A cross-national European analysis of press coverage of children and the internet

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This is a report from the EU Kids Online network, June 2009
For a complete list of participants, see Annex B

European Research on Cultural, Contextual and Risk Issues
in Children's Safe Use of the Internet and New Media

Contents

1.   Introduction

1.1.   The origins of the comparative press analysis

This comparative study of national press coverage of children and the internet was part of the larger project *EU Kids Online*, itself a cross-national study of research on online children's experiences[1]. This project was funded by the EC's *Safer Internet plus Programme* and hence one of the key goals is to inform policy and stakeholders interested in online risks to children.

Other workpackages within the project had explored the availability of research existing in this field (work package 1, Staksrud et al, 2009) and patterns of children's experience online (work package 3, Hasebrink et al, 2009). But one general goal of the EU Kids online project was to try to explain any differences in national experiences. Specificlly, it was important to understand both why patterns of research existed (followed up in work package 2, Stald and Haddon, 2008), as well as why children's experiences varied (part of work package 3).

Hence, those working on these questions in work packages 1 and 2, considered a range of contextual factors such as the development of the internet in different countries, the regulatory framework and law enforcement, the role of government, NGO awareness-raising and media literacy initiatives, the educational levels and arrangements, etc (in Hasebrink et al, 2009). Amongst these potential influences on children's experiences was the role of media coverage in this field. Stald and Haddon (2008) explored equivalent contextual factors in trying to explain the social shaping of research. This, too, included the media.

The problem was that, unlike some areas where there are internationally comparative statistics, or at least comparative analyses[2], there is no such material showing variations in national media coverage of children and the internet. Hence, some of the national teams participating in *EU kids Online* conducted this exploratory project, with a content analysis of the press in 14 countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain and the UK.

1.2.   Method

The decision to use a quantitative media content analysis was based on the interest in the prevalence of different types of media coverage. In a separate article, teams from three of the countries (Italy, Portugal and Spain) complemented this with a more qualitative analysis (Mascheroni et al, forthcoming).

Although in principle the interest was in media coverage generally, it was more practical to look at the press as a written form compared to audio-visual media since there were either electronic

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[1] A paper covering the results of this report first appeared as Haddon and Stald (2008), which is developed in Haddon and Stald (forthcoming)

[2] The Hallin, C. and Mancini (2004) study compared media systems rather than actual media coverage of topics.

databases of the press in a number of countries or those working in the participating institutions could more easily access and analyse paper copy compared with recording programmes.

The first step was to gain some sense of how much coverage there was of the topic of children and the internet across countries before moving on to provide a more detailed analysis of what type coverage was taking place. In addition to drawing on experiences of a contemporary content analysis study in another project (COST298, described in Pinter et al, 2009), pilot studies were conducted in the UK and Denmark. These not only allowed the team to test and add to the coding system that was being developed, but also provided a sense of what material existed, some indication of the time periods that would be required to obtain different sized samples of articles, some indication of differences in results when examining the original paper copy of newspapers versus electronic copy held on databases, and the results of using different search words in those databases. Importantly, the initial pilots also revealed how much research effort, mainly in terms of time, would be required when following different strategies. After all, while this media study was important for answering certain questions it was only a small part of the wider EU Kids Online project, which already required considerable voluntary effort from the partners involved. Indeed, the media analysis project had not featured in the original plans to the EC as a required deliverable. Hence, there would also be some trade-off as regards the resources for this particular media analysis while trying to generate something worthwhile for the wider EU kids Online project.

One of things revealed in the pilot study, which had been anticipated, was that the same search strategies produced different numbers of articles in different countries. It was important to keep the same time period for the countries involved, since it was clear that some events, especially international ones, could suddenly trigger a substantial amount of coverage (which did actually happen within the period studied). If any national team collected material for a longer period than the others, and such an event occurred in that extra time period, then this could introduce some distortions when making comparisons. Hence it was decided that everyone would collect material in a two-month period, October-November 2008. But where some counties simply had very small samples from looking ar a few papers in that period, they were allowed to go back and look at more papers in that period to boost the sample size. To illustrate the variation in coverage this produce, in Greece, seven papers producede 38 articles, the smallest sample, while at other extreme three papers in Spain generated 130 articles. As indicated, there are always trade-offs, and the downside to looking at more newspapers was that there was more chance of repeat coverage of the same story. However, this would simply have to been taken into account when interpreting the statistics, as discussed below.

The instructions given to teams on the basis of the considerations outlined above, and their own resources, was to acquire a sample of a minimum number of 30 articles, preferably more, trying to cover different types of newspapers: especially national and regional, but also 'popular' (thinking of UK tabloid press, rather then high circulation figures) and 'quality' press (what are called the 'broadsheets' in the UK). That said, such distinctions do not always hold true across countries. Some went further and tried to cover papers with left and right political orientations and the different language communities in the case of Belgium.

Table 1 shows the number of articles by each newspaper in each country that contained a reference to children and the internet – providing a database of 1035 newspaper articles.

Table 1: Number of articles in different types of newspapers across countries

Country	Name of newspaper	Type of newspaper	No. of articles per newspaper
Austria	*Standard*	Quality	28
	Kronen Zeitung	Popular	21
	Kleine Zeitung	Regional	17
	NEUE Zeitung für Tirol	Regional	6
Belgium	*De Standaard*	Quality Flemish	27
	Het Laatste Nieuws	Popular Flemish	26
	Le Soir	Quality French	11
	La Dernière Heure	Popular French	15
Bulgaria	*Novinar*	Quality	5
	Standard	Quality	4
Denmark	*Politiken*	Quality	2
	Ekstra Bladet	Popular	12
	Jyllands Posten	Quality	4
	Urban	Popular	3
Estonia	*Postimees*	Quality	52
	Eesti Päevaleht	Quality	17
	SL Õhtuleht	Popular	20
	Äripäev	Business	7
	Tartu Linnaleht	Regional	11
	Eesti Ekspress	Weekly	2
	Maaleht	Rural	3
	Õpetajate Leht	Teachers	4
Germany	*Süddeutsche Zeitung*	Quality	28
	Die Welt	Quality	16
	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Quality	22
	Hamburger Abendblatt	Regional	21
	Die Tageszeitung	Quality	18
	Berliner Zeitung	Regional	17
Greece	*Kathimerini*	Quality	11
	Eleftheros Typos	Quality	10
	Eleftherotypia	Quality	9
	Ta Nea	Quality	9
	Rizospastis	Quality	1
	Makedonia	Regional	3
	Eleftheria	Regional	1
Ireland	*Irish Independent*	Quality	20
	Irish Times	Quality	25
	Sunday Business Post	Quality	3
	The Kingdom	Regional	1
	The Rosecommon Herlald	Regional	1
	Wexford People	Regional	0
	Waterford People	Regional	0
	Gorey Guardian	Regional	0
	Corkman	Regional	0
	Dundalk Argus	Regional	0
Italy	*Metro*	Regional	27
	Corriere della Sera	Quality	30
	Giorno	Popular	33

Country	Name of newspaper	Type of newspaper	No. of articles per newspaper
Norway	*Adresseavisen*	Regional	21
	Aftenposten	Quality	37
	Dagbladet	Popular	20
	Fedrelandsvennen	Regional	8
	VG	Popular	18
Portugal	*Público*	Quality	19
	Correio da Manhã	Popular	23
	As Beiras	Regional	3
	Jornal da Madeira	Regional	1
	Diário de Coimbra	Regional	4
	Metro	Regional	6
Slovenia	*Dnevnik*	Quality	22
	Večer	Regional	12
	Delo	Quality	26
	Gorenjski Glas	Regional	8
	Primorske Novice	Regional	1
	Slovenske Novice	Popular	10
Spain	*El Pais*	Quality	50
	El Correo	Regional	39
	20 minutos	Popular[3]	41
UK	*(London) Metro*	Regional	13
	Independent and Independent on Sunday	Quality	14
	Birmingham Evening Mail	Regional	8
	Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday	Popular	28

The coding system underwent several waves of refinement and is shown in Annex C. The codes related to the questions as follows:

1. The first question, and the one arguably involving the most interpretation, evaluates the overall tone of the article, which means taking into account both the article writers' perspective and the opinions of persons involved in the story when they are also expressed. The rationale is to determine whether, when national audiences are reading this media coverage, they more frequently encounter positive or negative stories about children and internet, or ones that, overall, are neither simply positive nor negative[4].
2. The second question investigates whether the balance of national and international news varied by (types of) country – for example, to see if the risks reported tend to be present in other countries rather than one's own.
3. The third examines the centrality of children and the internet in stories – i.e. whether they were the focus of or rationale for the story, or were mentioned just in passing.
4. The fourth examines which part of the internet was discussed in the articles to see if any aspect of the internet currently had more visibility in the media.

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[3] Spain does not have a popular press in the sense of the English tabloids, but this is classified as popular here since it is a free newspaper.

[4] In the coding guidance the following clarification was provided. 'If police break up a paedophile ring, this can be both positive and negative – positive because the police were successful, negative because it is a story about paedophilia'. Since it was clear in early planning that this question might raise the most issues of reliability in coding, the national teams discussed various scenarios that they might encounter when coding.

5. The fifth locates the article in relation to (one of more) areas of life – in this sense, what was the article about?
6. The sixth focuses on the origins of articles, trying to ascertain if there is some event, including publications, which provide the basis for the article, to explore whether different national press appear to report some types of events more than others.
7. The seventh examines whose voices are heard in the article – e.g. what agencies are cited – to see who has visibility in this field.
8. Finally, the eighth looks at the risks and opportunities discussed in the newspaper stories, categorising them according to the content, contact and conduct framework generated within the *EU Kids Online* project more generally (see Table 11).

