

## **Not dead yet – the changing significance of newspapers worldwide**

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### *Abstract*

Newspapers, particularly in the Western world, have seen paid circulation decline in the last decade. Online news is abundantly available, but at the same time newspapers – in print and online - often serve as sources for other media. Their position is definitely weaker than before, but it would be an exaggeration to write their obituary right now. In this research we track the significance of newspapers in 160 countries worldwide by calculating how many people use daily newspapers and how this changed over the last decade. We compare countries and continents, and distinguish between paid and free newspapers.

Results show that newspapers are particularly significant – with more than 50% of the population reading a newspaper on a daily basis - in sixteen countries in Europe (mainly in Nordic and Western Europe) and ten countries in Asia (Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Macau and some Gulf states). Most African, Asian and South American countries show a very low penetration of newspapers. Free dailies, however, have increased the presence of newspapers in Europe and some Asian and American countries. When shifts over the years are analyzed, the decline of newspapers mainly shows in Europe, Northern America, Australia and New Zealand although newspapers are still very well read in those areas. In Asia newspaper penetration has increased over the last decade. Latin America shows a stable penetration with population growing fast. In Africa there are only two copies of newspapers distributed per 100 inhabitants, a number that has not changed over the last decade.

## *Introduction*

Every now and then the death of newspapers is announced or predicted. CNN's Ted Turner expected it to happen in the nineties of the last century; Philip Meyer (2004) calculated that in 2043 no American would read a printed newspaper every day. New York Times CEO Arthur Sulzberger believed that the New York Times would stop printing in the future although he declined to mention the year that would happen. On the Internet, the extinction of newspapers is a popular topic; the "Newspaper Death Watch" website is subtitled "Chronicling the Decline of Newspapers and the Rebirth of Journalism", suggesting that journalism could actually profit from the decline of the printed medium.

It is no secret that newspapers, particularly in the Western world, have seen paid circulation decline in the last decade while there are no signs that this development will be reversed in the near future. At the same time, many newspapers – also in the Western world – still have a substantial circulation while they have show growth in some developing countries. The rise of free newspapers during the last decade also increased circulation in some countries. This observation leads to the question how this development has shown itself over de last decade in different parts of the world.

US president Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) is believed to have said that he would prefer newspapers without government to a government without newspapers. There seems now, however, some debate over the necessity of newspapers for journalism, as - in theory - journalism could also flourish in broadcasting or online. Although online news is abundantly available, the role of newspapers does not seem to be marginalized so far. Newspaper websites are not only important when it comes to the number of visits, they also often serve as sources for other (online) media and blogs (McKenna & Pole, 2007; Wallsten, 2007). Also - public and commercial - broadcasters and their online editions play an important role in disseminating news. It could be argued that the role of newspapers is not as important as it was before the era of the Internet, but it would be an exaggeration to write its obituary right now. Compared to TV, radio and the Internet, newspapers are still the only media that predominantly focuses on news and journalism.

A valid question, in other words, would be how important newspapers still are and how this importance differs between countries and changes over time. Agenda setting research would be an option to assess the relevance of newspapers - compared

to other media - in a given society. Intermedia agenda setting would shed a light on how media influence each other (Boyle, 2001; McCombs, 2005; Roberts & McCombs, 1994). Data based on this kind of research, however, would be limited to a few western countries while changes over time would be hard to track. Also audience surveys on trust and use of newspapers would only cover a limited number of countries and would be unsuitable to track changes over time.

### *Method*

Readership of newspapers would be an indication of how newspapers are used by the audience while it would also show how this changes over time. These data are available for most western countries, although sometimes this data is only available for publishers themselves. Comparing countries, however, would be much more difficult as methods differ between countries. Readership surveys use different age groups, different definitions of the concept newspaper (sometimes Sunday papers and weeklies are included as well) and differ also in sample size and survey method (landline or mobile phone, computer assisted research, face-to-face).

Availability of newspapers – numbers of titles, circulation – is a more crude measure as it does not tell us anything about actual readership. Data on circulation, however, is available for almost every country in the world, which makes it a consistent base for comparison over time and between countries. When circulation is combined with population size, a measure of the ‘significance’ of newspapers in a given country can be calculated.

