

COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
IN HONG KONG

Leung Hau Yeung



Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Communication,
the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong, June 1979.

thesis
PN
5369
H72L46

954996



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter Two	
COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT.....	7
Chapter Three	
CONTENT OF HONG KONG COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS.....	21
Chapter Four	
COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READERSHIP.....	54
Chapter Five	
THE FUTURE OF HONG KONG COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS—A DISCUSSION.....	71
Appendix A	
CONTENT CATEGORIES FOR NEWS ITEMS.....	82
Appendix B	
AN INTERVIEW WITH MICHAEL STEVENSON...	85
Appendix C	
QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE CALCULATION OF THE READING, PARTICIPATION AND KNOWLEDGE SCORES.....	89
Appendix D	
RESPONSES TO QUESTION NO.22.....	95
Notes.....	96
Selected Bibliography.....	104

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The history of community newspapers in Hong Kong is a short one. The first community newspaper was published as late as July 1972.¹ By community newspaper it refers to a newspaper published on a regular basis addressing to the residents of a specific locality or area of the city. The origin of this genre can be traced back to the colonial press of 17th century United States,² where the community newspaper has grown to such prominence that many studies have been devoted to it.

Research on community newspaper in the U.S. so far can be broadly classified into four types:

The first kind of studies centres its interests on the social functions and roles of the community newspaper. Morris Janowitz's The Community Press in an Urban Setting is a classic in this area. He demonstrated the community press is one of the social mechanisms that facilitates social integration. Together with groups like the household, neighbourhood, voluntary associations and the decentralized commercial centre, the community newspaper allows individuals to participate meaningfully in a small unit of large structure — the fabric of the metropolis.³

The second type of research focuses its attention on editors and publishers of community papers. One chief aim is to determine the effects of an editor or publisher's position in the community power structure on newspaper content and operation. Olien, Donohue and Tichenor found that although power status editors of small community papers tend to print less conflict than non-power status editors, their differences are not significant. However, considering all papers whose editors are in the power structure, there is a sharp difference in conflict reporting between smaller and larger papers, i.e., small papers report significantly fewer conflicts than

large ones. This shows that the size of a community is a more important factor than power status of the editor or publisher as far as predicting a community newspaper's conflict reporting is concerned. Olien, Donohue and Tichenor argue that the existence of various interest groups in the larger communities exerts a strong pressure on the medium to produce an output capable of satisfying many more specialized interests and needs. Besides, interpersonal contacts are not effective for the resolution of controversy in large communities. Consequently, the community paper becomes a debating ground and is depended upon to make known different views to all elements of the community before agreement on an issue can be reached.⁴

Similarly, Stone and Mazza found that community size was the critical element in community newspaper operational differences. Advertising, income, expenses and net income are significantly higher in the large communities. Small community publisher is more likely to be in a leadership role, to have held a government post and to match the community's vote. The size of the community newspaper also affects the proportion of the content categories. The small community newspapers print a higher proportion of local news, public relations and political advertisements.⁵

Bradley S. Greenberg had also studied community newspaper editors, but his purpose was to compare editors' perception of their papers with that of the readers. He demonstrated that editors attributed greater potency to the daily press than did the readers. This tendency suggests a slight sense of inferiority complex. Besides, Greenberg apprehended that the discrepancy in perception of a paper between editor and reader would hamper effective communication between the two parties.⁶

A third kind of community newspaper research describes content characteristics and attempts to account for them. Stone and Morrison found that all community newspapers, big or small,

were similar in proportions of content in various categories. Moreover, they showed that there existed a significant relationship between content categories and circulation. Lower circulation weekly papers are found to contain more society, more correspondents' copy and more legal ads. They contain fewer paid features, fewer local pictures and less national advertising. These attributes were accounted for by the smaller papers' tight economic situation and their goal of being the voice of their own communities.⁷ Also, Emery, Ault and Agee had tried to explain content attributes of community newspapers by the scarcity of financial resources and the generally low standard of the staff.⁸

Paletz and his research team pointed out that community newspapers tend to support local government authority. Their view agrees with those of Janowitz, Tichenor and Stone, who maintained that the lack of conflict reporting was a chief characteristic of community newspaper content. Paletz and his co-researchers suggested that the reporter's concept of professionalism was responsible for the writing of articles conducive to supporting local authority.⁹

Fourthly, the readers themselves, being receivers of messages through the community newspaper channel, form another major target of scrutiny. In fact, some of the earliest researches in community press are readership studies. Schramm and Ludwig's The Weekly Newspaper and Its Readers published in 1951 is an example. In their study, some of the relationships of a community newspaper with its readers were quantified and statistics gave concrete evidence of the paper's socializing function. They found, among other factors, size of a community newspaper and sex to have an effect on newspaper reading. It is revealed that the percentage of items read in a weekly tends to vary inversely with the number of pages or total columns in the paper; and that women read a weekly newspaper more intensively than do men, though the 50 percent of categories read most intensively are the same for both sexes.¹⁰ Another example

of readership studies is the aforementioned Greenberg study of attitudinal discrepancies between editors and readers. Thus is the situation of community newspaper research in the U.S.

In Asia, community newspapers are sometimes called provincial newspapers. The Asian Mass Communication Bibliography Series (published by the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, Singapore) contain only a few titles relating to this medium. Most of them employed the content analysis method to outline content characteristics and to determine the possible role of community newspapers in national development. In Korea, Whang Woo-kwon had done one such study, showing that there is a lack of local news and a preponderance of national news in Korean community newspapers. He attributed these characteristics to the need for a large number of prints, inadequate self-perception of the paper in national and international news reporting, and delayed arrival of the national papers. He also suggested cures for these ills.¹¹

David I. Hitchcock Jr. studied the content of community newspapers in Malaysia and the Philippines and found that the provincial press in both countries serves as a useful "bill-board" of goings-on. However, the Malaysian press seems capable of contributing more towards national development as it performs satisfactorily also in reporting development progress, in changing attitudes through development messages, and in building empathy among readers, while its Philippine counterpart is satisfactory only as a government watchdog.¹²

One big limitation of studies using only content analysis is that there is no way of ascertaining the actual impact of the medium on its users. The problem can only be solved by conducting readership surveys. A survey was done by Crispin C. Maslog of the Philippines in 1965, but with community newspaper editors rather than readers as the target. Nevertheless, the study provides a profile of the community newspaper editors and sheds light

on the operation of community newspapers in the Philippines.¹³

In Taiwan, journal articles on community newspapers seem to fall into two main kinds: 1) those discussing the nature and functions of the medium in general;¹⁴ and 2) realistic discussions about the design, operation and future of the community press.¹⁵ Communication research on the medium is still to come forth.

In Hong Kong, only two studies of community newspapers have come across the attention of the writer. Both were undertaken by journalism students of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The first of these was basically a survey of readers of the Mei Sun News serving Mei Fu Sun Chuen by Choi Moon Tong. The study is pioneering but lacks generalizability as only one community was examined. The higher than average socio-economic status of Mei Fu residents also renders the representativeness of the sample doubtful.¹⁶ The second study was by Fung Kai Ming whose chief interest was to conduct a market survey of local community newspapers. Some valuable information had been included in the report but little analysis was done.¹⁷

As the Hong Kong Government is openly encouraging a "Community Spirit" and community newspapers are getting more numerous, a deeper and more comprehensive examination of the medium seems in place. The present study is an effort towards this direction. Its purpose is to find out the role played by community newspapers in the process of community development. It is the scope of this paper to first examine the social environment in which community newspapers exercise their influence. Then the content of the community newspapers will be studied to determine the extent to which these contents are likely to be useful in helping improve the social environment. The word "likely" is used here because it is aware that what is provided in the community newspapers may not necessarily be consumed. Selective perception is always at work

within a reader. Therefore, we need to identify who actually are reading the community newspapers. Communication theories suggest that the socially active are more likely to be enthusiastic readers. Should this be true in the Hong Kong context, what are the implications for local community development? To answer these questions, a readership survey has to be conducted to look firstly into the relationship between social participation and the intensity of community newspaper reading. Should we find that intensive community newspaper reading is limited only to active participants of community functions, what can then be said about the medium's impact in terms of community integration? More specifically, will reading the community newspaper contribute towards a widening of the knowledge gap between the active and indifferent elements of the community? With these questions in mind, the questionnaire used in the readership survey is designed around three variables: community newspaper reading, social participation and knowledge about one's community. The survey results are reported in Chapter 4 of this paper.

Chapter Two
COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER AND
THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

Functions of a Community Newspaper

It is said that when editors in America ponder their future, they turn for reassurance to a list of "functions of the community newspaper" offered by Houstoun Waring, who prior to his retirement in 1966 as editor of the Littleton (Colorado) Independent, was renowned for being the most articulate weekly editor. His comments:

1. First of all, the newspaper makes a community's economy work by advertising. Cities' retail trade drops markedly when newspapers cease to operate even temporarily.
2. The press permits the expression of public opinion through "Letters to the Editor" and by means of interviews. Thus, all sides of a question can be debated.
3. The press has a decision-forcing function. Everyone may be aware that a community has drifted into a bad situation, for example. Massive publicity requires each citizen to take a stand; the evil can no longer be ignored because it is a topic of conversation.
4. Newspapers have a status-conferring function. Anyone picked for mention is recognized as standing out from the crowd. Unfortunately, some newspapers confer status on underworld characters by glamorizing their daring or "gentlemanly" qualities.
5. Perhaps the most important function is that of acquainting community leaders with the activities of other leaders. The school directors learn through the paper what the state highway department is thinking. The ministers discover the problems of the County Welfare director. An organization

planning a community event avoids a conflict of dates by press notification to other groups.

6. The newspaper helps the reader understand his environment. He learns when to pay his taxes, where to register his child in school, how to get a driver's license, whom to see for free polio shots, and what streams have been stocked with trout.
7. If the environment needs changes, the newspaper can assist citizens in crusading for improvement.
8. The press is a sounding board for policy. Public officials often send up "trial balloons" to determine the public reaction to a proposal.
9. The press strengthens moral resolution, especially in small cities where citizens don't live anonymously. Because tempted men fear newspaper publicity (just as they do an audit), they are better able to resist temptation. The press in a small and medium-sized city thus becomes, perhaps unwittingly, a community chaperon.
10. The press is a medium of entertainment, featuring hobbies, etc. Its comic strips have become America's folklore.
11. The press, by devoting so much space to sports, is what William James termed "a moral substitute for war". Americans for fifty years have thought more about basketball, golf, and horse racing than they have about the glories of Bull Run and Gettysburg. Readers vicariously identify themselves with a halfback rather than a major general.
12. The press attends to small wants. Through the classifieds it brings people together to solve their lost-found, rental, employment, and other problems.
13. Finally, the suburban press has a function that applies to America's 50 million sub-

urbanites. This is to give them a sense of identity. All of us wish to belong to a definite community that has a spirit of its own.¹

So that is the list of functions offered by Waring. But even before him, Barnhart and Berly had come up with their own lists of functions for a community newspaper.² These lists, no matter how different or how similar, had been suggested as ideals. They were prepared by scholars and journalists in the States, where the communities are of relatively smaller size, long established and equipped with certain amount of local autonomy. Communities of 3,500 population are considered large already. In the midwestern farm states, where the loss of rural population has been heaviest, communities are even smaller. Of the 319 nonsuburban and nonmetropolitan weekly and semi-weekly newspapers listed in the Minnesota Newspaper Association Directory at the beginning of 1967, there were 130 published in villages and towns of 1,000 or less.³

American communities are endowed with considerable power. In fact, local governments are so strong in sub-areas in a metropolis that it is feared that consolidation of the small areas is achieved at the cost of anarchy and anomie for the entire city. In St. Louis, for example, there were 98 municipalities and a total of 149 units of local government, yet there was no governmental body for the metropolitan area as a political community.⁴

The conditions of our communities in Hong Kong with their own newspapers are very different. Lek Yuen Estate, which forms part of the community served by the Shatin Star, alone contains no fewer than 22,000 people. Not only are our communities much denser in population, most of them are also very new, having a history of less than 20 years. The highly centralized

government of Hong Kong also contrasts sharply with that of the U.S. Local communities have no political power; and local autonomy is unlikely because of the colonial nature of the government. As the nature of our communities served by community newspapers is different from that of their American counterparts, it can be expected that local community newspapers will perform functions somewhat different from those suggested by Waring.

In order to decide the role played by our community newspapers, particularly in the process of community development, characteristics of local communities need to be examined in greater detail.

Characteristics of Hong Kong Communities

Most of the community newspapers in Hong Kong aim at serving an area centred around one or several housing estates. When the Sing Tao Newspaper Group first published a chain of four community newspapers in 1972, all four papers bore the names of housing estates in the papers' nameplates. The first of these, the Wah Fu News, was published in July 1972, giving exclusive service to residents of the Wah Fu Estate in the southern part of Hong Kong Island. In August the same year, the Choi Ping News came out, with the Choi Hung and Ping Shek Estates in Kwung Tong area as its service targets. One month later, the So Uk News made its appearance, and people of the So Uk Estate came to have their own newspaper. In October, Mei Fu Sun Chuen in northwestern Kowloon too was furnished with a paper of its own named Mei Sun News. Most subsequent community papers were also published where housing estates were in existence. Therefore, before going directly into the community newspapers, one has to look first at the local housing situation.

Before 1954, the government of Hong Kong took no part in providing housing for its citizens. On the Christmas Day of

1953, the great fire at Shek Gip Mei had reduced the sea of wooden huts in the area into ashes and made thousands of squatters homeless. In order that similar fires be prevented and government expenditure in the form of relief funds be minimized, government decided to deal with the squatters problem at its roots. Thus in 1954, the Resettlement Department was set up with the responsibility of constructing enough houses to shelter the squatters in the city. Of course, the need for more land for development, real concern for the prevention of epidemic diseases and maintenance of social order all contribute to the clearance of squatter areas and the formation of the resettlement policy.

In the early sixties, the government widened the scope of its housing work to include not only squatters but all unsatisfactorily housed citizens into the public housing scheme. Consequently, high-rise and tightly packed buildings with self-contained units and better facilities than old resettlement estates were constructed by the Housing Authority in less densely populated areas of Hong Kong and Kowloon. New towns were also created in the New Territories, beginning with the development of Tsuen Wan as an industrial town.

For most of the cases, people move into a public housing estate do so not out of their own accord. A large category is the rehousing of families displaced from Crown land needed for development. Some flats are provided for those made homeless by fire and natural disaster, and for compassionate cases recommended by the Social Welfare Department or the Medical and Health Department. An allocation is also made for the relief of over-crowding in old estates and for people displaced from older blocks as they are taken for redevelopment. Those who are unsatisfactorily housed and within the income limits (HK\$2,000 a month for families of three, rising to HK\$2,850 a month for families of ten or more)

may register on a waiting list, naming the district where they wish to be housed. As housing becomes available in each district it is allocated according to position on the waiting list.⁵ But as the waiting list is inevitably long, it is usually years before an applicant is given his choice. In order to shorten the wait, most applicants are willing to go to the newest estates or any other estates the Authority suggests.

Therefore, at the public housing estates, we have basically a concentration of low income households that have been uprooted from other parts of the city and then "thrown together" by the Authority. As the residents' initiative has little to do with the formation of such settlements, identification with the settlement is difficult to development.