It was not possible to test coding reliability between national teams because of the lack of a common language. All the national team leaders spoke good English and explained the project goals and procedures to the coders in cases where the leaders were not coding themselves. However, not all of the actual coders spoke English well. To address this issue, detailed explanations of the rationale for questions were documented and examples of potential grey areas were discussed in national team meetings. That said, this is an issue one has to be aware of when evaluating the evidence. The second strategy involved different coders in the UK coding British newspapers to see which questions produced a more (relatively) reliable consensus compared to other questions (Lombard at el, 2002). For example, the least reliable was the positive versus negative overall evaluation[5] and hence quite dramatic differences would need to be found if the data from this question were to be credible. In the event, there were dramatic differences and the results were consitant with several other elements of the analysis.

Each article was evaluated according to the coding frame outlined above and the results for all countries were entered into an SPSS database, since some basic statictic tests were conducted[6]. As will become clear, simply comparing the data from the different sections helped clarify some of the processes producing these figures – one set of figures made sense in the ligt of another. But in order to see whether there were certain processes particular to the time period covered, the prevalence of two particular international stories was examined in considerably more detail.

In sum, there were methodological challenges, reflecting in part the limitations of the resources at hand and in part issues discovered during the research process. Certain methodological precautions were taken to address such issues as inter-coder reliability and the representativeness of particular newspapers, and the stability of findings over time. Where a decision had implications, such as choosing electronic or printed copy, we have tried to indicate what these may be. Inevitably there are limitations and questions. The press represents only one medium – would an analysis of others produce a different picture? And would the findings be slightly different if a different selection of newspapers had been chosen? The key message is that one must be very careful in assessing these quantitative data, which at best provide a rough guide to the media processes at work.

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[5] Admittedly this distinction was relatively crude and it was perhaps not so surprising since it involves the greatest judgement by the coder. The group had discussed how they would code a number of the stories from the pilot.

[6] Only Chi-square, since this was a fairly robust test making fewer demands on the nature of the data.

2. Analysis

2.1. The amount of reporting of children and the internet

Leslie Haddon

The first task was to develop at least some general idea about the extent to which coverage of this topic was greater in some countries than in others. If this had been a larger project, it would have been possible to tackle further questions in order to refine the picture e.g. whether the collection process would have acquired more or less articles if we had chosen different newspapers within the countries concerned. However, it proved necessary to make some adjustments to the data actually obtained. It is clear in Table 1 above that some of the particular newspapers included countries with so few or no articles (sometimes because of including very specialist press), that this would distort any sense of 'average' number of articles per country. Hence in Table 2 below, newspapers with three or less articles were not considered when calculating this approximate 'average' number of articles per country. The number of newspapers considered in this particular exercise is indicated in the fourth column from the left, and a number of articles in only those papers is indicated in the fifth column.

Table 2: Average number of articles per country

Country	Total No. of articles in the time period	Total No. of newspapers	No. of news-papers considered for averaging	No. of articles in those news-papers	Average No. of articles per news-paper
Austria	72	4	4	72	18
Belgium	79	4	4	79	20
Bulgaria	9	2	2	9	8
Denmark	21	4	2	16	8
Estonia	116	8	6	111	19
Germany	122	6	6	122	20
Greece	44	7	4	34	9
Ireland	50	10	2	45	23
Italy	90	3	3	90	30
Norway	104	5	5	104	21
Portugal	56	6	4	52	13
Slovenia	79	6	5	78	16
Spain	130	3	3	130	43
UK	63	4	4	63	18

This process provides a very rough picture of 'average' in the last column on right, based on this search process and these decisions about how to handle the data. There were a few countries with, very similar levels of low coverage: Bulgaria, Denmark, Greece and, slightly less so, Portugal. If anything it is perhaps surprising that so many countries (Austria, Belium, Estonia, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Slovenia and the UK) had similar number of items on average, about 20 over two months per papers. But there were clearly more in Italy and especially in Spain.

2.2.   The overall evaluation of the newspaper stories

As noted earlier, our first set of coding was made in ordrr to evaluated the overall tone of the article, to see if readers encountered more positive, negative or neutral articles[7].

Table 3: Evaluation of what was discussed in the articles

Country	Positive	Negative	Mixed, elements of both	Neither/ Descriptive	Mixed + Neither	N
Austria	18%	68%	14%	0%	14%	72
Belgium	34%	25%	19%	22%	41%	79
Bulgaria	44%	11%	44%	0%	44%	9
Denmark	24%	38%	14%	24%	38%	21
Estonia	15%	19%	21%	46%	67%	116
Germany	7%	19%	17%	57%	74%	122
Greece	7%	43%	34%	16%	50%	44
Ireland	18%	64%	10%	8%	18%	50
Italy	21%	28%	41%	11%	52%	90
Norway	22%	55%	15%	8%	23%	104
Portugal	18%	41%	39%	2%	41%	56
Slovenia	19%	35%	28%	18%	46%	79
Spain	28%	33%	30%	9%	39%	130
UK	10%	57%	30%	3%	33%	63

Table 3 shows the combined figures for 'Mixed views' and 'Neither positive or negative' in the 6th column because although different from each other, both can be considered to be variants of a 'neutral' evaluation, or at least one not simply positive or negative: either there was a mixed judgement or no judgement. There were clearly more examples of such 'neutral' evaluations in some countries, the cases of Germany and Estonia being the most noticeable, although about half were 'neutral' in Slovenia, Greece and Italy. At the other extreme in other words countries where there were more strikingly positive or negative responses, we find Bulgaria, Austria, Ireland and Norway especially, followed by the UK, Portugal and Spain (i.e. all have these have relatively lower numbers in the 6th column).

The second stage of the analysis involved comparing the percentage of more clear-cut positive and negative articles. Only in two countries, Bulgaria and Belgium, were there clearly more positive media articles. The balance was a little more even, although with more negative stories, in Estonia, Italy and Spain. But perhaps the most striking figures related to a number of countries, where distinctly more negative media coverage was to be found: over 5 times as many negative as positive articles in the UK, over three times as many in Austria, Ireland and Greece, over twice

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[7] When interpreting the figures in Table 3 it is important to bear in mind that the element of judgement is higher in this question than in many others because the coders had to evaluate whole article, rather than check if it had specific element in it.

as many in Norway and Portugal and nearly that in Slovenia. Although there were over twice as many negative as positive articles in Germany, to put this into perspective this was dwarfed by the number where there were more 'neutral' articles.

The main lessons one can draw from this is that there is considerable European variation in the evaluations one finds in articles concerning children and the Internet. In some countries when one reads these articles, there is, overall, a more neutral tone, be that because coverage is descriptive or because it contains both positive and negative elements. In a majority of countries, some more than others, there are negative connotations in the articles. That said, there is no clear pattern here in geographical (but always historical, social and cultural) terms if we look at blocks of countries, be that north-south or east-west divisions. And this is something that we shall see is repeated in many of the subsequent tables.

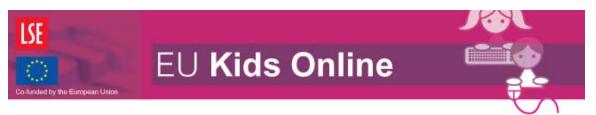## 2.8. Reporting national versus foreign news

The next set of codes were made to explore whether there was national variation in the balance between between stories that covered national news of children and the internet and those that looked abroad, reporting events in other countries. Before looking at the figures relating to national versus international media stories, it is worth looking at the two main stories that occurred during the collection period.

The first story emerged on the 8th/9th October 2008 when Interpol issued a statement that it was looking for someone involved in child pornography videos whose face had been distorted by a computer in various images online . It asked the public for help in finding this person. On the 16th Interpol announced that it had identified the person as a Canadian English teacher. On 20th Interpol reported that he had been arrested in Thailand. Since this was an international police agency approaching the press, how were these stages covered in the different countries?

All the participating countries covered the story to some extent, but some gave it, or parts of the story, more visibility than others. In addition, in some countries the story was covered more frequently over time. Given the original request by Interpol, it is perhaps surprising that the several papers examined in Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Bulgaria did not cover it at all. More commonly several papers per country carried the item, although only one or those surveyed in Portugal, Ireland and Germany did so. At the second stage, most countries reported he had been identified (but not the papers examined in Greece, Denmark, Bulgaria and Austria). Not all the newspapers examined in any one country did so – in several counties only of the newspaper surveyed carried the story. In the third phase, most countries covered the arrest (but not the newspapers examined in Germany, Bulgaria and Greece). So overall, apart from the gaps noted above) coverage went from one or two papers per country reporting the different stages, to several reporting each stage. In fact, in Spain, for the first two stages not only did several papers cover it, but they had multiple items per day, and sometimes reported the story on several days (although far less was said about the arrest).

The second major international story occurred in November when a Finnish school student shot several classmates and teachers before killing himself. What made it relevant for the internet was the fact that he posted a video on YouTube indicating his intentions. (There were reports of some other links to the internet, such as what he had viewed online, but this was the main connection to the internet).

This story was covered in nearly all of the participating countries (though not in Bulgaria) and was a sufficiently important 'event' that usually all the main papers surveyed in a countries covered it, even in some countries geographically distant from Finland, such as Portugal, Italy and Austria (where it even generated several items in the same newspaper). But geography (implying some shared culture between neighbours) did still matter. The story received far more attention in Estonia and Norway, with follow-up stories, sometimes asking 'could it happen here'. In contrast,

some countries only reported the incident the next day (e.g. Belgium) or for two days (e.g. the UK, Germany) but then stopped.

The picture is more complicated because there were then further copycat threats of such action in Finland (again), Norway and Germany. Estonia reported all of these, plus related incidents that emerged in Estonia, as did more geographically distant Austria and Italy. But many countries did not report these other stories at all, or at best picked up some but not all of these copycat threats (Slovenia, Portugal, Ireland and Spain). Understandably, Norway and Germany reported the threats in their own countries.