For our significance measure we calculate the number of newspaper copies distributed per 100 (adult) inhabitants. Adult means in this case the number of inhabitants of 15 years or older (in a small number of countries a slightly different age group is used). *World Press Trends*, a yearly publication by the World Association of Newspapers (2006, 2010) provides circulation data for almost every country in the world<sup>1</sup>; the source for the size of the adult population is the CIA World Factbook (2000, 2005, 2010). A newspaper in this research means a publication that is published at least four times a week – only a small minority of newspapers, however,

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<sup>1</sup> For 2000, there is data on circulation from 64 countries; in 2005 this increases to 156 countries and in 2009 to 159 countries. Very small countries – with a population lower than 50,000 – were left out of the analysis, which means that states like San Marino, Gibraltar, Monaco and some Pacific and Caribbean island states are not included. For a dozen countries (Moldova, Russia, Peru, Belize, Iraq, Tajikistan, Eritrea, Brunei, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Lesotho) no circulation data are available.

is published four days a week; six to seven days a week is much more common for paid newspapers. As free newspapers have been introduced in the last decade of the last century (usually published five days a week), and there is separate information available on free and paid newspapers, we will distinguish between those two sorts of papers, calculating significance for paid, free and all newspapers. *World Press Trends* is the source for circulation of paid newspapers, the circulation of free newspapers is based on our own research.<sup>2</sup>

Different sorts of newspapers apart from free dailies – national, regional, local, morning, evening, broadsheet, tabloid, sports etc. - cannot be distinguished for every country, as this information is not available for all markets. Regional and national circulation is reported for several countries but the distinction is not very useful as in smaller countries all papers are national while in larger countries almost all papers are regional. Also the distinction between evening and morning papers - reported for several countries - does not seem to be very relevant.

All paid papers, including sports papers and boulevard or tabloid papers (focusing on celebrities, scandals, sports, lifestyle and human interest) are included. In the UK and Germany, for instance, boulevard and tabloid papers have a substantial market share, while sports papers are important in countries like Brazil, Mexico, Korea, Japan, Spain and Italy.

#### *Readership and newspaper circulation*

Although the numbers of copies distributed per 100 inhabitants can be calculated for most countries, readership would still be a better indication for the actual use of newspaper. For several countries, both readership and circulation data are available, so it can be estimated how both numbers relate to each other. Readership, however, can include also readers of non-dailies or Sunday papers, and in most cases this is not clear from the data. It is also possible that weekly readership is reported, which makes it hard to compare markets. Dividing reach (readership as a percentage of the adult population) by the number of copies per 100 inhabitants results in the number of

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<sup>2</sup> Data are from 2000, 2005 and 2009 – during the summer of 2011 data for 2010 will become available, an updated version of this paper will be provided.

readers per copy. Data from 20 European countries<sup>3</sup> show that an average copy of a daily newspaper is read by two to three readers (2.4 on average) (Table 1).

**Table 1 Number of copies per 100 inhabitants, reach and readers per copy, Europe**

	Copies per 100 inhabitants	Newspaper reach	Readers per copy
Austria	41	75	1.8
Belgium	19	54	2.9
Bulgaria	16	33	2.1
Croatia	16	61	3.8
Czech Republic	19	46	2.4
Denmark	35	74	2.1
Finland	49	80	1.6
France	24	48	2.0
Germany	28	71	2.5
Hungary	18	45	2.5
Ireland	26	56	2.2
Italy	16	46	2.8
Latvia	16	34	2.2
Luxembourg	62	78	1.3
Netherlands	35	68	1.9
Serbia	19	41	2.1
Slovenia	23	46	2.0
Switzerland	47	82	1.8
Turkey	8	30	3.6
Ukraine	7	25	3.4
<i>average</i>			2.4

Source for Data (2009): World Press Trends 2010.