Another factor that hampers the growth of a sense of belonging is the dependency of these settlements on other constituent components of the society. Job opportunities, schools and other facilities are still inadequate within the boundaries of public housing estates and new towns. Most residents have to commute to city centres to work, to school or to entertain themselves. Dependency upon other constituent parts of the society is unlikely to disappear despite government's intention to create balanced communities, i.e., a balance of housing with job opportunities, community facilities and commercial activities etc., because there are practical difficulties in making available a whole spectrum of jobs for different socio-economic groups, in attracting sufficient amount of industrial and commercial investment in the new town and in bring individuals of different socio-economic status to live alongside each other.

Lau Siu Kai of the Department of Sociology of United College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, predicted that the realization of self-containment is not possible. He said,

. . . Only a small proportion of the working population would be employed within the new town, primarily by light industries. The employment situation is further complicated if we take into account the fact that many of the new town residents will be white-collar workers, and who might not be able to find jobs in the new town. As a result, a majority of the population in the new town has to seek employment elsewhere, and this daily inflow and outflow of commuters will have adverse effects on the ideal of social balance.⁶

While inter social communication is frequent, intra social communication within housing estates is scarce. Angela Kan finds that neighbourly interaction rate in public housing estates is generally low.⁷ A discussion group participating in the Seminar on Social Implication of Housing Policy in Hong Kong held in 1973 identified six factors that contribute to this phenomenon:

1. Residents of public housing estates are mostly of the low income group. They have to work long hours each day in places far from the estate. As they are away from home most of the time, there is little time left for acquainting neighbours.
2. Housewives are usually occupied with house work.
3. Young people are discouraged from going out for fear of harassment by gangsters.
4. The self-contained nature of the accommodation units nourishes the traditional Chinese idea of "It's good to stay home." (A self-contained accommodation in public housing is defined as "a whole living quarter with its own entrance, water supply, kitchen, toilet and/or bath room and occupied by one household".)⁸
5. The average education level of residents of public housing estates is low. Most of them do not have adequate understanding of public affairs.
6. Civic education in Hong Kong is of such poor quality that a sense of community is very thin among people

of the younger generation.

Other sociologists at the same seminar have also suggested that the high-rise and tightly packed blocks have made population density in the area so high that meaningful interaction between individual residents has become impossible.⁹

While the government was providing public housing in the sixties for the under-privileged sector of the society, private constructors too were busy developing their own estates to provide accommodation for those who could afford more expensive housing. The Ferry Point and Mei Fu Sun Chuen are two examples. Except that the buildings are of a higher quality and are occupied by people who do so voluntarily, these private estates are similar to public housing estates in two main aspects: Firstly, buildings are high-rising and closely packed together. Population density is very high. Secondly, in terms of job opportunities and public facilities, these estates are not self-sufficient. These factors dampen interaction within the estates, leaving residents very much to themselves and caring little for estate affairs. A survey done in 1977 revealed that less than half (46%) of the residents of Mei Fu Sun Chuen paid attention to estate affairs when they had the time, and those who claimed to pay constant attention to estate affairs amounted to no more than 39% of the respondents.¹⁰

From the above description, it is clear that our settlement at the housing estates, no matter public or private, are in want of social interaction and common ties, two major qualities of a community. Toennies used the term community to refer to a highly integrated, intimate group of people living together.¹¹ According to Kingsley Davis, a community is "the

smallest territorial group that can embrace all aspects of social life."¹² It is Alex Inkeles' opinion that "a community exists (1) when a set of household is relatively concentrated in a delimited geographical area; (2) their residents exhibit a substantial degree of integrated social interaction; and (3) have a sense of common membership, of belonging together which is not based exclusively on ties of consanguinity."¹³ Taking into account the views of Toennies, Davis and Inkeles, one might define community by three criteria: First, physical criterion: a community is a delimited geographical area which has a territorial identification. Second, social criterion: the people in that delimited geographical area exhibit a substantial degree of internal interaction or social communication in all major institutional fields. Third, psychological criterion: the people in the delimited geographical area share a sense of common bond, a sense of identity and belonging. Since our housing estates fail to meet two of these criteria, the settlements there can hardly be called communities.

Government Policy and Community Development

The government of Hong Kong seems concerned that the settlements at public housing estates should grow into communities in the real sense of the word. The Social Welfare Department, responsible for implementing the Hong Kong Government's policy for social welfare, has set up a "Group and Community Work Division" to provide community services that "aim at developing relationships and communications so as to help build responsible and integrated groups and communities with a geographical boundary. The goal is to enable groups and communities to be capable of identifying and solving community problems through self-help and co-operative efforts and to achieve a richer quality of community life."¹⁴ This approach of practising social work is known as the community development approach. The term community development has been defined

by the United Nations as:

The process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes is, therefore, made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements.¹⁵

In order to stimulate a sense of belonging among the entire population of Hong Kong and to facilitate the process of community development, the government organized the lavish Hong Kong Festival, soliciting the cooperation and participation of citizens in the staging of entertainment programmes and other festivities. It was found afterwards that only the commercial sector of the society took active part in the Festival's preparation and execution. The general mass remained chiefly as spectators. Consequently, the Hong Kong Festival is terminated after a few trials.

Meanwhile, public opinion expressing dissatisfaction with the sanitary condition of the city was gathering force. As a token of responding to public sentiment, the government launched the "Keep Hong Kong Clean Campaign." Plans were laid down involving general participation at the district level. The greater-than-expected success of the campaign has not only made the campaign an annual event ever since, but also led to

the emergence of another involving-all campaign — the Beat Crime Campaign — aiming at the improvement of social order.

Also in line with the self-help principle of the community development approach, the government encourages the organization of mutual aid committees. A mutual aid committee is an organization of residents in a multi-storey building who have come together to look after common problems of cleanliness and security in the building. The City District Office helps its organization and maintenance by providing advice and subsidies. In the urban areas of Hong Kong, they have also fulfilled a political function, acting as a means of communication between the government and the people on broader issues than the Cleanliness or Anti-Campaigns. Chairmen of the mutual aid committees meet regularly with City District Officers on so-called "Area Committees". Already the system is spreading to the New Towns where the planning is taken charge of by the wholly government Management Committees.

Aside from the launching of campaigns and encouraging the organization of mutual aid committees, the government has done little else to let the people take part meaningfully in community affairs. It seems the government is reluctant to push community development to the extent where people become so socially conscious that they demand political reforms as a means to satisfy their needs. Government officials like the City District Officers are said to be "extremely sensitive to the potential of community development groups becoming organized pressure groups of complaints revealing the weaknesses and short-comings of official policies, for example, in housing and town planning, and a genuine concern with grassroots popular participation is to be doubted. As one shrewd observer of the Hong Kong scene has remarked, 'it is impossible to exaggerate

the government's pre-occupation with and concern for the avoidance of the expression of protest."¹⁶ If there should still be hope left for unrestrained community development, the following words by Mr. Sweetman, the Deputy Director of Social Welfare Department, should serve to dispell it once and for all:

(It presents a great challenge) in building a community spirit within the rapidly developing cities of the world. It is a particularly challenging task in Hong Kong because of our limited scope for political development. We must therefore be careful to keep the initiative and to guide community spirit towards more pragmatic ends. We must however make community development a force for social advancement through voluntary effort complementing and cooperating with government initiative.¹⁷

It is obvious from the above that the government sees community development as a process under its own guidance leading to some pragmatic goals. Initiative on the part of the people seems unwanted and undesirable. So, it is under such political conditions that local community newspapers are operating and exerting their influence.

To Facilitate Social Change or to Support Authority

Since our communities are characterized by a general lack of a sense of common tie and social interaction, a community newspaper, if it were to contribute to the development of the community which it serves, should carry contents that aim at fostering identification with the community and facilitating unitary efforts by the people to promote what they consider to be the well-being of their community. Such an unitary effort is referred to as a community action which, according to Allan Edwards and Dorothy Jones, contains six steps to be complete. These steps are:

1. the recognition of the need for action;
2. initiation of action;

3. study and diagnosis of the need for action;
4. selection of a goal and plan for action;
5. goal achievement; and
6. institutionalization of the achieved goal.¹⁸

The community newspaper's information and publicity functions should help chiefly the accomplishment of steps 1, 2, 5 and 6. The paper will be expected to print a substantial amount of local news that are left uncovered by city dailies to keep people informed of occurrences in their community. As city-wide newspapers tend to appeal to the general public, news interesting to particular communities only is not likely to get printed. But for most people, if an event is not reported by the press, it has not happened at all. Awareness is very important as it is prerequisite to participation. So is recognition of the achievement of a community action as it encourages future actions.

If a community newspaper is devoted to social change, it will not satisfy itself by merely giving publicity to community actions. It will take active part in the study and diagnosis of the need for action, as well as in the selection of a goal and plan for action (steps 3 and 4). One would expect to see in its pages letters to the editor; interviews and editorials on issues of local concern.

On the other hand, if a community newspaper is to favour social stability and value government approval, its news coverage will be supportive of power elites. Conflict reporting will be few while harmony and cooperation between the authorities and the people will be emphasized. Letters to the editors demanding changes and reforms will hardly exist.

Is the Hong Kong community newspaper operating as a medium of social change and promotor of real community development? Or is it merely a means of social control made use of by the government? To answer these questions, an analysis of community newspaper contents has been carried out. The following chapter is the report.

Chapter Three
CONTENT OF HONG KONG COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

Publications addressed to residents of specific areas in Hong Kong are published by commercial publishers, government bodies, and local voluntary organizations. For the present analysis, only privately own tabloids are chosen mainly for two reasons. Firstly, they constitute the bulk of community publications. Secondly, they contain not only news but also advertising, and non-news features. Thus they are fulfilling more newspaper functions than papers that print only news. Publications by the government and voluntary organizations are excluded because the former are official in nature while the latter are either published irregularly or not in the newspaper format.

Six newspapers have been studied. They are: 1) The Southern District News, 2) Choi Ping News, 3) Mei Sun News, 4) Oi Man News, 5) Tuen Mun News, and 6) The Shatin Star. (See TABLE 1). Communities in Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories are all represented in the sample. These communities are of different "age". The oldest one, served by the Choi Ping News, is about twenty years old. The youngest, the Tuen Mun New Town served by the Tuen Mun News, was established only three years ago. Of the six papers, Mei Sun News serves a private housing estate when the rest cater for public ones. The two main local commercial publishers of community newspapers are also represented. The first five papers listed above are published by the Sing Tao Group while the last one by the Star Group.

A total of twenty four issues of the named papers published between September and December 1978 have been analyzed. Four issues, one for each month within the test period are selected at random for each paper. The monthly Shatin Star has all its September, October, November and December issues included in the sample.

Newspaper	Date First Published	Frequency of Publication	Community Served	Population of Community	Circulation	Publisher
1. Choi Ping News	Aug. 1972	weekly	Choi Hung & Ping Shek Estates	70,300	13,400	Community Press (Sing Tao Group)
2. Mei Sun News	Oct. 1972	weekly	Mei Fu Sun Chuen	85,000	14,000	- do. -
3. Southern District News	Feb. 1973	weekly	Wah Fu, Wong Chuck Hang, Tin Wan & Shek Pai Wan Estates	220,000	20,000	- do. -
4. Oi Man News	July 1975	weekly	Oi Man & Ho Man Tin Estates	70,000	11,000	- do. -
5. Shatin Star	Apr. 1978	monthly	Shatin New Town	50,000	12,000	Luen Yik Newspaper Co. Ltd. (Star Group)
6. Tuen Mun News	Sept. 1978	bi-weekly	Tuen Mun town centre, Sun Fat & Tai Hing Estates	70,000	10,000	Community Press (Sing Tao Group)

Note: All newspapers listed above are distributed free of charge. All of them contain news, advertising, and special interest materials. With the exception of Mei Fu Sun Chuen, all other estates named in the table are public housing estates.

The proportion of news, advertising and special interest materials are first looked into. Each news story is then studied and data on its subject category, length in column inches, chief actor, type of item, theme and scope are collected. (See Appendix A for detailed categorization.)

Quantitative Findings

Advertising occupies the most space in the composite community newspaper (46.52%). It is followed by news (35.43%) and special interest materials (18.05%). (See TABLE 2). This finding is not surprising when one realizes the mercenary motive behind these papers. In an interview with Mr. Michael Stevenson, the first Editor in Chief of the Sing Tao Group of community newspapers, it is revealed that the medium was introduced to Hong Kong mainly for the purpose of reaping advertising money. (See Appendix B for the interview with Mr. Stevenson). In order to attract advertisers and compete with city dailies, the new form of communication has to be distributed free of charge to every household within each estate so that the publisher can claim 100% accessibility to his paper.

Over half (55.23%) of the ads carried in the composite community newspaper are local retail ads which advertise shops, restaurants and services available within the community. City ads which promote products available not only in the local community market (e.g. Coca-Cola, Camel cigarette, etc.) rather than individual retailers take up 34.23% of the total advertising space, constituting the second largest group of advertising. (See TABLE 3). These figures suggest that the community newspapers are contributing towards the commercial growth of the communities. But the ads carried in a community newspaper may not be effective. In a 1977 survey of the Mei Sun News readers, 63% of the respondents regarded advertising as the kind of contents they liked least. It is probable that only a few people care to read them.

TABLE 2
CONTENT COMPOSITION IN SIX COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

Type of Content	Choi Ping News	Mei Sun News	Southern Dist. News	Oi Man News	Shatin Star	Tuen Mun News	Composite
1. News							
column inch	627.5	605	647.5	568.5	2875.25	1865	7188.75
(percentage)	(34.48)	(16.49)	(35.58)	(31.24)	(31.24)	(50.85)	(35.43)
2. Advertising							
column inch	697.5	2847.5	1075.5	773.5	3165.55	879	9438.55
(percentage)	(38.32)	(77.63)	(59.09)	(42.5)	(42.24)	(23.96)	(46.52)
3. Special Interest Material							
column inch	495	215.5	97	478	1453.2	924	3662.7
(percentage)	(27.2)	(5.88)	(5.33)	(26.26)	(19.39)	(25.19)	(18.05)
Total	1820	3668	1820	1820	7494	3668	20290
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

TABLE 3
TYPES OF ADVERTISING IN SIX COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

Type of Advertising	Choi Ping News	Mei Sun News	Southern Dist. News	Oi Man News	Shatin Star	Tuen Mun News	Composite
1. Local column inch (percentage)	87 (12.47)	2003.5 (70.36)	595.5 (55.37)	329 (42.53)	1921.75 (60.71)	276.5 (31.46)	5213.25 (55.23)
2. City column inch (percentage)	363.5 (52.11)	751 (26.38)	369 (34.31)	298.5 (38.59)	1240.8 (39.2)	208 (23.66)	3230.8 (34.23)
3. Self Promotion column inch (percentage)	159 (22.8)	56.5 (1.98)	97 (9.02)	146 (18.88)	3 (0.09)	394.5 (44.88)	856 (9.07)
4. Other column inch (percentage)	88 (12.62)	36.5 (1.28)	14 (1.3)				138.5 (1.47)
Total	687.5 (100)	2847.5 (100)	1075.5 (100)	773.5 (100)	3165.55 (100)	879 (100)	9438.55 (100)

Our readership survey in the following chapter may help to clarify this point.

