

Newspapers therefore become more necessary in proportion as men become more equal and individualism more to be feared. To suppose that they only serve to protect freedom would be to diminish their importance: they maintain civilization.

deTocqueville, 1840, Vol. 11, p. 134.

Background to the study

World wide, democratic political and organizational policy has lent increasingly on the conceptual notion of social capital (Woolcock, 1998). The growth in research and practice (Woolcock, 1998) reflects broad diversity of its application to the point where it can be acknowledged as part of popular culture seen, for example, in the term's use on the internet, as well as underpinning sustainable development (World Bank Studies, 1993-2003)¹, health, community and education research. Social capital has been defined as 'information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inherent in one's social networks' (Woolcock, 1998, p. 153). Kreuters, Young and Lezin (1998) suggest that social capital 'does not refer to individuals, the implementation of production, or to the physical infrastructure'. Woolcock (1998) identifies social capital's greatest benefit as allowing a common language across multi- and interdisciplinary approaches to finally exchange and constructively debate ways of addressing major socio-political issues of our time. Yet, social capital has been cited as declining in Australia (Cox, 1995) and in the United States by Putnam (1993a, 1995, 2000). Putnam's premise is based on the notion of erosion of the social fabric of American society by television viewing. Throughout the response to the debate that has arisen over his argument, Putnam, his protagonists and adversaries (Norris, 1996; Moy, Scheufele & Holbert, 1999; Paxton, 2000), acknowledge the newspaper reader as being more actively participatory in

¹ 'The World Bank's preferred definition of social capital is that it 'refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society 'it is the glue that holds them together' refer to www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/whatsc.htm (OECD, Paper, 2001, p. 62)

social, civic and community action, which has a positive relationship with social capital. Davidson and Cotter (1997) suggest the psychological sense of community is strongly tied to community paper readership.

Justification for the study

While mainstream media has relatively diminishing circulation rates, the recent growth of community newspapers remains relatively unnoticed (Riffe et al., 1998; Bomann, 1999; Mason, 2000). Lacy et al. (1995, p. 336) found the growth of weekly newspapers (including free and paid) increased by 160% in the United States between 1960 to 1992, compared with daily papers in the same period having a growth rate of 2%. The Centre for Community Research (Mason, 2000) lists five times as many weekly newspapers as daily, and a 6% growth of circulation of weekly newspapers from 1996 to 1999. Mason also comments on the small amount of academic research surrounding the social and economic implications of weekly papers. Recent growth may signal developing resources of social capital at the community level. These growth patterns, based on grass roots organisations, appear to be overlooked in the broader policy arena and in social research. The growth of community newspapers could flag far more than a worldwide media trend.

Significance of the study

The significance of media and media effects with regard to community seems important because it is one way of investigating basic components and relationships that make up modern society. (Becker & Fredin, 1987, p. 25)

The current study is a preliminary investigation of the research topic which trials content analysis as a major data collection tool paired with a second research method, semi-structured interviews. The concept of social capital, defined and discussed more fully in Chapter 2, has only been recently applied in research from the 1980's, through its elements, for example trust and networks, and application, date to pre-history. Theoretically, exploring newspapers as a means of understanding social capital is well substantiated. While independent community newspapers may be a small area of research interest, there is strong support for the newspaper as a socialising agent, acting as to generate social capital, from philosophical and democratic studies. For example, the theoretical interrelationship between a community and its newspaper, described in communitarian terms (Christians, Ferré & Flacker, 1993), is clearly identified in de Tocqueville's writings. Describing, though not naming, relational elements of social capital and newspapers, he holds that:

There is a necessary connection between public associations and newspapers: *newspapers make associations and associations make newspaper*; and if it has been correctly advanced that associations will increase in number as the condition of men become more equal, it is not less certain that the number of newspapers increases in proportion to that of associations. (de Tocqueville, 1840, Vol. 11. p. 135)

At this point one might ask: if a definitive relationship between newspapers and social capital exists and is acknowledged, why relate a whole research thesis to such an exploration? Two answers support the direction of this thesis.

While the relationship is acknowledged theoretically between community newspapers and social capital, there does not appear to be a way of examining causal patterns within newspaper content that encompasses the issues surrounding that relationship and their implications. Hence, the investigation of community norms and values, as seen in newspaper content, is highly appropriate.

Newspaper readership is quite frequently placed as an indicator of social capital (Norris, 1996; Paxton, 1999; Putnam, 2000). For example, in Australian Bureau of Statistics paper on the measurement of social capital, Edwards (2004) includes *Social and Community Participation* as referring to the measure ‘degree of newspaper coverage/readership’ (p. 5). However, in spite of the high occurrence of this indicator in social capital research, no measure of the social capital in ‘what’ people read appears in the literature. This suggests a major oversight in social capital research and measurement.

There are a number of questions of research interest in the functioning of the relationship between community newspapers and social capital. They are: how important is the role of social capital-content in sustaining and developing the ‘success’ and longevity of the papers? What impact does the development or stability of the community newspaper have on the social capital it generates? What levels of social capital occur in the dynamics between community newspapers, their production teams and the contributions of their community? Can the community newspaper generate high levels of social capital and yet contain low levels of social capital in its production dynamics? While it is acknowledged that newspapers and their readers derive and create more social capital than other means of mass communication (Putnam, 1998 2000; Norris, 1996), what happens when a community paper draws a narrow base of community information? What are the particular factors that contribute to building communities through their community newspaper? How do community

contribute and build social capital through their local newspaper? One last question enquires: is it possible that a content analysis could shed light on these and such other questions?

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to explore the relationship between community newspapers and social capital by analysing the content, and investigating the timing of the establishment and production, of independent community newspapers published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000.

The aims of the study are to:

- examine patterns of community newspaper *establishment* across the twentieth century in Tasmania
- examine the pattern of issues and content that have been presented within Tasmanian independent community newspapers over the last century
- devise a content analysis framework containing dimensions of social capital that examines the concept of social capital from a number of perspectives, so to investigate how social capital is evident in community newspapers
- investigate the relationship between content, production process and community contribution to the newspapers in further understanding the relationship between community newspapers and social capital.

Three research questions are posed in order to explore the purpose and aims of the current study. They are as follows:

Research Question 1: Community newspapers in Tasmania

- (a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- (b) Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

Research Question 2: Issues in community newspapers

- (a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- (b) How have issues been presented?

Research Question 3: Community newspapers and social capital

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

In each of the following chapters the three research questions are addressed in order. The order of the questions relates to the emphasis and focus of the thesis. While the emphasis is therefore on Research Question 3, the findings that pertain to Research Question 3 include significant contributions from the analysis of earlier questions.

Methodology

In addressing the purpose and aims of the study, a multi-mode case study methodology was decided upon, engaging both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The research design contains a descriptive statistical analysis of community newspapers in Tasmania, a content analysis, the major tool of analysis, and thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews. A summary of the research design is given in the opening section of Chapter 3, and is followed by Figure 1 describing the research framework for a case study which outlines the three phases of the methodology. Case study was chosen in part due to the ‘bounded-ness’ of the sample, Tasmania being an island state, and further, to support a longitudinal study. The case study as an exploratory tool pertaining to the ‘what’ questions within the current study (Yin, 2003, p. 7) is made up of a number of samples, being a *collective* case study (Stake, 2000). A sample of 16 independent community newspapers was selected from the total number of 67 independent community newspapers established over the period studied. The community newspaper sample was based on the length of establishment, starting with the earliest published, and the presence of ‘complete’ archival records. The study included interviews with current and recent editors/coordinators of the community newspapers in the sample. The case study used multiple strategies which contribute distinct advantages, discussed further in Chapter 3.

Why study newspaper content? Henningham (1996) suggests a content analysis ‘allows the simultaneous analysis of a range of newspapers and afford the opportunity to compare policies and priorities as well as international comparisons and comparisons over time’ (p. 23). The purpose of using content analysis as a research strategy in the current study is twofold. It provides an insight across time in content pertaining to issues and interests of communities in Tasmania, an area of research that to date has not been formally investigated. It also allows innovation by the use of a content analysis framework constructed to contain conceptual and research-founded indicators of social capital. Social capital is most frequently

examined through survey and interview techniques. The methodology employing a content analysis as the major tool of analysis is therefore innovative.

Content analysis

Newspaper content analysis has a long history. Riffe, Lacy & Fico (1998, p. 3) note some of the earliest studies using content analysis to examine newspaper propaganda which was viewed as frightening, during the world wars (Lasswell, 1927; Shils & Janowitz, 1948). Shoemaker and Reese (1990) suggest that most content analysis studies to that point were not linked in a systematic way to the forces that created the content or to its effect. Riffe and Frietag (1997) found that of the 487 content analysis studies published in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 72% lacked a theoretical framework linking the content studied to antecedents or consequences of the study. Perhaps one of the most significant socio-historical contributions to methodology and analysis of content is the study by Gilbert and John Markoff (1997, 1998) described in their *Revolutionary Demands* (1998). The study, carried out over thirty years, was a content analysis of the *Cahiers de Doleances* made in 1789 containing 40,000 lists of demands from people of all walks of life just prior to the French Revolution. The *cahiers* give an insight into revolutionary opinion in both a political and social context. Therefore by using content analysis across a broad number of themes, the study established content analysis as a 'stand alone' tool. The study also enabled the *cahiers* to be made available as an electronic source for future researchers from a number of disciplines.

Australian background

Tasmania is an appropriate site for the current study. It is significant in Australian media history due to two facts. Firstly, it was the first settlement, then colony in Australia to win free and independent press in 1824 (Schultz, 2002). Secondly, there has been rich documentation of Tasmanian newspapers and early provincial press history (Moore-Robinson 1933; Miller, 1933, 1952). Hence Tasmania is also noted for its contribution to newspaper and Australian literary history and chronology (Miller, 1940, 1952). However, little has been documented on Tasmanian community newspapers.

Compared with other countries and colonies, freedom of the press took only a few decades to establish itself in Australia, though early independent newspapers in Tasmania were not without the political struggles and external legal interventions noted historically with press independence (Schultz 2002). Historical research reveals the role played by nineteenth century press in Australia was that of 'the protector of the downtrodden, and a critical check

on arbitrary power' (Schultz, 1997, p. 29). Picker (1999) noted that independent newspapers editors throughout the nineteenth century perceived their readers to be the 'community' whose values and rights they defended. Those characteristics are reported in editors in Tasmania of that early period:

Apparently most persons in early Tasmania considered that they were the vehicles divinely chosen for the reformation of the people, but at least if their optimism out ran their discretion, they were deeply imbued with a high sense of morality and an almost supernatural altruism. (Moore-Robinson, 1933, p. 1).

Community newspapers research and gaps

The link between newspapers, their community, editor and reader, was forged with the first and early independent and free press (Nord, 2001). Even today, in the broadest context newspapers consider their readers as 'the community', both from a world view, as belonging to the 'community of communities' (Etizone, 1996), and as that of a community, separated from the overall populus. Broad application of the definition community newspaper and the inter-change of terms such as provincial with community newspaper have contributed some confusion to specific areas of community newspaper research.

Among some of the gaps in Australian newspaper research identified at the Local Newspapers-Local Identities Conference 1999, were: the need to pay more attention to local, photocopied A4 news-sheets; more case studies of particular communities, and the need for an Australian newspaper historical society to promote the interest and research into the history of newspapers in Australia (Harvey, 2000).

Conclusions drawn by the conference were that local newspapers have played many different roles, and though common threads were demonstrated, many more questions were posed through the findings of the research papers than were answered. The value of the country newspaper to the town and region was noted.

The purpose and aims of the current study are to explore the relationship between community newspapers and social capital in terms of the establishment, content and involvement of the community in the community newspaper. As described, the current study is significant because:

- it gathers and analyses secondary data pertaining to community newspapers in Tasmania which have not been previously cited in research

- it observes patterns of issues and interests within communities by content analysis of their community newspapers as a longitudinal study over the twentieth century
- it formulates a content analyse framework based on theoretical literature and research practice for analysis of social capital
- It offers a means of measuring social capital within newspapers and *what people read* as opposed to measuring for '*how long/and how many people read*' as an indicator of social capital.

Limitations

Generalisability. The study aims to explore the relationship between community newspapers and social capital through research and literature and by content analysis of a sample of community newspapers in Tasmania over the twentieth century. Tasmania is an island state, therefore a bounded geographic area. Differences between mainland Australian states and Tasmania have been reflected throughout the last century in respect to Tasmania's economic performance which is seen as poor in comparison with mainland states (Rae, 2003). Economic growth differences are paralleled by a low population increase from immigration and high levels of emigration, offset by natural increase. Tasmania's present demographic profile highlights an aging population (Jackson & Kippen, 2001; Campbell, 2003). A third difference between Tasmania and the mainland states is the higher proportion of population living outside major cities.

Therefore demographic patterns and economic performance contribute to the study area being a case of a specific geographic locale, and contribute to the fact that the results in Tasmania may not be *generalisable* to other states of Australia. It could also be argued that Tasmania has experienced economic and demographic change over the twentieth century in line with reports on rural depopulation in both an Australian, and a global context (Kenyon & Black, 2001; Population Referencing Bureau, 2003). The study therefore may have relevance to other rural communities in Australia and internationally.

Semi-structured interviews. The size and emphasis of data from interviews with editors and community newspaper coordinators could be extended considerably. Time and focus on the content analysis data limited the development of what would be a fertile area for future investigation of social capital and communities.

Classification. While a number of definitions of community newspaper exist, this study has focused on independent community newspapers of geographic locale. This definition was

chosen to explore social capital as ‘a collective asset, a feature of communities’ (Warren, Thompson & Saegert, 2001, p. 3). This is further discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5.

Statistical analysis. The thesis is a preliminary study exploring content analysis as a means of profiling social capital in written and visual text. The major focus in the content analysis was to build and derive suitable categories. Social capital is analysed and measured in content by using simple descriptive statistics in order to further understand the relationship between social capital and communities. Further investigation of the concept and methodology could employ more sophisticated statistical analysis techniques.

Summary of Chapter 1

Chapter 1 has provided the background, rationale, purpose and aims of the study. It has outlined briefly the methodology followed in exploring three research questions as well as describing the significance of the study contributing a body of knowledge to the research theme and the limitations of the study.

Outline of the thesis

The structure of the remainder of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 reviews and discusses relevant literature from a number of disciplines. The disciplines include geography, sociology, media and communication studies, social science and community development. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used to address the three research questions. Chapter 4 presents the results of the research conducted as described in the methodology chapter. Chapter 5 is a discussion of the results in the light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. It contains conclusions from the thesis and recommendations for further research.

Literature review

Communication is seen as the fundamental basis for forming communities...it is clear that communication and community grow in each other's shadows; the possibilities of the one are structured by the possibilities of the other.

Christians, Ferré and Flacker, 1993, p. 76.

Introduction

The purpose of the study is to explore the relationship between community newspapers and social capital by analysing the content and investigating the timing of the establishment and production of independent community newspapers published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000. This chapter is structured around the three research questions below.

Research Question 1: Community newspapers in Tasmania

- 1(a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- 1(b) Does the geographic distribution of community newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

Research Question 2: Issues in community papers

- 2(a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000, and
- 2(b) How have issues been presented?

Research Question 3: Community newspapers and social capital

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

The first section of this chapter, which relates to Research Question 1, defines terms and concepts pertaining to community and community newspapers. It reviews the sources and historical background of Tasmanian community newspapers and introduces demographic studies from the United States, Britain and Australia. Literature reviewed in relation to Research Question 2 relates to issues and their presentation in mainstream and community newspapers from both an American and an Australian perspective. Comparisons are made between public/civic, communitarian, and community journalism as sources of issues. The

literature reviewed for Research Question 3 addresses social capital history and elements, linked to community development and community newspapers. The final section contains literature linking the debate on declining social capital levels to community newspapers and social capital research. In each section, general and background literature relevant to the research question is discussed first.

Research Question 1

Literature relating to the two components of Research Question 1 is presented in two sections. Section 1(a) reviews literature on community from a variety of perspectives related to history, geography and media research. It provides a definition of a community newspaper, addressing the wide scope of the definitions of the term. It then examines literature about community newspapers that have been published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000.

Section 1(b) initially examines demographic and population change in Australia and specifically Tasmania, particularly rural depopulation, reflecting international trends. It then considers literature on demographic changes related to media in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, presenting a view of circulation growth. The section concludes with changing demographic and social factors related to geographic distribution of community newspapers.

1(a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000?

Global community newspaper research

Research surrounding community newspapers in a global context centres chiefly on themes of circulation and readership analysis. Within Australian research, themes relate to social history, community development and media education (Dowling, 1999; Harvey, 2001; Hurst & Provis, 2000; Cafarella, 2001; Kirkpatrick, 2001; Vines, 2001).

While circulation figures in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia suggest readership of daily newspapers is declining, regional, community and local weekly press circulations are growing (Bomann, 1999; Mason, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Newspaper Society Report, 2003). Research specific to weekly newspapers suffers from a paucity of interest (Lacy, Robinson & Riffe, 1995; Riffe, Lacy & Fico 1998) compared to other areas of media research. Community newspapers are a large segment of the United States newspaper market. Mason (2000) reveals that there are five times as many weekly newspapers as there are dailies

in the United States, observing that there is surprisingly little published research on weekly community newspapers. The contrast between the relatively unexamined escalation of community newspaper numbers and circulation growth, and the well-documented diminishing daily newspaper numbers and circulation rates, suggests a global movement and trend at a grass-roots level that has broader implications outside the frame of media theory and circulation analysis, and a fertile area for research.

What is community?

Definitions of community vary broadly depending on the discipline from which community is perceived. Definition can be linked to a theoretical perspective (Etzioni, 1996), discipline (Gittel & Vidal, 1998) or religious adherence (Cohen, 1985). Community can be approached as a value (Cohen, 1982, 1985; Frazer, 1999), place (Wilkinson, 1990), interest (Gläser, 2001) or common purpose (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). Arguments abound that a community of place or geographic locale does not necessarily imply a shared identity (Cohen, 1985); and that attachment and identity should precede qualification of the notion of community (Wilmott, Cornish, Nelson, Twigg, Mullen, Brennan & Jeans, 2000).

Communities are traditionally defined as collectives of people who share values or beliefs; whose social relations are relations of affect characterised by mutuality and emotional bonds, and who frequently interact (Hillery, 1955; Bell & Newby, 1971; Effrat, 1974; Bender, 1978; Calhoun, 1998, as cited in Gläser, 2001). The quantity and quality of interactions between individual and institutional players in communities influence the social and economic outcomes of those communities (Falk & Guenther, 1999; Kilpatrick & Falk, 2000; Johns, Kilpatrick, Falk & Mulford, 2001, Kilpatrick, Field & Falk, 2003; Johns 2004).

Current understanding of community was grounded in Tönnies's theory of discourse on the shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* (1887) and Durkheim's thesis of *Disintegration of the Relationship between Law and Morality* (1896, cited Thomas, 1994). From a sociological base, the understanding of community can be traced back to Tönnies's (1887 [1957]) classic typology of community and society, and is supported by the everyday usage of the word (Gläser, 2001).

A recent historical perspective shows that early twentieth century contributions to the definition and analysis of community came from John Gillette and Charles Bushnell (Hollingshead, 1948). Blexrud (1972) suggests the first use of the term occurred in sociological studies referring to community identification (Williams, 1906, cited in Hollingshead (1948); Wilson, 1907; Simms, 1912, as cited in Blexrud, 1972, p. 6). The first

definitions delineated rural communities in relation to the trades and services surrounding a central village (Galpin, 1915). Gillette's (1926) definitions of community were only in part explained, though they coincided with the terms society, city, village and neighbourhood. Hollingshead (1948) grouped definitions of community into three categories: (a) group solidarity; (b) geographic area; and (c) socio-geographic, concluding that a community cannot be in all three. His classification is seen as a summary description of community and indicates that disagreement must logically exist.

Hillery (1955) investigated 94 studies to ascertain the amount of agreement among definitions of community and found there was no agreement as to the nature of community beyond that people are involved in community. He noted that agreement between studies in 'the concept of community' was that of 'social interaction', and further:

an area of common ties and social interaction can be present in a community no matter how many other types of groups and phenomena are also community...the rural community at least is an area in which social interaction and one or more common bonds are to be found. (p. 119)

Wilkinson (1990), studying *ruralness* in communities in the United States, stressed that while much discussion surrounded the shape and concept of community during the twentieth century, there were three approaches to defining community: the *sociological* approach, which 'emphasises some particular aspect of local social life more than other aspects' (1990, p. 2); the *organisational* approach, which examines structures and relationships 'that integrate a local society and relate it to the larger society' (1990, p. 2); and the *inter-actional* approach, which 'concentrates on an aspect of community that persists in modern society while other aspects appear to be losing their distinctiveness' (1990, p. 2). He further stated that there are three elements of community: a locality, a local society, and a process of locality-orientated collective action or the *community field* (Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1970b, as cited in Wilkinson, 1990). The community field is where the main focus of his work is placed.

A locality is a territory where people live and meet their daily needs together. A local society is a comprehensive network of associations for meeting common needs and expressing common interests. A community field is a process of interrelated actions through which residents express their common interest in the local society. (Wilkinson, 1990, p. 2)

Locality is a concept by which the 'questions of geographic specificity of social life, is observed' (Cox, K. 1998, p. 17). The question arises as to 'the degree to which locality can be

said to have effects specific to itself; effects that is which are not reducible to the generic categories of (e.g.) class, gender, ethnicity' (p. 17).

Localities are not simply places or even communities; they are the sum of social energy and agency resulting from the clustering of diverse individuals, groups, and social interests in space. They are not passive or residual but in varying ways and degrees, centres of collective consciousness. (Cooke, 1990, p. 190)

K. Cox (1998) proposes that *locality* is an idea of space, coexistent within a national frame. It is a frame of reference that ties into the life-world of some communities that may see their identity as being individual and having self-worth, containing identity through memories, milestones and concrete circumstances, yet functioning within a broader national context.

Wilkinson, however, clarifies the identification of components making up community by saying that implied partial involvement is not community. He identifies groups such as *neighbourhood* as only part of a community, and groups of like-minded scientists or musicians, unless they live together and act together in a local society, are not a community. He suggests that the three elements, *locality*, *a local society*, and the collective action, also termed the *community field*, being present, delineate the community as a 'most distinctive sociological unit' (1990, p. 3).

Everingham (2001) describes *community* as a very troublesome word with a wide range of meanings and connotations. Williams (1983, as cited in Everingham, 2001) suggests that the significance of *community* lies in its overwhelming connotations; that unlike any other term of social organisation (state, nation, society) it seems never to be used unfavourably. The current study agrees with Gilmore's (2001, p.1) definition of community of *geographic locale* in the following section, where next, the use of concept of community in media research is explored.

Conceptualization of community in media research

Defining community in media research, Burd (1979) considered 'community' as a one-dimensional geographic or municipal boundary, while Stamm (1985) concluded that a broad range of researchers testify to the need for a broad and multi-dimensional approach to the definition of community, such as those cited by Wilkinson (1990) and Gläser (2001). The concept *locality* intersects both the notion of *geographic* distribution of newspapers and that of *community*. Definitions of community from media research that place *community* as belonging to a *geographic locale* show:

that the people who live there have certain things in common; a common frame of reference, common knowledge about infrastructures and people and systems. It also implies a certain inter-activeness and accessibility to all. (Gilmore, 2000, p. 1)

Also, that community is:

usually a smaller, contiguous population centre where individuals feel cherished for their selflessness, share core values, and social mores, and possess a highly defined sense of place and a strong civic identity. (Beittell, 1992, p. 27, as cited in Lauterer, 2000)

Early studies such as Janes' (1958) theorised that a community's structure could be described through analysis of the local newspaper content, believing that the type of community was reflected by its newspaper. Stamm (2001) noted that sociologists and mass communication scholars have been theorising about the role of newspapers in community integration since the early works of Park (1937, as cited in Stamm, 2001). Decades of using the community integrations model 'produced a considerable body of evidence linking newspaper use with a variety of individual-community relationships called community ties (Stamm, 2001, p. 217). Stamm et al. (1983) regarded the relationship between individuals and newspapers through the individual's tie to the community, his major assumption being that the relationships between individuals and newspapers can be best understood if they are viewed within a community framework.

Davison and Cotter (1997) explored the possible relationship between the psychological sense of community and interest in reading the local newspaper. The term 'psychological sense of community' refers to a strong attachment that people may experience toward others based on where they live and work or based on with which groups they affiliate (social, political, religious, cultural, occupational). The psychological sense of community is often defined in terms of personal orientations such as feeling of belongingness and connectedness and beliefs that one's relationships with others are characterized by shared values and reciprocal influence (McMilland & Chavis, 1986, as cited in Davison & Cotter, 1997).

Davison and Cotter found that many studies had focused on aspects of readership variables. Davison and Cotter focused on two variables of readership: how much interest people had in reading local, state and national news; and how often people read various sections of a newspaper (which they termed 'reading breadth'). Two hypotheses were tested within their study: that people who scored a high psychological sense of community would have a high

interest in news, especially local news; and that people who scored a high psychological sense of community would tend to read more sections of the newspaper than those with a low score. Results showed that respondents high in psychological sense of community reported high frequency of reading many sections of newspapers.

In summary, the literature, while offering diverse perspectives (e.g. Hillery, 1955, Wilkinson, 1990), suggests that communities can be defined as collectives of people who share values or beliefs; whose social relations are relations of affect characterised by mutuality and emotional bonds; and who frequently interact (Gläser, 2001). The term suggests positive connotations (Everingham, 2001). *Community* is identified by *its locality, local society, and collective action*. *Locality*, however, seen in context of community, relates community and geography to a national context, though *locality* can be seen as only one component of community (Wilkinson, 1990). Media research draws on a sociological context of community and has also contributed to that same sociological context from early twentieth century studies as discussed in the following section.

What is a community newspaper?

The vital measure of a newspaper is not its size, but its spirit.

Albert Hayes Sulzberger, Editor, *The New York Times*,
as cited in Hurst & Provis, 2000, p. xii.

The issue of 'what is a community newspaper' is informed by a broad set of criteria. Overlays and interchanges of meanings of the term *community* newspaper offer a challenge to researchers in drawing on studies where the definition can apply to a variety of publications (Carter 2001). Broadly, definitions fall into two areas, that of *geographic* locale and that of publication *frequency*. Terms such as *provincial, local, community, suburban, regional, weekly, small papers* and *community dailies* have all described at some point the multifarious concept, community newspaper. As an example, Kirkpatrick (2001), in discussing different sets of news values for different geographic, social and demographic readerships, asks:

are suburban papers really different? In attempting to answer the question I want to broaden the term 'suburban' and replace it with 'community'. I will use 'community' to cover both suburban and provincial non-daily newspapers because as I will set out to demonstrate they have many common values (p. 2).

Terms referring to community newspaper publications by their frequency imply a general type of definition attached to the term community newspaper. However, investigating the

early *weekly* newspapers of the 1850s from which the later daily newspapers originated in Australia, Dowling (1999) argues that while the weeklies were not officially *community* or *local* newspapers, they were the means by which local communities were able to keep abreast of news from across the colonies. The *weekly* newspaper was the means by which readers in one local community were able to read about newsworthy events occurring in other local communities. Dowling argues that the combined weekly and monthly illustrated newspaper created 'an imaginary sense of colonial identity in the mind of its readers above and beyond the sense of local community/local identity as engendered by local newspapers' (Dowling, 1999, p. 244).

It appears that the rise of the term *community newspaper* did not come into colloquial use in Australia till the 1960s, with community development theory. Australian government policy related to community development was implemented much later than in the United States and not evident until the late 1980's, early 1990s (Garlick, 1997). In America the term *community* was noted in sociological studies (Williams, 1906; as cited in Blexrud 1972) and related to research in media, circulation and community studies, starting with Park (1929). It appears that *community* communications aroused little research interest in Australia until the late 1990s (Forde, 1997, 1998a, 1999; O'Connor, 1998; Dowling, 1999; Harvey, 2001). Community newspaper studies are found in documents reporting on social history (O'Connor, 1998; Dowling, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 2000; Harvey, 2001; Vines, 2001), community development (Cahill, 1995; Kenyon, 1999, 2000, McManamey, Kilpatrick & Falk, 1999; McManamey 2001; Kenyon & Black, 2001) and journalism education (Hurst & Provis, 2000; Cafarella, 2001; Kirkpatrick, 2001).

Criteria for definitions

Eleven separate criteria defining what a community newspaper is, and in some cases is not, were noted from the literature. The criteria are: frequency, interest, locale, exclusion, circulation size, accessibility, content categories, geography, format, diversity of format, and catholicity.

Frequency. The Australian Press Council (1994) defines provincial newspapers as those not published daily (1994, p. 9). Publications issued over periods of more than one month would be termed periodicals (Cryle & Cosgrove, 1999).

Interest. Bomann (1999), writing on the growth of publications and circulation of community newspapers in the United States, defines community newspapers as 'general interest newspapers published less than four times a week' (p. 1).

Locale. Blexrud (1972), using an approach related to geographic locale, discovered that small town dailies had picked up the label ‘community newspaper’, though he defined community newspaper for the purpose of his study, ‘Rural Community Identification and the Press’, as:

any weekly English language publication addressed to the residents of a specific rural area and its population centre (p. 18).

Exclusion. Peterson (1962) defines community newspapers by ‘exclusion’ of some types of newspapers, specifying excluded categories as social class weeklies, racial weeklies, religious weeklies and legal publication weeklies.

Circulation size. Lauterer (2000) draws on the definition applied by the American Society of Small Newspaper Editors (ASNE) to a small newspaper, which is based on circulation size. A community newspaper is any newspaper with a circulation of less than 50,000 copies. Ninety-seven per cent of all newspapers in the United States have circulations under this figure (Lauterer, 2002).

Accessibility. Lauterer (2000) suggests accessibility is also a core defining factor in a newspaper’s ‘community quotient’. Accessibility is determined by how easy/difficult it is for the community to get in touch with the editors, reporters and photographers.

Content categories. The Australian Circulations Audit Board (CAB) defines community newspapers as:

non-daily, free and serving the community, containing editorial and council information along with classified, and general local items. (Sue Fowler, CAB, pers. comm., March 2003).

Geography. CAB (2003) further structures categories for community newspapers as: (a) suburban, (b) metro (inner city) and (c) regional (outer suburbs) publications. Barnhart (1974) made distinctions between three types of weekly newspapers, which he called: (1) small town, in preference to the widely used terms ‘country’ weekly and ‘rural’ weekly; (2) suburban; and (3) community, by which he meant weekly, or less-than-daily, newspapers situated in and serving neighbourhood areas of large cities.

Format. From the aspect of commercial journalism, ‘a community “newspaper” must be produced by a traditional newsprint process. Anything else could be viewed as a community newsletter/notice sheet’ (Damian Bester, Editor, *Derwent Valley Gazette*, pers. comm., 22 July 2002).

Diversity of format. Reviewing independent and alternative press in Australia, Forde (1999) remarks on the great diversity of its publications which range from A5-sized amateur productions to tabloid full-colour newspapers and magazines.

Catholicity. The broadest definition is from the National Newspaper Association of America (NNA), which covers the greatest number of criteria:

A community may be geographic, political, social or religious. A community newspaper may be published once a week or daily. Some community newspapers exist only in cyberspace. Any newspaper that defines itself as committed to serving a particular community may be defined as a 'community newspaper' (NNA, 2002).

From these definitions and qualifications it is reasonable to propose that a community newspaper can be defined in terms of a broad set of criteria pertaining to purpose, frequency, locale, structure, and content.

Towards a definition of community newspaper

Building from the broad range of definitions of community and community newspapers, an alternative frame of classification is presented in this thesis for the community newspaper. The classification is a structural order, based on an organic classification. It is framed in order to define community newspapers for this study to encompass the variety of newspaper productions that answer to the term community newspaper. The threefold classification refers to firstly, the broadest application of the term; secondly, mainstream and commercial community newspapers; and thirdly, independent community newspapers organised through and maintained by individual community initiative. It is the latter category that is of interest to this thesis. The structural classification is in three categories: *ectomorphic*, *mesomorphic* and *endomorphie*.

Ectomorphic refers to community newspapers as external, outside of community, structural organisations. These papers are part of larger commercial organizations and syndicates. The application is based on the organic meaning of ectomorphic: 'having a thinly built body characterised by the relative prominence of structures developed from the outer cell layer' (Macquarie Dictionary, 1998, p. 325).

Mesomorphic refers to a community newspaper published and functioning within its locale, using newsprint format. It can be part of a larger organisation or syndicate. The term is based 'on mesomorphic: prominence of structures developed from the embryonic mesoderm

“having a muscular or sturdily built body characterised by the relative prominence of structures developed from the embryonic mesoderm” (*Macquarie Dictionary*, 1998, p. 715).

Endomorphic refers to those community newspapers arising from community initiative as independent *grass-roots* productions within a geographic locale. Based on the organic definition, endomorphic is ‘a heavily built body characterised by the relative prominence of structures developed from the embryonic endoderm’ (*Macquarie Dictionary*, 1998, p. 336).

Ectomorphic newspapers are community newspapers in the broadest sense. They are structured from the *outside*, to reach diverse geographic communities. The term also acknowledges the wide context to which the term ‘community’ is applied, that is, *daily*, *national*, and *community of interest* papers such as rural, religious or political newspapers. *Ectomorphic community* newspapers: consider the ‘reader’ as a community; relate to the stewardship felt by editors and proprietors whereby they represent their readers’ views in a regional, city, state, national and/or world forum.

Producers of daily newspapers consider that the newspapers serve ‘the community’ and are community newspapers in that broadest sense. The following excerpt from an interview with the CEO of the *New York Times* (Kerby, 1992; 2001) illustrates a number of points which pick up on the broad context definition of ‘community’ as the state or nation mentioned in Everingham (2001). It supports the use of the term ‘readers’ as meaning a community. It also illustrates the feeling of stewardship editors and proprietors claim as representing their readers’ views as a community in the community of communities, defined by Etizone (1996) as the world forum.

When the World Trade Towers fell a few weeks ago, all over the country, people were asking, “How can I help?”” he said. ‘At the Times Company, we know what we can do: We believe that by informing the public, we’re contributing to the welfare of the community. You should do something that you feel is worthwhile, too. (Keating, 2001)

Regional daily newspapers are noted for the close links they hold to their communities (McManamey & Falk, 2001). *The Examiner* in Launceston, Tasmania is a daily regional newspaper that considers itself a community newspaper. Its mission statement is ‘to build community’ (Rod Scott, Editor, *The Examiner*, pers. comm., 18 October 1999).

Mesomorphic community newspapers are part of the mainstream press and are those where the terms *weekly*, *suburban*, *local*, and/or *community* newspaper may apply. This definition is

consistent with definitions from Bomann (1999), Lauterer (1995, 2000), CAB (2003) and NNA (2002).

The mainstream press refers to press organizations that are part of commercial media networks (Forde, 1999). While community newspapers attached to mainstream media reflect community networks and communications, the presence of outside financial interests can be reflected in stronger consensus driven perspectives (McCombs, 1972).

Endomorphic community newspapers are established as a single enterprise. They arise from within and are the end product of a community initiative and network to reflect information and communication at a *grass-roots* volunteer and commercial level independent of mainstream press organizations. Research of the Tasmanian community newspapers examined in this thesis, informed by communications literature (Peterson, 1962; Blexrud, 1972; Australian Press Council, 1994; Forde, 1999; Lauterer, 2000; NNA, 2002), identifies them as *endomorphic* and defines them as follows:

Independent community publications, of geographic locale, published bi-weekly or less frequently, arising as a result of local initiative and not attached to a mainstream media organisation. Independent community newspapers are grass-roots communications echoing and mirroring their community. They can be produced by voluntary community organisations or commercial operations.

What is the role of the community newspaper?

Newspapers were largely inventions for extending interpersonal channels of gossip which flourished in small towns and villages (Park, 1922, as cited in Stamm et al., 1983, p. 15).

Park (1929) maintained that communication was the primary mechanism through which individuals maintained the collective enterprise called 'community'. Within geographic locales, community newspapers are the primary source of communication at the local level (Hurst & Provis, 2001; Lauterer, 2000; Buton, 1998). Echoing Park (1929), the role of the community newspaper in a broad sense is to connect people to each other. It is 'one of the ways the community is maintained' (Gilmore, 2000, p. 2). It also acts as 'a mirror through which communities see themselves and a window through which they see the world' (Neibergall, 1994, as cited in Gilmore, 2000, p. 2).

Blexrud (1972) reports that, in common with all newspapers, no matter their publication frequency or circulation size, community weekly newspapers perform three essential

functions as a social agent. These functions are 'the collection, preparation and distribution of community news...serving as a vehicle for the expression of public opinion...to comment and to provide a medium whereby buyer and seller may be acquainted in the marketplace' (p. 18).

Two studies identified the role community media plays in shaping political action and aiding democracy, in Israel (Liebes & Peri, 1998) and New Mexico (McCleneghan et al., 2002). Liebes and Peri found that community media directives resulted in a specific political election outcome in Israel in 1996. While a barrage of television advertising and promotion of candidates preceded it, it was the coverage of a 'disaster' by local media rather than the 'frontal influence of television' that determined patterns of voting. Liebes and Peri's study found that the community media of the various cultural enclaves was more effective than nationwide media at carrying out political debate and mobilising voters.

McCleneghan et al. (2002) examined the role played by local community newspapers in building political careers by observing 59 mayoral elections from 1986 to 1998. Based on 15 rural communities in New Mexico without TV stations, his study noted that community newspaper support was paramount in ousting incumbent politicians in New Mexico (McCleneghan et al., 2002). McCleneghan et al. believe that, more often than not, local elections are a stepping stone to higher office and that the area of media impact in building candidates and their rise is little documented. He commented that 'local' is a lost world to political scientists and media scholars who are 'preoccupied with national voting behaviour and presidential 'personality' contests. McCleneghan et al. (2002) found that when the powerful incumbent was eliminated, community journalism's influence via newspaper endorsement and local radio advertising had a positive correlation with predicting winners of local elections.

Kanervo and Kanervo (1995) examined attitudes to community newspapers and the role community leaders believed community newspapers should undertake. Their study involved a survey of chief administrators, mayors and city managers of 1384 towns in 50 states of the United States. About 84% believed that newspapers should give attention to projects 'everyone can work on', and that reporting on residents uniting on a common cause is an important role of community newspapers. Three-quarters of respondents believed that the local newspaper covered all sides of controversies fairly. Community leaders also viewed their journalists less as cheerleaders and more as 'gatekeepers'. The overall conclusion from the community leaders was that the community newspapers acted as 'community boosters'.

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[the community newspaper is]...the heart of the community and—love it or hate it—it does keep a community together.

Ella Ebery, Editor, as cited in Kirkpatrick, 2001, p. 18.

Hurst and Provis (2000) consider that community newspapers play a number of roles in their communities. A number of studies support roles identified by Hurst and Provis (2000), and illustrate the multi-dimensional roles that community newspapers play in their communities: providing leadership in the public interest and stimulating community action (Cahill, 1995; McManamey & Falk, 2001); producing an enduring history of regional and local history (Kirkpatrick, 2001; Vines, 2001); acting as the building blocks of civic and corporate life and pride (Kenyon, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 2001; Vines, 2001; McCleneghan, 2002); promoting and encouraging unity in adversity and diversity (Cahill, 1995; Liebes & Peri, 1998; Kenyon & Black, 2001; McCleneghan, 2002); and engendering family development (Kirkpatrick, 2001).

Community newspapers are playing an increasing role in their community's development, as documented by Kenyon (1999), Kenyon and Black (2001), Wahlquist (2003), Vines (2001), and Kirkpatrick (2001). An Australian report on local community development initiatives drew attention to the role that local media played in community building (Cahill, 1995). The report described a major economic turnaround for a rural community in northern Victoria and noted the importance and positive effect of the local paper's support. The report suggested that policies held by the local newspaper worked to build local cohesion. These policies included: not promoting details of local court cases in which local people were charged with minor misdemeanours, seeing this as counter-productive; focusing on job achievers from the previous year's school leavers; and on promising new business growth. A comparison was made in the report between this newspaper and another newspaper in western Victoria that opposed anything that their council proposed—so much so that the council had to set up a newsletter so that it could get good-news stories and achievements out to the broader community. Cahill (1995) suggested that the role of local media in terms of community development can be very influential in helping or hindering activities of local community groups and may also be valuable in alerting the general populace to problems, promoting positive energetic organisation.

In a study of rural reading over the first fifty years of the last twentieth century in Queensland, Australia, Cryle and Cosgrove (1999) envision that 'the imaginary community' of rural Australia 'was linked to its newspaper press, constructed locally in the case of dailies or regionally'. They also noted that readership of regional dailies was twice that of national

newspapers outside the national capital. The attitude associated with local and rural newspaper reading in this period related to the sense of detail within regional and rural newspapers which 'elevated it in importance above television' (McNair Anderson, 1968, as cited in Cryle & Cosgrove, 1999).

Framing the roles of community based publications that arise from a newspaper's demographics, values, staffing levels and time factor in production, Kirkpatrick notes the overriding factor is the sense of history:

Many community newspapers are steeped in history and have survived because of the closeness of the relationship they have built with their communities, reflecting accurately the community's values and being unafraid to raise the community's concerns. (Kirkpatrick, 2001, p. 18)

Kirkpatrick (2001) cites an American study by Greenberg (1964), who found that in small communities with weekly community newspapers, the community press had a social function, pertaining to inclusivity, in the assimilation of individuals into the community structure; it distributed prestige in the form of stories, images and announcements of particular events; 'the community press serves the welfare and progress of the local area' (Kirkpatrick, 2001, p. 18).

Research into the relationship between community and community newspapers shows that community ties and communication build action and political activity; with implications affecting both local development and local politics (McCleneghan, 2002), community newspapers can also have an impact on national political agendas (Liebes et al., 1998). The role of community newspapers supports and helps build community action (Kanervo & Kanervo, 1995) directed at development. Kenyon and Black (2001) investigated strategies that had impacted on small town renewal, analysing fourteen case studies from rural Australia. Media support in a number of cases was shown to be a major factor in community renewal (Kenyon & Black, 2001; Wahlquist, 1999). The literature presents a strong argument that community newspapers influence outcomes positively for their communities, seen in a broad range of areas that encourage democratic practice, economic and community development as well as acting as a major socializing agent.

The implications for community newspapers and their roles, given the areas of influence contributing to 'what is community', suggest that community newspapers: have multiple structured roles (Stamm, 1883) based on social and economic factors (Blexrud, 1972),

focused towards identity drawing on ‘history’ (Kirkpatrick, 1999), and based on a relationship of shared values (Gilmore, 2000).

Community newspapers published in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000

In Tasmania and in broader Australian media research, independent community newspapers are given little attention (Forde, 1997, 1999; Harvey, 2001; Kirkpatrick, 2001). Documentation of Tasmanian community newspapers is scant. Recent Tasmanian research pertaining to Tasmanian newspapers investigates themes of history and political science related to the early to mid-1800s (Tanner, 1990; Alexander, 1998). Socio-historical documentation on regional and provincial press in Tasmania presents information relating the interplay of competition, amalgamations and name changes, development, growth and cessation of provincial and mainstream daily newspapers (Miller, 1933, 1952; Moore-Robinson, 1933).

Miller (1952a), in his *Historical Summary of Tasmanian Newspapers*, lists 11 provincial newspapers including the first three independent community newspapers published in Tasmania; the *Circular Head Chronicle* (1909), the *North Eastern Advertiser* (1909), and the *Huon Times* (1910). Seven newspapers defined as community newspapers in this study are documented in *Walch’s Almanac* (1901–1979/80). *A Chronological List of Tasmanian Newspapers 1910–1933* (Moore-Robinson, 1933) describes 20 publications as newspapers established in Tasmania between 1901 and 1933, including the first three community newspapers established. Both Miller and Moore-Robinson fail to include the *King Island News* established in (1912).

More recent documentation of media, the *Media Guide* (2000), lists newspapers in Tasmania by mainstream press including mainstream community press. The guide records three Tasmanian independent community newspapers associated with the Victorian Country Press Association.

Observing the lack of literature and research interest related to community newspapers, both in the broader areas of circulation and readership analysis, and in social history, it is suggested that a valuable source of data may have been overlooked, both in terms of contents and the implications of the community newspapers’ presence and growth.

1(b) Does the geographic distribution of community newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

This section reviews three areas of the literature related to population change and the geographic distribution of newspapers: firstly, international, Australian and Tasmanian studies on demographic patterns and social factors; secondly, demographic change related to newspaper readership and circulation patterns and circulations in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia; and finally, population change related to the geographic distribution of newspapers.

In compiling a literature review of fifty studies titled *Using community characteristics to predict newspaper circulation*, embracing circulation and readership, Stone (1978) asked, 'How much influence does the community have on the readership or circulation of newspapers?' In considering Research Question 1(b), questions arise: What influence does population change have on the geographic distribution of newspapers? What is the impact of demographic change on newspaper growth, circulations, and readership? The literature reviewed in this section informs both these underlying aspects of Research Question 1(b).

Demographics

In 1900, 14% of the world's population lived in urban areas, whereas in 1999, over 47% of the world's population lived in urban² areas (United Nations Population Division, 2002). In developed nations, 76% of the population live in urban areas, compared to about 40% in less developed countries (Population Reference Bureau, 2004). Kenyon and Black (2001) note that patterns of declining populations in small town and rural communities, particularly over the last two decades, have been present not only in Australia but also in communities in the mid-west of the United States, New Zealand and South Africa. Internationally, this trend is considered the joint product of history and geography, along with the uncertainty of world commodity markets (Kenyon & Black, 2001).

In Australia—where at the beginning of the twentieth century, 54% of the population were rural dwellers, 9% lived in coastal provincial cities, and 37% lived in the eight State and Territory capital cities—now only 21% live in rural Australia, with 63% living in cities and

² *Urban* areas are defined by populations of more than 2,500 people. This is not a generalised standard but is consistent with the United States definition of urban as a 'city, town or village with a minimum population of 2,500 people' (Population Reference Bureau, 2003). The Australian Bureau of statistics classified a population size of over 1000 is classified as an urban locality.

21% in coastal provincial cities (Kenyon & Black, 2001, p. 3). Kenyon and Black report a group of factors—both in Australia and internationally, affecting small remote and inland communities, and contributing to their declining populations. These factors are growing environmental concerns, rapid technology changes, changing lifestyle options and consumer habits, low income and rising debt levels, decline in education and health services, national competition policy and practices, deteriorating infrastructure, and family and business costs. A major factor contributing to a negative impact on the population of rural communities overall in the latter half of the century is the practice of government and private sector policies to regionalise and centralise services (Kenyon & Black, 2001).

The Australian Bankers Association (ABA) study (1998) shows that out of the 416 rural municipalities in Australia, 215 municipalities have suffered a decline in population of 12% or more since 1976. Analysis by the ABA indicates that rural towns experiencing a loss of 20% or more of their population since 1976 suffer from one of a series of characteristics: depleted local mineral resources; local manufacturing in which advances in production methods have reduced the scale of the workforce required; being located in the wheat–sheep belt where there are natural economies of scale that have encouraged farm aggregation; location within a convenient drive to a provincial city which offers services, employment, education and training; mining operations having switched to fly-in, fly-out operation; location within a broader urban area which has experienced ageing of local community and changing land use; physical isolation from the major highway systems; or being formerly based on timber milling, small-scale farming; or with a narrow sphere of economic influence over its immediate region (ABA, 1998, pp. 25–26).

Social change

Kenyon and Black (2001) consider that ‘the rural depopulation’, reduced economic status, changing demographics, and general changes in societal norms have contributed to a loss of social cohesion and community participation in rural areas. ‘Out-migration and the decline of the family farm have dispersed social networks’ (2001, p. 10).

Wilson (1996, as cited in Warren, Thompson & Saegert, 2001) summarised the patterns of economic change affecting youth in general in such circumstances:

The flight of jobs destroys businesses, social institutions and youth social organization and youth socialization processes, leading to a condition that is characterised by social isolation. Youth lose ties to job networks as well as to a stable community where good work habits and instilled as a norm. (p. 3)

Virtually every measure of the standard of living—income, health, education, aged care, access to services, infrastructure, housing—is stable or declining in rural Australia (Sidoti, 1998; Sarantakos, 1998). Problems associated with rural poverty take on a more ‘chronic’ nature than those in urban communities (Hill & Philips, 1991); people living in rural communities ‘die younger, receive less medical attention, less education, and often inadequate telecommunications services’ (Wahlquist, 1998); a sense of marginalisation and exclusion exists in rural Australia (E. Cox, 1998); enormous stresses on family ties and community organisations are created (Kerby, 1992; Lovelace, 1995, as cited in Kenyon & Black, 2001); and there is an increase in suicide and mental health problems in rural areas linked to economic conditions (Viren, 1999, as cited in Kenyon & Black, 2001).

Positive social changes are noted by Cavaye (1999), showing that the economic and social links which rural people develop due to improved transport and communications allow services and participation in recreation well beyond the local community. Benefits arising from access to information technology (IT) include internet sales, and tele-working (Johnson, 1997, as cited in Kenyon & Black, 2001), impacting on rural communities. Also, training delivery and informal learning opportunities can be increased to impact on communities Balatti & Falk, (2000).

In short, the literature reviewed suggests that rural decline is not only measured in population decline and change but can have huge implications on many socio-economic aspects of communities. While viewed in a mainly negative context, factors that lead to rural decline also opens positive opportunities through modes of communication and IT.

Demographics and change in Tasmania

Tasmania differs in a number of ways from the general demographic trend of urban population increase of other Australian states. It is the most decentralised state: presently, 58% of the Tasmanian population live in communities outside the capital city area (Chris Sweeny, ABS, pers. comm. 4 May 2003). From the period 1978 to 1998, Tasmania had the lowest population growth rate of any of the Australian states, experiencing a population decline from 1996 to 1998 (ABS, 2001). It has very low overseas immigration, receiving only 0.01% of the nation’s migrant intake, although it has 2.4% of the nation’s population.