Data from other continents is more diverse. Australian data shows 3.3 readers per copy while in New Zealand a paper is read by 2.5 readers. US papers are read by 2.1 readers. Readership data is available for eleven American countries. Canada shows 3.7 readers per copy. Others are above that, with 11 readers per copy in Argentina and 12 in Costa Rica – which seems highly unlikely. In Asia the picture is even more confusing with data from four countries (Laos, Kyrgyzstan, Burma and Sri Lanka) suggesting that more than 25 people share a newspaper copy every day (85 in Laos). Countries with an established newspaper tradition like Japan, Singapore, South Korea, India, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Israel, however, show that a newspaper is read by 1.3 (Hong Kong) to 2.9 (India, Israel) readers. Only four African countries report

<sup>3</sup> Three countries with complete data were left out of the analysis. Estonian data resulted in 11 readers per copy, suggesting that non-dailies were included. Greece on the contrary showed only 0.9 readers per copy; circulation data includes Sunday papers without including these in the readership survey. Polish readership surveys also include non-dailies.

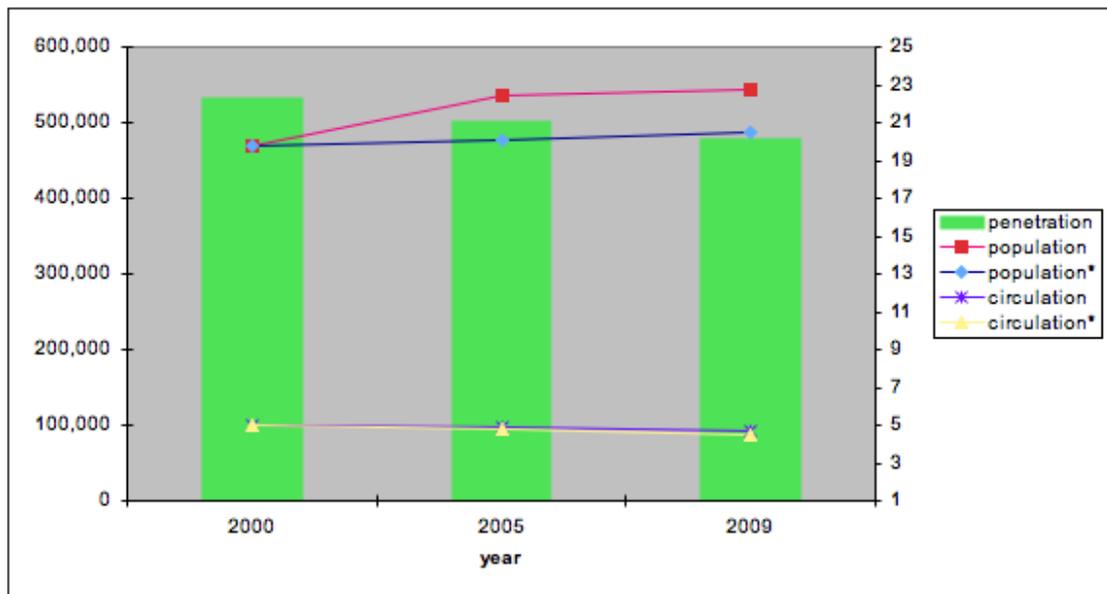
circulation and total newspaper reach: Mauritius (2.9 readers per copy), Namibia (3.4), South Africa (5.4) and Uganda (24).

In the light of the data presented above – and disregarding the very high figures in some markets - it seems fair to assume that a copy of a newspaper is read by two to three people on average, although it is lower in countries where there number of copies per 100 inhabitants is already quite high like in Luxembourg (1.3 readers per copy), Finland and South Korea (1.6), Taiwan, Austria and Switzerland (1.8) and the Netherlands (1.9). The number of readers per copy could be higher in developing countries as circulation is relatively low and more readers share copies, also because the number of people per household could be higher. This roughly means that if there are 20 copies distributed per 100 inhabitants, the actual readership is likely to be 50% or more. When the number of copies per 100 inhabitants is below 10, less than a quarter of the population probably reads a newspaper. Based on this categorization we can divide countries in three groups; high significance (20 copies or more per 100 inhabitants), medium significance (10-19 copies per 100 inhabitants) and low significance (less than 10 copies per 100 inhabitants).