As for news, the overwhelming majority of the stories are exclusively local (79.2%). If stories mentioning both the community and other parts of the city are added, a total of 92.8% of the news items involve the community in one way or another. (See TABLE 4). These figures seem to speak for the paper as a means of familiarizing readers with their immediate living environment. However, the actual impact cannot be determined by figures alone. News stories will be subject to qualitative examinations in the latter part of this chapter.

a. What Kinds of News

The stories in our community newspapers fall chiefly into four subject categories. They are (1) recreation and culture, taking up 15.87% of the total space devoted to news; (2) public utilities and construction, 14.91%; (3) sports, 12.18%; and (4) transportation, 7.48%. (See TABLE 5). The papers' potential of upgrading readers' knowledge of their communities and inducing participation in community activities is there. But little news about the commercial sector of the community is printed. This seems contrary to the mercenary motivation of the publication. The same thing is observed in American community newspapers which are generally perceived not as a commercialized medium. Janowitz suggested that it was exactly the publisher's commercial interest that had prevented him from printing too much business news. Otherwise, his publication may suffer from the image of being money-oriented or even controlled by enterprises.¹ Education too is rarely reported. Much less so is religion. Therefore, what readers can see through the community newspaper is only a partial picture of the community in which they live.

SCOPE OF NEWS* IN SIX COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

Scope	Choi Ping News	Mei Sun News	Southern Dist. News	Oi Man News	Shatin Star	Tuen Mun News	Composite
1. Local Community Only							
no. of stories (%)	47 (73.44)	37 (75.52)	47 (79.66)	57 (85.07)	138 (83.64)	70 (72.92)	396 (79.2)
2. Local Community & Other Parts of City							
n (%)	12 (18.75)	5 (10.2)	6 (10.17)	9 (13.44)	23 (13.94)	13 (13.54)	68 (13.6)
3. Other Parts of City Only							
n (%)	3 (4.69)	5 (10.2)	6 (10.17)	1 (1.49)	3 (1.82)	13 (13.54)	31 (6.2)
4. International							
n (%)		1 (2.04)			1 (0.6)		2 (0.4)
5. Other							
n (%)	2 (3.12)	1 (2.04)					3 (0.6)
Total	64 (100)	49 (100)	59 (100)	67 (100)	165 (100)	96 (100)	500 (100)

*Scope is defined as the geographical area designated in a news item.

TABLE 5

CONTENT CATEGORIES IN SIX COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS
(IN COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENTAGE)

Category	Choi Ping News	Mei Sun News	Southern Dist. News	Oi Man News	Shatin Star	Tuen Mun News	Composite
Administration, Management	52.5 in. (8.37%)	36 in. (5.95%)	14 in. (2.16%)	10.5 in. (1.85%)	121.5 in. (4.23%)	164.5 in. (8.82%)	399 in. (5.55%)
Arter Maintenance	15 (2.39)	117 (19.34)	27 (4.17)	72.5 (12.75)	48.5 (1.69)	98.5 (5.28)	378.5 (5.27)
Crime, Accidents, Disaster	52 (8.29)	28 (4.63)	53.5 (8.26)	37.5 (6.6)	169 (5.88)		340 (4.73)
Health, Hygiene		15 (2.48)	84.5 (13.05)		110 (3.83)	120.5 (6.46)	330 (4.59)
Transportation	15 (2.39)	38 (6.28)		4 (0.7)	365 (12.69)	116 (6.22)	538 (7.48)
Education			22.5 (3.47)		182.5 (6.35)		205 (2.85)
Culture, Recreation	166 (26.45)	92.5 (15.29)	123.5 (19.07)	138 (24.27)	355.25 (12.36)	265.5 (14.24)	1140.75 (15.87)
Courts	93 (14.82)	43 (7.11)	76 (11.74)	24.5 (4.31)	428.25 (14.89)	210.5 (11.29)	875.25 (12.18)
Facilities, Construction	101.5 (16.18)	134 (22.15)	90.5 (13.63)	77.5 (13.63)	439.5 (15.28)	229 (12.28)	1072 (14.91)
Public services not mentioned elsewhere		18 (2.97)	4 (0.62)	76 (13.37)	127.5 (4.43)	210.5 (11.29)	436 (6.07)
Personal Contribution or Achievement		33 (5.45)			99 (3.44)	31.5 (1.69)	163.5 (2.27)
Society	120.5 (19.2)	33.5 (5.54)	17 (2.63)	33 (5.81)	10 (0.35)	220.5 (11.82)	434.5 (6.04)
Voluntary Services	8 (1.27)	16 (2.64)	51 (7.88)	67.5 (11.87)	205.5 (7.15)	123.5 (6.62)	471.5 (6.56)
Commerce, Industry			7 (1.08)	7 (1.23)	92 (3.2)	32.5 (1.74)	138.5 (1.93)
Religion	3 (0.48)		5 (0.77)				8 (0.11)
Other	1 (0.16)	1 (0.17)	72 (11.12)	7 (1.23)	121.75 (4.23)	42 (2.25)	258.25 (3.59)
Total	627.5 (100)	605 (100)	647.5 (100)	568.5 (100)	2875.25 (100)	1865 (100)	7188.75 (100)

The majority of the stories can be described as factual reports (76.2%). News pictures using short captions come second as a common form of reporting , taking up 7.4% of all story items. Features that sometimes incorporate interviews rank third with 6%. (See TABLE 6). The emphasis on factual accounts, coupled with the lack of letters to the editor and editorials, indicates that the community newspapers are confining themselves to informative roles rather than functioning as a market place of ideas.

b. Who are in the News

Government officials play leading parts in most of the stories (38%), followed by individual residents who are the most important character in 13.6% of the news items. (See TABLE 7). The wide margin between the two is worthy of notice. It shows how much more reliant the reporters are on authority figures as news sources than on the ordinary people.

c. What is in the News

The themes of the stories are closely related to their chief characters. Therefore, it is natural that most of the stories (29.6%) invite readers' cooperation or participation in community affairs and activities. Expansion of services and activities forms the second most frequently appearing theme, coming through in 17.8% of the items, while appreciation and support of local activities and services is the central idea of 15.4% of them. (See TABLE 8).

d. One-way Traffic

One thing becomes clear by looking at these figures: communications in the community newspapers are mainly one-way, from the top downwards. People are frequently told what the government has provided them in terms of facilities, services and recreation. But their opinions are not as often reflected

TYPES OF NEWS ITEMS IN SIX COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

Type of Item	Choi Ping News	Mei Sun News	Southern Dist. News	Oi Man News	Shatin Star	Tuen Mun News	Composite
1. Factual Report no. of stories (percentage)	58 (90.63)	41 (83.68)	56 (94.93)	63 (94.03)	101 (61.21)	62 (64.58)	381 (76.2)
2. Feature n (%)		2 (4.08)		1 (1.49)	38 (23.04)	13 (13.54)	54 (10.8)
3. Editorial n (%)		1 (2.04)			8 (4.85)	1 (1.04)	10 (2)
4. Letters to the Editor n (%)	1 (1.56)	1 (2.04)	1 (1.69)		2 (1.21)		5 (1)
5. News picture n (%)	5 (7.81)	3 (6.12)	1 (1.69)	3 (4.48)	9 (5.45)	16 (16.67)	37 (7.4)
6. Announcement n (%)		1 (2.04)	1 (1.69)		7 (4.24)	1 (1.04)	10 (2)
7. Other n (%)						3 (3.13)	3 (0.6)
Total	64 (100)	49 (100)	59 (100)	67 (100)	165 (100)	96 (100)	500 (100)

MAIN ACTORS OR AGENCIES OF NEWS ITEMS IN SIX COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS
(NUMBER OF STORIES AND PERCENTAGE)

Main Actor/Agency		Choi Ping News	Mei Sun News	Southern Dist.News	Oi Man News	Shatin Star	Tuen Mun News	Composite
1. Government	n (%)	16 (25)	12 (24.49)	21 (35.6)	17 (25.37)	81 (49.09)	43 (44.79)	190 (38)
2. Management Office	n (%)	8 (12.5)	11 (22.45)	6 (10.18)	5 (7.46)	1 (0.61)	3 (3.13)	34 (6.8)
3. M.A.C., District Committee	n (%)	14 (21.88)	1 (2.04)	3 (5.08)	16 (23.88)	2 (1.21)	5 (5.21)	41 (8.2)
4. Business man or organization	n (%)		2 (4.08)	4 (6.78)		5 (3.03)	2 (2.08)	13 (2.6)
5. School Group	n (%)			1 (1.69)			7 (4.24)	8 (1.6)
6. Church Group	n (%)	1 (1.56)				2 (1.21)	8 (8.33)	11 (2.2)
7. Voluntary Organization	n (%)	10 (15.62)	9 (18.37)	8 (13.56)	11 (16.42)	10 (6.06)	6 (6.25)	54 (10.8)
8. Local Resident	n (%)	7 (10.94)	4 (8.16)	7 (11.86)	12 (17.91)	26 (15.76)	12 (12.5)	68 (13.6)
9. Other	n (%)	3 (4.69)	3 (6.12)	6 (10.17)		15 (9.09)	7 (7.29)	34 (6.8)
10. Not Applicable	n (%)	5 (7.81)	7 (14.29)	3 (5.08)	6 (8.96)	16 (9.7)	10 (10.42)	47 (9.4)
Total		64 (100)	49 (100)	59 (100)	67 (100)	165 (100)	96 (100)	500 (100)

THEMES OF NEWS ITEMS IN SIX COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS
(NUMBER OF STORIES AND PERCENTAGE)

Theme		Choi Ping News	Mei Sun News	Southern Dist.News	Oi Man News	Shatin Star	Tuen Mun News	Composite
1. Expansion of services, activities	n (%)	6 (9.38)	12 (24.49)	10 (16.95)	8 (11.94)	42 (25.45)	11 (11.46)	89 (17.8)
2. Contraction of services, activities	n (%)				2 (2.99)	2 (1.21)		4 (0.8)
3. Invite attention, parti- cipation, or cooperation	n (%)	24 (37.5)	17 (42.37)	25 (37.31)	25 (37.31)	24 (14.55)	33 (34.38)	148 (29.6)
4. Appreciation or Support of local personages, services, or activities	n (%)	7 (10.94)	3 (6.13)	8 (13.56)	8 (11.94)	25 (15.16)	26 (27.08)	77 (15.4)
5. Dissatisfaction	n (%)	1 (1.56)	4 (8.16)	4 (6.78)		21 (12.73)	8 (8.33)	38 (7.6)
6. Conflict	n (%)	1 (1.56)			3 (4.48)	4 (2.42)		8 (1.6)
7. Resolution of conflict	n (%)	1 (1.56)				2 (1.21)		3 (0.6)
8. Harmony & Cooperation	n (%)	4 (6.25)				2 (1.21)	5 (5.21)	11 (2.2)
9. Routine Report (No theme involved)	n (%)	20 (31.25)	13 (26.53)	12 (20.34)	21 (31.34)	37 (22.42)	12 (12.5)	115 (23)
10. Other	n (%)					6 (3.64)	1 (1.04)	7 (1.4)
Total		<u>64</u> (100)	<u>49</u> (100)	<u>59</u> (100)	<u>67</u> (100)	<u>165</u> (100)	<u>96</u> (100)	<u>500</u> (100)

either directly by means of letters to the editor or less directly by interviews. Editors too seem reluctant to speak their minds as editorials are almost negligible.

Findings so far have bared the fact that the voice of the authorities dominates in local community newspapers. In the rest of this chapter, attempts will be made to show how exactly this voice is made so audible.

Comments and Editorialized Leads/Endings

Editorial materials in the six community newspapers analyzed are either totally non-existent or negligible. But this does not mean that the papers are taking no stand whatsoever when reporting local issues.

A story on the nuisance created by dog excrement contains the following comments:

Some dog owners of the estate have been causing great inconveniences to their neighbours by not controlling their dogs properly. The Estate Management Office is paying close attention to this matter. The rule forbidding the keeping of dogs within estate apartments will be strictly enforced in order to protect the interest of the majority residents....

According to our investigation, it is stated in the purchase contracts of 4th Phase Apartments that the keeping of dogs in the apartment is not permissible. The strict enforcement is therefore no more than execution of set rules and has nothing improper about it. As a matter of fact, some of our estate dog owners have not been taking good care of their pets, thus causing inconveniences to other people. For this reason, the Management is now declaring a re-enforcement of the No Dogs Allowed regulation. (Mei Sun News, 12-10-78, p.4)

In the quoted passage, the stand of the paper is unmistakable. It thinks the Estate Management Office is right and the non-responsible residents have only themselves to blame for loosing some of their freedom.

Let us look at another example --- a feature article printed by the Shatin Star about the building of a park in the centre of the Shatin Racing Ground. The opening of the Racing Course has been highly controversial among Hong Kong citizens. Those in favour of it believe that it will help Shatin to grow more rapidly into a modern town. Those against it are equipped with many reasons, some of them moral and others practical. The Star article comments in conclusion thus:

Some people in Hong Kong have unfavourable opinions of the Royal Jockey Club. They are especially displeased by the traffic inconveniences caused by the opening of the Shatin Racing Course. But it cannot be denied that the Royal Jockey Club has often brought benefits to our people. ... With the opening of the Race Course Park, who can say that the people have not been given another nice place to go? (Shatin Star, 10-12-78, p.3)

In this conclusion, the paper's appreciation of the Jockey Club is very clear. The two examples cited so far serve to demonstrate that the lack of formal editorials does not prevent community newspapers from expressing themselves and from taking sides on local issues. The openings and ends of features or otherwise very factual reports are the common places where these comments emerge. A further look at these comments will disclose another fact: that they tend to speak in the voice of the authorities. This tendency is especially apparent when crime and accidents is a story's topic.

A report on the damages done to public facilities in the Mei Fu Sun Chuen opens like this:

The public facilities of the estate are meant for all the people living in this estate. Every resident has the right to use these facilities. Anyone damaging them or littering public places is undoubtedly making himself an enemy of all local residents. We hope our young people will avoid committing such offences so that our environment will be kept clean.

After duly citing relevant examples and statistics, the item concludes:

The Estate Management spends huge sums of money every year for the maintenance of public facilities. This money comes naturally from residents' maintenance fees. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that to spoil these facilities is to make one the enemy of the local residents.... If people have more care for public places and utilities, and prevent them from being damaged, such meaningless expenditure can be dispensed with. (Mei Sun News, 20-10-78, p.2)

The passage seems to have come out directly from the mouth of an officer of the Estate Management Office. In another story on an accident in which a person has been injured by a fallen flower pot, the reporter wrote:

Residents should take care as to where to put their flower pots and other objects. Do not put them where they may easily fall down into the streets, as passers-by may be hit and physical injuries or even deaths may be caused. Last Sunday (15th), a construction worker, while painting the outer walls of a 4th Phase Apartment building, was hit on the hand by a flower pot fallen from above. He was sent afterwards to the hospital for treatment.... An officer of the Estate Management Officer says the accident happened chiefly because people

put their flower pots on the edges of their flower troughs or window sills without using strings to fasten them. When the windows are opened not carefully, these objects will be knocked down into the streets from where they stay. (Mei Sun News, 12-10-78, p.1)

The official tone of this illustration is more apparent not only because a management officer is actually quoted, but also due to the fact that the accident, which should be the reason for writing the story, is described only briefly while most part of the item is taken up by the lecture of the officer.

