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# Newshole, local news and advertising a pre and post monopoly study of the Winnipeg Free Press.

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NEWSHOLE, LOCAL NEWS AND ADVERTISING: A PEE AND POST  
MONOPOLY  
STUDY OF THE WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

by

Doris Ann Candussi

A thesis  
presented to the University of Windsor  
in fulfillment of the  
thesis requirement for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
in  
Communication Studies

Windsor, Ontario, 1985

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ABSTRACT

It is illustrated in this thesis that daily newspaper monopoly and concentration have increased over the last 50 years. It is difficult to determine the actual effects of monopoly and certainly the literature reflects this. While many critics have argued that monopoly is detrimental to the reader, others have stated that monopoly is a positive trend.

In 1980 the Winnipeg Tribune folded leaving Thomson Newspapers Ltd. with a monopoly paper in Winnipeg with its ownership of the Free Press.<sup>1</sup> In the current study the Winnipeg Free Press was used to test the possible effects of monopoly. A random sample was stratified according to the months of the year and days of the week. Twenty-four issues were coded; twelve in 1979 when the Free Press still had competition from the Tribune and, twelve in 1983 when the Tribune no longer existed. Overall, 4208 stories were coded.

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<sup>1</sup> The Winnipeg Free Press and the Winnipeg Tribune may be identified as the Free Press and Tribune respectively for the remainder of the paper. In addition, the Ottawa Citizen and the Ottawa Journal may be referred to as the Citizen and the Journal respectively.

Conclusions drawn from the data collected indicated that two of seven hypotheses were fully supported, one received partial support and four were not supported. The results suggested a smaller paper, less news and less advertising.

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Infine, vorrei ringraziare i miei genitori per avermi incoraggiata e tenuta su col morale, e con tanto amore mi avete seguita. Sono convinta che senza il vostro aiuto non sarei mai riuscita. E ringrazio te cara mamma, dopo una lunga giornata al Computer Centre mi facevi trovare il brodo caldo. E te caro papà per pulirmi la macchina di neve nei freddi giorni d'inverno. E vi ringrazio ancora le tante volte che avete cercato di capirmi. Con tanto amore...vostra figlia.

DEDICATION

To mom and dad...with love.

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I  
INTRODUCTION

Until August of 1980, the cities of Winnipeg, Manitoba and Ottawa, Ontario maintained competitive newspaper situations in that Southam Press United Ltd. and Thomson Newspapers Ltd. each owned a daily paper in both cities. The Southam-owned Winnipeg Tribune and the Thomson-owned Ottawa Journal folded leaving a monopoly situation in both cities. In response to these closings, a week later a Royal Commission on Newspapers<sup>2</sup> was established by Federal Cabinet and the dialogue in the Canadian community on the dangers of newspaper monopoly increased.

Monopoly and concentration are not problems that are new to the industry. For years critics have warned against newspapers becoming just another commodity to be bought and sold. This study looks at the Winnipeg situation with regards to newshole, local news and advertising. After the demise of the Winnipeg Tribune, the Free Press did not have local newspaper competition until the publication of the tabloid Winnipeg Sun.<sup>3</sup> As time is needed to build circula-

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<sup>2</sup> The Royal Commission on Newspapers will also be referred to as the Kent Commission.

<sup>3</sup> The Winnipeg Sun will also be referred to as the Sun.

tion, the Sun is far from a strong competitor.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the Winnipeg situation is treated as a virtual monopoly in the current study.<sup>5</sup>

The whole question of monopoly is very complicated as will be seen in the literature review. This paper traces the developing Canadian newspaper industry since the days of the first news sheet. In addition to this historical background, discussions of historical reports and reports of commissions are provided. Furthermore, the literature review traces the empirical studies that have looked at monopoly and concentration.

While the focus of this thesis is the Winnipeg situation, past research helps to show the problems found concerning the narrowing ownership base in newspapers. Generally, critics such as A.J. Liebling (1961), John Porter (1965), and Carlton McNaught (1940) felt that monopoly and concentration limited ideas and opinions. However, Wilfred  
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<sup>4</sup> In January 1983 the Winnipeg Free Press had a weekly circulation of 418,494 while the Winnipeg Sun had merely 40,877. While this factor is important, advertising also plays an important role. During the mentioned period, the line rate in the Free Press was 1.98 Monday to Friday and 2.48 on Saturday. In comparison, the line rate in the Sun was .95. Therefore, while the advertiser paid 108% more to advertise in the Free Press (Monday to Friday) his advertisement reached 923% more people. Currently the Sunday circulation for the Sun has gone up to 56,785 and the daily is now at 42,500.

<sup>5</sup> Also, it might be argued that the Winnipeg Free Press is an 'Elite Paper', as is the Toronto Globe and Mail (Merrill, 1968:45), and the Sun is targeting for a separate audience. The Sun which is a 'pop' or modern newspaper would not be viewed in the same way as Canada's better newspapers.

Kesterton (1967) and numerous newspaper publishers argued that limited competition would improve a newspaper.

The literature presented herein is an overview of monopoly and concentration in Canada. While it is difficult to draw any conclusions from the rather mixed results of the research, it is important to continue the quest for understanding the Canadian newspaper industry and the possible effects of monopoly and concentration on that industry.



## II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The Canadian press experienced numerous developments since the days of the Halifax Gazette, 1752, the first news sheet in Canada. The early days of government patronage were followed by a "free press" which was dependent on political parties for financial assistance. The Canadian press then experienced a movement from party appendage to "Yellow Journalism" where sensationalism was heightened. It was during this period, the early 20th century, that competition was most intense. Increasing costs and business-oriented publishers were partly responsible for limiting the flourishing press and what followed was the development of oligopolies, duopolies and finally monopolies.

With the Canadian press following a trend of greater concentration and monopoly, researchers began critically to examine the situation. What follows is an historical review of what some critics see as the potential for success of the free press marketplace in Canada, as well as empirical studies relating to the monopolistic trends in the Canadian newspaper industry.

### 2.0.1 A Developing Canadian Press - Authoritarian Rule

About 200 years after England experienced press control, Canada found its newspaper industry developing in the same manner. From 1752 and John Bushell's Halifax Gazette onward, the early press in Canada was under Authoritarian rule because of dependency on the "governor" of the day due to a lack of advertising, limited circulation and widespread illiteracy. As a result of government patronage and loss of already scant revenue, printers avoided coverage of controversial political issues, fearing severe disciplinary action. Between 1752-1807 printers avoided offending those in the political limelight--an elite group that had the power to censor information about the day's events. They had the authority to dictate coverage and what the people were entitled to know (Kesterton, 1967:8). This authoritarian movement is documented in numerous other articles (Lassan, 1968; Benn, 1978; Gundy, 1957). In essence, the press was a means for transmitting government propaganda.

### 2.0.2 Libertarianism

Although John Milton published his Areopagitica in England in 1644, it was not until the 1600s that his doctrine was popular. He advocated a free market of ideas, arguing that in an open encounter with falsehood, truth would always prevail (Milton, reprints edition, 1966). Milton, whose ideas are recognized as fundamental to the new theory, argued

against licensing because licensing tended to restrict information flow not acceptable to the Church. In addition, Milton felt that licensing would only work if all individuals were regulated - an impossible task even for the aristocrats. (Brown, Brown & Rivers, 1978:150-151).

The concept of a free press also was discussed by Adam Smith, an early pioneer of economic libertarianism. He felt that the only way the press would discover truth was if the government took a laissez faire approach. Smith's philosophy, as applied to the press, was condensed by Brown, Brown & Rivers:

If a newspaper, magazine, or broadcast station serves what people regard as the public interest, they will give it their patronage, and it will flourish. If it fails to serve the public interest, they will not patronize it. In consequence, it will wither and die. (1978:155)

Although this concept might appear somewhat simplistic, it was part of an overall framework that supported a free press.

Smith's philosophy and Milton's concept for a 'free market of ideas' also were supported by John Stuart Mill. On Liberty, published by Mill in 1859, suggested that the only way truth could be recognized was if diverse opinions were encouraged and published. This concept and the following arguments acted as the basis of the Libertarian philosophy: to suppress an opinion would be to stifle the truth; even an absurd opinion may contain a trace of truth necessary to achieve a total truth; truths that are accepted be-

cause opinions have been withheld are usually accepted only through habit; and finally truths that do not compete with other opinions tend to lose their effectiveness (Kesterton, 1967:56-57).

This new press freedom entitled Libertarianism became increasingly popular as publishers and journalists grew independent of government. Journalists were subjective, incorporating a great deal of opinion and comment into their columns. They even became critical of government (Kesterton, 1967:20). Unfortunately those in power were rattling to keep printers in line to maintain their authoritarian position, and therefore punishments were sometimes severe.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, French Canadian journalists Pierre Bedard and Francis Blanchet were imprisoned because of their opinions. Journalist Francis Collins was fined and sent to jail for twelve months for his "seditious" attacks on the attorney general. Perhaps the greatest punishment surfaced in Newfoundland when Henry Winton, editor of the St. John's Ledger, had his ears cut off and was left unconscious because of his opposing position and hostile writings on religion and politics. Officials made little effort to find the attackers and did little when his mechanical foreman, Herman Lott, received the same cruel abuse (Kesterton, 1967:20-21).

2.0.3 Political Partisanship

In their fight to free themselves from government restraints, editors gradually became dependent on political parties for financial support. So while free from direct government control, the press was forced to bolster a specific view and political stand. In essence "Party rags" propagandized on behalf of the party in return for subsidies (Rutherford, 1975:173; Hill, 1968:46). The movement from authoritarian to a "free press" was characterized by voluntary dependence on parties. Therefore, the first characteristic of this "free" press was a movement from government patronage to Party patronage; from government appendage to a Party appendage or instrument.

2.0.4 Yellow Journalism

The days of the 'elite' 6-penny press gave way to the mass circulation penny press in the late 19th century. Publishers strove madly for circulation increases, thus the sensationalism and 'extra' editions set to deliver readers to advertisers. Publishers moved from a dependence on the King's representative to dependence on political Parties, to dependence on advertisers. (Winter, 1985:3). The final dependency has lasted until today. The fierce competition and development of oligopolies, duopolies and ultimately monopolies, are a natural outgrowth of Adam Smith's cherished free marketplace.

For the first time in history, mass circulation was achieved due to new technology, increasing literacy, lower prices and reasonable postal rates for newspapers. As communities grew in size, oral transmission modes were replaced by mass media.

The Canadian newspaper situation was not unique in its developments. The United States experienced mass circulation and other movements which were mirrored in Canada. The 1890s saw "Yellow Journalism" perfected by Joseph Pulitzer, William Randolph Hearst and E.W. Scripps. People like Scripps and Hearst were entrepreneurs who

would fight, for 20 cities simultaneously with 20 papers, taking on three or four enemy newspapers in each city. They would win in one place, lose in another, struggle on without profit for anybody in a third. (Liebling, 1961:2)

Another rivalry was between Joseph Pulitzer and Hearst - both equally responsible for extreme sensationalism. In 1896 (Brown, Brown & Rivers, 1978:57), envious of Pulitzer's successful New York World, Hearst attempted to compete for the New York market. As a result, both the World and the Journal turned into gossip columns. Competition was so intense that if the news was not sensational, it was manipulated. Perhaps the greatest crime of the era was Hearst's deliberate manipulation of events to ensure the Spanish-American War (Sandman, Rubin and Sacheman, 1982: 52-53).

Although Canadian practitioners did not resort to distortion and fabrication to the degree of their American

counterparts, this period was the "heyday" of daily newspaper sensationalism and competition. William Maclean of the Toronto World, Edmund Sheppard of the Toronto News and Trefle Berthiaume of Montreal's La Presse were Canada's new, false, social conscience (Rutherford, 1975:174; Clark, 1896:101).

### 2.0.5 Concentration

In 1913, 138 publishers owned 138 dailies (Davey, 1970:19) a condition yet to be repeated in Canadian history. The days of fierce competition were followed by group concentration. By 1930, 99 publishers owned 116 dailies. In 1953, 57 publishers owned 89 dailies, and in 1966, 63 publishers controlled 110 dailies (Westerton, 1967:76). The Canadian newspaper industry never regained the competitive numbers of the 1913 years. Actually, concentration and monopoly have been on a steady incline. In 1970, 12 groups accounted for two-thirds of Canada's 116 dailies (Davey, 1970:19). 1980 figures show that 12 groups owned 89, or 76 percent of the 117 dailies, and Thomson and Southam controlled 54 dailies, or 46 percent (Kent, 1981:90).

In the United States, a number of studies have questioned monopoly and concentration. When Niach and Hahn (1971:13) studied newspaper concentration in 32 developed countries, they found that the 8 largest newspaper firms in the U.S. accounted for 28% of circulation. In comparison,

the 8 largest newspaper firms in Canada accounted for 70% of circulation. Moreover, in 1978, the largest U.S. chain of Knight-Ridder, had 6 percent of the U.S. daily circulation (Compaine, 1979:20). In comparison, 1980 Canadian figures show that Southam had 28 percent and Thomson had 21 percent of Canadian circulation (Kent, 1981:2-3).

Following is an overview of some of the concentration and business-related criticisms of the press, by journalists, academics, and commissions in the 20th Century, before turning to the social science research evidence.

#### 2.0.6 Early 20th Century Criticism

One of the earliest voices to examine the press industry critically was that of journalist Will Irwin. In 1911, Irwin wrote a fifteen-part series for Collier's magazine on "The American Newspaper" (Hudson, 1970:263). In these articles he criticized publishers who abused their power. Irwin argued that the emphasis was on the business aspect and not on the responsibility of the press to the public. He also attacked the advertisers, who while making up only one percent of the population, ultimately controlled the newspaper industry. He proposed laws for retraction of defamatory writing and advocated an independent quality press. While preferring an adless newspaper, Irwin rejected the idea because of its impractical nature (Hudson, 1970).



In his classic book The Brass Check, Upton Sinclair (1920) similarly argued that the press had a great deal of influence with little or no responsibility. Anyone who challenged "Big Business" was placed on the journalist's blacklist. Public figures were victims of the press by way of false reporting which distorted words and opinions. Perhaps the greatest crime was committed by publishers who allowed outside pressures to influence the news because of financial dependency (Grenier, 1972:431).

In Canada, Carlton McNaught (1940:20-21) questioned the business-like conduct of the publishers. He documented the relationship between these businessmen and concentration. Like Irwin, McNaught concluded that a serious problem existed and immediate action was needed to discourage the industry from viewing ideas as merely commodities to be sold (1940:17). In 1945 a major breakthrough for newspaper critics was the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Associated Press vs. the United States. Finally there was a formal document that differentiated between a "free press" and one which claimed to be "free" to protect its business interests. Justice Hugo Black wrote that:

Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the constitution, but freedom to combine to keep others from publishing is not. Freedom of the press from governmental interference under the First Amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests. (1945:20)

Unfortunately the private sector was very much in control and in a position to manipulate for private economic

reasons. Whether or not business-oriented editors used their power was of little consequence. As Johnson (1950:51) has argued, "Opinion is free only when nobody can monopolize it, not when nobody does monopolize it" (emphasis added).

The 1947 Hutchins Report<sup>6</sup> was another means of formal, institutional support for 20th century critics. Like U.S. Justice Hugo Black, the private academic Commission on Freedom of the Press concluded that under the libertarian system, the press had not proven to be responsible. The authors argued that the solution was to curb the private economic interests of those in power, even if it meant government involvement (Hutchins, 1947:15,16 & 18). While responsible editors and publishers alluded to "Social Responsibility" long before the Commission was formed, finally there was a document from an official body outlining the limitations of the press, with suggestions for improvements and the threat of action in the public interest by the democratically elected government. The Commission recommended that the mass media:

1. Provide a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning.
2. Provide a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.
3. Provide a representative picture of the constituent groups in society.

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<sup>6</sup> Also known as A Free and Responsible Press.

4. Be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society.

5. Provide full access to the day's intelligence. (Sandman, Rubin and Sashmar, 1982:176)

While the recommendations were theoretically acceptable, the enforcement of the rules was impossible.

Although the emphasis of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences<sup>7</sup> in Canada was on national development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, it too discussed the importance of the press in our society. First and foremost because citizens are influenced by the press, the Massey Commission felt it was essential that the press report news accurately (Massey, 1951:60-61). Also the Massey Commission reiterated concerns expressed by McNaught (1940). There was still a problem with "profit motivated" publishers, and concentration was "at least as bad" as when McNaught had been writing a decade earlier.

While the Canadian Royal Commission on Broadcasting Report<sup>8</sup> (1957), focused on broadcasting, it also devoted space to the world of newspapers and the term Freedom of the Press:

Freedom of the Press is one of the basic freedoms in a democratic society. But the principle can be, and is at times, used in an attempt to protect private rights and privileges which have nothing to do with essentials of this freedom.

