

In the following section we will present findings regarding the relational differences between the online newspapers based on the content analysis and the indicators summarised above. Figure 2 can be seen as a “map” of the online newspapers in the field of news based on the variables related to economic and journalistic capital (Table 1).

The horizontal component in Figure 2 is constructed by the relational opposition between “users” and “quote stories” vs. “distribution for other internal platforms” and “wire service stories”. This places *Dr.dk*, *Pol.dk*, *Eb.dk* and *Tv2.dk* in opposition to *Berlingske.dk* and *Jp.dk*. The vertical component is constructed by the relational opposition between the indicators “original journalism” vs. “users”, “wire service stories” and “quote stories”, and places *Pol.dk* and *Jp.dk* in opposition to especially *Tv2.dk*, but also to *Dr.dk* and *Berlingske.dk*.

Figure 2 (based on the 2008 analysis) shows how the number of stories cited from competing media relates to reader numbers, and that these indicators are in opposition to the indicator “original production”². Thus, the online newspapers can be positioned in one of two groups – one focusing on original journalistic production and another that is less concerned with original production but which is able to attract more users nonetheless. From a field perspective, we can see this as two ways of achieving and optimising both journalistic capital and economic capital in terms of users and readers. The online sites placed lowest in Figure 2 – close to both the journalistic strength pole and the user strength pole – are the online sites of the two major Danish broadcasting institutions and those of the tabloid newspapers.

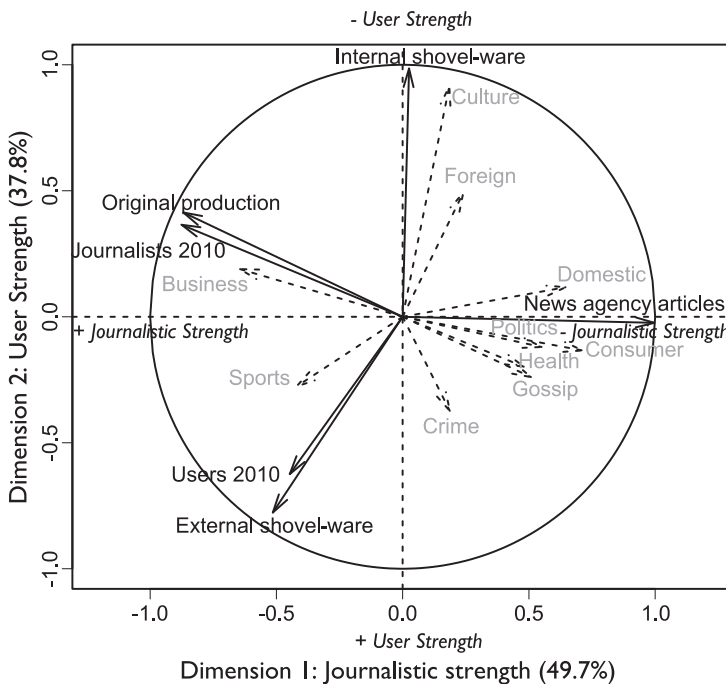
In Figure 1, the indicators “number of journalists” and “original production” were placed almost diametrically opposite the amount of “news agency articles”, which shows they have a strong negative relation. The online site *Pol.dk* is almost alone in the left hand corner of the constructed space in Figure 2, indicating its specific focus on achieving a strong journalistic profile rather than pleasing readers with as little journalistic recourse as possible.

This places them in opposition *Tv2.dk* – the online site of the second Danish public service broadcasting institution, which seems to have a strategy of increasing economic capital and thus downplaying the importance of a strong journalistic profile. The advantage of the analytical model is that it shows the relations with regard to a number of indicators taken together. It visualises the structures in the “field of news”, as the PCA outlines the strongest oppositional indicators as component 1 and the second strongest as component 2. Analytically, we can thus map a difference between online newspapers as being more or less converged, e.g. producing original journalism for the online platform alone, or using the different platforms as *distribution* channels.

The map (figure 2) indicates that we can differentiate between two strong main axes, one based on the relation between users and internal shovel-ware, and the other on the oppositional relation between internal shovel-ware and the number of journalists and original production of news. The two axes above can be interpreted as user strength (the ability to attract a high number of readers and users to the site) and journalistic strength (the ability to produce original journalism). The user dimension pulls online media sites towards the right of the map, and the journalistic strength component pulls them towards the left. The sharing of content across platforms in the most converged media houses pulls the newspapers towards the bottom, and so do a high percentage of wire agency stories to an extent.