Underlying the high out-migration from Tasmania is low economic performance. Identifying and discussing Tasmania’s economic performance in relation to the rest of Australia, Rae (2003) points out that all key indicators of economic performance were consistently inferior in the 1980s and 1990s. Since the last recession in the 1990s, the Australian economy has

grown at two-and-a-half times the rate of the Tasmanian economy. Rae considers that poor economic performance has acquired the status of the 'Tasmanian problem' in national political policy, and has been examined at a national level since Federation in 1901. Rae suggests that the implications of this performance have encouraged young Tasmanians to leave the state to seek employment due to perceived deteriorating prospects. The population leaving the state are predominately young people with tertiary qualifications and the greatest potential to make the greatest contribution to the state's economic development.

Jackson and Heard (2000) suggest that 'population change is a critical factor for business and policy and analysis, yet it is a largely invisible and poorly understood phenomenon' (p. 10). Many studies related to Australian and Tasmanian population patterns focus on the regional differences of ageing within the population (Jackson & Kippen, 2001; Jackson & Felmingham, 2002). In 2001, Tasmania's proportion of population over 65 years of age at 13.7% made it Australia's second-oldest state population after South Australia at 14.6%. Tasmania is predicted to have the oldest population within a decade (Chris Sweeny, ABS, pers. comm., 20 July 2002). Debates about Australia's population size and growth have focused chiefly on immigration and the role it can play in the future (Hugo, 1999, as cited in Jackson & Felmingham, 2002). Discussion surrounding 'natural increase' in Tasmania, in contrast, has been taken very much for granted; a factor Jackson and Felmingham (2002) see as causing a misperception in population debates. Natural increase has accounted for almost all population growth in some regions of Australia, and in the case of Tasmania, all aggregate net growth since the end of World War II. Natural increase in Tasmania has additionally offset net migration by 20,000 over the period. Population decrease will intensify the apparent 'speed' of ageing, as those who leave are younger people.

While Jackson and Felmingham (2002) examine implications of an ageing population and population decline in Tasmania and Australia, the themes have not been applied in media research as yet, though they are central in American media research and newspaper market analysis. This relationship between the age structure of the population and newspaper readership is discussed in the following section.

Demographic patterns and change related to newspapers

Analysis of newspaper readership in the United States indicates that readers are more likely to be drawn from older sections of the population. Younger people display a well-documented diminishing affinity for newspapers, which is compounded by the decreasing numbers of persons aged 25 to 44 in the United States (Francese, 2003). Somerville (2001) noted Tolley's (2001) results describing declining 'frequency of readings' in all age cohorts. Somerville

touches on research on comparison of cohorts (Meyer, 1985), showing that older readers represent higher levels of readership, but younger cohorts did not show an increase in readership as they grew older. Tolley suggested that if projections made from the Newspaper Association's 1997 study held true, there would be an end to daily newspaper readership by 2078 at the latest (as cited in Somerville, 2001, p. 2). Somerville regards the trend of an ageing population as having the most profound effect on newspaper readership since the start of research in that area in the United States forty years prior.

Meyer's findings (1985, as cited in Somerville, 2001), that younger-aged cohorts' interest in reading did not increase as they grew older, differs from those of other studies investigating community ties and readership. Stamm and Fortini-Campbell (1983) suggest that the pattern of decline in newspaper circulations was caused by people forming community ties at a later average age (age 39). They ask, 'why is readership higher among middle-aged persons than those in their teens or twenties' (1983, p. 4). They dismiss the notion that the cause is either newspaper content issues or television viewing, rather they suggesting decreasing readership is tied to a changing 'lifestyle'. Rising mobility and increased marital instability (Chaffe & Choe, as cited in Stamm et al., 1983) 'may be as important as press performance in determining the future of the newspaper in American life' (Stamm et al., 1983, p. 4).

Stamm et al. further suggest that the newspaper practice of assuming readers to be an 'entire aggregated unit'—where communities have grown together into cities—does not take into account the community ties that individuals still feel toward their smaller units and neighbourhood. Stamm et al. (1983) conclude that these ties may become strong and provide the basis for neighbourhood suburban circulation areas.

Sullivan's (2002) findings relate directly back to Stamm et al.'s (1983) forecast on newspaper circulations. Sullivan's study in the United States built on analysis of comparisons between the 1960 and 1990 censuses. He states that the number of people moving geographic locations shows mainly a movement to the metropolitan (suburban) areas from the larger (inner) cities. He does not address rural decline; rather, observing that metropolitan areas are expanding, meaning 'larger numbers are living in communities that must address a broad array of urban issues' (2002, p. 3). Sullivan believes that population growth in the United States, a major contribution to newspaper revenue, is slowing down and has changed in that population growth is driven more by immigration and migration than by natural factors when compared to forty years ago. Newspaper growth has declined, becoming concentrated in 'a limited number of markets' (p. 2), though Sullivan did not qualify *which* markets. He did note that while there have been increases in the use of media, the public's confidence in news media and daily newspapers, has declined.

While Lacy, Robinson and Riffe's (1995) study in the United States concurs in part with Sullivan (2002)—that overall number and readers of newspapers have declined, Sullivan's study did not note that although weekly newspaper numbers in the United States declined from 8174 in 1960 to 7406 in 1993, the average circulation of weekly papers nearly tripled. Lacy et al. (1995) found that weekly newspaper circulations increased from 1960 to 1993 by 160% compared with daily newspapers in the same period (circulation growth rate 2%). Lacy et al. suggest that 'the weekly newspaper once viewed as a candidate for extinction should be viewed as increasingly important for newspaper research' (1995, p. 336). Bomann (1999) noted that between 1996 and 1999 numbers of community newspapers defined as 'general interest papers published less than four times a week' (p. 6), grew 6%, while numbers and circulations of daily newspapers decreased.

Readership in the United Kingdom

Regional and local newspaper circulations in the United Kingdom showed a positive growth overall in the five years to 2002 (Newspaper Society, 2003). Eighty-four per cent of all British adults (40 million people) read a regional newspaper, compared with 67 per cent who read a national daily. Forty per cent of readers of regional press similarly do not read a national daily (Newspaper Society, 2003). Reading of national daily papers in Britain shows a fall from 60% of the population in 1995 to 53% in 2001 (National Statistics UK, 2003). The Newspaper Society (2003) report suggested that the growth and popularity of, and interest in, regional and local press is related to the fact that over three-quarters of the British workforce work within 10 miles [16.1 kilometres] of home, and 40% within two miles [3.22 kilometres]. The Newspaper Society (2003) suggests that increased circulations in regional and local newspapers are linked to the *trust* people have in their local newspapers, which could be seen as a contrast to Sullivan's (2002) finding of declining trust in the United States.

Circulation patterns in Australia

Lewis (2001), in a paper discussing issues surrounding pluralism in the Australian print media from 1986 to 2000, challenges notions of falling circulation trends in Australia. Lewis's argument is based on the circulation figures of the combined Australian daily, weekend and suburban newspapers. Within a breakdown of the study's figures, daily newspapers and national dailies do show decline. Saturday, Sunday and suburban publication show increases in circulation. Suburban newspaper circulation between 1995 and 2000 shows a 7% increase. Circulation figures from the weekend papers are greater than those for the national daily newspapers' five days' issues combined. The decline in Australian national and capital city newspaper circulations was just under 1% (Lewis, 2001, p. 102). This is far lower than the

7% decrease shown in Britain over the same period (National Statistics UK, 2002). Lewis argues that the daily newspaper circulations combined with weekend and suburban circulations show an overall pattern of growth. He maintains that newspaper circulation in Australia is not declining. However Lewis's figures, if separated, support both the general trend of declining daily newspaper circulations and the rise and growth of suburban newspapers; that is, newspaper circulation rising in geographic locales.

Summary

A small amount of literature directly addresses the research question: *What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000*. However, literature in relation to definitions of community and community newspapers suggest a broad range of applications that point to the need to clarify the term community newspaper. Whereas the multiple structured roles of community newspapers differ, there are a number of functions they perform, contributing to the structure and development of their communities. Their focus is concerned with community wellbeing, underpinned by a strong sense of history and shared values.

Geographic distribution of community newspapers relates to changing demographic, economic and social factors in a number of ways. Changing demographic patterns over the twentieth century suggest urbanisation has increased particularly rapidly in the last two decades of the century. In Australia, urbanisation appears directly linked to rural depopulation, though in the United States it is also linked to a shift from large cities to metropolitan areas. The social implications of declining population in rural areas world-wide (Kenyon & Black, 2001) suggest that population decline or stability affects every measure of the standard of living. Population patterns on the Australian mainland differ from those of Tasmania, in that the Tasmania population is proportionally higher in rural areas. Tasmania has high out-migration, low immigration and the second-oldest population of any Australian state.

Numbers of newspapers associated with a geographic locale, locality and community (Stamm et al., 1983) appear to be growing in comparison to numbers of national and daily newspapers. While the circulation figures for the United States, Britain and Australia suggest that readership of national and city dailies is declining, regional, community and local press weeklies' circulations and paper numbers are growing (Bomann, 1999; Mason, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Future Foundation Report, 2003). Regional, community and local newspaper numbers and circulation figures across the western world do suggest a trend of growth in community newspapers that has not been examined in a significant research sense.

The literature relating to social and lifestyle changes indicates that lifestyle factors rather than factors associated with geographic distribution of newspapers are the cause of diminishing daily newspaper circulation rates (Fortini-Campbell et al., 1981; Stamm et al., 1993; Emig, 1995; Sullivan, 2002). However, while population change results from economic and social factors (Jackson & Felmingham 2002; ABS, 2001; Kenyon & Black 2001; Sullivan, 2002), the literature suggests that from the impact of urbanisation and rural renewal, there is growth in community, local, rural/provincial newspaper circulations and numbers of papers. The literature also suggests that *trust* in the local newspaper underpins growth in the United Kingdom (Newspaper Society, 2002, Future Foundation Report 2003), seen in the focus of newspapers on local issues (Fortini-Campbell & Stamm 1981; Stamm et al., 1983; Sullivan, 2002) and based on the strength of community ties (Stamm et al., 1983; Davison & Cotter, 1997). Population changes and urbanisation trends in the United States, Britain and Australia support the growth of community, non daily, regional, local and suburban papers.

Research Question 2

Newspapers do more than provide information. They enter into the process of forming communities from voluntary associations to cities to nation–states.

Nord, 2001

Introduction

This section will firstly review studies discussing issues arising in newspapers from a broad perspective, and the impact of those issues, globally and in Australia. Theory and media movements discussed in relation to Research Question 2 are linked to empowerment and further, the concerns over declining readership and circulations identified in Research Question 1. There appears to be no literature referring directly to the research question, however studies reporting how issues have been reported and the differences between city, community and suburban reportage of issues are reviewed.

Research Question 2: Issues in community papers

- 2(a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000, and
- 2(b) How have issues been presented?

In the sections that follow, various aspects related to the research question are addressed. These aspects include: What issues are presented in newspapers? Power to empower; how might newspapers empower communities? What motivates newspapers to take an active role in community issues and community building? Issues and how they are presented in community newspapers in Australia.

- 2(a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000?

Poll after poll produces the same depressing findings—the media are held in low esteem by the public.

Robertson, 1999, p. 1.

Issues and credibility

The issues presented in the mainstream press and how they are presented appears to contrast with community newspapers. The degree of trust that communities and regional readers display towards their press through increasing readership, noted in the literature in the response to Research Question 1 (Riffe et al., 1998; Mason, 2000; Future Foundation Report, 2003), is not present for mainstream dailies and national media corporations (Pierce 1998; Adkins-Covert, Ferguson, Phillips, & Wasburn, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Dickerson & Topping, 2001; Somerville, 2001; Tolley, 2001). Literature discussing what issues are presented in mainstream newspapers and how, suggests that trust is diminished by the sensational and unbalanced reportage (McQuillan, 1998) of crime and violence (Guzan-Artwick & Gordon, 1998; Guon, Zhu & Chen, 2001).

Aspects of *sensationalism* and the reporting of *crime* as major content are the major concerns of three studies from different cultures. These studies indicate cross-cultural consensus on the causes of distrust of the media. The first is *Portrayal of US Cities by Daily Newspapers* by Guzan-Artwick and Gordon (1998). The authors reminded readers that a quarter of a century ago, a metropolitan daily editor offered this advice to the urban press: 'we must take care not to present a distorted picture to urban society, while we continue to report honestly what is going on in our communities' (p. 54). Today the reality of the cities is a continuing urban crisis and the press is still blamed for fuelling the problems. Guzan-Artwick and Gordon (1998) find urban mayors criticise the media for their 'unmitigated' negative images of American cities. 'Citizen focus groups blame the press for making the city look like there's a war going on out there' (p. 54). Critics contend that by emphasising crime, congestion, unemployment and problems in government, business and education, the news media contributes to building unfavourable images of cities. Based on these premises, Guzan-Artwick and Gordon (1998) concluded that 'the newspapers studied portrayed their own cities as fairly inhospitable places considering most people turn to newspapers for local news' (p. 59). The results of their interviews suggest that the public felt that their media contributes to the crises in the eight cities studied.

Guon, Zhu and Chen (2001) assessed the relative contribution of direct experience, interpersonal communication and media use habits on crime perception in two communities. Their study was conducted in Hong Kong and the city of Guangzhou, China. In a comparison across communities they found a connection between individual perceptions of heightened crime from the media's sensational crime coverage 'to a point that renders the real life environment practically irrelevant' (2001, p. 398).

A study focusing on the effects of distorted reporting discussed how negative reporting policy affects communities (McQuillan, 1998). The study described *A Town like Port Keats*, where the only news reported is of 'crime'. Port Keats, an Aboriginal community of Wadeye, in the Northern Territory, Australia, is referred to as a 'hell-hole' and a 'war zone' in many media reports. The media portrays Port Keats as a violent community where people do little about their problems. Although the town is the subject of many media reports, few journalists have actually visited Port Keats. In fact there have been, and are, successful community projects and direct action to improve the community. Government grants and policies were adversely affected as a result of the image built by media. Progress taking place in a number of key community areas, whereby indigenous communities were restructuring and relocating themselves, was completely ignored by the media because of the lack of journalists visiting the township, and reporting only from great distances. The power of the mainstream press to resort to sensationalism in place of investigatory journalism in this instance was destructive and reduced community cohesion. Appropriate investigatory measures could have encouraged positive achievements and the reshaping of a community identity.

Public mistrust of the media in the United States has been increasing since the 1980s (Dickson & Topping, 2001). Dickson and Topping cite the 2001 First Amendment survey by the Freedom Forum, finding that most Americans say that it is as important for the government to hold the media in check (71%) as it is for the media to hold the government in check (82%). They also cited a study commissioned by *Newsweek* (Nicholson, 1988, as cited in Dickson & Topping, 2001) showing that '53% of people believed "only some" or "very little" of what they hear or see' (p. 73). They give reasons for the public's mistrust of news media, with the media perceived as being more interested in ratings and profits than news; too powerful; more interested in personal fame; too focused on scandal and "infotainment"; too liberal or too conservative; insensitive; biased, inaccurate, unfair and cynical (p. 82); and perceived by the public 'as kowtowing to big business because of chain ownership of most newspapers' (p. 83).

Doyle (1999) also comments on perceptions of media self-interest held by the public and documented in the ASNE Report (1999), which discusses declining media standards in both television and tabloids (Doyle, 1999). Doyle suggests that credibility is much higher at the community newspaper level, although readers' expectations of community newspapers are seen to be the same as for those of the larger press. He notes that mistakes observed within community newspapers are at a different level from those in daily media. Doyle noted that when a problem arises in a small community paper, 'it is usually a misspelling of the

bridesmaid's name, or the sports story that identifies the defensive back as a line backer' (Doyle, 1999, p. 20). Credibility builds local trust. Doyle described two measurements of 'credibility' used by the paper he edits to increase local reader confidence. Credibility measurement therefore is taken from community councils, 'comprising of a broad swath of people in the community who are asked questions about the paper' (p. 20). The other method is where stories are selected at random and mailed out to the source of the story with a questionnaire. The source is asked to comment on accuracy, fairness, completeness and headline of the story.

A report from a community's perspective, identifying some of the factors that engender distrust emerged from an inquiry into improving local communication networks. The study and report for the Jacksonville Community Council (1998) on 'Improving public dialogue' stated that 'the flow of communications is the life-blood of a community'. The report looked at improving a problem based on local print and broadcast media de-emphasising public dialogue. They identified a number of areas within the media for improvement:

- Quality of public information suffers from high turnover of reporters who arrive with little knowledge of local community and move on to larger publications;
- News reporting must be presented as fully, fairly and accurately as possible as news reporting is frequently perceived to be incomplete or inaccurate;
- Lack of public dialogue reinforces sense of passivity and apathy.

(Jacksonville Community Council, 1998)

While lack of public dialogue can diminish a community's sense of structure and engender apathy, public dialogue can engender community social changes and promote active democratic voice. An overriding question surfaces from the literature at this point as to 'how' and 'who' is responsible for generating that dialogue and its outcomes?

Power to empower

Altschull (1990) believes that like all abstractions, 'the concept of power is subject to a good many interpretations' (p. 296). He cited the economist, John Kenneth Galbraith as defining power as 'a universal means to gain personal, organizational or political goals' (p. 296). Empowerment, however, holds notions of collaborative action directed to give power to the un-empowered. Christians, Ferré and Flackler (1993) advocate a theory of media ethics with individual autonomy (individual enlightenment theory) as its problem, and communitarianism and its ground-making transformative social change as its end.

A press devoted to the 'telos' of civic transformation aims to liberate the citizenry, inspire acts of consciousness, pierce the political fog, and enable the consciousness raising that is essential for constructing a social order through dialogue, mutuality in concert with our universal humanity. Nurturing communitarian citizenship entails at a minimum journalism committed to justice, covenant, and empowerment. (p. 14)

Underpinning current empowerment and community development theory are the writings and practice of Paulo Freire (1970), a Brazilian educator and community development activist. Freire developed a problem-based learning application that he called 'problem posing' for use in communities outside the traditional educational and training institutions. His work, called *critical consciousness*, seeks to empower communities to learn to take control and achieve power. This is achieved by unified strength in numbers, not by individual objectives (Barnes & Fairbanks 1990, p. 54). Christians et al. (1993) see that Freire's alternative relates to where power is relational, characterised by mutuality rather than sovereignty. 'Empowered persons, in his perspective are not distant and dominant, but are given their maximum humanity' (p. 107). Freire insists that 'through literacy and social activism the oppressed learn to *name* their world...to take responsibility for it'. Freire writes that, 'the question is not just to take power, but also to reinvent power, that is to create a different kind of power' (1970, p. 68). To summarise, he sees power not as interventionist but as relational and characterised by mutuality.

Gutierrez (as cited in Bernstein, Wallenstein, Braithwaite & Gutierrez, 1994), however, pointed out that a crucial contradiction in empowerment practice is the degree to which the vision of the organiser, facilitator or leader guides the process:

Theory and practice tell us that this approach is based on the worldwide view of the participant, but it does not account for dealing with participants who may have agendas that serve to oppress others (p. 289).

Braithwaite (in Bernstein et al., 1994) identifies some of the values underlying community empowerment as consensus, sharing and participatory decision making, and genuine respect for community members and partners. Additionally, the following tenets are important: resources should be allocated to impact the greatest number of persons in the community; planning should be a bottom-up process; leadership should be nurtured from within the community; trust should be fostered across groups, races, class, and occupational identities; and cultural sensitivities/competence is important. Gutierrez (as cited in Bernstein et al., 1994), mirroring Freire's earlier words on empowerment, held that:

by power I refer to the ability to act and create change in a desired direction. Power connotes a social relationship in which actors can use the resources of personal, social or political power to create change (p. 293).

It seems that newspapers are in a strong position to empower and create change in their communities. The next section discusses how newspapers might empower their communities.

How might newspapers empower communities?

Local newspapers that provide a forum for exchange among editors, readers and residents (categories themselves that overlap) play a comparable role. In their pages interviews and interviewees explain innovations, rally support, display successes, tell personal stories that crystallize collective aims, and hold local leaders accountable to the community. Above all they provide a common space for common arguments (Putnam, Feldstein & Cohen, 2003, p. 292).

The existence of community newspapers can facilitate local level democratic debate. Community newspapers have been noted in literature as a platform for airing important issues not available through other sources (Blexrud, 1972; Lauterer, 2000; Kenyon & Black, 2001). There is a further way in which both community and mainstream newspapers can empower communities through building a positive sense of the community's situation and prospects:

Now I'm not going to be so bold as to forecast the death of the whingeing cocky, but there are communities where he has been abandoned. In the boomtowns, there has been a palpable change; the 'we'll be rooned' [colloquial/poetic reference] stories in the newspapers have been replaced by articles about local successes. (Wahlquist, 2001)

The development of local positive media support for the community is viewed as a major factor in renewal and development in a number of studies. Kenyon (1999) lists 20 clues to creating and maintaining a vibrant community, of which number 19 is 'Presence of a positive local newspaper, matched by the ability of local people to utilize all forms of the media effectively'. Lappe and Du Bois (1997) have suggested both education and positive media reportage to develop community capacity. Kenyon and Black (2001) note that positive action taken by community newspapers and media contributes to community cohesion, development and to social capital.

Direct action by media to initiate and sustain community cohesion and development, agenda-setting processes, and transformation, has been documented in literature (Cahill, 1995; Lappe & Du Bois, 1997; O'Connor, 1999; Kenyon, 1999; Kirkpatrick 1999; McManamey & Falk, 2001). The Scottish report *Measuring Community Capacity in Dundee's Regeneration Areas* (2000) listed 31 indicators of community capacity intended for practical evaluation of community capacity. The indicators were structured into ten building blocks of assessment. Under the empowerment theme, building block number one of the indicators referred to the local communications: *existence of widely read community-run newsletter with local input*. Findings from three Scottish counties, and from a survey of recipients of newsletters, showed that the newsletters were helpful in capacity building.

What motivates newspapers to take an active role in community issues and community building?

The focus of this study is on community newspapers that have come into being through community initiative. While literature discussing the presence of positive media in a community has been noted, there are major media movements and movements in the United States that are framed with a defined communitarian outlook addressing community issues. These movements all have a focus towards community participation and action, though they appear to originate from external organizations rather than community origins. This next section touches on some of the movements and the concerns underpinning their development. What becomes clear from the literature is that the movements in the United States arise from two main theoretical concerns: that of readership and circulation decline (Austin, 1993); and that that this decline is linked to democratic theory (Norris, 1996; Paxton 1999). The notion of circulations decline is linked to democratic theory by the fact that decreasing civic participation is related to decreasing circulations. This in turn is seen as a major proxy for a decline in democratic practice (Emig, 1995; Norris, 1996; Paxton, 1999; McLeod, 1999; Massey & Haas, 2002).

Public journalism

The media movement of public journalism was founded in 1993 by Jay Rosen and 'Buzz' Merritt. This was the same year Putnam voiced concern over decreasing social capital, visible through declining civic engagement. The public/civic journalism movement was formed to re-engage the public with large circulation papers. It was aimed at building trust between the public and media. Its appearance is also linked to declining circulations in the USA, cited by Rosen, Merritt and Austin (1997) as a result of public mistrust. Austin (1997)

notes that the underlying drive for the formation of the public journalism movement centred on three issues: the profession at large, economic concerns, and the role of journalism in civic life. The last two concerns are further explained within a theoretical perspective: that diminishing daily readership threatens the processes of democratic deliberation (Altschull, 1996; Forde, 1998 Linsky, 2000). Claims of involvement of the public in public journalism were based both on democratic and communitarian theory. Rosen, one of public/civic journalism's co-founders, saw a crisis arising from the takeover of news media by corporate America, falling circulations, and the melding of television news and the big budget in the entertainment industry (Altschull, 1996). The solution to the problem, Rosen (1997) held, was to reconnect public affairs journalism to citizens, principally by stating that newspapers should be seen as airwaves for discussion and debate of the issues of the day.

Civic journalism

Civic journalism is closely aligned to public journalism and can be seen as part of public journalism. It is about communication and issues related to the public good, where media initiates meetings and forums (Altschull, 1996). Austin (1997) frames three stages of action in the formation of public/civic journalism. The first stage is 'beyond' customer—that is, helping citizens get started (involved) by using more citizens as sources of stories; providing 'how-to' tips for getting involved, and giving information about whom to call, where to send questions, and where to go to talk about issues. The second—public listening—is the 'most transformative step in the practice of public journalism, because it is ultimately, humbling' (1997, p. 41). The third stage is deliberation, where 'the teaming of the media and the citizen generates a powerful new authority that neither citizens nor journalists have alone' (1997, p. 42).

A study by Massey and Haas (2002) identifies how the public journalism movement is aimed at raising civic participation, and is strongly supported by the mass media. The organizational base of the movement differs vastly from grass-roots newspaper organisations. Massey and Haas (2002) evaluated 47 studies on public/civic journalism, highlighting what they saw as the problem, that public journalism was showcased in a small number of 'jewel' cases. They record that public journalism has had limited effects on the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours of journalists and news audiences. Their findings were that levels of analysis of civic participation showed no convincing pattern compared to audience effect studies (p. 568). Despite sporadic efforts at 'theoretically guided' definition, many of the studies did not appear to conceptualize the movement as one whose primary goals 'are to increase civic commitment to and citizen participation in democratic processes' (p. 569). The important qualification they made in their study is that public journalism can be seen as

a top–down not a bottom–up movement. The study proposed that the public/civic journalism movement was the result of the poor voter turnout in the 1988 Presidential elections and a subsequent decreasing interest in political participation. The interest this phenomenon engendered in media research appears to have contributed to a lack of interest in the grass roots democratic practice referred to in McCleneghan et al. (2002).

Literature relating to the public/civic journalism movement in Australia suggests a different imperative to that of the United States. Firstly, although circulations of Australian daily newspapers are decreasing, as noted in the response to Research Question 1 (Lewis, 2001), the level of decrease is much lower than in either the United States or the United Kingdom; therefore, there is not the same pressure to ‘perform’, nor the same political connection with political engagement. Secondly, in Australia there has been a small, though highly successful, number of public journalism projects (Ewart, 2000). The notion of public journalism was first introduced by Lloyd and Hippocratis (1997) who asked if it was happening, and if not, why not, and what would be the benefits? They emphasised Australia’s crusaders for freedom of the press and the public’s rights and responsibility to participate and be active citizens:

Public journalism is an opportunity for the community to share its views in human stories beyond the polemic by reading about issues that affect their lives. (Hippocratis, 1999, p. 2)

Examples of public/civic journalism in Australia have increased as a result of combined media interest, government policy issues and cultural imperatives. These issues and the resulting projects have been focused towards reconciliation, immigration and youth issues (Lloyd & Hippocratis, 1997; Hippocratis, 1999, 2001). Newspaper articles in the *Queensland Courier Mail*, resulting from projects, have received awards from the United Nations Association of Australia’s Media Peace Prize, (1998 and 1999). Other projects have been media–community initiatives actioned as a response to a particular social issue or need. That is, they ‘build positive attitude and values’, involving partnerships between newspapers and communities that have been further community-driven (Kenyon, 1999; McManamey & Falk, 2001).

While they are based on the premise of community involvement, public journalism projects in Australia can also be identified and related to developmental journalism. Romano (2000) defines developmental journalism as relating voices of the un-empowered to a culture of journalism that seeks to build a sense of community and helps empower citizens. This journalism movement is built from developmental communications theories of the 1960s. It

was argued by many journalism theorists and practitioners that developmental journalism arose as a response to reports presented in a dramatic, sensational and unmediated way, such as those discussed earlier in this section. Developmental journalism is seen by Romano rather, as ‘mediating discussion of complex issues; voicing the concerns of the powerless in addition to those of the powerful; and describing ways in which community life could be improved’ (1999, pp. 183–185, cited in Romano, 2000).

Communitarian journalism

There are many definitions of *communitarian journalism*: For example, it can be seen in Christians, Ferré and Flacker’s (1993) argument for journalism in the service of the public good. They posit that the press is one of the institutions centrally involved in the making of societal meanings and that the press has a key role to play in recreating a sense of community and common good (Buton, 1998, p. 233). Although seeking balance, Altschull (1996) describes communitarian journalism from a critical standpoint: he raises a number of points that suggest communitarian journalism also can be misinterpreted. He considers that communitarianism is placed in a ‘weighted’ or biased position and suggests that although its modern advocate Amatai Etzioni (1995) views it as a perspective that avoids policy and aims at strengthening families, it is not addressed from this perspective by many of its critics. However, in many instances though not all, Altschull, suggests that *communitarianism* means ‘the open use of the press as an avowed instrument of propaganda’ (1996, p. 168). One side of the development of the communitarian principle to which Altschull alerts us, is the risk that the community may turn its back on the outside world. The possibility of substantial misinterpretation of *communitarianism* occurs when it is portrayed as the direct opposite of libertarianism and therefore as ‘a support for limited government controls to challenge the might of the “media empire”’ (p. 168).

Community journalism

Community journalism, is a ‘local first’ style of journalism as opposed to being a movement (Lauterer, 2000). Lauterer sees it as providing local coverage, with international and national stories covered by finding the significant local angle. Community newspapers:

embrace their civic role by recognizing their public mandate to promote the general welfare of the community. The finest community newspapers recognize and accept this veritable covenant with their towns: that they are key stakeholders and players in the forces that help build and celebrate their communities. (Lauterer, 1995, p. 5)

Community journalism represents the in-depth focus 'of a community beat covered with relatively traditional reporting methods, rather than a label for what claims to be a new type of journalism' (Archer, 1996, p. 5). Archer quotes an editor who saw more value in keeping up with her bowling league than in attending town hall meetings as a way to keep up with the issues important to the community. In discussions while bowling the editor found little interest in calamities, or scandals of business or government. Rather, she found people wanting to know about changing school boundaries, and new constructions of parks and roads. She concluded that the 'readers more and more want you at their level' (p. 5).

Lauterer (2000) cites Stiff (1996) who holds that in the best cases, the conscientious community newspaper naturally practices tenets of civic or public journalism, with some people feeling that the best community newspapers have been doing civic/public journalism for years at the grass-roots level without the fanfare. Community journalism is civic journalism in its original, natural, grass-roots state (Lauterer, 2000, p. 6).

2(b) Issues and how they are presented

Australian studies

A major body of literature exploring issues reported within the independent and alternative press in Australia touches on the role and function of community media within the public sphere (Forde, 1998, 1999). Forde (1999) defines an alternate or independent newspaper as

one which provides a new and clear alternative to mainstream journalism; it covers general news, and political issues; it is not owned [by] or affiliated to a major chain, and it is not the official publication of a major political party. (1999, p. 63)

Considering journalistic practices, news values, freedom of the press and objectivity in the Australian independent and alternative press, Forde (1999) asks, 'what makes the independent press different from the mainstream?' She concludes that the independent press appears to be practicing far more successfully than their mainstream counterparts the notion of public journalism, discussed in the preceding section. Independent and alternative press editorial structures lead to a more cooperative flow of copy, and a relaxed rather than a structured process. This affects the way issues are presented. Formal structured newsrooms are in the minority. Forde (1999) gives the reasons for the differences as being a general commitment of the independent press organisations to run democratically, as well as the

need for staff involved in the production to undertake a range of tasks associated with its publication.

Describing the presentation of issues and content by small local papers as coming from proprietors that are ‘unashamedly’ parochial, O’Connor (1998) sees that the way issues are presented paint the future as rosy:

with their mix of news, community notices and lifestyle articles, the local newspapers are an emerging new force in newspaper publishing. (p. 4)

Forde suggests that the alternative press has long been considered an illegitimate form of journalism because of its failure to adhere to conventional journalistic norms of objectivity. Forde (1999) cites Glessing’s (1970) findings that *subjectivity* was adopted instead of *objectivity* in the ‘underground’ press of the 1960s. The importance of alternative journalists being involved with their subjects and issues is seen as a strength, rather than being a negative (Glessing, 1970, as cited in Forde, 1999, p. 61).

O’Connor (1998) suggests that the small local papers are ‘beating the big publishers at their own game’: He argues that, in spite of the advent of the age of radio and television, it is because of the ability of the proprietors to gauge the mood and pulse of public opinion or ‘notice the subtle warp and weft of town life’ (p. 5). O’Connor concludes that in recent times computers have caused the small newspaper to reappear, often in small towns where there were formerly no papers. The computer is allowing ‘a breed of computer literate, civic minded or romantics, hard edged business people or city refugees to publish and thrive’ (p. 5). The link between Information Technology (IT) use and small town renewal discussed in relation to Research Question 1 (Kenyon, 1999; Balatti & Falk, 2000; Kenyon & Black, 2001) is a key element linking the community newspaper to community growth and development.

Cryle and Cosgrove suggest that readers were more likely to identify community members in local newspapers than in metropolitan publications, and that readers were more likely to be employed as columnists by local newspapers (Fitzgerald, 1997, as cited in Cryle & Cosgrove, 1999). Families as well as community used the local paper as a shared item; a medium of conversation and consumption. Subscribers and readers were not averse to ‘proofreading errors of fact (Worthington, 1997, as cited in Cryle & Cosgrove). The local and oral knowledge, while not necessarily accurate, provided readers with a filter and a measure of scepticism.

Cafarella (2001) compares a number of differences in *daily* and community/rural *suburban* journalism with which reporters should be acquainted. For example, newsmakers in *daily* papers are usually media savvy, e.g. politicians, businessmen; within *suburban* papers this is not so. *Daily* papers tend to report politics and views of decision makers and their effects on the decision makers; *suburban* newspapers report effects of government policies on ordinary people. Local council is the principal governing body and source of news for *suburban* newspapers. Greater depth of knowledge of the local council structure, rate systems, and how to read council reports is necessary. Local press and its business community have a symbiotic relationship that involves journalists in not only feature writing but also the writing of advertising copy. Finally, *suburban* papers have fewer staff to cover broader tasks and take on greater responsibility earlier in their careers than do those on *daily* newspapers.

Contrasting community and metropolitan papers, Kirkpatrick (2001) suggests that it would be very difficult for a suburban newspaper to achieve the community cohesion found in community papers. Community newspapers emit the message that the everyday life of the community is of interest and value. In many instances:

The community newspaper is communicating the good news that nothing terrible has happened in the past week, whereas the metropolitan daily has communicated all the bad news about corruption in high places...the falling Australian dollar and a sports team taking bribes (p. 20).

This perspective within community newspapers identifies and links back to the reporting of ‘good news’ and how positive news contributes to building community cohesion, discussed in the previous section.

Vines (2001) considers that issues in country journalism are also very different from those arising in metropolitan journalism. She based her study on the first survey of Australian country journalists and found that *rural* news media has ‘different roles, functions and priorities, compared to their metropolitan counterparts’ (p. 38). She also regards *country* newspapers as having ‘different audiences with different needs and values which shape a different product’. This view was also held by Cryle and Cosgrove (1999) who concluded that rural readers valued their rural newspapers for specific information on primary industry. For rural residents having left the land to work in town, both weeklies and local press helped maintain personal links with previous communities.

Vines identified a major policy found in rural papers as ‘community-ism’, seen as the media’s ‘preoccupation with the growth and prosperity of one’s city’ (Boorston, as cited in Vines, 2001, p. 38). This supports literature discussed earlier (Cahill, 1995; Kenyon, 1999; Kenyon & Black, 2001; McManamey & Falk, 2001) relating local newspapers to empowerment and transformation in their local communities. The country press in Australia

had historically, a function to promote and advance their community. One principle [to] which all country newspapers adhered, was the vigorous promotion and social advancement of their town and district (Walker, 1976, as cited in Vines, 2001, p. 39).

Further extending the role of the country press, Vines (2001) cites Brownrigg (1997), noted in a biography of the *Yarrawonga Chronicle* editor that the policy of the press advancing its town has evolved to encompass maintenance of community values:

The press serves an immediate need for various practical information as well as supporting a less tangible tacit need for confirmation of collective values (Vines, 2001, p. 31).

Vines’ findings from interviewing a number of editors raised issues similar to those of Archer (1999), Lauterer (1995, 2000), Emig (1995) and Kenyon (1999): that the chief focus of their papers’ content was directed towards success of the local, council issues, the town’s development, and furnishing a positive outlook:

When you’re working on a local paper, you are not after the sensational aspect. Readers want to see people in the street, their neighbours. People are very interested in the day-to-day events of the town. It’s not sensational, but it’s something they can’t get from other papers, and that’s our strength. (Editor, *Colac Herald*, as cited in Vines, 2001, p. 44)

This statement supports Archer’s (1996) findings noted earlier discussing community journalism, where he gave an example of the lady editor, in relation to what issues interest the community

Kirkpatrick (1999) notes that provincial newspapers in the Australian colonies in the early nineteenth century played a major role in the social development of their communities. They were seen as ‘significant forces in achieving social cohesion and distinctive “country-mindedness”’ (p. 35). How different are the issues occurring in community and rural press over time? Kirkpatrick (1999) saw that those early provincial papers

worked towards establishment of separate local government identities for communities. Each town wanted to agitate for social and material advancement, and its newspaper represented the community's interests, pressing its claims as superior to those of other towns and living in expectation of the day when the halo of enterprise would shine brightly (Kirkpatrick, 1999, p. 35).

The press of the 1850s in Tasmania was an open forum for political discussion, and editors and proprietors were 'political leaders who assumed the role of parliamentarians' (Miller, 1952, p. 5). Miller viewed the press of this time as less literary and more political, assuming the form of a modern day daily newspaper, reporting in detail political, legal and commercial news. Reviews and magazine articles disappeared until later revived in special columns of the Saturday paper.

Australian studies and literature describe how issues are presented in community newspapers as democratic, subjective, and parochial or focused to engender local development (Forde, 1998, 1999; O'Connor, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 2001; Vines, 2001). Differences in issues and reportage between community newspapers and daily and mainstream newspapers is an area of discourse within community journalism education in Australian literature (Cunningham & Turner, 1997, 2002; Hurst & Provis, 2000; Cafarella, 2001; Kirkpatrick, 2001; Vines, 2001; Loo, 2001.).

Community development in Australian communities relates local community media to community regeneration and success (Wahlquist, 1999; Kenyon, 1999; Kenyon & Black, 2001; McManamey, 1999; McManamey & Falk, 2001). Individuals, through editing and coordination, influence what and how issues are presented in community newspapers. These individuals are viewed as altruistic (Moore-Robinson, 1933), computer literate, civic-minded/romantic/hard-edged business people/city refugees to publish and thrive (O'Connor, 1998). Community newspapers in Australian studies show strong support for local political causes and contribute to community cohesion and collective action in both a historical and a current context (Kirkpatrick, 1999; Brownrigg, as cited in Vines, 2001; Vines, 2001). In both Australian and broader literature, *community* newspapers are seen as a positive force acting for the good of their community.

Summary

Literature reviewed in relation to Research Question 2 chiefly reflected the relationship of newspapers to community, and how issues are presented. Very little literature was found

that touched on what is actually reported in community newspapers. How and why issues are framed in relation to a community contrasts with *city*, *daily* and *metropolitan* newspapers, and community, rural weekly papers. A focus on trust in this research question emerged both in how issues supporting their community's development are reported and how distrust is generated by the sensational and biased reportage of issues, seen as a negative force in any nation, state, or community. Mass media focus on local and community issues signals a change in market strategies, related to an awareness of the democratic processes that are initiated at the community level through readership and participation. How issues are presented within community newspapers is strongly tied to the newspapers' communities. Literature on Australian studies chiefly noted differences in issues, not initiated by movements, as in the United States, but by types of reporting. Differences and similarities in issues were raised between country, city, urban, and rural papers.

Research Question 3

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

Social capital is a collective asset, a feature of communities, rather than the property of an individual. As such, individuals both contribute to it and use it, but they cannot own it. Social capital plays a particularly important role in ensuring those aspects of personal welfare that the individual alone can rarely provide.

Warren, Thompson and Saegert, 2002, p. 1.

Introduction

Literature relevant to this research question is presented in three sections, each representing an aspect of social capital. The first part reviews literature focusing on the historical background of social capital and the twentieth century theorists contributing to the concept. It includes literature surrounding the definitions of *elements* of social capital from a number of perspectives, and then focuses on two key elements: trust and networks. The second section links social capital to community development and community newspapers. Literature in the third section addresses the debate on declining social capital and aspects of that debate relevant to community newspapers and social capital research. The chapter

concludes with a summary of the literature reviewed in this section, and a conclusion reviewing the three research questions.

Why investigate social capital and community newspapers?

The concepts of community newspaper and social capital are ‘joined at the hip’ by their theoretical base in ‘community’ (Tonnie, 1887; Durkheim, 1889). Why investigate the relationship between such apparently intersecting subjects that however attract such broadly differing amounts of research interests? Research studies and literature on the conceptual development of social capital are expansive (Alder & Kwon Seok-Woo, 2002). Literature on the combined topics is, at best, sparse (Krueters, Young & Lezin, 1998). Literature focused on both the theoretical underpinnings of social capital and the debate on declining social capital clarifies a number of salient points connecting the two concepts, and consolidates an understanding of the underlying relationship.

What is social capital?

While social capital was defined in a general sense in Chapter 1, and again at the beginning of this research question, definitions of social capital also arise from a number of key theoretical and practical approaches. These definitions have been further matured through the research process, particularly since the mid 1990s, and can be seen as prolific in their application to and origins from a broad number of disciplines. However, the current study has an interest in an early twentieth century definition (Halifan, 1916) which contains language and reference to relationships that appear relevant to this thesis.

History of the concept

There is a strong precursory body of sociological and philosophical work informing the conceptual notion of social capital. Historically the concept can be identified in the works of Plato (363), Hume (1717, 1739), de Tocqueville (1838, 1840), Marx (1867, as cited in Farr, 2003) Tonnie (1887), Durkheim (1889), and Dewey (1916, as cited in Farr, 2003). The definition of social capital most relevant to the focus of this study was defined by Halifan:

those tangible substances that count for most in the daily lives of people:
namely good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among
individuals and families who make up a social unit (1916, p. 130).

Halifan’s definition of social capital is significant for two reasons. Firstly, as Putnam notes, it ‘contains all the crucial elements expounded in later interpretations’ (2000,

p. 19). Secondly, and importantly, it acts as a linchpin between Hume's (1739) philosophical discourse and current conceptualisations of social capital. Halifan's is the only definition that contains the word *sympathy*, which ties directly back to Hume (1739), who holds that:

sympathy is a very powerful principle in human nature....We find, that it has force sufficient to give us the strongest sentiments of approbation, when it operates alone, without the concurrence of any other principle....We may observe that all circumstances requisite for its operation are found in most of the virtues, which have for the most part a tendency to the good of society, or to that of the person possess'd of them (Hume, 1739, pp. 667–8).

In his writing on human principles, Hume regards *sympathy* as underpinning all the basic principles; and concerning *goodness* and *benevolence*³. In current English usage, *sympathy* may be interpreted as *compassion*, or *empathy*. The word both relates to a philosophical past (Woolcock, 1998), and reflects possible causal action within social capital in the current context (Glaeser, 2001). Farr (2003) notes that Dewey's writings informed Halifan's, use of the word *sympathy*, and again suggested that Dewey's philosophy of human interaction was also informed by Hume. Farr (2003) notes early users of the term *social capital* included in Marx (1867) and Dewey (1900).

Most relevant to the relationship explored in the current study are the writings of de Tocqueville (1840), underpinning the theoretical and philosophical links between social capital and newspapers:

The effect of a newspaper is not only to suggest the same purpose to a great number of persons, but to furnish means for executing in common the designs which they may have singly conceived....In order that an association among a democratic people should have any power, it must be a numerous body....Thus

³ We are certain that sympathy is a very powerful principle in human nature...We may observe, that all the circumstances requisite for its operation are found in most of the virtues; which have, for the most part, a tendency to the good of society, or to that of the person possess'd of them. If we compare all these circumstances, we shall not doubt, that sympathy is the chief source of moral distinctions; especially when we reflect, that no objection can be rais'd against this hypothesis in one case, which will not extend to all cases. Justice is certainly approved of for no other good reason, than because it has a tendency to the public good. And the public good is indifferent to us, except so far as sympathy interests us in it. We may presume the like with regard to all the other virtues, which have a like tendency to the public good. They must derive all their merit from our sympathy with those, who reap any advantage from them. As the virtues, which have a tendency to the good of the person possess'd of them derive their merit from our sympathy with him (Hume, 1739, pp. 667–668).

hardly any democratic association can do without newspapers. (de Tocqueville 1840, Vol. 11, p. 135)

Farr (2003) suggests that '*social capital* is to some extent merely new language for a very old debate in American intellectual circles' (p. 5). Further, that 'deTocqueville, the patron saint of contemporary social capitalists' demonstrated the concept without terms when surveying associations in America' (p. 5). Core to the concept of social capital is the presence of voluntary associations and voluntary action within communities. Much of the debate surrounding social capital levels in society is based on the notion of how society subscribes to its voluntary associations (Putnam, 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 2000).

Social history of voluntary associations

While voluntary associations structured to engender community wellbeing have been recorded throughout history—in the Bible, and early Greek and Chinese Confucian history—a forerunner of the modern voluntary association was noted in Bonfil (1994). Bonfil held that voluntary associations—'functions assumed by modern communities' (p. 195)—were first performed by Jewish community *confraternities* in Spain in the thirteenth century. They further flourished in fifteenth and sixteenth century Italy. The *confraternities* acted to fulfil the needs of the disparate community through mutual aid, voluntary assistance, and acts of charity. These confraternities—voluntary organisations, are more or less religious in character—have rightly been recognised as one of the most typical forms of sociality in pre-modern Europe (p. 195).

The modern foundations of the term *social capital* are based in the concept of *community* traced from Tonnie's (1887, [1957]) theory and discourse on the shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* and Durkheim's (1858 [1972]) thesis of disintegration of the relationship between law and morality. Durkheim derived the thesis from two related phenomena: 'social solidarity' and the 'collective conscience'. These two phenomena underpin the concept of social capital:

'Social solidarity' is the set of bonds that exist among members of a society. These bonds are the product of similarities among members of the society: 'mechanical' solidarity; and their differences: 'organic' solidarity. Similarities are reflected in shared beliefs and standards, while differences are reflected in the division of labour. 'Collective conscience' refers to the internalisation by members of society of the common beliefs and standards that comprise organic

solidarity. The ‘collective conscience’...is the glue that maintains social solidarity. (Thomas, 1994, p. 1)

Today social capital as ‘collective conscience’ can be seen in the theories of empowerment and of community development. As an example:

Social capital must come to mean our collective intelligence our capacity as a people to create the society we want....It must mean our capacity to come together to create options—to invent solutions that, as individuals acting alone, are out of reach. (Lappe & Du Bois, 1997, p. 1)

The OECD report *Well-Being of Nations: The role of human and social capital* (2001) stresses that there is no single definition of social capital and outlines four approaches. These include the *anthropological*, sourced from the notion that humans have natural instincts for association (Fukuyama, 1995); the *sociological*, derived from literature describing social norms and the sources of human motivation which emphasises features of social organisations such as trust (Coleman 1988, 1990, 1993); and the *economic*, based on literature drawing on the assumption that people will maximise their personal utility and draw on social capital resources through interaction with other people (Glaeser, 2001). The fourth approach is *political*, arising from the emphasis on the role of institutions and ‘political and social norms in shaping human behaviour’. This is seen in the World Bank’s approach to reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development (OECD, 2001, p. 40).

The current study and its research design are based on fundamental core elements of social capital formed from three key theoretical approaches to social capital. The approaches are seen in the writings of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1993), and Robert Putnam (1993a, 1993b, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001), though initially mentioned and arising in the works of others already mentioned such as Dewey (1900), Halifan (1916), Jacobs (1965), Loury (1977) and others. Each of the three core approaches contributes a separate emphasis to the development of the concept and has a definite theoretical leaning appropriate to research, rural development and social scientific practice and policy (Wall et al., 1998; Baxter, 2000; Siisiainen, 2000; Adler & Seok-Woo Kwon, 2002, Pope 2003, Kilpatrick, Field & Falk, 2003; Kilpatrick & Vancley, 2003).

The difference in the approaches described in the OECD paper (2001) and those of the three researchers informing the core approaches of social capital is that the latter group’s contribution to the theoretical underpinnings of social capital. The OECD paper’s approaches assist in outlining descriptors: they delineate areas of research and significant

contributors showing 'how' social capital has been applied, as opposed to 'what' it is 'grounded in'. Social capital theory and research draws on literature from the fields of sociology, education, economics and political science. Currently its prolific and expansive application is noted with concern over the need for strong theoretical grounding to underpin research, and with interest in the directions and future initiatives that may develop (Portes & Landholdt, 1996; Portes, 1998, 2000; Woolcock, 1998; Narayan, 2000b; Alder & Kwon Seok-Woo, 2002).

Social capital, as investigated in this research thesis, builds on literature, theoretically grounded writings, and especially research by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, and includes social capital literature defined as *political* in its approach (OECD, 2001). Therefore social capital as defined for the purpose of the thesis is framed by the following theoretical structure.

Three plus one: Approaches to the conceptual framework of social capital

The following section discusses the three core approaches derived from the writings of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. Bourdieu's theory of social capital is relational, structural, as in hierarchical, and dynamic, as related to *habitas* (Bourdieu, 1996, 1990; Zolberg, 1999; Farnell, 2000; Edwards & Foley, 1998). *Habitas* refers to 'the attitudes, outlooks and dispositions shared by people with similar class or gender positions' (Wall et al., 1998, p. 307). Coleman regards social capital as a relational functional process (Wall et al., 1998; Woolcock, 1998; Edwards & Foley, 1998; Pope, 2003). Relational is a general term which can refer to 'a collection of ties of a specific kind among members of a group' (1993b; Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 20). Putnam's approach is linked to democratic theory (Edwards & Foley, 1998) and political policy making (Wall et al., 1998, Woolcock, 1998). Putnam (1993a) regards Coleman's sociological and educational base as giving social capital its broadest theoretical boundaries.