Examples where a brief mentioning of an occurrence leads to full exposition by the authorities are not lacking in the community newspapers. This may be due to the fact that community newspapers are not published everyday. They cannot compete with the dailies for timeliness in reporting. In order to make sense of their writing about things or events which happened several days or even weeks ago, some sort of comments have to be added. This accounts for the editorialized leads and endings in some of the stories. While rationalizing an event, the reporter easily adopts the point of view of the news source, which is usually an authority figure. That is the reason why we often come across comments that sound as if they were made by power status people.

David L. Paletz, Peggy Reichart and Barbara McIntyre suggest in a discussion on how the media support local governmental authorities that the reporter's concept of professionalism may lead him inadvertently to write articles in ways conducive to supporting local authority.² By professionalism

is meant such practices as condensing and summarizing, investing events with rationality and coherence, and treating authority figures with respect. In the above analysis, it seems that Paletz's generalization is applicable to the Hong Kong scene.

Symbolic Reassurance

Paletz and his co-researchers also suggest that providing symbolic reassurance is another way in which media give support to the authorities. They are of the opinion that symbolic activity is often reassuring to the mass public and leads to political quiescence and to the support of the existing institutions of the authorities. The announcement in the papers of plans for the solution of problems is an example of such reassurance. "The reader was probably left with the feeling of satisfaction that something would be done." Whether or not action is taken is rather irrelevant as far as the image of the authorities is concerned. "People tend to judge a man by his goals, by what he is trying to do, and not necessarily by what he accomplishes or by how well he succeeds."³

In the September issue of the Shatin Star, there is a story on the dusty condition in Small Lek Yuen created by massive construction projects. The story relates first the dissatisfaction of the people in the area, and then proceeds in great length to the actions the authorities are going to take in order to relieve the situation:

The Deputy District Officer Mr. Bridge says that the problem of dust exists in every area under development, only it is more acute in the case of Small Lek Yuen.

...

He says the District Office is already keeping close watch over constructors and

has asked them to clean up the dirt as best they can in order not to endanger public health.

Meanwhile, in regard to the dust problem around the Sha Kok Estate construction site, the District Office has informed the Housing Department as well as the Public Works Department to supervise constructors with the view of improving matters. (Shatin Star, 10-9-78, p.1)

By making known the plans for the solution of the dust problem, the paper portrays the District Office as a responsive governing body. People may know too well that these plans may not lead anywhere, but the very thing that some actions are said to have been taken is enough to sooth their dissatisfaction.

The story of the postponement of building roofed bus stops in the October 7 issue of the Oi Man News affords another illustration of symbolic reassurance. Here is the story:

The building of roofed bus stops has been a matter of great concern to residents of the Oi Man Estate. As the Public Works Department has decided to review the previously approved blue prints, the related construction has to be postponed. No date has been fixed for the actual building to begin.

On August 4, the Kowloon Bus Co. had discussed with the Transport Department regarding the building of roofed bus stops with advertising space, and was informed the same day by the Public Works Department that the blue prints had to be revised.....

The Public Works Department is now considering a standardized design of roofed bus stops to be adopted by both the China Motor Bus Co. and the Kowloon Bus Co. throughout Hong Kong.

Despite the fact that no fixed date is available for the construction of the long delayed bus stops, the announcement that plans for them are already underway may be comforting. Also, the choice to report this story (as well as the previous one) shows an adherence to the criterion of "interest to the most people", another indicator of professionalism. Because of the reporter's decision, the authorities' image as a highly authoritative, responsive governing body is undisturbed.

Direct Access by the Authorities

As if speaking in the voice of the authorities and quoting authority figures were not enough, local community papers make themselves directly available to those in power. The first issue of the Tuen Mun News amply illustrates this fact. In this issue, an article prepared by the Public Relations Officer of the Yuen Long District Police Station was printed. It occupies about half a page (44 column inches) and deals with the procedures of reporting crimes and the prevention of crimes. It pleads cooperation of the citizens so that criminals may be duly punished by law.

Local power status personages such as Mr. Lau Wong Fat and Mr. Chan Tet Sun also addressed the readers directly in the said issue. Mr. Chan considers it one of the functions of a good newspaper to "seek out common elements from divergencies and to creat harmony such that the government and the people can join hands in the building of a prosperous, secure and harmonious society." He also expressed his wish that the Tuen Mun News could serve as leader for the mass and a beneficial friend for the government.

Similarly, the September 16 issue of the Oi Man News carried an autobiographic work by the Chief Officer

of the Oi Man Estate Police Station. The alternate use of flattery and muscle flexing makes the article interesting. The article is entitled "My Work in the Police". Its author sets out by praising the people and environment of the Estate:

Today's Oi Man Estate is furnished everywhere with tall buildings. There are restaurants, shopping archades, big banks and goldsmith stores. Transportation is convenient. The people are of noble and open nature. They are kind and lovable.

Having acknowledged the cooperation of local residents with the police, the Chief Officer went on to express his determination to weed out criminals and emphasize his capability of doing so:

It has been twenty six years since I first joined the Police. I have handled numerous cases and have in my hands information about what the black societies are up to and where criminals commit crimes. I hate criminals most in all my life. I will never forget to bind these bad elements by law, and let local people lead peaceful and happy lives.

When talking about disorderly parking, the Chief Officer once again resorted to power as solution of the problem:

Some non-civic-minded drivers park their cars at the entrance to the G Shopping Archade, blocking the way of law abiding drivers and so creating trouble. ... I will never forgive this sort of people, because I want to protect law abiding citizens of the Estate. I have to enforce the law, and prevent people from destroying the cooperative relationship between the police and the people.

On mah-jong playing after midnight, the Officer warns:

According to my investigation, the residents of Oi Man are mostly law-abiding, polite, noble, open, helpful and sympathetic people. But there are a few of them who are not showing self-discipline. They play mah-jong till late at night, causing unnecessary disturbances to quiet loving people.

Then, as expected, the flexes again:

From now on, we will not give any chance to those who disturb the peaceful living of others. I now advise you to think for others, try to reduce disturbing noises, and cooperate with the police.

As power status people are given direct access to the community newspapers, it is as if a lecture hall had been opened and made available to these people, aiding them to broadcast their voices without mediation. Murray Edelman believes that authority gains and maintains legitimacy through its symbolic nature, and that psychological distance from symbols that evoke perceptions and emotions heightens their potency.⁴ However, it seems that our local authorities are not too sure that his idea is right. They prefer direct and incessant communications to the people in order to remind them of their power. In this respect, the community newspapers have given the authorities all the cooperation that they want.

The People in the Background

It has already been pointed out earlier that government officials are the main actors in most of the stories studied. The prominence of the government in the community newspapers may be another outcome of the reporter's concept of professionalism, as big names or important people are considered

the stuff for news by almost every journalist. Consequently, in occasions where government officials and the people are both present, the officials are inevitably given the lime light whilst the mass has to satisfy itself in supporting roles.

The importance of the mutual aid committees in the following headline is deceptive. It says:

HO MAN TIN ESTATE M.A.C. HEADS MET

It leads one to think the mutual aid committees are the main actors of the corresponding story. But the fact is: they are only mentioned in the first paragraph, which states:

The Board of Chairmen of the Ho Man Tin Estate M.A.C.s Joint Office held a meeting at the Office Conference Room on September 15 (Friday) at 9.00 p.m. to discuss matters concerning the Chinese chess competition scheduled to take place in October.

In the second paragraph, the focus of attention is already switched to Mr. Lee Kai Chi, Director of the Ho Man Tin Estate Police Station, who was also present at the meeting. The story then goes on with an account of criminal offences within the estate and concludes with these words:

It can be seen from the above that the setting up of the police station (in the Estate) has effectively checked the occurrences of crime. But in the days ahead, we still have to depend on the close tie between the Police and the M.A.C. of each block for greater effectiveness of the police-people cooperation. (Oi Man News, 16-9-78, p.4)

The entire story is 6 column inches long, five of them are devoted to pleading by the police. By reading only the headline, one may expect the reverse should have been the case.

A similar instance is found in the October 7 issue of the same paper. This time it is the Ho Man Tin Southern Area Committee that is holding a meeting. The topic to be discussed is estate facilities and the environment. Following is the opening of the story:

The Ho Man Tin Southern Area Committee held its third meeting of the year last Thursday at 8.00 p.m. at the Ho Man Tin City District Office. The meeting reviewed contents of a previous discussion between M.A.C. chairmen and the Oi Man Estate Management Office regarding progress of work aimed at improving facilities and environment within the estate.

The rest of the story contains reports from the spokesmen of the City District Office and the Oi Man Estate Management Office. There is not another word on what the M.A.C. members had said or done in the meeting. The whole story, including a picture on the lighting conditions of the estate, takes up 29 column inches. The lead in which the members appeared is less than 2 inches long.

The subordinating position of the people is even more obvious in another anti-drug campaign story run by the Southern District News dated 17-10-78. The reporter first made it clear that the campaign involved over twenty local organizations. But then only the opening speeches by the Anti-Drug Committee Chairman and the Chairman of the Southern District Anti-Drug Campaign Committee are reported in detail. "Immediately after the opening ceremony," the story says, "a variety show is staged. The programmes are marvelous, including gymnastics and karate demonstrations, dancing, singing by TV artists police dog show and the performance of the United Recreational Association Orchestra. The show attracted a large crowd of residents." While the two chairmen stood out prominently in the story, the people were presented as a faceless crowd whose

only function seemed to be that of making the actions of the chairmen meaningful.

Perhaps reporters are merely adhering to the motto that "Big Names Make Big News" when they put their emphasis on the V.I.P.s. Nevertheless, they are strengthening the existing power structure by doing so.

Harmony — The Value

The fact that mass media often place more importance on values such as orderliness, respect and public decency has been pointed out by Warren Breed.⁵ In the case of the community newspaper, harmony is perhaps the one virtue which is valued most. Tichenor, Olien and Donohue find that there is a general tendency for community papers to avoid reporting conflicts. The smaller the size of a community, the less conflict reporting the local paper is going to print. The reason is that editors in small communities in the U.S. are likely to be located somewhere in the power structure. Naturally, they are not going to speak ill of their fellow leaders. In fact, they cannot afford to offend anyone by speaking out in the paper, or they will have to deal with indignant readers who are also immediate neighbours.⁶

The lack of conflict reporting is also characteristic of Hong Kong community newspapers, though for different reasons. Here, an editor is unlikely to occupy a place in the local power structure. In fact, his connection with the community he serves is usually minimal. Typically, he resides outside the community he works for; and his office is always situated in the business areas on Hong Kong Island or in Kowloon. His detachment from his community has probably led to his reliance on the authorities rather than on the local people as news sources.

Furthermore, the Housing Department and Estate Management Offices are in the position to forbid the circulation of any printed matters within their estates if they think fit. Inquiries made to various estate management offices regarding dissemination of printed materials within estates revealed two basic things: 1) the distributor has to apply for permission at the management office before he may hand out printed matters; 2) the management office has the power of not permitting the distribution of materials which they think may create disturbance among estate residents or arouse their complaints. Therefore, it is in the capacities of news source and permission giver that the authority cannot be antagonized.

On the other hand, the interests of the readers have to be considered also if the community paper is to gain popularity. To choose a stand opposite to that of the readers is to alienate them from the paper. The best way to carry on is to avoid occasions in which taking a stand becomes necessary. Consequently, conflict is the theme of only 1.6% of the stories examined in this study.

A story is coded as containing conflict if it reports opposing actions, positions or statements of at least two persons or parties. Conflict may take the form of actual fighting between two hawkers over a site for their sales stands. It may also emerge as attacks on the authorities for low efficiency or unfair treatments. Mutual disagreement between government and people leading to the break up of negotiations is another form conflict may take. Strong words like 'attack' and 'accuse' are often used in reporting of this nature.

When the authorities and the people are involved in a conflict, the community newspaper usually reports the conflict without any comments. For example, a story headlined "Bud-tze-wo Village Faces Clearance, Villagers Swear to Fight for Compensation" is summarized in a matter-of-fact manner:

For years both sides (i.e., the authorities and the villagers) have held numerous meetings to discuss the problem of compensation. In recent meetings, villagers accused the District Office of swallowing its own words. Negotiation broke down. No agreement could be reached. (Shatin Star, 10-12-78. p.1)

Another example can be found in the October issue of the same paper in the story about the resettlement of fire victims. It is reported that about forty victims of the fire at First Street, Shatin Market were still staying in the Lek Yuen Community Hall while other victims of the same fire had already been provided with new homes in public housing estates. The story interviewed the victims who accused the government of unfair treatment and declared they would stick it out in the community hall instead of moving into units in temporary resettlement areas. At the same time, government spokesmen are also given the chance to vindicate themselves. According to a Housing Authority manager, the wooden structures the victims originally lived in were illegal. Therefore, these forty odd people were not entitled to enjoy public housing.

The treatment here is the much esteemed practice of giving both sides of the picture. By reporting conflicts factually, the editor avoids the danger of enraging any of the parties concerned. Meantime, however, he is also giving up the opportunity of playing an active part in the advancement of the people's interest. He has chosen not to take further steps than to make known community actions, for which he is capable of providing judgment and guidance.

Rather than presenting two parties in direct confrontation, the community newspaper reflects public dissatisfactions more frequently in mild tones. In the Mei Fu Sun Chuen, residents were vexed because the police took no measure to control hawkers who overflowed pavements and so forced pedestrians to use the

slippery, cobbled side walks. The Mei Sun News interviewed a resident who "hopes the police will improve the order among hawkers at the bus terminal so that inconveniences to the residents will be reduced." (Mei Sun News, 12-10-78,p.2)

The following letter to the editor(a rare thing by itself), printed on the front page of the October 18 issue of the Choi Ping News just next to the nameplate, may give an even clearer idea of the amount of respect paid to authorities in the community newspapers:

Dear Editor,

I am a resident on the eighth floor of the Tsui King Mansion of Choi Hung Estate. Ever since August, black-outs happen frequently in our apartments at night. Up to now, we have experienced more than ten such occurrences. Black-outs begin mostly at six p.m. and things will not return to normal till ten. All my neighbours are greatly troubled. Our troubles are listed as follows:

1. Every night we have to prepare our dinner early fearing that electricity may fail.

2. We have to use candles when there is a black-out. It is very inconvenient, and can easily start a fire.

3. Children cannot do their homework or study their books because of electricity failure. This affects their studies enormously.

4. To study under dim and flickering candle light is bad for children's eyesight and will cause damage to their eyes.

It is my sincere hope that the Choi Hung Estate Management Office would consider this matter seriously and decide upon suitable solutions. I would indeed be grateful.

A resident on the 8th floor
Tsui King Mansion
Choi Hung Estate

The above examples have one thing in common. Discontent on the part of the people has been given expression though no strong language is used. The desire for improvement of existing conditions is always a 'hope' instead of a 'demand'. As the receiver of these polite and humble pleadings, the governing bodies are unobtrusively confirmed of their authority.

Not only is harmony made to appear prevalent in a negative way by the scarcity of conflict reporting and the toning down of dissatisfactions, it is positively played up in many of the stories. A few more illustrations will demonstrate this point.