Freedom of the Press is not, except in an incident-  
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<sup>7</sup> Also referred to as the Massey Commission.

<sup>8</sup> Also referred to as the Fowler Commission.

tal or secondary sense, a right of the publisher to be left free from government interference or control. (1957, vol 1:83)

The Fowler Commission was reiterating in the Canadian context the point made in the U.S. by the Hutchins Report a decade earlier.

In 1961 the Report of the Royal Commission on Publications<sup>9</sup> in Canada also supported the need for government assistance to deter further concentration since too much power was in the hands of too few people. O'Leary argued that increased power for the elite few meant a general decline in rights for the average individual (O'Leary, 1961:10).

This argument was also shared by Bryan (1961:70):

One of the chief dangers, as seen by some, to freedom of information and of the press in a system of free enterprise arises from concentration of ownership. According to this concept, true freedom of information, and of the press entails diversity of opinion and requires that the means (printing presses, wire services, etc.) of expressing such diversity must be available to every trend of opinion and point of view, even though they are not among the economically powerful. Where ownership is limited to a few with interlocking interests, the means of publication of diverse opinion is necessarily limited.

While Bryan's idea was not new, he did help enlighten the public, as did a number of others. Writing for the New Yorker, A.J. Liebling warned that one-newspaper towns were increasing. He argued that as single newspaper towns became prominent, news became secondary to the newspaper:

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<sup>9</sup> Also referred to as the O'Leary Commission.

The industry's ideal now is absolute control in a moderate number of cities, or even one. These become one-ownership towns, and as the publisher turns monopolist, his troubles end. He is in the position of a feudal lord after the period of wars in the Middle Ages ended. He has his goods, but he need no longer fight for it (sic). (1961:2)

Liebling (1961:6) saw the monopolist as a businessman and not a responsible professional. "Money is not made by competition among newspapers, but by avoiding it. The wars are over, and newspaper owners are content to buy their enemies off, or just buy them." Liebling feared that perhaps the medium had in effect forgotten its role in society - that is, to provide news, not to provide profits for the shareholders.

Nicholas Johnson, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), also alluded to a more responsible press:

The media operate as a check upon other institutional power centers in our country. There is, however, no check upon the media. Just as it is a mistake to overstate the existence and potential for abuse, so, in my judgement, is it a mistake to ignore the evidence that does exist. (1968:47)

While Johnson and Liebling argued against concentration in the U.S., Canadians were to hear from sociologist John Porter.

Porter, in his classic work Its Vertical Mosaic, argued that the newspaper industry was in the hands of a very select group. He feared that these press barons supported the ideology of the status quo and overlooked the view of the average citizen. Porter felt that the owners hired staff

with similar ideologies, jeopardizing the whole information system. This fear is supported by numerous newsroom and gatekeeping studies (Breed, 1955; Bowers, 1967; Bagdikian, 1972; Epstein, 1973; Altheide, 1974).

Like Porter, McNaught (1968:26) worried about the trend of monopoly cities and freedom of the press, "...the trouble with 'freedom of the press' - that central pillar of liberal democracy - is that few people have seriously re-examined it in twentieth century terms." McNaught stated his case as follows:

As business, anyone can plainly see that our newspaper press has obeyed the laws of competition that operate amongst other businesses. The number of competitors in the field shrinks steadily. Today many of our towns and cities have only one or two newspapers - a far cry from the conditions existing when 'freedom of the press' really took hold as liberal doctrine. Major newspaper chains have further diminished competition. In fact, just as amalgamation, holding companies and semi-monopolies eliminated free competition in other areas of business so they have minimized it in the newspaper area. And if free competition in the newspaper world has largely disappeared (how many new papers have been started in our generation?) does that not infringe upon freedom of the press? (1968:27)

However, while numerous authors agreed with Liebling, Porter and McNaught, not all felt that monopoly and concentration limited ideas and opinions. Former Canadian journalist and Carleton University Professor Emeritus Wilfred Kesterton (1967:76), felt that by limiting competition, the daily would improve in some respects:

An incidental benefit to a situation lacking the cut-throat competition of local daily against local daily is that it discourages the practice of

sensationalizing the news in order to gain readers. The frantic "beat" and meretricious "scoop" have become far less frequent now that the single-newspaper city has become commonplace. The result has been to make journalism more responsible.

While researchers have studied the relationship between competition and sensationalism (Farick & Hartman, 1966; Schweitzer & Goldman, 1975), the results are often contradictory and need further examination. It is not clear whether there is a cause and effect relationship between competition and sensationalism or whether sensationalism is an independent development.

In addition, Kesterton argued that there was enough competition from daily radio and television, to prevent easy and comfortable monopoly by the press (1967:76; "One-Paper" 1948:31). While this is a popular argument some critics note that media have their own characteristics, and only within a medium is there true competition. (This is true except not all newspapers are the same "medium". For example, while the Toronto Sun and the Globe and Mail are newspapers in the same market, they do not necessarily compete. Competition is elusive and true competition might be said to be between "Important Information", e.g. profound effects). Tollefson (1968:67) notes:

whether a story is consciously or unconsciously biased, its effect is the same - the reader does not get a balanced and accurate account. It may be suggested that the reader may counteract the effect of this bias by reference to other sources - but radio and television, because of the evanescent character of such communications, are not an adequate substitute, and in many areas alternative daily newspapers are not available at all. The

problem has national implications with the increasing concentration of ownership in the hands of a few large interests and because of the monopoly position of the Canadian Press wire service.

However, while multi-newspaper cities were becoming single newspaper cities (Kesterton, 1967:73), it was also true that weekly newspaper cities were becoming daily newspaper cities (Kesterton, 1967:74).

#### 2.0.7 Davey To Kent

The earlier warnings by the critics, commissions and journalists did little to move the government towards improving the monopoly and concentration situation in Canada.

Canadian Senator Keith Davey, chairman of the Senate Committee which in 1970 produced the Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media,<sup>10</sup> suggested that the Government of Canada should set up a newspaper development fund similar to the Canadian Film Development Corporation. Other recommendations included the need for national and regional press councils and the need for press ombudsmen for each newspaper. Davey also suggested that journalism education be emphasized. A final recommendation that can be traced back to Porter, O'Leary, Massey and McNaught was that CP's international coverage be improved so that Canadians would receive international news through Canadian, not American eyes. For the trend of monopolies and concentration to reverse itself, it was important that the government (Davey, ++++++)

<sup>10</sup> Also referred to as the Davey Report.



1970:4) "...encourage the development of a freer, healthier, more vigorous, more Canadian and - yes - a more diverse press." Davey (1970:7) felt that the more voices we have telling us what is going on, the better: "Too many publishers harbor the absurd notion that freedom of the press is something they own; their freedom of the press." While more voices may be better, fewer voices are cheaper. (Davey, 1970:3). The Davey Report documented the concentration of press ownership:

There are only five cities in the country where genuine competition between newspapers exists; and in all five cities, some or all of these competing dailies are owned by chains. Seventy years ago there were thirty-five Canadian communities with two or more daily newspapers; today there are only fifteen - and in five of these cities, the two dailies are published by the same owner. (1970:5)

Shortly after the publication of the Davey Report, Wallace Clement, who relied on Davey for his statistics, discussed this increasing concentration and monopoly in the Canadian newspaper industry (1975:126). Clement (1975) examined corporate interlocks and concluded that Canada's elite was monolithic rather than pluralistic. Sixty years before Clement's statement, Myers (1914:1) calculated that Canada's wealth was governed in the main by fewer than 50 men. So while the problem of corporate interlocks was not new, Clement's comments about the situation were important:

for diversity to occur...there must be diversity of media sources and some form of...competition whereby one position was not capable of totally overwhelming alternative positions. In other words, it is necessary that there is an open 'market' situation and not one monopolized by a few dominant sources. (1975:287)

In the U.S. Bagdikian (1983) also found that corporate interlocks were very prominent in the newspaper industry and like Clement, felt that the public's best interest was of little concern. Bagdikian worried about "corporate incest with corporate incest" (1983:27):

Through interlocking directorates-sharing members on boards of directors-the country's newspapers, magazines, radio and television companies, book publishers, and moviemakers are now directly influenced by still other powerful industries. The same media firms are part of the global banking and investment community through their loans and lines of credit; they share directors from the top multinational banks and investment houses.

Under law (and business ethics) the director of a firm is obliged to act in the best interests of that company. Under some circumstances it is a federal crime to do otherwise. This creates a dilemma in the present pattern of corporate boards, a dilemma largely ignored but one that now descends on the governance of the news media.... (1983:21-22)

While it can be argued that corporate interlocks play a major role in the United States, it can also be argued that the "...level of concentration [in the U.S. newspaper industry is] far below the thresholds of oligopoly power in other industries - steel, automobile, energy, aluminum" (McIntosh, 1977:48; Shaw, 1978:11), the reverse is true in Canada. As already mentioned, the American situation is far more diversified than the Canadian. The duopoly in the Canadian newspaper industry is more severe than in many others. To prevent increasing concentration, McIntosh suggested that antitrust laws be changed:

Antitrusters consider the prime competition among newspapers to be competition for advertis-

ing. Competition for circulation is a secondary consideration. The potential for reduced news coverage or editorial content does not play even a bit part. Only the possibility of lessened competition for advertising dollars is relevant, and advertising experts are frequent witnesses at antitrust trials. An antitrust expert with Colin, Hochstetler Company makes this comment: 'One doesn't have to be dedicated to the notion of a free press to think that any concentration in the dissemination of news is to be avoided, but the antitrust laws are not concerned with concentration of diversity of ideas - they are concerned with economic concentration.' (1977:50)

To help the press industry become more responsible the Report of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry<sup>11</sup> (1976:61) suggested that a national "Freedom of Expression Act" be written, "...for the print media to achieve accountability beyond the balance sheet."

Like McIntosh, the LaMarsh Commission suggested that perhaps government laws were needed to protect the consumer from unfair tactics. In Britain the final report of the Royal Commission on the Press (McQuail, 1977) also tried to define the problems of the press and provide a solution. The Commission felt monopolies had no place in the newspaper industry. It said monopoly:

by its selections of the news and the manner in which it reports it, and by its commentary on public affairs, is in a position to determine what people shall read about the events and issues of the day, and to exert a strong influence on their opinions. Even if this position is not consciously abused, a paper without competitors may fall below the standards of accuracy and efficiency which competition enforces. (1977:128)

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<sup>11</sup> Also referred to as the the LaMarsh Commission.

This theme was reiterated in the Canadian context in the Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers (the Kent Commission) 1980.

#### 2.0.8 The Kent Commission

As mentioned in the introduction, the Kent Commission was established in 1980 as a result of the simultaneous closings of the Winnipeg Tribune and the Citara Journal. The demise of the newspapers caused a major public uproar. However, the report of this Commission was more than just another government document. It represented the criticism of the press in Canada that had accumulated over the years. Its recommendations meant Canadians came (some would say perilously) close to newspaper legislation. It is the history of criticism outlined above, especially the Davey Report, that played an important background role. Kent was the immediate precipitator to the first attempt by Canadian government to enact legislation vis a vis the press, as will be seen. As such, both Kent and former Federal Cabinet Minister, Jim Fleming warrant detailed examination, as well as a discussion of reasons for their failure.

In the Royal Commission on Newspapers, commissioners Kent, Spears, and Picard (1981) suggested seven ways for the Government of Canada to improve the newspaper industry. The main features of the new legislation were to prohibit further concentration in daily newspapers, add an incentive for

new papers and for the wider ownership of papers in general, protect the rights of the Journalists and editors so that there were no unnecessary limitations or constraints placed on their profession, and promote public opinion in the press. In addition, the recommendations included the introduction of a Press Rights Panel to monitor the changing press and review various topics, such as concentration. The Commission also suggested a tax credit to reward responsible newspapers and a surtax to penalize negligent papers. Finally it suggested government matching grants to improve Canada's news services (Kent *et al.*, 1981:237-255).

Looking at the recommendations more closely, it appears that Kent was defending the interests of the public. He suggested ways to reduce the power of the press, specifically by allowing the public the opportunity to voice their opinions:

Freedom of the press is not a property right of owners. It is a right of the people. It is part of their right to free expression, inseparable from their right to inform themselves. This Commission believes that the key problem posed by its terms of reference is the limitation of those rights by undue concentration of ownership and control of the Canadian daily newspaper industry. (Kent *et al.*, 1981:1)

With this in mind, the recommendations are examined at greater length (Kent *et al.*, 1981:237-255).

### 2.0.9 Prohibit Further Concentration

Although there are major problems associated with a company owning various newspapers, according to Kent a greater evil is present when a company has interests in other non-media corporations. Such a conglomerate may at times confuse loyalty.

Kent et al. recommended that no company or persons be allowed to purchase a newspaper if interests in other companies outweighed their newspaper assets (p. 238). The Commission recommended that newspapers may be purchased by companies or persons as long as they did not own more than five daily newspapers, and/or as long as the circulation of their daily papers did not exceed 5 percent of the circulation of all daily newspapers in Canada, and/or as long as the purchased newspaper was at least 500 kilometers away from any other owned paper.

Cross-media concentration was addressed in this section as well, and was prohibited in the Commission's recommendations.

The question of Videotex or electronic newspapers was also discussed. The recommendation was that newspapers could be suppliers but not carriers for the new system.

### 2.0.10 Divestment of Dailies

One major divestment was recommended for the Thomson chain, owners of over 1/3 of Canada's newspapers. Kent *et al.* recommended that the chain divest itself of either the 'National' Globe and Mail or the rest of the chain. If the latter choice were selected, 39 newspapers would become available to other purchasers.

While the recommendation is not well supported in the text of the Royal Commission On Newspapers, there are very important reasons why this would be suggested. Kent wanted to avoid the chance that the Thomson papers might become mini-versions of the Globe and Mail. In the United States, the Gannett owned national newspaper U.S.A. Today, might have been the reason for a Gannett daily newspaper closing ("U.S.A. Today", 1983:18). If this was the case in Canada, the Globe and Mail might also give Thomson reason to eliminate local newspapers in Canada. Thus, the incentive to establish the Globe and Mail in these communities would be negligible, and if established, the incentive to keep the local paper going might be reduced.

### 2.0.11 Investment Incentive

Since those so forced to divest might risk not receiving a fair price, the Commission recommended a tax haven for purchasers (similar to those used to encourage film development in Canada). This would be an incentive for wider ownership

of newspapers that change owners. It would also serve to encourage new newspapers and magazines.

#### 2.0.12 Freedom Of The Editor

To ensure that editors of newspapers with chain ownership, or with greater economic interests outside the newspaper industry, are less influenced by the owner's business interests, editors should be on contracts. They would be less wary of being terminated for their editorial independence as they would be contracted for 3-7 years with an automatic 12 months salary if their contract was broken. (However, even with a 7 year contract it would be difficult to ensure that editors are independent). The editor would report to an advisory committee once a year regarding the newspaper's objectives and the responsibility of the editor.

#### 2.0.13 Press Rights Panel

The Press Rights Panel, with three government appointed members, would enforce guidelines within the newspaper industry to encourage a responsible press. The Kent Commission (1981:251-252) outlined 15 functions that would be fulfilled by this panel; functions would be similar to those of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (C.R.T.C.). They would include such tasks as receiving the editors' annual reports and any additional comments they might have. Also the Press Rights Panel would receive any



information on the intent to divest. The panel would act as an overall ombudsman for the press in Canada, publishing an annual review of newspapers with recommendations for improvement.

#### 2.0.14 Tax Credit And Surtax

This tax system, which promotes quantity and not necessarily quality, would be used to encourage more editorial content. The tax credit and surtax would either reward or punish newspapers for their spending on their editorial product. Those which spend more than average would be rewarded as their tax liability would be reduced by 25% of the amount by which spending exceeded the industry average. If a paper's editorial expense was lower than the established average, the company would then be subject to a surtax equal to 25% of the deficiency.

#### 2.0.15 News Services

The final recommendation of the Kent Commission required the government to provide assistance to Canadian Press or any other wire service with less than 1/3 of its revenue from a single proprietor. This recommendation was proposed to encourage Canadian-written material. It has been argued that this plan is unacceptable since chains like Thomson and Southam should be improving this system with their profits, rather than with the help of the public purse. (See Winter

8 Candussi, 1933; Kent Commission, 1981 for further details on these recommendations.)

#### 2.0.16 Critics Voice Concerns About the Kent Commission

The Kent recommendations have received a great deal of negative comment. Even though Kent was opposed to government intervention in the newsroom (1981:237), the critics perceived the Royal Commission On Newspapers as "...proposing nothing less than government press controls." (Osler, 1981A:7). Critics cried that "...the Kent Commission is calling for heavy regulatory intervention by federal Government into the newspaper industry." (Valpy, 1982)

Various arguments were used by the press to undermine the Kent report. The idea of government intervention was strongly emphasized by the publishers, as well as by the reporters. Roy Megarry, publisher of the Torric Globe and Mail, said that the real threat to freedom of the press was government and if the Kent recommendations were reinforced, this could in fact lead to government interference (Meating, 1982:5).