Portes and Landholdt (1996) differentiated the three key researchers by suggesting that Coleman defined the concept without precision, using the term 'social capital' to describe a resource of individuals that emerges in their social ties; Bourdieu used the term to refer to the advantages and opportunities accruing to people through membership in certain communities; and Putnam's view of social capital had strong associations with civic responsibility.

Bourdieu

Social capital is defined by Bourdieu (1986) as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’ (1986, p. 249). His theoretical writings are perhaps the earliest cited of the three, though the complexity and variation in the English translations of his writings worked against their fullest understanding (Buchowski, 2000; Gartman, 1999). Bourdieu’s (1977, 1986) approach to social capital is less referred to in American literature than in British and European literature (Atkin, 2000; Farnell, 2000; McCleneghan, 2000; Siisiaien, 2000). Bourdieu (1990) uses structures of *habitus* and *hierarchy* which rise from a cultural background not as appropriate to American social culture and society as to British–European cultural practice. Bourdieu is often cited as having the most theoretically refined of the three approaches (McCleneghan, 2000; Portes & Landholdt, 1996).

Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptual approach could be described as having an emphasis on strategies for maintaining and/or changing one’s position in a hierarchical social structure, and is linked strongly to his notion of power. There are three major aspects of Bourdieu’s approach.

Firstly, his field of social theory is the field of power, which functions at two levels. On one level is the concept of *meta-field* ‘that operates as an organizing principle of differentiation and struggle throughout all fields’ (Swartz, 1997, p. 136). The other level is the field of power that can designate the dominant social class, derived from Durkheim (Zolberg, 1999). A key contribution of Bourdieu is a link to Marx’s theory, in that he envisages a much broader range of types of labour (social, cultural, political, religious, familial, and others), which constitute power resources, and ‘under certain conditions and at certain rates can be converted one into the other’ (Swartz, 1997, p. 75).

Secondly, Bourdieu views economic capital (money and property) as being the root of the other three generic types of capital: cultural capital (cultural goods and services including educational credentials), social capital (acquaintances and networks), and symbolic capital (legitimation). He considers these three to be transformed and/or disguised forms of economic capital (1986, p. 252).

The third aspect is the study of how, and under what conditions, individuals and groups employ strategies of capital accumulation by investing and connecting various kinds of

capital in order to enhance their position in the social order (Swartz, 1997). This links power to changing positions in a hierarchy.

Both Bourdieu and Coleman are sociologists who have based their theoretical constructs on educational research. Fundamental differences between the two lie in their views of how and why the social processes generating social capital develop (Pope, 2003). Social processes are constrained by underlying economic organisation for Bourdieu, while Coleman sees them as being created by the free will of individuals (p. 1).

Coleman

Coleman defines social capital in terms of the ability of people to work together for the common purpose in groups and organizations. Where people can work together, social structures are characterised by 'features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that (contribute) to the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions' (Coleman, 1988a, p. 98). While Portes and Landholdt (1996) consider Bourdieu as having the most theoretically refined of the three approaches, Putnam credits Coleman with placing social capital on the intellectual agenda in the late 1980s and, developing the theoretical framework surrounding the concept, first mentioned Halifan's work (1916). Coleman's approach establishes an implicit connection between economic rationality and human capital (Wall et al., 1998).

Coleman suggests that there is a variety of different components of social capital made up of *operations* and *structures*, though in its most basic form, social capital is created 'when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action' (1990, p. 304). Social capital becomes more than social organisation when it 'facilitates benefits to many through both informal and social organization' (Coleman, 1988a, p. 392). He explains that there are three forms in which social capital occurs:

- obligations and expectations containing two elements, trust and the extent of obligations held;
- social capital as the potential for information that can be gained from social relations; and
- as the existence of effective norms and sanctions which facilitate some actions while constraining others (Coleman, 1988a, p. 110).

Social capital is not just derived from social organisations but occurs as the relations between individuals.

Information potential is seen as an important form of social capital in social relationships. Information, he explains, is costly in that it requires as a minimum, attention, ‘which is always in short supply’ (p. 310). Social relationships can be maintained for this purpose. Coleman gives the example of how a social scientist interested in being up-to-date on related research can make use of his interaction with colleagues. The examples he raises demonstrate a form of social capital which provides ‘information that facilitates action’ (p. 310). Coleman says the relations in this case are valued for the information they provide; not the ‘credit slips’ in terms of obligations held by another.

Putnam

Putnam describes *social capital* as referring to:

features of social organization, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital. (1993a, p. 1)

Putnam regards social capital as a multi-dimensional concept, and agrees with Coleman’s definition that the special features of social capital are that it is ‘a public good that accumulates through use’ (Putnam, 1993a, p. 170). Edwards and Farley (1998) regard Putnam’s approach to social capital as reverting back to and supporting a 1950s discourse on democracy and civic involvement. They argue that Putnam’s discourse hinges on the relational concepts of Bordieu and Coleman, but that he regresses and formalises the concept in unnecessary political theory. According to van Rooy (2001), Putnam’s approach is founded in his research in Italy and the results indicating a ‘virtually perfect’ relationship between civic engagement and good governance (Putnam, 1993b). Putnam’s view of social capital is strongly tied to the notion of civic engagement and de Tocqueville’s writing on *democracy*. While Putnam does not consider his approach as theory (Galper, 2002), his research conclusions have engendered a debate about declining social capital (Levi, 1996; Norris, 1996; Paxton, 1998; Lappe & Du Bois, 1997; McCleneghan, 2000) which has been a driving force and focus for the development of the concept of social capital. Many American studies in the area of social capital and national policymaking, sustainability, media, civic engagement and development mention his position on social capital.

The political approach—Synergy view

In discussing social capital, the OECD (2001) identified the *political* approach—which arose from research and development projects implemented by the World Bank, particularly those associated with policy implementation. The OECD paper acknowledges that the

research and implementation of social capital policy conducted by the World Bank is a significant contribution to forming a theoretical approach to social capital. The research of the World Bank from 1993 and Woolcock (1998) underpins the *political* approach. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) trace the evolution of social capital research as it pertains to economic development, and identify four views: *communitarian*, *networks*, *institutional*, and *synergy*. These are defined as:

communitarian view: Equates social capital with local-level organizations, namely associations, clubs and civic groups, and relates to numbers and density of groups in a given society (p. 7).

networks view: ‘The importance of both vertical and horizontal association between people, and relation within and among other organizational entities as community groups and firms’ (p. 10) based on Granovetter (1973) and Gittel and Vidal (1998).

institutional view: Places the emphasis on social capital as consisting of mediating variables, based on ‘the capacity of social groups to act in their collective interest [which] depends crucially on the quality of the formal institutions under which they reside’ (p. 15).

synergy view: Integrates work from the network and the institutional approaches, based on research published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) (1996) which defined ‘synergy’ as ‘dynamic professional alliances and relationships between and within state bureaucracies and civil society’ (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 17).

Woolcock and Narayan consider findings from research at both community and institutional level useful in clarifying policy for poverty reduction programs. After surveying the four views, the paper suggests that a synergy view is best placed to articulate a coherent multi-disciplinary research agenda. The synergy view of social capital is drawn from six studies (Sudarsky, 1998, based on the World Values Survey; Onyx & Bullen, 1997; Narayan, 1999; National Commission on Civic Renewal (NCCR); Barry and Manno, (NICE) 1998, 2001; Varshney, 1999). The synergy view emphasises the incorporation of different levels and dimensions. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) note that while the synergy view recognises the positive and negative outcomes that social capital can generate, it has the greatest empirical support because it lends itself to the most comprehensive and coherent policy prescriptions (2000, p. 1).

The three core approaches, and the *political* approach (OECD, 2001) illustrated by the *synergy* view, underpin this study, and contribute to variables and dimensions of social capital which are applied in the research, and described in Chapter 3, Methodology.

Elements

A number of references to the term elements in social capital literature acknowledge elements as a key component of the concept. However, elements appear to be study specific facets of the concept rather than a uniform set of principles (Coleman 1988; Woolcock, 1998; Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; Stone 2001).

Althusser (1968) discussed the term elements ‘as a history of ideas’ in relation to conceptual ideas in Marx’s early works, based on a comparison with writers such as Hengel and Feuerbach. In discussing philosophical and theoretical backgrounds, the construct placed on the meaning of elements as applied to conceptual ideas, may also be applied to ways of approaching the conceptual notion of social capital. Based on the ways of reading Marx’s early works, Althusser (1968) held that assumptions about elements can be made depending on a free association of ideas or comparison of terms, so while such readings can provide theoretical results they are only ‘a precondition for real understanding of texts’ (p. 55). Althusser outlines that basis concepts are drawn on three theoretical presuppositions: *analytical*, that is, ‘it holds that any theoretical system and any constituted thought is *reducible to its element*: a precondition that enables one to think any element of this system on its *own*, and to compare it with another similar element from *another* system’ (p. 56); *teleological*, a system whereby ‘a secret tribunal of history which *judges* the ideas submitted to it, or rather which permits the dissolution of (different) systems into their elements institutes these elements as elements in order to proceed to the measurement according to its own norms’ (p. 57); finally, the *history of ideas* as its own element, ‘maintains that nothing happens which is not a product of the history of ideas itself and that the world of ideology is its own principle of intelligibility’ (Althusser, 1968, p. 56).

Within this thesis, social capital elements are basic components arising from the literature, as a history of ideas throughout the twentieth century. Rather than selecting set writings or a single approach, a combination of significant theoretical, conceptual ideas are explored in the literature as elements. Literature containing elements of social capital indicates changes of emphasis and signals the direction of interdisciplinary investigations (Pope, 2000). Table 1 following lists twentieth century theorists and practitioners who have contributed to defining and exploring particular indicators of social capital elements, and lists their field of interest, and discipline.

While literature from each of the authors in Table 1 following contain elements other than are listed, the table notes the particular emphasis and new contribution from each author to the development of the concept.

While there are other elements of social capital than those listed within the theoretical frame of each of the cited researchers in Table 1, the table pertains to list important contributions to a facet of social capital each has made based on the concept of social capital as a history of 'ideas'.

Table 1 Elements of social capital

Year	Researcher	Discipline	Field of interest	Theoretical contribution to the (indicators of) elements
1916	Halifan	Education	Education	Shared values
1977	Loury	Education	Ethnic differences	Relationship building
1983	Bourdieu	Sociology	Class structure Historicity	Inclusivity/Exclusivity Historicity
1988	Coleman	Sociology Education	Schools, family community	Relationship building Trust Shared values
1993	Putnam	Political science Social science	Political policy	Voluntary participation Reciprocity Trust
1995	Cox	Sociology	Social relationship	Relationship building
1995	Fukuyama	Socio-economics	Economic Political Sociology	Trust Reciprocity
2000	Falk & Kilpatrick	Sociology Education	Learning Rural/regional communities	Futuricity Historicity Vision
1998	Woolcock	Sociology Social science	Political policy, Community and poverty alleviation	Networks

The researchers listed in the Table 1 contribute to the definition of elements following. In alphabetical order the elements are:

futuricity, meaning 'social capital outcome resulting in building the future' (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000)

historicity, meaning developing identity resources through including history, past actions, relating the past in order to build the present/future (Bourdieu, 1986; Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000)

inclusivity, that is—inclusion/exclusion based on Bourdieu's concept of a social relationship allowing individuals to claim access to resources held by their associates (Loury, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977, 1986)

networks, seen as the existence of social relations (Granovetter, 1973)

participation in voluntary associations (Putnam, 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 2000)

reciprocity, 'reciprocal action or relation—a mutual exchange of commercial or other privileges' (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 10)

relationship building (Loury, 1977; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Cox, 1995; Cox & Calwell, 2000)

shared values: good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among individuals and families who make up a social unit (Halifan, 1916; Coleman, 1988, 1990)

trust, that is, 'an individual, group, or organization can be relied upon to act in a consistent, fair, rational and expected manner' (Kreuters et al., 1998, p. 8)

vision: an idea, a shared vision (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000).

By compiling elements of social capital emerging from literature and research over the twentieth century, they become indicators of the concept applied over time. While literature and research in the social science disciplines emphasise differing foci on the various elements of social capital, literature supports there being two core elements: trust and networks, though also debating the position of trust as a core element. There is agreement however, that trust underpins social capital and its absence negates relationship (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1993a, 1995; Cox, 1995, 1997, 1998; Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). Networks, 'are the mechanism through which trust is developed and legitimacy established' (Flora et al., 1996, p. 6). Literature contributing to the position of trust and networks as elements of social capital follows.

Trust

Trust is an element of social capital (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995) functioning within families and communities (Coleman, 1988; Costa & Kahn, 2003; Falk & Guenther, 2000; Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000) and contributing to the functions of economic development (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993a, 1993b; Knack & Keefer, 1997; Fukuyama, 1995, 1998). Brehm and Rahn (1997) find that community involvement increases trust. Trust, in turn, is

associated world-wide with more efficient judiciaries, less corruption and higher-quality government bureaucracies (Putnam, 1993b; La Porta et al., cited in Costa & Kahn, 2003). Empirical works on social capital in Africa have focused on the role of social networks, norms and trust in facilitating cooperation and coordination amongst traders and producers

(Widner & Putnam, 1993b; Lyon, 2000; Widner & Mundt, 1998; as cited in Robins, 2001; Guegerty, 1999). Studies focusing on Putnam's claims of diminishing levels of social capital are associated with trust above all other elements underpinning social capital (Brehm & Rahn, 1997; Widner & Mundt, 1998).

Trust is noted not only as an element of, but as a proxy for social capital. Putnam (2001), who earlier held trust as a core element, has come to agree with the view of Woolcock (1998), that social trust 'is not part of the definition of social capital but it is certainly a close consequence and therefore could easily be thought of as a proxy' (Putnam, 2001, p. 5). Trust is argued to be an outcome of social capital (Woolcock, 1998) and also as generating social capital, that is a source of social capital (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). The position of trust as both a source and outcome of social capital is also held by Cox (1995), who notes that trust accrues with use.

Types of trust

Positive social capital is a high level of social trust, while social capital deficits create distrust. The assumption is that when we experience positive experiences with a wide range of other people, we accumulate social trust. We are prepared to transfer the trust to strangers and generally optimistic that others will act positively towards us.

Cox, (1995, p. 4)

Social trust contributes to community newspaper growth and is a fundamental component of community renewal and development (Gittel & Vidal, 1998; Kenyon & Black, 2001). Social trust can be characterised as a resource within relationships (Coleman 1988) which allows for dynamic interactions (Bourdieu, 1986). Giddens (1990) makes the distinction between trust in specific individuals and trust in more abstract people or systems. Associational trust reflects the objective ties between individuals and their associations with each other. Relational trust includes connections between neighbours, friendship, and emotional ties, and can be of many types (Bishop, 1999; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Stone (2001) suggests that different types of trust and reciprocity exist and should be distinguished between and investigated empirically.

Trust, reciprocity, and economic outcomes

Fukuyama's (1995) notion of the role of trust in economic development runs on the same theoretical premise as communitarian theory (Giddens, 1990). Fukuyama's overview of trust, balanced between social action, social responsibility and economic development, is based on Max Weber's theories of capitalism (Giddens, 1990). Weber argued that economic development is strongly affected by social habits and ethical codes, especially those contained within religion. Coleman (1988) saw the notion of 'human capital' as a currency beyond economic tangibles, based on the knowledge and skills that people build and develop within themselves. He argued that in addition to skills and knowledge, 'a distinct proportion of human capital has to do with people's ability to [undertake] reciprocity, reciprocal action or relation—a mutual exchange of commercial or other privileges' (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 10). Reciprocity is not only part of economic life but is connected to every aspect of social existence. Building on Coleman's notion of social capital, human capital and reciprocity, Fukuyama sees the notion of association or reciprocity as dependant on the degree to which communities share norms and values and are able to subordinate individual interests to those of the larger group. Out of such shared values comes trust, which Fukuyama (1991, 1995) sees as having a large and measurable economic value.

Networks

Networks in social capital theory are the relational structures through which social capital functions. Networks may be regarded as a core element of social capital alongside trust, and an essential ingredient (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; Kilpatrick 2002; Kilpatrick, Field & Falk, 2003). Coleman held that social networks consist of a finite set or sets of actors and the relations defined by them. The presence of relational information is a critical and defining feature of a social network (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 20).

Types of networks

Granovetter (1973) first identified two types of social relationships; personal or strong ties and network or weak ties. Networks have been further defined as consisting of three types of social interactions (Woolcock, 1998): bonding, bridging (also noted by Coleman, 1990; Gittel & Vidal, 1998) and linking. Bonding 'refers typically to relations among members of families and ethnic groups' (OECD, 2001, p. 42). Bridging social capital refers to 'relations with distant friends, associates and colleagues' (OECD, 2001, p. 42). Linking is seen as 'uncommon interests'; ties between unlikely partnerships, and refers to relations between

‘different social strata in a hierarchy where power, social status and wealth are accessed by different groups’ (OECD, 2001, p. 42).

Glen Loury (1977) first used the term *informal networks* to help explain racial inequality. He believed that the failure of Afro-Americans to advance was linked to the absence of social connections: those informal networks that most Americans use to obtain jobs. Flora and Flora (1993) refer to entrepreneurial social infrastructure (ESI), to describe the strength of informal and formal social networks and their relationship to successful community development. Flora, Flora and Wade (1996) show that networks can serve to exclude as well as to include and to consolidate power as well as to share power, which connects back to Bourdieu’s notions of inclusivity, dynamic alliances and power. Flora et al. extend the concept of networks, suggesting that networks can be measured and ‘are positive impacts of strategic visioning; they are most effective when they are diverse, inclusive, flexible, horizontal and vertical’ (p. 68). They regard diverse networks as those occurring when different perspectives and opinions are shared and heard. They suggest that these networks function by being inclusive. Flexible networks are seen in the ability to cross-board people or ‘piggyback’ projects. Horizontal networks occur, for example, in lateral learning. Vertical networks are displayed in trust between community representatives and agency interactions. Flora and Flora (2001) describe how networks can act to close and exclude outsiders, diversity of interests and views, yet still maintaining high bonding networks within communities. They discuss the importance of ESI as a rational choice approach for communities. The ESI involves indicators of legitimacy of alternatives, diversity of networks, internal and wide mobilization of internal resources. Legitimacy of diversity is practiced where ESI provides and maintains a substantial resource for diverse opinion and voice as noted in the quote describing how some local papers may function, (Putnam et al., 2003, p. 292) on page 40, and as noted in examples of community newspapers functioning to support community growth. Two of the examples given by Kenyon and Black (2001) emphasise the importance of diversity of networks and links to the outside and international world: the *Buloke Times* (bridging) (2001, p. 51) and in the instance of media action in the isolated New South Wales township of Gulargambone (2001, p. 55) (bridging and linking).

Economic opportunities for individuals belonging to less powerful or excluded groups are opened up by cross-cutting ties (Narayan, 2000a). These cross-cutting ties are a combination of the bridging and linking ties outlined above. Cross-cutting ties build ‘social cohesion, a critical element in social stability and economic welfare over any extended period’ (Narayan, 2000a, p. 1). Narayan considers the significance of the information revolution is under-emphasised and it is in fact the ‘biggest’ revolution of the last century.

Its significance relates to facilitating cross-cutting ties for the unempowered. She acknowledges the immense power of newspapers, books, post offices, telephones, cellular phones, faxes and the Internet to disseminate information. Governments are able to lay the infrastructure supporting connectivity across space and social groups. These modes of communication allow people to come together, as communities, through communications, and act to promote and educate people about their rights to information and so play their part in 'connectivity' (2000b).

Therefore the diversity of networks within communities engendered by community newspapers act as more than bonding (close knit ties), which can also be seen as limiting ties (Flora & Flora, 2001). Where bridging, networks occur through community newspapers, they are beneficial to the communities' development, diversity of community voice and democratic practice (Putnam, Feldstein and Cohen 2003). Ideally and importantly, linking networks within communities to the outside world and economic opportunities through their community newspaper and also linking the outside world to communities. For example the media and community action noted in the case study of Gulargambone, in Kenyon and Black (2001) represents the broadest connectivity, linking the isolated town to national and international cultural events, is exemplified as cross-cutting ties. These ties, facilitated by community newspapers and described by Narayan as affecting the unempowered, are most significant in building and enabling positive responses within the community to the broader world and further opportunities for their members.

Knowledge and identity resources

Developing and understanding of social capital resources at the community level, Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) identified the processes involved in building and using social capital. Their study relating to rural and regional Australia identifies two groups of resources that people bring to interactions, knowledge resources and identity resources. They define social capital as an accumulation of the knowledge and identity resources drawn on by communities-of-common-purpose and view networks and trust as elements of social capital, being 'operationalised in interactions between people' (p. 87).

Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) develop a model encompassing knowledge and identity resources of social capital. Their model differentiates between the social interactive process and social capital as the product of that process, and was derived from a study of formal and informal networks in learning communities. The model has direct application to communications at the grass-roots level of interactions, adding to an understanding of the networks that can be identified as causal to and outcomes of social capital. Table 1 contains

indicators of elements of social capital that relate directly to the knowledge and identity resources model, in the indicators that arise as part of and within the interactional processes of a community, that is, futuricity, historicity, and vision.

Embeddedness, community relations and structure

Falk and Kilpatrick's (2000) research notes that little attention has been given to the area of 'embeddedness' in relationships between people at the micro level of social interaction (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). The model in Figure 1 illustrates knowledge resources which are referred to as 'who, when and where to go for advice or resources and knowledge of how to get things done' (p. 105), and identity resources referred to as 'being able and willing (committed) to act for the benefit of the community and its members' (p. 105).

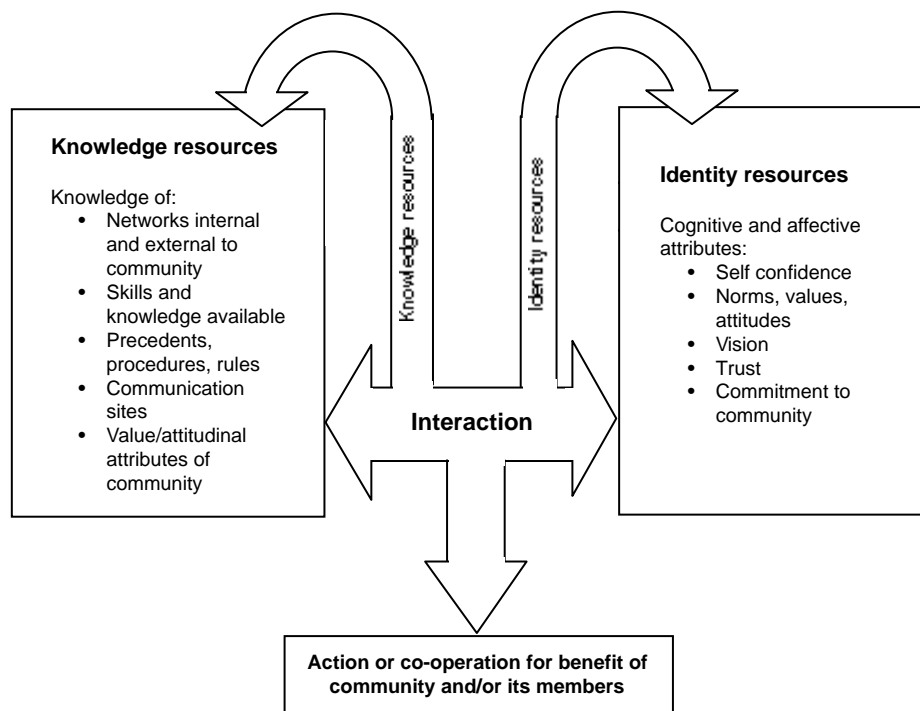


Figure 1 Knowledge and identity resources model

Source: Falk & Kilpatrick (2000, p. 101)

The model suggests that community-level social capital depends on certain types of infrastructure and its further development by Kilpatrick, et al. (2003) is discussed later in this section.

This review of the literature shows that social capital contains basic elements that function through networks, using knowledge and identity resources. While a number of elements

contribute to its presence, social capital can be seen as being based on the core elements of networks and trust. How then are these elements and resources applied and found in the community?

Social capital and community development

Whatever else it may or may not be claimed to mean, community development is an intentioned intervention in the lives and directions of community members and community infrastructure (Kilpatrick, et al., 2003, p. 424).

Harrison (1998) reflects on the relationship of social capital to community development, seeing social capital as ‘a term used to describe the social organization and productive synergy underpinning community spirit (p. 186). Kilpatrick et al. (2003) hold that social capital can explain ‘the ease with which communities are able to identify, mobilise and combine their human capital, and thus their capacity to change and develop. Social capital is acknowledged as promoting sustained autonomous development (Black & Hughes, 2001; Kilpatrick et al., 2003).

Kilpatrick et al. (2003) suggest that two types of positive outcomes may arise as a result of interactions that use social capital. These are firstly action or cooperation for the benefit of the community, and secondly the building or strengthening of knowledge and identity resources; for example, a shared vision for the future. However they suggest the value of social capital for community development is threefold:

it represents both an existing set of resources within community on which intervention may be based, a ‘public good’ goal in its own right, and also a resource that can contribute towards a sustainable autonomous development after the intervention is deemed complete. (2003, p. 424)

Kilpatrick et al. conclude that parallels between developing social capital and community development show social capital resources to be beneficial in the process of community development. The same process that builds social capital can be part of the community development process.

Allen (2001) draws on Wilkinson (1990) to link literature examining the concepts of social capital and community. Community is viewed as comprising two interactional fields: (1) the social and (2) the community function (Kauffman, 1959, as cited in Allen, 2001). He notes that the

social fields are where individuals pursue their own self-interest, while a community field cuts across these fields and is more generalized. It is within the community fields that we see collective action focusing on public good (p. 119).

Allen's findings from a case study of community conflict resolution are that social capital develops as the collective action focuses and grows, as opposed to where the focus is on specific individual or organization action. His findings also concur with those of Kilpatrick et al. (2003): that social capital is a *consequence* as well as *cause* of community action.

In the report *Monitoring and Evaluation of Community Development in Northern Ireland*, Barr, Hashaben and Purcell (1996) state that 'the core features of community development are building on common interests (frequently based on shared locality) to empower people to work collectively and collaboratively, promoting consultative arrangements and partnerships with other groups and statutory bodies' (Barr et al., 1996, p. 10). Black and Hughes (2001) hold Kenny's (1994) contribution to community development theory to be significant'. Like the Scottish Community Development Centre (Barr et al., 1996), Kenny emphasises that the key process in strengthening society is empowerment 'through which, inequalities of access to resources and control over assets and information are overcome and the exploitation and oppression of some groups by other is addressed' (Kenny, 1994, p. 118).

Moore and Brooks (1996) suggest that four main activities mark communities embarking on a visionary approach to their transformation and empowerment. The differences between active communities embarking on a visionary approach and others, show in how a community (1) develops broad-based support from residents throughout the community; (2) creates a shared vision of what is community change; (3) establishes a climate for individual and group learning from each other about the community and (4) promotes a willingness to work together across political, social, radical and economic boundaries. All the activities using a visionary approach to build communities as described by Moore and Brooks, can be both identified as indicators of elements of social capital and further they each relate to knowledge and identity resources as shown in Figure 1 (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000).

McCleneghan (2000) suggests that

what links social capital and community development theoretically and conceptually is the concept community largely expressed in most social capital

theories as an abstraction, a homogeneous social structure, implying common processes in the generation and acceptance of fundamentally positive social norms, values and practices. (p. 571)

Community development and community newspapers

While the notions of community development and capacity building emerge as more recent concepts, the support of a community's development through the local newspapers (Kirkpatrick, 1999) is noted as a major role of community and provincial papers from the nineteenth century (Kirkpatrick, 2001).

Perhaps one of the earliest examples of 'creating the society we want' (Lappe & Du, 1997) and of social capital deliberately put into practice in the twentieth century through newspapers was in 1941 (Alderson, 1999). The action began as the transition of a Swiss business into a cooperative. Gottlieb Duttweiler, its co-founder, went into politics as a National Councillor in 1935 and then founded his own party, the National Association of Independents (today's Landesring/Alliance des independants). Alderson (1999) noted that in order to give the party's principle of 'social capital' some real meaning, Duttweiler restructured his company Migros⁴ into regional cooperatives. He began the first language schools in 1944, believing that if people could communicate across frontiers there would be less likelihood of the sort of war which was still devastating the world. Free weekly newspapers in Italian, German and French—*Azione*, *Wir Brückenbauer* and *Construire*—were founded as real journalistic ventures, which today reach around two million readers, making Migros Switzerland's largest newspaper publisher.

Lappe and Du Bois (1997) hold that the media and education have a role to play in building positive social capital. They suggest that, rather than presenting the public with negative and sensationalised news, positive examples of communities creatively solving their own problems will open the way to developing a sense of power within civic society.

Positive norms values and attitudes

It probably matters most how community members sum up the positive and negatives about a community. (Becker & Fredin, 1987, p. 6)

⁴ The Swiss supermarket chain Migros is unique in several respects. It operates language schools, publishes community newspapers and supports cultural activities. It also maintains 50 Club schools that provide the chain's customers with the opportunity to enrol in over 300 courses.

As Flora et al. (1996) suggest, social capital networks are positive impacts of strategic visioning. An example of this strategic visioning was an initiative commenced by a regional community newspaper to build positive attitudes and values in their community in Launceston, Tasmania, in 1998. It was carried out in partnership with community, civic and government organisations (McManamey & Falk, 2001) and its success was measured by its results: the initiative became community- and partnership-driven; and social capital networks, formed through the original media initiative, drew together unlikely partnerships and structures to benefit the community in ongoing processes. Cahill (1995) and Kenyon and Black (2001) both commented positively on economic outcomes resulting from community newspapers' positive support for development strategies in some rural communities in Australia.

Decline, debate and the media

The sign of a great idea is not its infallibility or purity from interference. Great ideas are the ones we rise to meet, and perhaps discard, on the way to still greater understandings of how the world works and better experiments in making it a better place to live.

Van Rooy, 2001, p. 130.

Putnam's discourse on social capital's decline has generated a vitality of interest in social capital. Putnam's 1995 *Journal of Democracy* article (of the same title as his book) *Bowling alone*, appears to be 'one of the most widely cited pieces of scholarship ever published in the Social Sciences' (Wolfe, 2000, p. 1). Putnam suggests that America has experienced a decline in social capital. 'We can see that each generation that reached adulthood since the 1940s has been less engaged in community affairs' (1996, p. 12). Like many arguments about public life, Putnam's ideas can be proven or disproved depending on how the analysis is conducted (Galper, 2000). This thesis is not adding to that debate but expands a number of points from both sides of the argument related to declining social capital, to support arguments about the relationship between social capital and community newspapers.

Two key areas relevant to the relationship between social capital and community newspapers arise from the debate on the decline or otherwise of social capital. The first is that high levels of social capital are associated with, and are an outcome of, newspaper readership; more specifically, newspaper readership impacts on civic and political participation as noted in Varashney (1990). The second is that concerns over diminishing social capital are associated with concerns over democracy (Norris, 1996; Paxton, 1998). The same concerns over democracy are associated with the rise of the public journalism

movement (Rosen, 1994, 1997; Massey & Haas, 2002). Rosen, one of the movement's co-founders, suggests that public journalism is an endeavour to win back a little of that lost 'public trust' (1997). Trust as seen in social capital theory, underpins or acts as a proxy for social capital. Lost public trust is equated with a lack of public engagement. Declining public engagement in media theory is linked to declining trust in major media sources (Dickerson & Topping, 2001).

Debating the decline

Putnam's arguments surrounding the 'decline of social capital' are expounded in three key sources (1993, 1995, 2000). The arguments are that:

- civic behaviour including active membership in community groups is down
- joining groups and positive social outcomes are inextricably linked
- the generation of key 'joiners' is dying off
- there is a trend toward replacing associational time with time spent watching television
- the trend should be challenged, so that:
 - civic engagement of Americans will be like that of earlier generations
 - bridging social capital will be greater
 - the workplace will be more family-friendly and community-congenial
 - communities will be more integrated
 - a new, pluralistic, socially responsible 'great awakening' will be spurred
 - leisure time will be spent less passively
 - more Americans will participate in cultural activities and political service.

Putnam's notion of declining stores of social capital (*Bowling alone*, 1995, 2000) is in part based on the identification of television as causal in the 'erosion' of social capital, contrasting TV viewers' low levels of social capital with that of newspaper readers, who record high levels of social capital. Putnam stated that

The links between civic engagement and television viewing can be instructively compared with the links between civic engagement and newspaper reading. The basic contrast is straightforward. Newspaper reading is associated with high social capital, TV viewing with low social capital. (Putnam, 1996, p. 14)

While Putnam found no correlation between viewing and reading, as some people do quantities of both:

Pure readers' (that is people who watch less TV than average and read more newspapers than average) belong to 76% more civic organizations than 'pure viewers' (controlling for education, as always). Precisely the same amount applies to other indicators of civic engagement including social trust and voting turnout. 'Pure readers', for example, are 55% more trusting than 'pure viewers' (1996, p. 15).

Putnam's identification of the two, newspaper readership and social capital, is grounded in a theoretical and histological background surrounding communications and democratic practice (de Tocqueville, 1887). It is also consistent with media theory and research (Janowitz, 1967; Blexrud, 1972; Tichenor et al., 1980; Stamm et al., 1983; Stamm, 1985; Becker & Fredin, 1987), theory and research in community (Park, 1922; Hilary, 1955; Linn, 1971), and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988, 1990) as explained earlier in Chapter 2. Putnam's argument on declining social capital is supported by Coleman (1993) who argued that social capital is diminishing. Coleman considers social capital to be 'a public good', a community resource of benefit to all members in certain closed networks. Wall et al. (1998) state that Coleman 'sounds a clarion call for society to restore social capital in the face of diminishing primordial organizations and the rich stock of social capital found within them' (Wall et al., 1998, p. 309). Whereas, the relationship between newspaper readership and social capital is in turn perceived as engendering civic involvement, political action and trust (Putnam, 1996). The relationship appears both in literature agreeing with and building on Putnam's position (Levi, 1996; 1996; Lappe & Du Bois, 1998; Galper, 2002), and disagreeing with it (Ladd, 1996; Norris, 1996; Paxton, 1999; Sullivan, 2002).

Norris (1996) examined how far the use of different media sources related to types of political activism. Among her findings was a high correlation between television viewing and political inactivity. Though the correlation between whether media use and political activism continues after controlling for education, gender, employment status, race, age and family income of the audiences, she also showed newspaper readership is significantly associated with indicators of activism and voting. Further, her findings showed that reading newspapers was positively associated with knowledge, efficacy and civic interest.

Time displacement studies of television use related to civic engagement (Moy, Scheufele & Holbert, 1999) support and agree with Putnam that television viewing undermines civic

engagement. They suggest specific dimensions of media use and social capital need to be clarified to identify the mechanisms by which the media enhance or erode social capital.

European social capital theorists have examined trends in Europe and find no decline in social capital, which has raised comment on the American 'exceptionalism,' (Hall, 1999; Freetag, 2001; Rothstein, 2003). The British National Statistics paper (2001): *Social Capital: A review of the literature*, concludes that the decline identified by Putnam in America is not mirrored in the United Kingdom; 'some civic organisations have declined (e.g. membership of the Women's Institute) but other forms of engagement are rising, particularly single issue groups' (p. 3).

In reply to the notion of erosion of civic engagement, Norris (1996) drew attention to the focus on media as an indicator of decline or otherwise in social capital. Norris suggested that lack of political participation was more a question of American democracy experiencing a 'crisis of legitimacy', with angry voters disillusioned by Washington policies. Other theorists argued a complex range of factors that contributed to growing cynicism and apathy about American politics and engagement (Fallows, 1996; Postman, 1985; Hart, 1994, as cited in Norris, 1996).

Sullivan's (2002) study in the United States, based on attitudinal changes from the General Social Survey 1972–1994 and the 1960 and 1990 censuses, also challenges the notion of decreasing social capital. He found that people's attachment to their communities has not changed much compared to 25 years ago; and as an example, voter participation has remained at about the same level over the past 25 years. 'Participation in traditional volunteer organizations has decreased, this time it is being replaced by citizens getting involved in new ways. American social capital may have changed some but it does not appear to have declined' (2002, p. 3)

Lappe and Du Bois (1997) regard the declining capacity for problem solving in civil society in the United States, rather than declining social capital, as the major concern. They suggest that it is not necessarily 'the lack of civic duty, but rather lack of "a sense of power" that curbs a strong civil society'. Therefore, they propose, instead of constructing social capital as 'the sum of our informal, associative networks, along with trust [where] the former, it is assumed, generates the latter', social capital should be understood as 'the collective intelligence of society' to envision and create community. From this perspective, agency, as the capacity to exert power, is a central concept. The perspective relates directly to empowerment and communitarian theory (Christians et al., 1993; Braithwaite, 1994, as cited in Bernstein et al., 1994; Gutierrez, 1994, as cited in Bernstein et al., 1994).

Sirrani and Friedland (1995, 2002) discuss Verba, Schlozman and Brady's (1995) studies which represent partial agreement with Putnam on declining social capital (1998). Sirrani and Friedland's findings (2002) disagree with Lappe and Du Bois, in that they recognise that there is still much data validating Americans' 'deserved reputation' for high levels of involvement in voluntary associations. They conclude that there is evidence that participation has increased at the community and local problem-solving level, though a decrease in voter turnout has not been accompanied by the same participation and growth seen in citizen activism.

E. Cox (1998), like the British National Statistics Paper (2001), in discussing diminishing civic responsibility also questions the choice of indicators of declining social capital used by Putnam (1993a, 1995, 2000). Although Putnam points to a broad range of declining associations and institutions to support his arguments, Cox (1995) feels that Putnam did not identify or include more current trends in social interaction and technology also noted in the earlier section by Narayan (2000) as the major revolution associated with the twentieth century; the information revolution. Cox's argument places social capital in a more broadly defined context of institutions and civil society, seeing society as a web of connections, both thick and thin, which link through workplaces, localities, common interest, and political institutions. All can be linked by telephone and electronic means as well as by face-to-face contact. 'We build our sense of belonging and our reference points through our connections to others. We build our trust levels through the quality of these interactions' (Cox, 1995, p. 5).

Giving weight to the European view of 'American exceptionalism' and also in agreement with Cox (1995) and Norris (1996), Paxton (1999) considers the response to Putnam's papers addressing the decline of social capital is underpinned by a classic concern of Americans regarding the deterioration of democracy, and questions the notion of decline. She challenges Putnam's three indicators (the first 3 bullet points in the list presented in this section) of declining social capital, believing that they should be seen instead as outcomes. Specifically, citizens' rates of joining voluntary associations, citizens' trust in one another, and citizens' rates of voting are declining; therefore we should see a subsequent decline in certain public goods, such as an efficient democracy (Paxton, 1999).

A significant outcome for this thesis of the debate over declining social capital is its focus on an underlying premise of the relationship between newspapers and social capital: that newspaper readership is equated with high social capital (Putnam, 1993a, 1995, 2000; Norris, 1996, 2000; Lappe & Du Bois, 1998; Sullivan, 2002). This premise draws on earlier media, community development and political science theory and research. Earlier and more

current studies shown that civic and political involvement, as well as voting in local elections, is positively related to subscribing to local and regional newspapers (Viswanath et al., 1990, McLeod et al 1999; McCleneghan, 2002). Concerns with diminishing social capital in the United States, appear strongly related to concerns with decreasing political participation, seen as a proxy for decreasing democratic deliberation. This same concern with decreasing democratic deliberation appears to underpin the public/civic journalism movement, which arose in the early 1990's noted in Research Question 2, and again, is further linked to decreasing numbers of daily newspaper noted in Research Question 1.

Links between social capital and community newspaper research

There are only a small number of studies linking community newspapers to social capital (Kreuters et al., 1998; Sullivan 2002; Galper, 2002). Kreuters et al. (1998) was the earliest study to measure community social capital using content analysis of community newspapers. The measurement included evaluating the community newspaper content of two communities. This appears to be the only study available to-date using a content analysis for coding social capital. Kreuters et al. (1998) make the point that at the time of the study there were no valid measures of social capital at the community level. Significant studies including indicators measuring social capital at the community level since the paper was written include Onyx and Bullen (2000), Gittel and Vidal (1998), Temkin and Rohe (1998).

One of the aims of the Kreuters et al. (1998) study was to investigate whether social capital could be measured at the community level using an instrument, taking four constructs from their literature review: trust, civic involvement, social engagement and reciprocity. The study investigated social capital through a structured interview of community stakeholders, a content analysis, and telephone surveys of two communities. Results from the content analysis of newspapers indicated that, of the constructs, only trust had significant variations. The most frequently coded construct was civic involvement, with the least coded being reciprocity. Trust and social engagement varied significantly on each type of article. Trust was coded more often in editorials and letters to the editors.

The overall results of the study showed that social capital levels were difficult to validly assess. Kreuters et al. suggest that perhaps in subsequent studies, social capital framed at the community level should be framed within the context of a specific issue. Their second explanation for lack of association between variables in the results is that organisational level social capital and population social capital may be interdependent parts of a larger model of social capital.

Galper's (2002) study relates community newspaper circulation size in geographic areas to social capital. The study measures social capital based on charitable giving and volunteering at the United States county level. Characteristics of individuals were gained from the 1990 census, per capita wages and salaries by county of residents, and included the Monday to Friday community newspaper readership rates for 1997. Galper (2002) states that 'counties with strong newspaper rates have a population informed and involved with the community' (p. 29). He notes that some counties have readership rates of over 100%, showing multiple newspaper subscriptions. This fact could also be the result of many former residents subscribing. He concludes that:

'Social capital' is concentrated in small mature counties, with small populations, high newspaper readership rates, moderated incomes and low unemployment. Average counties have large populations and average social capital. (p. 29)

To obtain his findings, Galper (2002) uses a four-step cluster analysis of community characteristics gained from *County Business Patterns 1995*, and 'distress' variables (local area unemployment statistics and crime reported per capita). Galper's study furnishes a tool for future measurement of social capital related to community newspapers in the United States.

Both Norris (1996) and Galper's (2002) studies re-confirm Putnam's statement that newspaper readership is associated with social capital. Galper's study places social capital in set and defined areas and, by deduction, associated with community newspapers.

Summary

Social capital arises from the fundamental human principles guiding goodness and benevolence and is underpinned by sympathy (Hume, 1739; Halifan, 1916). While social capital literature originally pertained to relations between individuals, the literature scope broadened to include the 'public good' (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993a, 1993b, 1995).

Trust as a component of social capital is also seen in the symbiotic relationship between communities and their newspapers. Community newspapers are increasing in numbers. In turn they function to assist community progress, development, identity and community 'ties'.

Networks, as the functional structures of social capital, allow relationships to both act as resources affecting social capital and to be an outcome of social capital (Falk & Kilpatrick,

2000; Allen, 2001). Where social capital networks at the theoretical level 'join' community newspapers through enabling community communications, they act equally as a resource for relations to occur, through dynamic interactions, and produce outcomes, for example, the generation of civic participation. Social capital in community development literature is seen as a process generating 'positive norms and values' (Kilpatrick et al., 2003; McCleneghan, 2000). The use of the positive in newspaper reporting is both acknowledged and called for; its presence leads to community empowerment.

Newspaper readership is associated with high levels of social capital (Putnam, 1995, 2000; Sullivan, 2001; Galper, 2002), and the debate over declining social capital has acted to combine the multi-disciplinary theory surrounding readership and social capital. Arguments over declining social capital are strong in the United States, though of less concern in Australia (Cox, 1995, 1998) and not noted in either Europe or the United Kingdom. Galper's (2002) United States study confirms that social capital is concentrated in small mature counties, with small populations and high newspaper readership. Studies noting the presence of social capital in the United States and Australia suggest that social capital is present most noticeably at the community or grass-roots level and is linked to high newspaper readership (Kenyon, 1999; Kenyon & Black, 2001; McManamey & Falk, 2001; Sullivan 2002; Galper, 2002).

Summary of Chapter 2

The literature reviewed in relation to Research Question 1 suggests that daily newspaper numbers and circulations are diminishing world wide. Although community newspaper numbers and circulations appear to be rising at a far greater rate than expected given that daily newspaper numbers are diminishing, their focus is concerned with community well being, underpinned by a strong sense of history and shared values. Community newspapers are cited as active agents related to rural renewal and community development. Rural population patterns on the Australian mainland differ from those of Tasmania, in that Tasmania has a higher proportion of its population in rural areas, high out-migration, low immigration and the second-oldest population in Australia.

The literature reviewed in relation to Research Question 2 suggests that while there are movements within journalism aimed at community issues and gathering reader interest, the prime focus and role of community newspapers is to support and empower their community's renewal and development, engendering trust (Cahill, 1995; Kenyon & Black, 2001).

The literature reviewed in relation to Research Question 3 suggests that, built on fundamental human principles of *goodness* and *benevolence*, and underpinned by *sympathy*, social capital functions because of *trust* and through *networks*. The growth of community newspapers is linked to the trust placed in them by their readers. Community newspapers are supported by trust and build trust. The relationship is symbiotic. Communities are empowered by their community newspaper.

Trust is also noted in literature as decreasing in daily and national newspapers. International literature suggests that *distrust* is engendered through sensationalism and crime reportage (Diaz, 2003), and also emerges as a concern over media conglomerate ownership. *Distrust* appears to contribute to a decline in daily newspaper numbers. Public *distrust* in the United States has also been associated with a decline in civic and political participation. Media movements in the United States aimed at regenerating public trust, stimulating civic and political participation, and improving circulations of daily and national newspapers have focused on greater local issue content and perspective, dialogue and reader participation that have been formerly associated with the approaches and functions of community newspapers.

Findings in the literature on social capital indicate small communities with high readership record highest levels of social capital. Based on Galper's (2002) findings, decreasing rural and small community populations imply decreasing resources of social capital, and the strength of ties and networks. However, in the light of globalisation, the growth in numbers and circulations of community newspapers and their link to community identity, integration and trust suggests increasing resources of social capital. Additionally, trust is found in the relationship between community newspapers and social capital, promoting community newspaper growth. Growing numbers and circulations of community newspapers flag growing resources of social capital.

Introduction

The purpose of the study is to explore the relationship between community newspapers and social capital by analysing the content, and investigating the timing of the establishment and production of independent community newspapers published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000.

The aims of the study are to:

- examine patterns of community newspaper establishment across the twentieth century in Tasmania
- examine the pattern of issues and content that have been presented within Tasmanian community newspapers in a historical continuum over the last century
- devise a content analysis framework containing dimensions of social capital that examines the concept of social capital from a number of perspectives, so as to investigate how social capital is evident in community newspapers
- investigate the relationship between content, production process and community contribution to the newspapers in further understanding the relationship between community newspapers and social capital.

Research Question 1: Community newspapers in Tasmania

- (a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- (b) Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

Research Question 2: Issues in community newspapers

- (a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910-2000? and
- (b) How have issues been presented?

Research Question 3: Community newspapers and social capital

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

This chapter reports the research design and method of data collection and data analysis for the three investigative phases that comprised the study. The chapter is arranged according to the following headings: Research design; Case study as a strategy of enquiry; Why use a combined quantitative and qualitative approach? Distinguishing between data and methods; Triangulation; Phase 1, Methodology for Research Question 1; Phase 2, Content analysis; Phase 3, Semi-structured interviews; Limitations; and Summary.

Research design

A multi-mode case study methodology was chosen to address the three research questions outlined. The methodology reflected the need for quantitative data at a whole case study level, identified through data on establishment of newspapers, population, economic and social history, through a content analysis, and more detailed qualitative data at the level of individual newspaper background, histories and operating processes. Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews. The case study is applied to Tasmania as a bounded area and is made up of 16 community newspapers sampled as collective cases (Stake, 1995, 2000). The case study is structured in three phases. The description of each phase follows.

The first phase was data collection from secondary sources. Newspaper records and lists were analysed using graphs, tabulations and descriptive statistics, to assess patterns of newspaper establishment and individual newspaper continuity.

The second phase was the construction and application of a quantitative content analysis framework containing categories devised from the literature. Data were collected in this phase in response to Research Question 2 and the second aim of the study as outlined in the introduction.

The third phase was supported by the first two phases. It gathered data pertaining to social capital both through the content analysis framework and through semi-structured interviews pertaining to Research Question 3. Interviews were held with current newspaper editors/coordinators; and with key staff members of three closed community newspapers.

outlines in a research framework the research strategies adopted for this study; a case study of the relationship between community newspapers and social capital in Tasmania.

Table 2 Research framework for a case study of community newspapers in Tasmania, 1910–2000

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Analysis of secondary sources	Content analysis Identification and Description areas of framework	Content analysis Social capital area of framework Semi-structured interviews
Research questions		
1(a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000? and 1(b) Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to population growth and population change?	2(a) In what ways have issues have been reported in community newspapers? and 2(b) How have issues been presented?	3. What is the relationship between the content of community newspapers and social capital?
Methodology		
Quantitative research methods Descriptive techniques	Quantitative content analysis of qualitative data	Quantitative content analysis Qualitative and thematic analysis
Data source		
Publication records Literature Secondary sources Microfilm and hardcopy newspapers	Content analysis of coded items (<i>n</i> = 6724)	Content analysis of coded items (<i>n</i> = 782) Semi-structured interview of editors/coordinators/ former staff
Data gathering instrument		
Secondary source analysis Excel spreadsheets Literature source strategies	Content analysis—developed from content analysis literature applied to descriptive data	Content analysis as devised in previous phase Semi-structured interviews
Data analysis		
Descriptive statistics and Cross-tabulations Graphs	SPSS Descriptive statistics	SPSS Descriptive statistics and percentage frequencies Thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews

Summary of design

A summary of the research design is given below followed by a framework for a case study of community newspapers in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000, already introduced as Figure 1.