Of a discussion on Old Age Allowance co-sponsored by the Social Welfare Department and a local voluntary organization in Tuen Mun, the atmosphere is described as 'harmonious', and the discussion itself 'lively'.⁷

The Fight Crime Committee of the Tuen Mun area held a meeting at the District Office on October 12 to talk about plans of launching a Fight Crime Week. The meeting was reported as having been conducted in a "harmonious atmosphere, amply showing the cooperative spirit between government and the people."⁸

The October 18 issue of the Choi Ping News ran a story reporting the welcome party for the new Wong Tai Sin City District Officer thrown by Area Committee members. "The participants gathered together, feeling very happy," the report says. "The party was not over until ten at night when everybody went home having thoroughly enjoyed themselves."

The meeting for the discussion of the removal of the No.10 Bus terminal held between North Ngao Tau Kok Area Committee and the Transport Department was reported to have proceeded 'harmoniously'.⁹

In the above examples, the word 'harmony' comes out time and again. And cooperation, which is an indication of harmony, is similarly emphasized. The phrase "cooperation between police and the people" appears four times in the afore-mentioned article —"My Work in the Police"; thrice in the body of the story, and once in a sub-heading which may have been added by the editor. Besides, instances where local residents have helped tracking down criminals, maintaining order, or making suggestions to the Police are often cited and recognized by the author of that article. In the papers, the Police never forgets to thank people for their support and cooperation. Residents of the Wah Fu Estate had once phoned up the Police and by doing so helped stop a gang fight from actually taking place. This action was reported in the October 17 issue of the Southern District News, together with a Police acknowledgement at the end of the story:

The Police thanks residents for reporting it by telephone so that fighting is stopped just in time. The Police hopes that people of the Estate will always cooperate and report crimes when they occur."

As so much emphasis is put on harmony within the community, phrases like "all in the family" have become hackneyed in community newspapers. Needless to say, the head of this family can be none other than the government.

Appeal to Community Pride

Another characteristic of community newspapers is their special effort to appeal to community pride. Contrary to conflicts and dissatisfactions, local achievements and contributions are

magnified. The November Shatin Star, when writing on the sports facilities to be installed in the community, decided on a boastful headline which says:

Cycling Ground to be Constructed
Shatin Sports Facilities
No. 1 in All Hong Kong ¹⁰

The word meaning number one in the original is printed in a type larger than the rest of the words. The story is located on the top of a page, making it prominent and important to the readers.

The opening of the Tung Fook Hostel for recuperating drug addicts is also given prominent treatment in the September 26 issue of the Oi Man News. Its headline runs next just to the nameplate of the paper. A news picture showing a director making a speech is used to go with the story. As the story is the only news item on the page, its importance is further enhanced. In the lead of the story, residents of the estate were said to have been praised by the Anti-Drug Commissioner:

The Tung Fook Hostel of the Christian Services Association located in Ka Man Mansion was opened on September 8 at 2.00 p.m. by the Anti-Drug Commissioner J.P. Li Shan Chi. In his address, the Commissioner praised Oi Man residents for not only allowing the recuperation centre for drug addicts to be set up within the estate, but also for the fact that M.A.C.s are actively taking part in the centre's management.

Another 'First' is reported in the Choi Ping News. The story covered the Fei Ngor Mountain Marathon in which representatives of the Kam Hong Mansion of the Choi Hung Estate won first prizes in the group and women's competitions.¹¹ The story also takes its position on the front page

by the nameplate of the newspaper. It says there were more than 150 people from the estate taking part in the event besides a guest team consisting of 40 odd members. The winner for men was Sun Wei Lu, who finished in 28 minutes 25 seconds. The result was said to be very satisfactory.

But Mr. Sun was actually the second person to arrive at the finishing point. The first one was a foreigner from the guest team. However, the result of the guest runner was never revealed in the story, which only said that he was followed almost immediately by Mr. Sun of the Choi Hung Estate.

Community newspapers' effort to nurture local pride is also observable in the Shatin Star's special page called "Anecdotes" devoted entirely to the history of the Shatin District. All these practices of de-emphasizing conflict, toning down dissatisfaction, playing up cooperation and harmony, and appealing to community pride have made one thing undeniable: the community newspaper is actually striving for the creation of a sense of belonging among its readers. However, with the papers' reluctance to get involved in the wrestling of rights for the people from the authorities, the success of these practices cannot be over estimated.

In summary, the local community newspaper appears to be commercialized. Almost half of its printed space is devoted to advertising. This should not be used to discredit the medium as staying alive is of supreme importance to any commercial enterprises. The late Bill Long, manager of the Colorado Press Association, had compiled a list of ten points on "Hometown Newspaper Publishing for Fun and Profit". He listed the "for profit" points first. The foremost of these says, "Take care of your accounts and your accounts will take of you."¹² On the contrary, publishers may claim to be contributing to local

economy for the fact that the majority of the ads they print are local ones.

The news in the community newspapers is mainly of local interest. A tendency toward "local ethnocentrism" or "civic pride" is evident in the medium. The progress, growth, and achievements of the community are enthusiastically publicized while discordance is usually muted. The picture of the community as portrayed by a community paper is therefore more harmonious than discordant. However, the papers give an unmistakable impression that this harmony is the result of strong government leadership. The government is featured in a great bulk of the news stories and its authoritative image is never challenged.

Furthermore, it is not a complete picture of the communities that the newspapers have painted. The stories fall mainly into a few subject categories. Certain aspects of community life is drastically undercovered. The contents show a clear intention of encouraging participation in community functions. But it must be noted that the functions that local people are urged to attend are all planned and provided for them by either the government or by city-wide voluntary organizations. Initiative of community members have nothing to do with their existence. By emphasizing these kinds of activities, the papers are supporting in real fact superimposed leadership rather than stimulating people's initiative which is after all the central idea of the whole community development concept.

It seems that our community papers are more in favour of reforms from above than from below. If we are to measure the performance of local community newspapers against the three widely accepted functions of the newspaper, i.e., to serve as a marketing guide through its advertising columns, to inform

through the news columns, and to guide or lead through editorial comments, it becomes apparent that the community papers have performed the first two functions to various degrees, but have left the third, which is vital for the accomplishment of community actions, largely unattended to.

Chapter Four
COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

If the contents of the community newspaper are of limited value for community development purposes, then the cool and indifferent nature of their readers may make their effectiveness even less.

According to psychologists like Klapper, people's perceptions are to a large extent determined by their predispositions.¹ If the residents at the housing estates are characterised by a lack of a sense of belonging, the community newspaper may not arouse their attention at all. Therefore, in order to determine the actual impact of the community newspaper, a survey of its readers had been conducted.

For the present study, impact of a community newspaper is confined to its effectiveness as an integrating mechanism. Operationally, the effectiveness is measured in terms of knowledge about a community gained by the various segments of readers within that community. If the medium is an effective integrator, it should be able to level off the knowledge differences among its readers. On the other hand, if the readers' knowledge gap is widened as a result of using the newspaper, then the medium can claim no contribution towards community integration, which is a prerequisite for the community development process. Therefore, two hypotheses will be tested:

H₁: Community newspaper reading is positively related to community participation.

H₂: Community newspaper reading contributes to one's knowledge about the community.

The first hypothesis serves to pin-point one important characteristic of the community newspaper readers, while the second one is meant to determine the effect of community newspaper reading on the readers in knowledge terms.

The survey was carried out in the months of February and March of 1979. Readers of five community newspapers were interviewed by telephone and a total of two hundred usable answers were obtained. The five papers are: 1) The Choi Ping News serving the Choi Hung and Ping Shek Estates; 2) Mei Sun News serving the Mei Fu Sun Chuen; 3) Oi Man News serving Oi Man and Ho Man Tin Estates; 4) Tuen Mun News serving chiefly the Tai Hing and Sun Fat Estates; and 5) The Shatin Star catering mainly for residents of the Lek Yuen and Wo Che Estates. TABLE 9 shows the composition of the reader sample.

TABLE 9
COMPOSITION OF READER SAMPLE

Newspaper	Number of Readers	Percentage
1. Choi Ping News	53	26.5%
2. Mei Sun News	49	24.5
3. Oi Man News	50	25
4. Shatin Star	32	16
5. Tuen Mun	16	8
Total	200	100%

The interviewees are chosen from the telephone directory. Randomness is taken care of by using the table of random numbers to decide the page to which the directory has to be turned. All individuals on that chosen page living in any one of the housing estates mentioned above are called upon by phone to answer a set of 24 questions designed to throw light on the extent of the respondents' community newspaper reading, their community participation, and their knowledge about their own communities. A Reading Score, a Participation Score and a Knowledge Score are calculated from the responses of each interviewee. These scores form the basis for the present analysis. (See Appendix C for the questionnaire and the method of calculating the Reading, Participation and Knowledge Scores.)

Readership in this study is conceived of as mainly consisting of (a) exposure and (b) interest patterns. By exposure is meant the frequency of reading a community newspaper and the average amount of time spent on reading one copy of the paper. Interest patterns refer to the type of content attended to. Participation is conceived in two levels: the formal and the informal. Formal participation is measured by the number of associations or organizations of which the respondent is a member, and by the frequency of his taking part in their functions. Informal participation is measured by the number of households claimed by the respondent as close neighbours or friends to whom home visits may be paid. The rate of mutual visits comprises also part of the measurement. Knowledge regarding both community leaders and facilities constitute the two aspects of the 'Knowledge' variable.

Results of the Readership Survey

The result of the readership survey shows that 17.5% of the respondents simply do not take heed of what happens within their communities. Only 20.5% depend on the community newspaper as the sole source of information about community activities and occurrences. To another 24%, the community newspaper, together with notices (mostly posted on notice-boards at the entrances of estate buildings and sometimes mailed directly to each household), the dailies, mutual aid committees, friends and neighbours, and other organizations such as youth centres, contribute to their knowledge about community happenings. Altogether, the community newspaper is useful to less than half of the respondents (44.5%) as a source of information about community occurrences. One reason for not depending on community newspapers as source is undoubtedly its frequency of publication. Most community newspapers are weekly publications, and are therefore not capable of bringing timely information to their readers.

Thirty-eight percent of the respondents depend entirely on sources other than the community newspaper to be informed about what are going on in their communities. Together with the 24% just mentioned who use both the community newspaper and other sources, the total percentage making use of other sources reaches 62%. The sources include:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Notices posted or mailed | 57.26% |
| 2. Inter-personal communication | 20.9 |
| 3. Dailies and other mass media | 12.9 |
| 4. Mutual Aid Committee | 12.9 |
| 5. Other social organizations | 5.64 |

(Total percentage exceeds 100% because multiple answers are allowed.)

The large proportion using the notice-board to get information of community happenings point to the one effective channel of communicating with estate residents. The little reliance on the dailies and other mass media as source of news about one's community is expected as the media are catering chiefly for the general public and the specific needs of people living in particular areas cannot possibly be taken care of completely. One chief reason of the community newspaper's existence is exactly to fill the void left by dailies and other mass media. However, the low popularity of the M.A.C. needs some explanation.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the M.A.C. is an organization of multi-storey residents formed with the assistance of the City District Offices for the purpose of looking after the cleanliness and security in the building. In public housing estates where things are government supervised, how much of the formation of the M.A.C. is the product of local initiative is to be questioned. In the course of the present survey, a few committee members themselves complained that they did not have the needed support from the people. An M.A.C. in Ho Man Tin Estate was said to have been disbanded because of the lack

of popular support. If the M.A.C. is a result of people's own needs, such problem should not have occurred. On the other hand, a respondent living in the Lek Yuen Estate thought that the M.A.C. of her building was very irresponsible. She said there once was a fight between members of a household on her floor. M.A.C. members living close by simply ignored the cries of help issuing from that household and refused to intervene despite residents' request. Another M.A.C. in the Ping Shek Estate decided not to distribute community newspapers to households who refused to take part in night-watches. Naturally, this action did not make the organization popular among the sanctioned households.

Aside from the problem of popular support, the M.A.C.s are also faced with operational difficulties. It is true that City District Offices do give them advice and financial assistance, but not every M.A.C. is provided with an office of its own in its building. Without a room of its own, committee activities, particularly night-watches, sometimes cannot be smoothly carried out. Several respondents confessed that they were unwilling to join the night-watch team in winter because they had to stay out in the cold open corridor all night.

So much for the sources of news about community activities and occurrences. Now let's examine the sources from which residents learn of government decisions concerning their communities. When asked how they came to know government decisions affecting their communities, the respondents gave the following answers:

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1. from community newspaper | 7.5% |
| 2. from community newspapers and
other sources | 3% |
| 3. from sources other than community
newspapers | 77% |
| 4. don't care | 12.5% |

The 'other sources' in the above table can be further broken down as follows:

1. Notices posted or mailed	57.5%
2. Mass media	46.25%
a) Dailies	35%
b) TV	8.13%
c) Radio	3.12%
3. Inter-personal communication	4.38%
4. M.A.C.	1.25%
5. Other	0.63%

(Total percentage exceeds 100% because multiple answers are allowed.)

This shows that people rely heavily on sources other than the community newspaper for news about government decisions concerning their communities. The notice-board is still the centre of attention. It is a little surprising, however, to find that the dailies are also depended upon more than community newspapers as far as learning government decisions are concerned. In the analysis of community newspaper contents, it has been shown that a large proportion of the news in that medium concerns the government, making communications in it mainly one-way, from the top down. Now the survey statistics tell us that the people prefer dailies even for the very materials on which the community newspaper is concentrating. Has this concentration actually repelled readers? This is an interesting question that can only be answered by another more indepth readership survey.

Inter-personal communication as a means of learning government decisions about one's community ranks low, even lower than its position in the list of news sources about community activities and occurrences. The reasons perhaps are: First, nighbourly interaction is not frequent in housing estates. Second, even when people interact and communicate with one an-

other, it is more probable that they talk about more casual subjects than government.

Of the 172 respondents who claimed to have read a community newspaper, 164 (95.35%) said they also read at least one daily paper. Of the 28 who have never read a community newspaper, only 8 (28.5%) are daily newspaper readers. The positive relationship between community newspaper reading and daily newspaper reading is illustrated in TABLE 10.

TABLE 10
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READING
AND DAILY NEWSPAER READING

Community Newspaper	Daily Newspaper		total
	reader	non-reader	
reader	164	8	172
non-reader	8	20	28
Total	172	28	(200)

The Chi-Square is 128.74, significant at the 0.001 level. In other words, whoever reads a community newspaper is almost without exception a daily paper reader as well. However, heavy daily newspaper readers may not necessarily be heavy community newspaper readers (a heavy reader of the community newspaper is defined as one who obtains 12 points or more for his Reading Score), although there is a tendency to be so, as can be demonstrated in TABLE 11.

TABLE 11
DAILY NEWSPAPER READING AND COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER
READING (BY DEGREE OF USAGE)

Daily Newspaper Reading	Community Newspaper Reading		
	heavy reader	light reader	total
everyday	76	43	119
almost everyday	8	10	18
occasionally	13	14	27
	Total	97	67 (200)

(Chi-Square is 4.07, not significant at 0.05 level)

Almost half of the community newspaper readers said they read every issue of the publication (49.42%), 19.77% read almost every issue, and 30.81% read it only occasionally. The first two figures may be inflated because some respondents evidently had no idea of how frequently their community newspapers came out. Only 26.16% of all respondents are able to tell the correct day of the week (or of the month) on which their community newspapers are published. While 32.5% can tell the correct frequency of publication (e.g. once a week, once every two week, etc.) , 41.28% either confess they do not know or give totally incorrect guesses. It becomes clear that the community newspaper is still not intimate to their readers as it should be.