The cost of the Commission was another recurring theme. There was a great deal of emphasis on the Commission having used public money - \$3.1 million dollars worth. The Toronto Globe and Mail published a statement by Kenneth Thomson, chairman and chief executive officer of Thomson Newspapers Ltd. In response to the Kent Commission he wrote, "I am

thoroughly disappointed that millions of taxpayers' dollars have been squandered on such an ill-considered and irresponsible report." (1981:8)

A lot of attention was paid to the Tax Proposal and Subsidies proposed by Kent. There was a consensus by the industry that suggested they did not want or need government aid ("Kent wrong", 1981:8).

Also, the negative reaction to the Kent Commission was rife with ad hominem attacks on Kent and his associates - Picard and Spears. Kent was criticized for being the wrong man and siding with the Trudeau government. The Commission was also accused of writing "...the most twisted and shoddy piece of work ever done by a royal commission in Canada." ("Press", 1981).

The rhetoric from the press after the release of the publication was negative as well. The Commission was called 'impractical', 'scary', 'disappointing' and 'dangerous'. Articles also warn against the possibility of "Big brother" regulating the press.

#### 2.0.17 Jim Fleming Responds To Commission

In direct response to the Commission's recommendations, Jim Fleming, Minister of State for Multiculturalism proposed five areas for legislation.

First, he recommended that ownership by one chain would not exceed 20 percent of Canadian daily circulation. How-

ever, Fleming did not suggest that Thomson (26%) and Southam (33%) divest a percentage of their English language circulation. He also allowed Quebecor (47%) and Desmarais (29%) to hold their large shares of the Canadian French language circulation.

Next, any newspaper purchased by an individual or company with non media interests would need to approach the Restrictive Trade Practice Commission. At this time the purchaser would need to prove that the newspaper would be separately managed from other interests.

Third, Fleming proposed that newspapers and broadcast licences not be allowed in the same geographical or community area unless divesting one or the other would harm the public. This proposal was recognized and accepted by an Order-in-Council in July of 1982. Since then, the Irving cross-ownership situation in the maritimes was taken to task and the C.R.T.C. decided that Irving must divest by January 1986.<sup>12</sup> The decision has since been overturned by the Mulroney Federal Cabinet. The Blackburn holdings in London, Ontario have been able to prove to the C.R.T.C.'s satisfaction that refusing to renew their broadcast licence would be detrimental to the public.<sup>13</sup> (C.R.T.C. 1983B:1-7)

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<sup>12</sup> According to the Kent Commission, Irving would have to decide whether to keep their Saint John papers or their television and radio stations.

<sup>13</sup> CPPL Broadcasting own two radio stations, a newspaper and a television station in London, Ontario.

Next, Fleming backed Kent's suggestion of government subsidies to improve the badly needed news bureaus in Canada and/or abroad.

The final suggestion was that all dailies not members of a press council join a national press council at arm's length from the government. The council which would deal with criticism from the reader would consist of 10 members - 3 publishers' representatives, 3 journalists and 4 public members to be selected by the other members (Fleming, 1982:13-17). As a result of the recommendation, most Ontario newspapers were quick to join a press council.<sup>14</sup>

Nothing came of Fleming's proposed legislation. He was dismissed from the Trudeau cabinet in late 1983 and his proposed bill died with him. His successor, Judy Erola, favoured strengthening the Anti-combines laws and preferred to ignore the Fleming proposals (Winter, 1985:22-23). While the Antitrust laws are vital in some industries, McIntosh (1977:50) felt that economics was the key factor in these laws and not diversity of ideas. Under these circumstances, the Antitrust laws are inappropriate for regulating the press.

The remainder of the literature review focuses on this first question of whether monopolies are detrimental to the public interest. This has been an assumption in the literature cited thus far, but what follows is a review of the al-  
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<sup>14</sup> Currently all dailies in Ontario are members of a press council.

beit limited "scientific" research in the area. This is especially important not only in light of the 1983 court decision acquitting Southam and Thomson of charges under the Anti-Combines Act, but in view of the failure of the government generally to follow up on Kent and Fleming and all the others and take action. This failure is due presumably in no small degree to the lack of general consensus on this question of the harmful effects of concentrated ownership and monopoly.

#### 2.1. CRITICS OF NEWSPAPER MONOPOLY

With increasing concentration of ownership, McNaught tried to alert the public to the apparent problems, in his critical analysis of the results of the libertarian system. With monopoly gradually increasing, McNaught (1940:27) warned against newspaper publishers who were "...pleasing all and offending none." The days of the editorially and socially conscious publishers were numbered, as were the days of the independent newspapers.

In the U.S. Bird (1940:210) also was critical of the industry:

"Lack of competition often means careless and inaccurate reporting, failure to report all newsworthy events and a tendency to 'play safe'. The reporter need not do his best; he need not even tell the truth."

Bird continually railed against monopolies, since no competition often meant a chance for the local editor to propa-

gandize. Bird argued that if competition existed, the public would likely benefit. If one newspaper did not cover an event, the rival paper would likely print the story, and if the reporter wrote inaccurately, the competing paper would reveal the truth (Bird, 1940:210).

Grotta (1971) hypothesized that the consumer did not receive any benefits when newspapers underwent consolidation or when competition just ceased to exist. To test this hypothesis, newspapers were selected by a stratified random selection procedure from all daily newspapers in the U.S. The author focused on three vital areas. He examined the Advertising Space Price, Subscription Price and "Quality Variables". The "Quality Variables" (Grotta, 1971:248) included, 1) change in the number of editorial employees, 2) change in size of newspaper newshole, 3) change in proportion of local news to total news, 4) change in size of editorial newshole and 5) change in proportion of local news to total editorial content.

The results of the study indicate that the consumer did not receive an improved product in terms of quality and quantity. In fact, there was evidence to support the conclusion that concentration, through merger (independent to chain) and/or the closing of a newspaper (competitive to monopoly), might result in higher prices and lower quality (Grotta 1971:250).

Grotta argued that if newspapers were indeed becoming an inferior product and were being treated like any other product, then they should not receive any special treatment:

It would seem reasonable that if proprietors of the daily newspaper industry are to behave like other monopolists, they should not seek to be treated differently under the umbrella of the First Amendment. (1971:250)

Contrary to Bird (1940) and Grotta (1971), Nixon argued:

'The existence of only one daily in a community is not itself an evil. No single medium of communication enjoys a monopoly today. Many dailies have competition from weeklies, radio, nearby city dailies, and even from news magazines.' ("One-Paper", 1948:31)

Furthermore, Swanson (1949B) analyzed the question of the one newspaper city in his article on a Midcity daily. A probability sample of 373 adults was selected and interviewed. When asked:

Which of these things do you believe newspapers ought to do?

1. Print only ideas or opinions most people agree with.
2. Or print all ideas or opinions.
3. No opinion.

Print all ideas or opinions was selected by 52.5% of the people (Swanson, 1949B:173).

Results also showed Midcity people were extremely interested and involved in the newspaper's actions. This might be explained by the fact that Midcity was extremely unusual in its educational characteristics - over 70% of



adults had attended high school or college. Swanson also asked:

Do you think Midcity ought to have another daily newspaper printed here?

Some 44% replied "yes", 55% said "no" and 1% responded "don't know".

Although the author (Swanson, 1949A:310) stated that, "This single newspaper served the diverse needs of its publisher, its advertisers, its news staff, the Midcity groups, and the mass audience" the fact that 44% wanted another paper was important and should not have been overlooked.

While in the Swanson article the public was used to measure the quality of the newspaper, other criteria are often used. As we have already seen, Grotta (1971:248) used the following five factors as quality variables: the change in number of editorial employees; the change in size of newshole; the change in proportion of local news to total news; the change in size of editorial newshole; and, the change in local news to total editorial content.

As we will discover, quality is defined individually in each study. For instance, Bigman (1948), Willoughby (1955), and Nixon and Jones (1956) were concerned with the duplication of news in competing newspapers while Hicks and Featherston (1978) and Weaver and Mullins (1975) used format characteristics as additional variables for quality. While the aforementioned studies are vital if we wish to understand the newspaper industry, perhaps the most comprehensive

study to date of quality and other newspaper variables is a 1978 study by Becker, Egan and Russial.

In this study, Becker *et al.* used data collected in a 1973 New England Daily Newspaper Survey. That work consisted of a 2,500 word critique of 109 New England newspapers. The information was collected by 13 journalists and former journalists during a six-week period in January and February 1973. In addition to examining the individual papers, interviews with managers, editors, and other employees about editorial policies and newsroom practices were gathered. Becker *et al.* (1978:102) designed categories to transform the essays into numerical form. Then information about community characteristics was categorized. The topics included Community size, Community Growth, Market Growth, Retail Sales, Median School Years, Family Income, Religious Diversity and Newspaper Competition. Finally, a number of newspaper organizational characteristics were collected into the following groups (1978:103-104): Full-Time News-Editorial Staff, Part-Time News Editorial Staff, Total News-Editorial Staff Hours, Women on News-Editorial Staff, Women Not on Women's Page on News-Editorial Staff, Spanish and Blacks on the News-Editorial Staff, Starting Salary Without Experience, Top Salary, Years to Reach Top Salary, Staff Turnover, Education and Experience of Recent Employees, Staff Unionization, Participation of the Staff in Professional Organizations, Audience Survey in the Last Five Years, Percent of

Expenditures for News-Editorial Operations, Average Size of News Hole, Type of Ownership, Publisher's Profitability Estimate, Advertising Revenues, Daily Circulation and Sunday Edition Published.

Using inferential statistics, the authors concluded that education and experience of news employees and type of ownership (single paper owner, small chain, large chain) had the highest correlations in the organizational categories. In addition, number of women not assigned to women's pages, starting salary of inexperienced personnel, employee participation in professional development programs, size of full-time staff, Sunday edition published and size of newshole correlated significantly with quality. The Community Measures and Press Performance categories that correlated were Median School Years and Religious Diversity.

The Becker *et al.* study is one of the most comprehensive dealing with numerous variables at once. What follows are studies that focus on specific situations (monopoly, two-newspaper city, cross-ownership) and evaluate the performance of the papers using various quality variables.

### 2.1.1 The Monopoly Newspaper During Election Time

While both Grotta (1971) and Bird (1940) critically examined monopolies, Blume and Lyons (1968) explored the problems that resulted when a monopoly newspaper was on strike. The only newspaper in Toledo, the Toledo Blade, was closed due

to a strike two weeks prior to the 1966 local elections. To test the possible effects, a systematically selected sample of 383 persons, 21 years old or over, was selected from the telephone directory and interviewed.

The study during the newspaper strike revealed some interesting results. In the 1964 political election, people relied on multiple sources for their information including the local newspaper and T.V. channel (51 and 52 percent respectively). Respondents also relied on radio (25 percent), news magazines (eight percent), and trade and union journals (four percent). However, during the 1966 election, when the local newspaper was on strike, 57 percent of the respondents relied on T.V., 28 percent on radio, nine percent on news magazines and five percent on trade and union journals. While there was only a slight increase in the use of other media when the local newspaper was absent, the amount of time spent with each medium was not taken into account.

### 2.1.2 The Two-Paper City

Bigman (1948) suggested that competition did not necessarily mean better reporting. To test this idea, he conducted a study in Pottsville, Pa., a two-paper city. First a qualitative study was done with emphasis on editorials, politics, labor, business and industry, and minority groups. In addition personal interviews were conducted with 11 leading Pottsville citizens.

The qualitative results (Bigman, 1948:128) showed that a large proportion of the news stories in both papers were found to be "...verbatim twins after a sometimes rewritten first paragraph." Several people who regularly provided press releases also observed that papers failed to re-write copy even when errors were present. Even meetings, including those of city council, were mere re-writes of the minutes and appeared to be nearly identical in both papers (Bigman, 1949:128-129). Nafziger and Barnhart had similar findings in their study of Red Wing, Minn. Differences between the competing papers were so rare that finally a merger took place (Nixon and Jones, 1956:300).

Willoughby (1955) also studied two competing dailies. The papers, located in Washinton, Indiana, were the Washington Herald and Washington Democrat, two afternoon papers with almost equal circulation, 4,928 and 4,951 respectively. Willoughby's method of research was content analysis, partly quantitative and partly qualitative, plus personal interviews with the publishers. Like Bigman (1948) and Nafziger and Barnhart (Nixon and Jones, 1956), the author concluded that during the two month survey, the competing papers offered very few opposing viewpoints for the residents of Washington, Indiana (Willoughby, 1955:204). In addition, the newspapers were not only similar in content but resembled each other in size, makeup and typography (Willoughby, 1955:204). Also like the Bigman study, neither paper both-

ered to rewrite publicity releases, club meeting reports and service releases (1955:203). Willoughby did suggest that examining the papers during a presidential election might prove interesting as the Herald considered itself Independent Republican while the Democrat was a Democratic newspaper.

The publishers agreed that there was no apparent feud between the papers. Also they agreed that while the dailies appeared 'ripe' for consolidation, there was no possibility of a merger. However, they disagreed on a very important factor:

One believes 'one paper is all that is needed to serve Washington; one could do a better job than two.' His competitor dissents: 'Competition is good, for it keeps the politicians in line, although it is not so good from the advertisers' viewpoint.' (1955:204)

Nixon and Jones (1956) analyzed 53 competitive dailies and 44 non-competitive dailies ranging in circulation from 8,570 to 635,346. In addition they represented all the major geographical regions of the United States.

Results of the content analysis showed that in none of 17 categories (politics, government, foreign, economics, crime, accidents, religion, sports...and others) were there any significant differences in space. The competitive papers had slightly larger 'news holes' and ran more editorials on local subjects but neither 'difference' was statistically significant. However, the authors found that the competitive papers devoted a larger portion of space to let-

ters from readers than did the non-competitive newspapers (Nixon and Jones, 1956:306-307). The authors concluded that:

While this study reveals no definite evidence that non-competitive dailies differ from competitive dailies in the kinds of subject matter printed, neither does it support the contention of single-ownership advocates that these papers as a class have been taking advantage of their more favorable economic position to improve their news, editorial and feature content.

While this study contributes to the understanding of monopoly and concentration there are major limitations that need mention. Only one issue of each paper was analyzed and the individual analysis was scattered over a 13 year period. Also the average circulation size of the competitive newspapers was more than twice that of the non-competitive<sup>15</sup> (1956:304).

Another study that focused on content characteristics was the Hicks and Featherston (1978) study. They looked at Louisiana's three largest cities. In New Orleans the Times-Picayune (a.m.) and the States-Item (p.m.) were both owned by the large Newhouse chain. The Baton Rouge papers Morning Advocate and States-Times (p.m.) were also chain owned, albeit by a much smaller local chain (the Manship family). Finally the third situation, in Shreveport, had competition. The morning Shreveport Times was a Gannett paper while the Shreveport Journal (p.m.) was owned by a local businessman.  
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<sup>15</sup> Studies dealing with monopoly and concentration are sparse therefore, regardless of their limitations, the studies need some recognition.

Although they functioned separately, they did share business and production facilities (Hicks and Featherston, 1978:550).

The purpose of the study was to determine the amount of replication between the morning and afternoon papers. Did competition actually encourage more variety or was that only a myth? What the authors found was that there was no duplication in opinion content in any of the three cities. Every newspaper published its own editorials, political columns, and editorial cartoons, and there was no duplication of letters to the editor (1978:551).

Also studied was the size of newshole. While all newspapers devoted between 31 to 38 percent of their newspaper space to news, the Strevport Journal, which published under competition, devoted the largest percentage (38%) to news (1978:552). It should be noted that the national norm for news space was between 34-35% (Hicks and Featherston, 1978:552). Finally the authors studied the physical appearance of the papers and found a great variation in design and typography (1978:552).

In addition, the publishers were interviewed and the consensus was that the papers were very competitive in their a.m./p.m. situations.

Although content characteristics are of greater importance it is also worthwhile to note format characteristics. Weaver and Mullins (1975) did both. Competition (Weaver and Mullins, 1975:259) was defined as "...one in which two or



more daily newspapers, separately owned and published, were located in the same city." With this in mind, 46 competing dailies in 23 U.S. cities were chosen for analysis. All joint-operation cities and those where one newspaper clearly dominated the market were eliminated. The statistics showed few significant differences in content. The 'leading papers' carried more home news, human interest news and sports. Weaver and Mullins (1975) found that when comparing the 'leading papers' to the 'trailing papers', the leader was more likely to devote more space to advertising, and less to editorial content. Also, evidence suggested that trailing papers' differed with regard to format:

there was a tendency for the 'trailing' papers to use more modern formats (no column rules, fewer number of stories on the front page, color photographs, larger photographs, smaller headlines, six-column layout). (1975:264)

Whether modern formats led to lesser circulation was unknown. The authors suggested that perhaps the trailing papers were newer and as a result had modern equipment.

