency. At the same time, it clearly indicates that both transparency and online news publishing are such multi-dimensional and constantly evolving matters that comprehensive measurement of their prevalence would require much further research through a more diverse methodology. In addition to its academic contribution, this study introduces different transparency techniques that would benefit journalism practitioners. It also focuses the attention of consumers on the quality of online journalism and provides them with comparable information on the performance of different news outlets with regards to openness and public participation.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Teknologian nopean kehityksen, muuttuvien taloudellisten olojen ja yleisön kasvavien odotusten johdosta läpinäkyvyydestä on muodostumassa yksi ammattimaisen verkkojournalismin uusista eettisistä ihanteista. Vaikka teoreettinen tietämys aiheesta kasvaakin jatkuvasti, empiirinen analyysi läpinäkyvyyttä edistävien käytäntöjen toimeenpanosta uutistuotannossa on edelleen vähäistä, erityisesti Suomessa. Tämän tietoaution täyttämiseksi tämä tutkimus tarkastelee läpinäkyvyyttä kymmenellä johtavalla suomalaisella uutissivustolla sekä määrällisen että laadullisen sisällönanalyysin kautta. Määrällisessä analyysissä tutkitaan systemaattisten läpinäkyvyyttä heijastavien indikaattoreiden esiintymistä otoksessa, joka koostuu 70 uutisartikkelista yhtä uutissivustoa kohden. Laadullisen analyysin avulla taas arvioidaan laajempien, tiedon avoimuuden ja lukijoiden osallistamisen kautta läpinäkyvyyttä edistävien käytäntöjen esiintymistä valituilla uutissivustoilla kokonaisuudessaan. Yhdessä näiden analyysien tulokset osoittavat, että läpinäkyvyys on edelleen suhteellisen vähäistä johtavilla suomalaisilla uutissivustoilla. Tutkimus osoittaa myös, että eri sivustojen välillä ei ole havaittavissa huomattavia eroja läpinäkyvyyden määrän ja luonteen suhteen, vaikka osa läpinäkyvyyden keinoista näyttääkin olevan suosituimpia niin kutsutuissa sensaatiojulkaisuissa ja osa taas vain verkossa toimivassa viestimissä tai julkisen palvelun yleisradiotoiminnassa. Koska läpinäkyvyyden harjoittamiseen uutistuotannossa ei yleensä liity huomattavia resurssivaatimuksia tai lainsäädännöllisiä esteitä, tutkimuksessa arvioidaan, että keskeisimmät syyt läpinäkyvyyden vähäisyyden taustalla liittyvät yhtäältä toimittajien ja mediayhtiöiden ammatillisen aseman suojeluun ja toisaalta läpinäkyvyyden kysynnän vähäisyyteen uutisia seuraavan yleisön keskuudessa. Kokonaisuudessaan tämä tutkimus tarjoaa olennaista lisätietoa olemassa olevaan akateemiseen tutkimustietoon joukkoviestinnän läpinäkyvyydestä. Samanaikaisesti tutkimus tunnistaa journalistisen läpinäkyvyyden sellaisena moniulotteisena ja jatkuvasti kehittyvänä aihealueena, jonka kattava analysointi edellyttäisi vielä pitkäjänteisempää tutkimusta ja monipuolisempien tutkimusmenetelmien käyttöä. Akateemisen myötävaikutuksensa ohella tutkimus tarjoaa verkkojournalismin harjoittajille hyödyllistä tietoa ja käytännön esimerkkejä siitä, millä keinoin ja miksi uutissisällön läpinäkyvyyteen kannattaa panostaa. Lisäksi tutkimus esittää monipuolista vertailutietoa eri verkkomedioiden läpinäkyvyydestä ja sen avulla kannustaa yleisöä nykyistä kriittisempään media kulutukseen.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Transparency – a new standard for journalists?

In scholarly mass communication research, the buzz word is *transparency*.
(Roberts, 2007, p. 13)

Independent quality journalism has been widely regarded as an essential element in the process of maintaining transparent governance. For most individuals, the media is the key informer of topical social and political issues that directly or indirectly affect their lives. As such, it plays a role in directing their decision-making. It has been commonly argued by liberal theorists that representative democracy requires journalists that hold the government and other elite leaders accountable and therefore further the openness of governance (see, for example, Norris, 2008, p. 186; Schudson, 2008).

Technological advances together with the changes in audience behavior and news industry economics have changed the media landscape (Ziomek, 2005, p. v), and consequently, the need for a new type ethics in journalism has been at the center of the debate. Recently, the news media has been called upon to exhibit greater openness in their own affairs. As a result, the concept of transparency has thus been linked to news reporting and journalistic work. The traditional conceptions of journalism have been challenged in the era of online communication and tightening economic competition, where immediacy is often prioritized over accuracy, and objectivity is often replaced by strong underlying agendas and opinions (Friend & Singer, 2007). Therefore, academics have been constantly arguing for new normative goals for quality reporting - in order to regain trust in the media among a general public that has become increasingly skeptical of the performance of journalists. Several scholars argue that new instruments of accountability and transparency could distinguish professional journalism from other kind of communication and non-journalistic

content, such as copy-pasted information, user-generated news and social media content that characterize the online environment today (Bichler et al., 2012, pp. 10-11).

Inspired by the openness and participatory oriented approach of bloggers and citizen journalists, transparency is being held up as one of the most important ethical norms in news writing today and it seems to be becoming a new hallmark of quality journalism (Friend and Singer, 2007, pp. 71-75; Karlsson, 2010, pp. 1-2). Transparency is seen as playing a particularly crucial role in the field of online news because the amount of available information is much larger and the news content is changing more rapidly than in conventional journalism (Karlsson, 2010; Phillips, 2010). Also, it is reasonable to argue that the potential for transparency is higher in digital media than in traditional publishing because of the interactive nature of digital media. Consequently, it seems that the question of transparency has become increasingly central to academic research and discussion on the quality of future online journalism.

1.2 Study objectives and research questions

Despite the increasing amount of theoretical discussion on journalistic and editorial transparency, comprehensive empirical accounts on the topic are rather scarce, with the exception of a few studies (Karlsson, 2010; Heikkilä, 2011; Moeller et al., 2006; Bettels, Fengler, Straeter, & Trilling, 2011).

Internationally, the existing studies on transparency have mainly focused on the performance of the very largest mainstream news organisations, instead of covering a wide range of different online news media. Although it has been noted that the importance of transparency is clearly growing all around the Western world, these existing studies have primarily assessed the situation in the United States and in larger European countries. Only a very small bit of empirical research on the presence of transparency in national and local news has been conducted in Finland. Heikkilä's (2011) study appears to be the only

recent study that comprehensively assesses the state of transparency of Finnish online journalism. However, it is worth noting that the study is only based on interviews with media experts and professionals and that no content analysis is employed. Thus even at the theoretical level, it seems that many of the relevant issues and perspectives remain uncovered at the moment. For instance, very few previous studies have discussed the differences in the degree of journalistic and editorial transparency between different types of online news sites. For example, the differences between a public broadcasting site and the commercial tabloid sites and furthermore, between large mass media houses and online-only news companies are almost uncovered. As reading daily news and online magazines is one of the most common purposes of Internet use in Finland, the level and nature of media transparency would undoubtedly be worth more scrutiny. Consequently, this study aims at filling the gap in the existing knowledge by providing a comparative content analysis of the degree of transparency for ten different news websites in Finland. On the basis of these notions, it can be argued that conducting a new study is justifiable.

Despite being a new concept in the spotlight of public and academic discussion, journalistic and editorial transparency are in essence norms that reporters and editors could have been practicing long before the online era. Such transparency measures as disclosure of editorial decisions and encouraging audience participation in the news production process can also be practiced in print, TV and radio, although the techniques tend to be slightly different from those that are common in the online environment. However, this study only focuses on the techniques that are the most applicable for online news, such as hyperlinking to electronic source documents, providing a real time commenting platform in the news item frame and providing an editorial weblog. This way, the study highlights the medium that has started the current discussion about transparency – the Internet.

This study attempts to address two research questions. The main research question is:

1. How, and to what extent, do the leading Finnish online news media apply techniques of transparency?

Besides assessing the current state of transparency in the leading online news outlets in Finland at a general level, this study aims to understand the differences in the use of transparency techniques between different kinds of news websites. This way, the study aims to expand the general knowledge on transparency and understand how a media company's business model and content style is linked to the company's transparency practices. Hence, the supporting research question is:

2. What are the differences in transparency between the leading Finnish news websites?

This study attempts to answer to these research questions by using of a mixed-methods approach. This approach consists of a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis of the content from the ten selected websites. While the quantitative analysis examines the content on a news item level by focusing on specific elements in the news articles, the qualitative study assesses the content on a general level by concentrating on the larger structures and features. This ensures that the study is comprehensive and that it produces both systematic and rich descriptive data from the content of these websites.

Through an updated understanding of journalism ethics, the study aims to contribute more knowledge to the ongoing discussion on the quality of online news. Furthermore, it develops a viewpoint on both the theoretical debates between print or broadcasting-based online media and newer online-only media and in addition, between public and commercial journalism. Moreover, it aims at providing a trustworthy empirical account of the current state of transparency in

the professional online journalism practiced in Finland. Ideally, this study will encourage Finnish journalism practitioners to consider the standards for openness and encourage them to apply more participatory techniques in their processes of online news making. Respectively, the study also aims to promote more critical media consumption among the public.

1.3 Organisation of the study

The approach of this study is deductive reasoning. This means that the study begins with a theoretical discussion and the establishment of general assumptions about our topic of interest. Then, these assumptions are narrowed down into more specific hypotheses that are tested in the empirical analysis with a methodology that is also rooted in the review of the prior studies on media transparency. Finally, this leads to the testing of these hypotheses with specific data and an analysis of the accuracy of the existing theoretical knowledge on the topic.

On the basis of this approach, this study has been divided into six chapters. First, the objectives of the study are briefly described through a presentation of the research questions in this introduction. In the second chapter, the prior research and existing literature on the topic are assessed and both the theoretical and the methodological background for the study are established. In the same process, the hypotheses for the empirical analysis are formulated. The third chapter discusses the material and the methodology chosen for this project and it describes the phases of the empirical study in detail. The fourth chapter presents the results of the empirical analyses, and the key findings and their significance are discussed comprehensively in light of the existing theory in the fifth chapter. Finally, the paper finishes with a conclusion of the study and suggestions for future studies in this field of research. In order to enable critical scrutiny of the study, the coding sheet and other raw technical material that were used in the empirical research are included in the appendix.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This review focuses on both Finnish and foreign theoretical and empirical prior research on the concept of transparency, its relationship with contemporary journalism and its practical implementation in online media content. More specifically, this review evaluates to what extent the research problem has already been studied. It introduces the most common data collection instruments that have been used in previous studies and presents common research models that have been used. In this way, it aims to provide concrete research methods and strategies that could be applied when conducting empirical analysis on media transparency. Furthermore, the review aims at providing the researcher with enough information to make an educated guess as to the outcome of the upcoming experiment. The review also points out theoretical issues related to the topic in general. It aims at seeking and critically assessing the relevant established information on the topic in order to provide a comprehensive theoretical basis for the interpretation and discussion of the results of this study.

In order to comprehensively assess the scope of existing knowledge on the topic and to evaluate the value of the different academic texts to this research project, the literature review is further divided into six sub-chapters. First, the selection criteria for the relevant literature are briefly explained. Second, prior knowledge and the background for the concept of transparency in journalism are assessed. Third, the key definitions are assessed and the concept of transparency is discussed both as a general public value in society and as a specific ethical norm in journalism. Fourth, both the degree and the forms of transparency are examined in the context of current Western journalism and more specifically in Finnish online journalism. Then, the use of empirical methodology in the research of journalistic and editorial transparency is examined. Finally, this chapter is concluded with the formation and presentation of a theory and hypotheses in the sixth sub-chapter.

2.1 Selecting relevant literature

The relevant scholarly literature on the topic was retrieved through various academic search engines and databases, including Academic Search Premier, Academic Search Complete, Communication and Mass Media Complete, Google Scholar, Google Books and the databases for the Helsinki University Library. Because existing literature on transparency is still rather scarce and because a large share of the research has been conducted only recently, the literature search was not limited to any particular time frame. However, online journalism is a constantly evolving subject and as such, the knowledge base needs to be frequently updated. This means that the most recent information on the topic was given preference over the older information when selecting the key sources to focus on. Within this context, a number of trustworthy online sites and articles were used to supplement the academic books and peer-reviewed journals because the online sources seem to have been faster to react to the newest changes in the field of journalism practice.

2.2 Background of the need for new ethics in media

Before studying the concept of transparency and its use in more detail, it is worthwhile to review the underlying reasons for the emergence of the academic discussion on transparency.

2.2.1 Critical functions of journalism

In the disciplines of political science and communications, a significant part of Western academic literature on the functions and significance of journalism begins with the idea that the public shall be the ultimate authority in a representative democracy. According to a widely recognised point of view, the key role of journalists is to inform the public on important issues in order to enable self-governance. For instance, Schudson (2008, pp. 12-20) argues that journalists should investigate the actions of sources of power and authority, in particular the government. This theory of the role of journalists is widely spread

by other communication scholars and self-regulatory organizations, including the Project for Excellence in Journalism which sees journalism as having “an unusual capacity to serve as watchdog over those whose power and position most affect citizens” (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 1997). Furthermore, it is pointed out that in addition to monitoring the government, the journalists should also enable the audience to keep an eye on those in power (Kovach, 2005). Consequently, fair and comprehensive journalism is generally seen as a public good.

Nevertheless, journalism also has other functions in a democracy than just serving as a watchdog of the government and the power elite. Considering the recent literature on the relationship between journalism and democracy, Schudson (2008, pp. 12-20) seems to provide one of the most comprehensive overviews of these commonly acknowledged other functions. Therefore, his notions are a good starting point for a discussion. First, it is remarked that journalism can interpret the events in the world around us. Journalists help the public in understanding complex social issues and phenomena by providing fair and succinct analysis and explanation. Journalism can also promote social empathy by telling the audience about the lives and viewpoints of other people. In this way, the author refers to the technique of informing the audience of broader public issues through human interest stories that promote empathy and understanding. Furthermore, it is pointed out that journalism can enable the citizens to make their voices heard by creating a public forum through which the perspectives of different groups in society are being discussed. The obligation of the journalists is to feed this discussion by providing information on the relevant facts by fairly representing the different opinions and viewpoints. Lastly, it is argued that journalism has the ability to mobilize people to act in support of certain issues or perspectives. This refers to the performance of the partisan press. Although such journalism has often been considered to resemble propaganda, it is argued that if different partisan viewpoints are equally represented within the news institutions and society, they may contribute to

-serving the public interest. Sometimes it may even perform better than supposedly objective journalism that tends to have a de-mobilizing impact on the public. (Schudson, 2008, pp. 12-20.)

Although the acceptance of the aforementioned functions of journalism varies slightly between different schools of thought, this discussion indicates that journalism is clearly seen as playing a significant, if not crucial, role in modern society. Thus, the validity and the changes in the performance of journalistic work, including the emergence of transparency, are definitely worth exploring.

2.2.2 Changes in journalistic practice and ethics

Considering the critical functions that the news media performs in Western society, it is clear that anything that affects the format and quality of journalism is of interest to media scholars. The fairly recent issues affecting the production of journalism have been widely stressed in academia. Since the advent of the digital age and the new economic, social and cultural complexities, a large number of communications researchers have agreed that the practice of journalism has been subjected to a major change. As a result, there is a growing fear that the ability of journalism to perform its traditional functions is being severely challenged – and that the challenge is constantly growing. A common perception is that the Internet has revolutionized everyday news reporting practices, including the professional status and identity of journalists and the ethical norms underlying the practice of journalism (Fortunati et al., 2009, pp. 935-936). Also, the mass media are highly dependent on the instabilities of national economies and the market. Thus, in addition to technological transformation, the change in the concept of journalism itself is connected to tightening economic competition in the media industry. Several scholars support this view (Kovach, 2005; Weinberger, 2009, July 19; Phillips, 2010; Allen, 2008; Aitamurto, 2010; Friend & Singer, 2007).

Today, many academics focus on the changes that concern professional ethics

and as such, they are increasingly critical of the motives that underlie today's journalism. Whereas impartial distribution of valuable information and objective interpretation of this information have traditionally been regarded as the central components of quality journalism, today's news reporting is often claimed to be associated with personal agenda, political alignment and entertainment. Objectivity and other traditional standards in journalism are no longer the central ethical norms of the industry. (Karlsson, 2010, pp. 1-3; Meier, 2009, p. 1.) Comments, critical analysis and journalism that pushes for social change are increasingly preferred over factual and neutral information (Aitamurto, 2010, pp. 48-50). It is thought that journalism is returning to its original form as informative communication with strong ideological perspectives (Aitamurto, 2010, p. 48). Media critics also say that the concept of public interest, as discussed in the previous sub-chapter, has often been replaced with the personal or corporate bias of the media professionals (Kovach, 2008). For example, pressure from the advertisers on professional journalists and news organisations has increased since the move to the digital media environment (Phillips, 2010, p. 3). In addition to these notions, it is claimed that the speed of the flow of information is often preferred to the careful background research and to the traditional value of accuracy (Phillips, 2010, p.7).

2.2.3 A lack of public trust in journalism

As the role of journalists and the trends in journalism are changing, the public trust in journalism and journalists seems to be decreasing rapidly. Although the industry already faced a credibility crisis in the 1980s (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005, p. 2), the public opinion of journalists today seems to be lower than ever (Plaisance & Deppa, 2009, p. 4). Among other similar studies, a survey by the Pew Research Center between 1999 and 2005 showed that more than half of all Americans believe that news organisations are politically biased, as pointed out by Moeller et al (2006). The study also showed that a large number of Americans feel that the media is distorting democracy (Moeller et al., 2006).

Parallel to that, a more recent survey from the same research institute showed that the public's assessment of the accuracy of news stories in 2009 was at its lowest level in more than two decades (Pew Research Center, 2009, September 13). Generally, it has been argued that the new media platforms and tightened economic competition have brought new challenges that endanger the objective truth-seeking function of journalism and therefore tend to result in declining trust among the readers. Several academics, including Kovach (2005), point out the Internet's potential to increase the amount of inaccuracies in reporting and its negative impact on the traditional conception of journalists as honest and impartial actors in a society. As Kovach (2005) argues, the audience is becoming increasingly skeptical of the conflicting flows of information that resemble journalism, but in reality are not necessarily journalism. In addition, it is suggested that due to the industrialization and commercialization of the industry, understanding what the production process contains has become increasingly difficult for the audiences (Maia, 2008, p. 119). Besides the public, many trained journalists themselves have acknowledged the web's potential to increase the unreliability of published information. In particular, this makes distinguishing falsehood from truth much more difficult (Fortunati et al, 2009, pp. 948-953).

On the basis of these views regarding the impact of the aforementioned changes on audience behavior and on the media industry in general, there is a lot of discussion on "journalism in crisis". Following this dilemma, as Väliverronen (2009, p. 13) points out, discussion of this "crisis" has recently become a trend in mass media research, and the most radical scholars have even predicted the death of professional journalism. However, other experts have argued that this "crisis" does not need to be the end of journalism. Instead of actively resisting the transformation that the new era has brought, the traditional news media should accept and adapt to the changes by updating their journalistic practices and professional ethics (see for example Aitamurto, 2010). Above all, this leads to a discussion on journalistic and editorial

transparency in the production of online news.

2.3 Transparency as a way to improve journalism

In the previous sub-chapter, a brief outline of the background literature suggests that new ethical norms are required to enable the production of quality journalism in the Internet age and that this is key to retaining public trust in the news media. As the following discussion will demonstrate, transparency is largely seen as way to achieve this.

In general, transparency means opening up the journalistic process to the readers, and therefore allowing the audience to judge the validity of reporting. Allen (2008, p. 336), among several other academics, argues that transparency therefore advances democratic discourse in society. In order to improve the problematic situation with the quality of today's journalism, new ethical rules for reporting have become essential, and transparency is often seen as the most important of these new ethical rules.

Transparency is regarded as being important for web journalism in particular. As Craft and Heim (2009, p. 219) point out, transparency "has become a common practice on the Internet". It is suggested that the web offers an ideal platform for a more transparent production processes and thus, transparency is often regarded as "the new objectivity" (see for example Weinberger, 2009). Keeping secrets has become more difficult, and nearly anyone can easily become a media critic on the Internet (Craft & Heim, 2009, pp. 217-218). Thus, transparency is the method that can help professional journalists regain the trust of the public (Craft & Heim, 2009, p. 217). It is seen as allowing more interaction both between the journalists and their audiences and among the readers of online news and hence, increasing the credibility and authority of journalism in the eyes of the consumers of news (Lasica, 2003, p. 72).

As the world has become more integrated and interdependent, transparency has become a global trend (Craft & Heim, 2009, p. 218). In particular, the

pressure from the global blogosphere and new alternative media sources are seen as one of the key phenomena that has increased the discussion of the need for transparency in professional online journalism (Singer, 2007, p. 86; Lasica, 2003, pp. 71-74). Whereas journalists have traditionally been unwilling to disclose their working methods and processes without anyone strongly requesting the information, they are now under constant pressure to actively release information on their newsgathering and selection procedures. The bloggers tend to give a higher value to openness than to the traditional principles of news reporting: as Singer (2007, p. 86) puts it, “what truth is to journalists, transparency is to bloggers”. Also, Allen (2008, p. 328) argues that “the jurisdictional battle between traditional journalistic outlets and newer forms of media is reflected in the debate around transparency”. In addition to openness, the concept of transparency is often linked to participatory media culture: professional journalism must adopt new ways that enable increasing audience participation in order to fulfill the demands of the online generation, thus allowing them to compete effectively with the bloggers (Aitamurto, 2010, p. 48).

In the next sections, the theoretical definitions of transparency, its practical implementation on news websites and its value to journalism are critically explored in more detail.

2.3.1 Definitions of transparency

While it is a new concept in journalism, transparency has deeper roots and a more common presence in other fields of societal affairs. Generally, the concept is regarded as being most strongly rooted in the ideals of the Enlightenment (Allen, 2008, p. 329). It is especially prevalent in the thinking of the 18th century philosopher Immanuel Kant (Plaisance, 2007, p. 189). In this wider perspective, transparency in contemporary society is understood as referring to both openness and the explanation of critical elements and the underlying processes of an action. It is regarded as a necessary public norm to prevent corruption

and therefore, public administrations, organisations and businesses today are expected to employ transparency in their everyday practices (Ball, 2009a). In the late 2000s and early 2010s, the norm has been widely discussed in the field of fiscal policy because of the global crisis in the banking industry (see for example Kolb, 2011, pp. 144-145).

The definition of transparency is often discussed in close relation to the ethical norms of accountability and credibility. According to Ball (2009b, March 25), transparency in the field of governance differs from the ethical norm of accountability because it directly establishes trust in a certain person or organization. Still, politicians tend to treat the two values as the same thing (Ball, 2009, March 25). Similarly, in the field of journalism, transparency is closely linked, but not equivalent, to accountability and credibility. Yet the definition of transparency is seen as going further than accountability and credibility because it is described as the association between the source information and the final news item that is published. As Smolkin (2006) argues, transparency is related to answering the 'why' question of journalistic decision-making. Put differently, it is generally seen as a call for journalistic honesty with regards to what is known and what is not, as well as to why certain information is brought up and where it originates from (see for example Karlsson, 2010, p. 3; Bettels et al, 2011, p. 1-2).

While some authors have accepted this definition, others have suggested that the need for openness is more than this, arguing for a disclosure of the underlying reasons and motives. Some transparency advocates go even further and demand a disclosure, not only of the reasons and motives that are linked to a specific reporting process, but also of the personal backgrounds and possible prejudices of editors and journalists in general (Smolkin, 2006). All in all, no single commonly accepted explanation of the abstract concept has yet been established, but academics have provided several different definitions and, as Craft and Heim (2009, p. 217) argue, these definitions are often very different from each other. Still, there seems to be no large differences between the

suggestions of most academics regarding the disclosure function of transparency. Craft and Heim (2009, p. 221) themselves define transparency as a process of revealing something that might otherwise be hidden, such as motives and editorial decisions. Similarly, Allen (2008, p. 323) argues that transparency reflects the action of making public the traditionally private factors that influence the creation of news, and Weinberger (2009, July 19) regards it as a description of the relationship between the source documents and the final journalistic products. An argument by Kovach (2005) sums up these definitions rather well: “(as a journalist you should) provide your information so that people see how it was developed and can make up their own minds what to think.”

Besides the disclosure function, some academics regard an active audience as a central component of the new paradigm of journalism. Consequently, they have also included the participatory function in the definition of the concept of transparency, thus expecting journalists to encourage the public to be actively engaged in the news making process on an everyday basis. This contrasts the new forms of journalism with the traditional model of one-way communication between news professionals and their audiences. Lowrey and Anderson (2005, p. 1) add this participatory element to the earlier definitions of transparency by explaining that transparency includes a call for a more egalitarian relationship between the reporters and the readers. Likewise, Karlsson (2010) introduces a concept that he calls “participatory transparency”, and explains it as a process of including the audience in the news production process.