One can see from this one incident a story, or related stories, that can boost the sheer amount of coverage in some countries compared to others. For example, in several countries, especially Estonia, this was a theme in newspapers for three weeks. In Italy the coverage of the massacre and its follow up copy-cats led to 14 articles in the sample collected. Even in Ireland and the UK, although coverage was short lived it generated seven articles in each country within the material collected. And where there was generally limited coverage of children and the internet, as in Greece, the fact that so many of the press (five papers) covered this one incident made an impact on the totals for that country.

The point of these two examples is that behind the statistics we have these processes at works, which has a bearing on how we interpet the figures generated. Table 4 now shows the overall statistics relating to national and international media coverage, including over international stories.

Table 4: National vs. Foreign News

Country	National event	Event in some other (foreign) country	Both national and foreign events in the same article	N
Austria	35%	56%	10%	72
Belgium	61%	25%	14%	79
Bulgaria	78%	22%	0%	9
Denmark	67%	14%	19%	21
Estonia	48%	38%	14%	116
Germany	71%	18%	11%	122
Greece	36%	39%	25%	44
Ireland	48%	34%	18%	50
Italy	53%	31%	16%	90
Norway	65%	27%	8%	104
Portugal	39%	57%	4%	56
Slovenia	26%	66%	8%	77[8]
Spain	63%	32%	5%	130
UK	63%	35%	2%	63

The first observation from Table 4 is that usually media stories were either national or about another country rather then both. Only in the case of Greece did a quarter of stories have this

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[8] Two articles were not coded

mixture. The Finnish story outlined above and the copycat follow up would be examples of cases when we would have this mixture.

From the table we can see that some countries had distinctly more purely national coverage of children and the internet. In Germany, Denmark, Norway, the UK, Spain, Belgium about two-thirds of articles reported national stories. Around half did so in Italy, Ireland and Estonia. However, in some countries there was a minority of national stories: Slovenia then Austria, Portugal and Greece. In fact, two-thirds of stories in Slovenia were about foreign events and over half were in Austria and Portugal.

As will be discussed in the conclusion, one can always ask whether this is the normal pattern. For example, were the Interpol and Finnish massacre stories abnormal events in this period, or not? In general, when selecting from a range of possible news stories, do some countries tend to more systematically pick up foreign stories? In principle, one would have to explore a larger sample of stories over a longer period of time to answer this. But it is interesting that before doing this exercise the Portuguese team, which took part in an exploratory 3-country comparative study, noted that their perception was that there was more coverage of foreign stories. So at this point in time, we might consider taking the statistics, to a certain extent, at face value. The implication is that some stories, often negative, about children and the internet report a social problem or issue but one that seems to occur somewhere else. That said, the actual reporting of the Finnish story often carried the message 'could it happen here?'

2.2. The centrality of childen and the internet in the news

Leslie Haddon

The next question tried to ascertain the centrality of children and the Internet stories in the articles collected. If one simply counts stories and compare numbers there is an implicit assumption that each story somehow has the same value as the other, and that at some level of analysis a count of two stories in one country is the same as a count two stories in another. Hence the need to introduce a more 'qualitative' evaluation of media coverage here, even if we ultimately do so by looking at a different set of statistics. In some cases stories are specifically about children and the internet – that is the core subject of the articles. In other stories in may be one element among many, so that we see the children and Internet with peripheral vision, or, to use another metaphor, 'in the background' or 'in passing'[9]. One has to careful here in interpreting this, because one cannot simply say that stories which focus on children and the Internet are somehow more influential in shaping the consciousness of readers. The media processes may simply be different.

In Table 5 we can see that, once again, there is international variation. In some countries, the articles were more clearly focussed directly on children and the internet, Spain, the UK and Belgium being the most noticeable. That said, about two-thirds of the stories in Greece and Italy and well over half in Ireland and Denmark also did this. The converse is that children and the internet was mentioned much more in passing in Austria (roughly three-quarters of all stories) while thios was also the case for between a half and two-thirds of stories in Estonia, Slovenia, Germany, Portugal and Norway. The implications can be illustrated by combining this information with that in the previous table. In the UK and Austria the majority of evaluations were negative – but in the first country this occurs in articles where children and the internet are the focal point, and in the second this is not the case. Hence, there are different nuances to coverage in the two countries.

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[9] Again, it needs to be borne in mind when interpreting the figures that deciding centrality does involve a certain amount of judgement about the article overall.

Table 5: Centrality of children and the Internet in the article

Country	Children and the Internet was the main topic	Children and the Internet was only mentioned in passing	N
Austria	26%	74%	72
Belgium	81%	19%	79
Bulgaria	*	*	9
Denmark	57%	43%	21
Estonia	37%	63%	116
Germany	40%	60%	122
Greece	66%	34%	44
Ireland	60%	40%	50
Italy	63%	37%	81[10]
Norway	43%	57%	104
Portugal	41%	59%	56
Slovenia	38%	62%	79
Spain	93%	7%	130
UK	84%	16%	63

* = data not available

2.3. The part of the internet discussed in newspaper stories

Gitte Stald

The study next examined which part of the internet was discussed in the articles to see if press coverage of children online was more likely to relate to certain parts of the internet rather than others. Overall, a little below a half of all articles covered the "internet in general", while two areas, "www and websites/search engines" and "video, YouTube, webcams" were covered in about a quarter of all articles. These categories are quite frequently crossed with other categories, that is, a story may cover the "internet in general" as a general topic as well as e.g. "social networking sites" as a specific focus area. Categories as "VoIP", "Wikis", "infrastructure", "Audio, music downloads", "Mobile online services" and "Blogs" are much less represented in general and in Table 6b and 6c it is clear that they are also unevenly represented across the various countries.

All countries found stories within the categories "Internet in general", "WWW, Websites/search engines", "Chatrooms/Message boards", and "Video, YouTube, Webcams", and all except one found stories in the categories "Email/Instant messaging", "Online gaming" and "Social Networking sites" But the level of representation varies substantially between the countries.

The parts of the internet that had a low, general, representation in the media ("VoIP", "Wikis", "Mobile online services", and "Blogs") all deal with new phenomena, new areas of uses and

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[10] Not all of Italy's articles were coded in this respect – hence N is 81 not 90.

meanings, which on the one hand might have been expected to provoke "panic attention" from the media or the reverse: "utopia is here" coverage. But the actual low coverage may reflect the fact despite the traditional fear factor it takes time for phenomena to move from being integrated in everyday life to being reported in the media.

Table 6a: Part of the internet discussed (multi-coded)

Country	Internet in general/ Online	WWW, websites/ Search engines	Email/ Instant messa-ging	Online gaming/ Virtual worlds	Social networking sites	N
Austria	56%	17%	8%	0%	4%	72
Belgium	46%	39%	8%	4%	4%	79
Bulgaria	44%	33%	0%	11%	0%	9
Denmark	28%	10%	5%	24%	19%	21
Estonia	59%	23%	6%	10%	22%	116
Germany	27%	30%	3%	8%	18%	112
Greece	73%	7%	11%	20%	7%	44
Ireland	90%	12%	4%	4%	26%	50
Italy	56%	24%	7%	2%	7%	90
Norway	33%	6%	2%	12%	15%	104
Portugal	59%	16%	4%	5%	20%	56
Slovenia	65%	27%	6%	5%	19%	79
Spain	29%	37%	3%	3%	18%	130
UK	5%	41%	6%	2%	20%	63

Table 6b: Part of the internet discussed (multi-coded)

Country	Chatrooms/ Message boards	Blogs	Wikis	VoIP (e.g. Skype)	Video, YouTube, Webcams	N
Austria	10%	4%	1%	0%	40%	72
Belgium	16%	5%	1%	0%	22%	79
Bulgaria	1%	0%	0%	0%	22%	9
Denmark	33%	0%	0%	0%	5%	21
Estonia	17%	11%	0%	0%	24%	116
Germany	26%	4%	1%	0%	13%	112
Greece	9%	2%	0%	0%	27%	44
Ireland	8%	4%	0%	0%	24%	50
Italy	12%	5%	1%	1%	33%	90
Norway	9%	0%	0%	0%	26%	104
Portugal	7%	0%	0%	0%	21%	56
Slovenia	5%	4%	0%	0%	13%	79
Spain	8%	2%	0%	0%	25%	130
UK	3%	3%	0%	0%	27%	63

Table 6c: Part of the internet discussed (multi-coded)

Country	Audio, music downloads	Infrastructure (e.g. Broadband)	Another part of the Internet	Mobile online services	N
Austria	1%	1%	3%	0%	72
Belgium	1%	3%	6%	0%	79
Bulgaria	0%	0%	0%	0%	9
Denmark	0%	0%	0%	10%	21
Estonia	3%	0%	13%	3%	116
Germany	5%	0%	3%	8%	112
Greece	5%	2%	2%	2%	44
Ireland	6%	0%	6%	4%	50
Italy	3%	0%	1%	1%	90
Norway	4%	1%	1%	1%	104
Portugal	2%	2%	5%	0%	56
Slovenia	4%	9%	3%	8%	79
Spain	1%	1%	12%	0%	130
UK	0%	0%	2%	0%	63

Compared to this block of relatively few news stories within new areas of online media uses it is interesting that a "traditional" area as "Email/Instant messaging" also scored relatively lowly. This area may not be that interesting or risk-related, but still, it is present in almost all young users' everyday use of online services.

There was also a very low representation of stories in the category "Audio, music downloads", which is perhaps surprising as there has been a rather intense interest in this area at a political, institutional level and from artists who claim their property rights also online. Previous discussions about piracy, illegal content, illegal filesharing, heavy lawsuits against e.g. minors who have uploaded/downloaded illegal content etc have triggered debates about how to manage digital content and digital rights, international and national legal initiatives and regulation, artists activities regarding strategies to deal with these issues. But only 28 stories altogether were found covering this part of the internet, proving either that it is not considered an area of high public interest, or (and) that there apparently were no interesting "cases" in this category in the time period that was covered. A look at the particular stories shows that they are either covering activities against online piracy, specific online releases, or debates about filesharing and legal status such as the Norwegian story "Filesharing is the future".