Another interesting result from the mapping is that it seems shovel-ware from the printed newspapers does not necessarily please the users. These two indicators are in opposition to each other, which places online newspapers with a great deal of shovel-ware from the printed paper at the bottom of the map, and those with a lower percentage of articles from television or print platforms in the upper part of the map. If we compare Figure 1 and Figure 3 (below), we can see how the strength of the two axes changes from 2008 to 2010. The difference between the “journalistic axis” and the “user axis” is even stronger – the sharper the angle between the different indicators placed in the map, the greater their differentiation.

Figure 3. Analysis of Online Media 2010 – Coordinates of Active and Supplementary Variables



The map of Figure 3 shows that having many journalists is polarised from the indicator “news agency articles” to a greater extent, and it also reveals polarisation between the external shovel-ware and internal shovel-ware indicators. The PCA is thus able to show how the focus of the online newspapers differentiated during this two year period, and how the choices they make on a daily basis – for example, whether to quote a competitor or publish their own take on the story by, for instance, calling another source – has a structural influence on their relational position in the Danish field of news. Taken together, most of the online newspapers have become more *producing* and less *distributing*, as also seen by the general rise in original production from 2008 to 2010. Figure 4 shows the different positions of the online newspapers in 2010.

Figure 4. *Analysis of Online Media 2010 – Coordinates of Online Media*

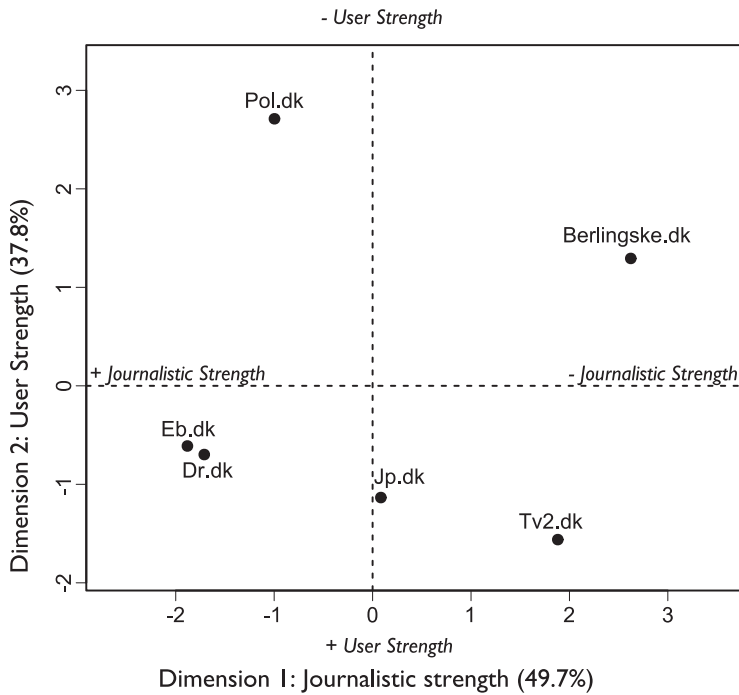


Figure 4 shows that the two axes remain the same (but as in Figure 3, more polarised), with *Pol.dk* moving towards the middle of the map because of the decrease in its original journalistic production (in terms of the percentage, not relative numbers). *Dr.dk* has equally moved towards the middle and closer to the tabloid online newspaper *Eb.dk*, and interestingly the public service online newspaper *Dr.dk* and the tabloid paper share rare features when it comes to journalistic and user strength. When the online newspapers add journalistic resources to the production they move to the left of the map as they become more autonomous (from the printed paper, other media organisations and the market in terms of users).

During the period, *Tv2.dk* has reduced its journalistic strength but increased in user strength (economic capital), and strictly speaking, an online newspaper can maintain its user strength even when it employs few, or no, journalists. However, it should be noted that the credit given to specific media platforms in the form of quotes and citations from other media sites becomes rather difficult without sufficient original content. In that respect, one could argue that some online newspapers are free riding by taking advantage of the journalistic work of their competitors. In the following section of the paper we will compare the online newspapers with their printed or broadcast counterparts, which we have labelled “parent” media.

Expansion of the Field of News

To compare the production details of online and offline platforms we chose to analyse the content of the printed papers and the main evening news bulletins of the two televi-

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