2.3.2 News websites and the practical implementation of transparency

Despite the lively academic discussion on the concept, no clear standard for the practical methods of transparency has yet been agreed upon. Most accounts of transparency have not gone beyond an abstract theoretical level. Nevertheless, recent theoretical literature on transparency in news reporting, as well as a few existing empirical studies, provide some suggestions of how this new ethical

norm could be implemented in everyday journalistic practices. As Karlsson (2010) points out, these methods can be categorised into “disclosure transparency” and “participatory transparency”. Whereas the former concept refers to the process of revealing journalistic methods, editorial decisions and underlying motives, the latter focuses on the various ways in which the newsmakers invite the audience to get involved in the news production process.

When the knowledge from different academic accounts on the topic is combined, there appears to be a variety of techniques for implementing disclosure and participatory transparency. Some authors, like Roberts (2007), have identified many different dimensions of transparency. Yet generally most authors focus on a couple of proposals for ways that the idea of transparency could be put into practice in online journalism. Although no previous study lists all the possible techniques that foster transparency, collectively they provide this study with a very comprehensive list of techniques. For the sake of clarity in the following discussion, these previously acknowledged transparency methods are divided in four groups. The first three groups involve methods that are based on communication from the professionals to the public (disclosure transparency), and the last one consists of techniques that allow for interaction between the industry and its audience (participatory transparency).

First, transparency could be put into practice through the creation of everyday practices that explain how news stories are “developed, reported, edited, produced, and presented” (Ziomek, 2005, p. 23). For example, it has been suggested that the newsgathering process could be revealed to the public through regular columns or blogs updated by the person responsible for the editorial decisions or the information gathering practices (Craft & Heim, 2009, p. 217; Ziomek, 2005, p. 24). Such reports would preferably include information on newsgathering methods, story selection and other editorial choices and motives (Craft & Heim, 2009, p. 217). Through blogging, journalists and editors could expose the raw material of the stories that are in progress, for example by

publishing complete interviews that will serve as a source for the upcoming final news item (Lasica, 2003, p. 73; Heikkilä, 2011, p. 11). As an alternative or an addition to verbal communication, it is also suggested that media companies could open up their news meetings or editorial conferences for the public, maybe even physically, but most likely just on the Internet (Meier, 2009, p. 1; Bettels et al., 2011, p. 2). Also, disclosure of the updates and corrections to news stories is seen as one dimension of increasing the openness of journalistic and editorial news-making processes (Bettels et al., 2011, p. 2; Karlsson, 2010, p. 4; Heikkilä, 2011, pp. 16-17). With regard to these corrections, Meier (2009, p. 6) even argues that when errors are made, a more extensive transparency requires the journalist to explain the reasons for the mistake, rather than just simply providing a correction to the text.

Second, in addition to disclosing the everyday editorial processes, transparency requires willingness to explain the values and ethics behind these decisions. Reporting standards and ethical rules should be available for the audience to examine (Moeller et al., 2006). Disclosing the issues that affect news selection and the professional assessment of news worthiness could be done, for example, through publishing a list of the key news criteria on a website (Weinberger, 2009, July 19). Also, disclosure of the corporate ownership of the news organization and information on its financial and political connections could be seen as promoting transparency because they increase openness on possible conflicts of interests that may have an influence on why certain decisions are made (Moeller et al, 2006; Heikkilä, 2011, p. 11). Similarly, openness with regards to the staff composition of the news publication is considered to be essential. As Heikkilä (2011, p. 12) points out, practices like including bylines in news stories and publishing profiles of the journalists fosters transparency in online news websites.

Third, it is argued that reader's access to the information that led to the news story reflects transparency (Roberts, 2007, p. 49). As Juntunen (2011, p.1), among others, argues, the public may find it difficult to assess the origin and accuracy of certain information if the publishers are not open about the sources of the information. Therefore, disclosure of both original and secondary sources of information and the background material used for reporting is seen as an essential element of transparent reporting. On a news item level, this often refers to linking to source documents and supporting evidence (see, for example, Carroll, 2009, p. 301 and Weinberger 2009, July 19). Common secondary sources seem to be other news media, whereas primary sources could be, for example, interview transcripts. By naming the sources and the interests, journalists can increase the audience's ability to check the reliability of their journalistic work (see, for example, Phillips, 2010, p. 7). This can be compared to the scientific openness on the research methods in academia (Neuberger, 2005).

Fourth, participatory transparency is generally seen as consisting of a public assessment of journalistic quality and credibility. For example, this would happen through employing public editors and ombudsmen who would communicate directly with the audience (Kovach, 2005). The readers could be asked to produce additional input or generate story ideas and writing follow-ups based on suggestions made by the audience (Lasica, 2003, p. 73).

Alternatively, the audience could be allowed to evaluate the newsworthiness of a set of stories. For example, the *Wisconsin State Journal* has asked the audience to assess the value of the story and choose the next day's headline out of five different news stories (Maia, 2008, p.127). Also, a news outlet's presence in popular social media sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, provides another opportunity to advance transparency (Heikkilä, 2011, p.14). At a news item level, participatory transparency could be put into practice for instance through the provision of a commenting space or a poll for the readers. Photos and other material from the readers could also be included in the news stories

(Karlsson, 2010).

In addition to considering the existing academic discussion on transparency techniques and methods, it is useful to examine accountability and credibility with regards to the ethics of blogging. As discussed earlier, much of the pressure that directs journalism towards a greater degree of openness comes from the growing blogosphere. Therefore, the ethical norms of blogging are likely to provide us with more knowledge on the techniques of transparency on a practical level.

Among a few similar portals, *Cyberjournalist.net*, a new media-related information site created by an award-winning online and print journalist Jonathan Dube, provides a comprehensive listing of ethical norms of blogging. Although grounded in the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics, these norms have been designed to apply specifically to the needs of citizen journalists and the Internet community. According to the code, bloggers should “admit mistakes and correct them promptly”, “explain each Weblog's mission and invite dialogue with the public over its content and the bloggers' conduct” and “disclose conflicts of interest, affiliations, activities and personal agendas”. Furthermore, “when exceptions are made (regarding the relationship to advertisers and special interests), disclose them fully to readers” and “if publishing questionable information, make it clear it's in doubt”. It is also important to “identify and link to sources whenever feasible”. (Dube, 2003, April 15). In light of the earlier discussion of the convergence of journalism and blogging, it seems that that these ethical norms could be applied to professional news reporting too. Combined with the previously discussed academic knowledge on editorial and journalistic transparency techniques, they provide this study with a good understanding of what transparency means in practice.

2.3.3 The value of transparency for news media and audiences

A clear majority of the existing literature examines the concept of transparency in journalism from an optimistic perspective. This literature regards openness of reporting as an essential requirement for the health of both the news media industry and all of democratic society in the future. As discussed earlier, the decrease in public trust in journalism is one of the key justifications for arguments that promote an increase in transparency. It has been generally agreed upon that in order to maintain democracy in society, trustworthy information is needed. Craft and Heim (2009, p. 222) regard transparency as “a necessary condition for promoting public trust in institutions”. They see it as contributing to the process of truth-seeking and consequently improving the accountability and credibility of a medium (Craft & Heim, 2009, pp. 222). According to Maia (2008, p. 132), journalistic transparency contributes to the emergence of a democratic culture of access and consequently, it contributes to trustworthiness of the entire media institution.

By disclosing the methods of their work, journalists enable a public assessment of the reliability of their work (Allen, 2008, p. 323). Transparency of the working methods tends to reveal inadequate background research conducted by journalists, for example in a situation when a crucial piece of information is only based on Internet search without any usage of personal contact sources (Maia, 2008, p. 127). Consequently, critical scrutiny of the working methods and motives of journalists is thought to result in an increase in the quality of news reporting. Whereas political and administrative transparency of governments is generally seen as a way to reduce corruption, journalistic transparency is expected to decrease the amount of bias in reporting. It has been argued that as transparency allows the audience to judge the validity of the reporting, it is likely to eventually lead to less errors, less deception and less false information (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001) whilst a lack of editorial transparency is likely to result in a lower degree of clarity in the news (Rupar, 2006, p.137). The rationale behind transparency in journalism seems to be similar to the

justification of open governance: the more information the public has, the better the governance will get. As Kovach (2005) argues, creating a culture that demands open discussion and criticism of the mistakes made by editors and journalists is the only way for the news media industry to learn from these mistakes.

In addition to increasing the trustworthiness of journalists and the quality of media content, transparency is thought to have great potential to increase an audience member's understanding of news reporting and thus improve his or her knowledge about contemporary issues of public interest. In fact, transparency may be the key to a reader's comprehension of information (Maia, 2008, p. 119). In particular, information about the underlying editorial and journalistic process does this by reminding the reader that there is a journalist between truth and the portrayal of reality (Rupar, 2006, pp. 127-128). Transparency is a way through which the readers can gain access to the truth about the manufacturing of the news (Allen, 2008, p. 324).

Alongside with these ethical and social advantages, some authors point out that a medium is likely to benefit economically by using transparent techniques. It has been suggested that editorial transparency may become one of the key criteria for whether or not a person chooses to follow a certain publication (Maia, 2008, p. 120). Parallel to that, Lasica (2003, p. 74) predicts that increasing transparency results in growing loyalty. Also, Pantti & Bakker (2009, p. 8) note that participatory functions, especially user-generated content, increase audience's loyalty to the publication and bring more visitors to the website. As a matter of fact, it has been predicted that a medium that continues to operate without adequate accountability in the future is likely to lose its readers (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005, p. 2). Likewise, Vehkoo (2011, November 3) argues that transparency in online news establishes credibility that is required for newspapers to have a future. A similar view is also supported by Ziomek (2005, p. 28), who argues that a newsroom that creates a culture of

transparency through increasing audience engagement may well have the best chance for success in the future world of journalism.

Nevertheless, similarly to the more traditional ethical norms of journalism, transparency also has its critics. Much of the criticism of transparency comes from professional journalists. One of the reasons for this could be the conception that revealing their working methods would weaken the authority of their occupation. Journalists are seen as having a semi-professional status, which means that learning to practice journalism is generally seen as easier than learning professional disciplines like medicine or engineering (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005). It has been argued that journalists have the potential to lose their authority to gather, publish and interpret information for the public (see, for example, Smolkin, 2006). Therefore, professional journalists are unlikely to be keen on revealing their working methods and operating in a more transparent fashion (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005, pp. 1-4). As Kovach (2005) states, the first step towards the transition to the new journalism required by the new online era would be to abandon the traditional conception of journalists as the ultimate gatekeepers of the information flow.

In addition, it is suggested that professional journalists require a certain amount of room in order to produce quality reporting. When someone is constantly “looking over their shoulder”, journalists are not likely to become more focused on their work but rather the other way round (Wasserman, 2004 cited in Smolkin, 2006). Hence, it is claimed that transparency may actually hinder, if not cease, professional journalism.

Although these notions are otherwise valid, it seems this criticism fails to take into account the current lack of trust in professional journalism and the idea that challenging professional authority is not merely a negative phenomena. The problem is that this criticism views the question of transparency from a very narrow perspective that comes from the interests of a particular professional group. In fact, as discussed earlier, other experts have argued that a more

skeptical and critical audience pressures the journalists to follow the ethical principles of reporting more carefully and consequently advances the democratic process (Craft & Heim, 2009; Maia, 2008).

Also, other academics say that most readers will always prefer professional news sites to amateur material. It is however likely that are not going to be satisfied with the traditional type of reporting and will want to become a part of the journalistic process themselves, too (Lasica, 2003, p.74). Thus, it can be argued that the aforementioned fear of the disappearance of the respect for professional journalists is needless. The requirement for transparency is not likely to result in a death of professional journalism or in a disappearance of trained journalists, but rather it will further a fundamental change in news media practices. Instead of automatically being given high professional authority, journalists need to earn their status as respected information-providers in a more concrete way than before (see, for example, Aitamurto, 2010).

Transparency has also faced other kinds of criticism. As Craft and Heim (2009, p. 217) point out, the recent discussion on the topic suffers from a lack of clear definitions and therefore, the entire concept of transparency has been surrounded by confusion. The difficulty of defining transparency clearly enough has spurred negative arguments about the concept. In a similar way to the idea of full objectivity, it is claimed that full transparency is impossible, and potentially unnecessary, to attain. Journalists are not expected to reveal every single detail of the newsgathering process, but rather to provide the audience with an adequate description of the relevant background information. However, defining which elements of the news making process should be disclosed and which are not has been regarded as a difficult task. It is generally agreed upon amongst the enthusiasts of transparency that the demand for disclosure should apply to the underlying processes, motives and information. Yet further details are often left unspecified. For instance, Smolkin (2006) recognises the difficulty of defining what exactly the news organizations should be open about.

Furthermore, some authors argue that the increasing emphasis on transparency may also create other negative consequences. By challenging the idea that transparency is the key method for restoring the status of journalism, they have suggested that an increase in transparency does not necessarily lead to growing trust in the industry. The key problem is considered to be deception and lies, not secrecy (O'Neill, 2002, p. 69), and thus, providing more information is seen as providing more reasons to challenge the authority of journalism rather than increasing public trust in it (Allen, 2008, p. 326). This links to another critical notion: awareness of the growing pressure for transparency might increase hiding of certain facts that the media industry considers to be harmful if revealed to their customers (Allen, 2008). Also, it has been suggested that concentration on transparency methods may divert a media organization and its journalists from its most central task: concentrating on explaining the world (Ziomek, 2005, p. 27; Craft & Heim, 2009, pp. 223–225; Smolkin, 2006)

2.4 The level of transparency in journalism today

In addition to reviewing the existing theoretical literature on transparency and its value to journalism and society, it is useful to consider the existing knowledge on the presence of transparency in practice. First, the general state of transparency in journalism in the Western world is briefly reviewed. Then, this sub-chapter moves on to discuss the existing knowledge on the role of transparency in Finnish journalism in particular. Finally, some of the differences in transparency between different kinds of news outlets are introduced.

2.4.1 Transparency in Western media culture in general

Much of the academic literature of transparency finds the degree of media transparency today to be rather low. While the presence of transparency is constantly increasing, transparency is not yet seen as playing an adequately important role in today's reporting in practice. It seems that many online news media have been slow to employ participatory techniques (Lowrey & Anderson, 2006, p. 4). As one of the reasons for this, it has been suggested that many

journalists have been generally unwilling to accept the changes that the Internet has brought to the industry (Lowrey & Anderson, 2006). This has usually resulted in a lack of interest in the new ethical norms, in particular transparency. For instance, a survey by Fortunati et al. (2009, p. 954) suggests that the Internet's capability to reinforce the social functions of journalism remains unrecognized by most professionals in the Western countries. Also, Karlsson (2010) and Rupar (2006) conclude that the level of transparency could clearly be improved in most countries. From the perspective of these empirical studies that have indicated that the emergence of transparency has been slow in the practical level, much of the previously discussed theoretical literature seems to be over-emphasizing the importance of transparency in contemporary journalism.

Nevertheless, there is also literature indicating that more transparency in the form of journalistic and editorial blogs and columns has emerged recently. For example, *The Wall Street Journal* now keeps a real-time diary of its news production process and the website *BBC London* has created a reporter's log (Maya, 2008, p.127). From this perspective, the optimistic views of the future of transparency in Western professional journalism may thus seem reasonable.

2.4.2 Finnish media culture and transparency

In light of the discussion on Internet media, Finnish journalism seems to be an ideal platform for the development of advanced online news culture. This is due to the fact that Finland is known for its high broadband penetration and high degree of Internet use. Finland is also known for having an established online media scene, a high level of press freedom and a culture of high-quality journalism. Next, these features are briefly elaborated on.

First, the Northern media market is characterized by a large number of people using the Internet on an everyday basis. 89.4 percent of citizens had regular broadband access in 2011 and furthermore, the Internet is generally open and unrestricted. Second, following the decrease in print media revenue, most

newspapers have updated a free online news site with original content (Fortunati et al, 2009, p. 938), although recently the trend has been moving towards paywalls that restrict access to content. According to several surveys, reading online news and magazines is one of the most popular purposes of Internet use in the country (Statistics Finland, 2012). Among the younger population, the Internet is regarded as an even more important mass media than television, newspapers or radio (European Journalism Centre, 2010). In general, journalists in Northern Europe, including Finland, have been perceived as being more enthusiastic about the advantages that the Internet has brought to the media industry than their colleagues in other countries (Fortunati et al, 2009). Still, it is worth noting that a successful business model for online editions has not yet been established. As such, multimedia publishers seem to treat online newspapers as a future investment and as a complementary source to print media (Fortunati et al., 2011, p. 938). Finally, at a more general level, Finland has consistently been amongst the most free media environments in the world. This means that Finnish journalists are free to operate (Freedom House, 2012; etc.) and update their professional ethics when needed. Altogether, the characteristics of Finnish media culture imply that Finnish journalists could be both keen and free to adapt rapidly to the new forms and norms of online journalism, including the culture of transparency. However, empirical knowledge on the level of transparency in Finland indicates that the practical situation is somewhat different.

A common perception is that the public trust of journalism and mass media has not yet faced a huge crisis in Finland (Matikainen, 2009, p. 114). Generally, public trust in journalism is strong, as indicated by a recent study by the European Commission (2011). The study showed that approximately two-thirds of Finns say that they trust the press and three-fourths say that they trust the television. These are the highest trustworthiness scores for in Europe. According to the same survey, almost half of the Finnish respondents trust the Internet, which is also a relatively high score compared to most other EU

member countries (European Commission, 2011). As Heikkilä (2011) shows, the traditional mass media houses, such as public broadcaster YLE and commercial broadcaster MTV3 are particularly well trusted by a substantial majority of people. On the other hand, the trust is rather unevenly distributed between different media types and public trust of certain news outlets, such as popular tabloid papers *Ilta-lehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*, is quite low (Heikkilä, 2011, pp. 4-5).

Despite this relatively high level of trust in professional journalism, the need for media transparency has recently become more important in the public and academic discussion on Finnish journalism. This is understandable because the external challenges, namely the economic decline and the pressure from new media have slowly started to affect the performance of Finnish news organisations. Journalistic ethics and the transparency of information have been brought up particularly in the field of crisis communication. Concerns about the changes in the ethics in newsgathering and news production have been expressed especially in the aftermath of national crises like the Jokela and Kauhajoki school massacres in 2007 and 2008 (see, for example, Hakala, 2009).

However, journalistic and editorial transparency seems to be scarce at the practical level in online news. In one of the only empirical studies on media transparency in Finland, Heikkilä (2011) has studied the recent developments of media accountability practices in Finland. Interestingly, his study draws the conclusion that most instruments of transparency are not yet very widely used among the news journalists and editors of mainstream online media. More precisely, his study shows that online journalists do not systematically link to original sources, and that the use of journalist and newsroom blogs, the availability of code of ethics and news policy documents and collaborative news production are rather limited in Finnish mainstream online media. Instead, such transparency indicators as bylines, public information on news company ownership and the news outlets' presence on Facebook are more commonly

used. The provision of feedback forms, audience commenting platforms and audience blogs are also commonly used. (Heikkilä, 2011, pp. 12-17.)

2.4.3 Journalistic ethics across different news media types

Based on the literature search, it can be argued that no comprehensive comparative analysis of the emergence of transparency in different types of online news publications has yet been conducted. However, recent general studies on online news suggest that there are clear differences in the general methods, motives and ethics of news production between different kinds of online journalism.

First, there are differences between citizen journalism and professional online journalism. For example, Carpenter (2008) shows that professional journalists tend to rely on routine sources more often than citizen journalists. Considering this information, it is reasonable to expect that some differences between the different publication types also exist when it comes to the employment of transparency techniques. In principle, the differences between professional and citizen journalism are not very relevant to this study, as this study analyses professional journalism only. However, the knowledge on these differences can provide some indication of the differences between all-round mass media houses and newer online-only news companies because the new online-only publications could be considered to be closer to the culture of citizen journalism in many respects (Carpenter, 2008).

Second, the economic differences and the differences in the business model are considered to be one of the central factors that distinguish different publication types from each other. It has been suggested that online journalism that is not being sponsored by a major traditional media outlet tends to lack the ability to produce democratically valuable content as effectively as the more profitable media (Schudson, 2008, p. 17). Small newspapers and media organizations may not have the necessary resources to carry out many of the suggested transparency methods (Ziomek, 2005, p. 27). On the other hand,

however, one could argue that transparency does not usually require large investments. For example, as shown by several academics, most bloggers are able to emphasise transparency in their posts - usually for free (Singer, 2007; Phillips, 2010). Thus, it seems to be one of the ethical requirements of journalism that these low-budget publications could actually fulfill the requirements almost as easily as larger media companies.

Third, some differences are likely to exist in the news content and journalistic processes between public service media and privately operated commercial media. On one hand, as discussed earlier, the commercial pressure may be one of the key factors directing professional media companies towards a more open and participatory news culture (Maia, 2008; Lowrey & Anderson, 2005; Ziomek, 2005). Thus, it could be argued that the publicly funded broadcasters, which usually lack this market pressure, could be less keen on adopting editorial and journalistic transparency. On the other hand, the UK's BBC has shown growing interest in editorial and journalistic transparency. The number of editorial blogs has increased rapidly (Hermida, 2008) and the recent journalistic codes of conduct also suggest more communication between individual journalists and the audience in the future. For example, according to the company's guidelines for financial journalism "transparency is the key" (BBC, n.d.). Also, a study by Moeller's et al. (2006) shows that the BBC received the third highest transparency score in an international comparison of 25 large news outlets, most of which were commercial. It seems that the corporate news outlet's adoption of blogging as part of its everyday newsroom practices stems from an attempt to create "a tool of accountability and transparency" through which to seek for the audience's trust (Hermida, 2008, p. 2).

Then, there may also be certain characteristic differences between the online news content of newspaper companies and the online news content of television companies. For example, Moeller's et al. (2006) comparative study measured the level of transparency in regards to the websites of 25 major news outlets in the United States, the United Kingdom and the Middle East. As a

result of the study, five out of the six media outlets that scored the lowest on transparency were all websites of TV channel companies: Sky News, ITN, Al Jazeera (English), CNN and FoxNews (Moeller et al, 2006). Then again, two TV channel based websites, namely BBC and CBS, scored among the highest on transparency. Therefore, it seems that there may be some differences in transparency between these two types of media companies. However, more comparative research is clearly needed on this topic before any firm conclusions should be drawn.

Finally, there are also clear differences between so-called broadsheet-like high-quality news outlets and tabloid-like news outlets. Although there is no clear definition of what a tabloid actually is, other than that its general meaning is linked to a specific size and format (Sparks, 2000, p. 9), most academics agree that certain characteristics clearly reflect tabloid news. Some of these characteristics, just to name a few, are a human-interest, entertainment focused, sensational reporting style; pushy reporters and photographers; less respect for principles like privacy (see, for example, Er & Xiaoming, 2002). On the basis of these different reporting styles, there have usually been some differences in the compliance with the traditional news ethics between broadsheet and tabloid websites, and thus it is reasonable to assume that there could be some differences in the level of transparency as well. Nonetheless, comparative studies on transparency from this perspective seem to be very scarce at the moment.

2.5 Existing empirical research on media transparency

As pointed out in the previous sub-chapters, the lack of a clear consensus on how to measure media transparency has made conducting practical studies on the topic slightly complex. Nevertheless, some comprehensive empirical research has been carried out in recent years. In order to establish an appropriate methodological framework for this study, it is essential to review some major pieces of work from the existing research.

To start with, Karlsson (2010) has conducted a comparative content analysis of transparency in three Western mainstream media sites (*The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and *Dagens Nyheter*). The study was conducted over a one-week period. Researching the journalistic output on a news item level, he evaluates the presence of different transparency indicators, such as 'linking to sources' and 'enabling commenting'. As a result of the analysis, each one of the studied news organisations was given a transparency score that enables comparison between different publishers. Karlsson's study provides a good starting point for the empirical analysis in this project. Still, it is necessary to take into account the fact that his study only focuses on the direct and systematically measurable transparency indicators, leaving the question of indirect transparency uncovered. In other words, the study lacks a measurement of issues like the personal motives and prejudices of the journalists and editors.

Next, Rupa (2006) has measured the degree of transparency in identifying sources in three New Zealand dailies during a period of a lively discussion on genetic engineering in the country's mass media. Similarly to Karlsson's (2010) analysis, her study provides future research with a useful model of an empirical study on transparency. However, as the author concentrates only on sourcing, this study does not suggest a method through which to assess other transparency factors, such as the encouragement of audience participation and the disclosure of editorial motives.

Furthermore, Moeller et al. (2006) has measured transparency in the reporting of 25 internationally well-known news outlets through five different indicator categories. First, the researchers assessed the way and the extent to which mistakes in online news articles are corrected visibly in the respective website. Next, they estimated the openness about ownership with regards to the media and non-media holdings of the parent corporation. Then, they reviewed the level of transparency of staff policies for these media companies. This category

included various indicators, including openness about personal conflicts of interest and openness of the organisation's ethical standards and rules for their journalists. Then, they estimated the openness of editorial decisions and reporting policies, including the disclosure of writing and editing policies. Also, the required number of sources, the amount of background research and the values and ethics behind these standards were considered. Finally, they evaluated the news organisation's interactivity with its audience. In this category, they emphasized such indicators as whether the company publishes letters and comments from the readers, whether they have an ombudsman, whether the contact information for the staff has been published and whether the staff has been made accessible through other means. The performance of each news organization in each of the five categories was evaluated on a scale from 'not acceptable' to 'excellent', and in the end, each organization was given a final transparency score on the basis of this assessment (Moeller et al., 2006). In contrast to the two previously discussed empirical studies, Moeller's study considers almost all the important transparency indicators that have been brought up in the theoretical literature.