The remaining category with little coverage, "infrastructure", was only represented by 14 stories, with a high score in Slovenia. This may be because this category deals with more technical aspects, whereas the general public interest, based on the patterns found in and across the national findings, show that the predominant interest is in social uses of online media.

Returning to the most represented categories, these cluster into two main groups:
1. "Internet in general" plus "www, websites/search engines"
2. "Social networking sites" plus "Chatrooms/Message boards" plus "Video, YouTube Webcams". Online Gaming does not have as many hits but also belongs in this group.

It seems that the first cluster, "the internet/www", still attracts attention and raises questions and debates of various kinds, presumably because we – that is users, the public, social institutions -

are generally still trying to understand the meaning of offline/online activities and the individual, cultural, and social consequences of the impact of online media and online living.

The second group could perhaps be characterised as "the social exchange parts of the internet" as they all represent services through which we communicate, exchange, share, moderate and document our lives, experiences and attitudes. In almost all countries this group has the most hits after the first, "the internet/www", group. If we include online games as well together with the other "social exchange" uses, we find some countries better represented than others: Denmark (81%), Estonia (73%), Germany (68%), and Norway (52%). It seems that there is a general media awareness about children's various online social activities. The fact that online gaming has relatively more articles in some national media than others may reflect cases where gaming has been in focus as a trigger for abuse or criminal action (e.g. Estonia, Germany) or it may simply be related to strong gaming cultures in some countries (e.g. Denmark, Norway).

2.4. The areas of life covered in newspaper stories

Liza Tsaliki

The reason for looking at the areas of life that were touched upon in the newspaper articles was to see how the story was framed: for example, do we encounter stories of the internet mainly through discussions of education or through articles on technical developments. Based on the pilot studies, 15 life areas were considered.

Despite allowing for multiple-coding, in practice it was more common for just one life area per article to be identified, although some life areas had frequent connections with others, such as Education, Entertainment, Home/Family, Social Problems and Media. Sometimes the same event was presented in different ways in the national newspapers: for instance, the Interpol story was framed just as a Police/Crime story in the majority of countries but appeared to be associated with the Media in others.

Only 3 countries (Austria, Estonia and Germany) included all the life areas in their articles. This may in part reflect the fact that Germany and Estonia both had many articles overall compared to other countries (over 100), and by virtue of the fact that they simply covered more areas. But that would not explain the Austrian case, which had fewer articles than Spain, Norway, Italy, Slovenia and Belgium. What all 3 countries share in common is that they are all counties where articles predominantly mentioned children and the internet in passing (see Table 5).

Tables 7a and 7b show that the main life area in which children and the internet appear is Legal/Crime/Police/Courts stories – hereafter abbreviated to 'crime stories' - which has distinctly more articles than the other areas. In second place comes Education, and not far behind is Entertainment/Play/Leisure and (Social) Problems. These four life areas are the only ones that have been assigned articles in all the countries

Looking in more detail, in all the countries except Denmark, crime is the leading life area covered in the press. More than half of all articles in Austria, Portugal, Greece, Spain, Belgium, Slovenia, Italy and Estonia refer to this topic, and the UK is not far behind this level, followed by Ireland, Norway and Germany, all in the region of 40%. In the two countries with the fewest number of articles, Bulgaria and Denmark, the visibility of this topic is less, in Denmark accounting for only 14% of all articles. This helps to explain the predomiently negative coverage noted in an earlier section and relates to the predominance of risk coverage over opportunities, which will be examined later.

Table 7a: Area of life by country (multi-coded)

Country	Legal/ Crime/ Police/	Education	Entertain./ Play/ leisure	Social problems	Family Home	Media	Security Industry	N
Austria	68%	57%	19%	38%	15%	8%	1%	72
Belgium	59%	14%	22%	28%	8%	5%	5%	79
Bulgaria	33%	33%	11%	22%	0%	22%	0%	9
Denmark	14%	14%	81%	24%	14%	10%	5%	21
Estonia	56%	53%	30%	43%	22%	10%	27%	116
Germany	40%	26%	21%	7%	5%	26%	8%	122
Greece	61%	11%	23%	18%	5%	0%	0%	44
Ireland	44%	26%	34%	8%	20%	6%	0%	50
Italy	56%	12%	18%	23%	7%	4%	4%	90
Norway	40%	15%	20%	17%	9%	8%	0%	104
Portugal	64%	7%	7%	5%	4%	0%	0%	56
Slovenia	57%	15%	30%	42%	22%	33%	8%	79
Spain	61%	12%	12%	5%	12%	2%	0%	130
UK	49%	17%	13%	2%	2%	2%	0%	63

Table 7b: Area of life by country (multi-coded)

Country	Politics	Technol. Develop.	Shopping e-commerce	Medical	Work	Sport	General	Other	N
Austria	10%	6%	6%	1%	7%	1%	0%	4%	72
Belgium	3%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	79
Bulgaria	0%	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9
Denmark	0%	0%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	21
Estonia	8%	3%	4%	3%	4%	1%	6%	3%	116
Germany	11%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%	6%	13%	122
Greece	0%	9%	0%	5%	5%	0%	2%	0%	44
Ireland	6%	2%	4%	2%	2%	0%	0%	2%	50
Italy	3%	3%	2%	1%	4%	1%	0%	0%	90
Norway	3%	2%	5%	8%	0%	1%	0%	0%	104
Portugal	4%	2%	0%	2%	0%	2%	5%	18%	56
Slovenia	0%	14%	6%	0%	0%	1%	0%	4%	79
Spain	1%	3%	2%	1%	0%	0%	6%	2%	130
UK	0%	0%	0%	2%	2%	0%	10%	3%	63

Crime and punishment, the accompanying negative coverage and polemics around legal issues tend to be newsworthy whatever the subject is. Therefore its position as the leading life area in almost all the countries might not be a surprise. It would be interesting to understand the displacement of this topic area from first place in Denmark. Given this is one of the European

countries with highest presence of the internet in adults' everyday lives.Given that children and internet are more often the central topic in Danish newspapers (Table 3) and given the dominance of national events there (Table 4), the news seems more oriented to addressing an audience of children's parents, presenting both opportunities and risks (e.g. "*Children hide chat harassment from their parents"; "Computer children will be in high demand in the future workplace"*) and on media regulation (e.g. "*Mobile phones should be used in the classroom"*).

In contrast, Norway, another Nordic country with similar levels of internet penetration, presents a quite different picture. While national events also predominate, articles mostly mentioned children and internet in passing and the negative evaluation was clearly dominant. This highlights the degree of different between countries that might often be grouped together.

In more than the half of the articles, this leading life area appears isolated from other life areas, showing a clear and single focus on crime, legal and justice issues. The exceptions to this pattern occurred in Slovenia and Austria where this category was mostly associated with Education, but this was due to the great attention given to the Finnish school student' story and to the copycat stories that followed. In a certain number of articles it also appeared to be associated with Entertainment/Pleasure.

In fact, Education tends to include articles with apositive evaluation, frequently associated with Entertainment, and counterbalancing the dominant negative or neutral tones of presentation of some other life areas. Headlines such as "*Youth are learning in front of the screen"* (Norway); "*Don't be afraid of technology"* (Ireland); "*Chance to boost net knowledge"* (UK); "*Now it is the grandchildren who teach the grandparents"* (Spain); "*Statistics/Kids, you are allowed to surf the web!"* (Italy) or "*To the computer – ready, steady, go"* (Austria) to name but a few that lead readers to consider the potential of the internet.

Entertainment/Play/Leisure is frequently connected with Education. This is the dominant life area in Denmark, in more than 4 out of 5 articles. The area of (Social) Problems was defined by the way the article was written, if it included references to related issues and social contexts when focusing on a certain fact or event. It was therefore almost always associated with other areas, such as Legal/Crime/Police, Education, Entertainment/Play or Family/Home. In the case of social problems, negative, unsurprisingly, evaluations were dominant, followed by the descriptive/neutral presentation. The absence of a positive tone suggests the difficulty of presenting alternative perspectives, such as solutions to problems, probably reflecting the kind of voices included in the articles and the place they occupy in the newspaper.

Summing up, in spite of the considerable variation in life areas, the topic of crime clearly dominates in almost all of the countries. Education and Entertainment stories are also important in most of the countries, in relative terms, but they are far behind the leader. The dominant focus seems to be framed by the association of children and Internet with deviance, danger and crime much more than focusing on the opportunities it allows or the empowerment of newspaper readers to deal with this challenge.

2.5. The origin of the news

Gitte Stald

The reason for trying to ascertain the origin of stories was to see if there were some types of event, including the release of publications, which regularly provided the basis for articles. Overall, the origin of many stories about children and the internet was "Court cases, police action or crime" (43%), and the second most important origin was "Reaction to trend, new development, event" (30%). It was noticeable that few stories were based on "Conferences" (2%), "Market research" (4%), "Academic empirical research" (6%), "Non-empirical reports" (7%) or "Government law, regulation initiatives" (7%). In other words, what you might call the sensational origins of news based on crime stories plus awareness of new trends predominated while

research-based evidence, be it from market research or academic research, simply tended to be less interesting for the media

Table 8a: Origin of the newspaper stories

Country	Academic empirical research	Market research	Non-empirical report	Government law, regulation, initiative	N
Austria	7%	1%	8%	13%	72
Belgium	6%	3%	0%	8%	79
Bulgaria	11%	0%	0%	22%	9
Denmark	33%	24%	0%	14%	21
Estonia	4%	9%	16%	3%	116
Germany	2%	5%	1%	11%	122
Greece	14%	5%	30%	14%	44
Ireland	4%	0%	10%	10%	50
Italy	2%	1%	1%	8%	90
Norway	15%	6%	5%	3%	104
Portugal	5%	0%	0%	4%	56
Slovenia	5%	6%	14%	5%	79
Spain	4%	5%	9%	5%	130
UK	6%	3%	0%	5%	63

Table 8b: Origin of the newspaper stories

Country	Court cases, police action, crime	Reaction to trend, new development, event	Conference	Other	N
Austria	49%	35%	1%	4%	72
Belgium	56%	32%	3%	5%	79
Bulgaria	33%	22%	0%	0%	9
Denmark	14%	24%	0%	0%	21
Estonia	26%	48%	1%	18%	116
Germany	40%	48%	1%	3%	122
Greece	32%	11%	9%	0%	44
Ireland	14%	28%	4%	12%	50
Italy	50%	13%	6%	19%	90
Norway	37%	33%	0%	1%	104
Portugal	46%	27%	2%	20%	56
Slovenia	37%	40%	1%	9%	79
Spain	56%	5%	3%	14%	130
UK	56%	30%	0%	2%	63

Despite these overall trends, Tables 8a and 8b also reveal considerable variation by country.