- i. Through analysis of secondary sources (Stewart & Kamins, 1993), the study identified independent community newspapers of

geographic locale ($n = 67$) published in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000.

- ii. A sample of 16 community newspapers was chosen from this group, firstly, by length of time established; secondly, by availability of complete records.
- iii. A quantitative content analysis framework was devised, firstly, based on literature related to content analysis, and secondly, literature based on theory and research related to social capital.
- iv. Two pilot studies were implemented. The first pilot study informed changes needed for the content analysis framework, definitions and code books. The second pilot study contributed to the amalgamation of some variables within categories and the removal of one category.
- v. The 16 sample newspapers were analysed in each decade year from 1910 to 2000 (200 issues). Four copies of each sample independent community newspaper were selected from four months of each decade year by stratified weekly sampling (Lacy, Fico & Riffe, 1995). Coding was performed on 6724 items.
- vi. Two inter-coder trials were conducted at the pilot study stage and during data collection, though the study was coded by the one researcher. Intra-coder reliability was assessed by percentage agreement over several recordings.
- vii. Descriptive statistical analysis from the secondary research and the content analysis informs findings. Content analysis data was analysed with the assistance of SPSS computer software.
- viii. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with the editor/coordinators of the sample newspapers and a thematic analysis was applied to data.

Case study as a strategy of enquiry

The research design applied to investigating the study is a collective case study. Case study allows insights into the relationship between community newspapers and social capital,

bounded by both geography—Tasmania being an island state—and by time—newspapers analysed being from between 1910 and 2000. This study is the development of in-depth analysis of multiple cases where each of the 16 sample newspapers could be considered a case. Burns (2000) identifies the main purpose of case study is that it is ‘used to gain in-depth understanding replete with meaning for the subject, focusing on process rather than on outcome, on discovery rather than confirmation’ (p. 460). Stake defines three types of case studies. *Intrinsic* as pertaining to the better understanding of a particular case; *instrumental* which is to provide insight into an issue, the case being of secondary interest; and *collective*, a case study which is the *instrumental* study extended to several cases chosen because understanding them will lead to both better understanding and better theorizing about a still larger collection of cases (2000, p. 437). The current study is a collective case study that examines a sample of 16 community newspapers over time.

Although the case study approach is frequently utilized in the social sciences, the case study is still challenged in comparison with ‘more rigorous’ approaches. Its definition is still debated, as are the areas of agreement between theorists and practitioners. For example, identifying a case study, Babbie (2004) cites Becker (1992) as pointing out there is little consensus on what constitutes a ‘case’. Yin (2003) and Stake (1995, 2000), while differing in a number of areas pertaining to case study research, concur in describing case study as having a direct focus. The current study’s approach to case study strategy is supported by Yin (2003), who defines case study at two levels: a case study is an overall and comprehensive research strategy and technically, it is ‘an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context’ (p.13).

Why use a combined qualitative and quantitative approach?

Patton (1990) refers to the advantages of the use of combined qualitative and quantitative data in case study over large-scale, quantitative survey design. He notes how secondary data, direct fieldwork, project documentation, interviews and observations can be synthesised to draw larger conclusions for development of policy.

While the combining of applications in case study research is strongly supported, particularly in education (Patton 1990) and media and mass communications research (Jensen & Jankowski, 1995), there are also a number of criticisms levelled at the case study approach. The role of human subjectivity is of concern when selecting evidence to support or refute the approach (Isaac & Michael, 1995). Yin (2003), countering this criticism, points out that replication of quantitative scientific research also suffers from many of the same biases and arguments suggested by critics of case study. He does however agree that in case

study, these biases occur more often than in quantitative research. Further criticism is levelled at case study for having limited representativeness (Isaac & Michael, 1995). Burns (2000) suggests that the opportunity to advance personal causes and views is strong, while external checks are weak (Burns, 2000, p. 473). These criticisms can be considered appropriate cautions, though it is Babbie's (1982) view that through the pairing of procedure and use of multiple data gathering techniques in case study method, bias can be balanced. Support for Babbie's (1982) view advocating a combined qualitative and quantitative approach as a strategy for case study research design is noted in Patton (1990), Neuman (2003), Denzin and Lincoln (2000), and Rao and Woolcock (2002). It is also important to place case study criticisms into perspective. Criticisms of the case study approach by Isaac and Michael (1995) and Burns (2000) appear to be levelled particularly when case study is investigated through qualitative methods and approach only.

Using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate a case is seen as complementary (Creswell, 1998; Neuman, 2003), and compatible (Howe, 1988), leading to results that either approach alone could not disclose (Jensen & Jankowski, 1995; Rao & Woolcock, 2002). The use of the two approaches allows for integration of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach (Rao & Woolcock, 2002). Tashakkori and Teddi (1998) cite Datta (1994) as pointing out there are a number of good reasons for the coexistence of both methodologies and their underlying paradigms:

- both paradigms have, in fact, been used for years
- many evaluators and researchers have urged the use of both paradigms
- funding agencies have supported both paradigms
- both paradigms have influenced policy
- so much has been taught by both paradigms.

This study is underpinned by a post-positivist paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln suggests that post-positivist design enables flexibility where 'it can be viewed 'as a a continuum moving from rigorous design principles on one end to emergent, less structured directives on the other' (2000, p.368). The use of both quantitative and qualitative data analysis based on this paradigm, strengthens this study as a rich range of sources of data can be accessed. Jones suggests that 'an overemphasis on the techniques of research can be an outcome of pursuing a divide of research paradigms in terms of method' (2004, p.1). The design of the current study addresses areas of possible weakness by use of both quantitative and qualitative methods, as described further in the following section. The quantitative approach

to the question of the relationship between community newspapers and social capital mainly uses a purposeful sample of community newspapers in content analysis to collect data and analyse the data using descriptive statistical techniques. By contrast, the qualitative approach uses purposeful sampling and semi-structured interviews to collect data. These are mainly data relating to people's perceptions and experiences about a subject analysed through sociological techniques.

Tuchman (1991) notes that in an earlier study of community press addressing issues current in his time, Janowitz (1967, cited in Tuchman) acknowledged that the study could have been strengthened by more attention to qualitative methods:

No doubt we were able to identify the social role [of the community press] as one aspect of the normative system of the urban community. In another sense our definitions and our assumptions in retrospect were too limited. There was an excessive concern with the strategy of communication research which focuses on specific responses and not enough on the natural history of a social institution and the collective representations it created. (Janowitz, p. xvii, as cited in Tuchman. 1991 p. 82)

By including interviews with editors/coordinators, the current study is able to compare content analysis findings to interview data. However, there is value to be gained from future investigation and development of the qualitative area of the study more fully.

Limitations and cautions

While there is strong support for the application of both quantitative and qualitative approaches, there is little criticism against a use of combined methodologies. However a number of cautions inform case study usage. McMillan (1989) is an example, raising concerns that the use of multiple data sources may not achieve rigor in data collection. McMillan further suggests that multi-method strategies as multiple realities are viewed as so complex that one cannot decide a priori on a single methodology. Limitations pertaining to the small sample of qualitative data gathered in the editors' interviews are acknowledged in the current study. While the strategies used are complementary they remain distinguishable through the focus of each phase, outlined by the research questions. However there is a definite cross-over of data informing each of the research questions that contributes to reliability (Rao & Woolcock, 2002). The use of cross-over data and analysis methods is supported by literature describing strategies which call for quantitative data and methods or qualitative data and methods, though it is instructive to note that one can be

used to collect the other (Hentschel, 1999; Stern & Lanjouw, 1999; as cited in Rao & Woolcock, 2002).

Distinguishing between data and methods

It is important to consider the distinction between forms of data and the methods used to collect them using both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Rao & Woolcock 2002). For example, one form of qualitative data in the current study's content analysis is the selection and subjective coding of community newspaper items. These items are analysed through quantitative methods. A second example of data cross-over is where some interview data gathered through the structured interviews with editor/coordinators pertaining to the community newspapers' background, circulation and publication process and methods are analysed using quantitative methods. Semi-structured interview data however undergo qualitative analysis and are analysed thematically.

A third area where cross-over of data may also be acknowledged to some degree is where quantitative analysis of data gathered from the content analysis through SPSS contributed to a thematic discussion of results related to conceptual and theoretical indicators of social capital, presented in Chapter 5. The use of quantitative and qualitative methods is part of the triangulation used in the study.

Triangulation

Triangulation in social research is 'the process of looking at something from several different angles rather than in only one way' (Neuman, 2003, p. 138). It is a key strategy for reducing the effects of research bias. Triangulation within research design occurs in a number of areas. Jensen and Jankowski, (1995, p. 62) cited Denzin (1970, 1978) as proposing four types of triangulation, that pertains to: the data, the investigator, the theory and the method.

Jensen and Jankowski (1995) define data triangulation as referring to time, space and the analytical level in which information is obtained (1991, p. 62), whereas Janesick (2000) defines it simply as, 'the use of a variety of data sources in a study (2000, p. 391). Data triangulation in the current study occurs via qualitative and quantitative empirical information gathered from three sources: secondary data, pertaining to newspaper establishment and backgrounds; quantitative data collected through content analysis, and qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews. Therefore within the current study the inclusion of longitudinal data, geographically separated data, and the two forms of

analysis—descriptive statistical and thematic—contribute to data triangulation. Content analysis/quality control triangulation is discussed later.

Triangulation of theory occurs ‘when an interviewer uses multiple perspectives in the planning stages of research or when interpreting the data’ (Neuman, 2003, p. 138). Jankowski and Wester (1992) discuss triangulation of theory as the ‘application of concepts, and perspectives from diverse theories and disciplines’. In this study, different theoretical perspectives are included within the content analysis framework design, as will be described in the sections following. The four dimensions of social capital used independent categories; each contain variables based on theoretical concepts and indicators drawn from a substantial body of literature of regarding social capital research and/or practice. They are based on: firstly, the historical development of social capital theory (Halifan, 1916; Bourdieu, 1886; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 2000; Cox, 1995; Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000); secondly, the functioning structure of social capital which is defined as bonding, bridging and linking networks (Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock, 1998); thirdly, a model of social capital for use in analysis and practice (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000); and a combination of indicators taken from studies making up the synergy approach (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

Triangulation of method (Stake, 1995, 2000; Burns, 2000) constitutes a research strategy in which ‘different methods are employed for data gathering and analysis surrounding a single object of a study’ (Jankowski & Wester, 1991, p. 62). Neuman (2003) suggests that the complementary mixing of methods can occur in several ways, including sequentially, as in this study, where it is seen as ‘first one then the other’ (p. 139). The current study involves quantitative Tasmanian historical secondary source research, a content analysis, and qualitative semi-structured interviews with community newspaper editors/coordinators.

Both qualitative and quantitative research methods are used in the current study, strengthening research data collection and analysis through triangulation. The use of secondary source, content analysis and semi-structured interview data adds to the external validity contributing to the process of case study. The following sections will inform further on specific research procedures used in each phase of the study.

Phase 1: Methodology for Research Question 1

The first research question has two parts. Research Question 1(a) asks: What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000? Research Question 1(b) asks: Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to changing demographic,

economic and social factors? The first question is addressed by firstly applying a collective case study approach to select and examine sample community newspapers, and then considers how population change impacts on numbers of newspapers. Large quantitative data sets permit examination of relationships between community newspaper establishment, circulation and population over time.

The purpose of the data collection

By gathering data on community newspapers published in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000, (*Walch's Almanac*, 1901–1979; Moore-Robinson, 1933; Miller, 1952a), 67 independent community newspapers of geographic locale were identified. Records from the State Library of Tasmania's archives were used to assemble a list of Tasmanian community newspapers. Entries from *Walch's Almanac* from 1900 to 1979, and the *Tasmanian Almanac* from 1973 to 1980 also contributed data in relation to the number of community newspapers recorded over time and the number not included in other records. Census data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) contributed to building a body of background data of the community newspapers, their areas and population over the century.

After the independent community newspaper sample had been chosen, structured telephone interviews were carried out with editors/coordinators. The data is presented in Appendix C. Structured interviews are when all respondents 'are asked the same series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 649). A list of questions was devised in order to obtain information about the background, circulation and geography as well as the processes involved in running the papers (Appendix C 2). The interview furnished general background data pertaining to production and circulation for each of the sample papers.

There were 120 community newspapers published in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000. From this list papers were classified as community of interest ($n = 35$) such as political, religious, and community of geographic locale ($n = 85$). As the study focus is on independent community newspapers of geographic locale, the second group ($n = 85$), listed in Appendix A, was further divided into those papers published by mainstream newspaper organizations and those published as independent community newspapers, both volunteer and commercially run ($n = 67$) (Appendix B). The purpose of selecting community newspapers on this basis was to include all community communications that were a result of community endeavour and not published by outside commercial newspaper interests, termed, mainstream press organizations (Forde, 1999). Papers that ceased operation before a one-year period had elapsed were considered not to be examples of 'community' papers,

as they did not appear to have community support to continue. Approaching community newspapers with this criterion allowed analysis of a community newspaper formation, structure and continuity at a grass-roots level. It allowed the observation of community interactions, interests and networks that were not directed by external media interests.

Community newspapers for this study are defined as independent community newspapers of geographic locale, that have been in operation for over a period of one year during the period from 1910 to 2000 (Appendix B), of which there are 67.

Data analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the data collected from secondary sources for the responses to Research Question 1. Descriptive statistics such as frequency distributions, percentages, graphs, and cross-tabulations were used. These were related to newspaper establishment over time as well as population numbers. Data were further related to demographic graphs considering population change, out-migration and natural increase in Tasmania over the period 1900 to 2000 (Jackson & Kippen, 2001).

Phase 2

The answers to the Research Questions 2(a): What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000?, and 2(b) How have issues been presented?, were informed by data from a content analysis. This tool was devised to reveal patterns, trends, and the nature of content issues and interests within community newspapers. It showed the level of community contributors and newspaper staff's input to content. The content analysis framework contained three theme areas: identification, description and social capital. The third area, social capital, pertains to Research Question 3 and Phase 3, though its structure in the content analysis framework and justification will be explained in this section, illustrating how the content analysis framework acts as a unit.

The purpose of content analysis

Content analysis framework

The major tool of data collection for the study, a content analysis framework, was applied to a sample of 16 community newspapers (Appendix C, and Table 9). It was used to examine each item within the papers sampled, excluding group classifieds, individually-placed

advertisements, and public notices ($n = 6724$). Based on the second and third aims of the study, the purpose of the content analysis of community newspapers was six-fold.

For Research Question 2

1. To establish a large quantitative database, identifying issues and interests within a sample of community newspapers in Tasmania over a period of time.
2. To identify patterns over time of:
 - source, the contributors of items to the newspapers
 - shape, describing how items appeared, for example: report, letter, notice
 - horizon, being the locale from where the subject of item is located and
 - tone, being the 'particular state or temper of the mind, spirit, or tenor' (Macquarie Dictionary, 1998, p 1233) in which items are described.
3. To provide a profile of a community newspaper content that may be observed in isolation or compared to other community newspapers in relation to community issues and interests.

For Research Question 3

4. To investigate community newspaper content by including categories drawn from the concept of social capital, based on literature and research, to further understand, causes/ indicators /evidence of social capital.
5. To investigate links between social capital and community interactions over the twentieth century.
6. To investigate if content analysis of community newspapers can provide a profile of community social capital.

Studies considering content analysis and sampling methods found in the literature search are listed in Table 3. Texts relating to content analysis methods and study are listed in Table 4. A number of these studies are drawn on in the construction of the content analysis framework. These studies are also discussed in relation to themes and sampling in the following sections.

Table 3 Content analysis studies informing current study research design

Study		Year	Place	Variables	Data source	Sample	Analysis method	Comments
1	Bodle, John V. 'Assessing News Quality: A Comparison between Community Newspapers and Student Daily Newspapers' <i>Journalism in Mass Communications Quarterly</i> , 73, 3 Autumn, pp. 672–686.	1996	USA	Readability Interest level Thoroughness		6 community daily (private sector) papers; 6 student daily papers	Flesch 's (1949) processes Word and sentence paragraph structures Statistical comparisons	
2	Flournoy, Don M., <i>Content analysis of Indonesian newspapers</i> , Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta.	1992	Indonesia	Quantity of news as political Variation in Government- and privately-owned papers	12-day spreads over one year for each paper	5 papers	The Equivalent forms method as cited in Stemple (Flournoy, p. 88) Statistics	
3	Franzosi, R, 'The press as a source of socio-historical data: Issues in the methodology of data collection from newspapers,' <i>Historical Methods</i> , 53, 1 pp. 5–16.	1987	USA	Draws heavily on 'conflict in Italy' newspaper data	Previous studies	Not applicable		Emphasis placed on problems of validity rather than reliability. Magnitude of the error in problems of validity larger than that of reliability Sample selection bias Coding schema design Inter-coder reliability Units of measurement and analysis

Study		Year	Place	Variables	Data source	Sample	Analysis method	Comments
4	Franzosi, R. (1995), Computer assisted content analysis of newspapers: Can we make an expensive research tool more efficient, <i>Quality & Quality</i> , 1. 29, 157–172.	1995	Italy/USA	Semantic structures Story grammars New schema Macro-propositions	Previous studies	Qualitative multiple studies	Coding scheme Complexities: Additional or modified categories and economy	Linguistics & semantics useful conceptual tool increasing efficiency of content analysis
5	Hansen, Kathleen A. ,Ward J., Conners, J. L., Neuzil, M., 'Local breaking news: Sources technology and newspaper routines', <i>Journalism Quarterly</i> , Vol. 71, No. 3, Autumn, pp. 561–572.	1994	USA	Characteristics of breaking news—large newspaper Contribution of information technology to breaking news-covering processes	In depth interviews	10 newspapers	Coding and Statistics Content analysis	Results found reliance on same sources for information
6	Henningham, John, The shape of daily news: A content analysis of Australia's metropolitan newspapers', <i>Media International Australia</i> , No. 79, pp. 22–34.	1996	Australia	Editorial priorities of Australia's major newspapers	All Australian capital cities' daily newspapers	by 20 issues gave 217 newspapers; 15,990 stories	Content analysis Schema—from Mayer (1964) and McQuail (1977)	
7	Lacy, Stephen, Robinson, K. & Riffe, D. 1995. Sample size in content analysis of weekly newspapers, <i>Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly</i> , 72, 2, Summer 1955.	1955	USA	Number of stories Number of photographs. Number of local government stories Square inches of local government copy Percentage of all stories about local government	Previous studies and newspapers	2 newspapers coded over 52 weeks in different sets: simple random one by quarter one by month 16 sets of 20 samples each 320 samples each paper	Content analysis Simple random Statistics	Contrasting sample types to assess their utility in representing weekly newspaper content

Study		Year	Place	Variables	Data source	Sample	Analysis method	Comments
8	Loo, E. & Hurst, M. 'Recalcitrant or keras kepala? A cross-cultural study of how Malaysian and Australian press covered the Keating–Mahathir spat', <i>Media International</i> , Australia 77, August, p. 107–119.	1995	Australia	Comparative analysis of tone of newspapers in Australia and Malaysia over reportage of political events		210 articles	Systematic analysis Thematic analysis Content analysis of articles in Australian and Malaysian papers	High external validity in response to study
9	Miller, Mark, & Riechert, Bonnie P. 'Identifying themes via concept mapping: A new method of content analysis', paper submitted for presentation to Theory and Methodology Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Meeting, August. URL: http://excellent.com.utk.edu/~mmmiller/pestmaps.txt	1994	USA	Amount of media reporting; Emphasis—topic of pesticides	4 magazines		Statisticss Chi-square Content analysis of stories on pesticides	
10	<u>Project for Excellence in Journalism: Framing the news: The triggers, frames and messages in newspaper coverage. A study of the Project for Excellence in Journalism and Princeton Survey Research Associates.</u> URL: http://www.journalism.org/framing.html	2000	USA	Inventory variables: (Source, date, length, wire service, and dateline) Construction variables:(Recurring leads, topic, story trigger, story frame, and headline/subhead agreement) Experimental variable—enduring message	National and regional dailys	3 national 4 regional/ local newspapers	Coding	All data was not weighed or screened—used the time of the Clinton impeachment trial (Jan 1–Feb 28 1999) which was not filtered from dataset 'typical.'

Study		Year	Place	Variables	Data source	Sample	Analysis method	Comments
11	Rau, Robin Anne, <u>The role of sources in news coverage of the Don Harding execution.</u> Unpublished masters thesis, Arizona State University Tempe, AZ.	1993	USA	Location Size, source/agency Language describing Definition of the problem Message/emphasis Viewpoint, Themes: Angles Brief description:			Bar graph Theme chart Content coding	
12	Windhauser, J. W. Stemple, G. H. III, & Dominic, J. R., Reliability of six techniques for content analysis of local coverage, <i>Journalism Quarterly</i> 157, p. 148–152	1979	USA	Article Space measurement Statement Issue—single Issue—multiple headline	Previous studies Dailies	12 metropolitan dailies analysed for 35-day period (Sept 28– Nov 1971)	Content analysis Tabled Rank order correlations Content units generated by six procedures	Comparison of techniques finds highly comparable results.

Table 4 Content analysis research methods texts informing current study research design

Text	Subject focus	Data source
Altheide, David, 1996 <i>Qualitative Media Analysis</i> , Series 38, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.	Qualitative research methods Ethnographic content analysis	Sampling & visual images
Ball, S. & Gregory H. Smith, 1992 'Analysing visual data', <i>Qualitative Research Methods</i> , Vol. 24, Sage, Newbury Park.	Ethnographic methodology of content analysis Use of photographs	Visual images & sampling
de Vreese, Claes. H, 2003 <i>Framing Europe: Television news and European integration</i> , Aksant, Amsterdam.	Communication processes Multi-method approach	Television and media coverage of European new topics
Dunphy, Dexter, 1966 'The construction of categories for content analysis dictionaries', Chap. 4, in, Stone, P. H., Dunphy, D. C., Smith, M. S., & Ogvilie, D. M, <i>The general inquirer: A computer approach to content analysis</i> . MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.	Category construction Language sign member identification within the group	Research groups
Dunphy, D. C., Bullare, C. G., & Crossing, E. E. M. 1998, 'Validation of the General Inquirer Harvard IV Dictionary' in, C. Zuell, R. P. Weber, & Mohler, <i>Computer-assisted text analysis for the social sciences: The general inquirer III</i> , Mannheim, FRG: Centre for Surveys, Methods and Analysis (ZUMA).	Computerised content analysis system General inquirer category construction	Research groups
Harper, D. 1989 'Visual sociology: Expanding sociological vision'. In G. Banks et al. (Eds.): <i>New technology in sociology: Practical applications in research and work</i> , 81–87. New Brunswick: Transaction.	Photographic and visual content	Newspaper and media graphics
Krippendorff, Klaus, 1980 <i>Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology</i> , Sage Context Series, Beverly Hills, CA.	Quantitative content analysis research Random sampling Stratified sampling Systematic sampling cluster Varying probability Multistage	Quantitative content analysis

Text	Subject focus	Data source
Mayer, Henry, 1964, 'What's in the paper?', Chap. 14, <i>The press in Australia</i> , Lansdowne, Melbourne, pp. 211–228.	Quantitative content analysis Comparative analysis of newspapers in Australia Volume of news Sport and foreign news as % of editorial space Crime and passion news Differential News—values Differential evaluation of foreign news Content and volume by states Readership and attitudes	Content analysis Major daily and national newspapers
Neuendorf, K. A. 2002 <i>The content analysis guidebook</i> , Sage, New York.	All aspects of quantitative content analysis	
Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G., 1998 <i>Analysing media messages using quantitative content analysis in research</i> , Lawrence Erlbaum, London.	Information sources Sampling techniques: Census Non-probability sampling Probability sampling Simple random systematic Stratified cluster: multi-stage	Previous studies quantitative content analysis
Shapiro, Gilbert & John Markoff, 1998 <i>Revolutionary demands: A content analysis of the 'Cahiers de Doleances' of 1789</i> , Stanford: Stanford University Press.	Content analysis stratified and cluster samples Structured—1332 subject topics 50 main grievances derived for the source	Archival construction of 40,000 grievances found in the 'Cahiers de Doleances' of 1789
Weber, Robert Phillip, 1990 <i>Basic content analysis</i> , Sage, Newbury Park, CA.	Computer-aided content analysis	quantitative content analysis previous studies

Definitions of content analysis

Any methodological measurement applied to text (or other symbolic material) for social purposes.

Shapiro and Markoff, 1998, p. 14.

Neuendorf (2002) considers that the goal of any quantitative content analysis is to produce counts of key categories, and measurements of the amounts of other variables. He notes it is a way of summarising rather than reporting all details concerning message sets (p. 13). Neuendorf suggests that content analysis has been perhaps the fastest growing technique in quantitative research over the past two decades. Among the factors that contributed to its increased usage, in investigating human interactions applied to television, film, and novel word usage in a general, political and policy context (de Vreese, 2003), is the growth of computer-assisted programs enabling systematic and objective analysis (Riffe & Frietag, 1997). Content analysis is conducted within 'scientific method, but with certain additional characteristics that place it in a unique position as the primary message centred methodology' (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 9). Quantitative content analysis is viewed by Riffe Lacy and Fico (1998) as:

the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption. (p. 20)

Neuendorf (2002) extends Riffe et al.'s (1998) perspective of symbols of communication and states that content analysis is not reserved for studies of mass media or for any other types of message content. So long as other pertinent characteristics apply (e.g. quantitative, summarizing), the study of any type of message 'pool' is possible. The messages may be mediated, that is, 'having some message reproduction or transmittal device interposed between source and receiver, or they may be non mediated, that is, experienced face to face' (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 17).

Riffe et al. (1998) defines their stand on quantitative content analysis as 'informed by our view of the centrality of content to the theoretically significant processes and effects of

communication, and of the utility, power and precision for quantitative measurement' (p. 18). Historically content analysis has been defined in a number of ways. Table 5 includes a number of definitions from key authors and researchers who have guided the use and further development of the technique.

Table 5 Definitions of quantitative content analysis

Researcher(s)	Publication year	Definition
Berelson	1952	'A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (p. 18).
Holsti	1961	'Any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages' (p. 14)
Stemple	1981	'A formal system for doing something that we all do informally rather frequently, drawing conclusions from observations of content' (p. 119).
Krippendorff	1980	'A research technique for making replicative and valid inferences from data to their context' (p. 21).
Weber	1990	'A research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from data to their context' (p. 21).
Henningham	1996	'Systematically describes the total output of a newspaper without reference to individual readers' selective (utilitarian) use of a newspaper. Moreover, the simultaneous analysis of a range of newspapers affords the opportunity to compare policies and priorities, as well as international comparisons and comparisons over time' (p. 23)'. 'Any systematic reduction of a flow of text (or other symbols) to a standard set of statistically manipulability symbols representing the presence, the intensity or the frequency of some characteristics relevant to social science. In discussions of content analysis many authors assume that the term refers to the measurement of subjective phenomena, such as grievances, attitudes, values, ideologies, or political positions, but there is nothing in this definition [(or most of those cited above)] that excludes the measurement of objective facts...in the texts under study as well....We try to justify our formulation, comparing it with the array of current alternatives quoted' (p. 14).
Shapiro & Markoff	1998	

Weber (1990) draws on Berelson (1952) to list the purposes for which content analysis is used. Berelson's three most significant purposes identified by Weber (1990) that are significant to this study are that the content describes attitudinal and behavioural responses to communications; reflects cultural patterns of groups, institutions or societies; and further, reveals the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention, and describes trends in communication content.

How was the content analysis framework assembled?

Coding is the heart and soul of whole-text analysis.

Ryan and Bernard, 2000, p. 780.

Ryan and Bernard (2000) identify the fundamental tasks associated with coding as sampling, identifying themes, building codebooks, marking texts, construction of models (relationships among codes) and testing these models against empirical data. The purpose of the following section is to identify each of these tasks in relation to the construction of the content analysis framework for this study.

Sampling

Berelson (1952, as cited in Gunaratne, 1982, p. 18) suggests that: 'a small carefully chosen sample of the relevant content will produce just as valid results as the analysis of a great deal more, and with the expenditure of much less time and effort'. Stemple (1952, as cited in Gunaratne, 1982, p. 18) found support for this assertion when he examined a single-matter category for a single newspaper for an entire year, drawing ten samples of five different sizes, 6, 12, 18, 24, and 48 issues. His result revealed that all five of the sample sizes did an adequate job and that increasing the sample size beyond 12 issues did not produce a marked difference in the results. Gunaratne (1982), in a single subject category study-matter of Third World news, sampled two newspapers, with 12 issues for each newspaper for each of two years, producing 48 issues. He stated that this number was sufficient to produce valid results, based on Stemple's 1952 findings.

Riffe et al. (1998) draw attention to the paucity of research surrounding the sampling of weekly newspapers. The authors note that this is more apparent 'because weekly papers have grown in importance during the past three decades, increasing in circulation as dailies have waned' (p. 98). Riffe et al. (1998) based on Stemple (1952) measured random, consecutive day and constructed week sampling in daily newspaper content analysis. Applying these results to sampling weeklies, Lacy, Robinson and Riffe (1995) stratified by month and season of the year and used a random sample. Their results indicate stratified sampling has some efficiency compared to random sampling, though not as found in dailies.

In order to select a representative sample of Tasmanian community newspapers published from 1910 to 2000, a purposive and stratified sample was taken. This consisted of four issues of each paper drawn from each decade year. These were drawn from the months of February, April, July and October as seasonal representatives (Lacy et al., 1995). The sample excluded December when some of the school-based papers were not published. The sample was selected on two criteria: firstly, the longest established publications; and secondly, for more recently published papers, access to full recorded issues.

The sample of Tasmanian community papers includes both weekly and monthly publications. Where some community papers were published weekly, they were stratified through each week of the month, per decade year. Table 6 identifies the stratified weeks per decade.

Table 6 **Stratified week of the month for weekly papers**

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
January	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2
April	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
July	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
October	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1

Within the study, the *unit of analysis* was the item coded within each sampled newspaper issue. Neuman (2003) suggests that ‘a researcher decides on the units of analysis (that is, the amount of text that is assigned a code (p. 315). It is also considered the *unit of data collection* and can be identified as the same measure as the unit of *observation*, (Babbie, 1995, as cited in Neuendorf, 2002). Loo and Hurst (1995) also described the *unit of analysis* as each individually coded newspaper article. During the period of analysis, all items in each entire newspaper issue sampled were coded, excluding classifieds, individual advertising, and public notices. The excluded categories were unnecessary for data pertaining to the aims of the study. The text was reduced to a unit-by-variable matrix.

Themes

Themes are abstract (and often fuzzy constructs) that investigators identify before, during and after data collection.

Ryan and Bernard, 2000, p. 780.

As Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest, researchers probe seeking general themes surrounding the literature and add more themes and sub-themes as they go. Ryan and Bernard (2000) suggest that ‘literature reviews are rich sources of themes as are investigator’s own experiences with subject matter. More often than not, however, researchers induce themes from the text itself’ (p. 780). The themes within the framework were assembled from the literature prior to the pilot studies being undertaken and the newspapers items read, as outlined in the following sections. The content analysis framework incorporated three separate areas: content identification, description and social capital. The themes occurring in the area of social capital were further categorized as dimensions, as explained more fully in the following sections.

Categories

No matter how sophisticated the method employed, content analysis stands or falls by the quality of its categories....A content analysis category consists of a number of language signs (words, idioms, phrases, and so on) that together represent a variable in the investigator's theory.

Dunphy, as cited in Stone et al., 1966, p. 134.

A broad outline of the content analysis framework and categories used in this research is shown in Table 2. A simplified table of categories and variables contained in the content analysis framework is set out in Appendix E 1. As mentioned in the previous section the framework structure is divided into three areas of analysis: identification, description, and social capital (Table 2). These three areas are made up of a total of 23 categories, each containing a structure of variables (Appendices E 1 and E 2). A detailed rationale book describing each category and variables' full definition, alphabetical abbreviation, and theoretical source is a necessary procedural tool. The rationale book is included as Appendix E 3. Figure 3 shows the categories referred to as the dimensions of social capital and the effect category. Appendix E 2 also contains the full content analysis framework structure, with definitions and their sources in the literature.

An example of category construction from theory

An illustration of theme and category construction within this study follows, showing how the subject matter classification in the framework was constructed. The subject category (subject topic of each item/article in this study) selection is taken from the *Harvard III Psychosociological Dictionary* (Stone et al., 1966). The dictionary uses first- and second-order tags to describe its categories. Weber (1990, p. 34) describes first-order categories from the *Harvard III Psychosociological Dictionary* as entries assigned on a hierarchical basis representing basic analytic categories and second-order categories, being independent from the first, providing alternative modes of classification.

The second-order tags (Stone et al., 1966) from the *institutional context* group, which form the basis of the study's categories, are as follows:

Academic	Medical	Economic	Recreational
Family	Religious	Legal	Technical
Artistic	Military	Community	Political

Dunphy (1966) explained that the choice of the twelve *institutional contexts* categories was influenced by schemes useful in other areas. For example, the German philosopher, Spranger advanced a six-fold classification incorporated into ‘Allport–Vernon Study of Values.’ The six values areas were the theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political and religious. Dunphy (1966) states the researchers felt it useful to include an additional six values.

Categories within the current study were also drawn from Henningham (1996) who examined the Australian press using content analysis to chart some of the contemporary characteristics of major newspapers. His study was based on Mayer (1964), whose model for analysis was taken from the 1949 British Royal Commission’s analysis. Henningham (1996) investigated all the major cities’ daily newspapers taking a sample of twenty issues for each newspaper, totalling 217 newspapers, and 15,990 stories, concentrating on editorial items. A schema of 35 content categories was developed drawing on those in previous studies (Mayer, 1964; McQuail, 1977, as cited in Henningham, 1996).

The 12 ‘tags’ cited above had initially been expanded to 20 by including categories cited in Henningham (1996) who developed his schema of 35 content categories from Mayer (1964) and McQuail (1977, as cited in Henningham, 1998). The 16 variables chosen after pilot studies for the subject category, being a combination of both studies are:

Accidents/Disasters	Agricultural	Artistic	Community
Economic	Education	Human interest	Legal
Media	Medical	Military	Other
Political	Recreational	Religious	Sport

A second category developed from the subject category was the subject sub-category, containing 120 variables. As the second pilot study described later in this chapter progressed, the number of variables needed to identify content at that level doubled. The level of detail of the subject sub-category was deemed unnecessary for the purpose of the study, and withdrawn.

Pilot study

A pilot study of four newspapers from 1910, 1940, 1970 and 2000 was followed by a second pilot study comprising twenty newspapers, two from each decade year. The pilot studies contributed to refining the overall categories and clarifying operational definitions across the category structures. The second pilot study became necessary because, as the initial analysis developed, changes to content analysis variables and definitions were needed. For example, in early century community newspapers, a notice, a report and an article were easily confused due to the journalistic style and language of the time. This did not appear to be the case in later newspaper issues. Also in the first pilot study the number of items presented as jokes/ small humorous stories and those as poems/ quotes and morales were numerous and consisted of a small entry or few lines. It was decided to code these small entry items up to the subject category to mark their presence, but that it was unnecessary to code them further.

The most noticeable need for clarification of theme definition and variable and definition within the framework was in the social capital area of the framework, detailed in Figure 3 and Table 7. Reframing and reduction of some of the variables within *Incorgov* further defined in Phase 2 (where the original 37 indicators were firstly reduced to 19 variables) were synthesised into 15 variables. One variable was combined in the pilot, that on reflection, would have made a further contribution to the study and is advised for future media content analysis; the variable, information transparency (Sudarsky, 1998). The presence of *interpersonal and institutional trust* was seen as an overarching variable to encompass information transparency and feeling of trust and safety (Onyx & Bullen, 1997, 2000). An infrequently occurring variable *social ties transcending different community boundaries* (Varshney, 1999) was synthesised into Onyx and Bullen's (1997) variable *tolerance of diversity* (Figure 8).

A theoretical consideration arose with coding of the variable 'trust' in the first category of the social capital area, elements. Trust is acknowledged in literature as a core component of and underpinning social capital. While trust therefore could be seen to arise in some form in all items that were indicators of elements of social capital, other indicators of social capital elements appeared more obvious in the newspaper items. Trust was removed from this dimension as a result of the second pilot study due to this less obvious presence in relation to the other indicators of elements. Before its removal it was and had been included in the combined *Incorgov* variable *interpersonal and institutional trust* (Onyx & Bullen, 1997; Narayan, 1998; NCCR 1999; see Table 7 for origin of synthesis). Figure 2 following, describes the framework and categories.

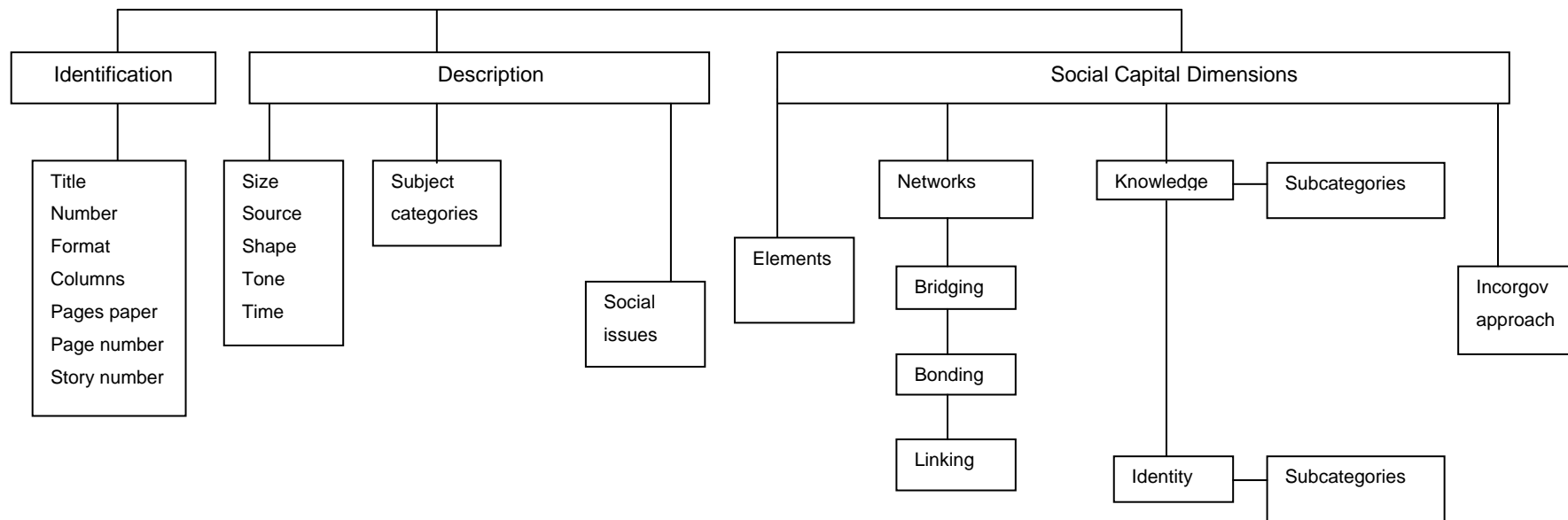


Figure 2 Content analysis areas and categories framework, simplified

Identification

Following usual practice in content analysis (Janes, 1958; Mayer, 1964; Henningham, 1996), the first area of the analysis refers to identification of the newspaper issue by title, newspaper serial number, date, format, columns on page, pages in the issue, page number, and story number on the page. Janes (1958) devised a technique for describing community structure through newspaper analysis, recording social and behavioural characteristics that described elements of community structure. The study represents the most basic elements of content recording. The identification area of the content analysis framework in this study is similar to Janes' (1958) simple framework.

Description

The second area of the content analysis framework, description, identifies the categories (Figure 4) and their variables (Figure 5) by:

- size (following Henningham, 1996)—*full, large, medium, small*;
- source—*civic/council, community body, correspondent, editor, foreign correspondent, other, reader, specialist staff/unacknowledged*;
- shape (following Loo & Hirst, 1995; Gunaratne, 1982)—*article, competition, editorial, joke/humorous story, letters, notice, photo, poem/quote/morale, report, recipe, sports result, story serial*; Loo and Hurst (1995) used a content analysis to investigate bias in press reporting through news items, comment articles, *letters and editorials*, contributing to the shape variables in the current study. While variable measures were not included in a similar form, the investigation of coding photos within content was initiated from Lacy, et al. (1995).
- subject variables (following the *Harvard III Psychosociological Dictionary*; Stone, et al., 1966; Henningham, 1998)—as described in the category section;
- social issues variables contained in the content analysis structure are a combination of indicators from the OECD Social Indicators Report 1982/1986 and the Internet Public Library 2001(<http://www.ipl.org/div/subject/browse/soc80.00.00/>): *command over goods and services, crime, disability, education and learning, employment and quality of life, environment, health/ public/personal safety, housing and poverty, human and land rights, philanthropy and social service time and leisure*.

- tone—including *mediatory, neutral, positive, negative, critical, humorous*; Tuchman and Van Dijk's theoretical guidelines contributed to defining the *tone* category within Loo & Hirst, (1995) which was then applied to the current study's *tone* category.
- time—*current, past, future*, not relevant; and
- horizons (following Henningham, 1996)—*local, regional, state, national, overseas, universal, not relevant*. The horizon category, is defined as news from other geographical regions (Henningham, 1996).

Social capital

Social capital is analysed through four dimensions, drawing on the many disciplines where the concept is used. The dimensions are elements, networks, knowledge and identity resources, and Incorgov. The dimension title Incorgov is derived from a composite of the actors involved, where synthesised indicators explore the items across the 'dynamic alliances' in content located within *individual* (IN), *community* (C), *organizational* ⁵(OR) and *government* (GOV) action and relations. Figure 3 shows the basic structural outline of the four dimensions and their variables.

⁵ *Organizational* would also include private for-profit market sector organisations.

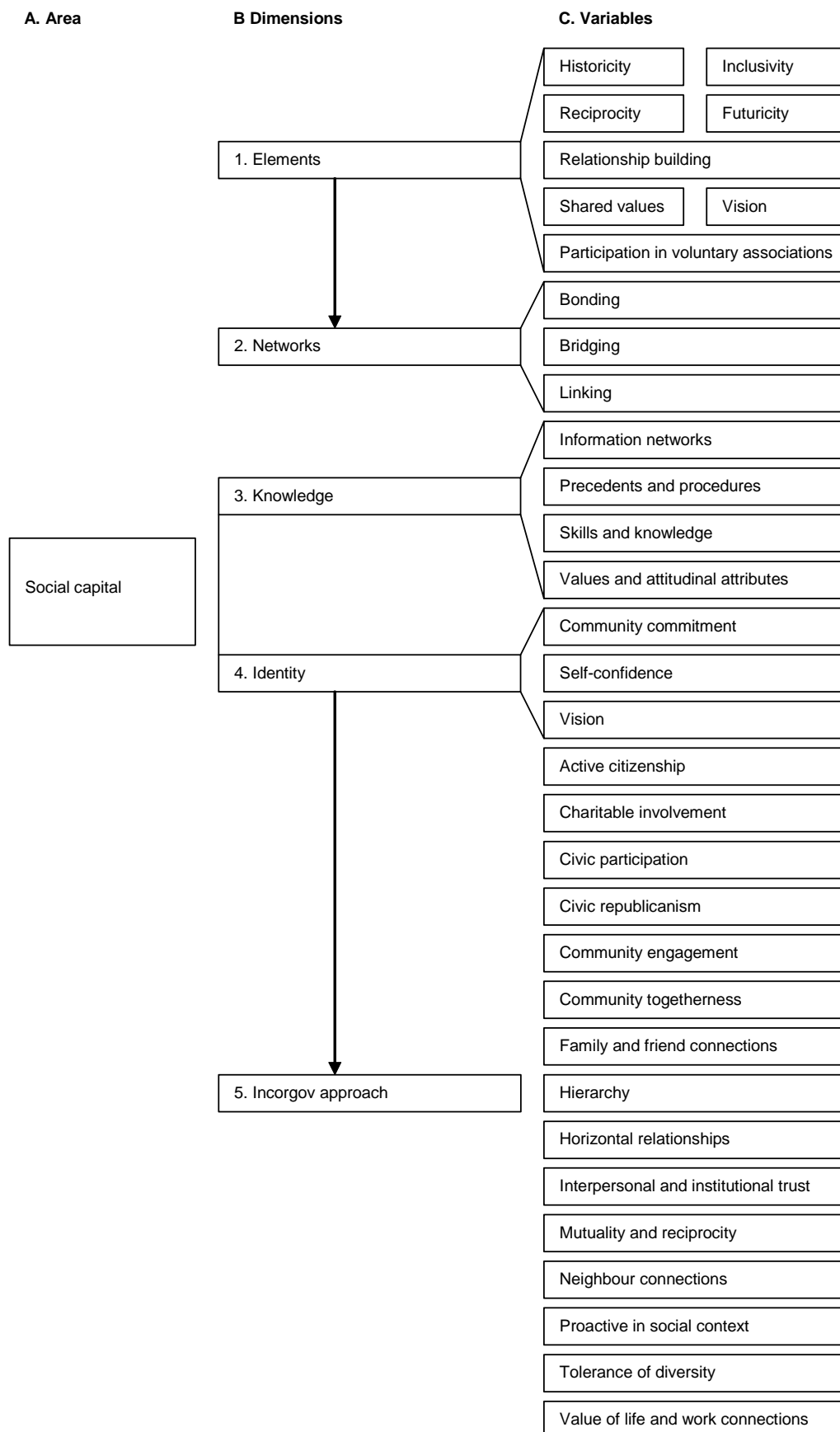


Figure 3 Content analysis social capital area, dimensions and variables:
A multi-level path

The elements dimension of social capital is drawn from a theoretical base. The elements listed are conceptual foci arising from theoretical writings across the twentieth century: futuricity (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000), historicity (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000), inclusivity or inclusion/exclusion, (Loury, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986), reciprocity (Fukuyama, 1995), relationship building (Loury, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986; Cox, 1995), shared values (Halifan, 1916), participation in voluntary organizations (Putnam, 1993, 1995, 2000), and vision (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). These elements were listed and defined earlier in Chapter 2, Table 1.

The networks dimension consists of three components: social bonding, bridging (Coleman, 1990; Gittell & Vidal, 1998) and linking (Woolcock, 1998). Bonding ‘refers typically to relations among members of families and ethnic groups’ (OECD, 2001, p. 42). Bridging social capital refers to ‘relations with distant friends, associates and colleagues’ (OECD, 2001, p. 42). These relations are often referred to as ‘weak ties’. Linking is seen as ‘uncommon interests,’ ties between unlikely partnerships, and ‘refers to relations between different social strata in a hierarchy where power, social status and wealth are accessed by different groups’ (OECD, 2001, p. 42).

The third dimension of social capital is knowledge and identity resources, from a model Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) derived from empirical data. Knowledge resources are knowledge ‘of who, when and where to go for advice or resources and knowledge of how to get things done’ (p. 105). Identity resources are ‘being able to and willing to act for the benefit of the community and its members’ (p. 105). Knowledge resources contained four variables in the content analysis structure: information networks, skills and knowledge, precedents and procedures, and communication sites. Identity resources contained five variables within the content analysis structure: values and attitudinal attributes, self-confidence, trust,⁶ community commitment and vision.

The fourth dimension has been termed Incorgov and follows from the Woolcock and Narayan (2000) study. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) describe the synergy approach identifying social capital as the ‘dynamic professional alliances and relationships between and within state bureaucracies and civil society’ (p. 17). In arriving at this approach, Woolcock and Narayan cite six studies containing 36 indicators formatted in Figure 7. These are synthesised and combine into 15 variables in the Incorgov category of the framework. The final synthesized category variables used in the framework are shown in italics in Table 7.

⁶ Trust and vision are included as elements. Trust was not coded in elements due to its core position within social capital inter-actions, noted on page 104. Vision was coded twice, both in elements and in knowledge and identity resources. Future coding of vision should limit the variable to the latter dimension.

The indicators representing the synthesis in the study are italicised in Table 7.

Table 7 Indicators from which Incorgov variables were derived

Barry and Manno, (NICE) (1998)	NCCR (1999) National Commission on Civic Renewal	Varshney (1999)	Onyx & Bullen (1997)	Sudarsky (1998), based on World Values Survey	Narayan (1998)
Giving climate	Political participation	Inclusivity	Participation in local community	<i>Institutional trust</i>	Density of groups
<i>Community engagement</i>	Political and social trust	Social ties transcending different community boundaries	<i>Proactive in social context</i>	<i>Civic participation</i>	Heterogeneity of membership
<i>Charitable involvement</i>	Associational membership		Feeling of trust and safety	Political participation	<i>Interpersonal trust</i>
Spirit of volunteerism	Family integrity		Neighbourhood connections	<i>Mutuality and reciprocity</i>	Participation in groups
<i>Active citizenship</i>	Stability		<i>Family & friends connection</i>	<i>Horizontal relationships</i>	Volunteerism
	Crime		<i>Tolerance of diversity</i>	<i>Hierarchy</i>	Heterogeneity of everyday social interactions
			<i>Value of life & work connections</i>	Social control	<i>Community togetherness</i>
				<i>Information transparency</i>	
				<i>Civic republicanism</i>	

On the following page an example of text taken from the *Circular Head Chronicle* of 21 April 1910 shown in Table 8 is coded. It has been coded across the content analysis frame of 23 categories using ordinal and nominal coding. Each coded variable is identified using coding symbol and in full.

Data collection

Data collection for the content analysis was achieved by coding each item within a sample newspaper directly into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet across each of the categories of the content analysis. The total number of items coded was 6724 from the 200 sampled issues. Table 8 is an extract from the content analysis framework format in Microsoft Excel. The direct application of coding into a computer limited errors in transferring data for analysis.