Finally evidence suggested that 'leading papers' were more likely to subscribe to a greater variety of news services which included United Press International, New York Times, Los Angeles Times-Washington Post, Chicago Daily News, Dow Jones, and North American Newspapers Alliance (1975:263).

### 2.1.3 Chain Ownership

Even though some pressures from group ownership may be evident, indirect pressures can be just as effective. Soloski studied the methods used in one specific case. The Sun (a masked name) is a U.S. daily with circulation of 17,000 which recently merged with a major U.S. newspaper group.

The three areas of concern were the effects of group owned wire service, the changing role of the publisher when profit goals were established, and finally how management techniques affected newsroom personnel (Soloski, 1979:19).

When the group-owned wire service was made available, The Sun's editors were instructed by the publisher to use as much group wire copy as possible after local copy and state copy. There were economic advantages to group wire copy:

The wire saved The Sun money. The Sun purchased such items as a doctor's advice column and astrology tables from a syndicate. With the introduction of the wire, these and other features became available free to The Sun which reaped its features to take advantage of the material provided. (1979:20-21)

The newspapers had various reasons for supporting syndicated material carried on the wire. Not only did it minimize expenses but it minimized chances of typesetting error (1979:21). However, the heavy use of group wire features and columnists suggested that the group papers with access to the group's wire service would be similar in content, especially on the editorial pages (1979:21):

This similarity of content criticism could be made of all media that use the AP or UPI wire service. But there is a difference between AP and

UPI and the group's wire. AP and UPI tend to run news stories, emphasizing the who, what and where qualities of news while the group's wire provides analysis and opinions about news events, institutions and politicians. (1979:22)

Also of importance, most of the chain's newspapers were monopoly papers and using the readily available wire service might result in less local reporting (1979:22).

The next area of study was the relationship of economics to the publisher (Soloski, 1979:22): "As a group paper, the publisher's primary responsibilities are to the group and not to the community in which the paper is published".<sup>16</sup> This led to a responsibility conflict. If the publisher was to keep his job, he had to provide the group with profits. When the publisher of The Sun was asked what the company would do if his profits declined, he responded:

'They would replace me. If I can't substantiate why we aren't making a gain over the previous year—that's one of the measures the company uses—or gain over the budget, they would replace me.' (1979:23)

The Sun's money saving techniques (Soloski, 1979:24-25) included cutbacks of local news reporting, discouraging overtime, and keeping travelling expenses to a minimum. In addition, the editorial staff was reduced not through cutbacks but attrition. In the case of The Sun, the vacancies were not immediately filled, rather the staff was restructured to accommodate the extra work.  
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<sup>16</sup> While all owners are concerned with economics, group newspapers need to satisfy share holders therefore the owners tend to stress profits by implementing "profit quotas".

The third area studied by Soloski was Management Techniques. Each employee was given a goal to ensure that she/he was turning out enough stories. Management by Objectives (MBO) however, could endanger the quality of a report:

Reporters may tend to write the easily obtained and written story, being reluctant to take or complex stories requiring considerable time to research and write. And there is reason to believe that this is occurring at The Sun. (Soloski, 1979:26)

A reporter at The Sun confirms this:

'We are pursuing numbers. There are stories which should be done but are put off because there is constant pressure to produce features...I do the easy feature rather than do an in-depth story'. (1979:26)

It appears that in the case of The Sun, group membership did affect the news output.

Allen H. Neuharth, president of Gannett Newspapers, has argued that management is not used to influence editors. Actually, editors and publishers were encouraged to make their own decisions (Shaw, 1978:11): "We believe completely in the concept of local autonomy- letting our individual editors and publishers decide their own news play and endorsements and everything else." During the 1976 presidential elections, Neuharth certainly allowed publishers to select the candidate of their choice as 60 percent of the Gannett papers endorsed Gerald Ford and 40 percent Jimmy Carter (Shaw, 1978:11). However, Neuharth does not always encourage "local autonomy".

The New Mexican was purchased by Gannett on February 27, 1976. This paper in Santa Fe, New Mexico was a local monopoly paper. Robert McKinney, owner of the New Mexican, agreed to sell with the understanding that he would have total control of the paper as chairman, chief executive officer, publisher and editor-in-chief. Although illness would cause McKinney to be absent at times, it was agreed that Stephen E. Watkins would continue to act as president and chief operating officer.

Shortly after Gannett purchased the paper, Watkins was provided with a profit quota, previously non-existent. To try and meet this goal local news was cut and replaced by syndicated material, and numerous other changes took place. McKinney sold to Gannett because he believed that "local autonomy" meant just that. McKinney sued Gannett for fraud and breach of contract. On June 27, 1980 the jury in New Mexico found Gannett guilty and returned the paper to McKinney (Bagdikian, 1983:88-91). The judge wrote:

One of the greatest sources of wonder to me at trial was the attitude of some of the Gannett men when they addressed McKinney's right of "complete charge" and "complete authority"... They attempted to project sincere impressions that these contractual provisions did not really mean what they clearly state...The effort failed. Neuharth, for example, cavalierly characterized McKinney's solid and substantial contract rights of "complete charge" and "complete authority" as "window dressing"...McKinney would not have entered into the bargain if he had contemplated that Gannett would not keep its word...He was attracted to Gannett because of its policy of "local autonomy". (Bagdikian, 1983:91)

Although McKinney's situation and Solcski's study (1979) indicated that at times group membership did have an effect on the existing paper, readers' attitudes do not always reflect this understanding. Hale studied subscribers and their attitudes on group ownership of newspapers. A six page questionnaire was self-administered by 210 people who read the Waco (Texas) Tribune-Herald. The morning and evening paper are owned by Cox Enterprises. What Hale found was that 72% of the subscribers could not name a newspaper group or chain and only 49 percent knew that the Tribune-Herald was part of a newspaper group. Other results showed 57% would prefer that the Tribune-Herald were locally owned and 54% felt it should be an independent business. Perhaps the most interesting result was:

65% said the government should remain uninvolved in the matter of purchase of newspapers, and 60% said the government should remain uninvolved with regard to encouraging or discouraging a chain from acquiring a large number of papers in one state. (Hale, 1980:315).

Even though there was a higher rating for local and independent papers, the quality of independent and group paper was seen as almost the same. Some 20% of the respondents felt that the two types of newspapers were the same, 36% were uncertain, 25% felt the independent were better and 15% felt group newspapers were superior and 4% did not respond to the question (Hale, 1980:315).

In terms of government intervention, Hale concluded:

persons who were knowledgeable about their local newspaper ownership and about national trends in

newspaper groups tended to favor government limitations on group ownership at both the state and national level. Public awareness of this issue may result in public advocacy of government intervention. (1980:316)[see Einsiedel and Winter, 1983 for more on this topic.]

An earlier study by Stewart reflected similar reader attitudes. In 1953, Stewart conducted research on two daily newspapers under the same ownership. Studies were done in Louisville, Des Moines, Minneapolis and Atlanta. The results in all 4 cities were similar. There seemed to be a high level of acceptance of these dual combinations. The following results showed a high degree of acceptance 32 years ago. When asked:

In general, do you think the paper tries to be fair by presenting all sides of news to the public?

Readers in the four cities responded with an amazing 71%, 74%, 77% and 77% 'yes'. When asked:

Does the paper seem to be willing to correct mistakes when they find that they have made one?

The answer 'yes' was overwhelming. The four cities responded positively with scores of 79%, 82%, 85% and 86%. The results were also impressive when asked:

Do you read the editorials in the paper?

The responses were favourable - 74%, 78%, 68% and 74% (Stewart, 1953:316).

Also the papers were received positively, specifically when addressing local news, sports, politics, business and market news, national affairs, foreign news and so on (Stew-

art, 1953:317). Stewart, who conducted his survey over 30 years ago, concluded that more studies were needed where there were competing dailies or where no competition existed.

#### 2.1.4 Chain Ownership And News Services

While chain ownership and its effect on the reader require more emphasis, attention should also be directed toward the possible relationship between chain ownership and news services. A study by Kears (1958) looked at the monopoly vs. competitive situation and the availability of non-local news services. The author concluded that large dailies with a monopoly or with reduced competition tended to have better wire resources than comparable dailies with full local competition. Dailies with circulations under 15,000 with full local monopoly had less acceptable press service resources (1958:64). The study also indicated that larger papers did not reduce their wire to the community when they became a monopoly and therefore "...preserve the desirable minimum of at least two major press services on which to draw for non-local news for their readers." (1958:68) This trend is understandable since monopoly and/or chain newspapers might minimize their staff reporters for cost reasons (to ensure larger profits), and replace locally written articles with wire copy.



### 2.1.5 Chain Ownership And Editorial Comment

Having briefly examined the relationship between chain ownership and news services, we now focus on a possible relationship between chain ownership and editorial comment. While competition may exist in some areas, monopoly cities are much more prevalent. In addition, monopoly increases hand in hand with the expansion of chain ownership. The tendencies of chains today no longer resemble the Hearst-Scripps-Pulitzer era. On the contrary, Southam and Thomson avoid competition; they particularly avoid competition in the same markets in Canada. A number of studies have shown the effects of chain ownership.

In their study, Mackman, Gillmor, Gaziano and Dennis (1975:413) defined a chain as "...three or more dailies in different cities under the same principal ownership or control." The authors looked at the nature of economic concentration in the newspaper industry and what influence it had on editorial policy. They concluded that concentration had increased and found that chain ownership of newspapers "...discourages editorial independence in endorsing presidential candidates." (1975:420) Furthermore, another U.S. study by Thrift (1977:331) concluded that "...independently owned daily newspapers' editorials do become less vigorous after the newspapers have been purchased by the chains."

In 1977 the Panax Corporation insisted that its eight daily newspapers and 40 weeklies publish two critical arti-

cles about President Carter on their front pages. When two editors in Michigan refused to follow orders, they were pressured by John McGoff, Panax President. As a result of the incident, one was fired and the other resigned under pressure (Shaw, 1978:11).

To help complicate the issue of chain ownership and editorial comment is a study by Wagenberg and Soderlund (1972). The authors content analyzed 7 newspapers during the 1972 Canadian federal election. The authors decided to study the Free Press group, specifically, the Lorain Globe and Mail, the Ottawa Journal, the Winnipeg Free Press and the Vancouver Sun. The Halifax Chronicle-Herald and Le Devoir, two independent newspapers, as well as the Windsor Star, more recently acquired by Southam, served as a control group (1975:94).

The analysis took place between August 1, 1972 and November 11, 1972, beginning approximately one month prior to the calling of the election and ending a couple of weeks after. The political editorial comment was grouped into 8 areas: Economic Themes, Political Leaders, Foreign Policy Themes, Nationalism Themes, Environmental Themes, Miscellaneous Themes, Political Institutions and Social-Cultural Themes. The authors noted:

while there are some similarities between some Free Press papers in the degree of coverage given to certain economic themes, the differences between papers in the chain are just as striking. (1975:95)

Wagenberg and Soderlund (1975:98) concluded that chain ownership "...does not seem to have resulted in any collusion by editorialists within the Free Press chain to stress any particular issue or promote the fortunes of any political party."

#### 2.1.6 Cross Media Monopoly

While discussing the economic forces in the newspaper industry, Ray (1952) touched on the subject of local monopoly, a topic re-analyzed by the Kent Commission. Ray wrote:

Mergers, consolidations and local combinations of newspapers, and integration of newspapers with broadcasting stations, constitute efforts to gain local monopoly through elimination of competition with a view to maximizing profits or minimizing losses. (1952:32)

While the economics involved favor monopolies, there are serious implications as Ray suggested (1952:42), "Privilege of group ownership like local monopoly, may be abused; the opportunity for abuse, however, is greater."

Cross-media monopoly, as defined by Stempel (1973:3) is "...ownership of newspapers, radio stations and/or television stations in the same community by a single individual or corporation." To examine the potential problems, Stempel studied the city of Zanesville. In 1970 Zanesville, with a cross-media monopoly, had a population of 32,000. The author also studied Steubenville (population 30,000) and Portsmouth (population 28,000) with two and three competing media ownerships respectively. Stempel went to great

lengths to identify the similarities, as well as the differences between the three cities. All 3 cities were established at approximately the same time, their populations all had slightly below the state median of 10.9 years of education, and all readers and viewers had access to out of town media. The differences between the cities were minor, and included Steubenville's voting behavior.

Block probability samples of each community were obtained and interviews were conducted over a 3 week period. Stempel attempted to study the public attitudes toward the community media, as well as the content of the media.

Stempel (1973:10) concluded, "Our survey results make it rather clear that Zanesville residents used the news media less and were less well informed than the residents of either Steubenville or Portsmouth." More specifically, when given 10 names to identify (e.g. names of political figures), Zanesville averaged 3.10, Steubenville 4.42 and Portsmouth 3.66 (1973:12). Steubenville and Portsmouth residents answered better than the residents of Zanesville:

the wide disparity between the scores of Zanesville respondents and those of Steubenville and Portsmouth reflects a substantial and serious lag in the amount of information Zanesville residents had. The Zanesville media simply were not as effective in helping residents learn about the news as the media in Steubenville and Portsmouth or such large differences would not have existed. (1973:13)

Yet while Zanesville tended to use the media less, public acceptance of the area media was high.

Of key interest was the fact that the Portsmouth Times and the Steuenville Herald-Star ran more than twice as many editorials as the Zanesville Times-Recorder (1973:27).

2.1.7 Moderate and Intense vs Non-Competitive Markets

It is very difficult to examine different papers under different circumstances and speculate on the effects of monopoly and/or cross ownership. For this reason, the study by Rarick and Hartman (1966) should be noted. The authors were able to analyze a single paper under various circumstances and therefore eliminate numerous variables. Rarick and Hartman studied the Iri-City Herald during a period of no competition, moderate and intense competition. The authors analyzed the news-editorial contents of 53 issues. The first period of analysis was conducted between October 1, 1948 to June 30, 1949. During this time the Herald was without competition and had a circulation of about 10,000. The next period of study was between October 1, 1953 to June 30, 1954 when the Herald was highly competitive with the News, each having about 12,000 circulation. The third analysis was between October 1, 1962 and June 30, 1963. During this time the Herald was clearly dominant with circulation of about 18,000 while the News had about 8,000<sup>17</sup> (Rarick & ++++++)

<sup>17</sup> This is a field experiment using a modified 'AEA' field experiment design (Myers, 1980:128). In fact what might be called an 'ABC' design, with no competition, intense, and moderate competition, as the three conditions. In this respect the authors were attempting to use some experimental controls to get at causality. This is also a

Hartman, 1966:460).

The Tri-City Herald, serving the cities of Kennewick, Pasco, and Richland, Washington, was used to test two specific hypotheses. The researchers speculated that the newspaper would devote a greater percentage of its non-advertising space to local content under intense competition. Also tested was the idea that the newspaper would devote a larger proportion of its news and feature space to sensational and human interest (immediate-reward) content when highly competitive.

The results were as expected. Under intense competition the Herald used 51% of its available space for local content, 43% when competition was minimal and only 41% before competition (1966:461). The order  $51\% > 43\% > 41\%$  or  $B > C > A$  was exactly as predicted and all were statistically significant.

Immediate reward news (Karick & Hartman, 1966:462) was defined as "...that which pays an immediate reward to the reader in terms of vicarious experience or pleasure or both." The authors looked at crime-vice, accidents-disasters and features-human interest and combined them into a single category of immediate-reward news. The data supported the second hypothesis: During intense competition 30% of the news and feature space was devoted to immediate reward news. During no competition and during minimal competition the  
 ++++++

strength of the Stempel (1972) study and the Irim, Pizante and Yaraskavitch (1983) study.

Herald's news content was 21.6% and 22.3% respectively. This would indicate that under pressure, the newspaper tended to be more sensational. Stempel (1973:25) also dealt with immediate reward news. The results showed an emphasis on immediate reward news - crime, accidents and disaster, popular arts and amusement and human interest. Approximately two thirds of the news stories examined during the study were from the four mentioned categories.

As mentioned, the study by Karick and Hartman was unusual in that it examined one paper over a period of 15 years during intense competition, with no competition and with minimal competition. Under different time periods, the researchers were able to study the same newspaper in the same city under the same management (1966:463).