Most of the readers (42.2%) spent less than ten minutes on a copy of their community newspaper, 37.21% spent 10-20 minutes on it, and 20.35% spent over 20 minutes. The little

amount of time spent on the medium may be due to two reasons: 1) there are not many pages in a copy of community newspaper. The four-page format is most common. The Shatin Star is the thickest paper included in this study. It usually carries twelve pages, and printed twenty-four pages in the December 1978 issue. 2) The contents in the papers do not interest readers.

Most of the respondents said they were interested mostly in the news of the community newspaper (87.8%), 9.88% said they liked the special interest materials best, and only 2.32% said advertising was the centre of their attention. But according to our content analysis, the community newspaper contains mostly advertising, the kind of contents that readers like least. The large number of authority-oriented stories is not likely to encourage reading either. Therefore, in order to improve readability, not only should the news section of the papers be expanded, but the whole emphasis of the news stories should also be shifted onto the residents themselves.

As for the effectiveness of advertising in the community newspapers, the following figures may serve to give a rough idea: 77.33% of the respondents said they read advertisements in the community newspapers. However, only 13.53% of them did so regularly, while 86.47% looked at the ads occasionally. It is found that 45.86% of the ad readers read community newspaper ads for no special purpose or just to kill time, 23.31% looked at these ads for shopping guides, 12.78% use them to find an employer or employee, and 11.28% read them to find help in repairs.

Judging from the reading habits outlined above, the community newspaper still has a long way to go before it can hope to become a part of life of estate residents. Another supportive evidence of this fact can be found in answers to the question asking respondents to name some persons or organizations of their community that they think are playing leadership roles. Only 2 out of a total 200 respondents mentioned the community newspaper! (See Appendix D for a list of community leaders mentioned by the respondents.)

Hypothesis Testing

As suggested by communication researchers like Klapper, the effect of mass media is far from that postulated in the bullet theory. The use and effectiveness of mass media is considered a function of the predisposition of the user. In the case of the community newspaper, it is reasonable then to expect that those who are concerned about their own communities and are active participants of community activities should be more intensive readers than those who are not. Thus, it is hypothesized that : Community newspaper reading is positively related to community participation.

Respondents were divided according to their Participation Scores into three levels: those obtaining 11 points or more for their Participation Score are classified as High Participants, those obtaining 6 to 10 points as Medium Participants, and those getting 5 points or less as Low Participants. (TABLE 12 shows the frequency distribution of the Participation Scores.) The Reading Scores at the three levels of participation are analyzed by employing the Simple One-Way Analysis of Variance method. TABLE 13 sums up the results of the analysis.

TABLE 12
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPATION SCORES

Participation Score	Frequency
0	9
1	13
2	2
3	26
4	37
5	17
6	8
7	29
8	15
9	13
10	14
11	7
12	3
13	1
14	1
15	1
16	1
17	0
18	0
19	1
20	2
<hr/>	
Total:	200

TABLE 13
ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE RESULTS

Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F
Between Groups	2	499.42	249.71	8.89
Within Groups	197	5534.16	28.09	
Total	199	6033.58		

The F ratio is found to be 8.89, showing that the difference in Reading Scores between the three levels of participation are statistically significant ($F_{2,197}$ at 0.001 level is 6.91).

The average Reading Scores of the High, Medium and Low participation groups are 13.35, 12.33, and 9.39 respectively. This means that the more active a person is within his community, the more intensive his community newspaper reading will be. The unconcerned elements will read little of the community newspaper and the chance of their being affected by it will be correspondingly small. The hypothesis that community newspaper reading is positively related to community participation is therefore confirmed.

Although the causal direction cannot be determined unless a longitudinal study is available, it seems more plausible to consider participation as the independent variable while newspaper reading the dependent variable for two main reasons: Firstly, the fact that psychological predisposition affects the use of mass media is well documented. Secondly, findings of our readership survey show that the community newspaper in Hong Kong is still an unfamiliar and unpopularized medium. Therefore, it is unlikely that community

participation is the result of community newspaper reading.

In order to make sure that the relationship between participation and community newspaper reading is not a spurious one, control factors are introduced to see if the relationship will disappear.

Place of Work as Test Factor

It is reasoned that if a person spends most of the time each day within his community, it is likely that he will be more oriented to this community. Such orientation in turn may make him a more intensive reader of the community newspaper than people who are not so disposed. And since whether one works outside or inside a community determines to a large extent the amount of time one will spend within its boundary, the factor of 'place of work' is therefore selected as a control factor to test the bi-variant relationship between participation and community newspaper reading. TABLE 14 shows that the relationship of 'high participation, high Reading Score' remains when place of work is introduced :

TABLE 14
 FREQUENCIES SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READING
 (BY PLACE OF WORK)

Community Participation	Out-Worker Community Newspaper Reading			In-Worker		
	heavy	light	total	heavy	light	total
High	40	25	(65)	21	10	(31)
Low	22	37	(59)	16	29	(45)
Total	62	62	(124)	37	39	(76)

The Chi-Square is 7.27 for the Out-Worker group and 7.6 for the In-Worker group. Both are significant at the 0.01 level. This means that the relationship between participation and community newspaper reading is a strong one and is not affected by place of work.

Length of Residence as Test Factor

In his survey of Chicago readers, Janowitz found that "a longer period of residence, either in the community or in the individual's present house, significantly increases readership. Among the group of community leaders community residential stability acts in the same manner but to an even greater degree. In fact, a startling pattern of local stability of residence is presented by these community leaders."² Angela Kan's study of neighbourliness within public housing estates in Hong Kong also reveals that the length of residence is a factor affecting neighbourly interaction. The longer one stays in a neighbourhood, the wider the range of interaction with other residents becomes.³ If the amount of neighbourly interaction and community newspaper reading are both indicators of a sense of belonging, one would expect a positive correlation to exist between length of residence and community newspaper reading. Therefore, length of residence is selected as another factor to test the relationship between participation and community newspaper reading. Results show that the "high participation, heavy reading" relationship remains throughout the three groups of respondents of various lengths of residence. (See TABLE 15).

Chi-Squares for the '8 years and over', '4-7 years' and '3 years and below' groups are 1.96, 2.407 and 8.52 respectively. Only the last group is significant at the 0.05 level ($\alpha < 0.05 = 3.841$). Relationship between participation and reading is certainly undisturbed in that group. But for the first two groups, the relationship as reflected by the frequency distribution can merely be due to chance.

TABLE 15
 FREQUENCIES SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READING
 (BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE)

Community Participation	Length of Residence								
	8 years & over			4-7 years			3 years & below		
	heavy	light	total	heavy	light	total	heavy	light	total
High	28	18	(46)	20	8	(28)	13	8	(21)
Low	7	10	(17)	23	30	(53)	8	27	(35)
Total	35	28	(63)	43	38	(81)	21	35	(56)

Sex as Test Factor

It is suspected that sex may also affect community newspaper reading. Both Schramm and Janowitz had found that women are more intensive community newspaper readers than men. Janowitz believes that the tasks assigned to the woman, particularly as a purchaser, will orient her more to the local community.⁴ When sex is introduced, the relationship between participation and reading remains. (See TABLE 16).

TABLE 16
 FREQUENCIES SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READING
 (BY SEX)

Community Participation	Community Newspaper Reading					
	Male			Femal		
	heavy	light	total	heavy	light	total
High	31	25	(56)	30	10	(40)
Low	22	30	(52)	16	36	(52)
Total	53	55	(108)	46	46	(92)

The table shows that the 'high participation, heavy reading' relationship is observable in both the male and female groups. However, Chi-Square for the male segment is 1.833 while that for female is 17.69. The former is non-significant at 0.05 level, but the latter is significant even at 0.001 level ($\alpha < 0.001 = 10.827$), meaning that the relationship is especially strong among women readers.

Age as Test Factor

Age as an independent variable shows no straight line association with community newspaper reading. Reading seems to increase with age until a peak is reached in middle life. From then on, readership declines. (See TABLE 17).

TABLE 17
AGE AND COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READING

Age	Community Newspaper Reading		
	heavy	light	total
25 and under	15	14	(29)
26-40	50	37	(87)
41 and above	34	50	(84)
Total	99	101	(200)

But the difference in reading due to age alone is not statistically significant. (Chi-Square is 5.005, $\alpha < 0.05 = 5.991$).

When age is brought in as a controlling factor, the 'high participation, heavy reading' relation remains undisturbed only in the younger sector of the sample (TABLE 18). In the older sector, readership of the community newspaper is generally low irrespective of the degree of participation. However, the Chi-Square for this segment of the sample is only

an insignificant 0.15 ($\approx 0.05=3.841$) in comparison to 17.31 (which is significant at 0.001 level) of the young segment. This means that among the 41 and above age group, community newspaper reading and participation are unrelated.

TABLE 18
 FREQUENCIES SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READING
 (BY AGE)

Community Participation	40 and under			41 and above		
	heavy	light	total	heavy	light	total
High	48	18	(66)	13	17	(30)
Low	17	33	(50)	21	33	(54)
Total	65	51	(116)	34	50	(84)

What we have established by now is that enthusiastic readers of community newspapers are those who are already active in community functions. To inactive members, the community newspaper is something of very little interest. But what is the net result of this phenomenon in terms of community knowledge? To answer this question, we have to find out what effect community newspaper reading has on one's knowledge about the community. It seems logical that the more one reads, the more one learns. Therefore, a second hypothesis is set up as follows to be tested: Community newspaper reading contributes to one's knowledge about the community.

TABLE 19
 COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READING
 AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ONE'S COMMUNITY

Community Newspaper Reading	Knowledge about the Community		
	high	low	total
Heavy	71	28	(99)
Light	32	69	(101)
	103	97	(200)

The Chi-Square Test is used. Respondents obtaining 9 points or more for their Knowledge Score are grouped under the High Knowledge category, while those getting 8 points or less are grouped under Low Knowledge. From TABLE 19, it is obvious that reading and knowledge are positively related. In fact, the Chi-Square is a highly significant 32.08. ($\chi^2 0.001=10.827$). The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

As has been shown earlier, heavy readers of the community newspaper are active participants of community functions. Now we know that these active members are also learning more about their community from community newspapers than their unconcerned fellows. In this case, it seems that the medium is unable to close the knowledge gap between the active and inactive segments of a community. When the more active elements become more knowledgeable, the distinction between the concerned and the indifferent segments of a community will be widened. For this reason, the community newspaper cannot be deemed as an effective mechanism of community integration.

Chapter Five

THE FUTURE OF HONG KONG COMMUNITY

NEWSPAPERS——A DISCUSSION

Publishers seem optimistic that the community newspaper will be here to stay and prosper. The Star Group declares that it is planning to start fifteen more community newspapers within 1979. (But the first of these remains to be seen.) The Sing Tao Group, though less ambitious, also reveals that it is preparing to set up a new community newspaper for the Hung Hum district.

The relatively low cost for publishing a community newspaper and the fact that a few of these papers are already making a profit may have encouraged this attitude. For instance, the Mei Sun News of the Sing Tao chain of community newspapers is now running at a profit. Whenever an issue of the Mei Sun News comes out, the publisher earns about three thousand dollars. The paper's advertising income is estimated in the following manner:

Total printed space for	
one copy of <u>Mei Sun News</u> (8 pages).....	917 col. in.
Advertising space (77.63% of total	
printed space. Refer TABLE 2).....	712 col. in.
Space devoted to classifieds	
(2/5 of advertising space).....	285 col. in.
Space devoted to display ads	
(3/5 of advertising space).....	427 col. in.
Income from classifieds	
at HK\$7.00 per item (equivalent to	
0.625 column inch).....	HK\$3,192.00
Income from display ads	
at HK\$14.00 per column inch.....	HK\$5,978.00
Total advertising income.....	HK\$9,170.00

Meanwhile, production cost of 14,000 copies (present circulation) of the eight-page tabloid is estimated at HK\$3,200. This is

the average price asked for by commercial printers in the market. It includes costs of the newsprint, type-setting, as well as printing.

As the five community newspapers of the Sing Tao chain share a common staff constituting one chief editor, three assistant editors, five reporters and two advertising salesmen, the staff maintenance cost for each paper is fairly low. If each member of the staff is paid an average salary of HK\$1,500 per month, the staff salary for one newspaper becomes:

$$\text{HK\$1,500} \times 11 \times 1/5 = \text{HK\$3,300}$$

Should we calculate the net profit as advertising income less production cost and staff salary, then the earning of publishing one issue of the Mei Sun News comes to:

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{HK\$9,170} - \$3,200 - \$3,300 \\ &= \text{HK\$2,670} \end{aligned}$$

The real profit may be even greater since Sing Tao has its own printing facilities. It is publishing no fewer than four dailies besides the five community newspapers. As a chain product, the Mei Sun News should be much less expensive to produce than if it were a sole publication printed by commercial printers.

The Shatin Star should also be running at a profit. It carries no classified ads but charges a higher rate of HK\$20.00 per column inch for display ads. It has an even smaller staff than the Sing Tao Group as the Star Group employs only one editor who also works as a reporter to take charge of two community newspapers. Assuming that its staff salary is the same as the Mei Sun News, we can calculate its approximate profit as follows:

Total printed space for one	
copy of the <u>Shatin Star</u> (12 pages).....	1,496 col.in.
Space for display ads (42.24% of	
total printed space. Refer TABLE 2).....	632 col.in.
Income from display ads	
at HK\$20 per column inch.....	HK\$12,640.00

Production cost of 12,000 copies of the
 12-page tabloid at HK\$400 per page.....HK\$4,800.00
 Staff Salary.....HK\$3,300.00
 Estimated profit:
 HK\$12,640 - \$4,800 - \$3,300
 = HK\$4,540

As the Mei Fu Sun Chuen and the Shatin New Town are both expanding, publishers of the Mei Sun News and the Shatin Star may entertain the thought of reaping larger advertising incomes in the future.

However, the other four papers examined in this study are all money losers. The deficit is due to the scarcity of advertisers available at the moment and the low advertising rate. Choi Ping News, Southern District News, and Oi Man News are charging HK\$3.00 for a classified ad containing four large and thirty small characters (equivalent to 0.625 column inch). Their average rate for one column inch of display ad is only HK\$9.00. Each of the four papers puts aside about 40% of its printed space for advertising, but a loss of about two thousand dollars per issue seems inevitable because of lean advertising income.

The Tuen Mun News is the greatest loser with the lowest percentage of advertising (23.96% of the paper's printed space. Refer TABLE 2). There is practically no classified ads in the paper. It's deficit is estimated below:

Total printed space of one
 copy of Tuen Mun News (8 pages).....917 col. in.
 Advertising space (23.96% of total
 printed space).....220 col. in.
 Income from ads at HK\$9.00 per
 column inch (assuming all ads are display
 ads).....HK\$1,980.00
 Production cost of 10,000 copies of the
 eight-page tabloid at HK\$375 per page....HK\$3,000.00
 Staff salary.....HK\$3,300.00

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Deficit} &= \text{Production Cost} + \text{Staff Salary} - \text{Advertising Income} \\ &= \text{HK\$3,00} + \$3,300 - \$1,980 \\ &= \text{HK\$4,320}\end{aligned}$$

As the loss is rather substantial, the publisher has already decided to suspend publication of the Tuen Mun News from July 1979 onwards. The other three losers are maintained for the possible reasons that the losses are still not too severe, and that the publisher still cherishes the hope that the communities these three papers are now serving may eventually become as developed commercially as the Mei Fu Sun Chuen.