Finally, two interesting transparency-related studies have been located in Finland. First, Heikkilä (2011) has studied the use of a variety of different transparency measures in Finnish mainstream online media. As the study is largely based on the interviews of nine experts, it offers an interesting methodological alternative to most studies on the topic, which tend to apply the method of quantitative or qualitative content analysis. As Heikkilä's study employs different research methods than this study, but yet still using a similar population, it can contribute interesting additional knowledge to this study, and vice versa.

Second, Juntunen (2011) has scrutinized the referencing of sources and the transparency of these practices through quantitative and qualitative analyses. The study focuses on news content concerning national affairs in seven Finnish media outlets (*Helsingin Sanomat*, *Ilta-Sanomat*, *Ilta-lehti*, *YLE*, *MTV3*, *Nelonen*

and *STT-Lehtikuva*) from May 2010. Similarly to Rupaar's (2006) study, the scope of Juntunen's analysis is limited to sources, and it therefore does not provide information on other aspects of transparency like participatory transparency. On the other hand, as the theoretical discussion shows, it is clear that sources are one of the key elements of transparency and therefore this kind of empirical information is extremely valid for the purpose of this study.

Also, although it seems to be reasonable to argue that the number of existing empirical studies on the use of transparency techniques is still rather low both internationally and inside Finland, it is essential to point out that there are several ongoing studies that will provide the academic field with new information in the foreseeable future. One of the key research projects in progress is a EU-funded "Media Accountability and Transparency in Europe (MediaACT)" project, of which the aforementioned Heikkilä study (2011) is a part of. The project analyses and compares media accountability and transparency systems in 14 different countries using a multi-method approach that consists of surveys, desk studies and expert interviews. The duration of the project is from February 2010 to July 2013. Once the final results are available, any interested parties will have access to comprehensive analysis on the state of media transparency in several European countries (Bulgaria, France, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Serbia, the United Kingdom), in a few Arab countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Tunisia) and in the USA. In addition to assessing the level of transparency and providing methodological support for future studies, the research will reveal how the quantity and quality of media accountability systems that are used in the selected EU member states correlate with political, legislative, and economic conditions in the respective states ("MediaAct", n.d.).

In regard to methodology, it generally seems that content analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, are the most popular methods for studying the editorial and journalistic transparency of a news organization. Interview studies are sometimes also used. Still, very few studies apply a mixed-methods approach. Overall, the aforementioned empirical studies provide a rather strong

basis for the methodological consideration for this research project. The discussion on this theme is continued in the methodology section of this research paper.

2.6. The theoretical framework and formulating the hypotheses

To conclude, the literature review indicates that there is a relatively great deal of high-quality, unbiased and valid academic research on the concept of transparency in media, and more is to come. Overall, having combined the knowledge of the relevant academic works, and having also considered several practical online sources, this review manages to draw a rather comprehensive picture of the topic. The existing literature delivers a thorough account of the context of transparency and provides an extensive analysis of both the positive and negative implications of journalistic transparency both for society as a whole and for the quality of news reporting.

To sum up, the literature suggests that transparency is a normative goal from which every stakeholder – the audience, the journalists, the businesses and society – can benefit from. It is regarded as contributing to a more equal relationship and more interactive communication between the media industry and the audiences and thus helping to restore public trust in journalism. However, some criticism of the concept has also emerged, especially from professional journalists working for traditional news organisations. Taking this theoretical discussion into account, the perspective of this thesis is founded on an assumption of that transparency in journalism is highly desirable. Yet, this is done without totally ignoring the existing and emerging criticism of this new ethical concept. Transparency and quality are not identical terms, but it seems that the level of transparency can provide some indication of the quality of news reporting and the editorial routines of online journalism.

Having established the theoretical framework, it is time to turn to the formulation of new research hypotheses. As discussed above, the scarcity of existing empirical and comparative knowledge on the use of transparency techniques

makes this considerably challenging. Still, the study by Heikkilä (2011) provides good indications of the current state of transparency in Finnish online journalism. Also, some estimates of the current situation in Finland can be constructed on the basis of Karlsson's (2010) study on the Swedish media, because Swedish media is quite similar to Finnish media. Heikkilä showed that most of the possible transparency measures are not yet widely used in the Finnish mainstream online news media, such as *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Aamulehti*. Similarly, Karlsson found that the level of transparency on the website of Swedish daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* is quite low. Thus, the first hypothesis to be tested in this study assumes that ***the degree of transparency in leading Finnish online news is still relatively low.***

In regard to the differences between different kinds of online news media, the existing knowledge on the understanding of transparency among professional journalists has shown that especially the journalists from traditional media houses may not be keen on adopting transparency initiatives that perhaps weakens their professional authority. Consequently, the second hypothesis assumes that ***transparency techniques are most widely and frequently utilized by the online-only news media*** because they may have been familiar the new forms of reporting from the start, and that ***public service broadcaster is least likely to use transparency techniques*** because it has a long tradition of high-quality objective and impartial, but also authoritative, journalism, and because its funding model is different from the other news media competing in the market. ***The transparency score of the conventional commercial media organizations is expected to be somewhere in between the online-only media and the public broadcaster because*** on one hand, economic competition with the alternative media and bloggers pressures them towards increasing transparency, but on the other hand, they also have a long history that is connected to the traditional form of journalism, much like the public broadcasters.

With regards to the differences between so-called tabloid and so-called high-quality online media, no reasonable hypotheses can be drawn because not enough previous research on this topic was found in the literature search. Therefore, this fresh perspective will be studied without a pre-specified hypothesis.

3 METHODOLOGY

This study of the degree of journalistic transparency in leading online news sites in Finland in 2012 was conducted through quantitative and qualitative content analyses of ten selected websites during a one-week period in June 2012. The chosen research technique was based on a careful a priori design, and it followed a structured order of actions. In the following sub-chapters, the decisions related to the selection of the method and the sample, as well as the differences phases of the research process, are explained in more detail.

3.1 Research strategy and the choice of methodology

Studying written online content is still a relatively new research area, and it involves some challenges that require special attention from the researcher. As Karlsson (2010, p. 4) notes, no commonly accepted research method for this purpose has yet been established. This is partially due to the fact that in contrast to print or video material, the nature of online content makes it a relatively complicated platform to examine. As Gunter (2003, pp. viii-x) points out, one of the key problems in this context is the non-linearity of web content. This means that online articles can be read through hyperlinks, and that the level of interactivity tends to be very high. Moreover, unlike more traditional formats of journalistic content, online content can be changed an unlimited number of times after publishing (Wang, 2006, pp. 2-3).

When choosing the first research method for this empirical study, several factors indicated that quantitative content analysis would be the most suitable technique. First, content analysis can be described as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the context of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). Beginning with the analysis of propaganda during the interwar years and the Second World War (North, Holsti, Zaninovich & Zinnes, 1963, p. 37), content analysis has established a strong position as a method for “collecting, analyzing and making inferences from messages” (North

et al., 1963, p. 50). In general, content analysis has been seen as a suitable method to describe the characteristics of written or visual data. Despite the aforementioned difficulties of studying online content, quantitative content analysis has recently been a popular method for examining written communication in online platforms. Second, it has been argued that content analysis works best in a research project that focuses on a few key elements of news content instead of aiming to paint a broad picture of news output in general (Lynch & Peer, 2002, p. 4). This idea fits the purpose of this study because the study has been designed to assess the presence of one specific characteristic, transparency, in journalistic and editorial output. Third, a high level of replicability of the findings was regarded as an important criterion when comparing different research techniques. On the basis of these findings, quantitative content analysis was considered to be the most appropriate method for this study because the study aims to produce specific quantifiable and comparable data from news items that consist of written and visual communication messages.

However, as existing literature has shown, not all of the journalistic and editorial transparency techniques that are used in online news are systematic, quantifiable elements. Instead, some of them are more complex features that require analytical techniques that are more interpretative than quantitative content analysis. In order to assess the full degree of transparency in the news production of the chosen online media, additional methods were thus applied in this research. A semi-structured qualitative content analysis was considered to be the most suitable method for answering these remaining elements of the research questions. Instead of producing numbers and statistical significance, qualitative methods uncover patterns, themes, and categories that are important to a social reality (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, pp. 312-319). Because the qualitative analysis of data involves more interpretation, it was likely to provide the researcher with more vivid data and thus a deeper understanding of the topic than the quantitative analysis could ever produce. Therefore, the

qualitative method was believed to work effectively hand-in-hand with the more systematic data analysis.

On the basis of this reasoning, this study applies a mixed methods approach. This means that the research involves collecting and analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study that explores the same underlying phenomenon (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006, p. 474).

3.2 Population and sampling

In sciences, *target population* refers to the entire population in which the researcher is interested and requires information from. This is also the population to which the researcher intends to apply the results and conclusions of his study. As target populations tend to be so large that they are impractical, if not impossible to study in their entirety, many studies choose to concentrate on a *study population*, which is an accessible population sampled from the full population. In these cases, *the sample* is usually taken from the study population.

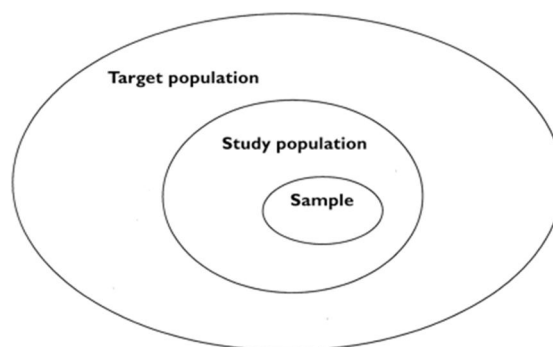


Figure 1. Populations and Sample (source: Kazerooni, 2001)

This study aims at assessing the level of and trends for journalistic transparency in leading online websites that produce news stories in Finland on a daily basis.

This means that the target population of the study is all of the leading websites, and that the study population should then be selected from that group. As Wimmer and Dominick (2006, pp.171-173) point out, sampling can be an issue when conducting a content analysis of a group of online news outlets due to the large number of different websites available. The authors have suggested that the sampling choices would benefit from an authentic listing of relevant sites.

On the basis of this knowledge, this study used the TSN Gallup listing (2011) of the most popular websites in Finland. As that list still includes a large number of news websites, the final decision about the study population of websites was based on a few additional criteria that the websites had to meet to be included. First, the content of the selected websites was to be free to all users so that the researcher and the readers could have an unlimited access to the data. Second, in order to be selected for this study, a website had to provide news about a wide variety of affairs. For example, national and international news covering politics, the economy and preferably even sports and lifestyle. In other words, sampling was targeted at general news websites that cover all topics on a daily basis. This means that specialized news sites that only concentrate on certain subject matter were left out. Third, only websites that publish news stories in Finnish were selected.

On the basis of these criteria, some popular news websites were excluded from the population. These were, for instance, *kauppalehti.fi* (as it charges for the online content), *hbl.fi* (as its content is published in Swedish only) as well as *tietokone.fi* and *afterdawn.com* (as they focus on a specific sector of news, in this case technology).

Of those websites that fulfilled the selection criteria, a group of ten websites were picked. As the final selection criterion, it was determined that the group of websites should include a variety of websites that had clear differences when it comes to their geographical target audience, business model and reporting

style. The group had to thus include both national and provincial news media, both broadsheet-like and tabloid-like media, both online-only media and news websites owned by traditional mass media houses and both commercial and publicly funded media. This way, the differences in transparency between different types of online newspapers could be assessed. This was an important requirement for the second supportive research question of this study. On the basis of this reasoning, the list of selected websites was completed as follows:

www.hs.fi (hereafter “Helsingin Sanomat”),

representing a national broadsheet-like news website owned by a large mass media house

www.aamulehti.fi (hereafter “Aamulehti”),

representing a provincial broadsheet-like news website owned by a large mass media house

www.kaleva.fi (hereafter “Kaleva”),

representing a provincial broadsheet-like news website owned by a medium-sized media house

www.taloussanomat.fi (hereafter “Taloussanomat”),

representing an online-only news medium owned by a large mass media house

www.uusisuomi.fi (hereafter “Uusi Suomi”),

representing an online-only news medium owned by an independent publishing company

www.iltalehti.fi (hereafter “Iltalehti”),

representing a tabloid-like news website owned by a large mass media house

www.iltasanomat.fi (hereafter “Ilta-Sanomat”),

representing a tabloid-like news website owned by a large mass media house

www.mtv3.fi (hereafter “MTV3”),

representing a news website for a large commercial free-to-air broadcasting channel

www.nelonen.fi (hereafter “Nelonen”),

representing a news website for a large commercial free-to-air broadcasting channel

www.yle.fi (hereafter “YLE”),

representing the public service broadcaster

With this research design, the entire study population is defined as ten selected online websites in 2012. Therefore, the study sample of articles had to be representative of all the news articles from these sites that were published during that time period. The decisions about the sample size and time period were based on both previous academic knowledge and on the experiences gained during the pilot study. The aim was to collect a sample that would be both extensive enough and feasible within the time frame of the study project. Several empirical studies on media content, including Riffe, Lacy & Fico (2008, p. 114), have shown that two constructive weeks could effectively represent one year’s content of a daily newspaper. However, the sampling period in this study was limited to one week and the size of the daily sample per website was limited to ten because the pilot study indicated that this provided the maximum number of articles that could be analyzed carefully in the available time frame of this research project.

In order to collect all 700 articles, the right sampling technique had to be found. As pointed out by several academics, including Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, p. 309), quantitative content analysis generally requires that the data from the chosen time period is selected through random sampling or another probabilistic approach. Inspired by the sampling techniques used in similar previous studies, it was decided to pick every second news article that appeared on the website at a particular time, starting from the top of the page. This meant that ten articles per website were picked every day during the sampling period. It was decided that the sample would be collected from the front pages of these websites (usually labelled in Finnish as “Uutiset: etusivu”) because the pilot study had showed that the front pages usually include the most newsworthy articles and reflect a variety of different themes of news. With regards to the time, it was decided that the sample would be collected around midday every day between June 10 and June 16 in 2012. The sampling was scheduled in the middle of the year, as it was the most convenient time for the researcher to dedicate herself to that specific task. Still, in light of representativeness, a slightly better approach could have been a sampling based on the selection of an even number of articles from each month in 2012, but unfortunately that approach was not possible considering the schedule of this study project.

The collection process was conducted manually (for detailed lists of news articles in the sample, see appendices 2-11). As mentioned earlier, several experts of communication research have highlighted the complexity of doing content analysis of the web. In particular, one of the biggest challenges is considered to be the rapidly changing collection of stories on a news website. Unlike a newspaper edition, online content is not static, but rather articles are added, removed and updated many times a day. Therefore, the coder had to be extremely careful with the timing of the data collection.

A general transparency analysis of this kind of random sample would produce

an answer to the first research question that aimed to examine the amount and nature of transparency and to the second research question that aimed to assess the differences in transparency between different news websites. Instead, because the ten selected websites were not picked randomly but certain kinds of websites were prioritized over others in the selection process, the researcher could not expect the result of the study to strictly represent the situation in other similar online news sites. In other words, the study population was not directly comparable to the entire target population. Still, it was reasonable to expect that the result of the analysis would to some extent reflect the degree of transparency not just in the selected ten websites but also in Finnish mainstream online news media in general.

3.3 Data analyses

After completing the collection of the study sample, the process of designing the two data analyses was ready to take place. In regard to classification of transparency techniques, Karlsson's (2010) decision to divide the elements of transparency into two connected strands, namely disclosure and participatory transparency, seemed reasonable. Therefore, a similar classification structure was applied in this study. As described earlier, both quantitative and qualitative content analyses were applied to the data in order to gain both systematic quantifiable information and rich descriptive information on the presence of journalistic and editorial transparency for the selected news websites. While the aim of the quantitative analysis was to study the use of certain transparency measures at the news-item level, the qualitative analysis aimed to study the level of transparency at the wider website-level. This means that the individual articles were only used in the quantitative analysis. Next, the phases of these two data analysis processes are elaborated on.

3.3.1 The quantitative content analysis

As Karlsson (2010, p. 1) highlights, transparency, as well as the more traditional quality defining concepts such as objectivity and balance, is an abstract concept and therefore needs to be interpreted as everyday “rituals” in order to enable a meaningful evaluation. This study thus required a set of indicators that would effectively describe the use of transparency in online news production. Many researchers have linked quantitative content analysis to simple word count, which is usually not enough to produce reliable results (Stemler, 2001). Therefore, a more diverse technique was chosen for this study. Based on the commonly accepted definitions and measures of journalistic and editorial transparency as discussed in the review of the existing literature, six different indicators, or “codes”, were created for the purpose of the quantitative content analysis of the sample. All of these indicators were considered to be transparency measures:

Indicator 1: “use of user-generated material”

This indicator referred to user contributions being published in the news item. In practice, visual contribution could be seen as consisting of either photo or video material, as well as any other visual illustrations, such as a drawing. Although the pilot study had clearly showed that the most commonly used forms of user contribution in news production tend to be visual content, the indicator also covered textual or any other formats of user material. Thus, user material was defined as any piece of material, textual or visual, that included a reference to a user contribution, such as “reader’s picture” (in Finnish, “lukijan kuva”), as illustrated in the example below. The reference to a reader contribution could be located on the piece of material or next to the piece of material, as shown in the example below.



Figure 2. Example of the use of user-generated material (10 June 2012, www.iltalehti.fi)

Indicator 2: “linking to original sources”

This indicator reflected the hyperlinking of information to its original source. This could be, for example, an interview transcript, a blog post, a press release, a government or organization report, a study or a research abstract, a poll or a survey, a radio podcast, a video clip or any other material from the original provider of certain information. It is, of course, difficult to define what kind of information should be linked to its source, and it is clear that even the most transparent websites do not link all of the sourced information to the text. Therefore, all of the articles that included at least one link to an original source were considered to be fulfilling this indicator. The hyperlink could be situated

either in the news story or under the news story, as illustrated in the samples below (hyperlinks marked in blue).

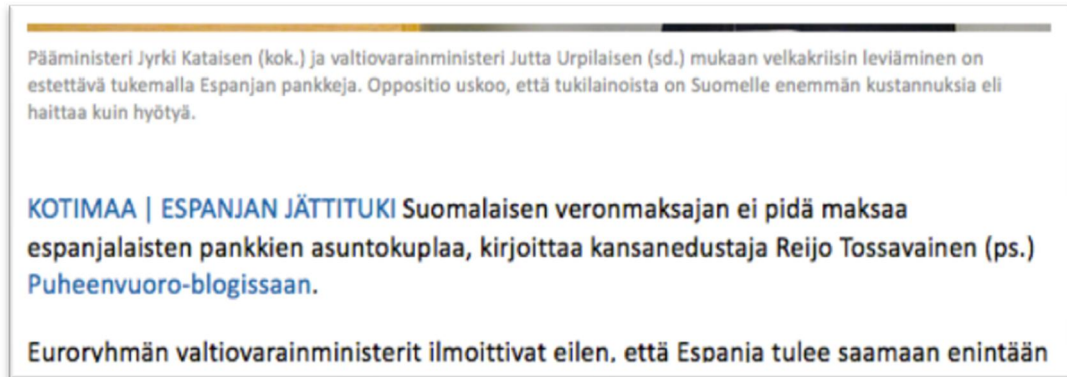


Figure 3. Example 1 of linking to an original source (10 June 2012, uusisuomi.fi)

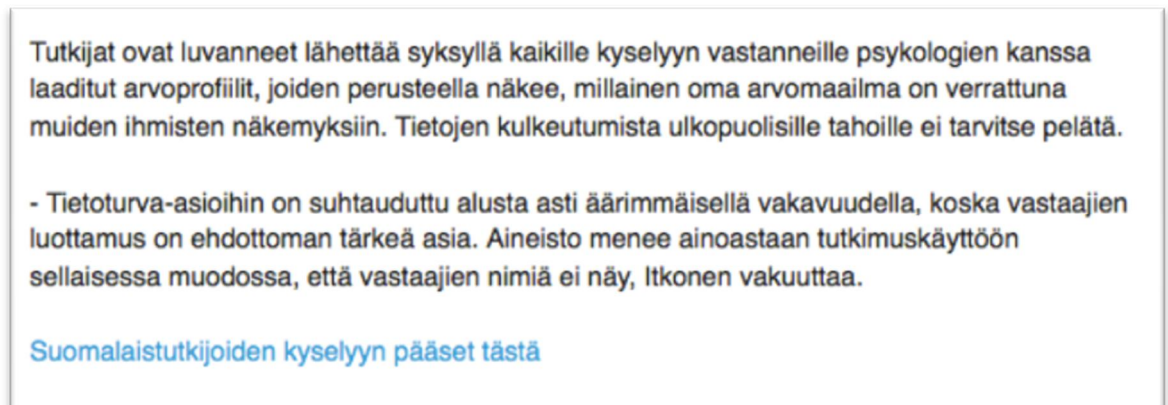


Figure 4. Example 2 of linking to an original source (10 June 2012, www.yle.fi)

Indicator 3: “linking to secondary sources”

This indicator reflected the hyperlinking of information to its a secondary source. This could be, for example, an article in another website, a blog post, or any other material which communicates information whose primary source is somewhere else. Parallel to the previous indicator, all of the articles that included at least one link to a secondary source were considered to be fulfilling the criteria of this indicator. The hyperlink could be situated either in the article

text or under the article text, as exemplified in the examples below.

KOTIMAA | NOKIAN IRTISANOMISET Eilen [Salosta kiirinyt tieto](#) matkapuhelinyhtiö Nokian mahdollisista irtisanomisista ei tiedotusvälineiden mukaan koske pelkästään Suomea. Sekä [Yle](#) että [Helsingin Sanomat](#) kertovat, että tänään ilmoitettavat vähennykset olisivat niin mittavia, etteivät ne rajoitu vain Suomeen.

HS:n mukaan Nokia on kutsunut työntekijänsä kaikissa toimipisteissään Suomessa tiedotustilaisuuksiin tänään torstaina. Toimitusjohtaja Stephen Elopin puhe lähetetään videoyhteydellä Espoon pääkonttorista muille paikkakunnille.





Yle Uutiset pitää varmana, että Nokia kertoo irtisanomisista ainakin Oulussa.

Figure 5. Example 1 of linking to a secondary source (14 June 2012, www.yle.fi)

Abrahamsson on esittänyt Twitterissä myös pahoittelunsa.

- Pyydän anteeksi, jos jotkut teistä pitivät kysymyksiä ikävinä. Se ei ollut tarkoitus. En vain ymmärrä, miksi jotkut vihaavat juutalaisia niin paljon.
- Pidin hyvänä ajatuksena esittää kysymyksen siellä, missä on vastaamassa paljon hyvinkoulutettuja ihmisiä eri puolilta maailmaa. Mutta ei. Huono idea.

Dagens Nyheterin uutinen >>>Twitter-tili @sweden

 [Google](#)
 [Facebook](#)
 [Twitter](#)
 [LinkedIn](#)



  One person likes this. Be the first of your friends.

Figure 6. Example 2 of linking to a secondary source (13 June 2012, www.aamulehti.fi)

Indicator 4: “providing a commenting space”

This indicator described the readers’ ability to comment on an article in the same news item frame. Commenting could be limited to registered readers only or it can be open to anyone visiting the website. Most commonly, the commenting platform is located below the news story, but it could alternatively be situated elsewhere on the page. Separate discussion rooms, however, were not considered to represent a commenting space in this study because they are not located on the same page as the news article and thus play a slightly different type of role for the audience.

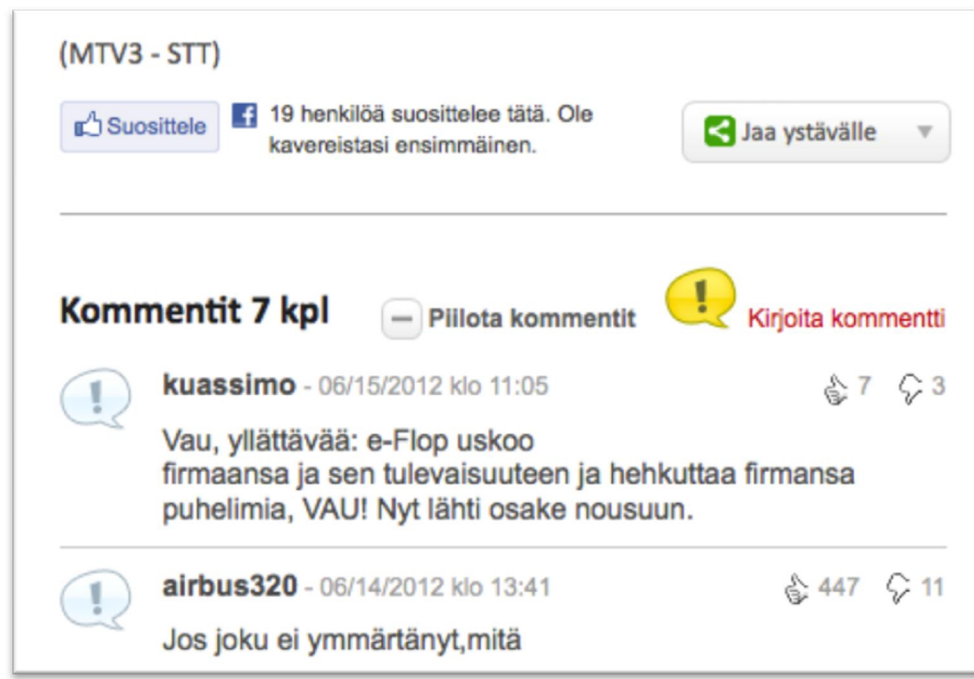


Figure 7. Example 1 of providing a commenting space (14 June 2012, www.mtv3.fi)

Indicator 5: “providing a poll”

This indicator reflected publishing a poll in the news item frame. A poll could consist of just one or multiple questions. The questions can deal with any possible subject material that relates to the content of the page. The poll can be located above, below or next to the news article.

aikaisemmin. Sumuverhon käyttö ei ole enää mahdollista, Tossavainen tulkitsee.