**Table 8 Item and coding
example content
framework**

Identification	Paper	CH
	Vol	3
	No	197
	Date	21.4.10
	Form	T Tabloid
	Pages in paper	4
	Col	7
	Page	2
	Item.	5
Description	Size	M Medium
	Source	S/UN/Staff/ Unacknowledged
	Shape	R report
	Subject	C Community
	Tone	P Positive
	Time	P Past
	Horizon	L Local
Social capital	Elements	SV Shared values
	Networks	BR Bridging
	Knowledge and identity	I identity
	sub-categories	SC Self-confidence
	Incorgov	CT Community togetherness
	Effect	BO Building outcome

Tennis Club

The idea has been mooted to establish a Public/tennis Club in Stanley, and a meeting has been convened to bring back the suggestion to fruition. In order to raise funds for laying out of a court, a grand concert was given in Shaw's Hall last Thursday evening by Stanley and Smithton talent, assisted by the Wayback Dramatic Club. There was a fairly large audience considering the super abundance of amusements that has been engaging public attention of late and the profit of over 5 pounds resulted. The concert was a big success, the programme being varied and every item received its due share of appreciation. Mr. A Penrose, acted as the chairman, and the programme contributed was as follows; -

Overture, Dorothy - Mrs Cowley; Song, A pack of Cards - Mr E Anthony
Cornet Duet - (tripled tongue polka) Messrs Smith and Holmes
Song, Lullaby - Mrs C Smith; Recitation, Only a Tear - Miss Freeman
Song, Always in the Way - Miss L Anthony.
Comic Song, Stick to me tight- Mr E Hazelwood (encored)
Trombone solo, The Village Blacksmith - Mr Penrose; Piano solo, Gavotte, Miss Myra
Mouth Organ selection, Mr Godfrey;
Duet, San Toy - Mrs Cowl and Miss C Smith;
Miss M Wilkins and Mars Cowley manipulated the accompaniments.

The chairman, after thanking the people for their patronage, intimated that a public meeting would be held shortly to form the club, and it was anticipated a strong membership would be enrolled.

The entertainment concluded with the production of that amusing farce "Sour Grapes". It went off splendidly, each part being splendidly sustained, and the costumes of the principals added to the merriment. The general get up was excellent. The characters were ably taken by: Mr F G Hargraves as Ephraim Bateman (a man with a jealous wife). Mr A W E K Grubb as Jonathan Waddell (his bachelor wife). Miss M Wilkins as Miss Dorothy Snooks (a meddler) Mr Alan Young, (maid of all works). The piece was most amusing and sent the audience home in a thoroughly good humour. A dance held subsequently was very well attended. The proceeds from the concert and the dance were about 7 pounds.

It is probable the Dramatic Club and a party of entertainers will give a concert at Forest shortly in aid of the same object

Source: *Circular Head Chronicle*, 21 April 1910, p 2.

The report coded in Table 8 describes a community subject and interest. It is positive in both tone and content. The social capital element most apparent is shared values, shown by the response from the community members active in raising funds. The identity resource, self confidence was being built and is noted in the success of the benefit, the acknowledgement of performers and building of community through a successful response showed community togetherness. The idea and vision, the community response and various contributions suggested that the report reflected a social capital outcome. The report was instrumental in building social capital in that the communication of the project, and event, would build social capital further within the community by reinforcing the community's ability to act together for mutual benefit.

Content analysis method

Neuendorf (2002) states that content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the subjective method and suggests considerations that relate to the quality of the content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002), as follows. These considerations include: attention to objectivity–inter-subjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing (p. 10), and are not limited as to the type of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented (Neuendorf, p. 10).

Objectivity–inter-subjectivity

Biases are avoided through description or explanation of a phenomenon (Neuendorf, 2002). All human inquiry is inherently subjective (Berger & Luckman, 1966, as cited in Neuendorf, 2002). Human inquiry leads us to strive for objectivity with the knowledge that consistency is sought through agreement. This form of objectivity is termed inter-subjectivity (Babbie, 1986; Lindlof, 1995, as cited in Newman, 2003). In the current study the coder aimed to overcome bias by constantly using code books describing category variables and their definition.

A priori design

A priori design is where all research design decisions on variables, their measurement and coding rules must be made before the observations begin (refer to section on Pilot study earlier in this section, page 104). Kuhn (1970, as cited in Neuendorf, 2000) suggests that the fixed coding schemes in content analysis appear to have limited creativity and innovation, meaning that coding cannot be changed as the research progresses and understanding grows. Neuendorf (2002) however suggests that the creative processes and innovation can be used in the preliminary exploration work and can be viewed as a combination of induction and

deduction. This is prior to and explored in pilot studies, 'before the coding scheme is set in stone' (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 12). The current study employed two pilot studies to investigate the initial framework categories and variables. From the first pilot study, some category variables were redefined. At the second pilot study a subject sub-category was removed as it did not appear relevant to the total subject, and further reduction and refining of categories occurred. In the current study, in devising and exploring conceptual and operationalised constructs in the process of determining categories and themes, creativity and innovation was possible. The researcher also consulted a wide range of literature as a foundation, and therefore had a good understanding of the variables before the coding commenced. There was less innovation in categories outside of the social capital area. The content analysis framework structure was scrutinised by a number of colleagues working in the area of social capital research prior to its implementation. It was also presented at the Australian Sociological Association Conference (TASA, 2001), as a design for critical feedback prior to commencement (McManamey, 2001).

Reliability

Reliability means dependability or consistency where results are able to be replicated under the same conditions (Neuman, 2002, p. 178). Reliability is chiefly aided through clearly conceptualized constructs, use of precise levels of measurement, use of multiple indicators, and pilot tests. Inter-coder reliability in content analysis is defined as agreement among coders based on the assumption that explicitly defined and accepted concept definitions control assignment of content to particular categories by coders (Riffe et al., 1998, p. 105.). Neuendorf (2002) raised questions as to the reliability of many studies and includes formulas for calculating inter-coder reliability. Riffe et al. (1998) suggest the three steps to achieve reliability are definition of categories, training of coders to apply those definitions, and further, the assessment of reliability through inter-coder reliability tests.

Henningham also applied inter-coder reliability (Holist, 1969), calculated on the proportion of agreements to decisions by two coders (using a sample of the data), agreement was 93% for contents classification. Percentage agreement was used in calculating intra-coder reliability in the current study.

In the content analysis, where investigator triangulation—'use of several different researcher or evaluators' (Janesick, 2000, p. 391)—was not possible, time separation of coding was undertaken by the one coder and intra-coder reliability measures were carried out. Intra-coder reliability was recorded at two six-month intervals. Neuendorf cites Tinsley and Weiss (1975) as noting

It is important to demonstrate that the “obtained ratings are not the idiosyncratic results of one rater’s subjective judgement” (p. 359) this means that even if the principal investigator does all of the coding, a reliability check with a second coder is necessary’ (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 142).

Further, two assessments for reliability were trialled with two research associates familiar with the concept of social capital. Loo and Hurst (1995) report a sample of articles were coded and recoded ‘after continual discussions of our intuitive responses’ (p. 111). Trials were conducted after the first pilot study and during the data gathering process. The two checks performed by two independent coders skilled in the concept and theoretical background of the framework of social capital enabled weaknesses in a number of definitions to be identified, discussed and then clarified. The second coder was tested during the main coding period and recorded 84% agreement.

Intra-coder reliability was assessed at 74% one month after main coding began. Intra-coder agreement was 82% on a ten per cent sample size at a further six-month interval. Neuendorf (2002) discusses reliability for manifest verses latent content coding suggesting:

objectivity is a much tougher criterion to achieve with latent than with manifest variables, and for this reason we expect variables measuring latent content to receive generally lower reliability scores. Obviously this indicates a need for greater coder training efforts in instances of latent-content coding (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 146).

Generalizability

Generalizability of findings is the extent to which findings may be applied to other cases, ‘usually to a larger set that is the defined population from which the study’s sample has been drawn’ (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 12). Miles and Huberman (1984) make the point that where qualitative researchers have used multi-site, multi-case design with multiple methods; the intent is to increase generalizability in processes and events. This is particularly so in order to show events/occurrences are not wholly idiosyncratic or ‘bent by specific local contextual variations’ (p. 151). This study used multiple cases within a large case to increase generalizability.

Replicability

‘The replication of a study is a safeguard against overgeneralizing the findings of one particular research endeavour’ (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 12). The content analysis framework in

the current study has been applied to community newspapers. The code and definition books could be applied to further research, for example, daily newspapers.

Hypothesis testing

Hypothesis testing occurs through the deductive testing of the hypothesis. 'Measurements are made for each of the variables and the relationship among them is examined statistically to see if the predicted relationship holds true' (Neurendorf, 2002, p. 13). The current study devised three research questions instead of a hypothesis and applied the content analysis to statistical relationships.

Validity

Validity can be defined as 'truthfulness, and refers to the match between a construct, or the way a researcher conceptualizes the idea in a conceptual definition and a measure' (Neuman, 2003, p. 179). Neuman suggests that at its core, 'measurement validity refers to how well the conceptual and operational definitions mesh with each other; the better the fit, the greater the measurement validity' (Neuman, 2003, p. 182). It can also be seen as 'the extent to which an empirical measurement adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration' (Babbie, 2004, p. 134). Francozi (1987) holds that there are two components to any measurement problem: one theoretical, the other empirical. The theoretical component of measurements applies to relationship between empirical indicators and theoretical concepts. He asks, 'to what extent does (do) the empirical indicator(s) chosen measure the concept it is (they are) designed to measure? (p. 6). The current study employs both manifest content coding, seen 'as clearly explicit' (Berelson, 1952; Ball, 1992, p. 26), and latent content, 'when a researcher looks for the underlying implicit meaning in the content of a text' (Neuman, 2003, p. 313). Manifest content coding is applied to coded text into subjects, and descriptive category variables; latent content is involved in coding issue, tone, and the conceptual and theoretical themes underpinning social capital.

Campbell and Stanley (1963) make the distinction between *internal* and *external* validity in experimental research design, where internal validity is seen as the ability to illuminate valid causal relationships, and external validity, as the ability to illuminate the broader relevance of an experiment's findings to the vastly more complex. Riffe et al. (1998) discuss the fact that content analysis cannot achieve internal, causal validity, which pre-supposes knowledge of time and influence of other variables. He suggests there are other methods of strengthening the research procedure in content analysis, such as the pairing of the analysis with a survey. In the current study the content analysis is paired with semi-structured interviews.

As part of external validity Riffe et al. include *social validity*. This can depend on the social significance of the content that the content analysis 'can explore and the degree to which the content analysis categories created by researchers have relevance and meaning beyond an academic audience' (p. 137). This research is relevant to:

- Tasmanian community newspaper staff, wishing to view the issues presented in community newspapers, including within a historical context
- staff of small community newspapers, who may be considering ways of organising ongoing structures for the continuity of their newspapers
- communities where the newspapers were/are located, presenting a chronological view of the functioning and presence of local communication networks and insight into the social capital resources present
- state policy, and community development bodies interested in developing support structures for small community newspaper associations or networks

Data analysis

There was only one procedure used for analysis in the second phase of data collection. SPSS version 11.5 is a statistical software package for analysing quantitative data specifically designed for social science research. Data were transferred from the Microsoft Excel computer program for analysis into an SPSS 11.5 file. Frequency distributions and cross-tabulations identified patterns among the content categories and variables.

Phase 3

The third research question, What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital? was informed by data from the content analysis specific to the area of social capital, and by semi-structured interviews with community newspaper editors/coordinators (Fontana & Frey, 2000). The methodology of the previous Phase 2 described the content analysis framework and discussed the social capital area of the content analysis. This section will address data pertaining to the semi-structured interviews. The methodology applied to answer this research question reflects a third aspect of triangulation of methodology in the overall research design: the first, in Research Question 1, being secondary source analysis; the second, in Research Question 2, being content analysis.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews elicit extensive and rich data in relation to the subject of the research while giving a direction to the interview (Stake, 1995; Burns, 2000). Semi-structured interviews also enable the researcher to get comparable data across a number of subjects (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Patton (1990, p. 278) suggests that the purpose of interviews is ‘to access the perspective of the person being interviewed’ and ‘to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe’ such as feelings, thoughts and intentions regarding past events. Patton (1990) believes that there is no single or correct effective interview appropriate for all situations (p. 357). Patton lays the task and the success of the interview on the interviewer’s ability to help the person being interviewed bring the interviewer back into their world. ‘The quality of the information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewer’ (p. 279).

The difference between structured and unstructured interviews according to Malinowski (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) is that structured interviews ‘aim at capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behaviour within pre-established categories’ and that an unstructured interview ‘attempts to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry’ (2000, p. 653). The disadvantages of the semi-structured interview could be the unequal amount of information filtered through informants (Cresswell, 2003).

The purpose of the semi-structured interview in this study was four-fold. Where the initial structured telephone interview in Phase 1 had initially provided data on: the reason for newspaper establishment, some background history, and production techniques of each community newspaper, adding data not obtainable through other sources, semi-structured interviews provided data on the roles of editors and staff. Semi-structured interviews also provided data pertaining to the role of the community in contributing to the paper. Information related to voluntary participation in the process of production of the paper was obtained. Data obtained from the interviews were also used as a resource for comparison with the results of the content analysis.

Permission to conduct the interviews

Approval from the Human Ethics Research Committee, University of Tasmania was given to conduct 16 semi-structured interviews with the editors/coordinators of each sample community newspaper. Project Information Sheets, Subject Question Sheet and Statement of Informed Consent sheets are included in Appendix D.

Data sources collection and analysis of interviews

Using a purposive sampling strategy (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2000), editors/coordinators of the sample newspapers were identified and deliberately sought as being able to provide the most comprehensive perspective. Where publications had closed a former staff member was available. Data were gathered from taped telephone semi-structured interviews and two face-to-face interviews. Prior to the interview, participants had received the Subject Information Sheet, Statement of Informed Consent, and Study Questions which had been submitted to and approved by the University of Tasmania Ethics Board (Appendix D 2).

Respondents were asked the same set of six guiding questions with an open-ended response. Each interview lasted between 20 minutes and one hour. A synopsis of the interviews is contained in Appendix M. A thematic analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Babbie, 2004) was performed. The themes arose from the data in a way similar to a grounded theory approach.

Bias in selection

The selection of editors/coordinators/representatives of each newspaper presents a possible bias in that other community members may have held different views. Bias could also occur through the use of production staff and not community members, giving a limited perspective of the newspaper's functions within and impact on the broader community. Time and scope of the study did limit further sampling of community members. The purpose for which the interviews were intended, that is, to contribute to triangulation of a set of data to compare and contrast, was achieved.

Credibility

Janesick (2000) discusses credibility in case studies in terms of how researchers have offered 'alternative ways of thinking about descriptive validity and the unique qualities of case study work' (p. 393). Validity in qualitative research has to do with whether the description and explanation fit the study and whether or not the explanation fits the description. Cross-checking through a number of audit and member checks is suggested. Within the current study journal notes were taken at the first telephone conversation (see Phase 1) to maintain thread or topics arising spontaneously out of the set questions. A cross-check was performed by interviewees being given relevant results sections for verification and approval to publish. This fulfils the requirement of the ethics approval for the study.

Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the ability of outsiders to audit data collection process and product; that is, the ability of outsiders to determine correspondence between researcher inferences and participants' intended meanings (Stake, 1995; Janesick, 2000). Miles and Huberman (1994) relate confirmability to 'transparency of method', whereby quantitative conventions require clear explicit reporting of data', qualitative data requires 'an added internal need, keeping analytic strategies coherent, manageable, and repeatable as the study proceeds' (p. 439). Consistency and issues of researcher bias can be addressed through a number of strategies. Advantages gained from conducting the semi-structured interviews in this research were the ability to confirm and build on data gathered in the content analysis and expand the background to newspaper establishment and production beyond that available in published records or archives.

Transferability

Transferability refers to the ability to transfer findings from one setting to another. This qualification can be linked back to generalizability within quantitative research tradition as described earlier for the previous research question.

Limitations

Sample selection of independent community newspapers was based on chronological sequence, providing an uneven geographic spread of publications across time. Selection of some newspapers was due to availability of complete microfilm and hardcopy issues. Records were available for the community newspapers, though in some cases, all issues were not available.

Statistical analysis was limited to simple frequency and cross-tabulations which provided patterns of community newspaper establishment, and patterns of community issues and interests in content derived from the subject and social issue categories within the content analysis. Further statistical analysis, for example through factor analysis, would aid future investigations of the research topic.

Computerized data analysis of microfilm is available. However, there are no computer facilities for accessing microfilm in Tasmania. This facility would aid data processing and analysis and would be a major benefit for future investigations.

Summary of Chapter 3

A case study method was applied to the current study using multiple data sources. The overall nature and purpose of the study was an investigation of the relationship between social capital and community newspapers. The establishment of a databank of information pertaining to community newspapers in Tasmania was initially undertaken. Secondary and interview data pertaining to a sample of 16 community newspapers was compiled. From the application of a developed content analysis to the independent community newspapers, data pertaining to patterns of content, issues and interests over time were identified. The content analysis framework, developed from literature and exploring the concept of social capital, is examined in the following chapters. The use of qualitative modes of enquiry, construction of the content analysis framework and quantitative investigation and analysis of data, contribute to the validity, credibility and generalizability of the study. Findings are presented in Chapter 4, while interview data are included in Appendix M. Discussion of findings and analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

Results

Fifteen years ago about 3000 bicycles were annually produced in England. Last year over 500,000 were manufactured.

Circular Head Chronicle, 5 October 1910, p. 4.

Introduction

The purpose of the study is to explore the relationship between community newspapers and social capital by analysing the content and investigating the timing of the establishment and production of independent community newspapers published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000. This chapter is structured around the findings resulting from the three research questions, presenting the results of analysis of data gathered from a sample of independent community newspapers in Tasmania. It is arranged in three sections, reflecting the three research questions.

Research Question 1: Community newspapers in Tasmania

- (a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- (b) Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

Research Question 2: Issues in community newspapers

- (a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- (b) How have issues been presented?

Research Question 3: Community newspapers and social capital

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

Research Question 1

Reflecting the subject matter of the quote from the *Circular Head Chronicle*, at the beginning of Chapter 4, Research Question 1 data pertains to patterns of growth and trends. The response to Research Question 1 is derived from an analysis of the records of community newspapers in the archives of the State Library of Tasmania (SLT). Responses to Research Questions 2 and 3 were derived through content analysis and a small amount of descriptive analysis of semi-structured interviews. The response to Research Question 1 overviews all independent community newspapers in Tasmania (Appendix A) and then more specifically those defined as ‘arising and published in their own geographic locale’ (Appendix B). The main focus of the thesis is in the response to Research Questions 2 and 3.

1 (a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000?

This section looks at two aspects of community newspapers published in Tasmania in the decades from 1910 to 2000. Firstly, the numbers of independent Tasmanian newspaper publications of both *community of interest* and *community of geographic locale* are outlined. Secondly, independent community newspapers in Tasmania that have arisen and been published in their own *geographic locale* are tabled. It is from within this group that the community newspapers sampled for the thesis are drawn, and to which the focus of the research questions is applied.

Data in this section are presented relating to the following figures and tables:

- independent Tasmanian community newspapers established from 1900 to 2000, with publication details (Appendix A)
- establishment of independent community newspapers of geographic locale in each decade year (Appendix B).

The SLT archives record 120 entries categorised as Tasmanian community newspapers that were published in the period 1910 to 2000. The 120 entries include community newspapers produced both independently and by mainstream media organisations. They include independent newspapers representing both *community of interest* and *community of geographic locale*. Within the SLT archives, community newspapers that have changed names are considered to be new entries. Entries include community newspapers that were

produced for only one or two issues. From the 120 recorded community newspaper entries, 85 independent newspapers reflecting *community of interest* and *community of geographic locale* are listed in Appendix A. Commercial mainstream newspaper organisations published the remaining newspapers. Appendix A contains publication commencement dates, titles, geographic publication areas, publication frequency and dates of closure or amalgamation, if relevant. Of the 85 community newspapers, 67 are independent Tasmanian community newspapers *of geographic locale* that have been or were in production for over 12 months. Figure 4 identifies the publication origin and scope of community newspapers as established from the SLT archives.

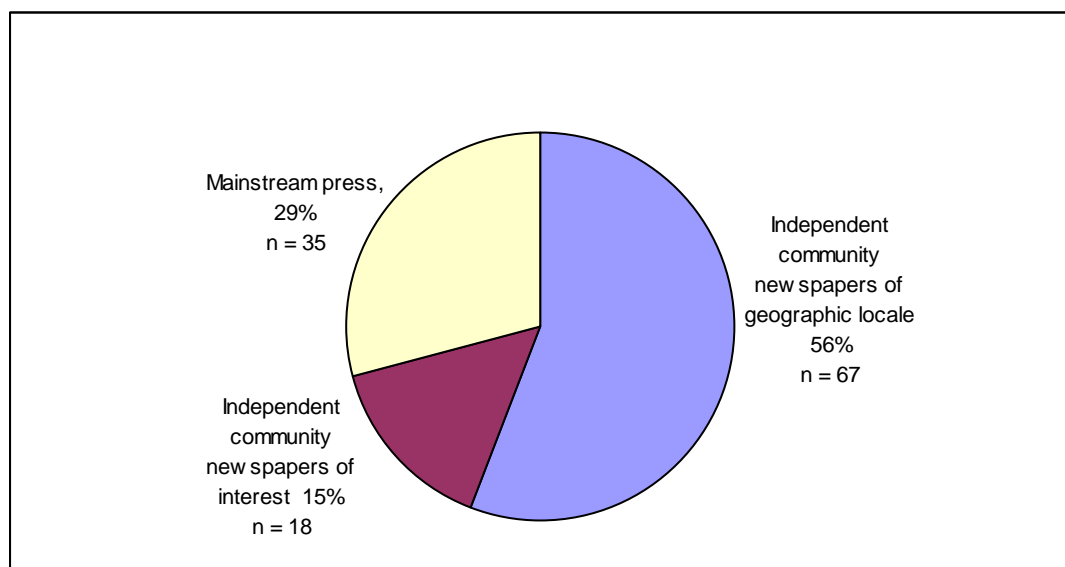


Figure 4 Publication origins 1910–2000

Source: *State Library of Tasmania records*

The 67 independent Tasmanian community newspapers of geographic locale (56% of community newspapers recorded in the SLT archives) are listed in Appendix B under the decade in which they commenced. If a newspaper was established and closed in the same decade, or became a commercial/non-independent publication prior to the actual decade year, this is noted in the third column from the left. Appendix B illustrates continuity of newspapers across the decades.

The 16 community newspapers sampled for content analysis in this study are highlighted in the table. The selection of the sample 16 community newspapers was discussed in Chapter 3, Methodology. While the content analysis began with the decade year 1910, Appendix B indicates the actual establishment date of newspapers that were in production at that first decade year.

Figure 5 summarises community newspaper production over the period under study and gives information indicating the numbers of new newspapers in each relevant decade and the number of newspapers in production at each decade year. The number of newspapers published at any one time reached a peak of 30 in the decade year 2000.

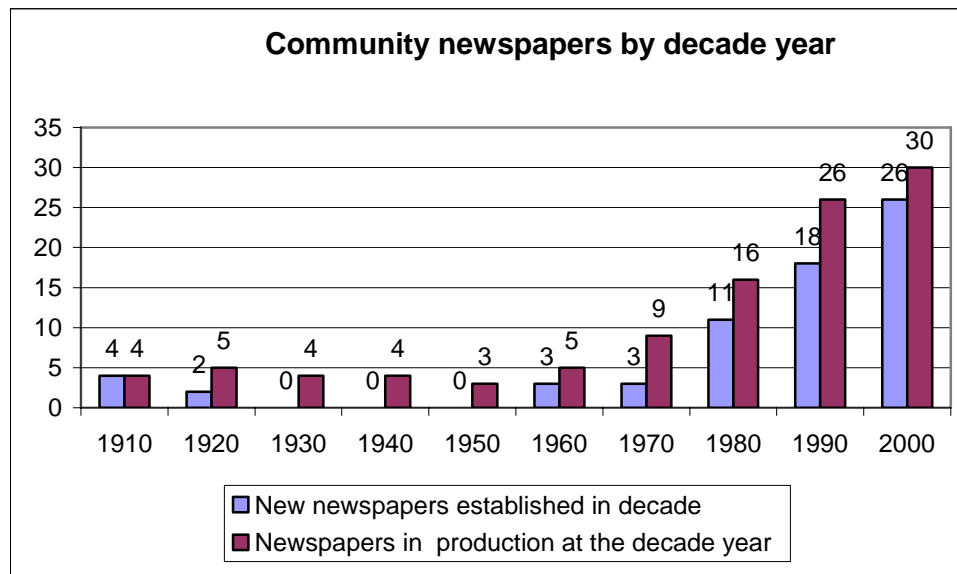


Figure 5 Number of community newspapers in production by decade year, 1910 to 2000

Figure 5 shows that a 330% increase in newspapers in production occurred between the 1970 decade year and 2000. It could also be said that there was a six-fold increase in newspapers in production between the 1960 decade year and 2000. Figure 6 following shows the timing of newspaper establishment in the period under study.

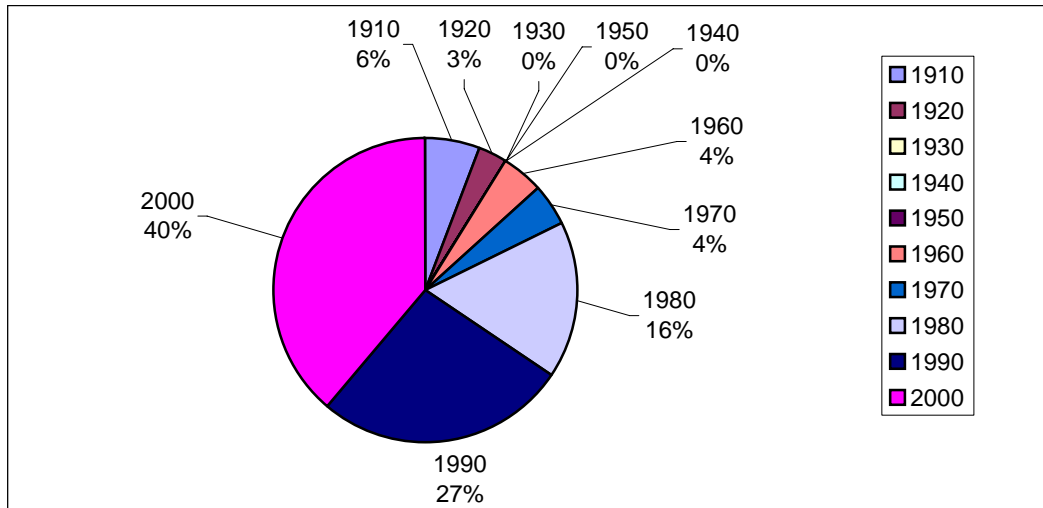


Figure 6 Newspapers by year of establishment, 1910 to 2000

From Figure 6 it is evident that 83 per cent of the independent community newspapers were established in the last three decades of the twentieth century. However, during this period the number of newspapers that closed also increased. Figure 7 shows that almost half of the newspapers that were started during the century had closed by 2000. Almost half of the closures (48%) were in the period 1970 to 2000.

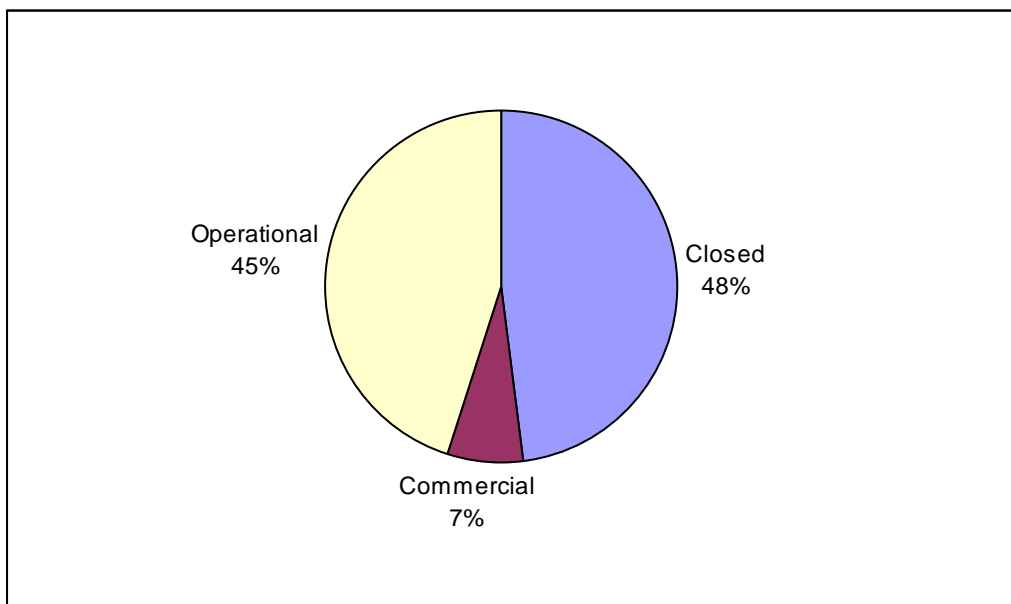


Figure 7 Tasmanian independent community newspaper status as at 2000

Of the total sample of 67 newspapers which commenced operation in the period studied (1910 to 2000), only 45% were functioning as independent community newspapers at the year 2000.

In the following section, the timing of newspaper establishment and closure is related to economic and social factors by considering changing population patterns over the century.

1(b) Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

This component of Research Question 1 considers the geographic distribution of newspapers and relates it to population change over the twentieth century, and changing economic and social factors, which are considered through the lens of population change. It focuses on the 16 community newspapers sampled as examples of the changes in community newspapers in Tasmania across the period under study. In this section, two groups of data are related: the geographic distribution of newspapers over time, and population growth and change; comparing the commencement of production of each of the sample Tasmanian community newspapers to population growth.

Examination of these two groups of data produces a background which, when related to the results of the content analysis in the following section, frames the discussion that follows in Chapter 5.

The areas served by and supporting the 16 sample independent community newspapers as listed in Table 9 are indicated by numbers on the map in Figure 8 following. Tasmanian independent community newspapers were established predominately in rural areas. Geographically, the locations of the sample community newspapers in Table 9 and shown on Figure 8 are 27 to 137 kilometres from state major regional centres. The one exception to this geographic pattern, the *Devonport Times*, caters for an urban population (pop.24,279), being located in the third-largest urban centre in Tasmania. It however may also be considered as a rural municipality due to the source of the city's major industries.

ABS 2001 Census of population (ABS, 2003) indicates that in Tasmania out of 101 urban centres and localities, there are 99 communities containing a total of less than 25,000 persons. Therefore, the proportion of community newspapers established in communities (94%) is similar to the proportion of population centres that are rural. Also, of the 101 urban centres and localities there are 65 localities containing less than a total of 1000 persons.

Table 10 shows the population figures in 12 of the areas relating to the community newspapers at each decade year and includes the population of Tasmania at each decade year. Figures for two small population areas in the table were not available until later decade years.

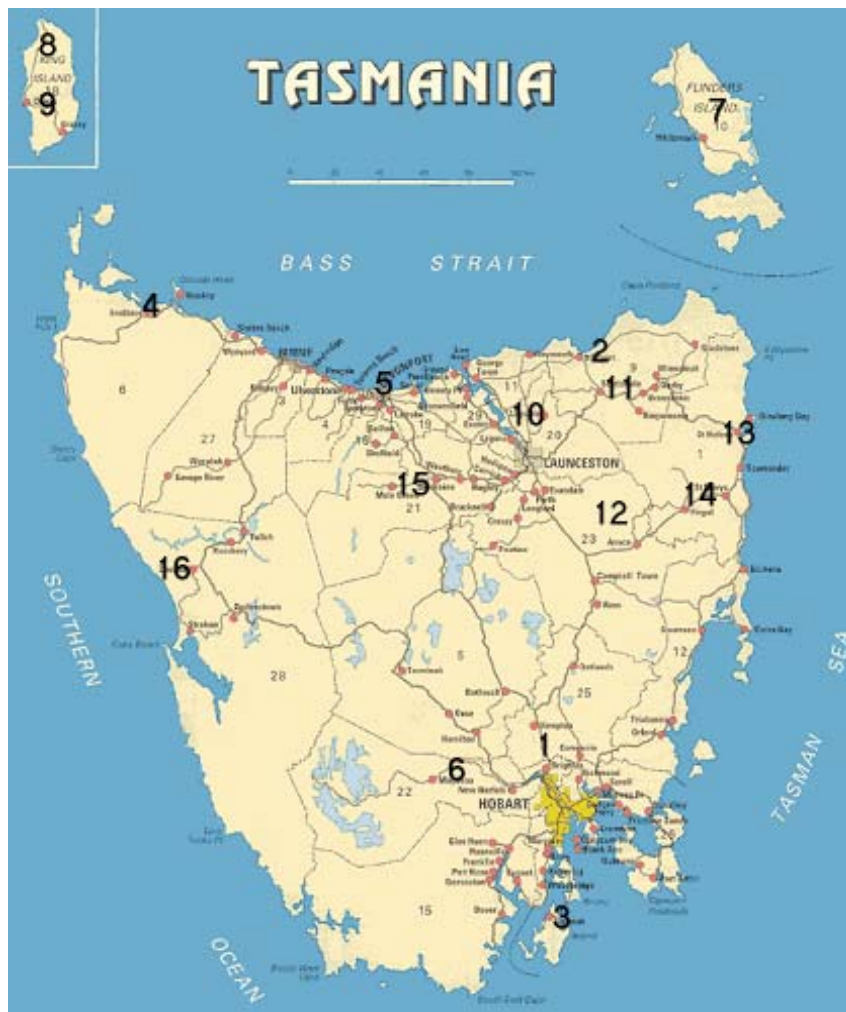


Figure 8 Location of sample community newspapers

**Table 9 Sample community newspaper locations, commencement dates,
area population in 2000**

Number on map	Publication dates	Paper	Abbrev.	Population in 2000	Circulation in 2000
1	1977–	<i>Bagdad News</i>	BDN	680	400
2	1995–	<i>Brid rePort</i>	BRP	1,234	200-250
3	1980–	<i>Bruny News</i>	BYN	680	250
4	1906–	<i>Circular Head Chronicle</i>	CH	8108	2,500
5	1998–	<i>Devonport Times</i>	DEV	24,279	10,000
6	1910–	<i>Huon Times (Huon Valley News)</i>	HT/HVN	7,259	2000
7	1954–	<i>Island News</i>	IS	875	200
8	1983–	<i>King Island Courier</i>	KINC	1,719	1,000
9	1912–1989	<i>King Island News</i>	KINN	N/A	NA
10	1981–	<i>Lilydale Progressive</i>	LP	1,000	750
11	1909–	<i>North Eastern Advertiser</i>	NEA	7,097	2,900
12	1991–	<i>Rossarden Mountain re-echo</i>	RMR	100	80-90
13	1998–	<i>St. Helens Herald</i>	SH	750	250
14	1962–	<i>Valley and East Coast Voice</i>	VEC	700	300
15	1980–	<i>Western Tiers</i>	WT	10,000	2,000
16	1989–	<i>Zeehan Community News</i>	ZN	750	120

Table 10 Population figures in Tasmania by area 1910 to 2000

Location	Map	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Bagdad	1	No census for area until 1996									682
Bridport	2	No census for area until later decades						591	855	980	1352
Bruny	3	647	642	580	679	760	504	311	320	500	581
Circular Head	4	4269	5467	6597	6755	7700	7733	7958	7770	8020	8053
Deloraine	15	5779	5904	5561	5467	5500	5574	4805	4900	5460	Change
Devonport	5	4859	6168	6579	9100	12,160	14,276	19,761	22,990	25,110	24,279
Fingal	12 & 14	3680	3404	3655	3609	4050	4475	3438	2890	2880	Change
Flinders Island	7	No census	905	1003	853	1000	1407	967	1000	1050	890
Huon	6	3617	4011	5037	4991	5460	5460	4752	4940	5220	Change
King Island	8 & 9	766	1040	1216	1699	2100	2784	2801	2700	2050	1719
Lilydale	10	3769	3012	2581	2477	3760	6744	8301	9160	Change	Change
Scottsdale	11	2591	2905	2754	2742	3570	3417	3598	4190	4560	Change
Strahan		1011	943	722	532	510	565	442	420	520	701
Zeehan	16	5726	3124	1868	2466	2760	3191	4373	6110	3614	5520
Population of Tasmania		190,894	213,780	220,644	243,507	294,397	350,340	398,073	418,957	462,188	471,409
*Census date		4. 4. 1911	14. 4. 1921	30.6. 1933	30.6. 1947	30.6. 1953	30.6. 1961	30.6. 1971	30.6. 1981	6.8. 1991	2001
Source		Walch's Almanac, 1915, p. 299	Walch's Almanac, 1921, p. 302	Walch's Almanac, 1934, p. 275	Walch's Almanac, 1944, p. 401	Walch's Almanac, 1953, p. 172	Walch's Almanac, 1962, p. 465	ABS, 2001	Tas Year Book, 1982, p. 131	ABS, 2001	ABS, 2001

Note: Change indicates areas that underwent council amalgamations in 1993, (in the Lilydale area in the late 1980s)

* Population figures for each decade year have been extrapolated from census figures by the ABS and earlier government bodies.

Location in Table 10 is defined as the geographic limits of municipal council boundaries. Table 10 indicates population changes in the 12 municipalities that are associated with the 16 sample community newspapers across each decade from 1910 to 1990 and, in some areas, up to the year 2000. Population details were not readily available for some areas due to local government amalgamations, and boundary changes in 1993 as noted in the table. For example, the Huon and Deloraine areas were both included or amalgamated with other municipalities in the year 2000. No entry for Lilydale appears in the 1990 column, as rapid population growth saw sections of the Lilydale area absorbed into the nearby regional centre in the mid-1980s.

The population at 2000 in each newspaper's local area ranges from 100 to 24,000 people. A population increase in the two largest cities in the state is reflected in Table 10 in the year giving the population of the state. Although there was an overall increase in population in Tasmania between 1991 and 2000, a decline in population for many of the areas is noted. The table records chiefly a decline in population in regional and rural areas. Examples of changes recorded in Devonport and King Island give an indication of this pattern. The population of Devonport, Tasmanian's third-largest city, was 25,110 in 1990, and dropped to 22,229 in 1996. It rose again to 24,279 by 2000.

Due to boundary changes and population change, only five areas show real increase from 1910 to 2000. Five areas show net loss of population between 1910 and 2000. Only one area (Circular Head) from the twelve in which the sample newspapers were located has shown a consistent increase in this period, due to a boom in aquaculture, forestry, dairy and vegetables plus secondary industry developments supporting the growth.

The population changes in municipalities (shown in Table 10) across the twentieth century reflect changes associated with mining, industry, energy and rural industries, including forestry and fishing. The significant immigration in the late 1940s and the 1950s driven by the growth of the hydro-electricity industry on the West Coast, and in Central and South Tasmania was followed by a mass out-migration of the workers and their families returning to the mainland (*Tasmanian Year Book*, 2000).

Changes in mining, transport and fishing industry activities on the West Coast are reflected in the population figures of Strahan and Zeehan. The population pattern in the Zeehan area, which represents the West Coast area, fluctuated across the century and reached its highest level at the 1981 census. The town itself had a much smaller population noted in Table 9. The population figures in 1990 for the overall area had been reduced by 18% of the 1980 numbers.

While Table 9 gives the background of sample independent community newspapers (commencement dates, population figures and circulation numbers), further background of the 16 sample newspapers, including local industries, competition (being other community newspapers that may overlap or be published in the area), production mode, staff, and notable changes to the paper, is included in Appendix C. Data show that newspapers are predominately rural and details from the Appendix furnish a background to a number of areas in the study; newspaper closure, production mode, organisation and changes over time, contributing to discussion in Chapter 5. Data gathered for Appendix C from structured interviews (Appendix C 2) also inform circulation figures presented in the first section of this research question.

Population characteristics and distribution

The general pattern of population distribution in Tasmania across the period studied varies from the other, mainland, states of Australia. In 2000, 58% of the population of Tasmania lived outside the major city as opposed to 30% of the population in other Australian states. In 2000, 32% of the population of Tasmania lived in rural areas and centres outside of the state's four cities, Hobart, Launceston, Devonport and Burnie. Twenty-one percent of the population of mainland Australia lived in rural centres and areas (Kenyon & Black, 2001). Tasmania had the lowest rate of population growth of all states in the twentieth century. It also varies in that there were several periods of declining population across the last century in Tasmania, but this was not so in other states. Figure 10 demonstrates that periods of declining population in Tasmania are periods of net migration loss. The fact that emigration occurs mainly in the 18 to 35-year-old population group has affected population growth through natural increase in the state. Tasmania now has the second-oldest population in Australia after South Australia (Jackson & Heard, 2000; Campbell, 2003). The median age of the population in Tasmania July 2004 (ABS 2004) is 38.1 years. The median age of the population on the mainland of Australia is 36.7 years.

Demographics and change

Historically, the period of greatest population growth in Tasmania was at the end of the nineteenth century (*Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999). The source of this growth was immigration related to the mining industry, starting in the 1870s; moderate growth from immigration was seen again in the periods after both world wars, and more vigorous growth, related to development of hydro-electric power stations, was recorded in the late 1940s through to the early 1950s. Tasmania had one of the youngest populations in Australia in 1965 due to natural increase (rate of births and deaths) (Personal communication, Dr Natalie Jackson, November 2002; *Atlas of Tasmania*, 1965). After a net migration loss from 1996 to 1998, the ABS identified the period after 2000 as one of a return to growth, although predictions indicate the state will be the oldest population state by 2010 (Jackson and Kippen, 2001).

Tasmanian population size and change across the decades ending 1910 to 2000 are shown in Figures 9 to 11.

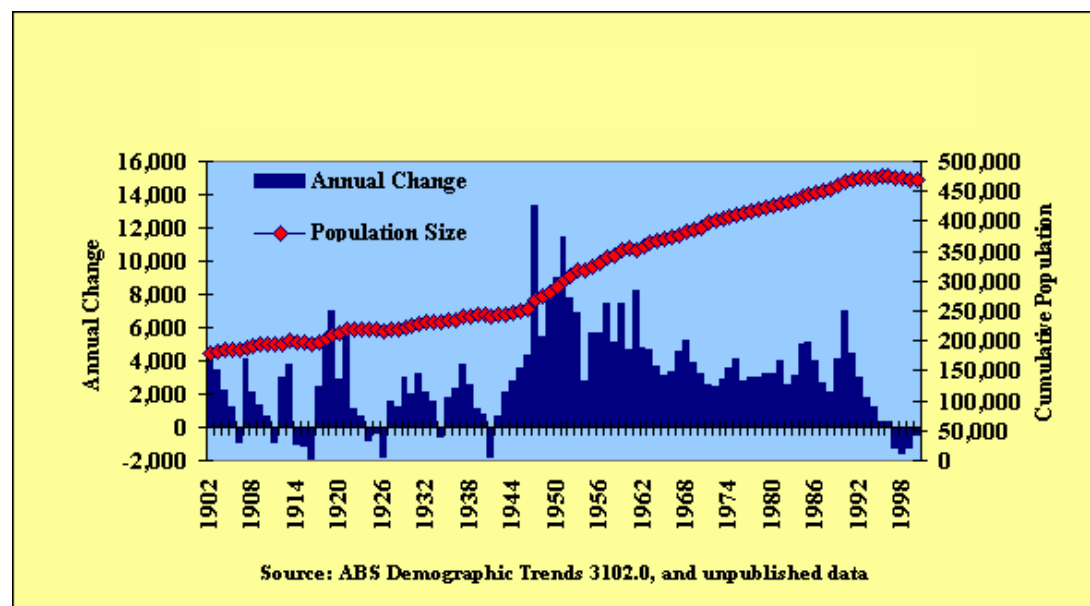


Figure 9 Tasmanian annual and cumulative population growth, 1901-2000

Source: Jackson, N. O. (2004) *Tasmania's Population*, School of Sociology and Social Work, University of Tasmania (<http://www.taspop.tasbis.com>)

Figure 9 shows Tasmania experienced population growth across the century except for the years 1906, 1910, 1914–1917, 1924–1926, 1934, 1940 and 1996–2000. Figure 10 analyses changes by detailing the population change according to natural increase and migration.

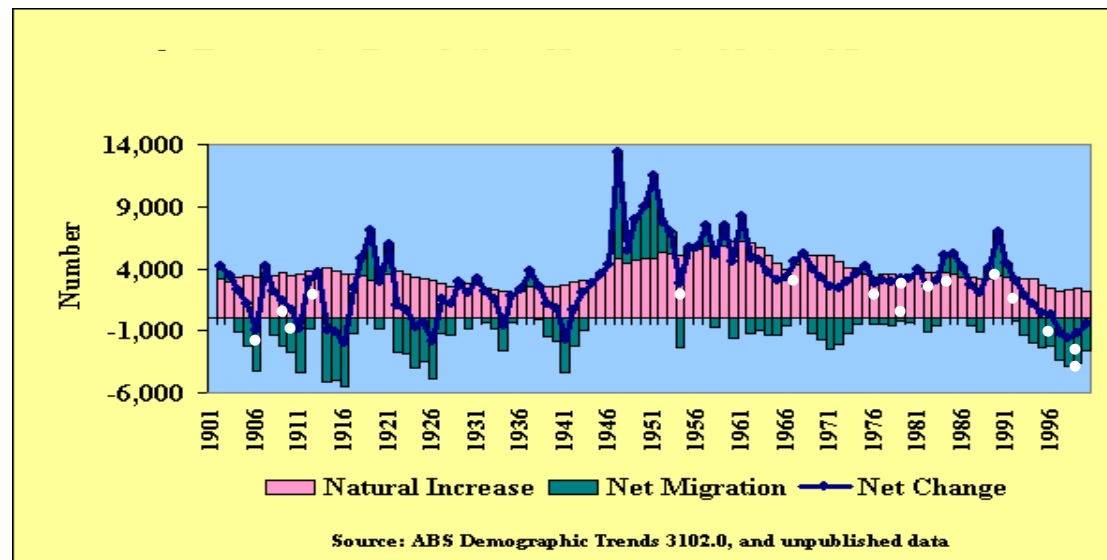


Figure 10` Tasmanian population change by natural increase. Net migration and net change 1910–2000

Source: Jackson, N. O. (2004) *Tasmania's Population*, School of Sociology and Social Work, University of Tasmania (<http://www.taspop.tasbis.com>)

Figure 10 shows overall Tasmanian population change by natural increase, net migration and net change 1901–2000 describes population change over the twentieth century. The white dots in Figure 10 represent the commencement dates of each of the sample community newspapers in relation the long-term trend of population growth. Most newspapers were established at a time of net out-migration, including a number of periods of population decline. Net emigration from Tasmania has occurred in 64 years of the twentieth century (Jackson & Kippen, 2001). The greatest increase in new community newspapers occurs in the last and steepest trough of population change from 1991 to 1999. Figure 11 following contains diamond markers representing the year of establishment of all new independent community newspapers of geographic locale over the century. The position of each diamond is in relation to the right-hand axis, which indicates the number of newspapers established.

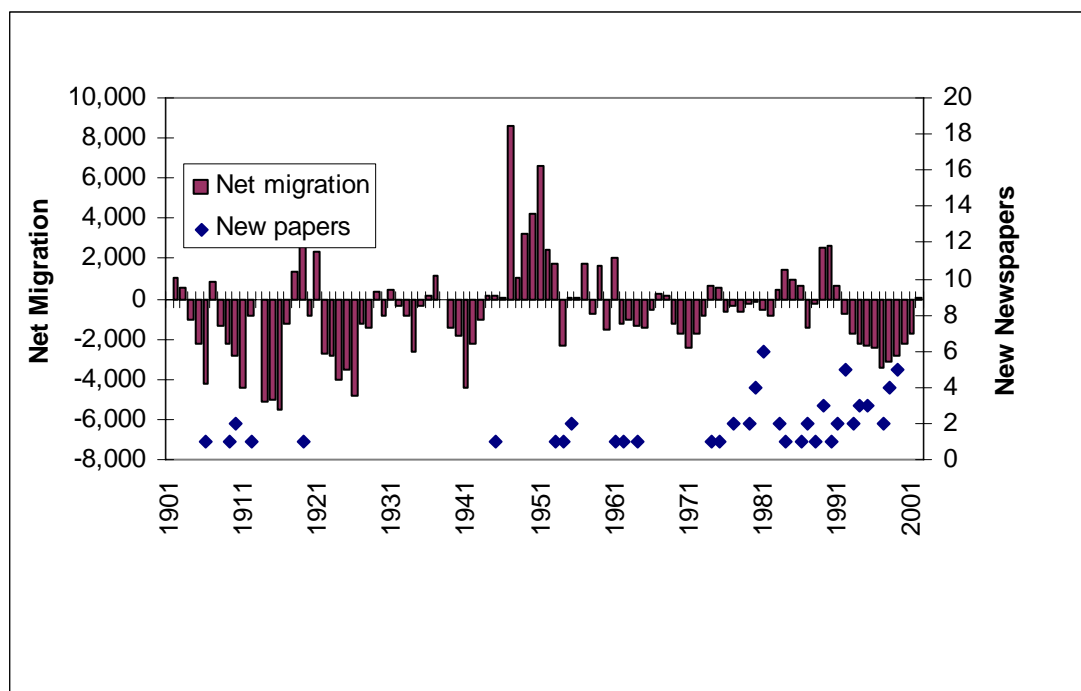


Figure 11 Net migration patterns and introduction of community newspapers in Tasmania 1901 to 2001

Source: Jackson, N.O. (2004) *Tasmania's Population*, School of Sociology and Social Work, University of Tasmania (<http://www.taspop.tasbis.com>)

There is a possible relationship between net migration and numbers of new community newspapers. Their commencement dates are shown in Appendix B. Of the 67 newspapers established over the century, 53 (79%) were established in periods of net migration loss. It appears there is a weak negative correlation between the level of net migration loss and numbers of new papers established over the period 1906 (when the first paper *Circular Head Chronicle* was established) and 1999 (when the most recent papers were established)⁷. However, when the ability of communities to publish is taken into account, and only the period 1974–1994, when changes in technology impacted on the ability of communities to publish is considered, a stronger negative relationship between net migration and newspaper establishment⁸ is noted.