Current housing policy of the government may also have encouraged an optimistic view among community newspaper publishers. The Hong Kong Government has made known its intention to provide another 1.5 million citizens with public housing between 1977 and 1986.¹ This means that more housing estates will be built and many more new communities will spring up, offering potential bases for new community newspapers.

Meanwhile, publishers are also trying to include established residential areas into their service. One of the trends in local community newspaper development is to serve bigger communities with boundaries corresponding with administrative areas of City District Offices or District Offices. The Southern District News (formerly known as Wah Fu News) and the five papers published by the Star Group, i.e., the Shatin Star, the Kwun Tong Star, the Yuen Long Star, the Eastern District Star, and the Tsuen Wan Star, are all addressing themselves to citizens residing within administrative areas of City District or District Offices. Under the existing system, Hong Kong Island and Kowloon are divided into ten such areas, and the New Territories into seven.² Even if only one community newspaper will be provided for each district,

there will be considerable scope for publishers to expand their business. Needless to say, an extended community will mean better resources for a community paper in terms of both advertising and news. It may even be resourceful enough to maintain more than one community papers at the same time. In a word, bases for new community papers will not be lacking in the coming five years at least.

However, the future of local community newspapers does not seem to lie in the availability of more bases. From our survey results, it can be seen that the main problem lies in the fact that these papers are not intensively read. We have tried to account for this lack of interest chiefly by the psychological factor—the absence of a sense of identity on the part of community members. As a means to generate a sense of belonging among people without this quality, the community newspaper is not an effective medium.

Somehow efforts must be made to start people reading if the community newspaper is to be of any value at all. The Star Group's trying to use local schools as distribution outlets is one such effort. With the cooperation of schools, it is hoped that the paper may establish itself among students and spread its influence from there. (There is even a special page in the Shatin Star for students who are encouraged to contribute articles to the paper.) The Shatin Star has also tried tactics like sponsoring lucky draws in order to stimulate interest. Comparatively speaking, the Star Group is the more aggressive of the two publishers of commercial community newspapers here.

To start people reading is one thing, but to hold their interest is another. The present performance of local community newspapers as reflected in their contents does not

seem capable of encouraging sustained interest in the paper. Local residents' need to know their communities is not fully satisfied because the paper fails to present a complete picture of the community to them. Certain aspects of community life, including that of social life, are not adequately portrayed. Rather than being "the great wide window through which readers look out into their community and into the lives of their friends and acquaintance,"³ our community papers are more like show windows with official items on display.

Readers' hope to obtain guidance from community papers is also disappointed as there is a lack of independent opinions in the medium.

The news stories' authority orientation is unlikely to encourage readership either. If it is to keep the interest of its readers, the community newspaper should try to see things more often with the eyes of the people. News should be interpreted with the benefits and welfare of community members always in mind. Only by putting the interest of readers first can it hope to gain sustained attention from the people. Should the present practice of supporting the authorities, pushing the people to the background, and putting much value on an image of harmony and cooperation of the community, the paper will only remain a tool of social control instead of a means of social change. It may be welcomed by the government, but will be shunned by community members for whom it is intended.

As revealed by our readership survey, only two of the two hundred respondents perceived a leadership function in the community newspaper. Evidently, much has to be done for the community newspaper to become the voice of its community. But it is doubtful whether community papers will take up this role and choose to lead the people in their demand for im-

provements in the quality of their lives, since to do so will inevitably mean discarding harmony as the supreme value and becoming the adversary of the government.

In Chapter Two, the government's idea of community development as a process leading to pragmatic goals by its own initiative has been made clear. Recent developments in social welfare services show that the government is trying to gain even greater control over this process. In 1976, the term "community building" was introduced in the social work field to replace the original term of "community development". The objectives of community building are:

- a. to promote a sense of social responsibility and cohesion within the community and to encourage public participation in solving community problems and improving the quality of life;
- b. to help establish and maintain regular contacts between the Government and the people at all levels;
- c. to arouse public awareness of and responsible interest in Government policies and community affairs; and
- d. to assist and encourage young people to become mature and responsible members of society by fostering the development of their personality, character, sense of civic responsibility, social aptitudes, and ability to use their leisure time beneficially.⁴

These objectives are basically the same as those of community development. (Refer p. 15 for aims of the community development approach of practising social work.) The fact that community building and community development are names for the same thing can be further illustrated by the 1977 Review of the Five Year Plan for Social Welfare

Development in Hong Kong. In that report, chapters previously dealing with community development and youth services are combined to become one chapter entitled "Community Building".

But then what is the point of introducing a new term if an existing one denotes practically the same thing? The answer is in the implementation of the new community building policy. Now, works relating to community building are purely the responsibilities of six government departments: the City District Office, the District Office (for the New Territories), the Social Welfare Department, the Urban Services Department, the Royal Hong Kong Police, and the Education Department. The directors of the six departments form the Policy Committee, whose decisions are carried into effect by the Community Building Co-ordinating Committee composed of officers from the same government departments. Cooperation of voluntary organizations are only solicited for the execution of plans reached by the government bodies.⁵ By now, it should become apparent that the introduction of the concept of community building actually serves no more than to provide the excuse for a re-allocation of power among government and voluntary organizations. As a result, voluntary organizations are excluded from the decision making process and from the planning of community development programmes. The new game of community building compels the voluntary organizations to learn new rules and to play the game under greater government supervision. Voluntary organizations can obtain government funds only if they are going the same way as the authorities. Restricted by the community building policy, they can only provide limited community development services to the public.

Under the same policy, a community newspaper that puts genuine efforts in stimulating the initiative of

community members for the satisfaction of community's own needs is not likely to meet government approval.

Another factor that stands in a community newspaper's way in promoting community interest is again that of economic consideration. As pointed out earlier, a major trend in local community newspaper development is to enlarge the geographical area a paper is going to serve. This development can be explained by economic reasons. With a small community, the basis of support in terms of available advertising is limited. With an extended community, it will be able to attract more advertisers.

But at the same time, a bigger community comprising mainly people living in private apartment buildings is less homogeneous and less predictable. And in some cases, a City District Office district can be further broken down into sub-areas that are quite different in character, e.g., Happy Valley is considered by most as an affluent, upper class residential area, while Wan Chai proper is mainly the home of middle to lower-middle class people. But both of these two areas are under the administration of the Wan Chai City District Office. It is very probable that a story that aims at Happy Valley readers may not be interesting to a Wan Chai reader. Therefore, with the enlargement of its service area, the community newspaper is making itself more similar to the serve-all city-wide dailies. Its news coverage will have to become more general in order to appeal to all sub-areas within its community. News interpretation will become more difficult as the task has to be performed with a specific audience in mind. If editors of small community papers are printing little independent editorials, they will be further discouraged from printing them when the community is expanded and the diversion of readers will make it even harder to please everyone. These developments mean two things: First, the community paper will have a more difficult job as community

integrator, as common goals will be scantier in diversified communities than in homogeneous ones. Second, its opinion leadership function, if not significant at present, may be even less when the community it serves is expanded.

The community newspaper is then faced with a dilemma: to survive (both economically and politically) or to exercise its potential influence in the process of community development? To be financially self-sufficient is already a problem. A small community comprising one or two housing estates is restrictive in terms of advertising revenue and news source. However, to broaden its basis of support by enlarging the geographical area of its service will have to be accompanied by a generalization of appeal, which reduces a community newspaper's intimacy and relevance to its readers. Furthermore, 100% accessibility in a big community is impossible without paid delivery which will be expensive if feasible at all. The absolute number of readers reached by the paper may increase after the expansion, but the percentage will in fact be lowered. That is to say, the actual impact of the paper within its community will be diluted.

Conceding that publishers of local community newspapers have decided to run their papers not for profit but purely as a service to society, the nature of the Hong Kong Government may prevent it from taking up a very active role in the process of community development. The essence of the concept of community development is in the initiative on the part of the people. It is basically contradictory to the government policy of direct supervision. To be an advocator of community actions will mean challenging the authorities. And to give indiscriminating support to the

government is to lead a lukewarm existence. The question remains:
"To survive or to serve?" Before publishers can make up their
minds on this vital and difficult question, any talk about im-
provement of the community newspaper will be meaningless.

APPENDIX A

CONTENT CATEGORIES FOR NEWS ITEMS

For the present analysis, news items included factual reports on the occurrence of events (past or future), features on current issues, editorials, letters to the editor, news pictures with short captions, and announcements.

Each item was analyzed in terms of the following dimensions:

- a. Subject category
- b. Length (in column inches)
- c. Main actor or agency
- d. Type of item
- e. Theme
- f. Scope

Subject Category

1. Administration and Management
2. Maintenance of Order
3. Crime, Accident and Disaster
4. Health and Sanitation
5. Transportation
6. Education
7. Culture and Recreation
8. Sports
9. Public Utilities and Construction
10. Public services not elsewhere mentioned
11. Personal contribution and achievement
12. Society (e.g. weddings, welcome parties etc.)
13. Voluntary service
14. Commerce and Industry
15. Religion
16. Other

Main Actor or Agency

1. Government department or official
2. Estate Management Office or its staff
3. Mutual Aid Committee or District Committee
4. Commercial, Industrial Personage or Organization
5. School Group
6. Church and Affiliated Groups
7. Voluntary Organization
8. Local Resident
9. Other
10. Not Applicable

Type of Item

1. Factual report
2. Feature
3. Editorial
4. Letters to the Editor
5. News Picture
6. Announcement
7. Other

Theme

1. Service, activity maintained, expanded, is expanding or to be expanded.
2. Service, activity contracted, is contracting, or to be contracted.
3. Invite attention, participation or cooperation.
4. Appreciation or support of local personages, activities or services.
5. Dissatisfaction with local personages, activities or services.
6. Conflict (reporting opposite actions, positions or statements of at least two persons or parties).
7. Resolution of conflict.
8. Harmony and cooperation.
9. Routine report (no theme involved).
10. Other

Scope

Scope was defined as the geographical area designated in a news item:

1. Local community only
2. Local community and other parts of the city
3. Other parts of the city only
4. International
5. Other

Appendix B

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. MICHAEL STEVENSON

I interviewed Mr. Michael Stevenson at his office on 7/3/1979. Mr. Stevenson was the first Chief Editor of the Sing Tao chain of community newspapers. He is now heading his own public relations firm, The Michael Stevenson Company, located in Central. The following is a record of some of the things talked about that day:

Q. I understand that it was your idea that gave birth to the first community newspaper in Hong Kong. Can you tell us how you came upon that idea?

A. I'll tell you what happened and let you decide for yourself whether it is my idea (that led to the first community newspaper in Hong Kong) or not. It was in August 1971, Miss Sally Aw, Mr. Murdoch (who has built a huge newspaper empire in Australia) and I were having dinner together. During the dinner, Mr. Murdoch told us that the most profitable of his newspapers were not regular dailies but regional weeklies carrying a lot of advertisements. He calls these weeklies 'shoppers'. "Why don't you try the same thing here?" he said. "I am thinking about the same thing too," I replied. Sally was interested. The next day, she said to me, "Let's do it!"

Q. You chose housing estates to publish the first community newspapers. What are the reasons for this?

A. Now, the community newspaper is a business. We wanted to attract advertisement to the papers. In order to compete with regular dailies, we must convince our advertisers that our readers are identifiable, describable and highly homogeneous. There will be guaranteed markets for their products and no wastage for their ads. Only in housing estates can you find such readers. Incomes of residents there are known. They

are homogeneous in social-economic terms. We can even persuade our advertisers that our readers are high-spending because in the estates rents are low and fixed, so the disposable income of the residents are high. We also decided to tell the advertisers that our papers have 100% accessibility in their respective geographical areas. Therefore, we have to distribute the papers free to every apartment.

We chose Wah Fu as the estate to publish our first community newspaper because it is more or less isolated. It has no natural affiliation with the outside. It is therefore easier also to create a community spirit there.

Q. Can you say something about the contents of your community newspapers?

A. I don't want to talk about ideals. I think there will be no ideals if the thing doesn't work. We printed very low-key news. We told people where and when new shops were opened, for instance. I think we have too much politics, too much sports and crimes already in the regular dailies. But don't you think that advertisements are not helpful to the local residents. They read them and used them as guides. We also conveyed people's opinions to the authorities.

Q. How were the community newspapers received?

A. It was very well received, I think. For example, in Wah Fu Estate, we marked each copy of newspaper given out with a serial number. We told the people there to keep their copies because the numbers would be used in a lucky draw. Then members of our staff went down to the Estate one day with a box of ping-pong balls with numbers on them. We stopped passers-by in the streets and asked them to draw a number for us. Pictures of the event were taken and appeared in the next issue of the paper together with a news story. We asked the readers to keep an open eye for the coming

issue because the lucky draw results would then be published. The idea of all this is to encourage people to keep and read the papers distributed to them. If a person reads the first issue marked with a serial number and is interested in the lucky draw, he will read the second issue with the picture and story describing the drawing of the lucky number. He will also look for the third issue for the lucky draw results. Things will be kept rolling in this manner. The people of Wah Fu responded enthusiastically. We also sponsored sports activities for the residents. At that time, there were no mutual aid committees. As Wah Fu is isolated in location, the people there had no place to go and little to do after work. Once we spotted an empty hall left unused and staged a food product show teaching people how to cook. The show was a success. The hall was crowded with people.

Members of our staff were very enthusiastic at their work too. Our editors and reporters were young college graduates. The community newspapers provided the necessary practical training that they needed to become a city reporter. In other countries, a new reporter is seldom asked to cover city-wide news. He usually starts by covering a small community. I think that is a good and sound practice. The community newspapers provide a good opportunity for young people to start a journalistic career.

- Q. Did you have any difficulties in publishing the community newspapers?
- A. Our difficulties were mostly financial. Inexperience was a problem at the start, but it was quickly overcome.
- Q. Did you obtain any assistance from the Government?
- A. The Housing Authority welcomed the idea of a community newspaper in their estates. They helped by allowing us to dis-

tribute the paper to every apartment. I am not sure if they have the legal right to stop people slipping printed materials through apartment doors. But I don't want to argue with them. I want to be friendly.

- Q. There are more and more community newspapers being published. The tendency is for new community newspapers to extend their area of circulation to beyond just one or two housing estates. What do you think about this development?
- A. To me, the major advantage of a community newspaper is that it serves a small geographical area with a known and homogeneous audience. The whole point will be missed if wide, diversified areas are included in its service.

Appendix C

QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE CALCULATION OF
THE READING, PARTICIPATION AND KNOWLEDGE SCORES

Questionnaire (Telephone interview conducted in Cantonese)

This is the Communications Research Centre of the Chinese University. My name is _____. Our Centre is now conducting a survey to find out what are people's newspaper reading habits like. We shall appreciate it if you will help us by answering a few questions.