Kansainvälinen valuuttarahasto ja Yhdysvallat ovat kiitelleet Espanjan "pelastamista". Myös OP-Pohjola-pankin pääekonomisti Reijo Heiskanen kiittelee päätöstä [MTV3:n haastattelussa](#). Heiskanen uskoo ratkaisun rauhoittavan markkinoita merkittävästi.

Tulisiko Suomen osallistua Espanjan pankkien tukemiseen?



Figure 8. Example of providing a poll (10 June 2012, www.uusisuomi.fi)


Indicator 6: “publishing the name of the writer”

Finally, the sixth indicator reflected the presence of a byline that gives the name, and often the position, of the writer of the article. Although the journalist’s photo, professional status and contact details are often published next to his or her name, simply publishing the name of the writer was enough to fulfill this indicator. The byline could be located either above or below the news story, as demonstrated by the following two examples.

Soinin mukaan puneet vakuuksista ovat vanhojen puoleiden ja eurokraattien namaysta.

- Ei meillä mitään vakuuksia ole, vakuudella ei sinänsä ole merkitystä, se on vain 20%:lle, ja tulee sitten jos tulee 30 vuoden päästä, Soini sanoo.

Eduskunta käsittelee keskiviikkona Euroopan pysyvän kriisirahaston perustamista.



Jussi Hanhivaara
Yle Uutiset

Figure 9. Example 1 of publishing the name of the writer (12 June 2012, www.yle.fi)

Oulun seudun bussikyydit hoid



Jarmo Kontiainen

OULU 12.6.2012 | Kari Sankala

MUUTA TEKSTIN KOKOA - +

💬 17 LUKIJAKOMMENTTI(A) 👍 31

Kaupunkiseudun joukkoliikenteen järjestämisestä on saatu aikaan sopimus Oulun ja lähikuntien kesken.

Figure 10. Example 2 of publishing the name of the writer (12 June 2012, www.kaleva.fi)

The content analysis was conducted using a specific coding sheet created around these six indicators (for further details, see appendix 1). Before applying the coding sheet to the actual analysis, its functionality was tested through a simple inter-coder reliability test in which two external persons experimented with coding a couple of articles using this coding sheet. The test showed that

the external coders agreed with the researcher on the coding of the content. This indicated that the coding scheme was clear enough. In other words, it indicated that the coding sheet would not be limited to the understanding and use of only one person, but that the analysis could be replicated later by another researcher. Consequently, each individual news article in the sample of 700 articles was manually analysed by the researcher with the help of this coding sheet.

3.3.2 The qualitative content analysis

Similarly to the quantitative part, the qualitative study aimed at answering both research questions of this study. However, unlike with the quantitative analysis, the focus in the qualitative content analysis was not on individual news items. Instead, the qualitative study focused on the general form, structure and style of each of the websites.

In order to comprehensively evaluate the aforementioned elements on the websites, a special coding scheme was designed for the analysis. Qualitative content analysis usually uses individual themes as the unit for analysis, rather than certain physical units, such as words in text. A coding unit can therefore be basically anything from a paragraph to an entire page, as long as it reflects something that is relevant for the research (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 3). Based on the knowledge that was acquired through the review of the existing literature, this qualitative analysis used six transparency instrument categories to evaluate the transparency of the selected news outlets. The first four theme categories reflect “disclosure transparency”, while the latter two theme categories represent instruments of “participatory transparency”. In order to keep the focus of the analysis on transparency and to avoid collecting information that was irrelevant to the research questions, each one of these categories was addressed through 1-3 supportive questions (hereinafter

referred to as “Q”s):

Category 1: Company information

Q1: How is the ownership of the publishing company presented on the website?

Q2: How are the financial, social or political involvements of the publishing company and the staff disclosed?

Category 2: Information on editorial policy

Q1: Is the news criteria published?

Q2: Is a code of conduct or other kind of journalistic and editorial guidelines published?

Q3: Are the editorial decision-making processes disclosed through blogging, webcasting, editorial Q&A platform or other relevant means?

Category 3: Information on the editors and the journalists

Q1: How are the editorial department and/or the journalists introduced?

Q2: How are the personal preferences and underlying motives of the editorial staff and/or the journalists explained?

Category 4: Updates and the correction of errors

Q1: How are the updates to published news stories revealed?

Q2: How are corrections of errors published on the website?

Q3: Is there an error button or other means inviting the readers to point out mistakes in news articles?

Category 5: User participation in news production

Q1: How are the readers invited to contribute to news production?

Q2: How is user material used on the website-level?

Q3: Is there a general discussion forum or a commenting platform?

Category 6: User feedback

Q1: Is there a feedback form or other means of inviting user feedback on the content?

Q2: What kind of connections are there to social networks?

In a similar way as the quantitative content analysis, the qualitative study was conducted manually by using the coding sheet created around these six categories. However, no inter-coder reliability test was needed here, as the purpose of the qualitative study was to provide more descriptive, interpretative data.

3.4 Evaluating the quality of the research

As Zhang & Wildemuth (2009, p. 5) point out, human coders are likely to make some mistakes as the coding proceeds. In addition to the coding process, it is essential to ensure that there are no major problems in the underlying research design. This can be done through a detailed assessment of the trustworthiness of this study. As this study consisted of two different content analysis approaches, a quantitative and a qualitative method, two different sets of norms measuring the quality of research needed to be considered. The same quality criteria did not apply to both methods, as, for example, replicability is one of the key aims for most quantitative studies, whereas due to a tendency to focus on a particular context and personal interpretation, qualitative research can be very difficult to replicate. While the three main criteria for the quality of a quantitative content analysis are usually considered to be validity, reliability and objectivity, according to Lincoln & Cuba (as cited in Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 6) the corresponding criteria for qualitative studies could be credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Similarly, the techniques that are used to improve these indicators of quality vary between quantitative and qualitative research methods. Next, the meaning of these indicators is explored in more detail, and the quality of this empirical study is judged on the basis of that

discussion.

3.4.1 Validity, reliability and objectivity

The concept of validity refers to the degree to which the study adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept that is being analysed (Babbie, 2010, p. 153). In other words, validity describes the relationship between the study problem and the conclusions. It also describes the degree to which the results can be generalised. The concept of validity can be further divided into two categories: internal and external validity.

A general view is that the internal validity of the results depends to a large extent on the personal dedication of the researcher and the carefulness of planning the research strategy. Therefore, a high level of validity for this study was pursued by dedicating a sufficient amount of time to the project and by ensuring sampling efficiency. As already discussed above, because the sample of news articles was collected through random sampling, the results obtained from the analysis of this sample could be rather effectively generalised to apply to a the study population, which was the full year's news content of these websites. However, one should be more careful when applying the conclusions of the studied data to the full target data. As the study population was chosen through a non-probability sampling method instead of random sampling, the exact sampling error cannot be calculated and this is likely to have a negative effect on the generalizability of the results. On the other hand, regarding the purpose of study and the research questions, the chosen sampling method was justified. All in all, it is reasonable to conclude that the level of generalisability may not have been optimal. However, most of the necessary steps were taken in order to ensure a high level of internal validity with regards to the results.

In regard to external validity, as the study analyses the situation in the current

online media climate in Finland, the results cannot be generalised to explain the trends in other nations as such. Nevertheless, the research results can be carefully used as an assumption or hypothesis for the situation in a country with a rather similar online media scene and culture, such as Sweden.

In short, reliability means that when research is applied to the same data, the same results are produced every time (Babbie, 2010, p. 151). In order to interpret the data reliably, the research strategy needs to be carefully designed and the researcher must have maintained consistency during the entire period of data analysis. The categories used in the coding process must be constructed in a way that when a similar research process is constructed, the results are the same (North et al., 1963, p. 42). In order to ensure the reliability of the technique chosen for this study, the research design was carefully structured and its functionality was tested through a one-day pilot study. In addition, as suggested by Neuendorf (2002), the content analysis coding sheet was inter-coder tested to check the level of replicability (reproducibility) of the method by trying it out with a different researcher. As the selected coding technique measured the *manifest* (the visible) data instead of the *latent* (the underlying) data, ensuring replicability was relatively easy. Finally, the decision to apply methodological triangulation in the data analysis is likely to have increased the reliability of this study.

In this context, objectivity refers to the process of collecting data and interpreting the results without the individual bias of the researcher. In this study, the researcher pursued to be as objective as possible by contributing a similar amount of time on each article and by trying to keep her state of mind as neutral as possible. Still, it is important to remember that the coding sheet and the study structure itself were designed by a certain kind of researcher, and thus, achieving full objectivity is likely to be impossible.

3.4.2 Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability

According to several academics, credibility is one of the most important factors for determining the trustworthiness of a study and it can be seen as an alternative criterion for judging internal validity in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out a set of activities that can improve the credibility of research results: prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, checking interpretations against raw data, peer debriefing, and member checking. The personal knowledge and experience of the researcher have a considerable impact on the credibility of the research results of the study. In this research, the credibility of the qualitative data analysis has been improved through peer debriefing and by maintaining a self-reflective, personal journal of the research process. In addition, the existing knowledge on the research theme has been comprehensively studied before starting the empirical analysis and as such, the experiences and suggestions from existing studies have been useful in designing the research strategy.

In qualitative research, transferability refers “to the extent to which the researcher’s working hypothesis can be applied to another context” and as such, the researcher has a responsibility to provide data sets and descriptions that are sufficiently informative enough so that other researchers are able to make judgments about the transferability of the findings to different contexts (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2006, p. 6). In this study, the key aspects that support the transferability of the results has probably been the disclosure of the raw research data in the appendix, as well as a thorough explanation of the different phases and underlying decisions of the research process.

Dependability refers to the researcher’s responsibility to describe the changes that occur in the research setting and their influence on the way the research approached the study, and confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be checked by others (Trochim, 2006). These indicators can be

compared to reliability and objectivity in quantitative research. According to Zhang & Wildemuth (2006, pp. 6-7), the major technique for ensuring the dependability and confirmability of the results is through “audits of the research processes and findings”. In this study, a high level of confirmability and dependability was pursued through the researcher’s own critical scrutiny of the research strategy and the method. On the basis of the available time frame and resources, as well as considering the purpose of this study, an external audit was not deemed a feasible method for ensuring dependability and confirmability.

3.4.3 Ethical issues

In addition to the aforementioned indicators, ethical issues should be taken into account when assessing the quality of a quantitative and qualitative study. However, it seems that there are no outstanding ethical concerns involved in the research design of this study. As this study required no direct contact with human-beings, and because the data that was analysed was publicly available in its entirety, neither consent, confidentiality nor access were relevant issues. Thus, the ethicality of this study can be seen as having been sufficiently fulfilled by carefully considering fairness and objectivity during the entire study process.

4 PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS

In this chapter, the key findings of the content analyses are presented. While it is appropriate to demonstrate the results of the quantitative analysis through clustered column charts and a short textual explanation, the results of the qualitative analysis are presented in a more descriptive textual format. The aim of this section is purely to report the results – the discussion on how the results relate back to the theoretical knowledge and the prior empirical research that was presented at the beginning of the paper, as well as discussion on the significance of these results, takes place later in chapter 5.

4.1 The results of the quantitative analysis

The quantitative content analysis measured the presence of six different transparency indicators in the sample of articles, which included 70 articles per news outlet. The following charts demonstrate both the general level of each transparency technique and also indicate the differences in the performance between different news outlets.

4.1.1 Disclosure transparency

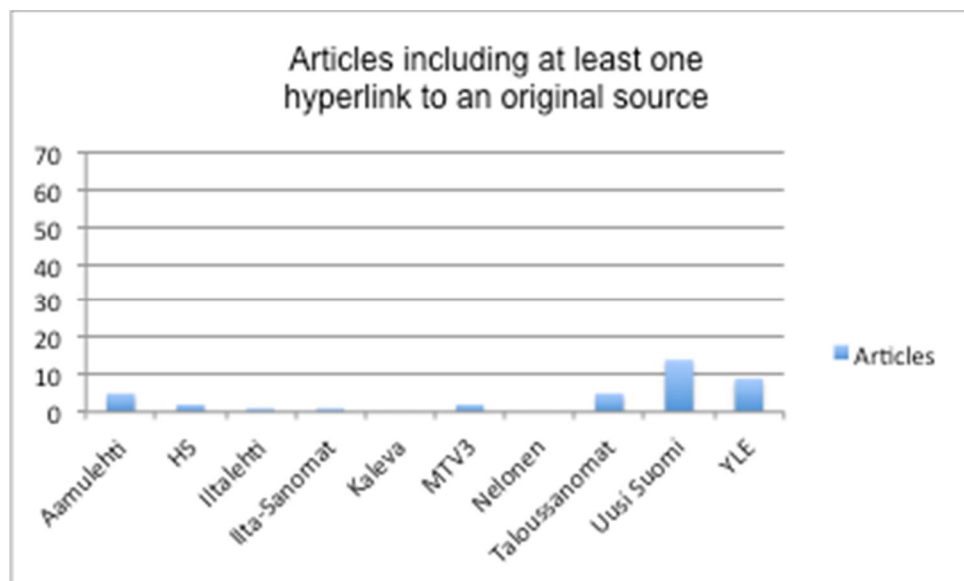


Chart 1. Hyperlinking to original sources; results

According to the analysis, linking to original sources is generally very limited in the leading Finnish online media. The articles with the most hyperlinks came from the online-only news outlet *Uusi Suomi* (20% of all articles), followed by the public broadcaster YLE (13%), the online-only *Taloussanomat* (5%) and the broadsheet website *Aamulehti* (5%). It does however seem that most of the news outlets still have some understanding of the practice of linking to primary sources, as they occasionally include a hyperlink in their articles. Overall, the degree of linking to original sources seems to be low in Finnish leading online news media; less than 6 % of all the articles in the sample include such a hyperlink.

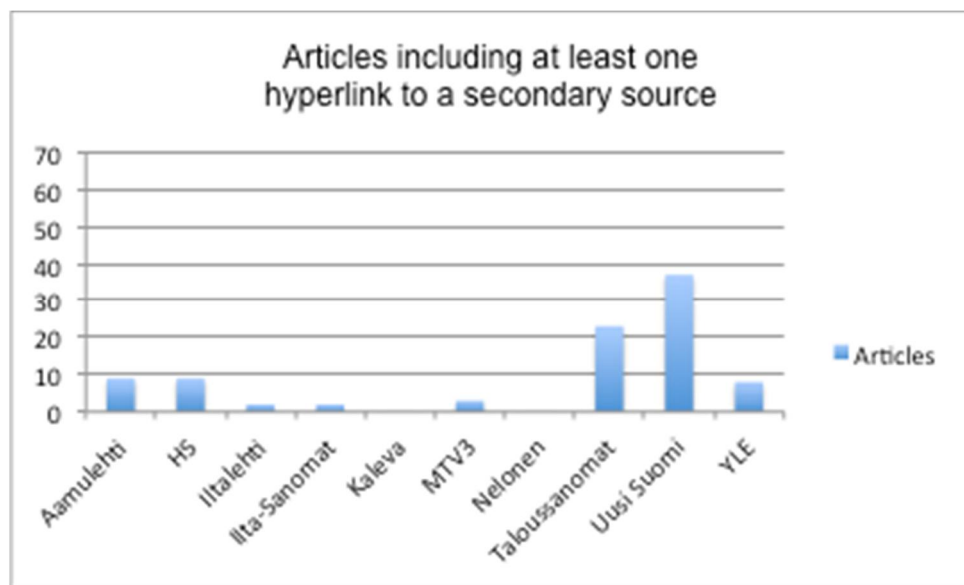


Chart 2. Hyperlinking to secondary sources; results

The analysis indicates that linking to secondary sources is generally more common than linking to original sources, although its level is also rather low (collectively 12 % of all the articles in the sample include a hyperlink to a secondary source). For the online-only newspapers *Uusi Suomi* and *Taloussanomat*, linking to secondary sources seems to be some kind of a routine; the former includes a link in more than half of its articles (53 %) and the latter in approximately every third article (33%). Also, YLE, *Aamulehti* and

Helsingin Sanomat include one or more links in a little more than 10 % of their news articles, whereas the rest of the news outlets employ linking to secondary sources very rarely or not at all.

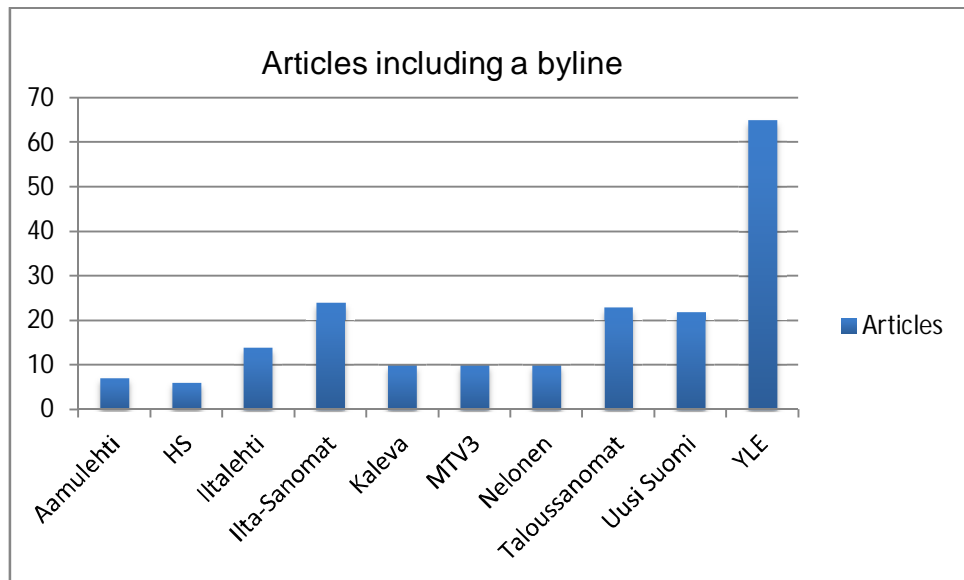


Chart 3. Publishing a byline; results

The chart above demonstrates that publishing a byline that discloses the name of the journalist that wrote the news story is more or less a common practice on all the websites. The public service medium *YLE* publishes the writer's name most often (in 93 % of its articles). In *Ilta-Sanomat*, *Taloussanomat* and *Uusi Suomi*, approximately one third of the articles include the writer's name, while the rest of the websites publish the name in less than one fifth of their articles. Altogether, more than one third of the articles from the leading Finnish online media outlets disclose the name of the journalist responsible for the article.

4.1.2 Participatory transparency

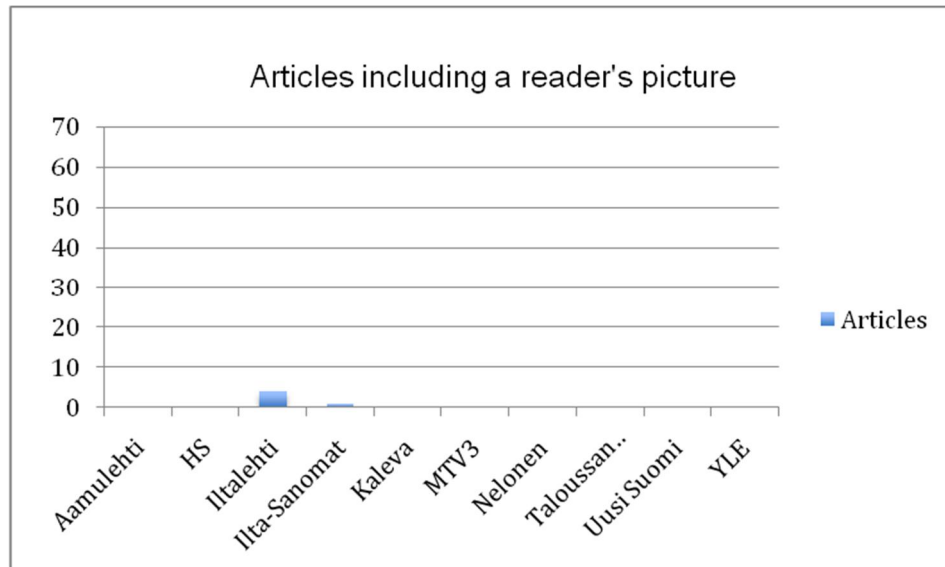


Chart 4. Publishing reader contributions in a news article; results

As the chart indicates, the use of reader pictures and other reader contributions in the news items is very low. Only the tabloids *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* show that the use of reader material is, at least in principle, possible in their news articles. On the other websites, no reader pictures appear in the news item frames. Collectively, less than 1 % of the articles from the mainstream online news media in Finland include visible reader contributions.

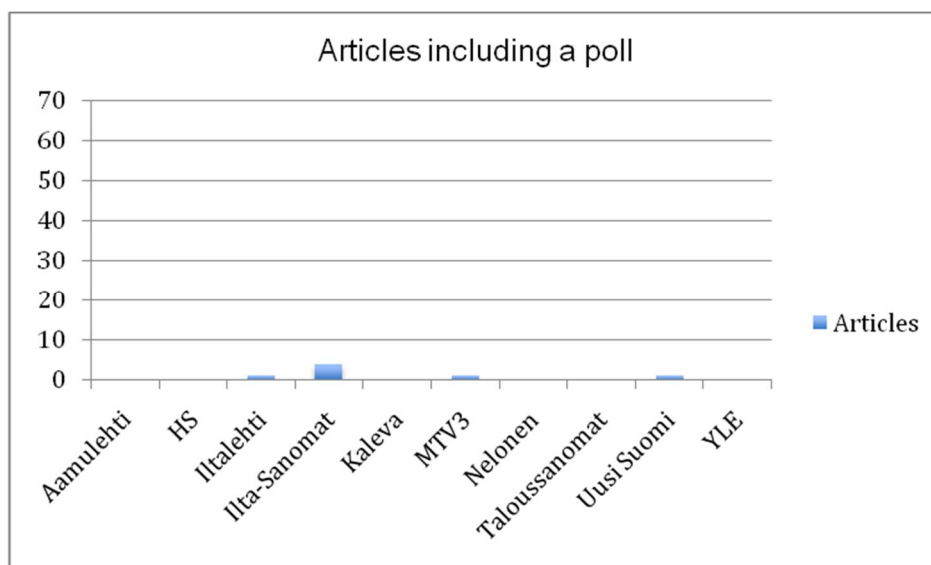


Chart 5. Publishing a poll in a news article; results

The chart above illustrates the rarity of polls on the selected websites. The tabloids *Ilta-lehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*, broadcasting company MTV3 and online-only medium *Uusi Suomi* are the only ones that at least occasionally use a poll in the news item frame. Yet a poll only appears in a small fraction of the articles. Altogether, only 1% of the articles from the leading Finnish online media include a poll.

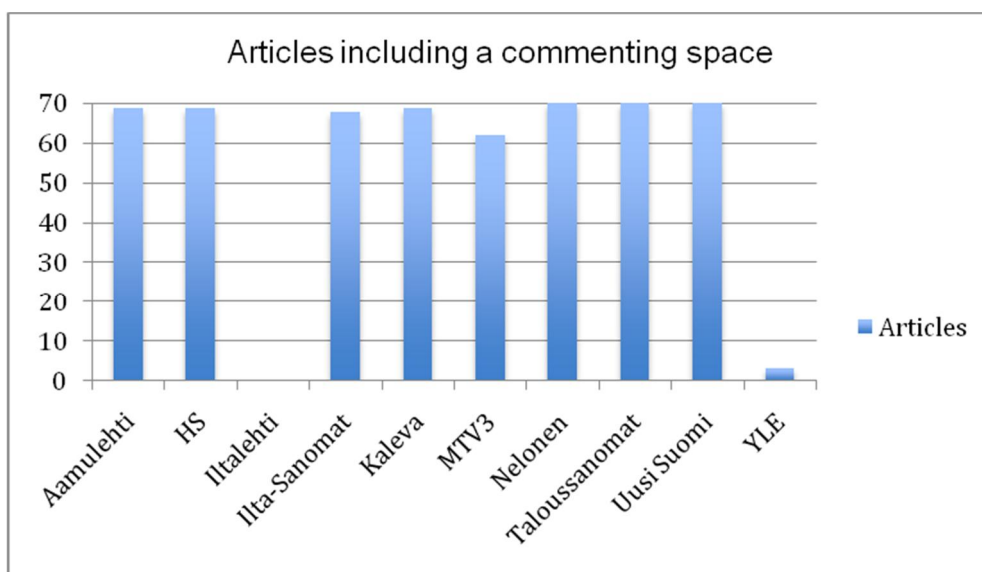


Chart 6. Including a commenting space in a news article; results

A commenting space is included in almost every news item frame in all the websites except *Ilta-lehti*, where none of the articles include a commenting space. Also, *YLE* only included a commenting space on the same page in approximately 4 % of the articles. The overall use of commenting platforms in news items is high.