Schweitzer and Goldman (1975) also dealt with the effects of competition. Like Karick and Hartman, the authors studied a newspaper under intense competition, moderate competition and no competition. The city of Bloomington, Indiana was chosen and systematic random samples of the Herald-Telephone and the Courier-Tribune were selected for the three periods. A telephone survey was conducted with one hundred and forty-eight respondents. Schweitzer and Goldman hypothesized that under intense competition the newspaper would devote a greater percentage of its non-advertising space to local news than under moderate competition or no competition. Like the Karick and Hartman study, the authors

also tested for an increase in sensational news and features under intense competition.

The results were contrary to the Rarick and Hartman (1966) conclusions. The hypothesis that local content would decrease when there was no competition was not supported (1975:709). There was no support for their hypothesis that competition increased sensational news either. In addition readers were not able to distinguish quality differences between the two papers with the exception of immediate-reward news categories. Finally while there was a 5% increase of local news and features to total news and features, out of 148 respondents 105 answered 'no' when asked whether they noticed an increase or decrease in local news coverage by the Herald-Telephone (1975:709-710):

these results suggest that for the intended audience the presence or absence of daily newspaper competition does not seem to make much difference....When there is competition between newspapers neither the public nor the news-editorial departments of the newspapers seem to behave as if there were competition. (Schweitzer and Goldman, 1975:710)

However, the authors failed to ask the readers whether or not competition made a difference to them yet concluded this when two-thirds answered that they did not perceive a difference in local news coverage after the demise of the Courier-Tribune. The authors allowed a six month lapse between the competitive and non-competitive periods, which may not have been enough time. Also, it may not have been realistic to expect the readers to notice a small increase of 5 percent in the percentage of local news.



### 2.1.8 Recent Criticism

Recent criticisms reveal similar arguments and concerns. Alexander F. Giacco, chief executive officer and chairman of Hercules, Inc., felt that there was a noticeable deterioration in the quality and reliability of news partly due to lack of competition. He warned about the possible problems in a monopoly situation:

'Regardless of how well meaning a publisher may be, a press monopoly in a locality restricts the field of public information,' he said. 'Too often the result may be a one-sided view of the political or economic situation...and this despite the alternatives offered by radio and television.' ("University", 1982:38)

Furthermore Giacco argued that:

the local press can find it economically advantageous to substitute nationally produced teletype for the more costly local reporting staff. This is, in a sense, one way of achieving productivity, but it is damaging to the quality of the paper itself.' ("University", 1982:38)

While one daily in an area might not in itself be an evil (Lee 1979:16), the formation of a newspaper monopoly in a once competitive market means less newspaper information. This was evident when Trim, Pizante and Yaraskavitch (1983) examined all municipal-related news in the Winnipeg Tribune, Winnipeg Free Press, Ottawa Journal and Ottawa Citizen.

The study took place during two time periods; July 1 to December 31, 1979 and July 1 to December 31, 1981. There were 180 newspaper issues chosen, 20% of issues from each of the two sampling periods. The study focused on City Hall stories - 537 were studied. Trim *et al.* studied the pres-

entation, size and placement of a story, as well as the governmental institutions or bureaucratic structures to which references were made.

The results suggested that City Hall news received little attention. The authors (Trim *et al.*, 1983:40) concluded:

those stories that warranted a high amount of news space in 1979 were getting less space in 1981 and those stories that were getting a lower amount in 1979 were not getting published in 1981.

The results suggested a decrease in City Hall news in 1981 compared to 1979. In the case of the Winnipeg Free Press, the authors found 141 City Hall stories in 1979 and only 47 in 1981. While there was an average of nearly five stories per issue in 1979, there were fewer than two stories per issue in 1981.

Perhaps a more important discovery by Trim *et al.* was the decrease in local newshole in the Winnipeg Free Press:

In the Free Press alone the news hole dropped to 30% of its former size. The total news hole reduction or decrease in the news available to the public, stood at 82%....there was only 18% of the 1979 volume of news available in 1981. (1983:42)

The Ottawa situation showed a 20 percent drop in municipal news in the Citizen and an overall 60% decrease in the Ottawa City Hall newshole (Trim *et al.*, 1983:42).

Another conclusion by Trim *et al.* was that not only were there fewer stories in 1981 but they were less specific (1983:44). In 1979, the stories tended to deal with the specific City committees involved while in 1981 reference

was made to the City council in general. The authors (Trim *et al.*, 1983:53) concluded that there was "...an overall decline in the quantity and quality of municipal government news in both the surviving newspapers", and it would be therefore more difficult for the public to make decisions on the activities of local politicians (Trim *et al.*, 1983:54).

Other people have echoed the findings of Trim *et al.* Former Tribune reporter John Drabble felt the coverage of City Hall events had declined (Slotnick, 1983:3).

In response to the Trim *et al.* article, Thomas (1984) noted possible problems, solutions and suggestions to improve the study.

Thomas (1984) argued that the Trim *et al.* study arrived at some premature conclusions. Although they might be legitimate, other factors needed to be considered. While the tables showed a decrease in City Hall news, Thomas argued that the authors did not show the statistics to be significant (Thomas, 1984:96). He also suggested that the decline in local news coverage might have taken place not as a result of the newspaper closings but before the closings (1984:96). In fact a decrease in local news might be a popular trend regardless of whether competition exists.

Thomas (1984:97) also suggested that while a 20 percent sample was acceptable, the authors did not use the appropriate inferential statistics. So, while the Trim *et al.* study is important, there are problems that need consideration.

Having discussed the empirical studies dealing with monopoly and concentration, two other areas need to be mentioned: increasing costs and advertising.

### 2.1.9 Increasing Costs

It is difficult to determine which is the cause and which is the effect when addressing the topic of cost and concentration. However, it is often argued that the reason for declining numbers of newspapers is increasing costs (cf. Kay, 1952; Coulson, 1980; Kesterton, 1967:72,76; "One-Paper", 1948:24; Porter 1965). In the 1800s, practically anyone interested could afford to publish a newspaper. Frank Oliver needed only \$21 to start his Edmonton Bulletin and Lord Atholstan (also known as Hugh Graham) spent \$100 to purchase the Montreal Star (Kesterton, 1967:72). In 1835, James Gordon Bennett acquired the New York Herald for \$500 (Coulson, 1980:81).

By mid-century, only the very wealthy could afford to purchase or start up a newspaper. Johnson (1950:49) noted that "...the only kind of man who can start a big city newspaper in 1950 is one with millions at his command, and even he has no assurance of success." In 1980, Coulson wrote:

The newspaper industry has reached a point where it is nearly economically impossible to operate a competing newspaper, nearly financially impossible to purchase a prosperous one and generally impossible to establish a newspaper in a city where one already exists. (p. 81)

Apparently the Toronto Star was sold in the late 1950s for over \$25 million dollars (Porter, 1965:463) and Rupert Murdoch is reputed to have spent \$30 million dollars on the purchase of the New York Post in 1977 (Coulson, 1980:81).

While higher production costs and other varying factors allow only a very select group to remain in or to enter the newspaper business, other industries are subject to the same pressures. After the closing of the World and Evening World, Heywood Brown wrote (Liebling, 1961:45) in the newly named World-Telegram, "I wouldn't weep about a shoe factory or a branchline railroad shutting down....But newspapers are different." Newspapers are different and one should view with alarm the monopolistic tendencies of these major corporations. Perhaps the consumer is justified in questioning the direction of the industry, especially when recognizing those few faces that are in control. Allen Harold Neuharth is the company president, chief executive officer and chairman of the Gannett chain. When asked whether the corporate name was pronounced 'GAN-nett' or 'Gan-NETT', Neuharth replied that the correct pronunciation was 'MONEY' (Bagdikian, 1983:76). (The proper pronunciation is with the accent on the last syllable.) While on the subject of money, when Roy Thomson, founder of the Thomson empire, (including 52 Canadian and 88 U.S. newspapers, oil, insurance, publishing, travel, department stores, etc.) was told he couldn't take it with him (Campbell, 1984:10), he replied, "Then I'm not

going." While Thomson might not be remembered for this statement, he might be remembered as the backbone of an \$8 billion dollar empire wherein the staff at the Franklin Daily Times had to sign for 19-cent pens and where the publisher ordered cheaper and coarser toilet paper to save money (Campbell, 1984:10).

#### 2.1.10 Advertising

Another area of potentially negative impact of monopoly ownership is, with respect to advertising costs. Advertising revenue is responsible for 78% of the newspaper industry's total revenue (Kent et al. 1981, 68-69) and research indicates this dependency on advertising is growing; between 60-75% of available newspaper space is designated to advertising content; an increasing number of newspapers are using their door-to-door distribution service to distribute products other than a newspaper; and finally, an increasing number of publishers are providing free-circulation newspapers to non-subscribers. They consist of 90-95% advertising content. Already over 60% of newspapers in North America provide some form of free-circulation newspaper (Megarry, 1982:48). Globe and Mail publisher Roy Megarry notes:

By 1990, publishers of mass-circulation daily newspapers will finally stop kidding themselves that they are in the news paper business and admit that they are primarily in the business of carrying advertising messages. (Megarry, 1982:48)

As advertisers are dependent on newspapers to distribute advertising messages, newspaper chains are often guilty of abusing their power. As discussed earlier, Grotta (1971) found advertisers did not benefit from newspaper mergers. Actually Grotta suggested that the advertiser paid significantly higher prices (1971:250).

Charette, Brown-John, Romanow and Soderlund (1983) studied the effects of chain acquisitions and terminations on advertising rates of Canadian newspapers. The authors selected nine papers that were once independent but became chain acquisitions. Two additional papers of approximately equal size were studied in each of the nine areas and were used as a control group. Three other papers, the Montreal Star, Winnipeg Tribune and Ottawa Journal, all of which ceased to exist, were studied, and the remaining competitor was included. (These three papers folded during 1979 and 1980.) The authors concluded:

The mass medium attempts to package information and/or entertainment which is sold (often at cost below that of production) or given away to consumers along with advertising messages which of course are paid for by the advertisers. (Charette et al., 1983:5)

In a chain situation, costs may be shared, for example - information gathering and reporting, management and syndicated columns with the chain. Unfortunately, a single paper may find the expenses great (Charette et al., 1983:8).

One of the most important functions of newspapers is to provide local content. As well, newspapers must rely on lo-

cal advertising. Revenue from local advertising is essential for a healthy newspaper according to Charette et al., (1983:9).

✓ Charette et al. suggested that revenue arises from two sources - circulation and advertising. Advertising as a profit source is tested in the Charette et al. study:

In assessing our conclusions on the effect of chain acquisitions and terminations on advertising rates, it must be kept in mind that our sample was constructed so as to maximize the impact of chain activity. Thus our finding, that chain acquisition of a previously independent newspaper is not reflected in changes in advertising rates, takes on added significance. On the other hand, the closing of a newspaper by a chain in a previously competitive market, does result in high advertising rates. (Charette et al., 1983:21)

While both the consumer and the advertiser are doing their share to ensure the existence of newspapers, the industry is focused on profits.

Some publishers have an overpowering influence on "innocent subscribers" because of market power scale economies and marketing techniques (Blankenburg, 1982: 392-393). There is evidence to suggest that Gannett papers might eliminate circulation for profit reasons:

The common assumption is that newspapers always strive for maximum circulation because advertising rates are based on circulation and economies of scale in production invite maximization....However, it can be demonstrated that maximum sales may not mean maximum profits in a monopolized market. For the sake of profits, circulation may be held - or reduced - to an optimum level. (Blankenburg, 1982:390)



Apparently, the practice of eliminating circulation was not unique and had been used for various reasons (Blankenburg, 1982: 392-393). To test whether or not newspapers would cut unprofitable circulation, Blankenburg chose to look at the performance of the Gannett chain, which might be inclined to use this tactic to ensure profits, and a matched set of newspapers under other ownerships. In 1970, 21 of 36 Gannett papers raised their daily newspaper price from ten cents to 15 cents. What resulted was a four percent decline in total circulation but a 15.2 percent increase in total circulation revenues. In addition, advertising revenue rose by 4.4 percent. In 1974 every Gannett paper analyzed its less profitable distribution (often termed "ego circulation") and was forced to trim it or increase the price. That year circulation declined three percent, circulation revenues rose almost 16 percent, and advertising revenues increased nearly eight percent. The following year Gannett reported another 4.4 percent decrease in circulation but increases in both circulation and advertising revenues - 12.4 percent and 5.2 percent respectively. Gannett also reported earnings of \$134,000,000 in 1979, an increase of 466 percent for the decade (Blankenburg, 1982: 393-394). These results supported the hypothesis that Gannett newspapers showed an average decline in circulation. Blankenburg concluded:

To judge from the other newspapers, Gannett did not have to reduce its circulation. The matching dailies survived, presumably with profits, without such reduction. But a large publicly held chain has the motive, means, and opportunity to tailor

its profits, and evidently Gannett did so. (1982:398)

In 1981, the Washington Star folded and left the Washington Post in full command of the market. First the 'Sunday-only' subscribers were hit with a new price increase. Sunday papers became \$1.25 up 25-cents from the former \$1 price. This 25-cent increase was justified by the Washington Post because the Sunday-only home delivery price had not increased in almost three years and the paper was merely trying to keep up with the cost-of-living increase. Unfortunately this argument was not sound and was examined by

Timothy Noah:

inflation hasn't gone up 25 percent since March 1981; the Consumer Price Index rose only half that amount in this period. And Post Company profits for the first three quarters of 1983 were nearly three times those for the same period in 1981 (Noah, 1984:16)

Although the Post Company had increasing profits, 60 percent in 1982 (Noah, 1984:17), the Washington Post not only turned to the consumer for more money, but the advertisers as well:

The Post raised classified and retail advertising rates 13 percent in 1982, and an additional 9.5 percent last February [1983], when the recession was just beginning to subside. (Noah, 1984:17)

Now that the Washington Post is a monopoly newspaper, the Washington Post Company benefits. In the last two years, stock has increased 117.9 percent (Noah, 1984:14). According to Noah, the profits are not being used to improve the newspaper. The Company spent over \$1 million for its Newsweek's 50th anniversary. A number of famous people were

present at the black-tie dinner, a dinner to impress Newsweek advertisers. Also profits are used to provide management with incredible salaries - well beyond the norm (Noah, 1984:14).

In Canada, the situation is similar, with the advertiser subject to high increases. Lendre Rodgers Kearns, a communications director of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet said there have been three increases in the price of advertising since the closing of the Winnipeg Tribune. Advertising rates will be dealt with in the hypotheses which follow.

### III

#### SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

The Canadian newspaper industry experienced different periods; tight government control, Libertarianism, Political Partisanship, Yellow Journalism and Concentration. While each period contained restrictions and problems, the most serious was when responsibility was replaced by movement toward profits.

Critics such as Irwin (Hudson, 1970), Sinclair (1920) and Canadian Carlton McNaught (1940) were among the first to examine the newspaper industry critically. They received major support from Justice Hugo Black (1945) in the Associated Press vs. the United States court case. In addition, the Hutchins Report (1947) reiterated the need for a more responsible press and made recommendations for improvements. The O'Leary Commission (1961), the Davey Report (1970) and the Kent Commission (1981) all suggested that the Government of Canada take action to improve newspapers.

Since the literature review represents an overview of the research dealing with monopoly and concentration, it is easy to recognize the inconsistent findings. The inconclusiveness of these findings suggests a need for more studies and perhaps a need for similar criteria. Certainly the

critics argue that monopoly, concentration and cross-media ownership are detrimental. However, the research pertaining to the newspaper industry does not always reflect this.

Grotta (1971) concluded that monopolies might be responsible for higher prices and lower quality. Bigman (1948) and Willoughby (1955) found that a city with two newspapers was not necessarily better since the papers tended to resemble each other. Hicks and Featherston (1978) tested competing newspapers in three different cities. What they concluded was all three situations were highly competitive and beneficial to the community.

Researchers also have studied chain ownership. Although chain ownership can be considered a separate topic, chains tend to lead to monopoly. What the empirical research indicated was again inconsistent. Wackaar, Gillmor, Gaciano and Dennis (1975) and Thrift (1977) concluded that chain ownership did result in adverse effects. Yet Wagenberg and Soderlund (1975) felt that the Free Press chain that they analyzed, did not show any signs of collusion with regard to editorials.

In addition to monopoly and concentration, researchers studied cross-ownership. As expected, the same sort of controversy was evident.

Due to the disagreement and contradictory findings, it is obvious that more research needs to be done in these areas.

The current study stems specifically from the Iria et al. (1983) research. Having studied the Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg Tribune, Ottawa Citizen and Grass Journal, the authors concluded that the newshole of municipal government-related news in the Winnipeg Free Press dropped 70% from 1979 to 1981 and there was a 20% drop in the municipal news in the Citizen.