#### *Results – circulation and population*

Because our measure of significance (the number of people probably accessing a newspapers on a given day) is derived on penetration (the number of newspapers per 100 inhabitants), declining significance could be the result of a dropping circulation but also of population growth. In Europe penetration declines slowly, which seems mostly the result of declining circulation as the population in the 30 countries that are present in all years of the dataset hardly increases (from 470 million 487 million) (Figure 1).

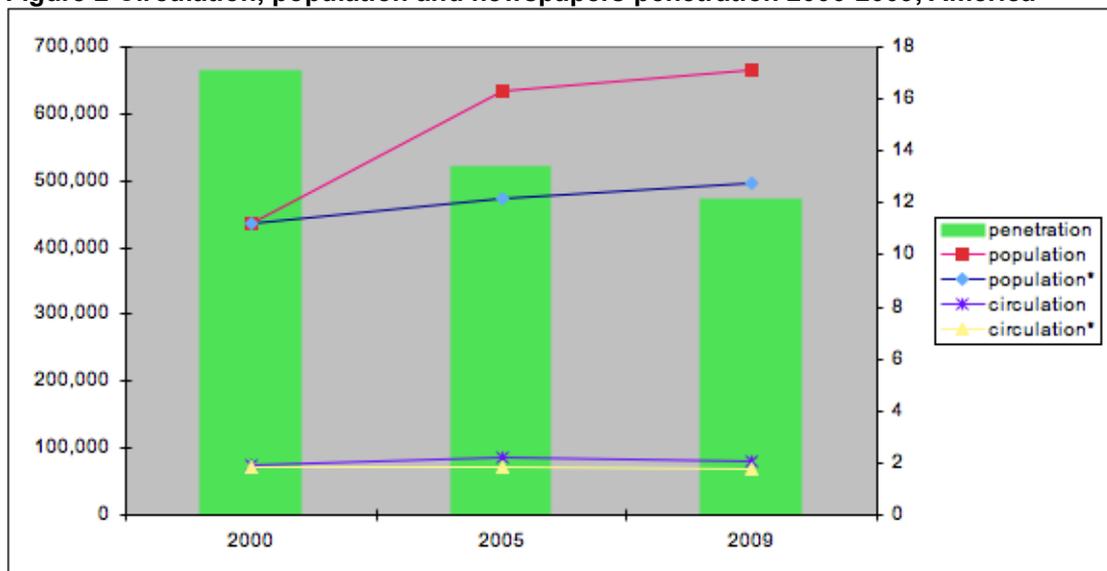
**Figure 1 Circulation, population and newspapers penetration 2000-2009, Europe**



\* Population and circulation of 30 countries present in 2000, 2005 and 2009

In the America's, population increase is more important, in the eleven countries that have complete data over all years, the population increases with 14% while circulation drops with 5% (Figure 2).

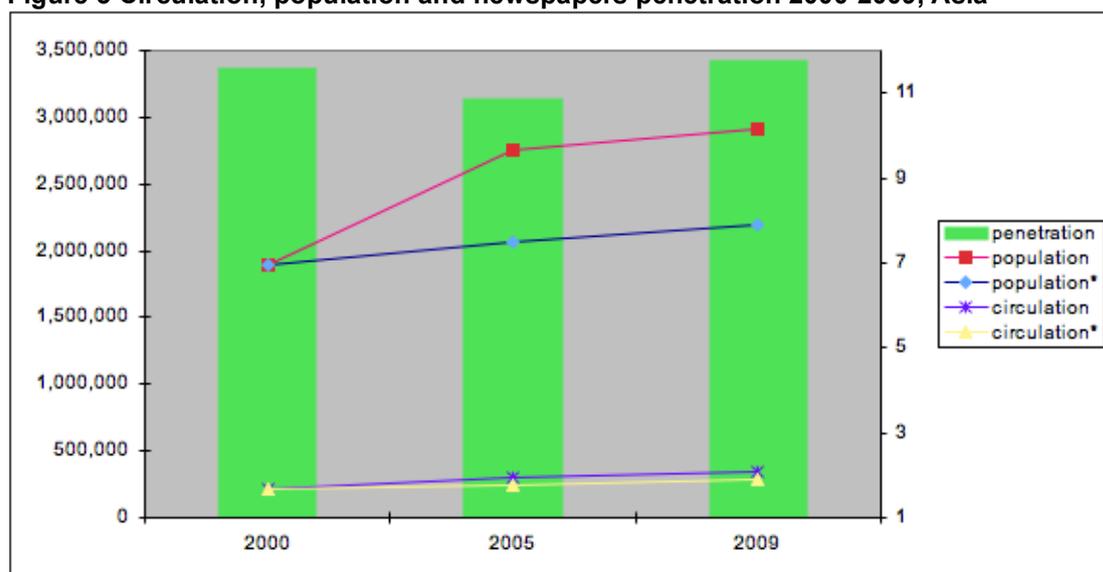
**Figure 2 Circulation, population and newspapers penetration 2000-2009, America**