4.2 The results of the qualitative content analysis

Much like the results of the quantitative analysis, the results of the qualitative part of the study are the easiest to describe by examining one coding unit at a time. However, as the qualitative analysis has provided the researcher with rich descriptive data, instead of systematic numerical data, there would be no point

in present the findings by using many tables and figures. Instead, the reporting of the most relevant results of the analysis is constructed around different themes that have arisen during the study. As the qualitative study contains personal interpretation of the presence of these themes in a certain context, the results are presented as the personal analysis of the researcher. A textual description is followed by a single table, which summarises the key findings.

4.2.1 Disclosure transparency

Disclosure of company ownership and financial and political connections:

As defined in the previous chapter, this code reflects the disclosure of ownership of the publishing company and the disclosure of the financial, social and political involvements of the company and its staff on the website. The analysis shows that some of the news websites include references and descriptions on the ownership of the publishing company in a company information page. Many of these company information sites include information on such affairs as circulation data, financial information on sales and turnover, composition of the management and executive team, the company's vacancies and corporate history. However, most of these pages provide no detailed information on the company's financial and political connections and involvements. More specifically, the *YLE* news page includes a link that leads to a comprehensive "YLE as a company" site. This site includes a large amount of information on company management, the budget, the company's vacancies, and the programming content. Clearly, in comparison to the other nine news outlets, *YLE* provides the readers with the most extensive information on company ownership. Likewise, *Aamulehti* provides a rather comprehensive company information page that also includes a link to a separate website for the parent group. The information page also includes a short description of the publication's sponsoring co-operation with local actors. Although like in most other news outlets, the financial and political connections and cooperation initiatives of the publications are not described in more detail. *Taloussanommat*

publishes a short company introduction on the actual news site, and it also provides a link to the website of the parent company that offers much more information on the publishing company. *Kaleva*, *Nelonen*, *Ilta-lehti* and *MTV3* provide no information on their news websites about their ownership as such, but similar to *Taloussanomat*, they share a link that leads to a separate website for the company that owns the publication. However, these links are not always situated in a very visible place on the news websites and are therefore often difficult to find. *Ilta-Sanomat*, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Uusi Suomi* provide no information on the publishing company or the parent company. While the former two news outlets only mention the name of the company that owns them, the latter does not even provide that information. The companies that own the news websites naturally still have their own informative websites, but the websites of the news publications do not provide a path that would direct the reader there.

Disclosure of news criteria and professional guidelines: Most of the websites do not publish their news criteria, their editorial or journalistic code of conduct or any similar guidelines. In *YLE*, the company's general vision, mission, values and principles are published. However, these do not seem to include any specific reference to the disclosure of journalistic and editorial ethics and guidelines, but rather they describe the policies of the entire broadcasting company at an abstract level. Similarly, the company information sites at *Kaleva* and *Aamulehti*, provide a brief description of the company's mission statement and values, but they do not disclose guidelines related to editorial and journalistic work. The company information part of the *Ilta-lehti* site includes a short description of the company that also touches on editorial policy. The company information page for *Aamulehti* provides some information on the newsroom schedules and the sources that the journalists normally use in the news production. The news websites for *Ilta-Sanomat*, *Taloussanomat*, *MTV3*, *Uusi Suomi*, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Nelonen* provide neither the ethical rules and guidelines of journalists nor information on their editorial policy on their websites. Most of the websites for publishing companies still provide some

information on the general vision and value of the company, but once again, these descriptions do not have any focus on news content and production.

Communication from the editors and journalists to the audience: The analysis shows that some of the websites include a limited degree of disclosure of the editorial and journalistic decisions related to the news content and production. Yet most of them still show no indication of such measures. *Uusi Suomi* has a lively blog community where the editor-in-chief and the owners themselves are one of the most active bloggers. The blog posts deal with general current affairs as well as with media-specific issues like development of the media environment and the ethics of online discussion. While there is not much discussion on the editorial decisions or newsgathering methods that are related to the content of the online publication, the blog reflects the personality of the company's management and therefore can be regarded as an element that advances transparency. Conversely, none of the other websites include an editor's blog or similar platform that could be seen as advancing the transparency of the editorial decision-making process. *YLE* has a CEO's blog though, but it concentrates mainly on the strategic management of the entire broadcaster and not on matters relating to the company's online journalism. Also, it has several reporter's blogs, but most of the bloggers seem to represent the TV and radio segment of the company. Still, the blogs seem to include some reflection of the online news content and production process. Also, *MTV3* has several editor's and reporter's blogs, but they do not however discuss the production of news. Rather, they give the reporter's view on current newsworthy issues in society.

Editorial Q&A platforms are not used on these news websites. *YLE* has a Q&A platform that provides answers for the most frequently asked questions, but the questions and their answers do not cover journalistic and editorial issues related to news content and production. Similarly, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Ilta-lehti* have a page for frequently asked questions, but it mainly covers issues

related to subscriptions and use of the media service. Similarly to the aforementioned news outlets, *Nelonen*, *Kaleva*, *Taloussanomat*, *Aamulehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* do not seem to include special elements that could be seen as fostering the disclosure of editorial decision-making and newsroom processes.

Information on the journalists and the editorial staff: In regard to the introduction of the reporters, editors and other newsroom staff, there are no notable differences in the outcome between the different news websites. Most of these websites provide the names of the editorial staff and reporters, at least on the managerial level, and publish a list of the most relevant contact information for the newsroom. They do not however offer any supplementary information. None of the websites provide any kind of straightforward explanation on the personal preferences and motives of the journalists or the editorial staff. They do not provide any of the underlying information that may give some insight into these issues. For example, there are no journalist profiles that would publish information on their work history, education or political affiliation. Of the ten news outlets, *Taloussanomat*, *YLE* and *Uusi Suomi* are the only websites that usually publish the profile pictures of the journalists and other newsroom staff, in addition to the names and contact information. *MTV3* and *Helsingin Sanomat* seem to publish a profile picture occasionally, but not as a standard routine.

Correction of errors and disclosure of updates: There does not seem to be any major differences between the practices of the news outlets with regards to corrections. None of the websites appears to have a particular page or other platform where error correction is collectively highlighted. Neither do they provide a “report an error” button or any other clearly labeled channel for the readers to point out errors in the news content (other than a general feedback form). Some corrections of errors in the content of certain articles have been published in the context of these articles. Most often the corrections are published as new separate articles in the relevant news section where the word

“correction” (in Finnish: “oikaisu”) is usually included already in the title. *YLE* sometimes highlights the word by writing it in capital letters. Many articles in all of the ten websites include information on the time of the update, but it is very difficult to determine whether some of the articles that do not include any information on article history would have also gone through some updates.

4.2.2 Participatory transparency

Invitation for user material: Most of the news outlets include some sort of invitations for user material on their website, and some of them also promise to pay for the readers’ news pictures that end up being published in news story. Picture competitions are also launched to encourage new reader contributions. *Kaleva* encourages the audience to send news photos, video material and news tips on several banners that are located both on its front page and next to individual news articles. Also, there is a similar invitation for reader material next to each individual news article on the website. The material can be sent by SMS, by email or by using a customized electronic contact form. Similarly, *Ilta-lehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* promote an invitation for user material in several different places on the website by using banners that say, for example, “send a news tip” or “send a news picture”. Also *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Aamulehti*, *YLE*, *MTV3* and *Taloussanomat* promote user contributions, although the banners are not as visible as in the previously mentioned news outlets. In addition to providing a banner or a title that asks for user contributions, these websites also publish detailed instructions on how the material should be sent to the newsroom, and some of them also provide special applications that the readers can download to their mobile devices for the purpose of taking news pictures. *Nelonen* appears to publish no invitation for reader contributions. *Uusi Suomi* does not publish such banners or text boxes on the front page, but at least its feedback form, which is targeted at its readers, provides a “send a news tip” option.

Use of user material: Providing a special page labeled as “readers pictures” or something similar is a rather common practice among the websites that were analysed. *Ilta-Sanomat*, *Ilta-lehti*, *MTV3*, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Kaleva* have special pages on their websites that collect and file a large number of readers’ pictures. *YLE* does not have one specific page for the readers’ pictures, but its different regional newsrooms seem to occasionally publish albums of readers’ pictures that follow certain themes, such as the weather. In contrast, *Nelonen*, *Uusi Suomi* and *Taloussanomat* do not seem to provide any specific pages or platforms for the pictures that readers have contributed. Apart from the readers’ pictures, there does not seem to be anything else that could be clearly labeled as user contributed material. None of these news outlets appears to include news stories written or produced by the readers or by journalists in collaboration with the readers.

Provision of a discussion room or platform: The ability to comment on individual articles in the news item frame was already studied in the quantitative analysis, but most of the websites also provide a discussion room or similar platform where the readers can comment and discuss a wide variety of actual topics. *Kaleva*, *Ilta-lehti* and *MTV3* have discussion rooms where the readers can post comments on any topics. The *YLE* news site has a platform where the readers are invited to discuss certain pre-defined topics and also participate through commenting during the production of certain news stories. The discussion is pre-moderated. In addition, different theme sections of *YLE*, such as sports and TV programmes, tend to have their own discussion forums. *Uusi Suomi* has a lively blog community. This can be seen as having the same function as a discussion room because the bloggers and other readers tend to maintain an active discussion and debate in the context of the blogs. Likewise, *Aamulehti* does not have a discussion room as such, but it has a similar active blogging platform. *Taloussanomat* also does not have a separate discussion forum, but the website regularly publishes “a question of the day” that seems to promote discussion. *Helsingin Sanomat* does not have a separate commenting

room, but it encourages the audience to provide feedback on the readers' comments that are posted in the context of a news story in the news item frame. First, the other readers can click a button to express either agreement or disagreement with a comment and second, the readers can click another button to assess whether the comment has been strongly or poorly argued in their view. Every now and then the newsroom rewards the most active commenters. *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Nelonen* do not seem to have a separate discussion room, but as with most other news outlets, the readers can comment on most of the articles below in the same news item frame.

Also, the use of polls is linked to this theme. Although the quantitative study indicated that the use of polls is very low in the context of individual news stories, many of the news outlets, including *Uusi Suomi*, *Aamulehti* and *Taloussanomat* seem to regularly include a simple opinion poll on the front page of their news sections. Nevertheless, the polls rarely ask the readers to vote on editorial decisions, such as selecting the next day's news agenda. Rather, they measure the level of support and opposition with regards to certain topical issues in society.

Invitation for user feedback: *YLE*, *Ilta-Sanomat*, *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Uusi Suomi*, *Nelonen*, *MTV3* and *Taloussanomat* all provide the users with a general feedback form that can be used for many different purposes, including feedback on content and newsroom activities. *Aamulehti* has a specific feedback form for the comments that are directed at the newsroom. The feedback forms are usually not located in a very visible location on the website and the reader often has to find the link from the index that lists the website content. Apart from the feedback forms and the provision of the contact details for the newsroom and individual journalists, there seems to be no other channels for audience feedback on these websites.

Connections to and the presence of in social networks: All ten news outlets have profiles in Facebook and Twitter. The connections to social media are advertised on the news websites with small icons and larger banners that invite the readers to visit the social media sites of the publication. Especially in Facebook, most of them have a strong presence and the profile pages are frequently updated. In particular, the users on the Facebook pages of *Ilta-lehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* seem to be rather active on the basis of the amount of commenting, the number of “likes” and other communication. There is also some indication of transparency motives behind the newsroom’s presence in social media. For example, in its description of its social media connections, *Kaleva* states that it makes use of its Facebook comments when producing news stories. Also, *Kaleva* promises to report small aspects in the everyday working life of the journalists on its Facebook page. Unfortunately, the scope of this qualitative analysis does not cover the companies’ activities in social networks more deeply, but it is clear that this matter would be worth studying in detail in the future.

To sum up the results of this qualitative evaluation, the following table provides a simplified overview of the websites’ level of transparency in different categories. Clearly, the table indicates that in most categories, there are no significant differences between different media.

	Company info	Editorial policy	Staff
Aamulehti	moderate	moderate	moderate
HS	very low	very low	moderate
Ilta-lehti	low	moderate	moderate
Ilta-Sanomat	very low	very low	moderate
Kaleva	low	low	moderate
MTV3	low	very low	moderate
Nelonen	low	very low	moderate
Taloussanomat	moderate	very low	moderate
Uusi Suomi	very low	low	moderate
YLE	high	low	moderate
	Updates and errors	User participation	User feedback
Aamulehti	moderate	moderate	moderate
HS	moderate	moderate	moderate
Ilta-lehti	moderate	moderate	moderate
Ilta-Sanomat	moderate	moderate	moderate
Kaleva	moderate	moderate	moderate
MTV3	moderate	moderate	moderate
Nelonen	moderate	low	moderate
Taloussanomat	moderate	moderate	moderate
Uusi Suomi	moderate	moderate	moderate
YLE	moderate	moderate	moderate

Figure 11. Level of transparency in different categories

4.3 A brief overview of the results

Altogether, the results of the quantitative and qualitative transparency analyses show that the leading Finnish online news media employ a wide variety of different measures and techniques that can be seen as advancing transparency. However, there are also a much larger number of transparency techniques, suggested by the existing academic literature and foreign experiences, that none of these Finnish news outlets use on their website.

The results and the underlying factors that may have caused this outcome will be further discussed in the next chapter. The chapter views the results in light of the existing theoretical knowledge and assesses the significance of this study in

the wider context of media transparency.

5 DISCUSSION

Next, the results of the empirical study are interpreted in light of the existing academic knowledge. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive critical discussion on the relationship between transparency and Finnish online journalism. In addition to the academic viewpoints and knowledge that were presented in the second chapter, this chapter will introduce some additional scholarly information to support the interpretation and discussion. This chapter is divided into five sub-chapters. First, the transparency results for all ten websites are examined collectively. Also, the main research question and hypothesis dealing with the general level of transparency in Finnish online media are reconsidered. Second, the potential reasons behind this outcome are assessed. Third, the findings on the differences in transparency between different news outlets are discussed. Then, all of the results are considered in a wider social context, and finally, the significance of the study is assessed and suggestions for future academic research are presented.

5.1 How transparent is Finnish online journalism?

In its totality, the empirical study has revealed that the leading Finnish online news media employ, on a frequent basis, some routines that can be seen as reflecting journalistic and editorial transparency. However, the overall use of transparency still seems to be rather low. In light of the existing knowledge, the result of this study can be seen as supporting the views of researchers like Heikkilä (2011) and Vehkoo (2011) who argued that the instruments of media accountability and transparency are rather sparsely implemented in Finnish news outlets. Similarly, the result supports the findings of many international media transparency studies that indicate that many transparency techniques remain generally unrecognized by professional journalists in the Western media (Lowrey & Anderson, 2006; Karlsson, 2010; Rupar, 2006). To elaborate on this argument, it is useful to take a closer look at certain characteristics that support

the use of transparency techniques.

With regards to disclosure transparency, the amount of linking to sources is rather low, especially in the case of original sources. Most of the source links that are included in the news articles lead to news articles published by another online media source, a blog post or a press release. Sources like interview transcripts are not disclosed through linking. The disclosure of sources through hyperlinks is one of the few transparency measures where clear differences can be identified between different publications: while the two online-only news outlets include a link in every three or four articles, the broadcasters and the tabloids link to sources very rarely. In regard to other disclosure measures, the analysis reveals that most of the websites include some information on the ownership of the company, the editorial policy and the professional ethics of the newsroom, but in many cases navigating to that information on the website is relatively difficult. Also, the name of the journalists and their contact information are published rather often. This is particularly true for the online news content of the public service broadcaster. Nevertheless, there is very little information on newsroom ethics and guidelines, the underlying motives and personal interests and affiliations on the staff, or on the political and financial involvements of the news outlets and its publishing company. Heikkilä (2011, p. 12) noted that blogs and other similar disclosure measures are not actively utilized by Finnish journalists. The result of this study supports this finding: this study reveals that editorial blogs, newsroom webcasts and editorial chats and Q&A platforms or readers' ombudsmen are not widely used in leading Finnish online media. Internationally, this result is in line with a 2011 study by Bettels et al. that indicated that readers' ombudsmen are rarely used in Western and Eastern European online media. Karlsson's (2010) study, which showed that chats are extremely scarce in the leading online newspapers in Sweden, United Kingdom and United States, also supports this finding.

In regard to participatory transparency that reflects two-way communication

between the news publication and its audience, the analysis shows that all of the news outlets provide a feedback form and contact information for the newsroom and its relevant staff. However, no other direct feedback channels are being offered. For example, such platforms where the audience is asked to evaluate the newsworthiness of a set of news story ideas or choose the next day's headline story for the publication, as found by Lasica (2003, p. 73) and Maia (2008, p. 127) in some foreign publications, were not found in the Finnish news websites. Commenting on individual news articles, as well as discussion on a variety of news topics in separate discussion boards, are enabled in most of the media. Commenting and discussion seems to be more limited on the websites for YLE and *Ilta-lehti*.

All of the media have a strong presence in both Facebook and Twitter. In most of the news outlets, the audience is also strongly invited to provide the newsroom with news tips and pictures. The readers' pictures are often published on separate pages that are dedicated to user material. However, the analysis shows that visible use of these reader contributions in the actual hard news articles, such as current affairs and politics, is very rare. This observation is similar to Pantti and Bakker's (2009) finding, which indicated that in Dutch news, most amateur images tend to depict so-called "soft news" like different weather phenomena and the personal experiences of the readers. In other words, the amateur images are seldom newsworthy.

Polls are rarely used in the context of individual news articles, but they are a rather common element of the front page of many news websites. However, the questions on the polls rarely reflect the selection of news or any other newsroom matters and it seems that their key function is something other than involving the audience in the editorial decision-making process. This kind of other function could be, for instance, creation of "community feeling" and thus increasing loyalty to the medium among its audience, as suggested by Bakker & Pantti (2009) in regard to non-news content and user-generated material in

news websites.

Overall, these results indicate that some of the most basic transparency techniques are employed by most of the leading online news websites. However, the newer and more innovative transparency methods, such as editorial chats and newsroom webcasts, are generally not utilised. This notion goes hand-in-hand with the key finding in a study by Bettels et al. (2011): only those transparency instruments which can be applied with little effort and support, such as commentary functions and connections to social networks, tend to be used by online media.

Also, even most of the basic techniques that are used in the media do not appear routinely in every news article or news page. This finding could support the argument by Fortunati et al. (2009, p. 954) that the Internet's capability to reinforce the democratic functions of journalism stays unrecognized by many professional journalists and editors. Alternatively, it could be argued that the opportunities that the Internet offers for news production, and the implementation of transparency techniques in particular, is actually recognised but is just not frequently employed by the professional news media.

Furthermore, although some disclosure and participatory techniques seem to be common in Finnish online journalism, it is not clear whether the reason for their use has anything to do with the idea of transparency. Bettels et al. (2011, p. 1), who studied transparency in a large number of European media outlets, argued that many outlets use transparency instruments primarily for marketing reasons. This creates the illusion that the audience can participate in the journalistic processes, but falls short of offering genuine dialogue. On that basis, it is worth questioning the motives between the use of participatory transparency techniques in Finnish outlets as well. For example, disclosing the name and contact information of the journalist within the news item seems to be a rather common practice. However, although disclosure of the name and the contact

information has been defined as a transparency technique in the existing literature (Karlsson, 2010; Heikkilä, 2011), it has been a common practice in Finnish journalism already before the emergence of the transparency discussion and there is not necessarily any special rationale of openness behind it. Similarly, the empirical study showed that most of the websites tend to provide a commenting space and/or a discussion forum for the readers. Providing a platform for readers' comments and discussion could be regarded as participatory transparency (Karlsson, 2010). However, most likely the conclusive value of these platforms for transparency depends on how readers' input is utilised by the editorial staff and the journalists. The same goes with the provision of feedback channels like a contact form. Simply providing a platform for user opinions, suggestions and feedback is not enough, if these user messages are not taken into account and when possible, applied in practice by the journalists and the editors. In other words, it seems that the existing criticism of transparency includes a valid point: transparency is not going to advance democracy and quality journalism if the use of the transparency techniques in online news does not have any deeper purpose in the news production process. As Allen (2008) noted, news companies may employ transparency techniques just to increase the legitimacy of a news outlet instead of viewing transparency as "a good in itself". Unfortunately, the actual utilisation of readers' opinions and feedback in the journalistic and editorial processes could not be assessed in the scope of this study, but it would definitely be worth studying in the future.

One interesting observation from the analysis was that the words "transparency", "openness" and "participation" were rarely mentioned in the ethical guidelines or codes of conduct that were published on the websites. Although studying the use of these terms was not the key point in this study, it could be seen as indicating that the recognition of the importance of transparency is still rather low among the publishers, editors and journalists of Finnish online media.

To conclude, this assessment of the overall use of different transparency techniques has shown that the use is more occasional than routine. Also, when certain transparency techniques are used on a more frequent basis, the use seems to be more passive than active. Having established that, it is reasonable to argue that the data supports the first hypothesis of this study. This hypothesis predicted that *the degree of transparency in leading Finnish online news is still relatively low*.

5.2. Explanations for the outcome of the analysis

Why is Finnish online journalism not nearly as transparent it could be? Because the content analyses in this study focused on the amount and the nature of transparency in the selected websites, the results themselves do not provide any proof of causality between the level of transparency and different factors. However, the prior academic findings enable us to discuss several assumptions for the reasons behind the relatively low level of transparency in mainstream online news in Finland. As Heikkilä's study (2011) reveals, journalists cannot usually point out any specific reason for the lack of transparency. Still, as the literature indicates, there are several possible explanations for this result, ranging from the audience's expectations to the attitudes of the professional journalists. Next, these two assumptions will be assessed in light of the existing academic knowledge.

5.2.1 A lack of demand for transparency

First, the outcome can be assessed from the perspective of the expectations of the audience. A well-known economic theory describing the interaction between the supply of a resource and the demand for that resource can help explain the reasons behind the outcome of the study on the general level of transparency in Finnish online news outlets. Despite the ongoing critical academic discussion on the performance of the mass media in Finland, the literature review showed

that the level of trust in mass media is rather high among the Finnish public, especially when compared to the European average. The theoretical discussion also established that the call for transparency in countries like the United States has been largely initiated from the public that is actively holding the media accountable (see, for example, Craft and Heim, 2009; Heikkilä, 2011). To put it simply, this situation can be seen as indicating that the Finnish public has not expressed enough demand for media accountability practices, including transparency (Heikkilä, 2011, p. 20). The lack of demand for accountability has respectively resulted in a low level of transparency. Although several authors, such as Craft & Heim (2009) and Lasica (2003), suggested that transparency could increase the public's trust in journalism, it seems that the Finnish audience is both relatively trusting and loyal, even though the level of transparency is low. For example, there are only a few media watchdog blogs or websites, and the status of organized media monitoring movements is very limited (Heikkilä, 2011).

This explanation of the relationship between audience expectations and the level of transparency seems reasonable, as nine of the ten news outlets that were analysed in this study operate on a commercial basis. The media industry is generally a competitive market, and it is clear that the news outlets aim to maximize their readership. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that if the level of journalistic and editorial transparency played a significant role for the readers when choosing their news site, transparency would be on the agenda of the publishing companies, even if they did not see its wider ethical value to journalism and society. This is in line with Heikkilä's (2011) conclusions. According to him, the level of readership and legitimacy of Finnish journalism is generally rather high, which may well have made the media professionals believe that the media is already adequately transparent and accountable, and thus, they have no motivation to increase the level of openness and foster user participation.

5.2.2. Professional protectionism and fear of competition

In addition to the lack of audience expectations, the fairly low transparency score can be explained through existing academic knowledge on the status and common perspectives of professional journalists. As practicing media transparency does not usually require large financial investments and generally does not involve any legal restrictions, it is reasonable to assume that most of the limitations on the wider implementation of transparency techniques are mainly ethical. As many of the professional journalists and editors working for the online-only media have their educational and professional background in more traditional forms of journalism, many online media are likely to view the media scene from a more traditional perspective. More precisely, the lack of active transparency is likely to be linked to the narrow-minded attitudes of media professionals.

Scholars have pointed out that a large amount of the criticism on transparency requirements comes from the advocates of the traditional professional status of journalists (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005; Smolkin, 2006). Instead of fully recognising the growing value of openness and two-way dialogue between the writers and the consumers of the news, the more traditional perspective views professional journalists as “gatekeepers” of information. In this context, the transparency of working methods and sources, as well as inviting the audience to participate in the journalistic process, is seen as weakening the ultimate authority of the journalistic occupation. As Lowrey & Andersson (2005, pp. 1-4) argue, the professional journalists are hence hardly keen on making their working methods more transparent.