With the situation in Winnipeg appearing more critical because of the larger drop in municipal related news, it was decided that the Winnipeg Free Press would be studied. Another reason for the choice was that the Free Press was owned by F.P. Publications until early 1980, when the Thomson chain purchased the paper. The Winnipeg Free Press, as a member of the Thomson chain, was selected because the Thomson newspapers have been referred to as less socially responsible, and more profit-motivated than the Southam chain:

It may be noted in passing that Thomson Newspapers is the most conspicuously profitable newspaper enterprise in Canada, but in 1980 its rate of spending on the news and editorial content of its Canadian newspapers, as a proportion of total revenue, was 24 per cent below the average for the industry. This says something about the cost-efficiency for which the company is noted. It also suggests that the profit motive, as opposed to the editorial service motive, ranks higher in the priority scale of the Thomson organization than among its newspaper colleagues. (They cannot be called its competitors, as Thomson scrupulously avoids competition.) (Kent Commission, 1981:164)

It has been suggested (Thomas, 1984) that the decline in newshole may not have been a reflection of the newly

formed monopoly, but rather a reflection of the tight economic times due to the recession. In light of the Trim et al. findings, the following is hypothesized with respect to newshole:

HYPOTHESIS ONE:

The Winnipeg Free Press experienced a decline in overall newshole after the demise of the Winnipeg Tribune.

The second hypothesis is drawn from the Grotta (1971) study. Grotta compared the amount of local news to total news but this result was not significant. However, other results led him to conclude that the consumer did not receive any benefits when newspapers underwent consolidation or when competition just ceased to exist. In essence, chains did not use their economic advantages to better their newspapers nor did monopoly newspapers act responsibly and better their product. Actually, Grotta concluded that there was a possibility that the reader was paying more but receiving less. Hence, Hypothesis Two:

HYPOTHESIS TWO:

After the closing of the Winnipeg Tribune, the Winnipeg Free Press, had a decline in the proportion of local news to total news.

Newspapers have often been referred to as carriers of local news. While Hypothesis Two deals with the proportion of local news to total news, it is vital that local news in general be examined. The Trim et al. study had a very nar-

row focus but provided some startling results. Specifically, in the Free Press the municipal news hole was 70 percent smaller in 1981 than in 1979 (1983:42). Also, Iria et al. found that the number of municipal government related stories decreased. While 141 stories were coded during the sampling period in 1979, only 47 stories were published in 1981. Also Schweitzer and Goldman (1975) found no support that when competition ceased to exist, local content would decrease. These findings conflict with those of Kerick and Hartman (1986).

The following hypothesis does not deal solely with municipal government related news but with local news in general. Hence Hypothesis Three:

#### HYPOTHESIS THREE:

In 1983, the Winnipeg Free Press ran fewer local stories than it did in 1979.

Nothing in the literature review addressed the question of amount of national or international news in pre and post monopoly situations. Although newspapers are vital as carriers of local news, they also have a responsibility to the public in these other areas. Therefore it is important to analyze these questions. Owing to expected greater reliance on cheaper wire-copy material, Hypothesis Four is that:

#### HYPOTHESIS FOUR:

In 1983, the Winnipeg Free Press published more national news than in 1979.

Similarly, Hypothesis Five on international news is that:



## HYPOTHESIS FIVE:

In 1983, the Winnipeg Free Press published more international news than in 1979.

The above hypotheses are based on the knowledge that costs play an important role in the newspaper industry. Since most national and international news stories would likely be taken from the wire, the cost to publish this information is relatively cheap. As publishers strive for increased profits and find that local news is expensive to produce, they use the wire service (national and international news) as filler material around the ads.

The next hypothesis concerns advertising. Gratta (1971) documented newspapers' dependency on advertising. The advertising industry is so vital that some see advertising as the prime reason for newspapers and not news (Megarry, 1982:48). Research shows that 60-75% of available space is designated to advertising content (Megarry, 1982:48). Hence Hypothesis Six:

## HYPOTHESIS SIX:

The amount of advertising increased in the Free Press from 1979 to 1983 while the news hole decreased.

In addition recent statistics cite advertising revenue as approximately 80% of newspapers' total revenue (Megarry, 1982:48; Kent et al., 1981: 68-69). While the consumer is paying more, the proportion paid by advertisers is increasing.

Hypothesis Seven deals with the question of advertising and cost. Earlier, mention was made of Lendre Rodgers Kearns, a communications director of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet. Slotnick (1983:3) quoted Kearns as saying that there had been three increases in the price of advertising since the closing of the Winnipeg Tribune. In addition, Charette et al. found that when a chain newspaper became a monopoly newspaper, this led to higher advertising rates. Hypothesis Seven states that:

**HYPOTHESIS SEVEN:**

Retail and Classified rates increased in greater proportion from 1979 to 1983 for the Free Press than for comparable papers.

IV  
METHOD AND RESULTS

A pre and post monopoly study of the Winnipeg Free Press was conducted to observe selected differences. The Free Press became a monopoly in August 1980 when the Winnipeg Tribune closed its doors. The Tribune and the Free Press were competitive in 1979, thus this year was used as the pre monopoly test. 1983 was used to test the change in the Free Press after it ceased to compete with the Tribune, that is once it was in a virtual monopoly situation.

A random sample ~~was~~ drawn and a content analysis conducted on two constructed weeks' content pre and post monopoly. The random sample was stratified according to the months of the year and the days of the week. Every month was represented in both 1979 and 1983 and the publishing days (Monday to Saturday) appeared twice. Twelve issues per year were studied for a total of twenty-four individual issues (See Appendix A).

Each entire newspaper was coded with the individual story serving as the unit of analysis. The total number of stories coded was 4208.

Before coding began, the author and two other coders became familiar with the coding sheet and instructions. A

pretest was conducted using the categories on one newspaper issue. The author coded almost all of the newspapers, but a reliability check indicated 92% agreement on material coded by all three coders.<sup>18</sup> Categories and definitions (See Appendix B and C) were provided and test runs conducted. All coding was done at the University of Windsor and University of Western Ontario (London) using microfilm. After gathering the appropriate information using the Winnipeg Free Press, the material was entered into a computer and appropriate statistical procedures were performed.

#### 4.0.11 Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis suggested that the Winnipeg Free Press would experience a decline in newshole after the demise of the Winnipeg Tribune. The results (Table 1) indicate that the average newshole in 1979 was 7,649 cms. and in 1983 the average newshole was 7,116 cms., a decrease of 7%.<sup>19</sup> The t-probability was  $< .001$  therefore the hypothesis was supported.

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<sup>18</sup> Holsti's (1969) intercoder-reliability test was employed on one entire issue of the Winnipeg Free Press to determine how consistently the content was coded. The reliability coefficient is quite acceptable at a level of 92 percent.

<sup>19</sup> Alpha level for the study has been set at .05.

TABLE 1

## AMOUNT OF NEWSICLE

YEAR	MEAN
1979	7,649 cms.
1983	7,116 cms.

$p < .0001$ ;  $t = 11.64$

4.0.12 Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis Two stated that after the closing of the Winnipeg Tribune, the Winnipeg Free Press would have a decline in the proportion of local news to total news. This hypothesis was not supported. Actually there was a slight increase in the percentage of local news to total news but it was not significant (Table 2). In 1979, 22% of all news was local. However, in 1983 that percentage rose to 24%.

TABLE 2

## QUANTITY

YEAR	LOCAL CMS. PER ISSUE	TOTAL CMS. PER ISSUE	LOCAL NEWS % TO TOTAL NEWS
1979	1,670	7,649	22%
1983	1,735	7,116	24%

4.2-13 Hypothesis Three

The third hypothesis stated that the Winnipeg Free Press would run fewer local stories than it did in 1979. In essence the number of local stories remained virtually the same (Table 3).

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TABLE 3  
NUMBER OF LOCAL STORIES

	1979	1983
% of local stories to total stories	29%	35%
# of local stories	508	516

$\chi^2 = 4.54; p. > .05$

\*\*\*\*\*

In 1979 there were 508 stories and in 1983 there were 516. The difference was not significant. In addition the 'difference' in the number of colour cms. was not significant. The mean cms. in 1979 was 39.7717. In 1983 the mean cms for local stories was 40.3585 (Table 4).

\*\*\*\*\*

TABLE 4

MEAN CMS. FOR LOCAL STORIES

	1979	1983
MEAN	39.7717 CMS.	40.3585 CMS.

p. > .05; t = -0.30

\*\*\*\*\*

4.0.14 Hypothesis Four

The next hypothesis suggested that the Winnipeg Free Press would publish more national news in 1983 than it did in 1979. In 1979, 620 stories were coded as national while only 408 were considered national stories in 1983, representing a 34% reduction (Table 5).

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TABLE 5

AMOUNT OF NATIONAL NEWS

	1979	1983
% of national stories to total stories	36%	28% <i>gl</i>
# of national stories	620	408

<sup>2</sup>  
x = 4.73; p. < .05

\*\*\*\*\*

while the number of stories decreased significantly, the amount of cms. per story remained almost the same. In 1979 the average national story was 35.3839. In 1983 the average was 36.7819. The fourth hypothesis was not supported (Table 6).

γ+++++

TABLE 6  
MEAN CMS. FOR NATIONAL NEWS

MEAN	1979	1983
	35.3839 cms.	36.7819 cms.

t = -0.60; p. > .05

β+++++

4.0.15 Hypothesis Five

The fifth hypothesis suggested that the Winnipeg Free Press would publish more international news in 1983 than in 1979. As Table 7 illustrates, the number of international stories decreased significantly. In 1979, 617 stories were considered to be international, while in 1983, only 552 international stories were coded, an 11% reduction.

However while the number of stories decreased significantly, the amount of news per story was not significantly different between the two sampling periods. In 1979 the average international story was 44.9076 cms., while in 1983,



TABLE 7  
 AMOUNT OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS

	1979	1983
% of international stories to total stories	35%	37%
# of international stories	617	552

$\chi^2 = 4.37; p. < .05.$

the average international story was 47.9167 cms. hypothesis five was not supported.

TABLE 8  
 MEAN CMS. FOR INTERNATIONAL NEWS

	1979	1983
MEAN	44.9076 CMS.	47.9167 CMS.

$t = -1.08; p. > .05.$

4.0.16 Hypothesis Six

Hypothesis Six stated that the amount of advertising would increase in the Free Press from 1979 to 1983 while the newshole would decrease. Having already concluded, in Hypothesis One, that the amount of newshole declined significantly,

only the first part of Hypothesis Six remains to be tested. Table 9 suggests that advertising ~~decreased~~ significantly (p. < .001). In 1979, the average amount of advertising per issue was approximately 15,537 cns., while in 1983 the average amount of advertising per issue was approximately 11,333 cns, a decline of 37%. Therefore the hypothesis is only partially supported. While amount of newshole declined, so did the amount of advertising. However, there was an increase in proportion of advertising. In 1979, 49% of space was used for advertising content but in 1983, that amount rose to 63%.

While the local coverage remained roughly constant, the national and international news and advertising decreased, therefore resulting in a smaller paper. Hypothesis Seven might help to explain the situation since it looks at cost of advertising. With fewer advertisers, the Free Press would have to charge more to realize acceptable profits.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> While it might be suggested that all newspapers require a profit if they are to continue publishing, a newspaper in a monopoly situation is more likely to charge whatever the market will bare. Certainly some independent and chain owned newspapers are more responsible than others, however, group owned monopoly newspapers are often pressured into producing "gains" over the previous year for the share holders.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 TABLE 9  
 AMOUNT OF ADVERTISING PER ISSUE

	MEAN
1979	15537.2777 CMS.
1983	11322.8831 CMS.

t = 41.38; p. < .001

\*\*\*\*\*

#### 4.0.17 Hypothesis Seven

The Seventh Hypothesis suggested that retail and classified rates in the Free Press would increase in greater proportion from 1979 to 1983 than in other comparable papers. To test this hypothesis, retail and classified figures, as well as circulation figures,<sup>21</sup> were collected for the following papers: the Winnipeg Free Press, the Ottawa Citizen, the Edmonton Journal, The Windsor Star, the Victoria Colonist-Times, the Thunder Bay Times-News/Chronicle-Journal and finally The Toronto Star. In addition, cost of living figures were obtained.

The first paper analyzed was the Winnipeg Free Press. Table 10 suggests a 117% increase in Monday to Saturday line rate from January 1979 to January 1983. The retail line rate is used for all advertising other than what is used in

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<sup>21</sup> For further information on advertising figures see Appendix D. For greater detail on circulation figures see Appendix E. Information for these areas was taken from Canadian Advertising Rates and Data.

the classified section of the newspaper. The classified rate, used for classified advertisements, increased 98% for the same period. Therefore the average increase for retail and classified advertisements was 108%. The costs involved were determined by adding the cost of living increase and the circulation increase. In this case the total was 83%. To determine the Net increase, costs were subtracted from the average increase. We can conclude from this formula that the Winnipeg Free Press had an overall net (or surplus) increase of 25%.

Also included in Table 10 is information for the Ottawa Citizen. The average increase in retail and classified rates was 107%. Furthermore, the costs equalled 100%. Therefore, the net increase for the Ottawa Citizen was 7%.

The third paper in Table 10 is the Edmonton Journal. The retail rate increase for Monday to Saturday was 71%,<sup>22</sup> and the classified rate increase was 63%. This is an average increase of 67%. Meanwhile the circulation figures suggest a 9% increase for the same period. The net increase for the Edmonton Journal between January 1979 and January 1983 was 13%.

The Windsor Star had a 44% increase in both retail and classified rates between January 1979 and January 1983. However, the cost of living increase and circulation increase totalled 48% for an overall net decrease of 4%.  
 ++++++

<sup>22</sup> All Sunday information for the Edmonton Journal and The Toronto Star was eliminated for consistency reasons.

The Victoria Colonist-Times was also studied. While the retail rate rose 60% and the classified rate rose 77%, the circulation increase was 37%. Hence the total increase of 69% minus the total costs of 82% suggests a net decrease of 13% for the four year period.

In addition, information for the Thunder Bay Times-News/Chronicle-Journal was collected. The average increase of retail and classified rates was 56%. The 2% increase in circulation was added to the cost of living increase for a total cost increase of 47%. Therefore the net increase for the Thunder Bay Times-News/Chronicle-Journal was 9%.

The final paper studied was The Toronto Star. It had a 68% increase in retail rates and a 50% increase in classified rates. The circulation remained constant therefore the total cost increase was 45%. The net increase for The Toronto Star was 14%.

Hypothesis Seven stated that retail and classified rates in the Winnipeg Free Press would increase in greater proportion from 1979 to 1983 than other comparable papers. Having taken into account the cost of living figures, as well as circulation, this hypothesis is supported. The Free Press had about twice the rate of increase of any other paper studied; the closest being The Toronto Star, with a 14% 'surplus' to the Free Press' 25% 'surplus'.

In addition to the above hypotheses and results, the following information, although not anticipated, was discovered in the course of the analysis.

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TABLE 10

% INCREASE BETWEEN JANUARY 1979 AND 1983

PAPER	RETAIL LINE RATE=R	CLASSIFIED PER AGATE LINE=C	CIR'N	AVERAGE INCH. R+C/2	CCIA (45%)+ CIR'N INCH.= CCIS	NET INCH. A-C*
1	117	98	38	108	83	25
2	107	106	55	107	100	7
3	71	63	9	67	54	13
4	44	44	3	44	48	-4
5	60	77	37	69	82	-13
6	50	50	2	50	47	9
7	68	50	0	59	45	14

- 1 - Winnipeg Free Press; 2 - Ottawa Citizen;
- 3 - Edmonton Journal; 4 - Windsor Star;
- 5 - Victoria Colonist-Times;
- 6 - Thunder Bay Times-News/Chronicle-Journal;
- 7 - Toronto Star.

\* A-C refers to the net increase, which is the advertising price increases less combined costs and circulation advances.

\*\*\*\*\*

Table 11 shows that the average amount of space per story decreased in 1983. In 1979 the mean was 27.7090 cms. but in 1983 the mean was 26.2194 cms. Hence, stories were shorter in 1983 than they were were in 1979, which suggests the possibility of less depth.

Table 12 suggests another significant difference which occurred between 1979 and 1983. In 1983 there were significantly fewer colour photographs. Although there were seven colour photographs coded in 1979, there were none in the 1983 sample.

TABLE 11

## AMOUNT OF CHS. PER STORY

YEAR	# OF CASES	MEAN
1979	1,282	27.7090
1983	1,121	26.2194

$t = 2.04; p. < .05$

TABLE 12

## CCLCUR PHCTC

YEAR	# OF PHOICS	MEAN
1979	7	97.7143
1983	0	0.0

$t = 5.46; p. < .01$

One very important result was that the number of sources used in local stories increased significantly, a finding which differs from that reported by Trim et al. for local municipal news sources. Table 13 suggests that the mean increased from 1.3312 sources to 1.6466 sources per story.