While crime predominates as a source in nine countries, in keeping with the findings from the section on life areas covered, the article percentages varied somewhat and in the other countries reactions to trends, etc, was more important source, although once again the percentages varied by country.

Variation ould also be found in some of the less popular sources[11], even allowing for the fact that the small numbers of articles overall in Bulgaria and Denmark might have produced some distortions. For example, non-empirical reports were more prevelant as sources in Greece and then Estonia and Slovenia compared to some other countries. This picture may, of course, tell us something about the typical journalistic sources and editorial choices in the participating countries but it may also say something about the national level of research/reports published by bodies other than academia or market researchers, e.g. public institutions, private funds, lobbyists, etc.

Finally, there is the question of whether the different types of press cite stories with different origins. For example, would the popular papers cover more crime based stories? Some analysts have argued that popular papers generally would have a higher percentage of more sensational stories than the quality press, which to some degree one might anticipate would be reflected the in distribution of crime stories (Scannel 2002; Schrøder 2002; Tuchman 2002).

Table 9: Quality and popular press crime stories (multicoded[12])

Country	Quality Press		Popular Press		N
	Crime stories as a % of all quality press stories	No. of crime stories in the national quality press	Crime stories as a % of all quality press stories	No. of crime stories in the national quality press	
Austria	4%	18	76%	16	72
Belgium	60%	22	61%	25	79
Denmark	33%	2	8%	1	21
Estonia	66%	45	60%	12	116
Germany	46%	20	25%	1	122
Greece	45%	13	63%	20	44
Ireland	49%	18	34%	13	50
Italy	58%	11	74%	17	90
Norway	65%	31	60%	6	104
Portugal	54%	27	81%	33	55
Slovenia	69%	11	36%	9	80
Spain	33%	2	8%	1	130
UK	66%	45	60%	12	63

Bulgaria not included since it had ti only had quality newspapers

[11] The category "other" was rather well represented in e.g. Estonia (18%), Italy (19%) and Portugal (20%). It was not possible to see which kind of origins these stories covered, but a glance at the Estonian tables showed that there was a broad variety of topics and approaches that have "other" origins than those that can be categorised separately.

[12] Individual stories could be coded in more than one way and so some of the stories are not solely categorised as crime/courts/police

However, Table 9 shows the countries that collected data on both types of press, and only some countries (Austria, Italy, Portugal and Spain) had a distinctly higher proportion of crime reporting in their popular press. In fact, in three countries there were relatively more stories in quality papers (Ireland, Norway and the UK[13]). It is obvious to conclude then, that there is no clear connection between the origin of the chosen newspaper stories and the type of newspapers, e.g. apparently the national diversities must be explained by local contexts, general national traditions of news coverage and reader interest, traditional views on risks and threats, interest in research based debates, etc.

2.6.   Voices heard in the newspaper stories

Liza Tsaliki

The next code dealt with the question of who has a voice in these stories, whose views are reported, as when the journal articles quote a particular spokesperson, whether a key figure in the story itself or the views of someone who is regarded as an expert or interested party are solicited. There was also a particular interest here in seeing how often, relatively to other agencies, researchers' or academics' views were heard in this respect.

Table 10: Source of views cited in the articles

Country	Legal/ Police	Journalists	Politicians/ Government	Researchers	Children	N
Austria	25	13	8	4	12	72
Belgium	28	19	8	5	5	79
Bulgaria	33	0	17	0	33	9
Denmark	6	32	9	18	9	21
Estonia	14	14	7	4	9	116
Germany	18	16	8	3	14	122
Greece	33	9	11	8	11	44
Ireland	23	8	16	10	10	50
Italy	20	26	5	5	16	90
Norway	20	12	4	14	20	104
Portugal	33	2	13	10	9	55
Slovenia	17	15	3	12	1	80
Spain	44	14	6	5	0	130
UK	30	*	12	5	12	63

* Data not available

Rather than show all the categories, since some of them attracted lower percentages, Table 10 shows only the five most common spokespeople cited in the stories. It is perhaps not surprising that overall, and in almost all countries, the majority of articles examined reported predominantly

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[13]   Denmark also belongs to the latter group but is not a good example as the number of stories is so low and as the general coverage of areas is so atypical.

the viewpoints of the police/legal representatives. There were countries where these featured more highly, such as Spain (44% of the articles reported), Greece, Portugal and Bulgaria (33%), and the UK (31%) and at the other extreme countries, countries such as Denmark (6%), where it appears that the views of the police have much less value in the way the story is told. In between, in the remaining countries, police/legal representatives reach more moderate ratings.

To be more precise, in Denmark it is the view of the journalists that counts for more in the story coverage (32% of the articles examined), followed by the opinion of the academia (18%), various institutions (12%), the view of the children and other non-commercial companies (both at 9%). There are some other exceptions to the predominance of the police viewpoint in the coverage of story. For example, in Norway articles presenting the police viewpoint iwere equaled by that of the stories carrying the view of the children (20%) anad in Estonia (not shown in Table 10) more articles cover the view of educationalists compared to that of the police (17% as compared to 14%).

The second viewpoint most often represented in the news coverage across countries is that of the reporter who wrote the article, followed by the viewpoint of politicians/government and that of children and academia. The latter three agencies present lower rates across countries. The question of academic voices was of interest because the question of how research informed popular discourses in this field. However, while academic views on issues were repored heard in Denmark, Norway and and Slovenia (12-18%), the remaining countries had lower ratings, which attests to the need for the academic community to come forward and exert a more pronounced impact on society regarding children's use of the internet.

A number of other agencies are marginally mentioned in the articles across countries. These included consumer groups, other companies besides the Internet and media ones, the church, celebrities, the medical profession[14], and media representatives. Finally, there some other agencies whose views are overall underrepresented in the press across countries. This includes the internet industry itself (except Estonia and Germany at 7%), which suggests that latter refrain from expressing their views regarding the use of the internet by children. Other underrepresented voice include NGOs and charities (except Portugal and Estonia, at 8% and 7% respectively), other non-commercial institutions (except Spain and Denmark, with 17% and 12%), educational representatives (except Estonia and the UK with 17% and 13%) and parents (except Portugal with 9%).

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[14] The exception is Greece, where 9% of the articles under examination report the view of the medical profession. This is probably because there is an ongoing research on internet addiction carried out by the Adolescent Health Unit in Athens, a 3-year long project that has received a lot of press coverage in Greece.

3. Risks and opportunities

Carmelo Garitaonandia and Maialen Garmendia (with contributions by Leslie Haddon)

3.1. Classification of risks and opportunities

In the first edition of this report, research on risks was classified using an inductive set of categories (i.e. those that emerged from the coding process). Having reviewed and discussed the available research in relation to wider theoretical and policy contexts, the EU Kids Online network generated a classification of types of risk according to the role of the child and the type of risk experienced. A parallel classification was then generated for online opportunities, in order to organise the available research meaningfully and consistently. The resulting classification is shown in Table 11 (see Hasebrink et al, 2009).

Table 11: A classification of online opportunities and risks for children

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td>**Content:**
Child as recipient</td><td>**Contact:**
Child as participant</td><td>**Conduct:**
Child as actor</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">**OPPORTUNITIES**</td><td>**Education learning and digital literacy**</td><td>Educational resources</td><td>Contact with others who share one's interests</td><td>Self-initiated or collaborative learning</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Participation and civic engagement**</td><td>Global information</td><td>Exchange among interest groups</td><td>Concrete forms of civic engagement</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Creativity and self-expression**</td><td>Diversity of resources</td><td>Being invited/ inspired to create or participate</td><td>User-generated content creation</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Identity and social connection**</td><td>Advice (personal/ health/sexual etc)</td><td>Social networking, shared experiences with others</td><td>Expression of identity</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">**RISKS**</td><td>**Commercial**</td><td>Advertising, spam, sponsorship</td><td>Tracking/ harvesting personal info</td><td>Gambling, illegal downloads, hacking</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Aggressive**</td><td>Violent/ gruesome/ hateful content</td><td>Being bullied, harassed or stalked</td><td>Bullying or harassing another</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Sexual**</td><td>Pornographic/harm-ful sexual content</td><td>Meeting strangers, being groomed</td><td>Creating/ uploading pornographic material</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Values**</td><td>Racist, biased info/ advice (e.g. drugs)</td><td>Self-harm, unwelcome persuasion</td><td>Providing advice e.g. suicide/ pro-anorexia</td></tr>
</table>

3.2. The balance of risks and opportunities

This section starts shows how coverage of risks and opportunities relates to the early findings about positive and negative evaluations and to the coverage of crimes.