One of the reasons for this tradition-oriented culture among journalists might well be the lack of recognition of the need for transparency in the self-regulatory departments of the Finnish news media. Whereas in the field of public administration, transparency is secured through legal requirements (Ball, 2009,

p. 303), transparency in journalism is only established through voluntary professional ethics. The latest self-regulatory guidelines for Finnish journalists, published by the Union of Journalists and The Council for Mass Media in Finland, does not include a clause of disclosure or participatory transparency. However, the need to correct reporting mistakes in public has been mentioned (Suomen Journalistiliitto, 2011; Julkisen sanan neuvosto 2011). If the self-regulatory departments and professional umbrella organisations do not promote transparency as an ethical norm, it is understandable that the importance of this norm is not generally understood among individual journalists and editors.

Similar to the rationale of supply and demand, this explanation of professional protectionism seems valid in the context of this study. All of the news outlets that were included in this study are operated by professional media organisations, many of which are traditional large mass media houses. Similarly, a large number of journalists and editors working for the websites have been professionally trained. Also, even the journalists and editors working for the newer online-only publications often have their background in more traditional media companies. Therefore, it seems that some level of protection of the authority of the professional journalists is likely to exist.

In addition to the protection of the professional status of journalists and editors, it could be the media companies themselves who resist transparency on the basis of the protection of their popularity. Although several academics, including Maia (2008, p. 120) and Lowrey & Anderson (2005, p. 2), suggested that increasing transparency in news reporting is likely to benefit the publication economically, the Finnish media companies do not necessarily understand this advantage. In contrast, in regard to some specific transparency techniques, such as linking to sources, news organisations may be afraid of losing their audience. For example, in regard to linking to secondary sources, it could be that the media companies do not want to send their readers to other news sites, and away from their own website, by linking to external news articles (Vehkoo,

2011). Also, as Vehkoo (2011) suggests, linking to sources would also reveal the truth behind many of the exaggerated headlines that the websites use in their news articles to attract the readers' attention.

5.3 Differences in transparency between different media

Whereas the two previous sections have discussed the amount and nature of transparency in the leading Finnish online media outlets in general, it is time to move on to discussing the use of different transparency techniques in different news outlets in more detail.

As one of the key findings, the analysis reveals that the tabloid publications put the most effort into inviting the audience to contribute news material, they also include these user contributions in the actual news articles. There seems to be no clear explanation for this. On one hand, the low trust in tabloid publications compared to other media may be the motive for the tabloids to increase the public trust through transparency. On the other hand, however, it is important to bear in mind that despite their low score on trust, like in almost every European country, tabloid press manages to have the highest circulation numbers in Finland. In fact, the tabloid websites *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Ilta-Lehti* are the most visited websites (TSN Gallup, 2011). Therefore, it seems that trust is not among the most popular selection criteria for the audience when choosing to consume the tabloid papers, and thus it is not necessarily an increase in public trust that the tabloid websites are pursuing when fostering reader activity and participation in news production and discussion. Instead, the tabloids may simply pursue to increase loyalty and legitimacy of their content, as suggested by Bakker and Pantti (2009, p. 8). This indicates that one should actually be slightly critical of the relationship between participatory functions and transparency, as it is not clear whether the use of user material actually has anything to do with journalistic and editorial ethics.

Another major finding of the study is linked to the provision of commenting platforms in the websites. Interestingly, most of the news media that were analysed provide a commenting space in the context of almost every online news article, but *Iltalehti* does not enable any commenting on articles, and YLE enables commenting only on a fraction of its online news stories. Because YLE and *Iltalehti*, a public service broadcaster and a popular tabloid publication, are worlds apart from each other when it comes to their journalistic style, funding and management, it seems that the reason for this finding is not linked to the business model of the media company. Instead, one possible explanation for this could be the resources that commenting platforms require. Although most transparency measures do not seem to necessitate special financial investments, maintaining commenting boards and discussion platforms usually requires moderation, either pre or post, which results in additional costs for the company. For example, a YLE journalist mentions resources as one of the key reasons why the company only opens a few of its news articles for readers' comments (Joro, 2010, July 9). Also, *Helsingin Sanomat* argues that its newsroom invests a great deal of human resources for moderation of online comments and discussions (Heikkilä, 2011, p. 9).

However, the most noteworthy finding with regards to the differences in the degree of transparency between the news websites in Finland is that there are actually no major differences. None of the media outlets analysed are clearly the most transparent or clearly the least transparent, but as discussed above, different media apply different transparency techniques. On one hand, there are certain transparency techniques that are most widely used in the online-only news media, such as linking to sources, but on the other hand there are a large number of techniques that the traditional mass media houses employ more frequently than the online-only media, such as disclosure of the ownership and funding of the news outlet. Also, in comparison to the other media, the public service medium appears to be pretty much at the same level of transparency. This is slightly surprising considering the earlier assumptions of the researcher.

Overall, it seems that the different Finnish media mirror each other in the development of professional ethics and editorial style. Perhaps one medium should stand up as a pioneer for transparency practices in order to support the establishment of a permanently transparent media culture in the whole industry.

In the theoretical discussion, several hypotheses on the differences in the level of transparency between different media were constructed. It was hypothesized that *the transparency techniques are most widely and frequently utilized by the online-only news media*, that *transparency techniques are least widely and frequently used by the public service broadcaster* and that *the transparency score of the conventional commercial media organizations is expected to be somewhere in between the new media and the public broadcaster*. On the basis of the results of the content analyses, no sufficient support for these hypotheses can be found, and thus they need to be rejected.

5.4 The wider implications of the outcome

Having discussed the key findings in light of the existing literature, it is useful to place the results of this study into a wider context by discussing what they say about the current state of Finnish online journalism and how they illuminate its future prospects. Due to the relatively low level of attention that the media pays to transparency, and especially its participatory functions, it is reasonable to argue that Finnish journalism continues to maintain a more traditional authoritative role. As discussed in the literature review, many scholars argue that transparency is an essential requirement for a healthy future and the economic success of the news media industry (Vehkoo, 2011; Lowrey and Anderson, 2005; Ziomek, 2005). These authors point out that transparency may become one of the key criteria for a person when choosing to follow a certain publication in the near future. Some scholars, for instance Vehkoo (2011), even predict that professional journalism and the traditional news media companies are not going to survive if they do not seriously start employing more

transparent practices. With that said, the future of Finnish mainstream online journalism does not look very bright if the results of this study are taken into consideration.

However, it is worth remembering that most of these arguments come from the media scene in countries like the U.S., where on one hand the public trust in mainstream media is low (Pew Research Center, 2009, September 13) and on the other hand the activity of the blogosphere and the level of citizen journalism is relatively high. Considering the rather high level of trust in professional journalism (with the exception of the tabloids) amongst the Finnish public and the relatively low level of citizen journalism in Finland, it seems that this fear of the end of traditional journalism is not yet as acute here as it is in many other countries.

In addition to the economic perspective, the prior literature suggests that journalistic and editorial transparency allow the audience to judge the validity of the reporting, thus leading to fewer errors and deception by pressuring the media industry to learn from its mistakes (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; Rupa, 2006, p.137; Kovach 2005). Examined in the context of these arguments, the results of this study suggest that the Finnish online news culture in general would have a lot to improve on in terms of quality. At the same time, in light of the existing criticism on media transparency, it could be argued that the result of this study does not reflect a low level of quality in Finnish online journalism. Some authors argue that the increasing emphasis on transparency may actually have negative consequences on the quality of journalism (see, for example, Smolkin, 2006). For example, by increasing the secrecy surrounding certain facts that the media industry considers to be harmful if revealed to their customers (O'Neill, 2002).

5.5 The significance of this study

As one of the few empirical studies on the prevalence of transparency in mainstream online news media in Finland, this study manages to add a substantial amount of information to the prior research of media transparency. As noted in the literature review, most empirical studies on transparency have focused on the online media in larger Western countries, especially in the United States. Thus, by providing a comprehensive first-hand account of the current situation in Finnish online journalism, this study increases the geographical coverage of the academic knowledge on media transparency. In addition, although these results cannot be directly generalised to represent the situation in other countries, or even in other Finnish news media than the selected ten websites, these results can provide some important information on the level of transparency in similar media contexts. Also, the study has enhanced our understanding of the transparency practices in different online news media types.

However, the results of the content analyses must still be interpreted with some caution for several reasons. First, it is worth remembering that “low” and “high” are relative concepts. No website would ever use all the possible transparency techniques because different media tend to choose the most appropriate practices in light of their resources, target audience and general style, rather than trying to incorporate all of them into the content. Even though several practical and comparable examples of media transparency in other countries were discussed comprehensively in chapter 1, this study lacks a clear benchmark for the concept of transparency. Thus, it is difficult to determine how transparency techniques should then be used in order to attain a “high degree of transparency”, or at least “enough transparency”.

Second, another reason for caution is related to the complex nature of the online environment and the concept of editorial and journalistic transparency.

The qualitative analysis on the content and structures of the websites in regard to transparency elements was carefully designed prior to being conducted because it is possible that the researcher has missed certain elements due to the non-linear nature of web content. This may have had an undesirable influence on the comparative analysis of different media. At the same time, it is important to remember that the aim of the qualitative study was to provide interpretative data, and even if the study has some gaps or inconsistencies, the qualitative part offers interesting data from the perspective of the user experience.

Third, as the promotion of transparency and online journalism in general are continually and very rapidly evolving fields, the results of this empirical study may become outdated very soon. Already now, 9 months after the time of the research, one can note completely new measures that some of the Finnish online news outlets have adopted in order to increase the transparency of their affairs. For example, the publisher of *Helsingin Sanomat* has recently started a citizen journalism project that provides a web platform that enables the audience to produce and edit news text and columns together with the professional journalists. The results of this collaboration are published in the *Metro* newspaper (in Finnish: *teejuttu.fi* service). On the basis of the speedy development of the industry, it would be essential for academia to continue to conduct new studies on the topic of media transparency on a regular basis.

The chosen research method proved to be rather effective because it has provided both systematic and interpretative data on transparency and has enabled the researcher to cover a large variety of different transparency techniques, both at the news item level and on the more general website level. However, as with all research projects, the methodology of this study is not without limitations. The most apparent limitation that was noted during the study is the inability of the research method to reveal the latent, in other words the hidden, messages behind the content from the news websites that were

analysed. While the content analyses focused on the technical and manifest elements of transparency, such as the existence of a discussion platform or an editor's blog, it did not provide information on the intended purposes of these elements. Therefore, it remains unclear whether the purpose of an editor's blog, for example, is to open up the editorial decision-making process and the editor's personal opinions and affiliations to the public and invite the public to comment on the editorial decisions, or whether its purpose is something else completely. Similarly, the content analysis managed to show that all of the news outlets that were analysed have a social media profile where they invite the readers to comment on the news outlet and its content. Yet the study does not show to what extent the news outlets actually take the readers' opinion into account. Thus, the actual transparency value of the transparency techniques that are discovered is very difficult to determine. Coverage of this aspect in this study would have required supplementary research methods like interviews with the media professionals. This was not feasible considering the available time frame, the resources and the large study population of this project. However, future studies could concentrate on these underlying motives and reasons behind the use of transparency techniques by applying such methods as qualitative interviews, surveys, case studies and newsroom observations.

All in all, this study is likely to have significance beyond the factual contribution to existing knowledge, namely policy and practice implications. Although this study alone is unlikely to have a notable impact on the attitudes of news professionals and news organizations, growing academic focus on media transparency presumably fosters a rise in critical discussion about the performance of media amongst the public. In addition, by listing a large number of fairly easy and practical media transparency techniques that have been suggested by the prior academic literature and by a few foreign studies, this study provides the Finnish online media outlets with concrete suggestions on how to improve the transparency of their content. Ideally, this study will hence encourage Finnish journalism practitioners to consider the standard of

openness and pressure them to use more participatory techniques in the processes of online news making.

Finally, it is important to highlight that by advocating transparency, this study does not suggest a replacement of all traditional journalistic values. In contrast, at least fairness and accuracy, and maybe even objectivity, are still worth striving for. It is clear that transparency itself cannot guarantee fair and accurate reporting, although it would most likely bring about an improvement in current journalistic and editorial practices.

6 CONCLUSION

One of the central purposes of news media is to provide citizens with the truthful and reliable information that they need to function in society and have an influence on the decision-making process in a democracy. However, a large number of prior academic studies express a growing fear that the ability of journalism to perform these traditional functions is being severely challenged. This is the case because the traditional ethical norms of reporting are losing ground in the online environment, and the public trust in mainstream media is thought to be at an all time low. Growing pressure from the new media and the blogosphere reinforces the idea of an urgent need for some sort of a remedy that would save professional quality journalism.

As a consequence, transparency has been identified as a new ethical foundation that could contribute positively to both the quality of journalism and to the continuation of professional news media practitioners and traditional news media companies. As a two-way medium, the Internet has a lot of potential for the use of a large variety of different measures that foster journalistic transparency. For example, transparency can be implemented through the disclosure of relevant information from sources, through newsgathering methods that reveal the underlying motives and decision-making criteria, and by encouraging the audience to participate in the news production process.

This study has provided an account of the state of transparency with regards to the content of ten mainstream online news outlets in Finland. The evidence from this study has suggested that the leading Finnish online media is not yet actively trying to open up its decision-making and production process for public scrutiny and contribution. As such, this study has confirmed previous findings that show a relatively low level of transparency in professional online journalism in general. It also contributed additional evidence that suggests that the

situation is rather similar in all of the different professional online media types. These media types include the website of a public broadcasting company, the online services of the commercial newspapers and the newer online-only media. As a follow-up to the empirical analysis of the level and nature of transparency in the selected ten news outlets, the study has drawn conclusions about the reasons behind the outcome. In light of the prior academic knowledge on media transparency, it has been argued that the lack of demand for new journalism ethics among the public, the absence of a major “journalism crisis”, and resistance by the media professionals and businesses are likely to have contributed to the relatively low level of media transparency in Finland.

The most apparent gap found in this study has been the inability to evaluate the underlying purpose and function of the different techniques that this study has identified as reflecting transparency. Another limitation is related to the fact that generalising these results will be difficult. In spite of these deficiencies, the current findings add substantially to a growing body of theoretical literature on media transparency. This research can also serve as a base for future empirical studies on the use of different practical transparency methods in certain online media. Ideally, this study will also make Finnish journalism practitioners to consider the need for transparent news production processes and encourage them to apply more participatory techniques in their online news making process. This study will hopefully also encourage the public to become critical consumers of online news media.

As this research project has demonstrated, media transparency is both an interesting topic that can be examined from either the media industry’s point of view or from a wider social, political or economic perspective. While the topic may have been examined extensively on a theoretical level in recent years, there is a constant call for empirical studies on the use and impact of this new ethical norm. Online news practices develop quickly, and the existing academic research should be updated on a frequent basis. In addition, several new,

uncovered aspects of the topic have arisen during the production of this research project. This has raised many questions that are in need of further examination. First of all, it would be essential for future academic studies to develop knowledge on the reasons and motives that underlie the transparency practices used in the media. Upcoming research may also want to evaluate the level of transparency in the Finnish publications that were not covered in this study. This would help establish a greater degree of accuracy with regards to the arguments made in this study. One interesting type of media would be the websites of the free newspapers, such as *Metro* and *Vartti*. They would be interesting to examine because of their different target audience and more advanced participatory practices. In addition, further experimental investigation is needed to estimate the economic, social and professional influences on the value of media transparency. Most academic studies thus far have only examined these issues on a theoretical level. Finally, as this study has suggested, there could be a relationship between the lack of media transparency practices and the lack of demand for media accountability among the audience. Thus, it would be essential to comprehensively study the needs and perceptions of the audience with regards to Finnish online news content.

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	Art 51	Art 52	Art 53	Art 54	Art 55	Art 56	Art 57	Art 58	Art 59	Art 60
Linking to original sources										
Linking to secondary sources	X								X	X
Byline					X					
User material										
Poll										
Commenting space	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	Art 61	Art 62	Art 63	Art 64	Art 65	Art 66	Art 67	Art 68	Art 69	Art 70
Linking to original sources										
Linking to secondary sources		X							X	
Byline		X		X					X	
User material										
Poll										
Commenting space	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

	TOTAL
Linking to original sources	2
Linking to secondary sources	9
Byline	6
User material	0
Poll	0
Commenting space	69

Appendix 2: The sample of news articles from Aamulehti (www.aamulehti.fi)

1. "Pirkan Pyöräily rullaa nyt: Tällä alueella se vaikuttaa liikenteeseen" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Teiskontien liikennevalot vilkuttavat alkuiltaan asti" (June 10, 2012)
3. "Katainen: Espanjan tukeminen perusteltua" (June 10, 2012)
4. "Tietyöt valtaavat Tampereen keskustaa: Muista maanantaina nämä" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Homoliitoista puhkesi kiistely keskustassa" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Gayltä vahva paluunäyttö: 10,0 vastatuuleen" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Madde juhli 30-vuotissyntymäpäiviään Tukholmassa" (June 10, 2012)
8. "Hamilton: "Rakastin kisan jokaista sekuntia" (June 10, 2012)
9. "Samassa risteyksessä rytisi kaksi kertaa: Kolareissa neljä autoa ja seitsemän matkustajaa" (June 10, 2012)
10. "Ranska äänestää parlamenttivaaleissa" (June 10, 2012)
11. "IMF ennustaa Suomen kasvun hidastuvan" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Mistä Espanjan tuessa oli kyse ja mitä lauantaina päätettiin? Lue tästä!" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Suomi ja Viro saivat EM-lentopallohakuun haastajan" (June 11, 2012)
14. "USA:n kauppaministeri sai sairauskohtauksen ja kolaroi" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Lempäälässä murto entiseen pankkiin - Poliisi kaipaa vihjeitä autoista ja henkilöistä" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Suomalaisen musiikin vienti kasvaa reippaasti" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Pirkanmaan poliisi hoiti viikonloppuna lähes tuhat hälytystehtävää" (June 11, 2012)
18. "Tampereen joukkoliikenteen Nella- palvelu avattiin jo osittain" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Kysely: Vain Ruovesi haluaisi liittyä Tampereeseen" (June 11, 2012)
20. "Ihosityöpää hoidettiin säteilevällä laastarilla hyvin tuloksin" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Tamperealainen tankotanssiyritys haettiin konkurssiin" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Aamulehden toimitus marssi ulos - verkon päivityksessä taukoja" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Suomessa kuolee lapsi tai nuori tapaturmassa joka neljäs päivä" (June 12, 2012)
24. "Oikeuskansleri: Ei moitteita Kreikka- asiassa" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Joko herttuatar Catherine on raskaana?" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Irtokoira teki tuhojaan – Kaksi lammasta jouduttiin lopettamaan" (June 12, 2012)
27. "YK syyttää Syyrian armeijaa lasten käyttämisestä ihmiskilpinä" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Venäläisten jalkapallofanien marssi päättyi tappeluun" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Tampere onkin superkallis kaupunki asua!" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Suomalaisten asenteissa hälyttävä muutos" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Nokia neuvottelee luksuspuhelimensa myynnistä ruotsalaisyritykselle" (June 13, 2012)
32. "Ruotsin valtion Twitter-tili kohahdutti juutalaiskommenteilla – "Ei ole mennyt rajan yli" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Polkupyörällä liikkuva laukkusieppari piinaa: Jo kolme uhria kahtena päivänä" (June 13, 2012)
34. "Poliisi varoittaa turkulaisia: Vasat aiheuttavat vaaraa liikenteessä" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Jo 560 jäänyt kiinni hardcore- lapsipornon katselusta: Mies kaiken takana oikeudessa" (June 13, 2012)

36. "Tuli riistäytyi nuorten käsistä Parkanossa" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Yhdysvaltalainen kaupunki kielsi kiroilun" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Case Halla-aho räjäytti Aamulehden nettikeskustelun" (June 13, 2012)
39. "Habbo Hotel sulki kaikki keskustelut kohun takia" (June 13, 2012)
40. "Thaihierojan taposta epäilty vangittiin: Surma-ase löytyi maastosta, motiivina ilmeisesti raha" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Ensimmäinen Lidl Pirkanmaalla alkoi paistaa leipää – Muut seuraavat perässä" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Tampere Guitar Festival keräsi ennätysyleisön" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Windows ja Lumia ovat Tampereen onni Nokia-pommissa" (June 14, 2012)
44. "VS: 21 päiväkotilasta tutkittu Taysissa tuberkuloositapauksen takia" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Liikenneympyrä muuttui 253 185 euron tikkatauluksi Lempäälässä" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Brittiasiantuntija IS:lle: Euro katoaa 2020 mennessä, Suomi lähtee ulos ensimmäisenä" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Analyytikon shokkiennustus: "Nokialla elinaikaa enää viikkoja" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Suursiivous Nokian johtokunnassa - konkari Savander ulos" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Salon tuotekehitysyksikkö helpottunut" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Suojateillä lapsiin törmäilyttä autoilijaa ei enää etsitä aktiivisesti" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Tampereelle suunnitellaan uudenlaista hotellikotia" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Nokian kurssi nousi mutta pysyi alle kahden euron" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Tampereen Pyrinnön naisilla on venlojen viestissä vuodesta toiseen sama ongelma" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Kolme kuoli ammuskelussa yliopistolla Kanadassa" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Srebrenican joukkomurhasta langetettiin Bosniassa raskaita tuomioita" (June 15, 2012)
56. "IL: Suomalainen näyttelijätär juhli Monte Carllossa ruhtinas Prinssi Albertin kutsuilla" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Tampereelta kadonneiden rakkauslukkojen mysteeri selvisi" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Suomi sai olympiapaikan miesten maantiepyöräilyyn" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Asiakas sairaalaan: Ilmakivääri laukesi vahingossa Veljekset Keskisellä" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Vapaavuori: "Tuomitsen ajattelun, että jos tuloerot kaventuvat, maailma on onnellisempi" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Tarkat ehdot: Vakuutusyhtiö ei korvannut, kun autot kolaroivat pesulinjalla" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Poliisi ampui kolme ihmistä Slovakiassa" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Suu Kyi: Nobel-palkinto avasi oven sydämessäni" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Lehti: Venäjä toimittaa Syyriaan ilmatorjuntakalustoa" (June 16, 2012)
65. "IS: Joel Armia teki NHL-sopimuksen" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Lehti: Venäjä toimittaa Syyriaan ilmatorjuntakalustoa" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Rakkauslukkojen kohtalosta syntyi kommenttimyrsky: Tätä mieltä lukijat ovat" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Pitkien hiihtomatkojen erikoismies Nils Karlsson kuoli" (June 16, 2012)
69. "YK:n tarkkailijat keskeyttivät työnsä Syyriassa" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Rikosvyyhti laajeni: Asukkaiden nukkuessa iskenyt varas on käynyt jo useissa asunnoissa" (June 16, 2012)

Appendix 3: The sample of news articles from Helsingin Sanomat (www.hs.fi)

1. "Puoluejohtaja: Kreikka ei pääse umpikujastaan" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Syyrian opposition uusi johtaja on sovinnon mies Uppsalasta" (June 10, 2012)
3. "Syntymäpäiväjuhlat päättyivät puukotukseen Nokialla" (June 10, 2012)
4. "Puukkomies uhkaili ihmisiä ja ryösti kaupan kassan Joensuussa" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Lappeenrannan palossa kuoli keski-ikäinen mies" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Kaksi rakennusta tuhoutui palossa Kokkolassa" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Ranskassa vasemmisto voittoon parlamenttivaalien ensimmäisellä kierroksella" (June 10, 2012)
8. "Maanjäristys aiheutti paniikin Turkin rannikolla" (June 10, 2012)
9. "Norfolk ylivoimainen AHL:n mestari" (June 10, 2012)
10. "Irlanti haluaa neuvotella pelastuspaketin uusiksi" (June 10, 2012)
11. "Finnairin henkilöstökiistoja ratkotaan huomenna" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Tutkijat löysivät migreenigeenejä" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Väitös: Muistisairaiden omaishoitajat kaipaavat varhaista tukea" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Turun kaupunginhallitus esittää kansanäänestystä toriparkista" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Lehterä solmi jatkosopimuksen KHL:n Novosibirskin kanssa" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Soini ei kommentoi Halla-ahon KKO-heittoa" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Samsung: Emme ole ostamassa Nokias" (June 11, 2012)
18. "MTV3: Poliisi ei tutki Timo Rädyn kunnianloukkausväitettä" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Libyan vaalit lykkääntyivät heinäkuulle" (June 11, 2012)
20. "Brittilähettilään autosaattuetta ammuttiin singolla Libyassa" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Clinton epäilee Venäjän toimittavan taisteluhelikoptereita Syyriaan" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Finnairin irtisanomisiin ei vielä ratkaisua" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Mies tapettiin Alajärvellä" (June 12, 2012)
24. "Sampo-pankki: Euroalueen velkakriisi vie Suomen taantumaan" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Tuomas Kyrön Kerjäläinen ja jänis myyty kymmeneen maahan" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Vertailu: Suomalaislapset kuolevat usein väkivallan tai itsemurhan takia" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Alma Median lehtien toimituksia marssi ulos" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Norjan ex-pääministeriltä evättiin pääsy Kiinaan" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Vanha katoamisjuttu ratkesi – dingo vei vauvan" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Kymmeniä kateissa Pohjois-Afganistanin maanjäristyksen jälkeen" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Teollisuuden liikevaihto kasvoi runsaan prosentin alkuvuonna" (June 13, 2012)
32. "Venäjä ja Yhdysvallat kiistassa Syyrian taistelijoiden aseistamisesta" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Hovioikeus ei käsittele Finnair-kiistaa" (June 13, 2012)
34. "Thaihierojan surmaaja tavoitteli rahoja" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Vapaavuoresta varapuheenjohtaja Helsingin valtuustoon" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Pellervolle vuoden kristallipallopalkinto" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Ruotsin demarit: Huonosti menestyneet oppilaat kesäksi kouluun" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Helsinki-Vantaan lentoasemasta halutaan olohuone" (June 13, 2012)