\* Population and circulation of 11 countries present in 2000, 2005 and 2009

In the 15 Asian countries with complete data, population rises with 16% while circulation increases with almost a third (32%) (Figure 3).

**Figure 3 Circulation, population and newspapers penetration 2000-2009, Asia**



\* Population and circulation of 15 countries present in 2000, 2005 and 2009

In the Pacific area (Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea) circulation declines with 12% while the population increases with 16%, resulting in a drop of penetration from 19 to 14. In Africa there are only 7 of the 45 countries with data over all years. In these countries the population increases with 23% but also circulation is rising with 17%.

#### *Results - continents*

In 2000 20 countries (almost 30%) have high paid newspaper significance, in 2005 this concerns 32 of the 156 countries (just over 20%) while in 2009 26 countries (16%) have a high significance (Table 2). The first drop has to do with the fact that there are more circulation data from underdeveloped countries available; the last drop can be attributed to dropping circulation and rising populations. Free newspapers become available in more countries during the last decade. High significance (all papers) drops between 2005 and 2009 but medium significance increases, which is partly the result of the advance of free newspapers.

**Table 2 High, medium and low newspaper significance, worldwide 2000-2009**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
High	20	32	26	0	2	3	23	37	30
Medium	16	28	38	3	5	4	14	23	36
Low	28	96	95	16	34	46	27	96	93
	64	156	159	19	41	53	64	156	159

Between continents, however, the development differs substantially. In Europe (Table 3), newspaper significance drops between 2005 and 2009, although the vast majority of the countries are still in the high/medium categories. Free newspapers have advanced during the last decade.

**Table 3 High, medium and low newspaper significance, Europe 2000-2009**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
High	12	18	16	0	2	2	15	22	17
Medium	12	14	16	2	4	3	10	10	17
Low	6	6	6	11	18	22	5	6	4
	30	38	38	13	24	27	30	38	38

Newspaper significance seems to increase somewhat in the America's (Table 4), because of the rise of free newspapers although there are only two countries in the high category in 2009 (against four in 2005).

**Table 4 High, medium and low newspaper significance, America's 2000-2009**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
High	2	3	0	0	0	0	2	4	2
Medium	2	5	9	0	0	0	2	4	7
Low	6	19	18	3	7	10	6	19	18
	10	27	27	3	7	10	10	27	27

In the Pacific area all countries are in the medium and low significance categories in 2009 although there is an overall drop in paid newspaper penetration compared to previous years (Table 5).

**Table 5 High, medium and low newspaper significance, Pacific 2000-2009**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
High	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Medium	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
Low	1	3	3	0	1	1	1	3	3
	3	5	5	0	1	1	3	5	5

Asia shows a stable picture when 2005 and 2009 are compared, with 11 countries in the high category (10 in 2005) and 8 in the medium category (7 in 2005). The increase in circulation in those years (from 9.2 to 12.0 million) is not reflected in a much higher penetration because of the substantial population growth (+13%) during those years. Comparison to 2000 is difficult because at that time only 15 countries provided full circulation data. Free newspapers have increased in importance in this continent; rising from 3 countries with free newspapers in 2000 to 11 in 2009 (Table 6).