Table 12: Percentage of articles about risks, opportunities, or both[15] (risks multi-coded)

Country	Articles discussing only risks	Articles discussing only opportunities	Articles discussing both	N (total number of articles)
Austria	68%	25%	7%	72
Belgium	67%	20%	8%	79
Bulgaria	33%	33%	33%	9
Denmark	76%	14%	0%	21
Estonia	56%	25%	15%	116
Germany	56%	24%	8%	122
Greece	59%	5%	9%	44
Ireland	64%	14%	6%	50
Italy	67%	21%	3%	90
Norway	59%	22%	5%	104
Portugal	85%	7%	2%	55
Slovenia	65%	19%	6%	80
Spain	68%	18%	0%	130
UK	77%	8%	0%	63

Probably, if one believes the common saying within the world of journalism "good news is no news", this could explain why in Table 12 the percentage of news related to the risks children encounter on the internet is very high in almost every country, apeearing on average in almost two out of every three articles (64%). In contrast, in almost all countries (with the exception of Bulgaria, which has low numbers of articles overall) the coverage of opportunities is much less, usually dramatically so (especialling in Greece, Portugal and the UK.) That said, in the majority of countries, between a fifth and a quarter of the articles did carry some stories about opportunities. The percentage of articles which mixed risks and opportunities was very low (7% on average), and some countries (Denmark, Spain and the UK) did not have any. In fact, there appears to be no clearcut cultural or a technological explanation to justify these differences. Moreover, statistical tests show that the level of internet use or the standard of living do not seem to provide adequate reasons either.

Hence we can appreciate why so much of the coverage overall was negative (Table 3) – it in large part reflects the fact that there is much more discussion of risk, while the section on life areas suggests that one reason for the coverage of risks is the routine reporting of crime, courts and the police.

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[15] For example, in Austria 68% of articles covered at least one risk

3.3. Overall types of risk: content, contact, conduct

In Table 13 onwards, the focus shifts from looking at articles to looking at the number of times a risk (or opportunity) appears in articles. This produces a different set of totals for the ocuntreis concerned (N). In some countries the total number of articles is greater than the total of codes, where some articles do not mention a risk and/or the articles that do so only mention one or few codes. In other countries the total number of codes is greater than that of articles, where many articles mention a risk and/or several risks are mentioned in many of the articles. An analysis was conducted using both approaches and the result was a difference in details – a few countries fall into the higher or lower ends according to one measure but do not do so according to the other. The overall relative position of most countries does not change, and the main principles dicussed below, in terms of commonalities and differences between countries, remain the same.

Table 13: Types of risk (multi-coded)

Country	Content (codes/all codes)	Contact (codes/all codes)	Conduct (codes/all codes)	N (total number of risk codes)
Austria	25%	10%	65%	59
Belgium	55%	28%	17%	94
Bulgaria	58%	25%	17%	12
Denmark	40%	44%	16%	25
Estonia	54%	12%	34%	158
Germany	44%	13%	43%	118
Greece	64%	23%	13%	44
Ireland	57%	16%	27%	55
Italy	29%	23%	48%	90
Norway	22%	12%	66%	79
Portugal	59%	23%	18%	71
Slovenia	41%	34%	25%	111
Spain	60%	13%	27%	130
UK	54%	16%	30%	50

On average just under half (47%) of the risks mentioned in all articles in the fourteen countries studied referred to content risks, and Table 13 shows that in all but four countries (Austria, Norway and Italy especially, and then Denmark) this was the dominant type of risk in the press. That said, there was a spread of statistics even with countries where content risks predominate, from appearing in around 60% of all codes in some counties (Greece, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria and Ireland) to appearing in 20-30% in others (Norway, Austria and Italy).

Overall, the second most covered risks were those related to conduct (33% on average), but this average hides the fact that it was more important than content risks in eight countries, but less important than contact risks in sux countries. In two countries (Norway and Austria), it was clearly the most important type of risk covered, even more than content. On average 21% of risks related to contact, but the figure was much higher in some countries at 35-45% (Denmark, then Slovenia) tha others at 10-15% (Austria, Estonia, Germany and Spain).

Two points can be made. First, these patterns may have consequences for perceptions. The overall message is that media coverage in different countries may be contributing (among other

factors) to sensitising people to different kinds of risk, which may have a bearing on the degree to which people in different countries think the various risks are prevalent.

Second, the Norwegian and Austrian figures for 'conduct risks' (but also the Estonian, German and Italian figures) are in large part high because they had far more coverage of the Finnish massacre story described earlier and subsequent events (for example the German press had coverage of its own copycat event). Hence, while the figures show the coverage at the time period of the data collection, the question then becomes one of whether they are 'normal' (or representative in the long term). Would they have been very different if specific events had not occurred?

3.4.   Detailed analysis of risks

In table 14-16 the risks have been classified further into the four categories discussed earlier: commercial interests, aggression, sexuality and values/ideology. Although the average figures are not shown in the tables below, the main risk in the articles analysed that of sexual content, since nearly one out of every four articles deals with this (24%). Whereas aggression in terms of conduct came a close second (22% on average), aggression in terms of content was given far less importance (12%). Very little attention was paid to risks related to values/ideology in the press in any of the three areas: content, contact or conduct – indeed, it is the category where in many countries there was no mention of it at all. Commercial interest related to contact or conduct also received very little attention and in the case of content was only mentioned in 7% of all articles.

Table 14: Types of content risk (multi-coded)

Country	Commercial interest	Aggression	Sexuality	Values/ Ideology	N (total number of risk codes)
Austria	5%	0%	10%	10%	59
Belgium	3%	6%	42%	4%	94
Bulgaria	17%	8%	33%	0%	12
Denmark	16%	8%	12%	4%	25
Estonia	12%	20%	12%	10%	158
Germany	6%	20%	14%	5%	118
Greece	5%	21%	39%	0%	44
Ireland	11%	20%	25%	0%	55
Italy	3%	12%	23%	0%	90
Norway	8%	3%	6%	5%	79
Portugal	4%	16%	27%	13%	71
Slovenia	7%	10%	22%	2%	111
Spain	3%	15%	37%	5%	130
UK	2%	14%	36%	2%	50

In Table 14 the patterns of national commonality and differences are clear. For many countries out of all the different types of content risk it was sexual content that was most covered in the press, usually to do with porn, and it had more coverage in some countries than others: Belgium, Greece, Spain, and the UK. In contrast, interest in this issue was much lower in Norway, Estonia,

Denmark and Germany. Apart from the influence of particular national histories (e.g. the paedophile cases in Belgium), this coverage may well itself reflect different national concerns (at least in the media) about what images of sexuality children should be exposed to. This in turn relates to national conceptions of childhood, as illustrated above in relation to Norway.

Table 15: Types of contact risk (multi-coded)

Country	Commercial interest	Aggression	Sexuality	Values/ Ideology	N (total number of risk codes)
Austria	3%	2%	5%	0%	59
Belgium	3%	3%	19%	2%	94
Bulgaria	8%	0%	17%	0%	12
Denmark	8%	24%	8%	4%	25
Estonia	3%	4%	3%	2%	158
Germany	3%	3%	2%	6%	118
Greece	5%	14%	5%	0%	44
Ireland	2%	7%	7%	0%	55
Italy	1%	4%	13%	4%	90
Norway	1%	1%	8%	1%	79
Portugal	1%	9%	9%	4%	71
Slovenia	3%	18%	14%	0%	111
Spain	0%	9%	2%	2%	130
UK	0%	2%	14%	0%	50

Table 16: Types of conduct risk (multi-coded)

Country	Commercial interest	Aggression	Sexuality	Values/ Ideology	N (total number of risk codes)
Austria	2%	56%	0%	7%	59
Belgium	1%	7%	2%	6%	94
Bulgaria	8%	0%	8%	0%	12
Denmark	0%	12%	4%	0%	25
Estonia	6%	17%	0%	11%	158
Germany	6%	26%	3%	8%	118
Greece	0%	14%	0%	0%	44
Ireland	2%	22%	0%	4%	55
Italy	2%	30%	11%	4%	90
Norway	3%	58%	0%	5%	79
Portugal	3%	13%	1%	1%	71
Slovenia	6%	14%	0%	5%	111
Spain	2%	22%	2%	2%	130
UK	2%	22%	6%	0%	50

Without going into the details of every cell, in general similar points about European commonality and variation could be made into relation to contact risks (Table 14) and conduct risks (Table 16). For example, Table 15 shows that in five countries aggressive contact was covered more, and in five sexual contact was covered more. In contrast, Table 15 shows that aggressive conduct was clearly the most covered conduct risk in virtually all countries.

The above data can be divided up another way, which will be merely illustrated in the case of risks relating to aggression (Table 17). In what form does aggression online receive press coverage? This varied by country as well. It is covered slightly more in relation to online conduct, but a number of countries had more coverage of online aggressive content risks, and in Denmark and Slovenia it is actually aggressive contact that received more attention.

Table 17: Types of aggressive risk (multi-coded)

Country	Content	Contact	Conduct	N (total number of risk codes)
Austria	0%	2%	56%	59
Belgium	6%	3%	7%	94
Bulgaria	8%	0%	0%	12
Denmark	8%	24%	12%	25
Estonia	20%	4%	17%	158
Germany	20%	3%	26%	118
Greece	21%	14%	14%	44
Ireland	20%	7%	22%	55
Italy	12%	4%	30%	90
Norway	3%	1%	58%	79
Portugal	16%	9%	13%	71
Slovenia	10%	18%	14%	111
Spain	15%	9%	22%	130
UK	14%	2%	22%	50

3.5. Overall types of opportunities: content, contact, conduct

Looking at the total number of codes per country (N) in Table 18, i.e. the number of times an opportunity was mentioned, there was more variation between countries then the percentage of opportunities per article, shown earlier in Table 13, reflecting some of the processes described in the introduction to Table 13 (e.g. multiple opportunities being mentioned per article in some countries). Hence, Estonia had notably more opportunity codes, reflecting an optimism noted by the EU kids Online Estonian national team. But the press in Spain, then Germany, Slovenia, Italy and Belgium also mentioned opportunites quite afew times.