Table 14 shows a significant increase in the amount of local city police news, with respect to number and length. In 1979 the mean was 24.7500 cms. while in 1983, the average amount per story was 36.3556.

TABLE 13

## MEAN NUMBER OF SOURCES PER LOCAL STORY

YEAR	# OF SOURCES	MEAN
1979	462	1.3312
1983	464	1.6466

$$t = -2.84; p. < .01$$

TABLE 14

## AMOUNT OF LOCAL CITY POLICE

YEAR	# OF CASES	MEAN
1979	32	24.7500 CMS.
1983	45	36.3556 CMS.

$$t = -2.03; p. < .05$$

When testing for significant differences in source, the only category which appeared to be significant was the one which included two American news services: the prestigious New York Times, and LA Times-Washington Post. According to Table 15, there were significantly fewer stories where the news services were named as the source.

While this category was the only 'source' category which appeared significantly different over the time period, four differences were cited when testing 'topic'. The num-



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TABLE 15

# OF STORIES USING NYT, LA-TIMES-WASHINGTON POST AS A SOURCE

YEAR	# OF STORIES
1979	99
1983	42

$$x^2 = 6.95; p < .05$$

\*\*\*\*\*

ber of stories in the 'Control of Resource' category was significantly lower. This category included such areas as energy, solar energy, gas, gas wars, gasoline, gas pipeline, oil, oil pipeline, Petro-Can, tanker, hydro, hunting, mining, drilling and forestry. In table 16 there is a 40% decrease in the number of 'Control of Resource' stories. In 1979 there were 76 stories while in 1983 there were only 15.

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TABLE 16

NUMBER OF STORIES (CONTROL OF RESOURCE)

YEAR	# OF STORIES
1979	76
1983	15

$$x^2 = 13.6; p < .05$$

\*\*\*\*\*

Table 17 shows a difference in the area dealing with the Stock Market. Between 1979 and 1983 Stock Market Dealings/Prices increased by 42% to 151 cms.

TABLE 17

STOCK MARKET DEALINGS/PRICES

YEAR	# OF STORIES	MEAN
1979	42	106.3810 CMS.
1983	41	151.0488 CMS.

$t = -2.60; p. < .05$

The next topic to prove significant was 'Entertainment Other'. There was a decrease in the number of stories dealing with this area. Perhaps more importantly, there was a 52% decrease in amount per story.

TABLE 18

ENTERTAINMENT-OTHER STORIES

YEAR	# OF STORIES	MEAN
1979	98	48.1735 CMS.
1983	72	31.7361 CMS.

$t = 2.52; p. < .05$

The only other topic that was significant was one called 'Recipes'. This category decreased between 1979 and 1983. There was a 58% decrease within this period. Table 19 suggests that the average story in 1979 was 70.9375 cms., but by 1983 that decreased to 44.8800 cms.

TABLE 19

RECIPES

YEAR	# OF STORIES	MEAN
1979	32	70.9375 CMS.
1983	25	44.8800 CMS.

$$t = 2.17; p. < .05$$

4.1 SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE HYPOTHESES

In summary, two out of seven hypotheses received full support, one received partial support and the remaining four were not supported.

Hypothesis One stated that there would be a noticeable decline in the Free Press newshole after the demise of the Winnipeg Tribune. This was supported as the Free Press newshole decreased 7% during the sampling periods.

Hypotheses Two, Three, Four, and Five were not supported. Hypothesis Two suggested that after the closing of the Winnipeg Tribune, the Winnipeg Free Press would have a decline in the proportion of local news to total news. The

percentage of local news to total news remained virtually the same. In 1979, the proportion of local news was 22% and in 1983 it was 24%. Hypothesis Three stated that there would be less local news after the demise of the Tribune. This was not supported as the Free Press published the same amount of local news during both sampling periods. Hypothesis Four suggested that there would be more national news published in the Free Press in 1983 after competition ceased to exist. Again this hypothesis was not supported as the Free Press ran less national news in 1983 than it did in 1979. Hypothesis Five stated that the Winnipeg Free Press would publish more international news after the closing of the Tribune. During the periods studied, this hypothesis was not supported. The international coverage declined significantly.

Hypothesis Six was partially supported. Its hypothesis was that while newshole decreased, advertising would increase. The newshole did in fact decrease significantly but so did advertising.

Finally, Hypothesis Seven was supported. It was suggested that the Winnipeg Free Press would increase its retail and classified costs more than other comparable papers. Other papers used to test this hypothesis were the Ottawa Citizen, the Edmonton Journal, the Windsor Star, the Victoria Colonist-Times, the Thunder Bay Times-News/Chronicle-Journal and finally the Toronto Star. After considering

circulation figures and the cost of living increase, Hypothesis Seven was supported.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The current study of the Winnipeg Free Press was conducted to determine whether the folding of the Tribune affected the newspaper's newshole, local news and advertising content. What follows is a review of the findings and how they relate to the literature. Furthermore, discussions are provided for the current results and suggestions are made for further research.

In 1983, Trim *et al.* studied the Winnipeg Tribune, the Winnipeg Free Press, the Ottawa Journal and the Ottawa Citizen to see what happened to the Free Press and the Citizen when the competition ceased to publish. While the Trim *et al.* article dealt specifically with municipal news, they found the area was reduced by 70%.

The current study examined the entire Free Press newspaper to see if there was a reduction in overall news. While the decline in overall newshole was not nearly as drastic as the decline found by Trim *et al.* in municipal news, the newshole did decrease by 7%. As Thomas (1984) suggested, more research needs to be conducted to determine whether the decline in information was due to the "newly" formed monopoly situation or whether the Free Press was reflecting the tight economic times.

Having determined that the newshole decreased significantly between 1979 and 1983, the current study also tested specific areas such as local, national and international news to see where changes took place. Although the Roper studies of the 60s and 70s declared that readers went to newspapers for local news, it was hypothesized that there would be a decline in the proportion of local news to total news because of the high cost of local reporting. This hypothesis was not supported. The results showed no significant difference in the proportion of local news to total news in the time periods tested. In 1971, Gratta compared the amount of local news to total news in newspapers that underwent consolidation or when the newspapers became local monopolies. He, too, found no support that the proportion of local news to total news would decline in a monopoly situation.

While researchers can argue over what constitutes a quality paper, certainly one of the basic elements must be coverage of local, national and international news. As mentioned earlier, local reporting is often more expensive than national and international news because the latter is often obtained from the wire services. When Schweitzer and Goldman (1975) conducted their study, they found that local content did not decrease when competition ceased to exist. However, Rarick and Hartman concluded the opposite in their 1966 study of local news. Like Schweitzer and Goldman

(1975), this current study found that the number of column cms. remained constant.

Perhaps the hypothesis that local news would decrease did not receive support because the Free Press is considered one of Canada's better newspapers. [In 1968, Merrill (p. 45) asked editors and publishers from various locations around the world to assess a number of newspapers. Some of the criteria used included editorial excellence, quality of writing and printing, etc. While the Winnipeg Free Press was ranked as one of Canada's best, the reputation of the Free Press needs to be reassessed.] Although we cannot see into the minds of those who run the newspaper, we can speculate that the Free Press has tried to maintain its local content. So while economics, new technology and the importance of advertising have changed the role of the newspaper in the 1980s from a carrier of news to a carrier of advertising, the Free Press has preserved at least some local quality. This is reflected in the fact that more local sources were used in 1983 than in 1979. However, there is evidence that the Winnipeg Free Press increased its Police (sensational) news significantly after the demise of the Tribune. It is often argued that competition increases sensational news but the reverse situation occurred in this study. When the Free Press became a monopoly newspaper, sensational news increased.



It can also be argued that the Winnipeg Free Press was exhibiting good business sense by maintaining local content. Although local reporting is more expensive, marketing research indicates that local news and information is essential to the reader therefore while more expensive, it helps sell newspapers.

In the case of national and international news, it was hypothesized that both areas would increase since the newspaper would find it cheaper to use wire copy as filler material. This was not supported. The results showed a significant decline in both national and international coverage. There was a significant decline in the use of the New York Times and LA Times-Washington Post wire services. In addition, three "topic" categories declined significantly (Control of Resource, Entertainment Other and Recipes) while only one category increased (Stock Market Dealings/Prices).

Another area of concern is that the average amount of cms. per story decreased significantly. This suggests the possibility of less depth. Moreover, there were significantly fewer colour photographs.

The absence in Canadian research pertaining to the topic of local, national and international news makes it difficult to speculate whether the monopoly situation was responsible for shorter stories etc. or whether it is the norm. A replica of this study with other Canadian newspapers in similar situations would provide a comparison and better understanding of the content found in the Free Press.

While there has been a change in news content, there is a change in advertising as well. As discussed earlier, newspapers are becoming carriers of advertising (Megarry, 1982; Grotta, 1971). Research shows 60-75% of space is advertising content (Megarry, 1982:48). In the case of the Free Press, while 49% of space constituted advertisements in 1979, 63% of space was used for advertisements in 1983.

Hypothesis Six stated that newshole would decrease while advertising would increase. Although the ratio of advertising to news increased, the actual amount of advertising per issue between 1979 and 1983 decreased. There was a decline of 37%. The absolute decline may be due to the recession (however, advertising dollars do not generally decline) while the relative or proportional increase may be due to the monopoly situation.

More research is needed to help define the current role of advertising. In the 1980s, the advertiser has a greater number of message distributors on the local and national level. He can pick and choose as direct mail, television and radio compete for advertising dollars. The local market was once largely locked up by newspapers but this is no longer the case as proportions shift. Since the Free Press had a considerable drop in advertising content, it would be interesting to trace the change in dollar distribution to see how the advertisers in Winnipeg distributed their media budgets between 1979 and 1983.

The final hypothesis suggested that the Winnipeg Free Press increased its retail and advertising rates more than the comparable newspaper tested. The net increases for the newspapers tested are as follows: the Winnipeg Free Press, 25; the Ottawa Citizen, 7; the Edmonton Journal, 13; the Windsor Star, -4; the Victoria Colonist-Times, -13; the Thunder Bay Times-News/Chronicle-Journal, 9; and finally the Toronto Star, 14. The fact that the Winnipeg Free Press increased its profit margin almost twice as much as any of the other newspapers tested suggests that the newspaper may be joining the mediocre class. (When owners become overly concerned with profits, there tends to be a shift from social responsibility to profits.) Without competition, the Free Press would be in a better situation to increase retail and classified rates for profit reasons.

Generally, the findings were not supported. As a follow up to this current study, it would be ideal to test the Winnipeg readers to see their reaction to the Free Press since monopolization. The study could be repeated with journalists and media experts. It would also be interesting to conduct another study to that conducted earlier by Merrill (1968) using international journalists to see which newspapers in Canada still rank among the "best".

For quite some time researchers have argued about the effects of monopoly on the consumer as well as the advertiser. In Winnipeg, the monopoly situation did not seem to

benefit either. There was a significant decline in newshole during the sample periods and a substantial rise in net increase in advertising (cost of living and circulation figures were taken into account).

It is very difficult to determine the effect of a monopoly on a once competitive market but it is essential that research continue to examine the newspaper industry since it is an important part of our information system.

Appendix A

NEWSPAPERS TESTED

APPENDIX A

THE WINNIPEG FREE PRESS - PART ONE - 1979

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL # OF PAGES</u>	<u># OF CASES</u>
TUESDAY, JANUARY 23	56	155
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12	64	171
THURSDAY, MARCH 1	72	210
FRIDAY, APRIL 20	76	181
SATURDAY, MAY 5	108	185
MONDAY, JUNE 25	72	168
WEDNESDAY, JULY 4	80	197
FRIDAY, AUGUST 17	68	165
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12	100	198
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25	88	225
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13	68	169
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15	84	191
	<u>936</u>	<u>2215</u>

THE WINNIPEG FREE PRESS - PART TWO - 1983

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL # OF PAGES</u>	<u># OF CASES</u>
MONDAY, JANUARY 24	44	149
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10	52	147
TUESDAY, MARCH 15	52	136
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13	64	157
TUESDAY, MAY 3	64	167
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15	68	187
SATURDAY, JULY 23	76	200
THURSDAY, AUGUST 11	56	151
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26	52	141
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8	96	235
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18	52	155
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16	52	168
	<u>728</u>	<u>1993</u>

**Appendix B**  
**CODING SHEET**

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET

THE WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION:

TITLE OF ARTICLE \_\_\_\_\_  
DAY \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
MONTH \_\_\_\_\_  
YEAR \_\_\_\_\_

---

(B) TYPE OF CONTENT:

STORY ..... 1  
PHOTO ..... 2  
STORY AND PHOTO ..... 3  
MAP/CHART/DRAWING ..... 4  
LISTING (STATISTICS) ..... 5  
\*INDEX (UPCOMING) ..... 6  
\*EDITORIAL LETTERS ..... 7  
EDITORIAL ..... 8  
FEATURE ..... 9  
  
PHOTO:  
COLOUR ..... 1  
BLACK AND WHITE ..... 2  
NON-APPLICABLE ..... 3



COLUMN:

YES ..... 1  
NO ..... 2

# OF LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

(C) LOCATION:

PAGE 1 ..... 8  
PAGE 3 (LOCAL) ..... 7  
SECTION PAGE (FIRST) ..... 6  
EDITORIAL ..... 5  
OP. EDITORIAL ..... 4  
BACK PAGE ..... 3  
FRONT SECTION (OTHER) ..... 2  
OTHER ..... 1

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---

(D) QUANTITY (SIX COLUMNS):

\_\_\_\_\_ CMS.

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---

(E) LOCAL:

LOCAL CITY HALL ..... 1  
LOCAL CITY POLICE ..... 2  
LOCAL FIRE ..... 3  
LOCAL (OTHER) ..... 4

# OF SOURCES MENTIONED:

\_\_\_\_\_

(F) SOURCE:

\_\_\_\_\_

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(G) PROXIMITY:

\_\_\_\_\_

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(H) TOPIC:

\_\_\_\_\_

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\* ONLY SECTION (A) (B) (C) (D) REQUIRED.

Appendix C

CODING SHEET DEFINITIONS

APPENDIX C

CODING SHEET DEFINITIONS

THE WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

(A) DAY:

MONDAY	.....	1
TUESDAY	.....	2
WEDNESDAY	.....	3
THURSDAY	.....	4
FRIDAY	.....	5
SATURDAY	.....	6

DATE:

01 to 31

MONTH:

JANUARY	.....	01
FEBRUARY	.....	02
MARCH	.....	03
APRIL	.....	04
MAY	.....	05
JUNE	.....	06
JULY	.....	07
AUGUST	.....	08
SEPTEMBER	.....	09
OCTOBER	.....	10
NOVEMBER	.....	11
DECEMBER	.....	12

YEAR:

1979 ..... 1  
1983 ..... 2

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(B) # OF LETTERS TO THE EDITOR (NUMLET):

00 to 99

---

---

(D) QUANTITY (SIX COLUMN MEASURE):

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>FACTOR</u>
9.5 .....	.63
9.0 .....	.67
8.5 .....	.71
8.0 .....	.75
7.5 .....	.80
7.0 .....	.86
6.5 .....	.92
6.0 .....	1.00
5.5 .....	1.10
5.0 .....	1.20
4.5 .....	1.30
4.0 .....	1.50
3.5 .....	1.70
3.0 .....	2.00
2.5 .....	2.40
2.0 .....	3.00

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(E) # OF SOURCES MENTIONED (NSOURCE):

00 to 99

(F) SOURCE:	
LOCAL .....	01
CP .....	02
AP .....	03
UPI .....	04
NEW YORK TIMES/WASHINGTON POST/LOS ANGELES TIMES ....	05
REUTER .....	06
STAFF CORRESPONDENT .....	07
UNKNOWN/NOT STATED .....	18
OTHER - FROM THE NEWS SERVICES/SPECIAL TO THE FREE PRESS/NEWS REPRINTED (WEEK IN REVIEW/UPDATE)/ CHICAGO SUN-TIMES/BOSTON GLOBE/CANADA WIDE FEATURE SERVICES/DAILY TELEGRAPH LONDON/ COMPILES FROM DISPATCHES/VARIETY/U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT/NEWSDAY/NEWHOUSE NEWS SERVICES/TORONTO SUN SYNDICATE/KING FEATURES SYNDICATE/READER (PUBLIC PERSON)/F.P. NEWS SERVICE/U.S. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT OR COLUMNIST/THE ECONOMIST/AFP/GLOBE AND MAIL/ NEW YORK DAILY NEWS REPORTER/MCNAUGHT SYNDICATE INC./WORLD COPYRIGHT RESERVED/ CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR/U.S. MAGAZINE/ ECCO FEATURES/MANITOBA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION/ TECHNICAL SERVICE COUNCIL/DAILY RACING FORM OF CANADA/TREE COMMUNICATIONS/UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE/TORONTO STAR SYNDICATE/NEW INTERNATIONALIST/UNITED FEATURE SYNDICATE/ CHRONICLE PUBLISHING/UNIVERSAL FREE SYNDICATE/ WASHINGTON COLUMNIST/BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICE/COX NEWS SERVICE/VANCOUVER SUN/ EDMONTON JOURNAL (POLITICAL COLUMNIST)/DDP/ BALTIMORE SUN/DALLAS MORNING NEWS/FIELD NEWS SERVICE/NEWSWEEK/DALLAS TIMES HERALD/FARM JOURNAL/DPA/THE DENVER POST/ISRAEL INSTITUTE/ UNITED GRAIN GROWERS/MLA/OTTAWA EDITOR/ EDMUND V. HAAG COPYRIGHT/IRISH TOURIST BOARD/ SMITHSONIAN NEWS SERVICE/THE REGISTER AND TRIBUNE SYNDICATE/MONITOR NEWS AND FEATURE SERVICES .....	41
MISSING VALUES .....	99