**Table 6 High, medium and low newspaper significance, Asia 2000-2009**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
High	4	10	10	0	0	1	4	10	11
Medium	1	7	9	1	1	1	1	7	8
Low	10	27	25	2	7	9	10	27	25
	15	44	44	3	8	11	15	44	44

Newspaper significance is low in Africa; no country is in the high category, while only two countries have a medium significance in 2009 (Table 7).

**Table 7 High, medium and low newspaper significance, Africa 2000-2009**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
High	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Low	5	41	43	1	1	4	5	41	43
	6	42	45	1	1	4	6	42	45

### *Results – countries*

In Europe, Nordic countries, German and English speaking countries, the Netherlands, Andorra, Estonia and Belarus are in the group with high paid newspaper penetration in 2005 and 2009. Eastern and Southern European countries score much lower, with six countries having a paid newspaper penetration of less than 10 in 2009.

Free newspapers show an erratic pattern, with Luxembourg, Macedonia and Slovenia seeing free newspaper penetration rising fast while others (Spain, Iceland, Andorra) see penetration of free dailies fall sharply (Table 8). In 2005 six countries have a penetration of free dailies of 10 copies per 100 inhabitants or more; in 2009 the number is five because Sweden and Spain dropped out of the group while

Luxembourg joined. The number of countries with free newspaper rises from 24 to 27. When free and paid papers are combined, Iceland shows an overall penetration of 106 in 2005.

**Table 8 Newspaper significance (number of copies per 100 inhabitants) in Europe<sup>4</sup>**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
Norway	72	63	54				72	63	54
Finland	54	52	47	5	6	3	60	58	50
Sweden	51	48	42	11	12	9	62	60	51
Andorra		45	38		28	15		73	54
Austria	37	31	33		3	9	37	34	42
Switzerland	44	38	33	13	13	15	57	51	48
Malta		29	29					29	29
Germany	34	31	28	1	0		35	31	28
Great Britain	39	33	28	2	2	4	40	36	32
Luxembourg	34	30	28			34	34	30	62
Netherlands	33	29	26	5	6	9	39	36	34
Denmark	34	26	23		13	12	34	40	35
Ireland	17	24	23		4	4	17	28	27
Belarus	13	13	22				13	13	22
Estonia	22	23	21		6		22	28	21
Iceland	43	27	21		79	36	43	106	56
Lithuania		19	19		2			21	19
Serbia		8	17			2		8	19
Slovenia		25	17			7		25	24
Belgium	19	20	16	2	3	3	20	23	19
Cyprus	8	16	16				8	16	16
Czech Republic	18	20	15	2	5	4	20	25	19
France	17	16	15		3	5	17	19	19
Hungary	19	17	15	3	4	3	22	21	18
Bulgaria	17	10	14			4	17	10	18
Croatia	17	11	14			2	17	11	16
Greece	8	6	12	1	2	4	9	9	16
Latvia	16	18	11		3	4	16	20	16
Spain	11	12	11	1	10	6	12	22	18
Italy	12	11	10	1	5	7	13	16	17
Macedonia		10	10		1	9		10	19
Poland	9	14	10	1	2	1	10	15	11
Slovakia	12	10	9				12	10	9
Turkey	9	10	8				9	10	8
Romania	7	6	7			4	7	6	10
Ukraine		5	7					5	7
Portugal	7	6	6		3	4	7	9	10
Albania		3	3					3	3
# of countries	30	38	38	13	24	27	30	38	38
average	21	18	17	1	3	3	22	21	20

<sup>4</sup> Sources for all tables are: World Press Trends 2006, 2010 (paid circulation) and CIA Factbook 2000, 2005, 2009 (population). Free circulation is based on our own research.