When opportunities provided by the internet were mentioned in newspaper articles this most frequently occured in relation to content, with an average of 42% among the countries studied. Only 28% of the opportunities mentioned were related to contact and the percentage in connection with conduct is very similar at 29%.
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Table 18: Types of opportunity (multi-coded)

Country	Content (codes/all codes)	Contact (codes/all codes)	Conduct (codes/all codes)	N (total number of opportunity codes)
Austria	44%	21%	35%	33
Belgium	46%	32%	22%	46
Bulgaria	58%	25%	17%	13
Denmark	12%	38%	50%	8
Estonia	63%	25%	12%	92
Germany	29%	25%	46%	55
Greece	29%	14%	57%	7
Ireland	55%	39%	6%	18
Italy	20%	44%	38%	48
Norway	27%	54%	19%	37
Portugal	42%	33%	25%	12
Slovenia	47%	38%	15%	49
Spain	20%	10%	70%	60
UK	100%	-	-	7

Table 18 shows that content opportunities dominated for most, though not all, countries, reflected most extremely in 100% of the (admittedly few) UK codes dealing with opportunities, but also high in Estonia, Bulgaria and Ireland. The most noteworthy exceptions, with articles mentioning contact opportunities, were Italy and Norway. Spain is the country which most emphasises the opportunities offered by the internet for children and young people in relation to conduct. Other countries with relatively high percentages for this question are Greece, Denmark and Germany.

3.6. Detailed analysis of opportunities

In Tables 19-21 the opportunities have been classified into four categories: Education and Learning, Participation and Civic Engagement, Creativity, and Identity and Social Connection. The average figures would suggest there is no one category that stands out as being mentioned more frequently in the newspapers analysed, in contrast to the risks analysis. That said, in Table 19 the averges for Education and Learning and Identity and Social Connection when referring to content opportunities were much higher (both 12%), double the other two categories (both 6% on average).

Table 19: Types of content opportunity (multi-coded)

Country	Education and Learning	Participation and civic engagement	Creativity	Identity and social connection	N (total number of opportunity codes)
Austria	18%	6%	15%	6%	33
Belgium	11%	20%	0%	15%	46
Bulgaria	23%	8%	0%	8%	13
Denmark	0%	0%	0%	13%	8
Estonia	20%	11%	11%	22%	92
Germany	10%	7%	4%	7%	55
Greece	14%	0%	0%	14%	7
Ireland	22%	6%	11%	17%	18
Italy	8%	2%	2%	8%	48
Norway	8%	5%	0%	14%	37
Portugal	8%	8%	8%	17%	12
Slovenia	8%	8%	6%	22%	49
Spain	8%	2%	7%	3%	60
UK	43%	43%	14%	0%	7

Table 20: Types of contact risk opportunity (multi-coded)

Country	Education and Learning	Participation and civic engagement	Creativity	Identity and social connection	N (total number of opportunity codes)
Austria	9%	3%	0%	9%	33
Belgium	0%	15%	7%	11%	46
Bulgaria	15%	8%	0%	0%	13
Denmark	13%	0%	0%	25%	8
Estonia	9%	5%	0%	11%	92
Germany	5%	4%	2%	15%	55
Greece	0%	0%	14%	0%	7
Ireland	6%	6%	11%	17%	18
Italy	8%	8%	6%	19%	48
Norway	5%	11%	0%	38%	37
Portugal	8%	8%	8%	8%	12
Slovenia	18%	8%	4%	6%	49
Spain	3%	2%	3%	2%	60
UK	0%	0%	0%	0%	7

Table 21: Types of conduct opportunity (multi-coded)

Country	Education and Learning	Participation and civic engagement	Creativity	Identity and social connection	N (total number of opportunity codes)
Austria	9%	15%	9%	3%	33
Belgium	0%	7%	9%	7%	46
Bulgaria	15%	15%	0%	8%	13
Denmark	0%	13%	13%	25%	8
Estonia	2%	2%	2%	5%	92
Germany	5%	15%	15%	11%	55
Greece	29%	14%	14%	0%	7
Ireland	0%	0%	6%	0%	18
Italy	2%	13%	8%	15%	48
Norway	5%	3%	0%	11%	37
Portugal	0%	8%	17%	0%	12
Slovenia	0%	4%	6%	4%	49
Spain	12%	17%	20%	20%	60
UK	0%	0%	0%	0%	7

When comparing countries, though, those averages hide a, sometimes slight, difference in emphasis: in Table 19 six countries had more opportunities relating to Education and Learning, in five countries there were more relating to Identity and Social Connection, although sometimes the differences were only a few percentage points.

In Table 20, in half of the countries Identity and Social Connection was the most common type of contact risk (and, interestingly, a check on the actual headlines suggest this was not only due to the rising populatiy of social netorking sites). But in Table 21, there was no such dominance in relation to conduct opportunities. One final observation is that in many countries, for content, content and, less so for, conduct, there are many countries where creativity was not mentioned at all in the press (i.e. note the zeros) – which contrasts with some of the more academic interest in the potential of the so-called 'net-generation', perhaps especially in relation to user-generated content.

4. Summary

4.1 Overview

The aim of this report was to explore the degree to which press coverage of children and the internet varied between different European countries. While the existence of any variation could not in itself lead us to conclude that the media actually influence people's attitudes differently in the various countries (or indeed patterns of research), any such variation would be a first step to considering the media as a contextual factor with potential influence – the subject of two other reports that made use of the data generated in this anlaysis.

14 national teams from the EU Kids Online network participated in this exercise, collecting relevant newspaper articles over a two month period in 2008.

4.2. Press coverage of children and the internet

- There were a few countries with very similar levels of low coverage: Bulgaria, Denmark, Greece and Portugal. If anything it is perhaps surprising that so many countries (Austria, Belium, Estonia, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Slovenia and the UK) had a similar number of articles on average, about 20 over two months per newspaper. But there were clearly more articles in Italy and especially in Spain.

- There was considerable European variation in the overall evaluations one finds in articles concerning children and the internet. In some countries there was a more neutral tone, be that becaus coverage was descriptive or because it contained both positive and negative elements. In a majority of countries, some more than others, there were negative connotations in the articles.

- Some countries had distinctly more purely national coverage of children and the internet. In Germany, Denmark, Norway, the UK, Spain, Belgium about two-thrids of articles reported national stories. However, in some countries there was a minority of national stories: two-thirds of stories in Slovenia were about foreign events and over half were in Austria and Portugal.

- As regards the question of the centralty of children and the internet in stories, they were clearly more central in some countries, Spain, the UK and Belgium being the most noticeable. The converse is that children and the internet were mentioned much more in passing in other some other countries - e.g. in Austria this was true of roughly three-quarters of all stories. The implication of this can be illustrated by comparing the UK and Austria where the majority of evaluations were negative. However, in the first country this occurs in articles where children and the internet are the focal point, and in the second this is not the case. Hence, there are different nuances to coverage in the two countries.

- When examining which parts of the internet appear in stories, these cluster into two main groups:
  The "Internet in general" plus "www, websites/search engines"
  "Social networking sites" plus "Chatrooms/Message boards" plus "Video, YouTube, Webcams". Online Gaming does not have as many hits but also belongs in this group,

which could be considered to be the *social exchange parts of the internet*. In almost all countries the first cluster had the most hits, followed by the second, with other parts of the internet receiving comparatively little coverage in discussions of children online.

- The main life area in which children and the internet appear was Legal/Crime/Police/Courts stories –'crime stories' for short - which had distinctly more articles than the other areas. In second place came Education, and not far behind was Entertainment/Play/Leisure and (Social) Problems. In fact, in all the countries except Denmark, crime was the leading life area covered with more than half of all articles in Austria, Portugal, Greece, Spain, Belgium, Slovenia, Italy and Estonia referring to this topic, and the UK was not far behind this level, followed by Ireland, Norway and Germany, all in the region of 40%.

- In keeping with the last finding, the most important origin of stories across the countries was "Court cases, police action or crime" (43%), and the second most important origin was "Reaction to a trend, a new development, an event" (30%). Crime as a source of stories predominated in nine of the 14 countries covered.

- It is perhaps not surprising, then, that overall, and in almost all countries, the majority of articles examined reported predominantly the viewpoints of the police/legal representatives. There are countries wherethese featured more highly, such as Spain (44% of the articles reported), Greece, Portugal and Bulgaria (33%), and the UK (31%) and at the other extreme countries, countries such as Denmark (6%).

4.3. Press coverage of children and online risks and opportunities

- The percentage of news related to the risks children find on the internet was very high in almost every country, averaging nearly two-thirds all articles, while in almost all countries coverage of opportunities was much less, usually dramatically so (especialling in Greece, Portugal and the UK.

- On average just under half of the risks mentioned were content risks, and in all but four countries (Austria, Norway and Italy especially, and then Denmark) this was the dominant type of risk in the press. Conduct risks were the second most important in some countries, while content risks can second in others.

- Looking at risks in more details, the main two types of risk covered in the press on average related to sexual content (24%) and aggressive conduct (22% on average). Both commercial risks and risks related to values/ideology received llittle press attention, and, indeed, the latter was notably absent in quite a few countries.

- For many countries, of all the different types of content risk it was sexual content that was most covered in the press, usually to do with porn, although this had more coverage in some countries than others (e.g. high in Greece, Spain and the UK). On the other hand, in Norway it was actually quite low, as was coverage of content risks more generally, and it was also relatively low in Austria, Estonia, Denmark and Germany. Although the overall figures wer not high, coverage of commercial and value content risks varied somewhat by country.

- Looking at the number of times opportunities were mentioned in the national press, this was notably more frequent in Estonia reflecting an optimism remarked upon by the EU

Kids Online Estonian national team. But the press in Spain, then Germany, Slovenia, Italy and Belgium also mentioned opportunites quite afew times.

- The most common opportunities cited were those relating to content (42% across all countries) - 28% related to contact and 29% to conduct. When examined in more detail, Education and Learning opportunies and Identity and Social Connection ones were the more important content risks (which one was top varying by country) and the latter was also important across countries as regards contet opportunities. In many countries, opportunities related to online creativity (be it content, content or conduct) were not mentioned at all in the press – which contrasts with some of the more academic interest in the potential of the so-called 'net-generation', perhaps especially in relation to user-generated content.