39. "Tutkimus: Ylipaino voi suojata tietyltä syöpätyypiltä" (June 13, 2012)
40. "KKO esittää uudeksi jäsenekseen Jarmo Littusta" (June 13, 2012)
41. "KSML: Työntekijöiden taustat ehkä kovempaan syyniin" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Syrizan Tsipras vannoo Kreikan pysyvän eurossa, mutta ilman säästöohjelmaa" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Saksan kannattajat heittelivät Portugalin pelaajia vessapaperilla" (June 14, 2012)
44. "Kreikan konservatiivit koventavat maahanmuuttolinjaansa" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Assange Ruotsiin aikaisintaan kahden viikon kuluttua" (June 14, 2012)
46. "YK: Syyrian al-Haffa taistelujen jäljiltä autio ja hylätty" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Tapiola Pankki ennakoi taantumaa loppuvuodelle" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Helenius palaamassa Tampa Bayn maalille" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Kännykkäliittymien puhelinmarkkinointiin kolmen vuoden kielto" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Vaasa ja Uumaja aikovat perustaa yhteisen varustamon" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Berliinin metsäpoika olikin hollantilaisnuorukainen" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Ekonomistit: Poliitikot voivat taipua, jos Kreikan euroero uhkaa" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Toiveet keskuspankkien toimista piristivät pörssiä Aasiassa" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Katainen: Kokoomus ei saa tuodittautua vaalivoiton varmuuteen" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Kokoomuksen Vapaavuori: Tuloterot ovat terve merkki" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Baxter: Hodgson tietää jopa ruotsalaisten taukojuomat" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Ikääntyvä Japani haluaa eläkeläiset töihin" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Japanin metroon iskeneen tuomiopäivän kultin jäsen kiinni" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Iltalehden kysely: Kannattajien luottamus Halla-ahoon mureni" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Ruotsin korkein oikeus: Mangasarjakuva ei ole lapsipornoa" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Venlojen viestin suunnistajilla helteiset olot Vantaalla" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Etiopia uhkaa Skype-käyttäjää vankeustuomiolla" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Suu Kyi sai Nobelin 21 vuotta myöhässä" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Katainen peruu matkansa Rioon Nokian takia" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Mies uhitteli sivullisia jalkajousella Jyväskylässä" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Karille ajanut veneilijä löydettiin pelastusrenkaan varasta" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Presidentti Niinistö puolisoineen saapui Naantaliin kesän viettoon" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Soini: Perussuomalaisia ei komennella" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Microsoftin uskotaan lähtevän tablettikilpaan" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Huippuhihtäjä jäi reilut kuusi minuuttia huippusuunnistajasta" (June 16, 2012)

Appendix 4: The sample of news articles from Iltalehti (www.iltalehti.fi)

1. "Asiantuntija: Espanjan tukipaketti rauhoittaa merkittävästi" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Irlanti haluaa neuvotella pelastuspakettinsa uusiksi" (June 10, 2012)
3. "Haglundista RKP:n puheenjohtaja"(June 10, 2012)
4. "Turkissa ihmiset hyppivät paniikissa ikkunoista - kymmeniä loukkaantunut" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Keskustan uusi johtaja esittää linjanvetonsa" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Kimillä sormet ristissä" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Kokkolassa kaksi outoa tulipaloa: Ihmiset pelastuivat viime hetkellä" (June 10, 2012)
8. "Jäätävät terveiset Simonille!" (June 10, 2012)
9. "Rakennustyömies porasi itseään nilkkaan" (June 10, 2012)
10. "Kim Kardashian osti Kanye Westille luksusauton!" (June 10, 2012)
11. "Porin kaupunginsairaalan pommiuhka ohii"(June 11, 2012)
12. "Suomalaiset jakaantuvat eri kasteihin: Täältä löytyvät Suomen pahimmat maksuhäiriöt" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Brittilähettilään kimppuun hyökättiin: Autosaattuetta ammuttiin singolla" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Harrasteliijaetsivä jäljitti murhasta etsityn internetissä" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Venäjän oppositiolla tiukat paikat: Koteja ratsataan ja vankila uhkaa" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Kuuluisasta vankilapaosta 50 vuotta - Tutkitaan yhä" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Soneran yhteydet tökkivät: Ongelma valtakunnan laajuinen" (June 11, 2012)
18. "IMF: Nämä tekijät uhkaavat Suomen taloutta" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Puolueet erimielisiä Halla-ahon kohtalosta"(June 11, 2012)
20. "Erikoinen otus tallentui riistakameralle" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Suomalaisten kielikurssilaisten lentokoneessa pommiuhka" (June 12, 2012)
22. "HS: Huumeet aiheuttivat ryöstöaallon Oulussa" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Suomen Luonto: Talvivaaran vesistä oireita lapsille? – Viranomainen vaikenii" (June 12, 2012)
24. "SDP: Halla-ahon vähättelevä kommentointi käsittämätöntä" (June 12, 2012)
25. "YK: Syyriassa on täysimittainen sisällissota" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Miljoonien rakastama nyrkkeilysankari kuoli" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Ensimmäinen taloustieteen Nobelin saanut nainen on kuollut" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Kauhistuttava taistelu ohii" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Breivikille varoitus – kuvaili syyttäjää kauniiksi" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Alma Media vähentää yli sata henkilötyövuotta" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Ikeasta nousi rasismikohu: Porttikielto romaneille!" (June 13, 2012)
32. "Sairaanhoidopiiri vaatii ex-johtajalta miljoonan euron korvauksia" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Lomalento palasi kentälle - neljä matkustajaa meni paniikkiin" (June 13, 2012)
34. "Yksimielinen vaatimus: Halla-ahon erottava" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Pelastusliivi estäisi ison osan veneilykuolemista" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Miestä ja kahta naista pahoinpideltiin Vantaalla" (June 13, 2012)

37. "15 vuotta perheväkivaltaa riitti: Vaimo tilasi palkkamurhaajan" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Näin voit välttää joutumasta taskuvarkaan uhriksi" (June 13, 2012)
39. "Halla-aho eroaa - Eerola tilalle" (June 13, 2012)
40. "Nuori nainen raiskattiin Tikkurilan aseman läheisyydessä" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Nokian kiinalaiset työntekijät huolissaan suomalaisista" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Henki oli lähtee: Haglund ei käynyt armeijaa" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Itsekin irtisanomassa ollut Nokia-pomo sai lähtee: Elop: "Ollut arvostettu kumppani" (June 14, 2012)
44. "Pakkoabortista anteeksipyyntö ja potkuja Kiinassa" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Elop söi sanansa" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Yle: Hallitus kokoontuu Nokian takia" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Nuoret lääkärit: Työ stressaavaa eikä potilaille ole tarpeeksi aikaa" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Egyptin presidentinvaalien toinen finalistista saa jatkaa" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Kalastaja katosi - Poliisi jatkaa etsintöjä" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Analyytikko arvioi: Elopilla aikaa ensi vuoden alkuun" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Poliisikoiria löysi murtautujan erikoisesta paikasta" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Yli 10 000 euron rahalähetys edelleen kateissa" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Poliisi sai äidin kiinni ja päästi lähtemään - Lapset yhä kateissa" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Ympäristökiistojen sovittelusta vain uusia riitoja" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Ruotsi lupaa narkoleptikoille lääkekorvauksia" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Balotelli rasismin kohteena - Uefa tutkii" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Ensimmäinen suomalainen saa kuvansa kahden euron kolikkoon" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Ase laukesi Keskinen kyläkaupassa – luoti asiakkaan vatsaan" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Rikollisjärjestön jäseniä syytteessä Oulussa: Syyttäjä vaatii jengiliivejä valtiolle" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Kaksi taloa paloi Jyväskylässä - yksi pidätetty epäiltynä tuhopoltosta" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Isä tappoi neljä lastaan Saksassa" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Hurrikaani Carlotta puhkui itsensä näännyksiin" (June 16, 2012)
63. "TS: Pantasuden ampujille ei syytteitä" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Poliisi tappoi kolme Slovakiassa" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Henkilöauton kuljettaja kuoli risteyskolarissa Nilsiässä" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Presidenttipari saapui Naantaliin" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Bussi jokeen Intiassa, kymmeniä kuoli" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Stubb pyysi joulupukkia myyntimatkalta" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Laihiolla jahdataan karhua" June 16, 2012)
70. "Mies uhkaili ohikulkijoita jalkajousella" (June 16, 2012)

Appendix 5: The sample of news articles from Ilta-Sanomat
(www.iltasanomat.fi)

1. "Outo vieras tupsahti puoluekokoukseen" (June 10, 2012)
2. "IS Kokkolassa: Haglund on RKP:n uusi puheenjohtaja" (June 10, 2012)
3. "Väyrysellä on pannu kuumana – näin pääset paikalle!" (June 10, 2012)
4. "Joko korttitalo kaatuu? Irlanti haluaa saman kuin Espanja" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Espanjan media ällistyi: "Tragedia on toistaiseksi torjuttu" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Piina Vesijärvellä: 80-vuotias roikkui lähes tunnin veneen laidassa" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Keskusta miettii floppiaan: "Tällä tavalla tätä ei kannata järjestää" (June 10, 2012)
8. " Rkp:n Haglund Sipilälle: Helppo vallattomana oppositiosta huudella!" (June 10, 2012)
9. "Moisander miljoonien siirtosummasta: "Kyllähän se hivelee" (June 10, 2012)
10. "Kouvolan pankkiryöstöstä epäilty jäi kiinni lentokentällä" (June 10, 2012)
11. " Hodgson ylisti nuorta tähteään" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Suomalaiselokuva palkittiin parhaana kansainvälisillä filmifestivaaleilla"(June 11, 2012)
13. "Albania sai vihdoin presidenttinsä - neljän äänestyksen jälkeen" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Poliisi tutkii naisen surmaa Lahdessa: Vainaja löytyi thaihieromosta" (June 11, 2012)
15. " Roskakuski hönkäisi alkometriin - "En ole ikinä nähnyt vastaavaa" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Kiinassako huono ilmanlaatu - katso kuva keltavihreästä pilvestä" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Hoitokoti sai huomautuksen henkilöstön vähydestä - "olemme todella pahoillamme" (June 11, 2012)
18. "Soneran verkossa iso ongelma - tuhansien kännykät mykkinä" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Halla-ahon päätä pompotellaan ryhmien kesken"(June 11, 2012)
20. "Julma kohtaus Prometheuksessa liikaa - poika kiidätettiin sairaalaan" (June 11, 2012)
21. Oppositio kuumana:"Niiden pitää vastata, jotka kuplan synnyttivät" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Sampo Pankki: Eurokriisi ajaa Suomen taantumaan" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Tutkimus: läkäs isä voi olla lapselle eduksi" (June 12, 2012)
24. "Summanen jatkaa KHL-luotsina" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Breivik ei ollut psykoottinen"(June 12, 2012)
26. "IS paikalla EM-kisoissa: Pimeästä lipusta huudetaan 400 euroa" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Metsuri putosi puusta - ambulanssilla sairaalaan" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Tutkijat kumosivat Vasa-laivaan liitetyn myytin" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Putin piti puheen - massiivinen mielenosoittajajoukko Moskovassa" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Kuopioon lähtijöille luvassa muuttorahaa hätäkeskusuudistuksessa" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Brittiehdotus eurokriisin ratkaisuksi: Suomi ulos!"(June 13, 2012)
32. "Katainen: Pitäisikö minun kertoa kollegoilleni, että Suomi muuten nyt eroaa eurosta?" (June 13, 2012)
33. "USA ja Venäjä: Helikopterit laukaisivat sanasodan"(June 13, 2012)

34. "Super Mario kaatoi Hollannin" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Hurja väite: Kiina vei ohjusaluustoja Pohjois- Koreaan?" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Kirstun pohja kolisee - Kreikalla rahaa vielä heinäkuuksi" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Mies teloitettiin 30 vuotta vanhasta murhasta" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Ruhtinatar Charlene edusti nyrpeänä"(June 13, 2012)
39. "Salavideo ladattiin nettiin: Suomen poliisi pelaa tennistä työaikana" (June 13, 2012)
40. "Venäläinen ryyppysakki varasti lentokoneen - katosivat Siperiaan" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Xena-näyttelijätärtä uhkaa vankeustuomio" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Ranskan päävalmentajalla kipeitä muistoja Shevtshenkosta" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Pirkanmaan poliisi lopetti ilotulitekaupan tutkinnan" (June 14, 2012)
44. "Missi-Pian ex-rakas suorapuheisena: "Ei kiinnosta mitä hän ajattelee" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Nunnaluostarin johtajatar pahassa onnettomuudessa Liperissä" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Lihansyöjäbakteeri tappoi naispapin: "Usko antoi hänelle voimaa" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Nokia syöksyi lähes viidenneksen" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Lotus-lähde: Räikkönen kuin pieni lapsi valitsemassa tikkaria" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Itellan kirjelaatikko repsotti auki useita päiviä - "Täynnä kirjeitä!" (June 14, 2012)
50. " Maa järjisi Turkissa" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Vuosien takainen kolmoismurha paljastui tosi-tv-ohjelmassa" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Irronnut takarengas aiheutti vaaratilanteen Helsingin keskustassa"(June 15, 2012)
53. "Tanssijatar hakkasi 10-vuotiaan liemikauhalla henkiahieveriin" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Tuurin kyläkaupan ilma-aseet tarkastettiin onnettomuuden jälkeen - "Teippaajasta ei tietoa" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Kuntaliittoa epäillään Afrikka-rahojen tuhlauksesta" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Plastiikkakirurgi Lil' Kimin kasvoista: Pieleen meni ja pahasti" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Joonas Jalkanen sakkoihin huumausainerikoksesta" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Uefa jatkoi sakottamista - nyt Kroatialle 25 000 euron sakot" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Puolan yleisradio pahoitteli Neuvostoliitto-mokaa" (June 15, 2012)
60. "10 000 euroa vieläkin kateissa Liperissä"(June 15, 2012)
61. "IS-kysely: Venäläiskenraali vahvisti Nato-myönteisten kantoja" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Uusi ydinaika Japanissa alkoi kuin teknotrillerissä" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Isä teloitti neljä lasta vuoteisiinsa - lähetti vaimolle tekstiviestin" (June 16, 2012)
64. "TS: Pantasuden ampujille ei syytteitä" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Kolmion takaa risteykseen ajanut kuoli Nilsiässä" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Presidentti Niinistö Naantaliin - kansa hurras" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Huoli Nokiasta sai Kataisen peruuttamaan matkan Rio de Janeiroon" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Saudi-Arabian kruununperillinen on kuollut" (June 16, 2012)
69. "14-vuotias tyttö yritettiin raiskata Käpylässä" (June 16, 2012)
70. "IS paikalla EM-kisoissa: Ronaldo arka aihe Portugalin valmentajalle" (June 16, 2012)

Appendix 6: The sample of news articles from Kaleva (www.kaleva.fi)

1. "Ruotsissa asuva pakolainen Syyrian opposition johtoon" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Kyselyt: Vasemmistolle enemmistö Ranskan parlamenttiin" (June 10, 2012)
3. "SantaPark: Keskustan väkeä tuli ilmoitettua enemmän ja se oli nälkäistä" (June 10, 2012)
4. "Poliisi nappasi rattijuoppoja kiinni Kainuussa" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Puukkomies uhkaili ihmisiä ja ryösti kaupan kassan" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Haglund joutui vastoin tahtoaan europarlamenttiin" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Suomen vastuut Espanja-paketissa vielä auki" (June 10, 2012)
8. "Espanjan lehdet tukihakemuksesta: "Pelastus" (June 10, 2012)
9. "Oppositiojohtajat Sipilä ja Soini eivät hyväksy apua Espanjalle" (June 10, 2012)
10. "15-vuotias poika hukkuu Haukiputaalla" (June 10, 2012)
11. "Jaakko Kuusisto ottaa vapaata Sinfonia Lahdesta" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Soini ei kommentoi Halla-ahon KKO-heittoa" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Turun kaupunginhallitus esittää kansanäänestystä toriparkista" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Hoitokoti sai huomautuksen henkilöstön vähyydestä" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Finnairin henkilöstökiistoja ratkotaan huomenna" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Asiantuntijat: Espanjan tukipaketti antaa maalle aikaa" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Syyrian armeijan helikopterit tulittivat kaupunkia" (June 11, 2012)
18. "Lähde: Mubarakin sydän pysähtyi kahdesti" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Toulousen ampujan perhe syyttää poliiseja murhasta" (June 11, 2012)
20. "Zlatanin maali ei auttanut, Ukraina voitti Ruotsin" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Oulun seudun bussikydyt hoidetaan yhdessä" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Suomen Luonto: Ely-keskus vaikenä Talvivaaran mittaustuloksista" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Ulkomaalaistaustaiset miehet tappelivat Kajaanissa" (June 12, 2012)
24. "Pääkaupunkiseudulla asuminen tuplasti kalliimpaa kuin Oulussa" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Oppositio tyrmää Suomen avun Espanjalle" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Anglikaaninen kirkko varoittaa homoliitoista" (June 12, 2012)
27. "YK: Aliravitsemus koettelee Pohjois-Korean lapsia" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Psykiatri: Breivik ei ollut psykoottinen" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Venäläisten jalkapallofanien marssi päättyi tappeluun - useita loukkaantui" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Kyrön Kerjäläinen ja jänis myyty kymmeneen maahan" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Sipilä johtaa takarivistä" (June 13, 2012)
32. "AKT hakee uutta puheenjohtajaa vauhdilla" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Habbo Hotel sulki kaikki keskustelut" (June 13, 2012)
34. "Kypros: Voimme tarvita 4 miljardin tukipaketin" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Monti vakuuttaa Italian talouden kestävä" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Abortoidun vauvan kuva kuohuttaa Kiinassa" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Kreikan rahat riittävät vielä heinäkuun" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Ely-keskus kiistää Talvivaaran päästötietojen pimityksen" (June 13, 2012)
39. "Työkaluja ja kanootti varkaille Rovaniemellä" (June 13, 2012)
40. "Kokoomuslaisia ulos opetuslautakunnasta" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Eduskunta antoi hallitukselle luottamuksensa" (June 14, 2012)

42. "Finnair ja Pro sopuun irtisanomispaketeista" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Laavu paloi Rovaniemellä, poliisi epäilee tuhopolttoa" (June 14, 2012)
44. "Espanjan lainakorko hipoi seitsemää prosenttia" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Suu Kyi: Burma tarvitsee ulkomaisia sijoituksia" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Saksan poliisi iski radikaaleja salafistiryhmiä vastaan" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Business Oulun Ala-Mursula: Irtisanotut nokialaiset työllistyneet varsin hyvin" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Maalihai Mandzukic ryösti Italialta voiton" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Digitekniikka ei miellytä kaikkia elokuvaihmisia" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Nokia syöksyi lähes viidenneksen" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Moody's laskee Nokian roskalainaluokkaan" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Luvattomasta hirvien metsästyksestä ehdollinen vankeus ja pitkä metsästyskielto" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Oikeus: Elisan estettävä pääsy Pirate Bay-palveluun" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Vapaavuori: Isoakin maata tuettava, jos Suomen etu vaatii" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Raahan terästehtaan tuotanto normalisoitumassa" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Asiantuntija: Nokialaisille töitä kiinalaisfirmoista" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Michael Laudrup Swansean päävalmentajaksi" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Elisa hakee valituslupaa hovioikeuden Pirate Bay -päätökseen" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Rädyn työsuhde myös AKT:n lakimiehenä päättyi" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Ympäristötutkijat erimielisiä Naturen kohuartikkelista" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Nokian insinööreille voi löytyä töitä Norjasta" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Pumppuketju lähtee liikkeelle Oulusta" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Raattiin saadaan pian uusi valotaulu" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Kylvöt yhä kesken, rehunteko jo käynnissä" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Sauna paloi Simossa" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Kerrostalo evakuoitiin Pietarsaareissa tulipalon takia" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Ensimmäinen kiinalaisnainen lähetetään avaruuteen" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Äänestys alkoi Egyptin presidentinvaaleissa" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Jesse Joensuu saa uuden yrityksen NHL:ssä" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Grillaaminen aiheutti palohälytyksen Alavieskassa" (June 16, 2012)

Appendix 7: The sample of news articles from MTV3 (www.mtv3.fi)

1. "Vihuri-harjoitus tuo Hornetit taivaalle" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Homoliitoista puhkesi kiistely keskustassa" (June 10, 2012)
3. "MTV3:n netissä: Video keskustan puheenjohtajan Juha Sipilän linjapuheesta" (June 10, 2012)
4. "Suomalainen puu harvoin puutarhakalusteiden raaka-aine - sertifiointi voi paljastua silmänlumeeksi" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Irlanti haluaa pelastuspaketinsa uusiksi - vaatii samoja etuja kuin Espanja" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Al Qaida: Obama ja Clinton ovat vain kameleiden ja kanojen arvoisia" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Rankkasade nosti puolitoistametrinen tulvan Walesissa" (June 10, 2012)
8. "Kustantaja Sipilä ei hyväksy apua Espanjalle" (June 10, 2012)
9. "Maailman älykkäin yhteisö valittu - Oulu pärjäsikin hyvin" (June 10, 2012)
10. "Alaikäiset pojat tuhosivat veneitä - huomattavat vahingot" (June 10, 2012)
11. "Ylipainoinen lapsi tarvitsee perheen tukea" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Tutkimus: Netti on voimavara yksinäisille nuorille" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Turvapaikan sai alkuvuonna aiempaa useampi" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Kyselyt: Vasemmiston voittokulku jatkuu Ranskassa" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Nigeriassa jälleen kaksi veristä kirkkoiskua" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Vasemmisto voittoon Ranskan vaalien ensimmäisellä kierroksella" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Venäjällä ratsattiin oppositiojohtajien koteja" (June 11, 2012)
18. "IATA: Lentoyhtiöiden voittoihin tulossa roima lasku" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Espanjan tukipaketti siivitti kurssit nousuun Aasiassa" (June 11, 2012)
20. "USA:n kauppaministeri kahdessa kolarissa – löydettiin tajuttomana autosta" (June 11, 2012)
21. "HS: Oikeusoppineet ihmettelevät Halla-ahon lausuntoa" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Professori: Koulujen kielioppimateriaalit vanhanaikaisia" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Amerikan kansallistaiteilija esillä Helsingin taidemuseossa" (June 12, 2012)
24. "Maailman kalleimmat kaupungit listattiin" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Iran suostuu neuvottelemaan uraanin rikastamisesta" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Katainen ja Merkel pohtivat eurokriisiä Berliinissä" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Professori: Eurokriisi kestää todella monta vuotta" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Lumia 900 -puhelinta jaetaan ilmaiseksi yliopiston opiskelijoille" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Soundgardenin comeback Sweden Rockissa" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Rajalan ja HS:n kunnianloukkausjuttu hovissa" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Auttoi tshetsheenejä Suomeen – hovioikeus langetti ehdollista" (June 13, 2012)
32. "Mies teki tuttavuutta junassa – raiskasi naisen metsikössä" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Pitäisikö Halla-ahon erota? Ota kantaa" (June 13, 2012)
34. "Soini välikysymyksestä: "Suomen pitää sanoa, että me emme maksa" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Viro ylitti Ruotsin turistien määrässä - idästä virtaa Suomeen jo miljoonia matkailijoita" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Myrkykaasua norjalaisessa koulussa – kahdeksan sairaalaan" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Burman Suu Kyi tulee Eurooppaan" (June 13, 2012)

38. "Saabin konkurssipesälle löytyi ostaja" (June 13, 2012)
39. "Suomi irti eurosta! Brittasiantuntijan pika-apu eurokriisiin (June 13, 2012)
40. "SSS: Nokian Salon tehtaalla pelätään jälleen pahinta" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Analyytikko: Nokia ilmoittaa yritysjärjestelyistä" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Helsingin keskustan metrolinnoitus pysähtyy heinäkuussa" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Tapiola pienensi ennustetta Suomen talouden kutistumisesta" (June 14, 2012)
44. "Kauppalehti: Nokia ei kertonut kunnille irtisanomista" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Nokia vähentää rajusti työntekijöitä Suomessa – Salon tehdas suljetaan" (June 14, 2012)
46. "YK-tarkkailijat vihdoinkin Syyrian al-Haffaan" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Nokian tiedotustilaisuus suorana netissä on päätynyt" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Yle: Hallitus hätäkokoukseen Nokian takia" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Nokia aikoo nousuun halvemmilla Windows-puhelimilla" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Lappsetille kaksi Angry Birds –puistotilausta Kiinasta" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Ekonomistit: Kreikka pysyy eurossa" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Höyryveturin aiheuttama laitevika pääradalla korjattu" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Tuomiopäivän kultin jäsen otettiin kiinni Japanissa" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Nasima Razmyar: Järjestön kiusaamisepäilyt selvitetään" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Maahanmuuttajanaisten tukijärjestössä epäillään rahasotkuja" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Ota ilo irti auringosta - pian sade viilentää säätä" (June 15, 2012)
57. "IS: Suomesta löytynyt taas kaksi laitonta lääkäriä" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Analyytikko Nokiasta: Tällä menolla tulee loppu" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Valvira: Laittomat lääkärit markkinoineet työtään väärin" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Harhaanjohtava markkinointi melko yleistä – hoitoalalla tapauksia muutama vuodessa" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Egypti äänestää kireässä tunnelmassa presidentistä" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Yhdysvallat ei enää karkota alaikäisiä maahan tulleita" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Applen ensimmäinen tietokone myytiin lähes 300 000 eurolla" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Äiti sieppasi lapsensa – nopea löytäminen hyvin tärkeää" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Presidenttipari matkaa tänään kesäksi Naantaliin" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Euroalueen tulevaisuus on kreikkalaisten käsissä" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Miltä näyttää juhannuksen sää?" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Karhu törmäsi autoon ja katosi metsään – jäljitys käynnissä" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Aamulehti: Kansalta Soinille 6,5 oppositiojohtajuudesta" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Mikä on kokoomuksen linja? Katso Kataisen puhe suorana netissä" (June 16, 2012)