(G) PROXIMITY (PROX):

LOCAL (WINNIPEG NEWS) .....	01
MANITOBA .....	02
ONTARIO .....	03
SASKATCHEWAN .....	04
ALBERTA .....	05
BRITISH COLUMBIA .....	06
WESTERN CANADA .....	07
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES/YUKON .....	08
QUEBEC .....	09
NEW BRUNSWICK .....	10
NOVA SCOTIA .....	11
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND .....	12
NEWFOUNDLAND .....	13
OTTAWA .....	14
OTHER - NATIONAL NEWS .....	15
INTERNATIONAL U.S. ....	16
INTERNATIONAL U.K. ....	17
OTHER FOREIGN .....	18
INTERNATIONAL .....	19
UNITED NATIONS .....	20
MISSING VALUES/UNKNOWN/SPACE/SEAS .....	99

---

(H) TOPIC:

POLITICAL/ELECTION/INTERNATIONAL-FOREIGN AID/PEACE TALKS/UNITY .....	01
MILITARY/DEFENSE/SECURITY .....	03
WAR/TERRORIST ATTACKS/ASSASSINS/EXECUTIONS (WAR)/ MASSACRE/RIOTS/KIDNAPPINGS .....	04

AGRICULTURE/PLANTS/FARMING/GARDENING/SPRAYINGS/ FISHING .....	05
MANAGEMENT/LABOUR RELATIONS/UNION PAY CUTS/ UNEMPLOYMENT/LAYOFF/QUIT/FIRED/JOBS/RETIREMENT/UIC/ BENEFITS/WELFARE/RESIGNATION/SUSPENSION .....	07
BUSINESS/TRADE AND COMMERCE/BANKRUPTCY/REAL ESTATE/ ECONOMIC/EXPORT/IMPORT/COMPUTER/NEW TECHNOLOGY/ METRIC .....	08
EDUCATION/SCHOOL/LIBRARY/TEACHERS .....	09
STOCK MARKET DEALINGS/PRICES .....	12
PRICE CONTROL/BUDGET/RESTRAINT/INFLATION/WAGE CONTROL/VALUE OF THE DOLLAR .....	13
TAXES/TARIFF/CUSTOMS PAYMENTS/INCOME TAX/REVENUE CANADA/TAX BREAKS/INTEREST RATES/MORTGAGES/BANKING/ BANKS .....	17
CONTROL OF RESOURCES/ENERGY/SOLAR ENERGY/GAS/GAS WARS/ GASOHOL/GAS PIPELINE/OIL/OIL PIPELINE/PETRO-CAN/ TANKER/HYDRO/HUNTING/MINING/DRILLING/FORESTRY .....	22
RELIGION/CHURCH .....	25
CRIME/VANDALISM/RAPE/BEATINGS/CHILD ABUSE/VIOLENCE/ MOB/MAFIA/RANSOM/DRUGS/MURDER/SUICIDE/DEATH .....	26
POLICE AFFAIRS/RCMP/FBI/CIA/DEPARTMENT PROBLEMS/ SCANDAL/POLICE SECURITY .....	27
LAW/COURTS/PRISONS/LEGISLATION/PAROLE/ACQUITTED/ LEGAL/SETTLEMENT/ESCAPES/BYLAW .....	29
ACCIDENTS/FIRE/AUTO/AIR/EVACUATIONS/NATURAL DISASTERS .....	30
HUMAN INTEREST/PERSONALITIES/PROFILE OF CHARACTER (INDIVIDUAL)/HUMOUR AND SHORT SAYINGS/ BIRTHDAY MENTION/MONARCHY/ROYALTY/ANIMALS .....	32
SPORTS/PAN AM/OLYMPIC GAMES .....	35
MEDICINE/MEDICAL/HOSPITAL/RESEARCH/CLINIC/ DISCOVERY/INVENTIONS/SCIENTIST/ACID RAIN .....	36
HEALTH/EXERCISE .....	37
TRAVEL/WOMEN'S MOVEMENT/WOMEN'S FEATURES/WOMEN'S FASHIONS/MAKE-UP/WOMEN OTHER/MEN'S FEATURES/MEN'S FASHIONS/MEN'S OTHER .....	38



AIRLINES/AIRPORTS/AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL/BLIMP/ SPACE/AEROSPACE .....	39
BNA ACT .....	44
COMICS/CARTOONS/CROSSWORD/HOROSCOPE/SOAPS/ADVICE COLUMNS .....	45
WEATHER .....	46
NATIONAL IDENTITY/NATIONAL CONCERNS/CANADA'S IMAGE/ QUEBEC SEPARATION/REFERENDUMS/BILINGUALISM/FEDERAL LANGUAGE/IMMIGRATION/EMIGRATE/REFUGEE/TOURIST/ CONSTITUTION/CANADIAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION/ KU KLUX KLAN/PREDJUDICE .....	47
REVIEW/BOOK/THEATRE/MUSIC/MOVIE/ART .....	50
ENTERTAINMENT - T.V. PROGRAMS .....	51
ENTERTAINMENT OTHER/EXHIBITIONS/OPENINGS/GAMES/LOTO/ CARNIVALS/AUCTION/MOVIE PROGRAMS/WINE TASTING/MEDIA/ C.R.T.C./NEWS TACTICS/SATELLITE/FILMS .....	53
ANTI-NUCLEAR/DISARMAMENT/RADIATION/NUCLEAR .....	56
PUBLIC MORAL PROBLEMS/ABORTION/CHILD ABUSE/DRINKING/ GAY RIGHTS/HUMAN RIGHTS/ADOPTION/FREEDOM/POVERTY/ PROSTITUTION/SEX/SEX ROLES .....	57
VARIETY .....	60
OTHER MISCELLANEOUS = STREET CLOSINGS/TAXI/ELDERLY/ HISTORY/FUND RAISING/BENEFIT ORGANIZATIONS/FUNDING/ PROPAGANDA/LIQUOR/DRINKS/SAFETY/UNSAFE/DISABLED/ HOME IMPROVEMENTS/HOUSING SUBSIDIES/POST OFFICE ...	61
STRIKE/RATIFY CONTRACT/BARGAINING/LOCKOUT .....	63
PROTEST/PUBLIC RALLY/LQBBYING/DEMONSTRATION .....	65
ANNOUNCEMENTS/AWARDS/APPOINTMENTS/CORRECTIONS/ FORM .....	71
RADIO PROGRAMS/RADIO/MUSIC/ALBUMS/RECORDS .....	72
AUTO INDUSTRY/BUS/TAXI/RAILWAY .....	81
RECIPES/FOODS/COOKING HINTS/COOKING/FAST FOODS .....	89
MISSING VALUES .....	99

Appendix E

LINE RATE INFORMATION

APPENDIX D

LINE RATE - WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

January 1979

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1, 1979.

LINE RATE:	M-F	SAT.
Flat.....	1.00	1.05

Volume and frequency contracts not available. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

January 1983

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective July 1, 1982.

LINE RATE:	M-F	SAT.
Transient.....	1.98	2.48 <sup>c</sup>
Volume contracts:		
5,000.....	1.88	2.35
10,000.....	1.86	2.33
25,000.....	1.84	2.31
50,000.....	1.92	2.29
100,000.....	1.80	2.27
250,000.....	1.78	2.25

Frequency contracts not available.

LINE RATE - OTTAWA CITIZEN

January 1979

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1, 1979.

LINE RATE:	M-F	SAT.
Transient.....	.90	.99
Volume contracts:		
5,000.....	.70	.77
10,000.....	.68	.75
25,000.....	.66	.73
50,000.....	.64	.70
100,000.....	.62	.68

Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

January 1983

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1, 1983.

LINE RATE:	M-F	SAT.
Transient.....	1.78	2.14
Volume contracts:		
5,000.....	1.40	1.68
10,000.....	1.35	1.62
25,000.....	1.33	1.60
50,000.....	1.29	1.55
100,000.....	1.24	1.49

LINE RATE - EDMONTON JOURNAL

January 1979

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1, 1979.

LINE RATE:

Transient.....	1.40
Volume contracts:	
5,000.....	1.19
10,000.....	1.18
25,000.....	1.17
50,000.....	1.15
100,000.....	1.13
200,000.....	1.12
300,000.....	1.11

Frequency contracts not available. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

January 1983

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 2, 1983.

LINE RATE:	M-TH	*FRI./SAT.	SUN.
Casual, per agate line	2.28	2.51	1.94
Volume contracts:			
5,000.....	2.13	2.34	1.81
10,000.....	1.92	2.11	1.63
25,000.....	1.89	2.08	1.61
50,000.....	1.83	2.01	1.56
100,000.....	1.78	1.96	1.51
200,000.....	1.74	1.91	1.48
300,000.....	1.66	1.83	1.41

\*When Friday or Saturday is nonpublishing day, premium applies on Thursday. Frequency contracts not available. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

LINE RATE - THE WINDSOR STAR

January 1979

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1, 1979.

LINE RATE:

Transient.....	.82
Volume contract:	
5,000.....	.77
15,000.....	.76
25,000.....	.75
75,000.....	.74
125,000.....	.73
250,000.....	.72

Frequency contracts not available. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

January 1983

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1983.

LINE RATE:

Transient.....	1.18
Volume contracts:	
5,000.....	1.10
10,000.....	1.09
25,000.....	1.08
50,000.....	1.07
100,000.....	1.06
250,000.....	1.04

Frequency contracts not available. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

LINE RATE - VICTORIA COLONIST-TIMES

January 1979

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card in effect January 1, 1979.

LINE RATE:

Transient..... .75

Volume and frequency contracts-not available. Morning and evening sold in combination. First insertion may be made in either paper. Single paper rates on request. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

January 1983

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card in effect January 1, 1983.

LINE RATE:

Transient..... 1.20

Volume and frequency contracts-not available. Morning and evening sold in combination. Advertisements start in morning edition thru evening edition same day and Sunday morning/Monday evening.

LINE RATE - THUNDER BAY TIMES-NEWS/CHRONICLE-JOURNAL

January 1979

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card in effect January 1, 1979.

LINE RATE:

Flat..... .43

Co-operative advertising by local dealers will be accepted at local rates when manufacturer or distributor is carrying on adequate national advertising campaign. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

January 1983

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card in effect January 1, 1983.

LINE RATE:

Flat..... .67

First insertion in evening paper. Co-operative advertising by local dealers will be accepted at local rates when manufacturer or distributor is carrying adequate national advertising campaign. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.



LINE RATE - THE TORONTO STAR

January 1979

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1, 1979.

LINE RATE:	M-F	SAT.	SUN.
Casual.....	3.95	4.95	1.90
Volume contracts:			
2,500.....	3.25	4.10	1.75
5,000.....	3.15	4.00	1.70
10,000.....	3.05	3.90	1.60
25,000.....	3.00	3.80	1.50
50,000.....	2.90	3.70	1.40
100,000.....	2.80	3.55	1.30

Discounts: Full page & R.O.P. advertising section-available on request. Contract and copy regulations subject to publisher's individual rate card.

January 1983

GENERAL ADVERTISING

Rate card effective January 1, 1983.

LINE RATE:	M-F	SAT.	SUN.
Casual.....	6.71	8.18	3.92
Volume contracts:			
2,500.....	5.52	6.92	3.64
5,000.....	5.36	6.78	3.44
10,000.....	5.21	6.64	3.29
25,000.....	5.06	6.48	2.99
50,000.....	4.91	6.25	2.82
100,000.....	4.76	6.03	2.65
200,000.....	4.62	5.81	2.49

Discounts: Full page & R.O.P. advertising section-available on request.

Appendix E

CIRCULATION INFORMATION

APPENDIX E

CIRCULATION - WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

January 1979

A.B.C. 31-3-78 pub. state.

Total:	M-F	SAT.
City zone.....	109,264	126,621
All other.....	29,506	37,232
Paid excl. Bulk.....	138,770	163,853

January 1983

A.B.C. 31-3-82 pub. int. state.

Total:	M-F	SAT.
City zone.....	140,689	179,205
Bal. in prim. mkt. area.....	21,596	33,572
Outside prim. mkt. area.....	17,889	25,543
Paid excl. bulk.....	180,174	238,320

CIRCULATION - OTTAWA CITIZEN

January 1979

A.B.C. 30-9-78 pub. state.

	EVE.	SAT.
Total:		
City zone.....	86,972	105,523
Retail trading zone.....	26,930	37,452
Metro Ottawa incl. in total...	100,280	122,699
All other.....	1,273	2,437
Paid excl. bulk.....	115,175	145,437

January 1983

A.B.C. 30-9-82 pub. int. state.

	EVE.	SAT.
Total:		
City zone.....	120,773	143,556
Retail trading zone.....	55,348	76,740
All other.....	2,488	4,602
Paid excl. bulk.....	178,609	224,898

CIRCULATION - EDMONTON JOURNAL

January 1979

A.B.C. 30-9-78 pub. state.	M-TH, SAT.	FRI.
Total:		
City zone.....	116,015	130,895
Retail trading zone.....	39,741	61,596
All other.....	3,974	3,944
Paid excl. bulk.....	159,730	196,435

January 1983

A.B.C. 30-9-82 pub. state.	M-TH, SAT.	FRI.	SUN.
Total:			
City zone.....	128,236	147,797	113,643
Retail trading zone.....	40,986	62,710	32,616
All other.....	3,348	3,409	1,255
Paid excl. bulk.....	172,570	213,816	147,814

CIRCULATION - THE WINDSOR STAR

January 1979

A.B.C. 30-9-78 pub. state.	
Total city zone.....	62,699
Total retail trading zone.....	22,733
Total all other.....	2,976
Total paid excl. bulk.....	88,408

January 1983

A.B.C. 31-3-82 pub. state.	
Total city zone.....	64,100
Total retail trading zone.....	23,904
Total all other.....	2,773
Total paid excl. bulk.....	90,777

CIRCULATION - VICTORIA COLONIST-TIMES

January 1979

A.B.C. 31-3-78 pub. state.	TU.-SAT.	SUN.	EVE.
Total:			
City zone.....	23,863	25,174	23,189
Metro Victoria incl. in total.....	30,639	32,502	28,944
Retail trad. zone.....	14,199	16,364	7,376
All other.....	1,920	3,684	130
Paid excl. bulk.....	39,982	45,222	30,695

January 1983

A.B.C. 31-3-82 pub. state.	TU.-SAT.	SUN.	MON.
Total:			
Census metro area.....	64,481	37,317	29,193
Retail trading zone.....	10,511	10,447	709
All other.....	2,677	3,447	-----
Paid excluding bulk.....	77,669	51,211	29,902

CIRCULATION - THUNDER BAY TIMES-NEWS/CHRONICLE-JOURNAL

January 1979

A.B.C. 30-9-78 pub. state.

Total:	MORN.	EVE.
City zone.....	2,316	23,619
Retail trading zone.....	4,890	2,274
All other.....	603	238
Paid excl. bulk.....	7,809	26,131

January 1983

A.B.C. 30-9-82 pub. state.

Total:	MORN.	EVE.
Total city zone.....	2,459	25,663
Total retail trading zone.....	4,901	789
Total all other.....	536	163
Total paid excl. bulk.....	7,896	26,615



CIRCULATION - THE TORONTO STAR

January 1979

A.B.C. 31-3-78 pub. state.	M-F	SAT.	SUN.
Total:			Jan./78
Prim. mkt. area/ census metro area.....	402,055	592,006	Mar./78 211,966
Outside prim. mkt. area/ metro area.....	89,399	192,252	63,957
Paid excl. bulk.....	491,454	784,258	275,923

January 1983

A.B.C. 30-9-82 pub. state.	M-F	SAT.	SUN.
Total:			
Primary market area.....	385,822	590,814	320,683
Circ. outside primary market area.....	100,443	200,750	146,100
Total paid excl. bulk.....	486,265	791,564	466,783

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VI

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