1. For how many years have you been living in this estate?
_____.
2. Usually how do you come to know of activities and happenings within the estate?
_____.
3. How do you come to know of government decisions related to your estate? _____.
4. Have you ever read (name of community newspaper) ?
a. Yes _____ b. No _____ (Skip to Q.11)
5. Do you know when is an issue of the newspaper published?
_____.
6. How often do you read the newspaper?
 - a. Every issue
 - b. Almost every issue
 - c. Occasionally
7. On the average, how much time do you spend on reading a copy of the newspaper?
 - a. Over 20 minutes
 - b. 10 -- 20 minutes
 - c. Less than 10 minutes

8. When you read (name of community newspaper), you spend most of the time on news, advertising or special interest materials?
- News
 - Advertising (Skip to Q.10)
 - Special interest materials
9. Have you ever read the advertising in the paper?
- Yes
 - No (Skip to Q.12)
10. Do you read the advertisements regularly or just occasionally?
- Regularly
 - Occasionally
11. Why are you interested in the advertisements?
-
12. Do you read daily newspapers?
- Yes
 - No (Skip to Q.14)
13. Do you read a newspaper everyday, almost everyday or just occasionally?
- Everyday
 - Almost everyday
 - Occasionally
14. Recreational and sports activities are often held within the estate. Have you ever taken part in them?
- Yes
 - No (Skip to Q.16)
15. How often do you take part in these activities?
- Every time an activity is held
 - Most of the time
 - Occasionally

16. Have you joined any of the organizations within the estate?
(For example, the M.A.C., night-watch team, ball games team, women's group, youth centre, libraries, etc.)
- a. Yes
 - b. No (Skip to Q.18)
17. Please say the names of the organizations you have joined.
- _____.
18. How many households in this estate are you familiar with?
I mean familiar to the extent that you may pay them home visits.
- _____.
- (If "None", skip to Q.21)
19. In the past month, did you have gatherings with these familiar friends?
- a. Yes
 - b. No (Skip to Q.21)
20. How many times did you have gatherings in the past month?
- _____.
21. If you have any opinions or complaints regarding the estate, where will you go in order to make known your opinion or complaint?
- _____.
22. Are there any people or organizations in the estate that you think are playing leadership roles? Please name them.
- _____.
23. Do you know the name of the M.A.C.chairman of your building?
(In the case of Mei Fu News readers, the question becomes:
Do you know the name of the chairman of the Kai Fong Welfare Association?)
- _____.

24. Can you recognize him if you meet him?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

Serial No.: _____

Sex: _____

Age: a) 25 and under

b) 26-40

c) 41 and above

Estate: _____

Tel: _____

Calculation of the Reading Score

Points given to questions 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10 add up to form the Reading Score. The rating scheme is as follows:

Question 5

- a) correct day of publication 3 points
- b) correct frequency of publication 1 point
- c) other answers no point

Question 6

- a) every issue 5 points
- b) almost every issue 3 points
- c) occasionally 1 point

Question 7

- a) over 20 minutes 5 points
- b) 10-20 minutes 3 points
- c) less than 10 minutes 1 point

Question 8

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| a) news | 5 points |
| b) advertising | 3 points |
| c) special interest materials | 1 point |

Question 10

- | | |
|-----------------|----------|
| a) regularly | 3 points |
| b) occasionally | 1 point |

Calculation of Participation Score

Points given to questions 15, 17, 18, 20 and 21 add up to form the Participation Score. The rating scheme is as follows:

Question 15

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| a) every time an activity is held | 5 points |
| b) most of time | 3 points |
| c) occasionally | 1 point |

Question 17

Three points will be given to each name mentioned by the respondent.

Question 18

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| a) 21 households or more | 5 points |
| b) 11-20 households | 3 points |
| c) 1-10 households | 1 point |

Question 20

- | | |
|---------------------|----------|
| a) 11 times or more | 5 points |
| b) 6-10 times | 3 points |
| c) 1-5 times | 1 point |

Question 21

Three points will be given to each name mentioned by the respondent. No points for answers like "No idea", "Have nothing to complain", or "I am not going to complain because it's useless."

Calculation of the Knowledge Score

Points given to questions 2, 3, 22, 23 and 24 add up to form the Knowledge Score. The rating scheme is as follows:

Questions 2 and 3

Three points will be given to each means mentioned by the respondent.

Question 22

Three points will be given to each name mentioned by the respondent.

Question 23

- | | |
|-----------------|----------|
| a) full name | 3 points |
| b) surname only | 1 point |
| c) don't know | no point |

Question 24

- | | |
|--------|----------|
| a) Yes | 3 points |
| b) No | no point |

Appendix D

RESPONSES TO QUESTION NO. 22

ASKING RESPONDENTS TO NAME COMMUNITY LEADERS

1. "Don't know" or "No leader"	61%
2. Mutual Aid Committee	24.5
3. Youth Centre, Town Centre	11.5
4. Estate Management Office	11
5. Police	4.5
6. Kaifong Welfare Association	4
7. City District Office	3
8. Night-watch Team	1.5
9. Business Association	1.5
10. Community Newspaper	1
11. Landlord and Tenant Association	1
12. Social Welfare Department	1
13. Library	1
14. Other	1

(Total percentage exceeds 100% as multiple answers are allowed.)

NOTES

Chapter One INTRODUCTION

1. The Wah Fu News, first published in July 1972, is the first community newspaper published in Hong Kong. It was renamed Southern District News in February 1975, aiming to serve not only the Wah Fu Estate but also other public housing estates in the southern part of Hong Kong Island.

2. John C. Sim, The Grassroots Press: America's Community Newspaper (Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1969), pp.22-29.

3. Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press, 1951).

4. Clarice N. Olien, George A. Donhue and Philip J. Tichenor, "The Community Editor's Power and the Reporting of Conflict," Journalism Quarterly (Summer 1968), pp.243-252.

5. Gerald C. Stone and Patrick Mazza, "Impact of Consensus Theory on Community Newspaper Organization," Journalism Quarterly (Summer 1977), pp.313-319.

6. Bradley S. Greenberg, "Community Press as Perceived by its Editors and Readers," Journalism Quarterly (Summer 1964), pp.437-440.

7. Gerald C. Stone and Janet Morrison, "Contents as a Key to the Purpose of Community Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly (Autumn 1976), pp.494-498.

8. Ibid.

9. David L. Paletz, Peggy Reichert, and Barbara McIntyre, "How the Media Support Local Governmental Authority," Public Opinion Quarterly (Spring 1971), pp.80-93.
10. Wilbur Schramm and Merritt Ludwig, "The Weekly Newspaper and Its Readers," Journalism Quarterly (Summer 1951), pp.301-314.
11. See Item 81 in Taeyoul Hahn, comp., Mass Communication in Republic of Korea: an Annotated Bibliography, Asian Mass Communication Bibliography Series 8 (Singapore: Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 1977), p.22.
12. David I. Hitchcock Jr., Provincial Press and National Development in Malaysia and the Philippines (Singapore : Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 1973), pp.44-46.
13. See Item E48 in Emilinda V. de Jesus, comp., Mass Communication in the Philippines: an Annotated Bibliography, Asian Mass Communication Bibliography Series 4 (Singapore: Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 1976), p.58.
14. See, for example, Huang Sen-song, "Community Newspaper and Community Development," Journalism Magazine, vol.4, no.4, pp.90-95; Pan Jia-qing, "Characteristics and Functions of Provincial Newspapers," Journalism Magazine, vol.3, no.8, pp.24-30.
15. See, for example, Liu Yi-qiao, "Operation of Small Community Newspaper," Journalism Magazine, vol.5, no.2; Pan Jia-qing, "Design for Chinese Provincial Newspaper," Journalism Magazine, vol.3, no.9; Sung Yang-gao, "The Future of Small Size Newspapers," Journalism Magazine, vol. 1, no.1.

16. Choi Moon Tong, "The Present and Future of Hong Kong Community Newspapers as Reflected from the Mei Sun New," (Unpublshied research paper, Journalism and Communication Department, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1977).

17. Fung Kai Ming, "Hong Kong Community Newspapers," (Unpublished research paper, Journalism and Communication Department, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1978).

Chapter Two COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL
ENVIRONMENT

1. Sim, op. cit., p.88

2. Refer Thomas F, Barnhart, Weekly Newspaper Writing and Editing (New York : The Dryden Press, 1953); and Kenneth R. Berly, Community Journalism (New York : Chilton Co., 1961).

3. Sim, op. cit., p.52.

4. Ibid.

5. "Housing in Hong Kong," a Fact Sheet prepared by the Government Information Services of Hong Kong, 1978.

6. Lau Siu Kai, "Comments on the Social Infrastructure of the Shatin New Town," mimeograph.

7. See Angela Kan, A Study of Neighborly Interaction in Public Housing: The Case of Hong Kong (Hong Kong : Social Research Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974).

8. Ibid., p.76.

9. Seminar on the Social Implication of Housing Policy in Hong Kong, report prepared by Chu Hoi College and Shu Yan College, Hong Kong, 1973. pp.28-31.

10. See Choi Moon Tong, op. cit.

11. See Ferdinand Toennies, "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft," trans, by C.P. Loomis, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (New York : American Book, 1949).

12. Kinsley Davis, Human Society (New York : The MacMillan Co., 1949), pp.310-312.
13. Alex Inkels, What Is Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey : Prentice-Hall, 1964), p.68.
14. "Social Welfare in Hong Kong," a Fact Sheet prepared by the Government Information Services of Hong Kong, 1978.
15. Allan D. Edwards and Dorothy G. Jones, Community and Community Development (The Hague : Mouton, 1976), pp.139-140.
16. Peter Hodge, "Urban Community Development in Hong Kong," Community Development Resource Book 1973 (Hong Kong : Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 1973), p.97.
17. J.W. Sweetman, "Community Development in Hong Kong: Trends and Vision," Community Development Resource Book 1975-76 (Hong Kong : Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 1976), p.1.
18. Edward and Jones, op. cit., pp.149-156.

Chapter Three CONTENT OF HONG KONG COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER

1. Janowitz, op.cit., p.75.
2. Paletz, Reichert and McIntyre, op. cit., pp.81-82.
3. Ibid., pp.87-89.
4. Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p.11.
5. Warren Breed, "Mass Communication and Social-Cultural Integration," in People, Society, and Mass Communications, ed. by Dexter and White (New York : The Free Press, 1964), pp. 183-199.
6. Olien, Donohue and Tichenor, op. cit., pp.243-252.
7. Tuen Mun News, October 19, 1978, p.8.
8. Ibid.
9. Choi Ping News, November 29, 1978, p.1
10. Shatin Star, November 10, 1978, p.11.
11. Choi Ping News, December 12, 1978, p.1.
12. Sim, op. cit., p.104.

Chapter Four COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

1. Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication:
(New York : The Free Press, 1960), pp.19-26.
2. Janowitz, op. cit., pp.120-123.
3. See Angela Kan, op. cit.
4. See Schramm and Ludwig, op. cit., p.312; and Janowitz,
op.cit., p.119.

Chapter Five THE FUTURE OF HONG KONG COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER
 ————— A DISCUSSION

1. "Hong Kong Fact Sheet," a Fact Sheet prepared by the Government Information Services of Hong Kong, 1978.
2. "Hong Kong's City District Offices," a Fact Sheet prepared by the Government Information Services of Hong Kong, 1978.
3. Schramm and Ludwig, op. cit., p.314.
4. Social Welfare Department, The Five Year Plan for Social Welfare Development in Hong Kong—Review 1978, p.67.
5. So Man Yun, "The Role of Community Development Organizations in Community Building," Hong Kong Council of Social Service Quarterly (Winter 1978), p.27.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Breed, Warren. "Mass Communication and Socio-cultural Integration." People, Society and Mass Communications. Edited by Lewis Anthony Dexter and David Manning White. New York : The Free Press, 1964.
- Choi Moon Tong. "The Present and Future of Hong Kong Community Newspapers as Reflected from the Mei Sun News." Unpublished research paper, Journalism and Communications Department, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1977.
- Chu Hai College and Shu Yan College. Seminar on the Social Implication of Housing Policy in Hong Kong— Report. Hong Kong, 1973.
- Edelstein, Alex S., and Contris, Joseph J. "The Public View of the Weekly Newspaper's Leadership Role." Journalism Quarterly, Spring, 1966.
- Edelstein, Alex S., and Schulz, Blaine J. "The Weekly Newspaper's Leadership Role as Seen by Community Leaders." Journalism Quarterly, Fall, 1963.
- Edwards, Allan D., and Jones, Dorothy G. Community and Community Development. Hague: Mouton, 1976.
- Fung Kai Ming. "Hong Kong Community Newspapers." Unpublished reasearch paper, Journalism and Communications Department, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1978.
- Greenberg, Bradley S. "Community Press as Perceived by Its Editors and Readers." Journalism Quarterly, Summer, 1964.

- Hahn, Taeyoul, comp. Mass Communication in Republic of Korea: An Annotated Bibliography. Asian Mass Communication Bibliography Series 8. Singapore: Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 1977.
- Hitchcock, David I. Jr. Provincial Press and National Development in Malaysia and the Philippines. Singapore: Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 1973.
- Hodge, Peter. "Urban Community Development in Hong Kong." Community Development Resource Book. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 1973.
- Huang Sen-song. "Community Newspaper and Community Development." Journalism Magazine, vol.4, no.4.
- Janowitz, Morris. The Community Press in an Urban Setting. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- Jesus, Emilinda V. de, comp. Mass Communication in the Philippines: An Annotated Bibliography. Asian Mass Communication Bibliography Series 4. Singapore: Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 1976.
- Kan, Angela. A Study of Neighborly Interaction in Public Housing: The Case of Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Social Research Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974.
- Kennedy, Bruce M. Community Journalism. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974.

- King, Yeo-chi, and Chan, Y.K. A Theoretical and Operational Definition of Community: The Case of Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Social Research Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1972.
- Klapper, Joseph T. The Effects of Mass Communication. New York: The Free Press, 1960.
- Ko, Eva Li. "Community Development in a Colony: Facts or Fantasy." Community Development Resource Book. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 1974.
- Liu, Yi-qiao. "Operation of Small Community Newspaper." Journalism Magazine, vol.5, no.2, 1973. (In Chinese)
- Olien, Clarice N.; Donhue, George A.; and Tichenor, Philip J. "The Community Editor's Power and the Reporting of Conflict." Journalism Quarterly, Summer, 1968.
- Pan, Jia-qing. "Design for Chinese Provincial Newspaper." Journalism Magazine, vol.3, no.9, 1971. (In Chinese)
- Pan, Jia-qing. "Characteristics and Functions of Provincial Newspapers." Journalism Magazine, vol.3, no.8, 1971. (In Chinese)
- Paletz, David I.; Reichert, Peggy ; and McIntyre, Barbara. "How the Media Support Local Governmental Authority." Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1971.
- Schramm, Wilbur and Ludwig, Merritt. "The Weekly Newspaper and Its Readers." Journalism Quarterly, Summer, 1951.
- Sim, John C. The Grassroots Press: America's Community Newspaper. Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1969.

Sim, John Cameron. "Community Newspaper Leadership: More Real than Apparent?" Journalism Quarterly, Summer, 1967.

So, Man Yun. "The Role of Community Development Organizations in Community Building." Hong Kong Council of Social Service Quarterly, Winter, 1978.

Stone, Gerald C. and Morrison, Janet. "Contents as a Key to the Purpose of Community Newspapers." Journalism Quarterly, Autumn, 1976.

Sweetman, J.W. "Community Development in Hong Kong: Trends and Vision." Community Development Resource Book. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 1976.



000954996