Appendix 8: The sample of news articles from Nelonen (www.nelonen.fi)*

1. "Burman talouspakotteet näyttävät helpottuvan" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Nyströmien jättiyllätys kariutui jatkopalloihin" (June 10, 2012)
3. "Keskisalo avasi 16 sekuntia viime kautta paremmin" (June 8, 2012)
4. "D-vitamiinin puutos kasvattaa murtumariskiä" (June 8, 2012)
5. "Tuomioja blogissaan: Soinin totuuden hetki" (June 9, 2012)
6. "Omakotitalojen hinnat nousussa pääkaupunkiseudulla" (June 8, 2012)
7. "Kreikan ero uhkasi Suomen luottoluokitusta" (June 9, 2012)
8. "Mozilla lähtee haastajaksi kännykkämarkkinoille" (June 8, 2012)
9. "Maailman seksikkäin mies naimisiin!" (June 9, 2012)
10. "Nainen haastoi Michael Jacksonin kuolinpesän – vaatii miljardi dollaria!" (June 9, 2012)
11. "Suomi ja Viro saivat EM-lentopallohakuun haastajan" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Heikoilla alueilla joka viidennellä on maksuhäiriö" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Finnairin henkilöstökiistoja ratkotaan tänään" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Libyan vaalit lykkääntyivät heinäkuulle" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Turvapaikan sai alkuvuonna aiempaa useampi" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Lady Gaga sai putkesta päähänsä Uudessa-Seelannissa" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Veteraani Shevtshenko johti Ukrainan voittoon" (June 11, 2012)
18. "Kyproskin voi tarvita apua" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Ranskan vasemmisto voittoon ensimmäisellä kierroksella" (June 11, 2012)
20. "Oman kasvissadon myyminen helpottui" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Muutkin kuin Halla-aho suomineet oikeutta" (June 12, 2012)
22. "SLU, Nuori Suomi ja Kuntoliikuntaliitto yhdistyvät" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Finnairin irtisanomisiin ei vielä ratkaisua" (June 12, 2012)
24. "EK: Valtaosa tekee osa-aikatyötä omasta halustaan" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Olli Rehn ei halua spekuloida Italian tilanteella" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Alma Media vähentää väkeä, toimittajia marssi ulos" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Katainen Kauppalehdessä: EU-lainoista voi olla hyötyä" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Rajala vaatii yhä tuntuja kärsimyskorvauksia HS:ltä" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Ysäri vuosien menestysbändillä uusi platta" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Pääkaupunkiseudulla asuminen jopa tuplasti kalliimpaa" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Saksalaislehti: Kreikka voi tarvita uuden tukipaketin" (June 13, 2012)
32. "Poliisi taltutti jalkapallohulinaa kyynelkaasulla" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Kreikan rahat riittävät vielä heinäkuun" (June 13, 2012)
34. "SS: Gustafsson haluaa puuttua kouluhäiriköinnin syihin" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Islanti haluaa roolimalliksi kriisimaille" (June 13, 2012)
36. "American Pie -tähti sai perheenlisäystä!" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Sairaanhoidopiirejä uhkaa sakko potilasjonojen takia" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Directan toimitusjohtaja sai ehdollista vankeutta" (June 13, 2012)
39. "Saksalaislehti: Kreikka voi tarvita uuden tukipaketin" (June 13, 2012)
40. "Kypros: Voimme tarvita 4 miljardin tukipaketin" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Puolan poliisi jakoi tuomioita tappelijoille" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Tapiola: Talouden suhdannepohja osuu vuodenvaihteeseen" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Hallitus luottaa entisiin keinoihin Nokia-ongelmissa" (June 14, 2012)

44. "Valkokangaskaunotar tiukkana: En halua olla maailman seksikkäin nainen!" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Elop: Nokian pääkonttori jää Suomeen" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Talouden kasvu jää Suomen Pankin mukaan laimeaksi" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Suomalaisprofessori ei valita vakoilutuomiostaan" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Oscar-palkittu The Artist -tähti Scorsesen Wall Street -leffaan" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Kolmannes ammattikouluun hakeneista ilman koulupaikkaa" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Uefalta rangaistuksia kolmen maan jalkapalloliitolle" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Opposition lääke irtisanomisiin: Jättihanke ja lisää EU-rahaa" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Ruotsin hallitus lupaa narkoleptikoille lääkekorvauksia" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Vapaavuori: Euromaita tuettava, jos Suomen etu vaatii" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Myyjä voitti irtisanomiskiistan Giganttia vastaan" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Tähtiräppäri ja huippufutari lyövät hynttyyt yhteen!" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Kolera piinaa yhä Haitia" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Karkin napostelu kouluissa väheni, limut maistuvat yhä" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Kaksi lasta siepattiin hoitoyksiköstä Ylistarossa" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Kaksi venäläisfania karkotettiin Puolasta" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Ekonomistit uskovat Kreikan pysyvän eurossa" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Vihattu ja rakastettu teinitähti aikoi lopettaa uransa!" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Jungner: Kokoomuksesta on tulossa kummajainen" (June 16, 2012)
63. "YK: Kumpikin osapuoli kiihdyttää Syyrian sisällissotaa" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Japani käynnisti kaksi ydinreaktoria" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Nykyelokuvan kärkiohjaaja luotaa ihmiskatsetta" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Viime hetken Quentin Tarantinon tulevaan elokuvaan!" (June 16, 2012)
67. "VPS:lle kolmas voitto putkeen" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Niinistö Alman lehdille: Köyhä Suomi tukee rikkaita" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Palkitun poliisisarjan käsikirjoittaja pidätetty!" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Turun kulttuurivuoden rahoista suurin osa tapahtumiin"(June 16, 2012)

* As Nelonen often publishes only a couple of news articles on Sundays, the sample representing Sunday, June 10 was supplemented with articles from Saturday, June 9 and Friday, June 8.

Appendix 9: The sample of news articles from Taloussanomat
(www.taloussanomat.fi)*

1. "Mitä tapahtuu suljettujen ovien takana?" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Espanjan vuoro – toivoton taisto tuulimyllyjä vastaan" (June 10, 2012)
3. "Mazda uuteen katumaasturiaikaan" (June 10, 2012)
4. "Espanjan Rajoy: Tämä on voitto eurolle" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Asiantuntija: "Huoli Espanjasta ei lopu tähän" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Katainen HS:lle: Euroopan riski pieni" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Urpilainen IS:lle: Suomi vaatii vakuuksia Espanja-tuelle" (June 9, 2012)
8. "Urpilainen kommentoi Espanjan pankkitukea" (June 9, 2012)
9. "Lehti: Rovio harkitsee muuttoa Irlantiin – yhtiö kiistää" (June 9, 2012)
10. "Miten kesästä selvitään? Yhä useampi ottaa hoitajan" (June 9, 2012)
11. "Näin pankkikriisi leviäisi Suomeen" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Pankkisääntely uhkaa pk-yritysten rahoitusta" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Väitöskirjan tekijää ärsyttää "ruikutus" verkon ylivallasta" (June 11, 2012)
14. "S-ryhmälle kesäksi oma II-olut" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Espanjan pankkituki nosti kurssveja Aasiassa" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Sosialistit etenivät Ranskan parlamenttivaaleissa" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Espanja-paketti vahvistaa euroa" (June 11, 2012)
18. "Järjestö: Lentoyhtiöt lentävät tappiolla tänä vuonna" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Karu arvio: Nokia on extreme-arvon osake" (June 11, 2012)
20. "Kirsi Paakkari Suomen Matkatoimiston johtoon" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Loppuuko tämä kriisi koskaan?" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Espanjaa tuetaan täysin väärin keinoin" (June 12, 2012)
23. "Yle: Lassila & Tikanojassa tehty roimasti liikaa ylitöitä" (June 12, 2012)
24. "IMF: Jeni on yliarvostettu" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Tässä ovat kalleimmat kaupungit - Helsinki putosi" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Rehn vähäsanaisena: Italian talous kestää" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Sampo Pankki: Suomi ajautuu taantumaan" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Cargotec varoitti tuloksestaan - säästöjä tulossa" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Punaviinin myynti kasvaa 326 000 litraa ensi viikolla" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Fitch: Euromaiden AAA-luokitukset vaarassa kriisin pidentyessä" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Tukholma-ilmiö Suomeen? "Ajokorttia ei kohta tarvita" (June 13, 2012)
32. "A-luokan makkara katoaa hyllystä" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Ylen kysely: Suomella riittää maksettavaa eurokriisissä pitkään" (June 13, 2012)
34. "Maailmanpankki: Kriisi kourii myös kehittyviä talouksia" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Pöyryn toimitusjohtaja Heikki Malinen erosi" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Nyt voit päättää: Tämä pankkikortti ei käy kaikkialla" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Saabilille löytyi ostaja - nimi paljastetaan iltapäivällä" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Monti: Italia ei tarvitse tukipakettia nyt eikä jatkossa" (June 13, 2012)
39. "Saksan inflaatio hidastui toukokuussa" (June 13, 2012)
40. "Jättipankki myöntää: Emme ymmärtäneet sijoituksiamme" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Suomalaiset Espanjassa: "Asuntoja jopa 50 % alella" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Nokialta odotetaan henkilöstövähennyksiä" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Moody's laski Espanjan ja Kyproksen luottoluokituksia" (June 14, 2012)

44. "IMF hyväksyi tukierän Irlannille - ohjelma etenee" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Finlandia palaa Suomen vesille" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Sanoma toisti tämän vuoden näkymänsä" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Nokian tyrmäys: 3 700 leikataan Suomessa" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Nokia myllää johtonsa – johtokunnasta erotetaan kolme" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Elop: Nokia keskittyy entistä tiiviimmin Lumia-puhelimiin" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Tuomo Yli-Huttula FK:n viestintäjohtajaksi" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Ole tarkkana tai pilaat kesälomalla koko vuoden" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Maineenhallintajohtaja Ylelle: Nokialta puuttuu yhä nöyryyttä" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Opec piti tuotantokiintiönsä ennallaan - öljy kallistuu" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Torvalds SK:lle: Nokia meni Microsoftin rengiksi" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Ale-Nokia houkuttelee kohta valtaajia" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Microsoftin salaperäisen kutsun syy: tabletti?" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Vaihtotaseen alijäämä paisui huhtikuussa" (June 15, 2012)
58. "EU suunnittelee Kreikalle syöttipakettia" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Fiat säästää – uutta Puntoakaan ei ehkä tehdä ensi vuonna" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Keskuspankit valmistautuvat toimiin Kreikan varalta" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Nokialainen, pää pystyyn ja työnhakuun!" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Kriisi on aina myös mahdollisuus" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Lapsibisnestä ei valvo kukaan" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Ahtain Audi" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Vuoden 1976 Apple myytiin 374 500 dollarilla" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Samarasin terveiset Saksaan: Kukaan ei kerro kreikkalaisille, miten äänestää" (June 16, 2012)
67. "HS: Leipäjonossa joka kolmas häpeää" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Facebookin teknologiapomo jättää yhtiön" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Kreikkalaiset nostavat rahaa hillittömään tahtiin" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Kreikkalaiseläkeläinen kertoo: Tältä tuntuu säilöä tonneja kotonaan" (June 17, 2012)

* As Taloussanomien often publishes only a couple of news articles on weekends, the sample representing Sunday, June 10 was supplemented with articles from Saturday, June 9 and the sample representing Saturday, June 16 with articles from Sunday, June 17

Appendix 10: The sample of news articles from Uusi Suomi (www.uusisuomi.fi)

1. "Espanjan jättiläina: "Konkreettinen askel kohti talousunionia" (June 10, 2012)
2. "RKP saa uuden puheenjohtajan – jatkaako Wallin ministerinä?" (June 10, 2012)
3. "Katkera hollantilainen: "Olimme parempia" (June 10, 2012)
4. "IL: Helsingistä löytyi ruumis" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Miten saamme Jutta Urpilaisen ymmärtämään asian?" (June 10, 2012)
6. "BBC: Likainen totuus pingviinien seksistä – viimein julki" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Useita kuollut ammuskelussa Alabamassa" (June 10, 2012)
8. "RKP valitsi Carl Haglundin" (June 10, 2012)
9. "Mariano Rajoy: "Euro voitti" (June 10, 2012)
10. "Puolustusministeri voi vaihtua jo kesällä" (June 10, 2012)
11. "Espanja-päätös nosti euroa" (June 11, 2012)
12. "15-vuotias poika hukkui ystäviensä silmien edessä" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Aki Riihilahti tyrmäsi Ylellä: "Meni aivan metsään" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Ranska kääntyi vahvasti vasempaan" (June 11, 2012)
15. "10 000 suomalaista: "Kansanäänestys ydinvoimasta" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Nyt jyrisee taivaalla: täällä Hornetit lentävät" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Raju tappelu liikkuvan auton takapenkillä – poliisi nappasi kuristajan" (June 11, 2012)
18. "Lehti: Huutokauppa "floppasi" Ahvenanmaalla – vain 15 000 € pullo" (June 11, 2012)
19. "IL: Juha Sipilä sähähti – herkkä kysymys uskonnosta" (June 11, 2012)
20. "IS: Jussi Halla-aho puhuu viimein – ei eroa" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Jyrki Katainen tapaa Angela Merkelin" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Helikoptereita lenteleä Suomen yössä – tässä selitys" (June 12, 2012)
23. "IL: Vastaus Halla-aholle – "Erityisen ongelmallista" (June 12, 2012)
24. "LA Kings otti historiallisen NHL-mestaruuden" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Kammottava raportti Syyrian lapsista" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Ruotsi tyrmistyi - "Olemme ulkona" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Taskuvarkaajat narahtivat Helsingissä – kaikki videolla" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Sampo Pankki: Eurokriisi vetää Suomen taantumaan" (June 12, 2012)
29. "DNA: "Kannatamme vapaata internetiä" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Jussi Halla-ahon "äly petti" – hyökkäys ja puolustus" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Timo Soini äänessä tänään: "Jatkuuko tämä vuodesta toiseen?" (June 13, 2012)
32. "USA: Venäjä vie taistelukoptereita Syyriaan sisällissodan keskelle" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Mies sai potkut – voitti heti 1 200 000 €" (June 13, 2012)
34. "IL: Lapsen nimi sai pastorin itkemään – "Miksi?" (June 13, 2012)
35. "Espanjasta ikävä uutinen - "Kriisi kiihtyy" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Uefan painajainen toteutui: "Sitä oli hirveä katsoa" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Timo Soini myönsi MTV3:lla: "Kyllä, sanoin toisin" (June 13, 2012)
38. "Tätä miestä Englanti pelkää: 195-senttinen gladiaattori" (June 13, 2012)
39. "HS: Kiusallinen löytö käytetyltä tietokoneelta - "Nuoren naisen elämä" (June 13, 2012)

40. "Eduskunnan yhteinen arvio: "Jussi Halla-aho ei voi jatkaa" (June 13, 2012)
41. "HS ja Yle: Nokian uutinen ei rajoitu Suomeen?" (June 14, 2012)
42. "21 vuoden Nobel-odotus päättyy: "Historiallista" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Venäjän Suomi-ilmiö yltyy: 858 000 000 € Suomeen" (June 14, 2012)
44. "HS: Nokia potkii 3700 Suomessa?" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Nokialta karmea ilmoitus: Jopa 10 000 saa potkut" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Nokian yllätys: kaappaa ruotsalaisyhtiön teknologian" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Nokian osake ottaa osun" (June 14, 2012)
48. "3 vuoden kiello: puhelinmyyjä ei enää myy liittymiä" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Saako lasta sanoa kauniiksi – tai lihavaksi?" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Finnair: kiista tukipaketeista ratkesi" (June 14, 2012)
51. "Rahasotku: Suomi-Afrikka -projekti seis" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Vesa Keskinen pahoittelee: "Todella ikävä juttu" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Sukeltaja hämmästyí Suomen edustalla: En ole nähnyt vastaavaa" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Äiti sieppasi kaksi poikaa – Poliisi etsii" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Ruotsalaiset itsevarmoina – Zlatania verrataan Maradonaan" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Varoitus Ranskalle: "Ukraina ei ole ainoastaan Shevtshenko" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Terveyskeskuksen lääkäripalvelu vietiin klo 16-22 – Kansalainen hävisi" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Nokialle terveiset New Yorkista: - 15,8%" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Coca-Cola palaa Myanmariin" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Stephen Elopín luku on kylmä - "Yhä 10 000 liikaa" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Juhannussää: "Viileää ja kuurostateita" (June 16, 2012)
62. "Kreikan vaalit: "Kyseessä on olemassaolomme valtiona" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Mies hukui Lahdessa" (June 16, 2012)
64. "Ihmiskunta uhkaa jo itseään: "Otettava vakavasti Suomessakin" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Katainen jatkaa Kokoomuksen keulilla" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Nokian irtisanottaville projekti? "Valtion tietojärjestelmät kuralla" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Tero Pitkämäki tiukassa paikassa – Tulos tai ulos" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Venäjän luotsi ärähti: "Kyselettekö oikeasti tällaisia?" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Kreikan vaalit: "Jos ette halua miljardejamme, voitte äänestää pellejä" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Puolan kovanaama lupaa – Ei armoa Tsekille" (June 16, 2012)

Appendix 11: The sample of news articles from Yle (www.yle.fi)

1. "Katainen varoittaa: Kylmä talvi uhkaa Suomen kesää" (June 10, 2012)
2. "Kreikan EM-joukkueelle lisää huonoja uutisia" (June 10, 2012)
3. "SSS: Aluehallintoviraston ylijohdaja arvostelee hallinnon uudistusvauhtia (June 10, 2012)
4. "Britannian Hague: Syyrian kriisissä samoja piirteitä kuin Bosnian sodassa" (June 10, 2012)
5. "Ranskassa valitaan parlamentin alahuone" (June 10, 2012)
6. "Lähteet: Irlanti vaatii pelastuspaketin uusimista Espanjan mallin mukaiseksi" (June 10, 2012)
7. "Suomalaistutkijat selvittävät kaveripiirin arvot Facebookin avulla" (June 10, 2012)
8. "Saimaalta ei kulta-aarretta löydy" (June 10, 2012)
9. "RKP:n puheenjohtajaksi Carl Haglund" (June 10, 2012)
10. "Rudishalta käsittämätön 800 metriä - "Olen tosi hyvässä kunnossa"(June 10, 2012)
11. "Lassila & Tikanojan työntekijällä lähes tuhat tuntia ylitöitä vuodessa" (June 11, 2012)
12. "Nokian pikavisiitti Transilvaniaan: Tehdas lähti, velat jäivät" (June 11, 2012)
13. "Jussi Halla-aho ei aio erota valiokunnan puheenjohtajuudesta" (June 11, 2012)
14. "Elinkeinoministeri puolustaa Kouvolan hovioikeutta" (June 11, 2012)
15. "Espanjalaislehti: Vakuudet Urpilaisen päähänpinttymä" (June 11, 2012)
16. "Reuters: Kreikan eron varalle suunniteltu nostorajoituksia" (June 11, 2012)
17. "Moni nuori lääkitsee mielenterveysongelmiaan alkoholilla" (June 11, 2012)
18. "Oikeus määräsi myös Telia-Soneran ja DNA:n estämään pääsyn piraattisivulle" (June 11, 2012)
19. "Kunnat unohtivat hakea sijaislasten elatusrahoja" (June 11, 2012)
20. "Tutkimus: Syntymäpäivä on kuolemanriski" (June 11, 2012)
21. "Asuminen kallistuu roimasti lähivuosina" (June 12, 2012)
22. "Urpilainen: Taloustilanne todella vaikea" (June 12, 2012)
23. "WHO: Dieselin pakokaasut aiheuttavat syöpää" (June 12, 2012)
24. "Marsista kartoitettiin satojatuhansia kraattereita" (June 12, 2012)
25. "Veronkorotus uhkaa kokkolalaisia?" (June 12, 2012)
26. "Channel 4: Pedofiilit saalistavat Habbo Hotellissa" (June 12, 2012)
27. "Intian poliisi löysi lapsityöntekijöitä ratsioissaan" (June 12, 2012)
28. "Tuhannet mielenosoittajat koolla Moskovassa" (June 12, 2012)
29. "Katainen ja Merkel lämpimissä tunnelmissa" (June 12, 2012)
30. "Asiantuntija: Suomen Espanja-vastuita mahdoton arvioida" (June 12, 2012)
31. "Nokialta odotetaan isoja irtisanomisia" (June 13, 2012)
32. "Natsien rantahotelli otetaan viimein käyttöön" (June 13, 2012)
33. "Ryyppyporukan varastama lentokone kateissa Venäjällä" (June 13, 2012)
34. "Nasa laukaisi "Mustan aukon metsästäjän"(June 13, 2012)
35. "Halla-aho jättää hallintovaliokunnan puheenjohtajuuden" (June 13, 2012)
36. "Brittiläinen ratkaisu: Eurokriisi ratkeaa, jos Suomi lähtee" (June 13, 2012)
37. "Talousviisaat: Suomi maksaa talouskriisin kustannuksia ikuisesti" (June 13, 2012)

38. "KKO esittää varatuomari Jarmo Littusta jäsenekseen" (June 13, 2012)
39. "Pienet yritykset saamassa helpotuksen Yle-veroon" (June 13, 2012)
40. "Pöyryn tulos ei tyydyttänyt - toimitusjohtaja vaihtuu" (June 13, 2012)
41. "Työt loppuvat Salossa nopealla aikataululla" (June 14, 2012)
42. "Nokia vähentää Suomesta 3 700" (June 14, 2012)
43. "Koskinen haluaa valiokuntajohtajien eroista entistä helpompia" (June 14, 2012)
44. "Halla-ahon seuraajan valinta jäi ensi viikkoon" (June 14, 2012)
45. "Suomi tarjoaa sotilaita turvaamaan elintarvikekuljetuksia" (June 14, 2012)
46. "Suomen Pankki: Talouskasvu lähivuosina vaisua" (June 14, 2012)
47. "Kuopiolaisyritys noteerattiin New York Timesin innovaatiolistalla" (June 14, 2012)
48. "Uimaveden metallit eivät aiheuta iho-oireita" (June 14, 2012)
49. "Kaksi muutosta riittää elintapojen parantamiseen" (June 14, 2012)
50. "Helsingin poliisi: Passijonot eivät ole inhimillisiä" (June 14, 2012)
51. " Lauantaina luvassa hellettä – ukkoskuuroja lähinnä idässä" (June 15, 2012)
52. "Uusi adoptiolaki parantaa lapsen oikeuksia" (June 15, 2012)
53. "Kirjastojen näivettyminen huolestuttaa syrjäseuduilla" (June 15, 2012)
54. "Toimittaja pimahti kesken Obaman puheen" (June 15, 2012)
55. "Skype-puhelusta Etiopiassa 15 vuotta vankeutta" (June 15, 2012)
56. "Katainen eurokriisistä: Tilanne on vaarallinen" (June 15, 2012)
57. "Kolmesta koulutuspäivästä löytymässä sopu" (June 15, 2012)
58. "Tutkijat: Neandertalinihmiset ehkä ensimmäisiä luolamaalareita" (June 15, 2012)
59. "Hollywood-tähti ihmetteli puita Sodankylässä" (June 15, 2012)
60. "Suomen suurin viherkatto kukoistaa Vantaalla" (June 15, 2012)
61. "Tshekki särki puolalaisten sydämet" (June 16, 2012)
62. "H&M:n tuotanto seisoo Bangladeshin palkkaprotestissa" (June 16, 2012)
63. "Egyptin presidentinvaalien toinen kierros alkoi vaisuna" (June 16, 2012)
64. "TS: Pantasuden ampujat selviävät syytteittä" (June 16, 2012)
65. "Britannia kyseenalaistaa Syyrian YK-operaation hyödyn" (June 16, 2012)
66. "Mies hukkuu Luumäellä" (June 16, 2012)
67. "Maastopalo uhkaa kreikkalaiskaupunkeja" (June 16, 2012)
68. "Mies menehtyi liikenneonnettomuudessa Pohjois-Savossa" (June 16, 2012)
69. "Punaisten lyhtyjien alueelta löytyi Amsterdamin vanhin talo" (June 16, 2012)
70. "Puolustusvoimat: Syyria-operaatiossa vain tauko" (June 16, 2012)