⁷ Pearson $r = -0.05912$

⁸ Pearson $r = -0.3$ correlation

Population and newspapers established per capita

In this section, the population figures in Table 11 are related to newspapers in publication at the end of each decade year. Table 11 shows the number of people per newspaper published in Tasmania in each decade year.

Table 11 Newspapers in production by decade year and newspapers per capita total

Decade year	Newspapers in production	Tasmanian population	People per newspaper
1910	4	190,894	47,723
1920	5	213,760	42,752
1930	4	220,644	55,161
1940	4	243,507	60,876
1950	3	294,397	98,132
1960	5	350,340	70,078
1970	9	398,073	39,807
1980	16	418,957	26,184
1990	26	456,700	17,565
2000	30	472,931	15,764

Table 11 depicts an increase in the number of people per independent community newspapers. Numbers of people per newspaper have dropped by two-thirds since the first decade of the twentieth century. While natural increase of the population occurred across the twentieth century, community newspaper numbers did not keep pace until the 1970 decade year, after which an increase in new newspapers was reported. Where there was a community newspaper for every 60,876 people in 1940, the most noticeable changes in number of people per newspaper occurred in the period from 1950 to 1970. When considering the population figures in Table 9 and Table 10, it must be noted that all but one of the community newspapers were located in rural areas. Rural areas suffered a general depopulation during the twentieth century, while the urban Tasmanian population rose (Kenyon & Black, 2001).

Summary

Analysis of data addressing Research Question 1 has identified the independent community newspapers published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000 with the focus on community newspapers *of geographic locale*. Change relating to the areas supporting and serviced by the sample of 16 community newspapers has been observed in relation to population and industry. The data provides a background for further analysis of results related to the community newspapers. In summary, there have been 120 community newspapers recorded

in the records of the State Library of Tasmania, comprising commercial and independent newspapers, further made up of community newspapers of interest and of geographic locate, the latter being the focus of the current study. The establishment of new newspapers (Appendix B) relates to periods of emigration and declining population (Figure 11). Of the newspapers established, 94 per cent arose in rural areas, indicating a trend to the establishment of community newspapers where de-population is chiefly occurring.

Research Question 2

A Russian chemist has discovered a most powerful anaesthetic, several thousand times more powerful than chloroform. Experiments are being made in St Petersburg to see if it cannot be enclosed in bombs, which would have the extraordinary effect of anaesthetising instead of wounding the enemy.

Circular Head Chronicle, 5 October 1910, p. 4.

Not unlike the newspaper item opening the section on Research Question 2 the content analysis contributes to a deeper understanding and exploration of the potential of the research topic. The data used to address Research Question 2 are gathered from a content analysis of newspaper items from the sample of 16 independent community newspapers in Tasmania identified in Research Question 1. A stratified sample of four issues from each decade year from 1910 to 2000 was selected. As described in Chapter 3, Methodology, 6724 items were coded.

Issues reported in community newspapers in Tasmania were coded to the variables described in the content analysis framework categories (see Chapter 3) of *subject* (Stone et al., 1966; Henningham, 1998) and *social issues* (OECD, 19982/1986, Internet Public Library, 2001). How issues were presented in the sample newspapers was shown by variables within the categories *format*, and *size*, and described by *shape*, *photo shape*, *tone* and *horizon* categories (see Appendix E 1—Table of categories and variables; Appendix E 2—Content Analysis Framework, categories, variables, code and definition; and Appendix E 3—Code definitions and rationale book). Items contributed from authors and editors, and the physical origins of items in the community newspaper were identified and described by the variables in the *source* category variables.

The data gathered for Research Question 2 are presented in this section under the following headings: proportion of items in sample newspapers; issues defined by subject and social issue variables; subject category; social issue category; size; shape; photo shape; source; tone and horizons. This is followed by a summary of content in each decade year.

2(a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period from 1910 to 2000?

Proportion of items in sample newspapers

Table 12 indicates each newspaper's contribution to the study. The table contains the distribution of items processed in the content analysis, according to the sample newspapers.

Table 12 Percentage of items by newspaper

Newspaper	Abbreviation	Total (%)
<i>Bagdad News</i>	BDN	2.7
<i>Brid rePort</i>	BRP	0.4
<i>Bruny News</i>	BYN	3.2
<i>Circular Head Chronicle</i>	CH	18.5
<i>Devonport Times</i>	DEV	1.4
<i>Huon Times</i>	HT	20.3
<i>Island News</i>	IS	7.9
<i>King Island Courier</i>	KINC	2.6
<i>King Island News</i>	KINN	9.9
<i>Lilydale Progressive</i>	LP	1.3
<i>North Eastern Advertiser</i>	NEA	20.5
<i>Rossarden Mountain Re-echo</i>	RMR	1.2
<i>St. Helens Herald</i>	SH	1.0
<i>Valley and East Coast Voice</i>	VEC	2.5
<i>Western Tiers</i>	WT	5.5
<i>Zeehan Community News</i>	ZN	1.1
		100.0

The percentage of items contained in each newspaper (Table 12) is loosely related to the duration of each newspaper's years in production. The number of items from each newspaper in each decade year is shown in Appendix F 2. Newspapers established during the first two decades make up a larger proportion of all items coded. Thus, the greatest numbers of items are recorded within the four earliest established community newspapers: the *Circular Head Chronicle* (1906), the *North Eastern Advertiser* (1909), the *Huon Times* (1910) and the *King Island News* (1912). All four are independent community newspapers run as fully commercial businesses (See Appendix C 1 for background). The three earliest established newspapers supplied 59% of the total percentage of items analysed. When the commercial independent community newspaper *King Island News* is included, the proportion of items analysed from

the four newspapers reaches 70%. That is, 25% of the 16 sample newspapers provided 70% of the data. For newspapers established and operating over the last 3 decades of the period studied, there is little relationship between number of items in papers (see Appendix F 1) and period in production.

Issues defined by subject and social issue variables

Issues identified in this study are coded to *subject* and *social issues* categories, as indicated in the methodology. The following section identifies the occurrence in content of variables from these two categories. It also identifies key interest in issues in a cross-tabulation between the two.

Subject category

The *subject* category contains 16 variables. Shown in Figure 12 are each variable's proportion in relation to the total sample.

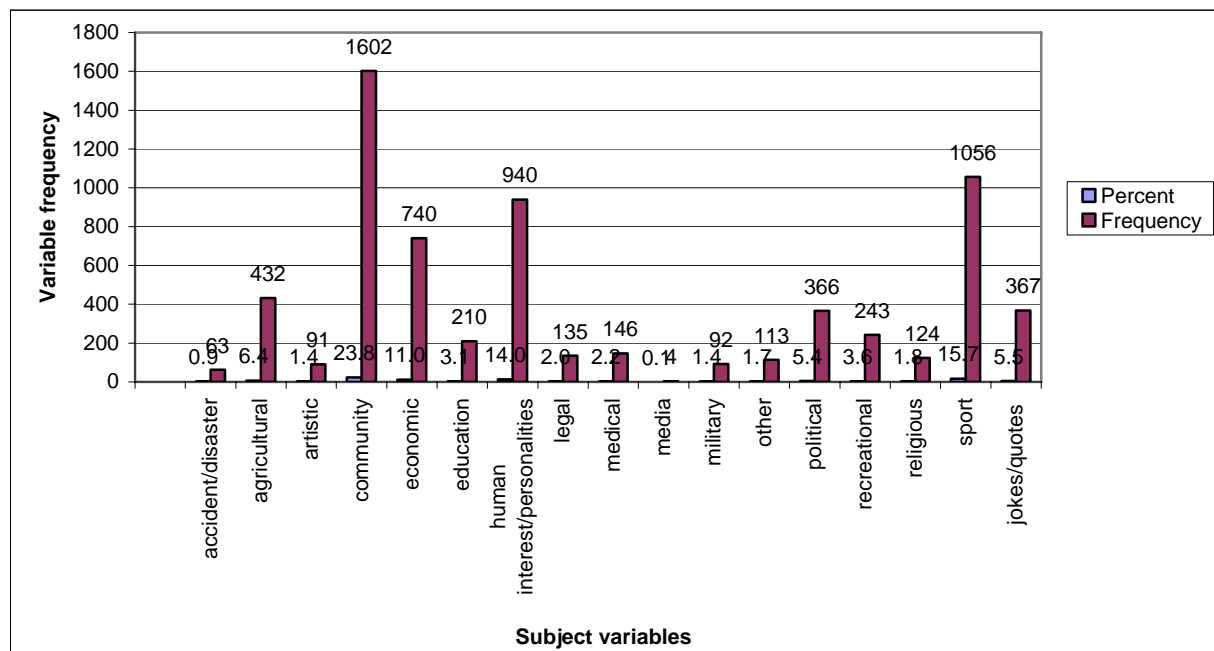


Figure 12 Subject category variables in the total sample, 1910 to 2000

As described in Figure 12, the key subjects are community, sport, human interest and economic, which occurred most frequently over time. Also noticeable are a large number of infrequently occurring subject variables. Table 13 shows the proportions of the subjects in each decade year. The occurrence of the subjects over time is visible in Table 13.

Appendix F 2 gives proportions of subject variables reported in each sample newspaper. The graphs in Appendix G 1 describe subject variables over time.

Table 13 Subject variable frequency by decade year (%)

Subject variable	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Accident/ Disaster	2.4	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.7	2.0	1.1	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.9
Agricultural	11.4	7.6	11.4	8.2	6.8	7.9	8.2	2.5	4.1	3.6	6.4
Artistic	3.9	0.5	2.1	2.6	0.7		0.2	1.5	1.2	0.8	1.4
Community	12.5	14.9	11.3	17.0	19.1	24.7	19.4	30.5	33.1	32.3	23.8
Economic	7.7	15.4	11.9	10.8	13.0	13.8	12.5	12.8	7.9	9.9	11.0
Education	0.2	2.6	0.6	1.0	0.9	3.1	3.2	6.2	5.5	3.6	3.1
Human interest/ Personalities	23.8	18.0	17.6	20.0	19.8	12.2	15.0	8.9	8.6	9.7	14.0
Legal	6.3	3.8	2.9	1.1	1.4	1.3	2.3	0.1	1.1	1.8	2.0
Medical	2.0	2.6	1.6	3.6	2.4	0.8	0.7	2.4	1.7	2.9	2.2
Media				0.2		0.3				0.2	0.1
Military	0.6	1.2	0.6	6.2	2.1	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.6	1.4
Other	0.6	4.7	2.5	4.1	1.2	2.0	1.8	0.6	0.6	1.2	1.7
Political	5.7	7.6	6.3	4.4	7.8	3.6	4.1	4.1	5.6	5.8	5.4
Recreational	2.4	5.4	5.1	5.7	3.8	5.1	3.2	1.9	3.1	2.9	3.6
Religious	0.9	0.5	1.4	0.8	1.4	2.0	2.9	2.5	3.3	1.4	1.8
Sport	7.0	11.3	9.5	8.0	13.7	19.9	21.7	23.4	20.5	15.5	15.7
Jokes/Quotes/ Poems/Moral	12.5	3.3	13.5	5.4	4.2	0.3	2.7	1.5	2.5	7.3	5.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the variable with highest proportion in each decade year.

Key changes in the subjects of content that occur between human interest/personalities items and community items are evident in Table 13. Human interest/personalities items occurred in the greatest number in each decade year until 1950 when community became the most frequently occurring subject. The correlation between the percentage of community items and time was $r = .093$ (Appendix G 2). A trend of decreasing proportion of in human interest/personalities items, in, and after, the 1960 decade year can be noted. Correlation between human interest/personalities and time was $r = -0.89036$ (Appendix G 2). From 1960 community items became the subject of highest frequency in content, with the exception of in 1970 when sport recorded the highest proportion of items.

Distribution of individual subjects over time relates to social history and economic factors over time, (such as military highest at the beginning of World War II in 1940). Some less expected patterns were noted. Agricultural items appeared highest in 1910 and 1930. Considering that 94 percent of the sample papers were located in rural areas, the small proportion of content coded agricultural was of interest. Accidents and disasters were frequently reported in the earliest decades. Similarly legal matters and court cases were contributed more to content in 1910, representing the need for the community newspapers to relay national and international events equivalent to the role of the daily papers of the times. A brief glimpse of the reporting of legal cases is noted on the following page from the *Huon Times*, 1910, 19 February, p. 6, ‘Woman’s Story’ and ‘A Chauffer’s Courtship’, followed by ‘Bogus Klondike and Welsh Mountain Tours’.

In Appendix G 1, individual subject variables are graphed to compare change over the decade years studied. Specific patterns emerge in each variable over time, for example, the drop in artistic content between 1910 and 1920 flagged changes to social life and cultural practice, such as the rising popularity of movies as documented by Robson (1987). Table 13 showed that education appeared with the greatest frequency in 1980 and 1990. The difference compared with that of other decade years corresponds with the commencement of production of *the Bagdad News* in 1977 and the *Western Tiers* in 1980. These papers were produced by school principals, assisted by school staff and local community members. Appendix N 1 shows how subjects in the sampled papers vary over time.

Individual newspapers showed no particular patterns of subjects over time until the last two decade years; rather, subjects appeared related to social and economic history. In the last two decade year the number of subjects in the older and larger population papers were higher (e.g. 1990, *Circular Head Chronicle*—11 subject variables) than small population and newer established papers (e.g. 1990, *Zeehan Community News*—8 subject variables) seen in Appendix N 1.

Social issues category

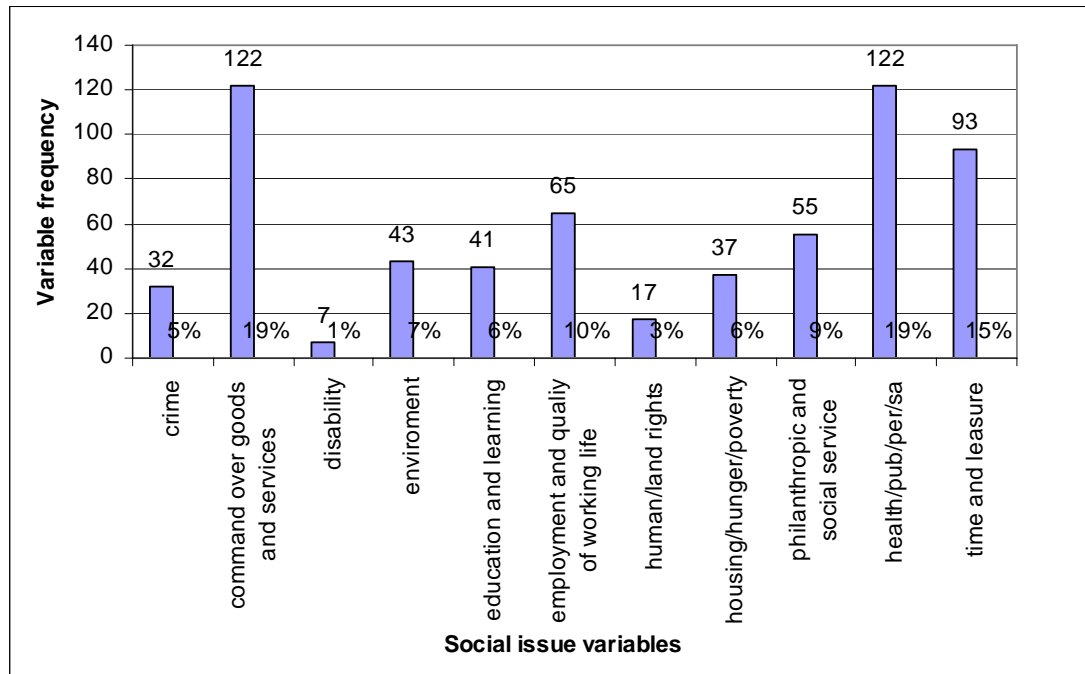


Figure 13 Proportion and number of social issue variables

Figure 13 shows the number of items coded to social issues variables, which represent only a small proportion of the subject category. Less than 10% of the total items analysed were coded to social issues variables ($n = 634$). Figure 13 shows the highest number of items occur in command over goods and services and personal and public safety issues followed by time and leisure and employment and quality of working life. The least represented social issues in the independent community newspapers are related to disability and human and land rights. Although there are some issues with small frequencies, of interest are the decade years in which they occur and their relationship to world and local history. Table 14 following contains the proportion of social issue items coded for each decade year.

Table 14 Social issue variables: Percentage within decade year

Social issue variable	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Crime	1.7	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.7		0.3	0.2	0.5
Command over goods and services	3.7	2.8	1.8	0.8	1.4	2.9	1.4	2.0	1.4	1.3	1.8
Disability		0.2		0.7					0.1	0.1	0.1
Environment		0.7	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.2	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.6
Education and learning	0.2			0.2	0.7	1.3	0.9	1.6	0.7	0.5	0.6
Employment & Quality of working life	0.4	1.4	2.3	1.3	0.9	1.1	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.0
Human/Land rights	0.2		0.5	0.3	0.2	0.3			0.5	0.3	0.3
Housing/ Hunger/ Poverty	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.1	1.2	0.6	0.6
Philanthropic and Social service	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.2	0.5	0.2	2.0	1.0	1.1	0.8
Health/Public/ Personal safety	0.6	0.2	0.6	1.5	3.1	1.9	2.1	3.2	2.7	1.5	1.8
Time and leisure	0.2	0.5	1.4	1.8	1.2	0.5	1.1	1.1	2.4	1.8	1.4
Not social issues	92.6	92.4	91.8	91.3	91.3	89.8	92.2	88.5	88.0	90.8	90.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the variable with highest proportion in each decade year

While the social issues, command over goods and services and health, public and personal safety are the most frequently occurring social issues, the latter occurs with the greatest frequency in five consecutive decade years, from 1950 to 1990. Command over goods and services, is the most frequent social issue in 1910 and 1920. In 1930, employment is coded as the most frequently occurring social issue. It is interesting to note the higher occurrence of philanthropic and social service in 1940 in comparison to the surrounding decade years. These frequencies suggest a trend of community activity in voluntary associations and social service in 1940 during the war through the various war efforts and after the 1970 decade year. Health/public/personal safety occurs higher in 1940, than the early decade years. Table 15 following shows a cross-tabulation of subjects and social issues. It is from this table that a pattern of issues and interest in the community newspapers becomes apparent.

Table 15 Cross-tabulation between subjects and social issues: Percent within subject variables

Subject	Accident/Disaster	Agricultural	Artistic	Community	Economic	Education	Human interest/ Personalities	Legal	Medical	Media	Military	Other	Political	Recreational	Religious	Sport	Jokes/Quotes	Total
Crime				0.1	0.3		0.1	20.7										0.5
Command over goods and services		5.8		0.3	10.0		0.2						4.4					1.8
Disability				0.1	0.3						3.3	0.9						0.1
Environment	1.6	0.7		0.7	2.2		0.7	0.7	0.7				0.5					0.6
Education and learning		0.2		0.4	0.7	11.4	0.1						0.5			0.1	0.3	0.6
Employment and Quality of working life		2.8		0.1	6.2	0.5					1.1		1.1					1.0
Human/Land rights			1.1	0.2			0.1	1.5	1.4		1.1		1.6					0.3
Housing/Hunger/ Poverty		0.5		0.9	0.1		0.6	0.7	4.8				1.4					0.6
Philanthropic and Social Service		0.2	1.1	2.9			0.4			25.0	1.1		0.3					0.8
Health/Public/ Personal safety	11.1	0.9		2.7	4.6	0.5	0.5	1.5	3.4	25.0	5.4		4.1					1.8
Time and leisure		0.2	1.1	2.8	0.4		0.4							8.6		1.7		1.4
Not social issues	87.3	88.7	96.7	88.8	75.3	87.6	96.7	74.8	89.7	50.0	88.0	99.1	86.1	91.4	100.0	98.2	99.7	90.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shaded items show subjects highest occurrence

A number of key issues are identified by combining the two categories subjects and social issues in Table 15. The table provides an indication of where each subject was placed in relation to social issues (e.g. agriculture was reported highest in relation to command over goods and services). It also provides a breakdown of what subjects were most frequently reported in each social issue (e.g. subjects most frequently reported in command over goods and services were economic, and agricultural, followed by political). The highest represented subject item, community, occurs most often in relation to philanthropy and social service, followed by time and leisure.

Appendix H 1 shows social issues occurring in each sampled newspaper. Appendix H 2 and Appendix N 2, expand on the Table 15 cross- tabulation between subject and social issue findings and show patterns over time. For example, crime is frequently reported in 1910 which also corresponds with the greatest frequency of legal. Command over goods and services items have the highest incidence of reportage in 1920, when they cross-tabulate with the large percentage of items coded as economic.

2 (b) How have issues been presented?

This section describes how issues—coded as subject and social issue—are presented in community newspapers. Items are coded firstly by physical identification of format, which is the presentation of issues in a whole newspaper; and secondly by descriptive form: size, source, shape (Gurathne, 1982), and photo shape, tone and horizon (Loo & Hirst, 1995). While format and size are included for possible relevance to research issues relating to publication methods, key categories in the current study are source and shape. Tone relates to the subjectivity or objectivity with which the issues are presented. The following section presents data related to these categories under the headings: format, size, shape, photo shape, source, tone and horizon.

Format

The format of community newspapers occurring in each decade year is identified in Figure 14 following.

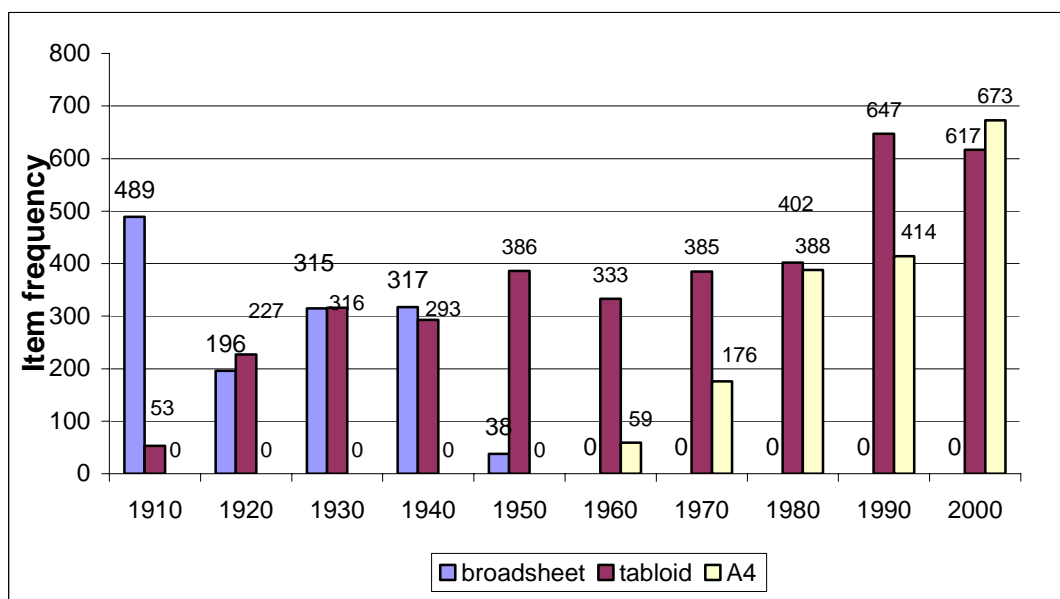


Figure 14 Format of community newspapers at each decade year by items

Figure 14 contains the number of items in each newspaper format over time. The key facts that emerge from the chart above are firstly, the generally high number of items in the early decade year shown as broadsheet and secondly the A4 format in 1960 emerging in the 1960 decade year.

The format of the sampled community newspapers for each decade year from 1910 to 1940 shows a pattern of production in line with that of the traditional newspaper industry. There is a steady increase in the occurrence of tabloid format in the following decade years. The majority of community newspapers appear in A4 format from 1970 to 2000. The most significant finding arising from Figure 14 is the inclusion of A4-format newspapers, increasing to become the generic format of community newspapers by 2000 in Tasmania.

Size

Items analysed from the total sample of community newspapers were distributed by size as follows: full page items (7% of all items); large articles/items (14%); medium items (26%); small articles—a quarter page or less (53%). Size of item cross-tabulated with newspaper format is shown in Table 16 following.

Table 16 Item size by format

Format	Measurement unit	Size				Total
		Full page	Large	Medium	Small	
Broadsheet	No.	4	153	273	1036	1466
	%	0.3	10.4	18.6	70.7	100
Tabloid	No.	132	535	984	1897	3548
	%	3.7	15.1	27.7	53.5	100
A4	No.	354	245	492	619	1710
	%	20.7	14.3	28.8	36.2	100
Total	No.	490	933	1749	3552	6724
	%	7.3	13.9	26.0	52.8	100

Table 16 indicates that the small is the dominant item size in all newspaper formats. Tabloid newspapers recorded the greatest number of small items, despite 70% of items in broadsheets being coded as small. The tabloid newspapers published more than twice the number of items of the other two formats. This high percentage relates to the length of time the format was used over the century, as shown in Figure 14. Appendix N 7 shows how size occurred in each newspaper over time. Appendix N 9 shows how size and format relate over time.

Shape

Shape is defined in the methodology as the form in which items are presented in the newspapers. The shape category has 12 variables. Table 17 depicts the frequency and percentage of items across the total sample by shape.

Table 17 Shape of items in sample

Shape variable	Frequency	Percentage
Article	1094	16.2
Competition	28	0.4
Editorial	36	0.5
Letters	335	4.9
Notice	963	14.3
Photo	163	2.4
Poem/Quote/Moral	125	1.8
Report	3222	47.9
Recipe	76	1.1
Story/Serial	85	1.2
Sports results	340	5.0
Joke/Small humorous story	257	3.8
Total	6724	100.0

Reports comprised the greatest percentage of items, followed by articles and notices, 78% of items being coded to those three variables. Table 18 depicts the shape variable by decade year.

Table 18 Decade year by shape: Percent of items

Shape	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Article	45.8	12.8	22.8	19.5	18.9	13.3	12.5	15.9	6.5	10.2	16.3
Competition	0.2		0.2	0.2	0.2		0.9	0.4	0.3	1.0	0.4
Editorial				0.2			1.8	0.8	0.4	1.2	0.5
Joke/Small humorous story	10.0	2.8	11.3	3.9	1.7	0.3	1.1	0.6	1.1	5.0	3.8
Letters	3.0	4.3	2.4	1.8	1.2	3.1	3.0	8.4	9.7	5.6	5.0
Notice	7.7	14.2	9.4	6.2	9.0	10.2	13.7	18.5	22.7	17.2	14.3
Poem/Quote/Moral	3.1	0.7	4.8	1.5	1.7		0.4	0.8	2.0	2.3	1.9
Report	26.0	63.6	42.8	60.3	59.4	63.5	48.1	39.6	47.7	45.3	47.9
Story/Serial	2.8	0.2	2.4	2.5	0.2	1.0	1.1	1.3	0.6	0.9	1.3
Sports results		0.7	1.7	1.0	4.5	8.4	11.1	10.3	6.8	4.1	5.1
Photo	1.3	0.2	0.8	0.5	2.6	0.3	5.2	2.8	1.0	5.7	2.4
Recipe	0.2	0.5	1.6	2.5	0.7		1.2	0.8	1.2	1.5	1.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shaded item indicates the highest occurring variable in each decade year

Table 18 shows that the most frequently occurring item shape variable is *report* in all decade years except 1910, though its incidence fluctuates across time. Article comprises the largest

percentage of items coded in 1910 (46%), but the number of items coded article gradually diminishes across the decade years. Items coded editorial appear irregularly, their greatest frequency occurring in 1970.

Appendix I 2 shows the shape of content within each newspaper. Seven of the 16 sample community newspapers did not contain formal editorials. Five of the seven community newspapers without formal editorials were voluntary. Editorials that were included in the voluntary community newspapers were reviewed in a number of ways: by rotating the editor every four monthly, as in the *Island News*; by founding editors continuing over the life of the study as in the *Western Tiers*, the *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo*; by shared co-ordination of the paper as in the *Zeehan Community News* and the *Lilydale Progressive*.

Table 18 shows the highest levels of interest in jokes, small humorous stories, was in 1930. A chi-squared test (Appendix I 1) confirms that jokes made up a higher proportion of content in 1930 than in any other year except 1910. Appendix I 2 describes the distribution of shape variables for each sample newspaper. Appendix N 3 cross-tabulates each newspaper by shape by decade year. While each newspaper shows a basic combination of articles and reports, some, such as the *Bruny Island News* and the *Lilydale Progressive*, have high proportions of items acknowledged as editorials.

Photo shape

Some issues presented in community newspapers are represented visually. Items with photos are coded as article and photo, photo only, and report and photo, in addition to the variables within *shape*. Figure 15 depicts the number of items coded ($n = 484$) with photos from the total sample ($n = 6724$). Line drawings were not coded.

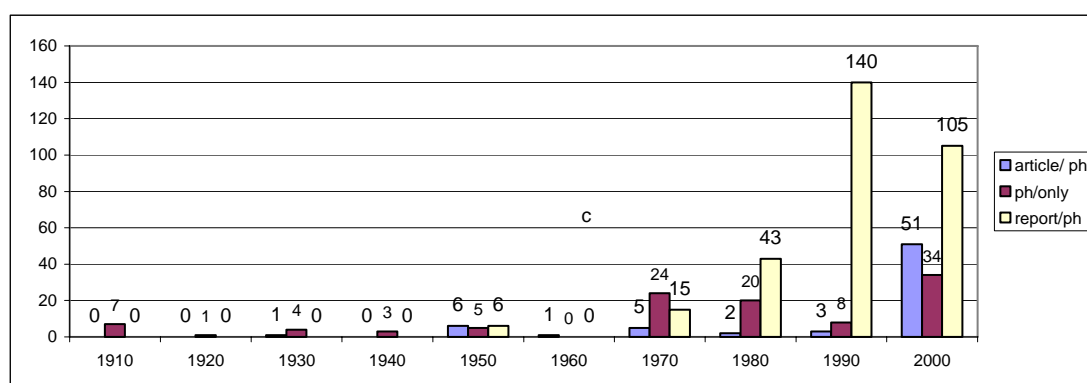


Figure 15 Photo shape items by time

The major fact to emerge from Figure 15 is that the numbers of photos in the newspapers tripled between 1980 and 2000. The highest number of images was in 1990. The decrease in 2000 could relate to the absence of the *Western Tiers* in this decade year. Appendix I 3 shows that the newspapers containing the greatest proportion of photos related to item content were the *Western Tiers* (38%), *St Helens Herald* (36%), *Devonport Times* (34%) and the *King Island Courier* (16%). Appendix N 8 shows the percentage of photos by newspaper over time.

Source

Contributors of items to the newspapers are categorised as a *source*. Eight different variables within the *source* category identified the origin of issues contributed to the sample newspapers.

Table 19 Item source frequency and percentage

Source variable	Frequency	Percentage
Community	710	10.6
Civic/Political	167	2.5
Correspondent	62	0.9
Editor	59	0.9
Foreign correspondent	169	2.5
Reader	347	5.2
Specialist	328	4.9
Staff/Unacknowledged	4882	72.6
Total	6724	100.0

Table 19 shows the most frequent contributors of items were staff/unacknowledged (73%). This suggests that the paid or volunteer workers who produced each newspaper have a

significant potential to influence the subjects and social issues reported and the ways in which they are reported. Item source over the decade years is shown in Table 20 following.

Table 20 Decade year by item source: Percent within decade year

Source	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Community	14.0	3.1	3.0	0.5	2.4	3.1	2.0	14.3	19.1	19.4	10.6
Civic/Political	0.2	1.4	1.0	1.5	0.7	0.3	2.7	1.9	4.1	5.2	2.5
Correspondent	0.2	0.2	1.7	1.1		0.3	0.2	0.8	1.6	1.3	0.9
Editor		0.2	0.2	0.3			1.8	1.9	0.8	1.7	0.9
Foreign correspondent	11.4	1.9	2.7	9.8	2.4	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.1	2.5
Reader	1.7	4.0	2.7	1.1	1.4	3.3	3.0	11.5	9.0	5.7	5.2
Specialist	7.6	1.9	7.0	9.2	5.7	4.3	4.3	3.0	3.0	4.5	4.9
Staff/ Unacknowledged	64.9	87.2	81.8	76.4	87.5	88.0	85.6	66.3	62.0	62.1	72.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the second highest occurring variable in each decade year (after highest, staff/unacknowledged)

Table 20 showed the highest source of items are staff unacknowledged in each decade year, Shading is therefore on the second highest source of items within each decade year. Evident in Table 20 is the high percentage of community contributed items in 1910, which was not present again until 1980. Community as a source has its highest frequency in 2000. Items from editors appeared highest in 1970 and 1980 while foreign correspondents are notably more frequent contributors in 1910 and 1940. Contribution by correspondents fluctuates across the decade years, being highest in 1930 and 1990.

Table 13 shows that community subject matter occurred more often from 1960 (excluding 1970, sport) up to 2000. In comparison Table 20 shows that the highest occurrence of contributions from community was in 1910 and from 1980 to 2000 after staff/unacknowledged.

A second method of viewing contributors is by examining numbers of source variables in each of the sample newspapers, as shown in Figure 16 following.

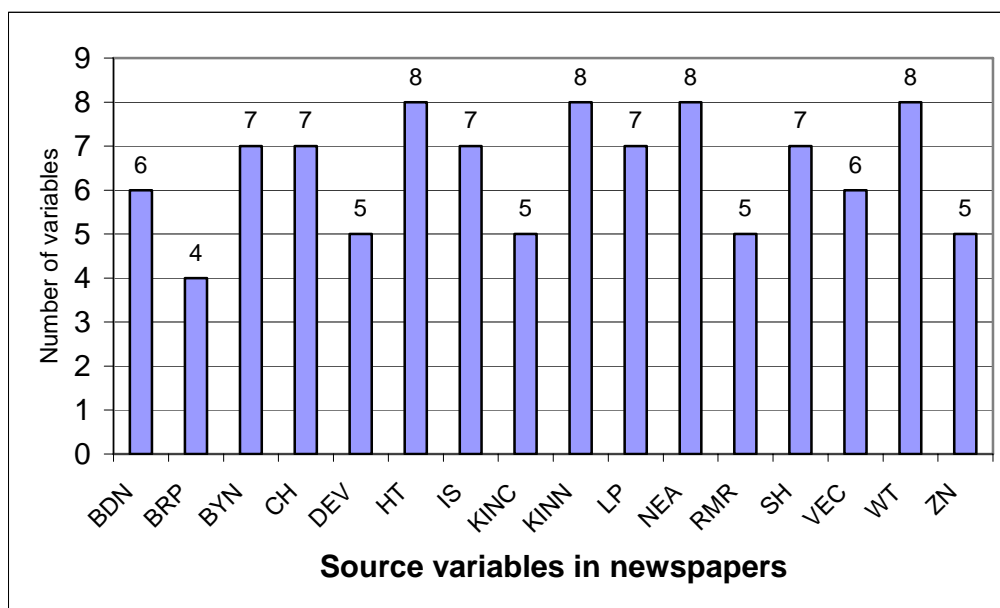


Figure 16 Number of contributors (variables in source category) to items in each sampled community newspaper

Figure 16 shows that the greatest number of *source* variables in each sampled community newspaper is highest in the commercial and older newspapers, though also including the *Western Tiers*, a non commercial paper. Appendix N 4 shows source variables in papers over time. Appendix N 10 shows source by shape variables over time. An interesting finding to emerge from Appendix N 10 is the high number of both shape and source variables present in the latter decade years (e.g. 58 variables cross-tabulated in 2000) in comparison to the first two decade years coded (e.g. 26 variables cross-tabulated in 1910). The table shows a marked increase in the range of contributors to newspaper content related to the shape in which content was presented, increasing over time.

Tone

Included in the analysis framework examining how issues were presented were *tone* variables. The variables as described in the methodology are critical, humorous, mediatory, neutral, negative, positive and not relevant. The tone variable frequencies are depicted in Figure 17.

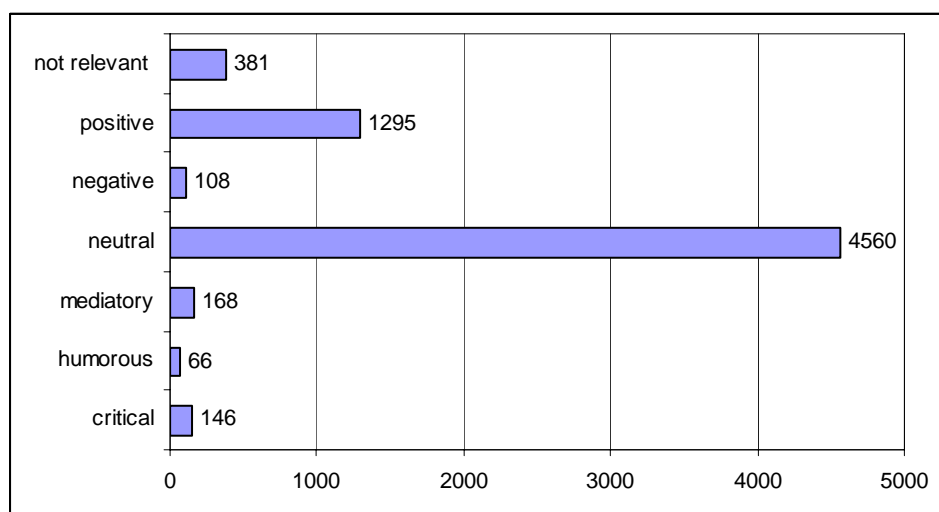


Figure 17 Tone variable frequency

The majority of items (68%) were coded to the neutral tone category, followed by positive (19%). While there are large differences between neutral and positive, and positive and critical, there are very small amount of mediatory, critical and negative items in content. Table 21 following shows the change in tone across the decade years for the total 6724 items. Appendix N 5 shows how tone varied in each of the papers over time.

Table 21 Decade year by tone: Percent within decade year

Tone	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Critical	1.8	5.2	1.7	1.1	1.2	1.3	0.4	3.8	3.0	1.7	2.2
Humorous	0.7	2.4	2.2	1.5	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.7	1.0
Mediatory	5.4	3.1	2.7	1.3	1.7	1.3	1.4	3.4	2.7	1.9	2.5
Neutral	69.6	73.0	65.7	78.2	82.3	73.3	71.1	68.1	62.7	57.7	67.8
Negative	0.7	1.7	0.6	1.3	0.2	1.8	4.5	1.3	2.0	1.6	1.6
Positive	10.7	11.8	13.1	11.1	9.4	21.5	19.4	21.1	26.2	27.8	19.3
Not relevant	11.1	2.8	13.9	5.4	4.5	0.5	2.7	1.5	2.7	8.6	5.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 21 shows a key movement within tone variables is the increase in frequency of positive tone, rising from 11% in 1910 to 28% in 2000. Appendix J shows the results of the chi-squared tests that confirms the change to more positive tone from 1960 and the subsequent increase in positive tone over time. The highest occurrence (5.2%) of the critical tone variable was in 1920. Critical tone is illustrated in the inset following:

Repatriation: Kingsborough Council's Protest

At a recent meeting of the Kingsborough Council in connection with the repatriation business, Cr Maddock expressed discontent at the board ignoring

the council's advice and settling men on properties the latter had condemned. If men were to be put upon properties upon which it was impossible for them to make a living in spite of the council's condemnation, they might find something better to do than waste the time and valuing properties for the Repatriation Board.

Source: *Huon Times*, January 20, 1920

Humorous tone occurred most frequently in the decade years ending 1920 to 1940. A cross-tabulation between shape and tone variables follows in Table 22.

Table 22 Shape by tone: Percent within shape

Shape	critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
Article	3.8	2.0	5.0	65.4	0.7	22.6	0.4	100
Competition		3.6		35.7		7.1	53.6	100
Editorial	11.1		16.7	36.1	2.8	33.3		100
Joke/Small humorous story		1.9		2.7		1.9	93.4	100
Letters	19.4	1.2	14.6	30.7	9.6	23.9	0.6	100
Notice	0.5	0.7	0.5	85.2	0.3	10.2	2.6	100
Poem/Quote/Moral		6.4	1.6	40.0		17.6	34.4	100
Report	0.9	0.3	1.5	72.7	1.9	22.1	0.5	100
Story/serial		5.9	2.4	71.8		11.8	8.2	100
Sports results			0.3	95.3	0.3	4.1		100
Photo		1.2		44.8	1.8	46.0	6.1	100
Recipe		1.3	1.3	51.3		22.4	23.7	100
Total	2.2	1.0	2.5	67.8	1.6	19.3	5.7	100

Note: Shading indicates the second most frequently occurring variable in each decade year. Neutral tone occurred most frequently for all variables.

Table 22 cross-tabulates item shape by tone. The most interesting fact to emerge from the table is that editorials are most likely to be positive in tone, followed by letters. Mediator tone also appears with the greatest frequency in editorials as does the second greatest incidence of critical content. While contributing high levels of positive content, letters also contain the greatest percentage of negative content, indicating the role and importance of letters as an outlet for airing issues.

Table 23 Source by tone: Percent within source

Source variable	Critical	Humorous	Mediatory	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total
Community	1.8	0.4	4.8	68.9	1.1	23.0	100
Civic/Political	1.8		7.8	75.4	3.6	11.4	100
Correspondent			9.7	66.1	1.6	22.6	100
Editor	5.1		23.7	35.6	1.7	33.9	100
Foreign correspondent	0.6	0.6	7.7	79.3	0.6	11.2	100
Reader	17.0	1.2	15.7	35.7	7.2	23.3	100
Specialist		2.1	2.7	88.7		6.4	100
Staff/ Unacknowledged	1.4	1.0	1.7	74.9	1.4	19.6	100
Total	2.2	1.0	2.5	77.5	1.6	19.3	100

The cross-tabulation of source with tone in Table 23 confirms findings in Table 22. For example, Table 23 also shows that the editor has the highest frequency of items that are positive and mediatory, as in Table 22. The reader contributes the next highest frequency of positive content. The reader contributes the highest percentage of items coded as critical. Letters, however, are not only contributed by readers, but also by politicians and civic representatives (Appendix N 10). An interesting finding to emerge is in relation to the high frequency of specialists coded in humour, as is the high frequency of editor in relation to mediatory toned items. Appendix N 11 shows the occurrence of source by tone variables over time.

Horizon

The geographic location of each item's subject matter is indicated by its horizon variable (Henningham, 1996), shown for the sample in Figure 18.

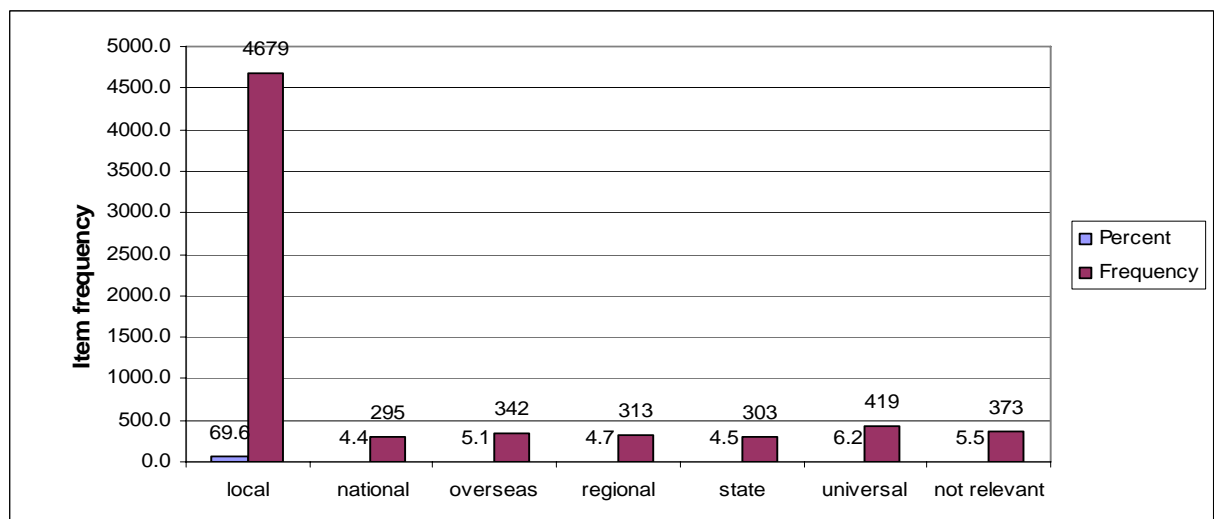


Table 18 Percentage frequency of horizon variable

Figure 18 demonstrates a dominating number of local content items in contrast with all other horizon variables. Universal horizon is content pertaining to small uplifting stories/moral, quotes and joke, and humorous stories, discussed further in Chapter 5.

Table 24 Year by horizon: Percent within decade year

Horizon	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Local	34.9	62.6	50.7	50.3	78.5	88.0	81.1	84.4	79.5	74.0	69.6
National	5.0	6.1	6.7	8.4	3.3	4.1	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.6	4.4
Overseas	17.5	9.7	6.7	16.2	4.7	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.6	5.1
Regional	6.5	7.8	6.2	4.3	3.8	1.3	3.7	2.8	5.7	4.3	4.7
State	5.9	4.7	5.9	4.9	2.1	2.6	5.7	5.2	4.4	3.5	4.5
Universal	19.2	6.1	10.6	10.5	3.5	2.6	2.9	2.4	3.6	4.7	6.2
Not relevant	11.1	2.8	13.3	5.4	4.0	0.5	2.7	1.5	2.7	8.4	5.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the second most frequently occurring variable in each decade year.

Table 24 reports decade year by the horizon variable, and shows local as the most frequently occurring variable in each year. Horizon is an important indicator of the role played by the community newspaper in linking the community to the outside world, both in early decades when community focused in content was at its lowest level (1910 and 1930, Table 13), and in later decades of the century. By examining Table 24 it can be noted that the greatest frequency of local content occurred in 1960, the decade year in which community as a subject also became the main focus. The horizon highest after local is of interest. For example, the

occurrence of overseas items and the years they are highest relates to the role of newspapers including overseas information of interest to readers linked to socio-historical events such as World War II in 1940. Appendix I shows the source of items linked to horizons. However there are no apparent patterns of interest.

Appendices L 2 and N 6 show horizon variables cross-tabulated with sample newspapers, and over time. The greatest frequency occurrence of the horizon-coded newspaper variable local appeared in the *Devonport Times*. The greatest frequency of national and overseas horizon variables was found in the *Huon Times*; regional in the *Western Tiers*; and state and universal in the *Valley and East Coast Voice*.

Summary of content in each decade year

The following section is an identification of patterns of content and significant variables emerging from the content analysis. A summary of significant events within each decade year gives a setting for community newspaper content patterns (see for example Table 25 following).

Table 25 The decade up to 1910

1900	Adult male suffrage for House of Assembly. Property qualifications and plural voting abolished. Railway, Emu Bay, Rosebery to Zeehan opened.
1901	Tasmania becomes a State in Australian federal system Workers Political League formed (forerunner of the Labor Party)
1903	Women enfranchised to vote House of Assembly elections Telephone line between Hobart and Launceston The <i>Morning</i> and <i>Terra Nova</i> depart Hobart on a relief expedition to free Scott's <i>Discovery</i> from Antarctic ice
1904	Tasmanian National Association (forerunner of the Liberal Party)
1904	Act passed allowing women enter the legal profession
1905	Experiment in wireless telegraphy between Tasmania and the mainland undertaken
1907	Public Library built with money donated by Andrew Carnegie
1909	Irish blight wipes out potato crop The Hare-Clark electoral system first used state-wide for a Tasmanian election

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

In the earliest decade year of the study, community newspaper content was highly internationally focused and centred the community in a global context. While the first telephone lines had been laid between Hobart and Launceston in 1905, radios were not in use in Tasmania in 1910. Local community was more dependent on its community newspaper for

information and advice in this, the 1910 decade year, than at any other point in the period studied. Tasmania's population was approximately 190,894 (*Walch's Almanac*, 1912). In comparison, the estimated 'white' population of Australia was 4,323,396 (Brown, 1986). Tasmania's population was 4.4% of the national total. Figure 15 suggests it was a time of high net out-migration from Tasmania (Jackson & Kippen, 2001). The Factory and Wages Board Act was passed in 1910, setting a maximum of 48 working hours a week and minimum wages in a number of areas. In Hobart, the Free Kindergarten Association was founded by Emily Dobson.

Four commercial independent commercial newspapers—the *Circular Head Chronicle* (1906), *North Eastern Advertiser* (1909), *Huon Times* (1910) and the *Deloraine and Westbury Advertiser* (1910)—had been established in the decade leading to 1910, and were printed in broadsheet format. While reports of overseas social events and travel echoed a very British and stratified social structure, information on world events and human interest items were included to instruct and educate the community. The appearance of the independent community papers was similar to daily commercial papers of the times, with content items ranging from a large number of detailed descriptions of events and reports, to columns running together many varied items, with only a full stop as demarcation. Front pages were used extensively for advertisements in this decade. What content analysis does not show is the rich descriptive language embellished by what then would have been a tradition of education steeped in the classics and with a strong focus on strengthening the moral fibre of the reader. An example follows:

An exciting experience.

A number of young men from Scottsdale visited Bridport on Sunday last and one section of them had an exciting experience, which made the few spectators hold their breath for one moment. One of the swimmers, a devotee at the shrine of letters—and other things—ventured just a trifle too far out and though swimming vigorously for the shore made no progress and he had to call for assistance. A youthful and vigorous companion—who has friendly connections with worshippers of the golden calf—with characteristic promptness (a heritage from his military ancestors) returned to the struggling swimmer and in a few moments both arrived safely at the landing.