On the American continent most countries don't show much changes over the last years, except for the USA, Canada, Puerto Rico and Venezuela where penetration of paid newspapers dropped substantially. Some countries (Costa Rica, Ecuador, Brazil) show an increase in penetration. Free newspapers have a relative high penetration in Canada, the Dominican Republic and Chile.

**Table 9 Newspaper significance (number of copies per 100 inhabitants), the Americas**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
Cuba	7	20	19				7	20	19
United States	26	23	19	0	1	1	26	24	20
Bahamas		18	17					18	17
Suriname		16	16					16	16
Canada	20	18	15	2	5	5	22	23	20
Puerto Rico		20	14					20	14
Trinidad and Tobago		16	14					16	14
Venezuela		13	10		1	1		14	11
Panama		9	10					9	10
Costa Rica	11	5	9				11	5	9
Ecuador	15	6	7			1	15	7	8
Brazil	6	5	6			1	6	5	7
Guatemala		6	6					6	6
Mexico		6	6		0	1		6	7
El Salvador		6	6					6	6
Jamaica		6	6					6	6
Uruguay	2	5	5				2	5	5
Guyana		6	5					6	5
Chile		5	5	2	2	2	2	7	7
Nicaragua		5	4					5	4
Honduras		5	4					5	4
Argentina	6	4	4	3	1	1	9	5	5
Colombia		5	4			1		5	5
Dominican Republic	5	4	4		4	3	5	8	7
Paraguay		3	3					3	3
Bolivia	3	2	2				3	2	2
Haiti		0	0					0	0
# countries	10	27	27	4	7	10	11	27	27
average	17	13	11	0	1	1	17	13	12

After Europe, the countries with the highest penetration of newspapers are found in Asia, particular in the Gulf States, Macau, Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan and Singapore. Changes, however, are remarkable in some cases (Kuwait, UAE, Taiwan). Although some countries have a high and stable penetration of newspapers, most are in the low penetration group, with 20 countries having a penetration of newspapers of

5 or even less. Free papers have been introduced in only six countries but in Hong Kong and Singapore they have a penetration of 25 and 14 – in Israel free newspaper penetration is 8, in Korea 8.

**Table 10 Newspaper significance (number of copies per 100 inhabitants) in Asia**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
Kuwait		22	48					22	48
Japan	67	48	46	0	0	0	67	48	46
Macao	49	50	40	0			49	50	40
Hong Kong	25	37	36		19	25	25	56	61
Bahrain		28	35					28	35
Korea, South		34	32		5	6		39	37
United Arab Emirates		39	27		3	2		42	29
Singapore	32	27	26	13	7	14	45	34	39
Korea, North		26	25					26	25
Taiwan		25	20			2		25	22
Qatar		12	18					12	18
Malaysia	15	17	15		1	2	15	18	17
Brunei		9	14					9	14
Thailand		15	14			0		15	15
Oman		11	14					11	14
India	9	11	14				9	11	14
Israel		16	13			8		16	21
Saudi Arabia		8	11					8	11
China	8	10	10		0	0	8	10	10
Lebanon	8	8	9				8	8	9
Jordan		5	7					5	7
Philippines		7	6		0	0		7	6
Viet Nam		6	6					6	6
Pakistan	7	8	6				7	8	6
Sri Lanka	4	4	4				4	4	4
Indonesia		3	3					3	3
Iran		3	3					3	3
Syria		3	3					3	3
Kazakhstan		3	3					3	3
Mongolia	3	3	2				3	3	2
Azerbaijan		2	2					2	2
Armenia	1	1	2				1	1	2
Kyrgyzstan	2	2	2				2	2	2
Turkmenistan	1	2	2				1	2	2
Bangladesh		1	1					1	1
Palestina		3	1					3	1
Yemen		1	1					1	1
Myanmar	1	1	1				1	1	1
Georgia		1	1					1	1
Cambodia		1	1					1	1
Timor-Leste		1	0					1	0
Laos		0	0					0	0
Afghanistan		0	0					0	0
Uzbekistan		0	0					0	0
#countries	15	44	44	3	8	11	15	44	44
average	12	11	11	0	0	0	12	11	12

Only Australia and New Zealand show a moderate penetration of newspapers in 2009, with both countries also showing a significant decline between 2005 and 2009. Only in Australia free newspapers have been introduced.