4.4. Conclusions

This analysis has demonstrated both commonalities in press coverage across countries, as well as the differences, providing some sense of the size of variation. Often to it is not clear why particular groups of countries cluster as they do, since they often do not share geogepahical (and a related cultural) proximity – nor a similar level of internet development. Even countries similar on both counts, like Norway and Denmark, can have very different media coverage, as shown in the proportion of crime stories. Events in particular countries can, of course, influence national media coverage. Howver, some stories are international, or in some cases, admittedly for smaller counties, international stories are more often picked up in the national press. The media coverage statistics can be shaped by an amalgam of different factors, but the nature of the data generated permitted little beyond basic descriptive statistical analysis. However, some of the patterns do raise the question of whether slightly different media logics operate in different countries, either deciding the newsworthiness of some stories, or how much coverage they sould receive when competing against other potential news items.

In terms of commonalities, the strongest single message that came from this analysis is that the routine reporting of crime stories (including the police and courts), contributes to the predominace of negative coverage, and in particular to coverage of risks, across most of the countries exaimined here, a fact also reflected in the origin of stories and whose voices are heard in them.

Table 22: Countries ordered by whether media coverage is high or low for different types of risk

Risk reported	Content		Contact		Conduct	
Level of coverage	*High*	*Low*	*High*	*Low*	*High*	*Low*
Countries	Greece Spain Portugal Ireland	Norway Austria Italy	Denmark[16] Slovenia	Austria Estonia Germany Spain	Norway Austria Italy	Greece Denmark Belgium

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[16] Although we must bear in mind that the Danish figures are based on fewer articles and hence fewer codes.

Table 22, shows that in as regards national difference the most striking point is that – at face value - different national media have very varied levels of coverage of the three types of risk. Countries low on content risks like Italy can be high on conduct risks, and vice versa if we look at Denmark for conduct vs. contact. Or some countries can be high or low for some risks, but be medium for others (in which case, they do not appear in the columns of this table). Hence, media coverage in different countries is sensitising people to different kinds of risk, which may have a bearing on how the degree to which people in different countries think the various risks are prevalent.

The limitation of this analysis, revlevant for interpreting the national differences in particular, is that this study was a snapshot, and therefore there is a question of how normal, or robust over time, these patterns will be. For example, the more detailed analysis of the two international stories – the Interpol search and the Finnish massacre – showed that these events had some considerable influence on the patterns shown above. Norwegian and Austrian figures for 'conduct risks' (but also the Estonian, German and Italian figures) are in large part high because they had far more coverage of the Finnish massacre story. One the other hand, apart from such events we have seen that some countries regular cover more international stories, so if these events had not happened, might they not have covered equivalent international risk stories instead? In other words, there are always choices in media coverage and so the question remains as to how much these systematically contribute to the patterns outlined above.

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Annex A: EU Kids Online

European Research on Children's Safe Use of the Internet and New Media, see www.eukidsonline.net

EU Kids Online is a thematic network examining European research on cultural, contextual and risk issues in children's safe use of the internet and new media between 2006 and 2009. This network is not funded to conduct new empirical research but rather to identify, compare and draw conclusions from existing and ongoing research across Europe.

It is funded by the European Commission's Safer Internet plus Programme (see http://europa.eu.int/information_society/activities/sip/index_en.htm) and coordinated by the Department of Media and Communications at the London School of Economics, guided by an International Advisory Board and liaison with national policy/NGO advisors.

EU Kids Online encompasses research teams in 21 member states, selected to span the diversity of country and of academic discipline or research specialism: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, The Netherlands and The United Kingdom.

The objectives, to be achieved via seven work packages, are:

- To identify and evaluate available data on children's and families' use of the internet and new online technologies, noting gaps in the evidence base (WP1)

- To understand the research in context and inform the research agenda (WP2)

- To compare findings across diverse European countries, so as to identify risks and safety concerns, their distribution, significance and consequences (WP3)

- To understand these risks in the context of the changing media environment, cultural contexts of childhood and family, and regulatory/policy contexts (WP2&3)

- To enhance the understanding of methodological issues and challenges involved in studying children, online technologies, and cross-national comparisons (WP4)

- To develop evidence-based policy recommendations for awareness-raising, media literacy and other actions to promote safer use of the internet/online technologies (WP5)

- To network researchers across Europe to share and compare data, findings, theory, disciplines, methodological approaches, etc. (WP1-7)

For further information, see www.eukidsonline.net

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Annex C: Coding framework

	Code
a) Overall evaluation of what is being discussed in the article	EVAL
1. Positive	1
2. Negative	2
3. Mixed, elements of both	3
4. Neither/Descriptive	4

Choose from these options

Examples: If police break up a paedophile ring, this can be both positive and negative
– positive because the police were successful, negative because it is a story about
paedophilia. In general we aim at evaluating the overall tone of the article, which
often means the writers perspective and the referred opinions of involved persons.

Code

b) Relevance of the article

	Code
1. Children and the Internet was the main topic	1
2. Children and the Internet was only mentioned in passing (i.e. one of many things mentioned)	2

Code

c) Which part of the Internet is discussed?	PART INT
1. Internet in general, online	1
2. WWW, websites, search engines	2
3. Email, Instant messaging	3
4. Online gaming, virtual worlds	4
5. Social networking sites (e.g. MySpace)	5
6. Chatrooms, message boards	6
7. Blogs	7
8. Wikis	8
9. VoIP (e.g. Skype)	9
10. Video, YouTube, webcams	10
11. Audio, music downloads (iTunes)	11
12. Infrastructure (e.g. Broadband)	12
13. Another part of the Internet	13
14. Mobile online services	14

Multiple coding allowed

		Code
d) Risk and Opportunity		RISK/OPP

Risks

	Commercial interests	Aggression	Sexuality	Values/Ideology
Content	1	2	3	4
Contact	5	6	7	8
Conduct	9	10	11	12

Opportunities

	Education and Learning	Participation and civic engagement	Creativity	Identity and social connection
Content	13	14	15	16
Contact	17	18	19	20
Conduct	21	22	23	24

Examples
1. Advertising, exploitation of children's personal information
2. Violent web content
3. Problematic sexual web content
4. Biased information, racism, blasphemy, health 'advice'
5. More sophisticated exploitation, children being tracked by advertising
6. Children being harassed, stalked, bullied
7. Children being groomed, arranging for offline contacts
8. Children being supplied with misinformation
9. Children making illegal downloads, sending offensive messages to peers
10. Children cyberbullying another children, happy slapping, putting up a violent website, posting violent videos
11. Children publishing porn
12. Children providing misinformation, children somehow ''cheating' using the WWW
13. Websites supporting children's learning
14. Websites supporting children's participation
15. Websites encouraging children to be creative, showing them how to be creative
16. Websites providing helpful information on relevant issues, e.g. health, social relations, values etc.
17. Forms of contact with others that support children's learning, platforms for collaborative learning
18. Forms of contact with others that support children's participation
19. Forms of contact which encourage collaborative creative activities
20. Platforms for meeting peers with the same interests and for building communities
21. Forms of learning initiated by the child

22. Forms of participation initiated by the child
23. Children being creative online
24. Children initiating communication on relevant issues and community building.
25. Addiction
26. Other
27 General

Multiple coding allowed – e.g. more than one risk, more than one opportunity is involved
Note: the media coverage could portray the same act as being both a risk and an opportunity. If this happens, code as both risk and opportunity.

	Code
e) National vs. Foreign	NAT/FOR
1. National event	1
2. Event in some other (foreign) country	2
3. Both national and foreign events in the same article	3

Choose from these options
Clarification: This is to distinguish reporting about, for example, a problem in one's own country from reporting of something happening somewhere else in the world, e.g. children lacking sleep in Korea because they are playing games throughout the night.
Example: If the report is mainly about one's own country, but it mentions that, for example, pornographic images come from abroad, code as national
----

	Code
f) What area of life does it relate to?	LIFE AREA

Technology developments

1. Legal, crime/ police/courts, (including hacking), citizen's rights	1
2. Work	2
3. Education	3
4. Entertainment /play/leisure	4
5. Family/home	5
6. Sport	5
7. Politics	6
8. Medical	7
9. Shopping, e-commerce, product comparisons	9
10. Technology developments	10
11. Security industry	11
12. (Social) Problems	12
13. Media	13
14. Other (e.g. terrorism)	14
15. General	15

Multiple coding allowed

	Code
g) Origin of the newspaper article	ORIG
1. Academic Empirical Research	1
2. Market research	2
3. Non-empirical report	3
4. Government law, regulation, initiative	4
5. Court cases, police action, crime	5
6. Reaction to trend, new development, event	6
7. Conference	7
8. Other	8

Multiple coding allowed

	Code
h) The views of what agency/spokesperson, if any, is reported	VIEW REP
1. Internet industry	1
2. Politicians, Government	2
3. Legal representatives, Police,	3
4. NGOs, Charities	4
5. Researchers, academics	5
6. Parents	6
7. Children (including aged 18 at school)	7
8. Consumer groups	8
9. Other companies (non-Internet)	9
10. Institutions (non-commercial)	10
11. Education	11
12. Church	12
13. Celebrities	13
14. Media representative	14
15. Medical	15
16. Journalist/reporter	16
17. Other agency/person	17

Multiple coding allowed

SEARCH WORDS:

The following search words, translated into national languages, may be followed up by search words which a specific in a national context – but they must be closely connected to the core search words:

(children OR teenager OR youth OR teen OR parent OR pupil)
AND
(Internet OR online OR email OR blog OR web OR YouTube OR Facebook OR MySpace OR (name of national social networking site) OR eBay OR iTunes OR netcrime OR netporn OR netabuse OR netiquette)

Annex D: Collaborators in the Press Analysis project

Country	People coding the press articles
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