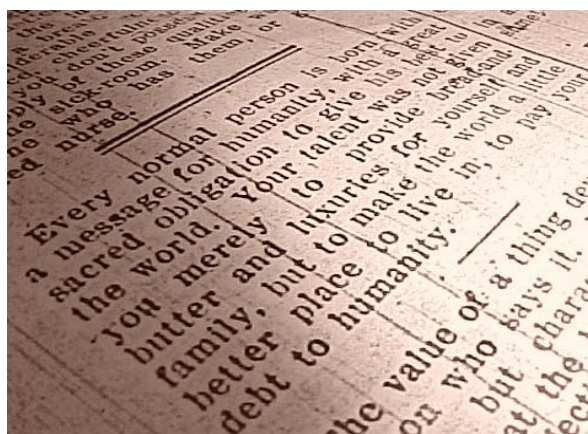
North Eastern Advertiser, April, 1910.

Items concerning human interest and personality were the subjects most frequently published, while accidents and court cases were also reported most frequently in this decade year. These

latter subjects—in the main, reports of overseas or national events—were detailed to the extent that one may have expected that they had occurred in a neighbouring regional centre.

Social issues were mostly local, and because of their concerns and subject matter, also linked to national and state horizons. Within this decade social issues focused on command over goods and services, often reporting difficulties with freight to market centres. Content in the 1910 decade year had the highest mediatory tone of the overall sample, which reflected on the style and balance of reporting. The second most frequently-coded tone was positive, a general pattern throughout all the following decades.

The greatest percentage of articles (46% of all articles) appeared, which again is related to a more expansive style of journalism and expression that in later decade years. A major feature of the shape of the content and articles in this decade year is the amount of detail with which subjects were recorded, along with a large number of jokes/quotes (12.5% of all jokes) as well as poems, quotes and items relating a moral (Table 18). While the predominant horizon (location of the subject matter) in newspapers over all decade years was local as noted earlier and in (Table 24), it is interesting to find that universal (19%) and overseas (17%) subjects were dominant in this decade year. While the horizon variable overseas is easily defined, the variable universal as defined in Chapter 3 was applied to content of philosophy, ethics or theology, and general origins that were of universal application. An example is the item from the *Huon Times* of 1910 following.



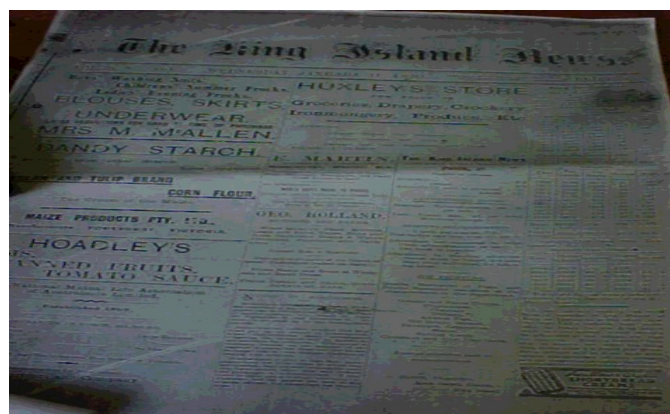
Source: *Huon Times*, 19 February 1910, p. 4.

Table 26 The decade up to 1920

1911	Mawson's Australasian Antarctic Expedition arrives in Hobart
	Scouts and Girl Guides commences
	Scottsdale to Branxholm rail line opened
	First tramway in Launceston begins
1912	Roald Amundsen arrives in Hobart on return from being the first expeditioner to reach the South Pole
1913	First State schools established Hobart and Launceston
1914	August 4 World War I declared
1915	Scenery Preservation Act passed creating special authority for management of parks and reserves
1916	First Anzac Day commemoration held in Tasmania
	First all-Tasmanian Battalion leaves for the war
1918	<i>The Hospital Act</i> provides establishment of district hospital boards
1919	Spanish Flu epidemic sweeps through Tasmania

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

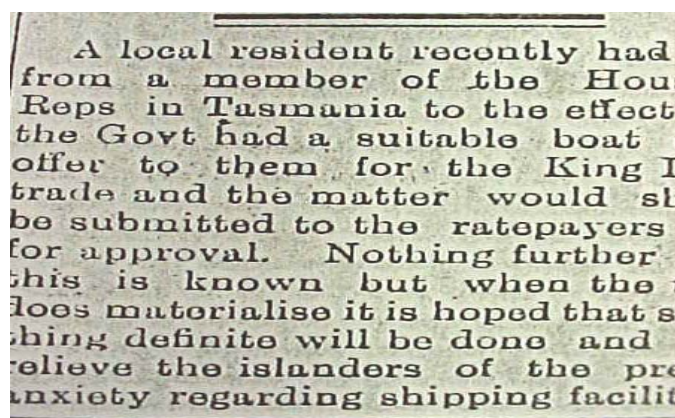
Weekly commercial flights from Melbourne to Hobart had begun in October 1919. Robson (1983) tells us that the Tasmanian woman was coming into her own. It was the era of the short haircut and the flapper. While the population of Australia was 5,303,574, Tasmania's population was 213,780, 4% of the national total. Electricity was introduced to Tasmania after 1920. The *Derwent Valley* (1910) newspaper had closed in 1912. To the three original community newspapers published in this decade year was added the *King Island News* (1912). The *Leven Leader* commenced publication in September 1919 and closed in December 1920 (See Appendix B for summary).



Source: *King Island News*, 21 January 1920, p. 1.

Human interest was the most frequently occurring subject and continued to be so up to the 1950 decade year. Economic items followed by community items appeared next most

frequently, echoing the relative buoyancy of the period. Figure 10 illustrates that it was a decade year of change, with low net out-migration, and a drop in natural increase (Jackson, 2004).



Source: *King Island News*, 21 January 1920, p. 1.

While artistic subjects were at their most frequently reported in the 1910 decade year, they were at their least frequently reported in the 1920 decade year. The predominant social issue in this decade was again command over goods and services, followed by employment and quality of life. This decade year and 1910 recorded the fewest philanthropic items. As for each decade year studied, the most frequent source of content was staff/unacknowledged contributor, followed by the reader. At this point, a change in the occurrence of reports (63%) was recorded, as opposed to the number of articles in the previous decade year. Notices had doubled in content since 1910 and letters appeared in their highest occurrence until the 1980 decade year (Table 18).

Frequency of jokes/quotes and humorous stories diminished noticeably from 11% of content in the 1910 decade year to 3% in the 1920 decade year. A similar three-fold decline in poems, and small moral items occurred over the same period. This decade recorded the greatest percentage of critical content, which is most evident in letters from readers. Positive tone items appeared in slightly higher proportions than in the previous decade. Minimal numbers of photos were included (Figure 15). The inclusion of local items increased (63%); compared with the 1910 decade year, overseas subjects were halved. Post-World War I changes, showed an increase in recreational facilities (cinema), and a relaxation of overseas ties, evident in higher frequency of regional and national items in content.

Table 27 The decade up to 1930

1921	Sir Nicholas Lockyer appointed by the Federal Government to investigate Tasmania's economy
1922	Legislation passed allowing women to stand for parliament
1924	17 ZL (later ABC) radio station goes to air for first time La Cement Company, Railton, begins
1927	Royal visit by Duke and Duchess of York First meeting of Nurse's Registration Board marking important step towards professional growth and regulation of nursing
1928	Compulsory voting introduced Tasmanian Paper Pty Ltd construct an experimental pulp mill at Kermadie
1929	Start of the Great Depression Severe flooding in the north of the state causes loss of 22 lives, massive damage to property

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

Newsprint now had some competition. Alternative communication methods had reached Tasmania just prior to this decade year. The Hydro-Electric Commission was established in January 1930. Electricity had been present in Hobart, Tasmania from 1922 and in the North-West by 1927. While the first radio station had begun in 1927, radios were not a common household item before 1933. Though many homemade sets were engineered, the cost of a set was equal to one month's wage. The front-page items in this decade year were a mixture of advertisements, articles and reports, as the front page of the *Huon Times* below illustrates.

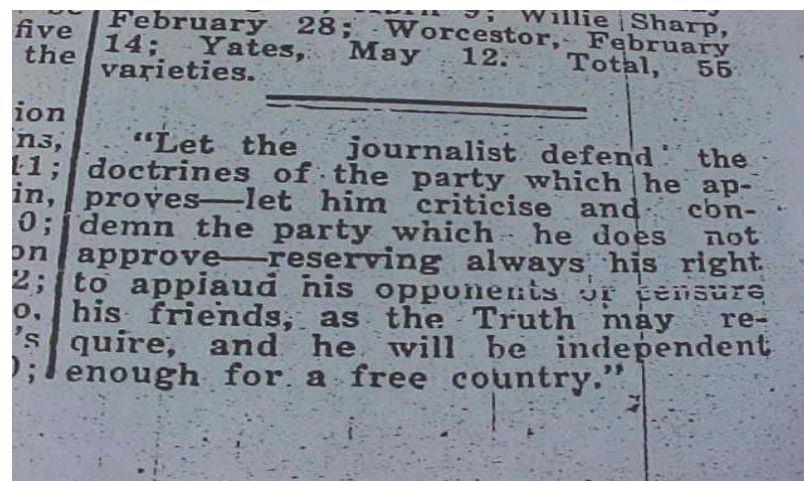


Source: *Huon Times*, 21 January 1930, p. 1.

The year 1930 was the first year of the Great Depression. While subjects coded as human interest were still frequent in this decade, in comparison, community subject items were less frequent than in any other decade year. Agricultural items were reported with frequency equal

to that of the 1910 decade year, as seen in the apple reports on the front page above, although from the 1930 decade year reportage of this subject diminished noticeably. This decrease coincides with the establishment of the rural monthly and bi-weekly newspaper, *Tasmanian Fruitgrowers and Farmer*, which commenced publication in 1923 and operated until 1977. In the following decade, the *Tasmanian Country Farmer*, a rural weekly newspaper, commenced in 1937 and operated until 1976. On 1 April 1930, the front page of the *Huon Times* contained two major items. The first had a bold headline, “Poultry Notes” followed by a series of five sub-headings: “Culling”, “Feeding pullets that are just laying”, “Mark the young stock”, “An Indication of Health”, “Culling over-fat and over thin birds”. The second item on the page discussed movie making.

Employment was the social issue most frequently reported in this decade, followed by command over goods and services which were both linked to concerns over the Great Depression. Articles increased in frequency in 1930 (Table 15), suggesting a trend to more discursive items in this period. A social issue which emerged in this decade was an interest in human rights (see example following), not present again until 1990.



Source: *Huon Times*, 1 April 1930, p. 1.

Notable in the tone of content in this first decade year of the Great Depression was the recording of the greatest percentage for all decade years of humorous items (13%). This related to the large proportion of jokes and humorous stories along with poems and quotes and morale building advice. This decade year contained the greatest percentage of universal horizon-coded subjects, an example of which is included in the item from the *Huon Times*, 2 April 1930, pictured above.

Table 28 The decade up to 1940

1931	United Australia Party formed with Joseph Lyons as leader
1932	Lyell Highway linking Hobart with west
1932	Tasmanian Joseph Lyons sworn in as Prime Minister of Australia
1934	Thrice weekly air service Melbourne/Launceston
1935	Bass Strait steamer Taroona makes its maiden voyage
1936	Hobart's ABC Orchestra established
	Last thylacine (Tasmanian Tiger) held in captivity dies Hobart Zoo
1937	Nationwide poliomyelitis epidemic hits Tasmania
1938	Production begins Associated AUST Pulp and Paper Mill
	Tarraleah hydro power station opened
1939	New Hobart Hospital opened
	Transport commission established
	September, World War II begins

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

In 1940, Bass Strait—the stretch of water between mainland Australia and Tasmania—is closed to shipping following the sinking of the British steamer *Cambridge* by a mine on 7 November. The first contingent of the AIF (6th Division) leave for service in the Middle East (*Tasmanian Year Book*, 2000). There were no new community newspapers established in the decade years to 1940. The population of Australia was now 7,004,912 people (Brown, 1986) while Tasmania's population was 243,507 (*Walch's Almanac*, 1944), three per cent of the national total.



Source: *North Eastern Advertiser*, 26 July 1940, p. 1.

Military items made up the greatest proportion of items of all decade years in this year, with the commencement of World War II (1939 to 1945), though to a large extent direct content or ‘informing’ news on World War II was neglected in the community newspapers. Motivating

and uplifting items and speeches were noted. The war was reflected in content through an increase in numbers of military, medical, and recreational items (Table 14). Though human interest was the most frequently and increasingly reported subject, interest in community subject items increased from the previous decade year.

Table 14 shows time and leisure to be the most frequently represented social issue in this decade, again reflecting the role of the community newspaper in uplifting the community in adverse times through the focus of its content. An interesting issue to emerge in this decade year was the frequency of philanthropic and social service items (11%), in relation to the war effort. This variable showed five-fold increase on the previous 1930 decade (2%). There was no significant change from the previous decade in the size of items. Community as a content source appeared at its lowest frequency (5%). Items attributed to foreign correspondents contributed the greatest percentage of content in this decade linked to World War II. Specialist contributions occurred with their greatest frequency for all decades, relating to overseas and universal subject matter.

Table 29 The decade up to 1950

1941	Woman's Land Army formed to carry out vital tasks during the war. Production begins at Australian Newspaper Mills Boyer (New Norfolk) being the first in the world to print newsprint from hardwood
1942	Vegetable dehydration factories established at Scottsdale Ulverstone and Smithton for defence food requirements
1943	Enid Lyons is elected, to Federal Parliament , being one of two women members
1944	State Library of Tasmania established
1945	Inauguration of Sydney to Hobart yacht race held
1947	State Forestry Commission appointed British migrants under assisted passages arrive to work for the Hydro Electric Commission Ben Lomond National Park declared
1948	ANARE sets up permanent research station on First 'displaced' persons arrive from Europe Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra formed Margaret McIntyre, Tasmania's first female parliamentarian is elected
1949	Outbreak of poliomyelitis Large Naturalization ceremony held for Polish migrants

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

The *Tasmanian Year Book 2000* (Matheson, 1999) notes the period 1950 to 1990 as a time of influx of European migrants and displaced persons. The population in Tasmania in 1950 was now 294,397, 3.7% of the national total. Figure 14 identifies this decade year as the second highest point in migrant intake over the century, after 1947/1948. Only three independent

community newspapers were in production. The *Huon Times* had temporarily ceased publication in 1943 due to decreased advertising. Human interest and community subjects were almost equal in this decade year. This was the last decade year in which the broadsheet appeared, which also signalled a change in presentation associated with the increase of medium- and large-sized items in this decade. The social issue most frequently reported to this point was health and public and personal safety. Specialist (5.7%) was the most frequent source of contributions, (after staff/unacknowledged) which signalled an interest in information from outside the local communities. The greatest percentage of photos (2.5%) since the 1920 decade year was included in content. Overseas items, though declining in frequency from the previous decade year, comprised the greatest percentage (5%) after local items. A major focus on local items was evident in an increase from the previous decade 50% in 1940 to 78% in 1950. This contrasts with local items representing 35% of content in 1910. The frequency of national items, seen at its highest in 1940, had halved in 1950, indicating a further growth in local focus which culminated in 1960.

Table 30 The decade up to 1960

1952	Serious floods experienced throughout island
	Trevallyn power scheme officially opened
	Butler's Gorge Power Station opened;
	Pine Ter Dam of the Tungatinah power scheme opened
1954	Queen Elizabeth first reigning monarch to visit state
	Flooding in eastern and southern Tasmania
	Spouses of property owners granted eligibility to vote in Legislative Council Elections
	Flooding in eastern and southern Tasmania
	Turigatinal power station opened.
1955	Lactos cheese factory established at Burnie
1956	Tasmania's first woman Mayor Dorothy Edwards
1959	First election to fill 35 seats in House of Assembly
	Princess of Tasmania becomes first roll-on passenger ferry in Bass Strait service

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

In April 1960, southern Tasmania was hit by severe floods (*Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999). The period 1960 to 1961 also records there were many bushfires throughout the state. Five independent community newspapers were in production. The population in Tasmania had risen to 350,340. It was now 4% of the national total. No broadsheet format community newspaper appeared in this decade year and it also marked the inclusion of the A4 format paper. It was the first decade year in which community newspapers were presented using an alternative process to newsprint, and also containing content from a voluntary community newspaper. Two new community newspapers had started in the decade up to

1960. While the *Derwent Valley Gazette* had started in 1953 as a tabloid using normal print processes, the *Island News* established on Flinders Island used a Gestetner print process, as noted in the inset following from the 1990 decade year.

From paper thirty years ago—*Report marking 6th Anniversary*

On that night our paper was born under conditions which would have daunted any but the brave and ultra optimistic and looking back on the event, it is a source of never ending wonder that the birth was ever accomplished. The printing apparatus, and antiquated hand operated gestetner, was set up at the Rectory, saw the light of day, almost 1 Whitemark and the Editorial and publishing end of the business was done at Mr. R. Walker's residence at the airport. This necessitated a shuttle service between the two centres with an attendant amount of confusion but perseverance won the day. *Island News* Vol. 1 No.1 saw the light of day almost literally so, as the production was not completed until the 'wee small hours'. The first production was greeted with interest but with a certain amount of caution, the consensus of opinion being that the life of the paper would be six months at the most. Thanks to the unflagging interest of the Honorary Staff backed by the encouragement of readers and advertisers, we have managed to weather the storms of six years and hope, with the continued support of all concerned, to carry on the good work. May we take this opportunity of thanking all who have in any way helped us in our efforts, which, we feel, are doing a service to the community.

Source: *Island News*, July 1990.

A number of key changes in community newspaper content established 1960 as the decade year from which the trends and patterns of current independent community newspaper focus has developed. These changes were identified in format, subject interest, health issues, positive content and horizon. Community subjects occurred with the greatest frequency in this decade year, and were linked to local items also reported as their highest percentage of horizons over the decade years (88%) seen in Table 30. A major increase in sport was evident from the previous decade years, being 20% of subject items as opposed to 14 % in 1950. This decade year also contained the highest frequency of economic items after the 1930 decade year. Health/public and personal safety was the social issue of greatest interest. The greatest percentage of items coded report occurred in this decade year. The number of medium- and large-sized items increased. As in the 1950 decade year, the main source of content in this year after staff/unacknowledged was specialist. Competitions, recipes and editorials were absent. Frequency of positive-toned items doubled from the previous decade year and these

were represented in the greatest number to that point. National items were of main interest after local items.

Table 31 The decade up to 1970

1962	Australian Paper Makers Ltd pulp mill commences at Port Huon
1963	Visit by the Queen and Prince Philip Last train runs on Mt Lyell Railway from Queenstown to Strahan Opening of Murchison Highway linking the north-west with the west
1964	Freshwater Trout farm established at Bridport
1965	Tasmania sends first troops to Vietnam war under the National Service Scheme Bass Strait oil drilling commences Tasman Bridge officially opened Poatina power station opened Dental nursing school opened Decimal currency introduced
1967	Tasmania joins with rest of Australia in approving full constitutional rights for Aborigines Bushfires sweep state destroying over 1000 homes and taking 62 lives Strzelecki National Park declared on Flinders Island Daylight saving introduced
1969	Floods in Launceston Copper smelter at Mt Lyell closes

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

While the population in Tasmania had grown to 398,073, it was only 3.2% of the national total. 1969 to 1970 was a period of high out-migration. Tasmanian schools introduced the metric system, and the Marine Research Laboratories were established at Taroona near Hobart. A second volunteer community newspaper—the *Valley and East Coast Voice* (1962)—was commenced by a small group of the community and staff from the local hospital. The number of new community papers published in this decade year had risen by three, and the re-opening of the *Huon Times* in 1963 meant that there were now nine independent community newspapers in the state. Newspaper format was equally A4 and tabloid. The increase in medium and large items continued.

This decade year held a surprise in its content focus. While sport is a notably large proportion of daily newspaper content and interest, its rise to being a major subject in community newspapers content was not expected. Could it be strong surge of interest in local teams or perhaps regional rivalry? Appendix N 13 shows that sport was related primarily to regional items (27%) though closely followed by local (25%). A strong interest in health issues was indicated, which could be linked to the presence of sports interests. The chief source of items

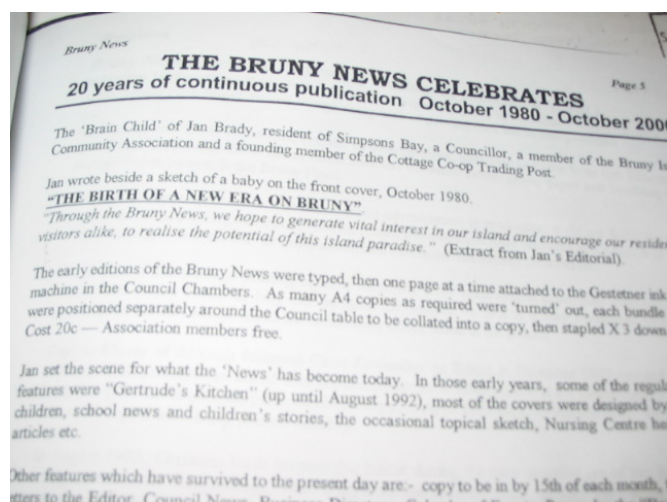
for the third decade in a row was specialist. This decade year recorded the highest content of both editorial and sport result, again relating to the major subject interest. There were only minor changes in the tone of items, though negative tone items increased to their highest level recorded. Critical was in comparison, at its lowest level in content.

Table 32 The decade up to 1980

1971	Lake Pedder action committee formed to campaign against Hydro Electric–Gordon River dam construction
1972	Tasmanian College of Advanced Education, opened in Hobart
1973	General voting age lowered to 18
1974	Environmental Protection Act comes into effect to control industrial pollution Hobart suburban rail ceases
1975	In Hobart, Tasman Bridge brought down by the Lake Illawarra causing 12 deaths
1976	Family Law Court established in Tasmania Freight subsidy scheme introduced for sea cargo Truganini's remains ritually cremated by Aboriginal community Tasmanian Wilderness Society formed
1977	Aboriginal activist, Michael Mansell presents the Queen with a land rights claim Tasmanian Film Corporation established
1978	Tasman Ltd passenger trains ceases operation. End of regular rail passenger service in Tasmania
1979	Gordon Power Scheme, Stage 1, opened

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

In early 1980, a select Committee recommend the Gordon-Below-Franklin Dam as the next Hydro Electric Commission development option. In Hobart, the Australian Antarctic Division was completed. In this decade year the population of Australia was 14,516,500. In Tasmania it was 398,073 dropping to 2.7% of the national total. While eleven new papers had commenced in the decade, the decade year saw 16 community newspapers in production. The front page of the *Bruny News* 2000 (pictured following) describes the papers establishment celebrating 20 years of publication. The number of A4-format productions in this decade was double the number of tabloids. Community items increased to almost their highest levels in content in this decade year. Linked to this subject, health/public/personal safety was the most frequently reported social issue in this and the next decade. Subjects pertaining to education were reported at their highest levels in 1980, to which the commencement of two school-based community newspapers in the decade year had contributed.



Source: *Bruny News*, October 2000, p. 5.

Environment was the least frequently reported social issue in a period of growing environmental debate related to hydro development. The lack of reportage of this issue may have been due to the high interest in and debate over environmental issues in the mainstream press.



Source: *Circular Head Chronicle*, 15 October 1980, p. 1.

Overall, the 1980 decade year records the most frequent community contribution from a number of sources: community, reader and editor. A major change of source of items occurred in this decade, with community (14.3%) the greatest contributor, followed by reader, (11.5%). The percentage of notices rose, which also suggests greater community activity; and letters from readers increased (8.4%), both could be also attributed to the increase in new A 4

volunteer papers. State was the most frequently occurring subject horizon in this decade year after local.

Table 33 The decade up to 1990

1981	Bushfires in Zeehan destroy 40 houses Devonport proclaimed a city
1982	Tasmanian Wilderness World Heritage Area proclaimed including the southwest, Franklin-Lower Gordon Wild Rivers Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council established Federal regulations blocking construction of the Franklin HEC dam. High Court rules in favour of General sovereignty, putting an end to the Gordon-below-Franklin power scheme
1984	Bowen Bridge across the Derwent officially opened Atlantic salmon eggs first introduced to Tasmania
1986	Confrontations between forestry workers and conservationists erupt at Farmhouse Creek Pope John Paul visits Hobart. Mass for 32,000 people held
1987	Launch of replica of the tall ship <i>Lady Nelson</i>
1988	International Tall Ships fleet for bicentennial celebration visits Hobart High Court decision preventing logging of Lemonthyme and Southern Forests nominated for World Heritage listing
1989	Controversial plans for a pulp mill at Wesley Vale scrapped because of controls imposed by the Federal Government Experimental Labor–Green accord is struck between the 5 independents and a vote of no confidence in State Premier Robin Gray; Michael Field is sworn in as Premier Amalgamation of Tasmania's tertiary educational institutions begins Labor–Green accord dissolves when the Government announces adoption of Forests and Forest Industry Strategy

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

World Rowing Championships were held at Lake Barrington in October of 1990, and the *Sea Cat* catamaran built in Tasmania for island–mainland travel began its summer visit (*Tasmanian Year Book 2000*). Tasmania's population was now 462, 188 (ABS, 2001) an increase of just under two-and-a-half times since 1910. Eighteen new community newspapers had been established in the decade to 1990. Whereas in 1910 there were four community newspapers, there were now 26 community newspapers in production. The *King Island News* (1912) had closed temporarily, reopened, and finally closed in 1989. The *King Island Courier*—a news-print process production—was a separate newspaper started in 1983. Community and recreation subject items occurred in highest proportions in this decade year. Health/public and personal safety was the most frequently reported social issue.



Source: *Western Tiers*, 12 April 1990, p. 29.

Both reader and correspondent as sources occurred more frequently in this decade year than any other. Most notable was the greatest frequency of letters from readers and an increase in notices, again suggesting community activity. The *Western Tiers* contained the highest number of photo shape items of all papers (Appendix 1 3). A large increase in frequency of positive tone items is noticed. Items concerning regional matters were reported highest after local content this decade year. This could also be linked to a large increase in the number of items from civic and political sources.

Table 34 The decade up to 2000

1991	Pioneer's silicon smelter closes
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1992	Inaugural Targa Tasmania automobile rally
	Aborigines occupy Risdon Cove in protest over land claims
	Ordination of seven women as Anglican priests, St David's Cathedral, Hobart
1993	Christine Milne becomes first woman leader of Political Party in Tasmania
1994	Spirit of Tasmania begins the Bass Strait passenger ferry crossing
1995	Grounding of oil tanker Iron Barren on reef, Tamar River causes massive clean-up operations
	The Premier announces legislation to transfer 3800 hectare of land of cultural significance to the Aboriginal community
	Inland Fisheries Act and Historic Cultural Heritage Act passed
	Martin Bryant fires on residents and tourists at Port Arthur killing 35
1996	Firearms Act passes, regulating the possession, use, registration and licensing of firearms
	Regional Forestry Agreement signed between Commonwealth and State governments amid a wave of protest
1998	Bushfires in Hobart suburbs destroys 6 houses and 30,000 hectares
	Australian Paper Mills' Burnie pulp mill closes its operations
	Massive seas cause loss of 6 lives in the Sydney to Hobart yacht race
	Official handing over of Wybalenna, Flinders Island, to the Aboriginal community

Source: *Tasmanian Year Book 2000*, Matheson, 1999.

The Olympic Games were held in Sydney in 2000. During this last decade up to 2000, 39% of the community newspapers published in Tasmania over the century were produced. The population of the state of 471,409 in 2000 was just starting to recover from a significant loss between the years 1996 and 1999, shown in Figures 14 to 16. Tasmania's population, 4.6% of the national total in 1910, was now only 2.5% of the national total. While 26 new independent community newspapers had been established in the decade to 2000, there was a total of 30 community newspapers in publication at the decade year 2000. Out of the 67 that had been established over the century, almost half of the papers established had ceased production and a small number had been acquired by mainstream media organisations. There were twice as many A4-format newspapers as tabloid newspapers. However, in this decade year the format of community newspapers included glossy coloured publications. Photos numbers in content were highest in this decade. This could be related to the number of new papers, plus the ease that digital and processed images could be included into copy through the computer programs used for publication.

The *Devonport Times* was commenced in 1998 by a community member as a commercial publication, with some support and agreed input from the local city council. Its circulation is free to every home in Devonport. Community subject items appeared as the most frequent of

all subjects for the fourth consecutive year, followed by sport. Horizon in this decade was again focused on local, followed by universal. Time and leisure was the most frequently reported social issue in this decade, followed by health/public and personal safety. The following photograph accompanied an article, 'Community link up', which began: 'the Devonport City Council's Community Services policy acting as a link for community organisations and activities' (*Devonport Times*, September 2000, p. 11).



Source: *Devonport Times*, April 2000, p. 8.

Community contribution as a source of items was highest in this decade year than for any other decade year. The source variable editor and shape variable editorial contained the highest proportion of positive content. Humour had returned to content in small proportions after 1970, while positive tone items were at their highest for the century.

Summary of Research Question 2 Results

The summaries of the decade years have presented a generalized overview of community newspaper content, background and publication process from 1910 to 2000. What emerges from the summary examining content and source of items over the decade years is the focus of issues and interests in relation to local and world social and economic history. The summaries briefly reflected focus trends, changes in style of journalism, patterns of contributors and horizon of items. These are discussed further in Chapter 5.

The categories coded in the individual newspapers, show individual differences mirroring and identifying each paper's community. The key finding to emerge from compiling data in relation to each newspaper from Research Question 2 is that the application of content analysis is of greatest benefit to each individual paper in revealing its own community interactions, both current and over time. Each community newspaper is able to access and assess patterns related to its content, issues interests and contributors. While comparisons can

be made between commercial and non commercial, recent and long established community newspapers, small and larger population areas, in a generalized context, the comparison between individual papers holds little value because of the wide range of socio-historical and economic factors effecting individual communities. This is further discussed in the following chapter. Individual profiles can be drawn from Appendices F—Subject variables by newspaper; Appendix F 2—Newspaper items by time; Appendix H 1—Newspaper by social issues; Appendix I 1—Newspaper by shape, Appendix I 2—Newspaper by photo shape; Appendix K—Newspaper by source; Newspapers are coded by categories in greater detail over time in Appendices N 1 and N 8. Examples of the way in which newspapers may be profiled is given in Appendix V.

Summary

Research Question 2 examined the sample newspapers' content through categories related to subject and social issue. It examined how issues have been presented through the variables of format, size, shape, photo shape, tone, source and horizon. Source of items was related to patterns of time and shape. Data were summarised from categories and variables of the description area of the content analysis framework by decade year. These were backed by cross-tabulations of data (see Appendices F to N 1—13). Data in Research Question 3 is from both cross-tabulations arising as a response to Research Question 2 and the patterns emerging in the content analysis data related to social capital following.

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

Two approaches were used to provide data in response to Research Question 3. The first was an examination of the sample newspaper content, analysed through the content analysis framework's third area, social capital. The second was data gathered from semi-structured interviews of editors/newspaper coordinators. This data address two key areas of the study:

- the evidence of social capital in the community newspaper; and
- the role of the community newspaper in building social capital, in particular:
 - the extent of social capital in sample items
 - what subjects and social issues reported social capital?
 - dimensions of social capital in content
 - how did social capital reported in newspapers change over time?
 - what is occurring when social capital is reported?
 - differences in the way newspapers report social capital
 - how do newspapers print social capital?
 - what was the role of the community in the community newspaper
 - how does the community contribute to the community newspaper?

The extent of social capital in content

Social capital is represented in 782 or 11.6% of the 6724 items coded in the content analysis of the independent community newspaper sample. Within the social capital area of the content analysis framework shown in Figures 2 and 3, there are four categories identified as dimensions of social capital: *elements*, *networks*, *knowledge and identity resources* and *Incorgov*. Full definitions and description of the dimensions are given in Chapter 3. The term social capital represented in this chapter applies to content coded across the four dimensions. Each content item was analysed as to whether or not it adhered to social capital indicators contained by definition in the dimensions. Every item included as social capital is always coded across variables from each of the four dimensions. Each dimension therefore represents

the same proportion of the coded items, 11.6%. An example of a content item coded across the three areas of the content analysis framework, and illustrating how the dimensions are applied was presented on page 112, Chapter 3. The proportion of social capital in content in each decade year is given in Figure 19.

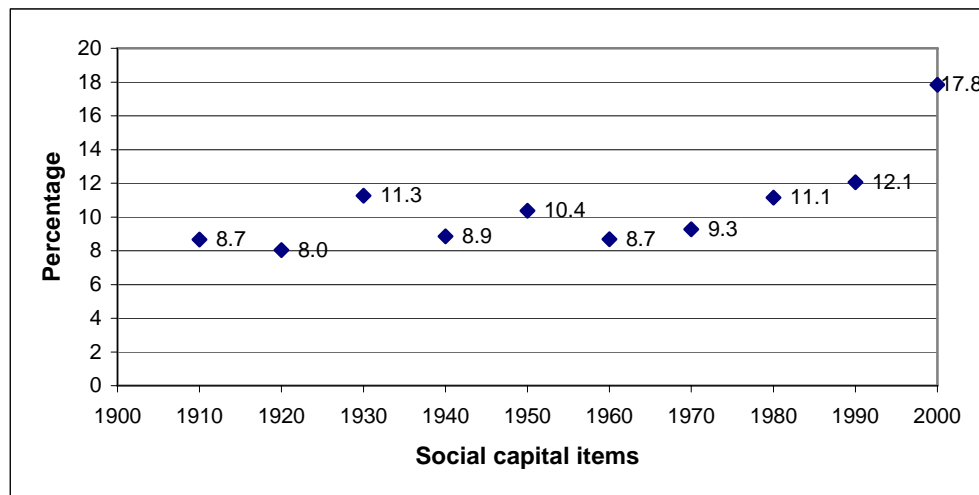


Figure 19 Proportion of social capital items in content of each decade year

The proportion of social capital content increases over time. It doubles between 1910 and 2000. A pattern of social capital items in community newspaper content over time is shown in appendix O 1 both as a percent of social capital and a percent within each decade year. Figure 19 above also indicates that the level of social capital in content in 1930 was not overtaken till 1990. While social capital levels in content increase from 1960, the greatest increase in social capital in content is between, 1980 to 2000.

There is a positive correlation between the number of items coded as social capital and decade year⁹. The correlation is very strong when only the period 1960 to 2000 is considered¹⁰, therefore indicating a strong relationship between social capital and time (Appendix O 4).

⁹ Pearson $r = 0.70131395$

¹⁰ Pearson $r = 0.91647164$

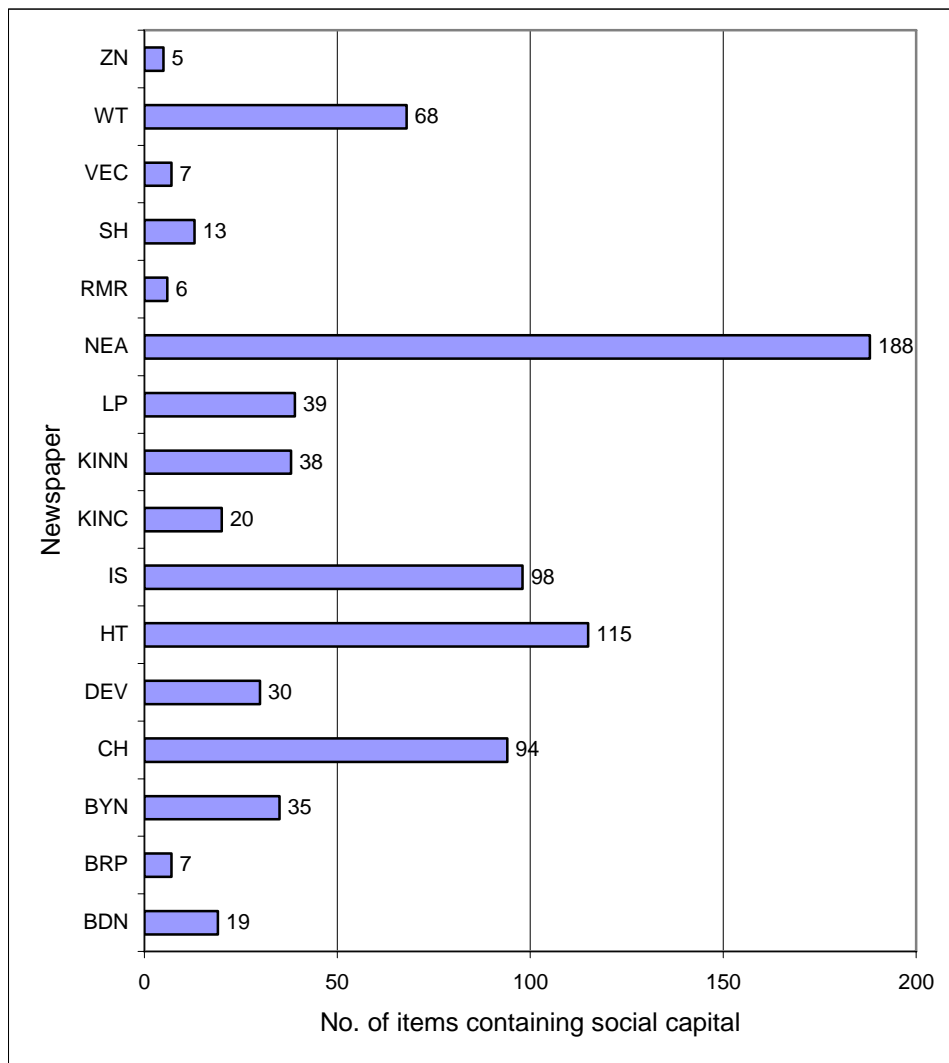


Figure 20 Origin of the total social capital items reported in sample newspapers

Figure 20 indicates the number of all social capital items coded by each newspaper sampled. This is related to the date they were established and the overall number of items each newspaper contributed to the sample. Figure 20 is useful to be considered in conjunction with Table 9, showing newspaper establishment dates and circulations. Appendix O 1 gives the number of items containing social capital and the percent each paper contributed to the total content analysed. Table 35 following represents the social capital content of each newspaper in proportion to its total content. The newspapers are listed in descending order of proportion of social capital coded in their content. Each newspaper's establishment date is included.

Table 35 Proportion of social capital within sample newspapers

Established	Community newspaper	Total proportion of social capital in content (%)
1981	<i>Lilydale Progressive</i>	44.9
1998	<i>Devonport Times</i>	31.3
1995	<i>Brid rePort</i>	26.9
1998	<i>St Helens Herald</i>	21.2
1980	<i>Western Tiers</i>	18.3
1954	<i>Island News</i>	18.2
1980	<i>Bruny News</i>	16.3
1909	<i>North Eastern Advertiser</i>	13.6
1983	<i>King Island Courier</i>	11.5
1977	<i>Bagdad News</i>	10.6
1910	<i>Huon Times</i>	8.4
1991	<i>Rossarden Mountain Re-echo</i>	7.7
1906	<i>Circular Head Chronicle</i>	7.6
1989	<i>Zeehan Community</i>	7.0
1912	<i>King Island News</i>	5.7
1962	<i>Valley & East Coast Voice</i>	4.1

Table 35 indicates that the highest proportion of social capital content appears in the *Lilydale Progressive*, followed by the *Devonport Times*, and the *Brid rePort*. Establishment dates have been included in the first column and show that newspapers with the highest proportions are the later established newspapers. Appendix O 1B shows the percent and frequency of social capital in each newspaper's content. Appendix O 2 shows social capital content distribution over time in each newspaper. It is interesting to note the decade in which highest levels of social capital occurred in each newspaper over time. Appendix O 3 shows levels of social capital in the content of the four oldest papers over time. Each of the four older papers has its highest level of social capital in a separate decade year and they do not conform to the more expected pattern of higher levels of social capital in content between 1990 and 2000. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

What subjects and social issues report social capital?

Subject variables

The subjects represented in the items coded as social capital are identified in Figure 21.

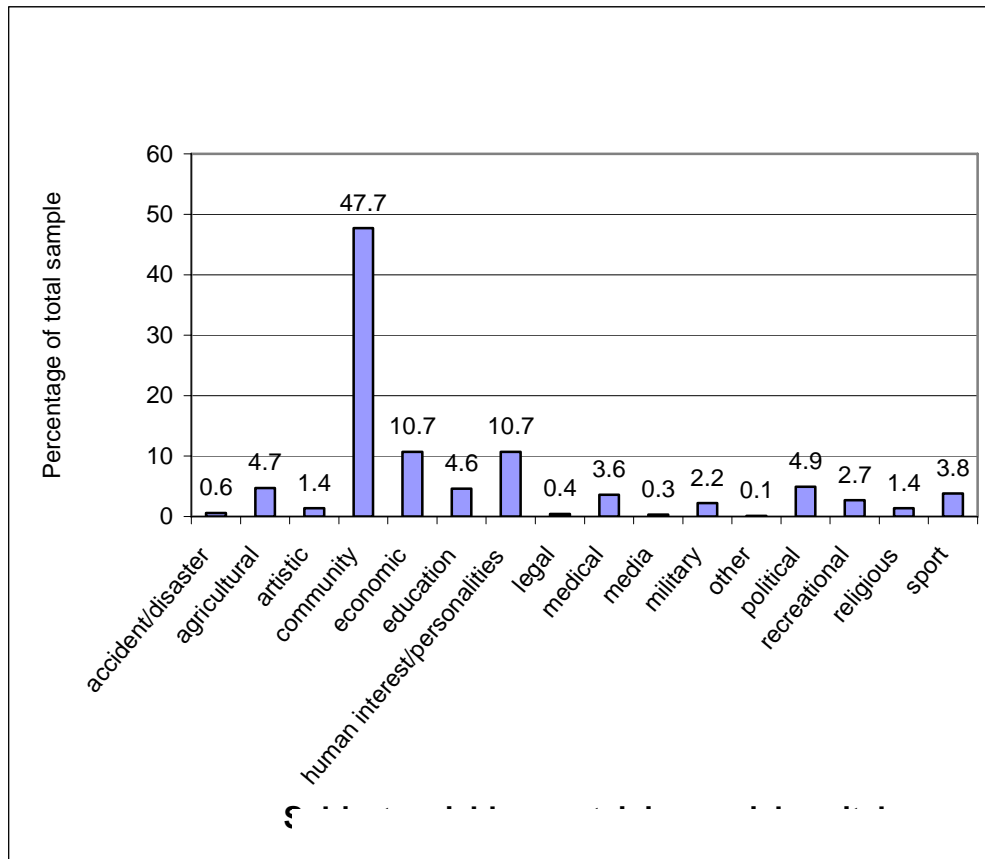


Figure 21 Percentage of social capital items in each subject category

Social capital occurs mainly in *community* subject matter with 47.6% of all social capital relating to community. The highest proportion of social capital appears in the subject variables of community, economic (10.7%) and human interest (10.7%). The lowest proportions appear in media (0.3%). Table 36 shows subject variables by decade year.

Table 36 Social capital in subject variables: Percent within decade year

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Accident/ Disaster			4.1				1.9	1.1			0.6
Agricultural	19.1	8.8	15.1	3.7	4.5	3.1	1.9	1.1	0.8	2.6	4.7
Artistic				1.9	4.5			3.4	2.3	0.9	1.4
Community	31.9	38.2	26.0	40.7	45.5	50.0	44.2	48.9	60.9	53.9	47.7
Economic	6.4	26.5	16.4	11.1	11.4	12.5	19.2	6.8	7.0	8.7	10.7
Education		2.9				3.1	3.8	14.8	8.6	3.5	4.6
Human interest/ Personal- ities	21.3	2.9	8.2	5.6	9.1	12.5	11.5	11.4	7.0	13.5	10.7
Legal					2.3					0.9	0.4
Medical	2.1	8.8	1.4	3.7	9.1	3.1	1.9	2.3	2.3	4.3	3.6
Media										0.9	0.3
Military			2.7	9.3	2.3		1.9	3.4	2.3	0.9	2.2
Other							1.9				0.1
Political	4.3	5.9	11.0	11.1	4.5	6.3	7.7	2.3	2.3	3.0	4.9
Recreational	6.4	5.9	6.8	9.3	4.5		1.9	1.1	0.8	0.4	2.7
Religious	4.3		5.5					1.1	2.3	0.4	1.4
Sport	4.3		2.7	3.7	2.3	9.4	1.9	2.3	3.1	6.1	3.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shaded items identify the variable occurring with the highest proportion in each decade year.

Lighter-shaded items are variables occurring second highest in each decade year.

A comparison of where social capital occurs in subjects (Table 36) and subject items in Table 13 shows that social capital does not appear to the same extent in all subjects. From Table 36 it appears that community subject items contained the largest proportion of social capital consistently over the decade years. It is evident that the occurrence of social capital in *community* increases from 1940, and as noted earlier appears in the highest proportion of community subject items peaking in 1990 at 61%. What does emerge in relation to the other subjects are patterns related the occurrence of social capital. Quite against the trend set by community items, human interest items containing social capital show highest levels in 1910. Social capital, occurs more often in political items in 1930 and 1940 than in the latter decades of the century when community development and government policy focused on employing social capital as a strategy for development (Winter, 2001), and more items about community could have been expected to contain social capital .

Were there any noticeable differences in how social capital occurred in subject items in individual newspapers, given the predominance of social capital in community subjects over

time? Appendix T describes the proportions of social capital identified in subjects within each newspaper. The *Lilydale Progressive* records the highest proportion of social capital in *community* content items (68%), followed by the *King Island News* (63%) and the *Bruny News*. In only one newspaper—the *St Helens Herald*—did social capital not appear at its highest level in community items but rather appeared in equally with political items (both 30.8%). One possible explanation could be the focus of the editor of the *St Helens Herald* on reporting local civic matters. His aim was to maintain information transparency in relation to local development.

Social Issues

Social issues occur in 9.4% or 634 of all items coded in the sample community newspapers. The proportion of *social issues* items containing social capital is 28%, being 2.6% of the total items. While social issues are a small proportion of the total content, they reflect community action and concern. Proportions of social issue items containing social capital are shown in Figure 22.

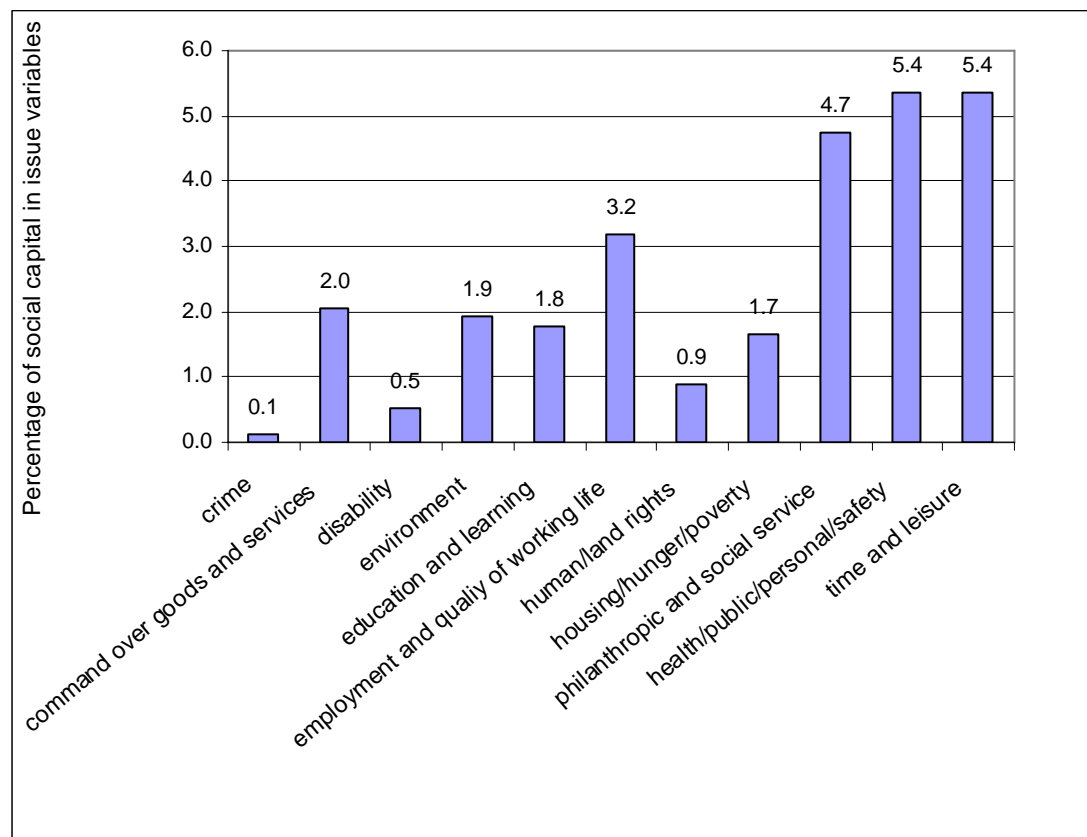


Figure 22 Social issues (percent of social capital items)

As shown in Figure 22, social capital has its highest representation in the *social issues* category related to *health/public/personal safety* and *time and leisure* then followed by *philanthropic and social service*. A break-down of how social issues occur by decade year follows in Table 37.