**Table 11 Newspaper significance (# of copies per 100 inhabitants) in Australia/Oceania**

	paid			free			all		
	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009	2000	2005	2009
New Zealand	26	23	19				26	23	19
Australia	20	16	14		1	2	20	17	16
Fiji		6	6					6	6
Papua New Guinea	3	2	1				3	2	1
Solomon Islands		2	1					2	1
#countries	3	5	5	0	1	1	3	5	5
Average	19	14	13		1	1	19	15	14

Penetration of newspaper in Africa is low. Only the small island republic of Mauritius (a former French colony with 1.2 million inhabitants) shows a penetration of more than 10. There are, however, no signs of declining penetration; in some countries (Algeria, Seychelles, Egypt, Tunisia, Liberia) the opposite seems to be the case. Botswana has a relatively high penetration of free newspapers, as the government owned Daily News is the leading newspaper in the country.

**Table 12 Newspaper significance (number of copies per 100 inhabitants) in Africa**

	paid			free			all		
	00	05	09	00	05	09	00	05	09
Mauritius	16	11	11				16	11	11
Algeria		5	10					5	10
Seychelles		5	7					5	7
Egypt		6	7			0		6	7
Tunisia	3	0	5				3		5
South Africa	4	5	5			0	4	5	5
Namibia		4	4					4	4
Swaziland		4	4					4	4
Liberia		2	3					2	3
Libya		2	2					2	2
Gabon		3	2					3	2
Djibouti		0	2						2
Ivory Coast		2	2					2	2
Morocco	4	1	1			0	4	1	2
Kenya		1	1					1	1
Ghana		2	1					2	1
Zambia		1	1					1	1
Benin		1	1					1	1
Madagascar		1	1					1	1
Botswana		1	1	6	6	5	6	8	6
Tanzania	1	1	1				1	1	1
Cameroon		1	1					1	1
Zimbabwe		2	1					2	1
Sierra Leone		1	1					1	1
Uganda	1	1	1				1	1	1
Mali		1	1					1	1
Angola		1	1					1	1
Nigeria		1	1					1	1
Mauritania		1	0					1	0
Guinea		0	0					0	0
Burkina Faso		0	0					0	0
Burundi		1	0					1	0
Somalia		0	0					0	0
Gambia, The		0	0					0	0
Sudan		0	0					0	0
Congo, Republic of the		0	0					0	0
Malawi		0	0					0	0
Ethiopia		0	0					0	0
Central African Republic		0	0					0	0
Rwanda		0	0						0
Mozambique		0	0					0	0
Togo		0	0					0	0
Congo, Democratic Republic of the		0	0					0	0
Senegal		2	0					2	0
Niger		0	0					0	0
#countries	6	45	45	1	1	4	7	42	45
average	3	2	2	0	0	0	3	2	2

### *Conclusion*

Stories of doom and gloom may dominate the current discourse when newspapers are concerned but this gloomy picture is certainly not showing everywhere in the world. There is still high newspaper significance – more than half of the population reading a daily newspaper – in 30 countries, while in 36 countries it can be assumed that at least a quarter of the adult population sees a newspaper every day. These countries are mainly situated in Western Europe and Asia. There is, however, a decline in significance in most of these markets. In the US, penetration dropped from 26 to 24 to 20; in Australia it went from 20 in 2000 to 16 in 2009; in Germany, the largest market in Europe the penetration dropped from 35 to 28 while the second market UK showed a decline from 40 to 32. In Japan, the third market in Asia, penetration dropped from 67 to 46.

On the other hand, there are still markets with a growing penetration of newspapers: China, India, the Gulf states, Hong Kong, Israel, and Brazil. Even in Africa some countries (Algeria, Egypt) show increased penetration; the rise circulation in that continent, however, can hardly keep up with the population growth.

Free newspapers softened the effect of declining circulation. More than 50 countries saw the introduction of free dailies, in seven countries in 2009 these papers show a medium or even high significance.

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