Table 37 Social capital social issues by decade year

Social issue variables	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Crime	28.1	9.4	15.6	9.4	6.3	3.1	12.5		9.4	6.3	100
Command over goods and services	16.4	9.8	9.8	4.1	4.9	9.0	6.6	13.1	12.3	13.9	100
Disability		14.3		57.1					14.3	14.3	100
Environment		7.0	2.3	2.3	2.3	7.0	2.3	16.3	27.9	32.6	100
Education and learning	2.4			2.4	7.3	12.2	12.2	31.7	17.1	14.6	100
Employment and quality of working life	3.1	9.2	23.1	12.3	6.2	6.2	7.7	6.2	9.2	16.9	100
Human/Land rights	5.9		17.6	11.8	5.9	5.9			29.4	23.5	100
Housing/Hunger/Poverty	5.4	8.1	5.4	8.1	2.7	5.4	5.4	2.7	35.1	21.6	100
Philanthropic and social service	1.8	1.8	1.8	10.9	1.8	5.5	1.8	29.1	20.0	25.5	100
Health/Public & personal safety	2.5	0.8	2.5	7.4	10.7	6.6	9.8	20.5	23.8	15.6	100
Time and leisure	1.1	2.2	9.7	11.8	5.4	2.2	6.5	9.7	26.9	24.7	100
Total	8.2	6.4	9.5	9.1	6.4	5.8	8.5	11.5	15.3	19.2	100

Note: Shaded items highlight the highest proportion of each variable over the decade years.

There are differences in patterns over time between subject and social issues containing social capital (Tables 36 and 37) and those items coded without social capital (Tables 13 and 14). An example is the high level of social capital in crime in 1910, whereas the social issues of greatest reportage in general items was command over goods and services. Because of the small number of items coded as social issues the most interesting finding are shown in the cross tabulation of subjects by social issues containing social capital. For example, where community items describe the area or chief subject of interest, social issues identify areas such as time and leisure, and health, public and personal safety as key issues containing social capital.

Example

An example of the subject item community in relation to a health/public/personal issue is a letter to the *Western Tiers* following. How it relates to social capital is in its use of the paper as a medium for airing ‘diversity of controversy’ (Flora & Flora, 1993) and critical opinion.

'Galah' attack on the Central Plateau. No doubt you have heard about the pest galahs are on the Mainland, they eat the crops the farmers put in and create havoc. We have a different species in the Great Lake area, the "Galah" that arrived was apparently sent from Canberra, supposedly by the Town and Country planning Authority to inspect the shack sites and come up with a solution to rectify a problem that never existed. "Pollution of the streams and Great Lake" so this "Galah" spends a very short time looking around then returns to Canberra with a recommendation that shacks be moved, between Canal Bay and further north, to be put in one heap with a sewage system. Of course, this "Galah" has never seen the Lake area when it is really wet! I can assure you it just seeps with water, if there was a fall of snow and then rain, there would be raw sewage floating into the Lake from an overflowing cess pond, drainage from these ponds always smells, you only have to look around some of the towns to realise they do have problems. Let us look at a different angle, - who sent him here? What is the real reason behind the visit? The Bothwell Council keep a watchful eye on the streams etc, for pollution in the Central Plateau, it has proven negative. I don't think for on moment that pollution was the reason for visit.

Source: *Western Tiers*, 26 April 1990.

Dimensions of social capital in newspapers

In the content analysis framework, five categories and their variables relate to social capital. Four represent the four dimensions of social capital: *elements*, *networks*, *knowledge and identity resources* and *Incorgov*. The fifth category examines the *effect* of the social capital item, within content, discussed in the section: what is occurring when social capital is reported? The following section examines the dimensions in relation to the occurrence of the variables that make up sub-categories of each dimension.

Elements

Key conceptual elements of social capital are defined in this thesis as *a history of ideas* (Althusser, 1968) that have emerged from social capital theory and research over the twentieth century (Halifan, 1916; Loury, 1977; Granovetter, 1973; Bourdieu, 1996; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Putnam, 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 2000, 2003; Woolcock, 1998; Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). See Chapters 2 and 3.

Element variables are defined in Appendix E 2 Content Analysis Framework and Appendix E 3, Codebook. The variables within the elements category are *futuricity*, *historicity*, *inclusivity*, *participation in voluntary societies*, *reciprocity*, *relationship building*, *shared values*, and *vision*.

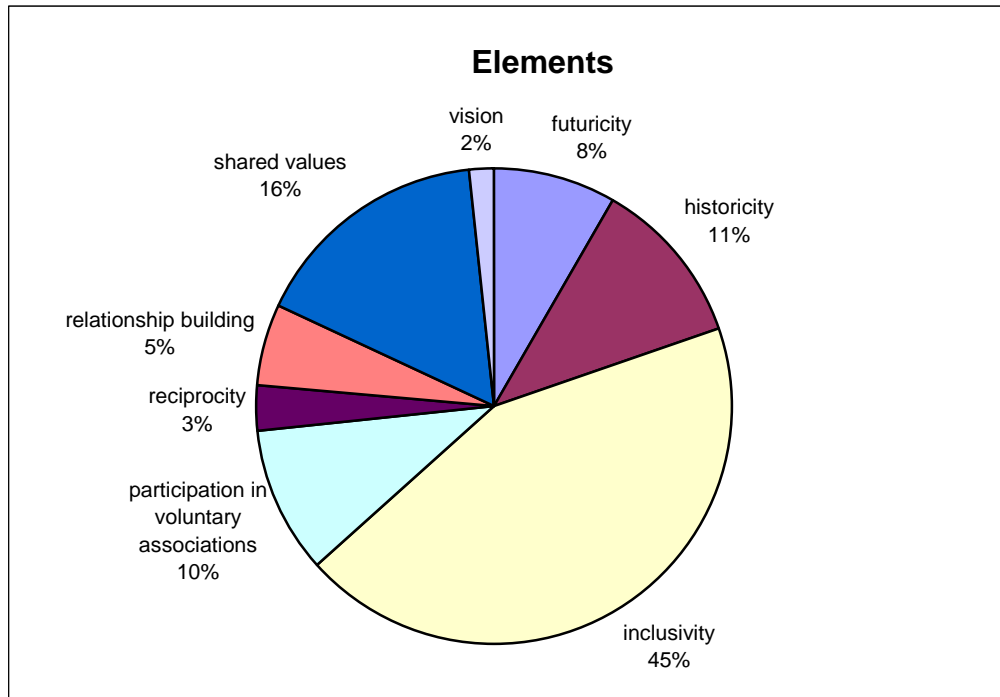


Figure 23 Element variables as a proportion of all items in elements

Figure 23 represents the distribution of the elements of social capital occurring in the community newspaper sample's content. *Inclusivity* (defined in Chapter 3 as 'a social relationship allowing individuals to claim access to resources held by their associates'), records the highest percentage, followed by *shared values* and *historicity*. The lowest proportions recorded are *vision* and *reciprocity*.

Examples

An example of *inclusivity*, defined in the Codebook as 'a social relationship allowing individuals to claim access to resources held by their associates', was a report from the *Western Tiers* on the Model United Nations Assembly (M.U.N.A.) in its 13th year, held at Deloraine. The report detailed a Rotary Club project to promote international peace and understanding. Year 10 students from private and state schools all over Tasmania spent a weekend debating world issues, disco dancing and dining.

An example of *shared values* from the *Circular Head Chronicle*, 27 July 1980, titled 'Wynyard Focal Point for Community Services', reported a future event as a major focal

point for a variety of community support services and programs. The report reported that there would be training for volunteers, as well as government staff and community organisation discussions and forums with local agencies. The event was a major project of various community support bodies to look at assistance to the elderly living in the region. The coding of this item was *shared values* based on ‘good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among individual and families who make up a social unit’ (Halifan, 1916, p. 130). The item is coded as *shared values* because it outlined the shared focus of the bodies involved, convening the event for a common purpose. Coleman (1988) stated that social capital is ‘most generally social organisation, including both the informal organisation and the formal organisation’ (1988, p. 392). Coleman suggested that one of the principal ways in which social capital provides value is through ‘facilitating the provision of public good; that is goods which are not in the interest of any individual to produce alone, but which if provided are of benefit to many’ (p. 392) as described in this example.

The elements occurring in the sample newspapers are presented in Appendix O 5 which identifies the proportions of each of the element variables within each newspaper’s content. A brief summary from Table 38 of the highest levels for each variable follows: *futuricity* in the *Lilydale Progressive* and *St Helens Herald*; *historicity*, in the *Lilydale Progressive*; *inclusivity* in the *Devonport Times*. What the comparison of elements within newspapers shows is that although *inclusivity* was proportionally highest in the whole sample, the relative proportion of elements within individual newspapers varies greatly.

Networks

Social capital inheres in the structures of relations between persons and among persons.

Source: Coleman, 1990, p. 302.

Network variables described in Chapter 3 are *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* (Woolcock, 1998). The added variable *negative* has been included to qualify content items that may cause diminishing social capital. Figure 24 shows the proportions of variables in this dimension.

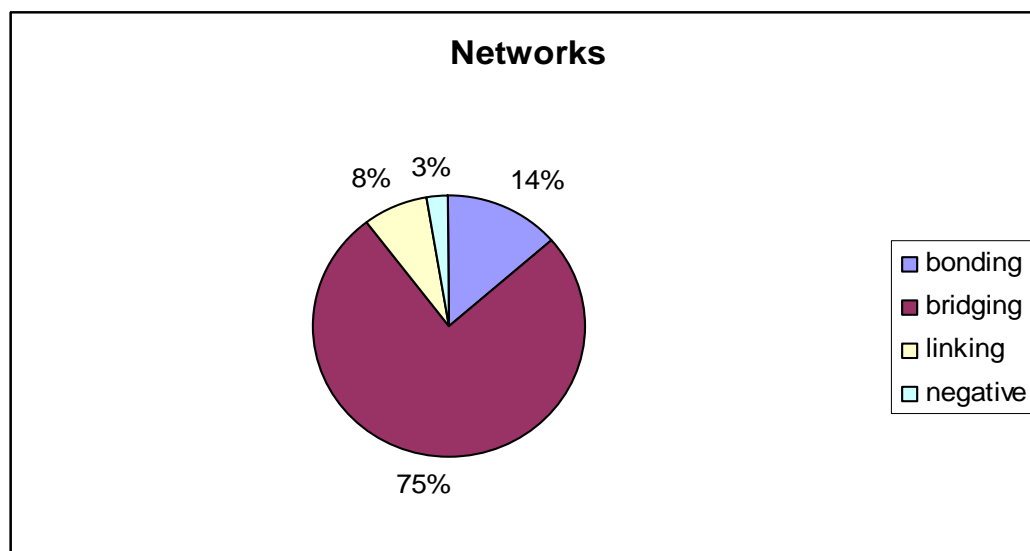


Figure 24 Network variables as a proportion of all variables

As noted in Figure 24, the most frequently coded type of network in newspaper content is bridging.

Examples

An example of how bridging social capital is reported in content follows.

Tour a Success. A familiarization tour of the South Arthur forestry road network at the weekend has been described as an out-standing success (*Circular Head Chronicle*, 2 April 1980, p. 1).

This report is considered *bridging* social capital because it reports two different interest groups coming together. A proportion of the community may have opposed forest practices. The 'tour' enabled a further understanding of the benefits available to the community, which in turn could be expected to result in a reduction of local tensions and the building of understanding between two different interest groups. The report in the newspaper of the success would further benefit the organisers of the tour, building their confidence and community esteem, and contribute to building overall community identity. Further, in coding this item as an element, it would conform to the variable *relationship building*.

An example of *linking* social capital is the community services event in the *Circular Head Chronicle* described as an example of *shared values* in the element section. The item reports a number of government and social service organisations coming together to offer training to volunteer members of the community at the event, and to discuss and consult with the

community. It links the external organisations to the local community. The community is also linked to action that it could not arrange on its own.

Appendix P identifies the network variables in each of the sample newspapers. The highest proportions of network variables are: bonding in the *Island News* followed by the *North Eastern Advertiser*; bridging, in the *Lilydale Progressive* followed by the *Devonport Times*; linking, in the *St Helens Herald*.

Identifying what types of networks are illustrated within individual newspapers shows how social capital structures may function and the means through which social capital is built. For example, in Appendix P, highest levels of bonding social capital are seen in the *Island News* (7.7% of its content), and relate to a strong focus on building self-esteem and stories of its local island community members. Newspaper content and background depicts a highly 'engaged' community.

Knowledge and identity resources

Knowledge resources are 'where the interactions draw on the resource of common understanding related to the knowledge of community, personal, individual and collective information which is drawn from sources internal and external to the community' (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000, p. 99). Identity resources are 'where the interactions draw on internal and external resources of common understanding related to personal, individual and collective identities—build a sense of belonging and encourage participation' (p. 100).

Two categories are associated with knowledge and identity resources (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). The first category codes items as knowledge, identity, and separately, the combination knowledge and identity. Results of the first category showed 64% of items were coded as knowledge resources, 28% as identity, and 8% as both knowledge and identity resources.

Knowledge and identity sub-categories

The variables in knowledge and identity sub-categories are: information networks, precedents and procedures, skills and knowledge, self-confidence, and vision, values/attitudinal attributes, and commitment to community.

Figure 25 following shows the proportion of the knowledge and identity resources variable items.

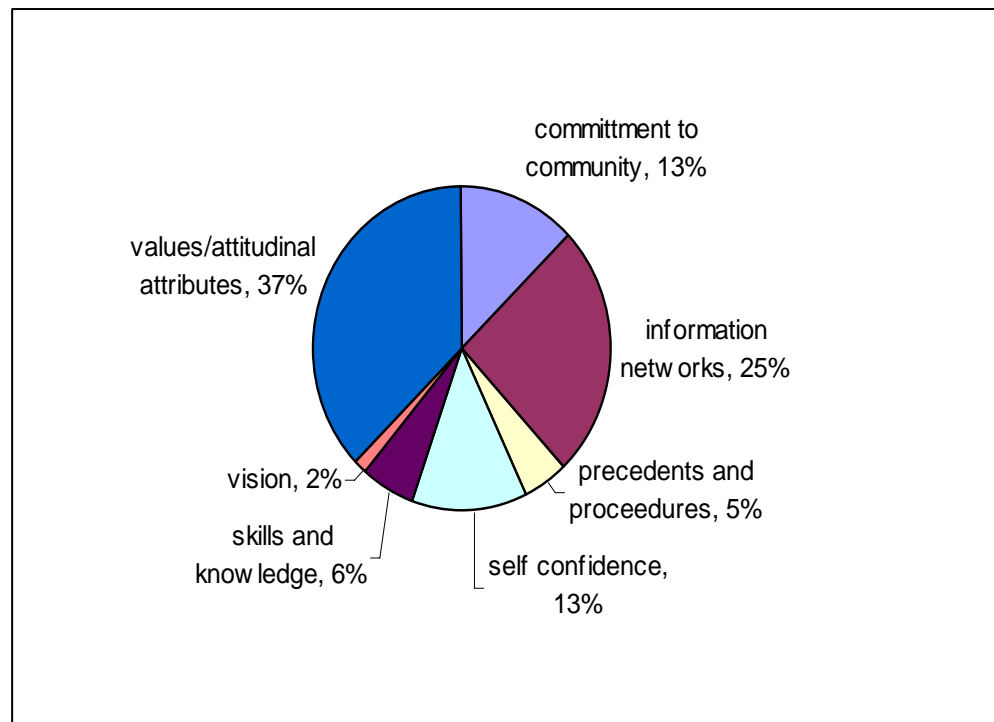


Figure 25 Knowledge and identity sub-categories

Examples

An example of *values and attitudinal attributes* follows. The piece is not easily summarised and is included in order to demonstrate the *values* and attitudinal attributes. The following excerpt is the first paragraph of a front page article that is described in the *North Eastern Advertiser*, 1930:

New Guinea Natives: A Local and World Problem

One effect of the concentration upon economic problems in the Commonwealth, the inevitable result of a depression, is to distract attention from the burdens and liabilities laid on this community by factors and conditions outside Australian territory itself. The administration of the mandated territory of New Guinea is a case in point. There are not a few features of that administration which call for the attention of thoughtful citizens—but perhaps the most difficult is the question of native conditions and of so-called ‘forced labour’.

The annual report from the administrator to the Permanent Mandate Commission at Geneva, and ever more the verbal inquiries and expressions of

opinion, by that body, serve as a focal point for a good deal of informed judgement throughout the whole world. Much of this opinion has been concentration upon the question of 'forced' labour both in the mandates and in other colonial possessions. From this point of view it is important that we should realise both what is happening in New Guinea and in the world at large.

North Eastern Advertiser, 8 July 1930, p. 1.

The item would be coded firstly as *linking* social capital, informing and deliberating an unlikely connection drawn in day-to-day contact, but the article provides a wider understanding of an external problem through knowledge resources that is, discussion and illumination of information from organizations and bodies in authority, and their position.

An example of an *information network* variable was reported in the *Huon Times*, 1910: 'Exploiting New Markets Conference: A representative gathering of delegates from the different fruit-growing centres in southern Tasmania was held to discuss the question of exploiting new markets for Tasmania fruit growers' (23 July 1910, p. 6). This example is a report of representatives coming together to contribute and gain from shared information and knowledge to improve local and industry development.

Appendix Q 1 contains a breakdown of the *knowledge and identity* sub-categories present in each sample newspaper, showing *values and attitudinal attributes* to be the most frequently occurring in most newspapers. One exception was the *Lilydale Progressive*, which records *commitment to community* as the most frequently occurring sub-category (43%), followed by *vision* (14%) and *self confidence* (19%). This is unusual in that the *Lilydale Progressive* recorded the highest proportion of social capital from its total content, so it could have been expected to contribute to the most frequently occurring variable, values and attitudinal attributes. Again, it is clear that the individual differences in content that chart specific features of each community.

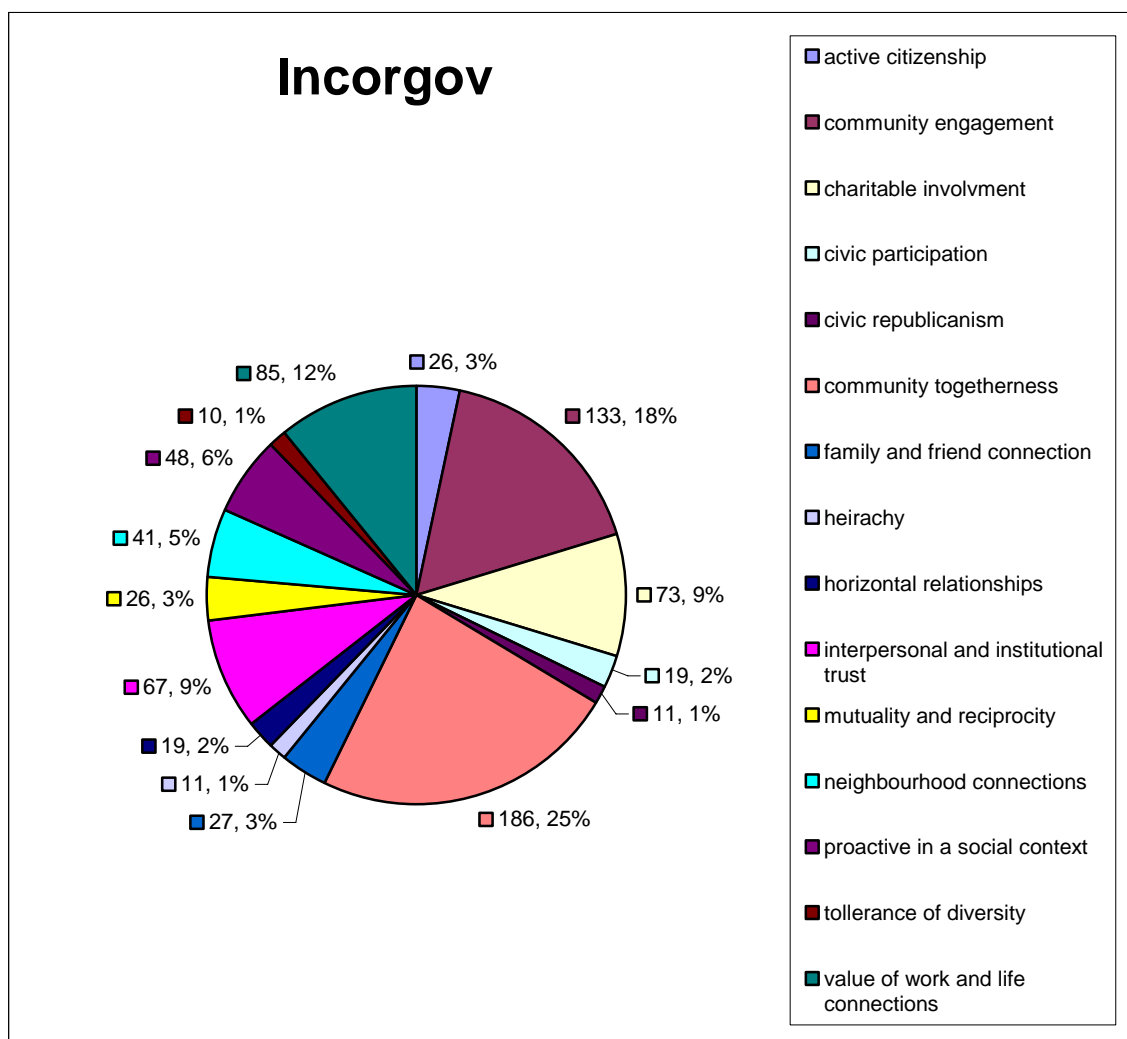
Incorgov

Social capital resides in the functional society.

Coleman, 1988, p. 387.

Incorgov is derived from the amalgamation of indicators from research pertaining to identified through the *synergy* approach (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000) involving individuals (I), community (C), organisations (OR), and government action (GOV) (McManamey, 2001, 2003).

Incorgov contains 15 variables formed by the amalgamation of 36 indicators (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The variables in *Incorgov* are active citizenship, community engagement, charitable involvement, civic participation, civic republicanism, community togetherness, family and friend connection, hierarchy, horizontal relationships, interpersonal and institutional trust, mutuality and reciprocity, neighbourhood connections, proactive in a social context, tolerance of diversity, value of work and life connections. Percent and frequencies of the Incorgov variables in the social capital items are shown in Figure 26 following.



Note: Variables in legend commence at top with 26. 3%, active citizenship, and continue clock wise

Figure 26 Incorgov variables

As shown above, Incorgov variables that appear with the greatest frequency are community togetherness (25%), community engagement (18%), value of work and life connections (12%), charitable involvement, and interpersonal and institutional trust (both 9%). Hierarchy and tolerance of diversity occur in 1% of items. The distribution of Incorgov variables occurring in each of the sample newspapers is shown in Appendix R 1 and in each paper by time in Appendix R 2.

Examples

An example of *community togetherness* was identified in the *Devonport Times* in the 2000 decade year summary of Research Question 2 results. Under the heading ‘Community *Link Up*’ was a small quote and a photo illustrating a number of communities contributing to the one major Christmas event.

The excerpt titled 'New Guinea Natives: A Local and World Problem' from the *North Eastern Advertiser* (8 July 1930, p. 1) and identified as the knowledge and identity resource: *values and attitudinal attributes* was be coded in *Incorgov* as *civic republicanism* ('characterised by politized citizens, learned in public matters having a sense of responsibility' Sudarsky, 1998, p. 30), because of the stand taken by the writer to inform and create responsible deliberation about a problem perceived to be a national responsibility. The content was both an outcome of social capital, (that is, the writer's action promoted understanding and attention); and a generator of social capital, that is, based on the element *futuricity* it encouraged further responsible action and thought from future leaders and politically interested citizens.

In summary, the use of the four dimensions of social capital as categories in the content analysis provides an analysis of reported events and items in newspapers in relation to social capital concepts. The four dimensions provide analysis of four independent aspects of social capital. They can be related to different areas of community activity and present alternative ways in which social capital can be viewed. Value lies in being able to view one item from a number of aspects or dimensions, alternatively as a unit of social capital. The coding of items thereby maps community interactions and dynamics. The appendices in Research Question 2 identifying each newspaper in relation to the categories within the framework over time, can offer a profile of social capital within each newspaper. The profile can be obtained from observing each newspaper in relation to dimensions of social capital and how the subject and social issues containing social capital occurred in individual papers over time. An example is given in Appendix V.

How has social capital changed over time?

This section examines differences in patterns of occurrence of the four dimensions of social capital by decade year. The overall proportion of social capital by each decade year was noted earlier in Figure 19 and Appendix O 2. How variables within each of the dimensions occur, and their patterns over time, are evident in the following Tables 38 to 41.

Table 38 Element by decade year: Percent within each decade year

Elements	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Futuricity	0.4	1.7	0.8	0.8	1.4		0.7	0.6	0.8	1.8	1.0
Historicity	0.6	0.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.5	2.7	1.3
Inclusivity	1.9	2.4	4.1	1.8	3.3	4.3	3.7	5.6	6.5	9.2	5.1
Participation in voluntary associations		0.2	0.3	1.5	0.2	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.3	1.9	1.2
Reciprocity		0.2	0.5	0.3	0.7		0.2	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.4
Relationship building	0.4	1.0	0.3	1.0	0.7	2.0	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.6
Shared values	5.2	2.4	3.3	2.1	1.9	0.3	1.8	2.0	0.6	1.2	1.9
Vision	0.4		0.6		0.7				0.1	0.3	0.2
Not social capital	91.3	92.0	88.8	91.2	89.6	91.3	90.7	88.9	87.9	82.2	88.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the variable occurring in the highest proportion in each decade year

Table 38 shaded areas highlight the most frequently occurring element within each decade year. Inclusivity is the most frequently occurring element in most decade years and the most frequent overall, as noted in Figure 23. Shared values, occurs in proportionally higher frequency in 1910 and 1920. The table indicating each element's representation across the decade years allows us to ascertain when individual elements such as vision (1950) and reciprocity are most frequently represented in content. The fact both are highest in 1950, prompts exploration. Appendix S 2 shows that vision appears in items whose sources are: community, reader and specialist. Reciprocity appears in items from correspondents and readers.

Of particular interest is the noticeable increase of items coded as participation in voluntary associations. There is a strong positive relationship between participation in voluntary associations and year¹¹. (Appendix O 4—Participation in voluntary associations correlation). This increase over time does not correspond with Putnam's argument on declining membership of voluntary associations if you were to accept that notification and reports of participation in voluntary association were aligned to membership numbers. The variable's

¹¹ Pearson $r = 0.853579361$

increase suggests an increase in numbers of voluntary associations and the importance of the variable to community newspaper content. This variable appears at its highest levels for the first half of the century in 1940, and is associated with the community's response to World War II war efforts. The proportion of this variable in content in 1940 was not exceeded until 1980.

Networks

Following is Table 39 identifying patterns in network variables by decade year.

Table 39 Network by percent within decade year

Network	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Bonding	27.7	23.5	25.4	20.4	31.8			6.8	15.6	7.0	13.6
Bridging	61.7	52.9	64.8	48.1	52.3	97.1	86.5	87.5	78.9	86.1	76.2
Linking	10.6	14.7	7.0	24.1	13.6		9.6	5.7	3.1	5.2	7.7
Negative		8.8	2.8	7.4	2.3	2.9	3.8		2.3	1.7	2.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the variable occurring with the greatest frequency in each decade year.

Evident in Table 39, bridging social capital makes up the highest proportion of items in networks. Bridging is highest in 1960, showing a large increase from the 1950 decade year which is a key finding. Bridging social capital is generally higher after 1960 than before. This year was the decade year when community items became the major focus and positive content was also highest to that point. Literature suggests that bonding networks are more easily made and that bridging networks are most significant in maintaining and developing healthy community relations (Putnam et al., 2003). It is interesting to note that no bonding social capital was reported in 1960 or 1970 in content, though relatively high levels were reported in 1930 and 1950.

Linking social capital is highest in 1940, and more prominent up to 1950, than in the second half of the century. Also the absence of linking in 1960 suggests community newspaper items strongly supported community growth through bridging social capital, though apparently ignoring links to external and unlikely relationships.

Negative social capital appears in equal highest proportions in 1940 and 2000. Negative social capital would be found in content or reports critical or destructive of community morale, or which injure the relationship between groups within communities. For example, the 'Galah' article extract earlier in this section illustrating social capital and health/public/personal safety

could be destructive on community morale and produce negative social capital as a result of inaccurate local information being forwarded to Canberra.

Knowledge and identity

Knowledge and identity resources sub-category variables are shown in Table 40.

Table 40 Knowledge and identity sub-categories: Percent within decade year

Knowledge and identity sub-categories	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Commitment to community	2.1	14.7	9.9	5.6	15.9	8.8	15.4	15.9	13.3	15.7	12.9
Precedents and procedures		5.9	2.8	7.4	9.1	2.9	9.6	4.5	2.3	4.8	4.6
Self confidence	31.9	5.9	8.5	18.5	6.8	11.8	11.5	10.2	19.5	7.8	12.5
Skills and knowledge		2.9	8.5	9.3	13.6	8.8	3.8	3.4	4.7	5.7	5.8
Vision	2.1				2.3		1.9	2.3		3.0	1.5
Values/Attitudinal attributes	23.4	41.2	35.2	38.9	38.6	41.2	28.8	45.5	30.5	42.2	37.5
Information networks	40.4	29.4	35.2	20.4	13.6	26.5	28.8	18.2	29.7	20.9	25.2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the variable appearing with the greatest frequency in each decade year.

The most frequently occurring variables over time were values/attitudinal attributes and *information networks*, as noted in Figure 25. The number of items contributed by correspondents and specialists in 1930 (Table 20) suggests a need for specialised and educational information applied to local industry. An example noted in the summary of the last research question results for the 1930 decade year was an article taking up the majority of the front page of the *North Eastern Advertiser* devoted to ‘chook rearing’. The article would have provided advice for farmers interested in improving their farm businesses, families interested in keeping food on the table and also would have stimulated interest in the industry. The article also provided avenues of information that could be further called upon by readers. The front page of the *Huon Times* shown in the summary of the 1930 decade year in the previous section also reported two different articles pertaining to apple

Incorgov

Table 41 following shows proportions of items in Incorgov over the decade years.

Table 41 Incorgov variables: Percent within decade year

Incorgov	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Active citizenship			7.0	7.4	9.1			1.1	1.6	4.3	3.3
Community engagement	8.5	8.8	4.2	3.7	18.2	8.8	9.6	18.2	18.0	28.7	17.0
Charitable involvement	2.1	2.9	4.2	14.8	9.1	32.4	13.5	10.2	10.9	6.5	9.3
Civic participation			4.2	1.9			9.6	2.3	1.6	2.6	2.4
Civic republicanism	2.1	2.9	1.4	5.6	2.3		1.9		1.6	0.4	1.4
Community togetherness	55.3	35.3	23.9	13.0	11.4	20.6	21.2	23.9	21.9	22.6	23.8
Family and friend connection	4.3		2.8	13.0	6.8	2.9		4.5	3.9	1.3	3.5
Hierarchy		2.9	4.2	3.7		2.9	1.9	1.1		0.9	1.4
Horizontal relationships		5.9	5.6	1.9	4.5	2.9	1.9		0.8	3.0	2.4
Interpersonal and institutional trust	6.4	11.8	14.1	9.3		8.8	11.5	9.1	7.8	7.8	8.6
Mutuality and reciprocity		11.8	4.2	3.7	4.5	5.9	9.6		4.7	0.9	3.3
Neighbourhood connections	2.1		2.8	1.9	4.5	5.9	5.8	8.0	7.8	5.7	5.2
Proactive in a social context	4.3		4.2	9.3	11.4	8.8	5.8	2.3	5.5	7.8	6.1
Tolerance of diversity	2.1	5.9		1.9			1.9	1.1	2.3	0.4	1.3
Value of work and life connections	12.8	11.8	16.9	9.3	18.2		5.8	18.2	11.7	7.0	10.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Shading indicates the variable occurring with the greatest frequency in each decade year.

Table 41 identifies that community togetherness (as shown in Figure 26) is the most frequent variable coded for all social capital Incorgov items. It is interesting to note that community engagement is highest in 1950 in a time of increasing community contribution (Table 20) and community in subject items (Table 13) and social capital (Table 41). Another interesting result is charitable involvement is the highest variable in the 1960 decade year and is significantly higher than either the 1950 or 1970 decade year.

In identifying patterns of content items coded to the four dimensions' variables over time, the content analysis has allowed a number of comparisons to be made with items in the overall sample ($n = 6724$). This is a significant step in being able to relate social capital in a historical sense to community cultural and economic interactions discussed further in Chapter 5.

What is occurring when social capital is reported?

Social capital has been defined by example; implicitly as the relations that exist among parents of students in a school, but explicitly defining it by its effects. The justification of calling it social capital rather than merely social relations or social networks or community, lies in precisely these effects.

Coleman, 1988, p. 382.

In order to explore what is occurring or has occurred when social capital is reported, the category effect was included after Incorgov in the content framework. The items containing social capital were coded to one of the following effect variables: building, outcome, diminishing, and building and outcome. Figure 27 describes what effect the item coded as social capital engendered. Effect category was defined earlier in Chapter 3.

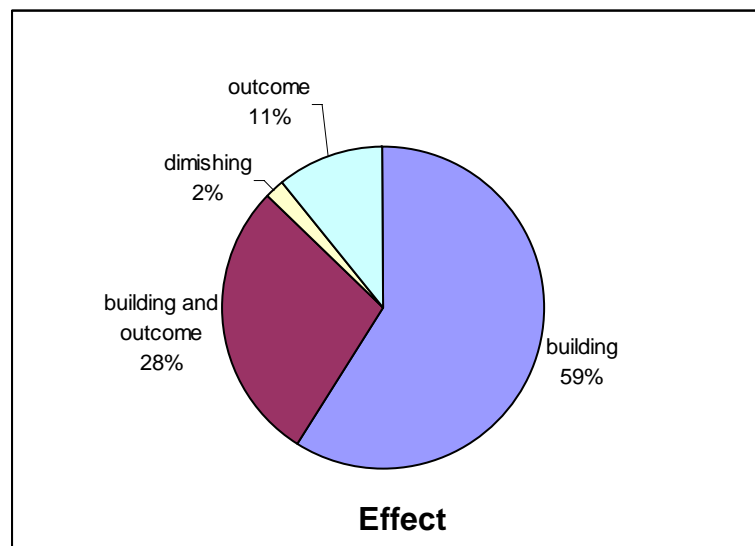


Figure 27 Effect of social capital content by percentage proportions

Figure 27 shows building social capital at 59%; items identified as building and outcome at 28%; and outcome of social capital at 11%. Diminishing items were identified as 2% of social capital items in content.

Appendix U contains a cross-tabulation of effect category with the four dimensions elements, networks, knowledge and identity resources and Incorgov. A number of findings emerged from this cross-tabulation. In elements, diminishing social capital occurred most frequently in association with inclusivity as noted in appendix U; building social capital tended to be associated with vision. Social capital reported as an outcome was identified most often in participation in voluntary associations. Findings from the cross-tabulations with effect show

how the knowledge and identity resource sub-categories are functioning and social capital is built through values and attitudinal attributes. It is also interesting to note that same variable contains the highest number of diminishing social capital items. For example, diminishing social capital seen in values and attitudinal attributes, becomes more specifically qualified through the Incorgov variables. Diminishing social capital is shown related chiefly to interpersonal and institutional trust. In elements diminishing social capital is strongly evident in items related to inclusivity. An example of diminishing social capital is the previously cited item, 'Galah' from the *Western Tiers* 1990, April, 26 and relates to diminishing institutional trust.

Differences in the way newspapers report social capital

Social capital items as a proportion of each community newspaper's total content were identified in Table 35. The variation between papers' subjects reporting social capital are noted in Appendix T.

However, a second method of perceiving how social capital occurs in content is by the number of variables within the subject and social issues categories that contain social capital in each newspaper. Levels of social capital in content report and build social capital interactions over time. Numbers of variables containing social capital describe the spread of social capital related interaction across content subject matter. Numbers of subject variables containing social capital for each sample newspaper are shown in the graph in Figure 28. The graph differentiates numbers of subject variables containing and not containing social capital.

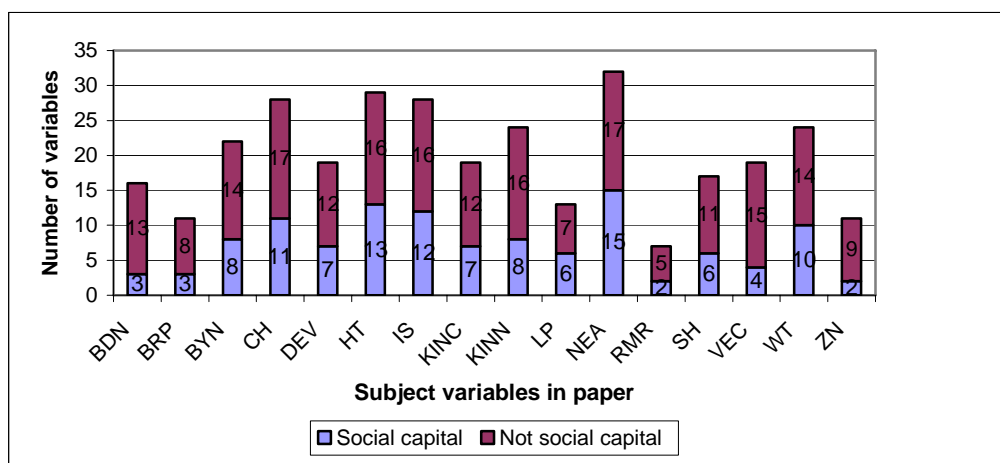


Figure 28 Number of subject variables in newspapers and numbers of subject variables containing social capital

Figure 28 shows that a major difference is that older and larger population newspapers have higher numbers of variables. Older newspapers excluding the *Island News*, are commercial independent community newspapers. Table 42 following indicates there is a general pattern of longer established newspapers having coded higher numbers of variables in their content. There is also a strong relationship between small population size and lower numbers of variables.

Table 42 Total number of subject variables in newspapers, containing social capital

Year established	Newspaper	Total subject variables
1909	<i>North Eastern Advertiser</i>	15
1910	<i>Huon Times</i>	13
1954	<i>Island News</i>	12
1906	<i>Circular Head Chronicle</i>	11
1980	<i>Western Tiers</i>	10
1980	<i>Bruny News</i>	8
1912	<i>King Island News</i>	8
1998	<i>Devonport Times</i>	7
1983	<i>King Island Courier</i>	7
1981	<i>Lilydale Progressive</i>	6
1998	<i>St Helens Herald</i>	6
1977	<i>Bagdad News</i>	5
1964	<i>Valley & East Coast Voice</i>	4
1998	<i>Brid rePort</i>	3
1991	<i>Rossarden Mountain Re-echo</i>	2
1989	<i>Zeehan Community News</i>	2

Table 43 following identifies the number of social issue variables in the community newspapers.

Table 43 Number of social issues variables containing social capital

Year established	Newspaper	Number of social issues variables
1906	<i>Circular Head Chronicle</i>	11
1910	<i>Huon Times</i>	11
1954	<i>Island News</i>	11
1909	<i>North Eastern Advertiser</i>	11
1912	<i>King Island News</i>	11
1980	<i>Western Tiers</i>	8
1977	<i>Bagdad News</i>	6
1980	<i>Bruny News</i>	6
1983	<i>King Island Courier</i>	5
1998	<i>St Helens Herald</i>	4
1998	<i>Devonport Times</i>	3
1981	<i>Lilydale Progressive</i>	3
1964	<i>Valley & East Coast Voice</i>	3
1998	<i>Brid rePort</i>	2
1989	<i>Zeehan Community News</i>	2
1991	<i>Rossarden Mountain Re-echo</i>	1

Five newspapers, all established in the first two decades of the period studied, include 11 social issues variables. Two newspapers, established in the last three decades, show only two, social issues containing social capital and one only one. The earlier-established newspapers report more issues containing social capital in their variables: for example, eight variables were identified within the *King Island News* and the *King Island Courier* (1983) contains five social issue variables coded with social capital. Both newspapers covered the same community, though the latter was established in the last two decade years and the former over the first seven decade years. It is interesting to note the differences between the two papers reflecting different approaches.

Hence, it appears that the number of social issues containing social capital increases according to the length of time a newspaper has been established, similar to the pattern seen in the subject variables. Small population size of community appears related to small numbers

of variables, though one major exception is the *Devonport Times* which serves a population centre of 24,000 and had a circulation of 10,000 copies. The motivation for the publication may be a possible explanation for the differences, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

How do newspapers print social capital?

This section examines the physical representation or format of content in the community newspapers and examines social capital content occurring within each format. The variables qualifying content format are *shape* and *photo shape*, described in Table 17 and Table 18 earlier. The proportions of items with the shape variables containing social capital follow in Table 44.

Table 44 Shape variables number and proportion containing social capital

Shape variable	Social capital (Frequency)	Total (%)
Article	241	22.0
Competition	1	3.6
Editorial	11	30.6
Joke/Small humorous story	1	0.4
Letters	67	20
Notice	66	6.9
Poem/Quote/Moral	6	4.8
Report	352	10.9
Story/serial	6	7.1
Sports results	1	0.3
Photo	29	17.8
Recipe	1	1.3
Total	782	11.6

Table 44 shows that social capital is most likely to occur in editorials (31%), articles (22%) and photos (18%). The greatest occurrence of social capital within a *shape* variable (31%) was identified in *editorial* items.

Though editorials make up a very small proportion (1.4%) of the total sample items, the editorials not containing social capital make up only 0.04% of all items.(Appendix S 1). Appendix S identifies shape variables containing social capital cross-tabulated over time.

Photo shape

Photo shape variables are cross-tabulated with the sample newspapers in Appendix S 3. The *photo shape* category contains 534 images, representing 8% of the total items sampled. Of the photo shape items, 69 contained social capital, 13% of the total social capital items. There was no significant pattern of photo shape associated with social capital content.

Why is tone important?

Tone

In items containing social capital, positive tone appears appears more often than any other tone variable in all decade years. It is interesting to note the second highest tone in 1920 was critical.

Table 45 Tone variable percent of social capital within decade year

Tone	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
Critical		20.6	1.4	3.7	4.5	2.9	1.9	1.1	2.3	1.7	2.8
Humorous		11.8	5.6	5.6			1.9		0.8		1.7
Mediatory	14.9	5.9	4.2	5.6	2.3	2.9	5.8	2.3	3.9	2.6	4.2
Neutral	31.9	14.7	39.4	38.9	45.5	23.5	40.4	42.0	28.9	33.0	34.3
Negative		2.9	1.4	1.9			3.8		1.6		0.9
Positive	53.2	44.1	46.5	44.4	45.5	70.6	46.2	54.5	62.5	62.6	55.9
Not relevant			1.4		2.3						0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Note: Heavy shading indicates the variable occurring most frequently in each decade year. Lighter shading indicates the next most frequently occurring variable containing social capital.

The key finding from Table 45 is that positive tone content contained the highest levels of social capital consistently over the century. From Table 45 it appears that the highest levels of positive tone content containing social capital occurred in 1960, followed by 2000. The pattern of positive varies from Table 21 general content by tone in that positive tone was lower in the early decades until 1960. Appendix S 4 shows a cross-tabulation between tone by time by social capital. Tone is generally associated with contributor (Table 22 and Table 23). The next section explores a number of aspects in which the community contributes to the community newspaper, including tone presented from contributors in relation to social capital.

How does the community contribute to the community newspaper?

It is with pleasure that we acknowledge the receipt of a varied and interesting collection of contributions to the *Bruny News*. The increase in circulation is itself an indication of the favourable response to the quality of the material. Thank you again (p. 2).

Editorial, *Bruny News*, March 1990.

This section identifies community contribution to the community newspaper, drawing on two forms of data. The first is by contribution to content identified through the content analysis *source* variables. The second is by interviews conducted with editors/coordinators and representative staff from the sampled community newspaper or, in the case of closed newspapers, former staff members. Data were gathered from a survey instrument which are included in Appendix D 2. A synopsis of the interviews in response to six questions is presented in Appendix M.

Source

Table 46 shows the proportion of contributors (source) to items containing social capital in content.

Table 46 Source by social capital: Percent of social capital by source

Item source by social capital	Total social capital
Community	17.0
Civic/Political	4.5
Correspondent	1.8
Editor	2.6
Foreign correspondent	1.8
Reader	8.8
Specialist	2.2
Staff/Unacknowledged	61.4
Total	100

The variables in the source category address the involvement and contribution of community to content. However, the interviews with editors/coordinators of the volunteer community newspaper sample suggest that contributions from community arise in a variety of ways that meld voluntary publisher/coordinator and community member so that the process of publication and contribution are not totally necessarily clearly defined or mutually exclusive as they might be with a commercial non-independent newspaper.

The action of contribution to community newspaper content engenders networks furthering communication. Such actions by definition contribute to building social capital. These contributions further may initiate other benefits that arise from relationships through bonding, bridging or linking social capital. This section explores the contributors to both content and production of the community newspapers, and sources of items containing social capital coded through the dimensions (Appendix S 2). Table 47 following shows the origin and organisation of each sample community newspaper in 2000.

Table 47 Community newspaper origins and production (at 2000)

Community Newspaper	Origin	Production 2000
<i>The Bagdad News</i>	Primary School Voluntary	Bagdad Online Centre
<i>Brid rePort</i>	Community - 2000 Committee Voluntary	Bridport Online Centre Voluntary
<i>Bruny News</i>	Community and Tourist Group Voluntary	Bruny Online Centre Voluntary
<i>Circular Head Chronicle</i>	The Newspaper -	The Newspaper
<i>Devonport Times</i>	Community member and Council	Community member and council
<i>Huon Times</i>	The Newspaper	The Newspaper
<i>Island News</i>	Community Members Voluntary	Community Members Voluntary
<i>King Island Courier</i>	The Newspaper	The Newspaper
<i>King Island News</i>	The Newspaper	Closed
<i>Lilydale Progressive</i>	Community Progressive Society Voluntary	Community and Online Voluntary
<i>North Eastern Advertiser</i>	The Newspaper	The Newspaper
<i>Rossarden Mountain Re echo</i>	Community members Voluntary	Community Members Voluntary
<i>St Helens Herald</i>	Community members and Online Centre Voluntary	Community members and Online Centre
<i>Valley and East Coast Voice</i>	Community Members Voluntary	Community Members Voluntary
<i>Western Tiers</i>	Primary School and Community Voluntary	(Advocate) Harris News Corp
<i>Zeehan Community News</i>	Community Healthcare and Community Centre Voluntary	Community members and Online Centre Voluntary

Note: Shading indicates commercial business; non-shaded items represent volunteer-run newspapers.

Table 47 indicates several differences between newspaper origins of the independent community newspapers and their organisation in 2000. In 2000, six of the voluntary newspapers were produced through their local online centre and community group. Unlike in the earlier decades, local school community leadership was not apparent. One newspaper, the *Western Tiers*, had become a non-independent commercial enterprise.

The following section explores the community contribution through: feedback, community contribution to content, community contribution, voluntary participation and staff; the role of the editor as community member and contributor; community contribution and newspaper closure.

Feedback

There are immediately identifiable distinctions between commercial and non-commercial community newspapers. A commercially run enterprise will have a certain focus on advertising, supplements, and promotions. The key point of difference between the two is the degree of community involvement.

Editors report community contributions come in a number of forms. Feedback, subscriptions and sales support—comprising continuous support of issues—are the major contributions a community makes to commercial independent community newspapers. Feedback is reader opinion and suggestions made in relation to content and newspaper production methods. Though it may sound less valuable than direct and written contribution, this is not so. Feedback is an important tool contributing support to the newspapers. It also can be used to gauge and maintain how ‘in tune’ the newspaper is with its local community. Feedback in a number of cases appears to have a strong impact on content directions (Editors, *Devonport Times*, *Huon Times*, *Circular Head Chronicle*): ‘The paper is fuelled by the community, its input and support’ (Editor, *Circular Head Chronicle*). Agreeing that feedback is a major contribution, the editor of the *Devonport Times* considers ‘tips on articles, and suggestions’ are a vital link in the newspaper’s function and practical community interaction. Additionally, community contribution in the areas of feedback and suggestions indicates an engaged readership and community ownership, resulting in what one editor described as ‘their ownership’. Expanding on how this occurs, the editor of the *Circular Head Chronicle* notes, ‘there’s rarely a day goes by when a local resident doesn’t phone in with a story idea or an event which needs to be covered...even a criticism or ten’ (Editor, *Circular Head Chronicle*).

Feedback, while a major source of community input to the commercial independent newspapers, is present in the voluntary community newspapers. An example from the *Island News*, 11 February 2000 follows.

Dear Editor,

I am mystified as to the purpose of the whole page statement by Jim Bacon and Lynn Mason printed in the last issue of the *Island News* (p. 25). It is difficult to believe that Jim Bacon (the state premier) had any influence on the without his input. What were his initiatives? How he and Lynn Mason could lay claim to any subsequent outcomes when immediately following their meeting Jim shaved off his moustache and went on holidays for a fortnight, and Lynn also went on a holiday (to Africa I believe) is amazing.

Please do not print any more of this worthless political rhetoric in the *Island News*—it is a misuse of this community newspaper.

I was not happy with another of Lynn's press statements in the last *IN* (p4). The Examiner regularly reports on voting of Launceston City Council's contentious issues—it is after all in the community's interest to do so. Political grandstanding referred to could more likely be attributed to Lynn's Council report on the issue. It seems to me that she used this platform to voice her own opinion, and it is apparently delegating responsibility to council staff for the content of the report.

Jane Bushby

Community contribution to content

Independent commercial community newspapers sampled in the current study appear to maintain a generic form of journalistic practice and organisational structure. Community contributions thus take the shape of letters, reports, sports results, feedback, criticism, and ideas. However, it appears a number of columns and continuous supplements are contributed by community members on a voluntary basis; for example, within the *Devonport Times*, two community members contribute to a continuous historical column and a music review.

Non-commercial independent community newspapers report community contributions as a major element of content. Newspapers whose shape variable analysis records high 'noticeboard' content are primarily made up of community contributions (*Bagdad News*). However community contribution to content varies markedly. The *Brid rePort* appears to

contain high community content, though it is gathered chiefly by its editor rather than contributed. On the other hand, a coordinator of the *Bruny News* reports that community contributions are so prolific, often material is held over until the following edition.

Community contribution, voluntary participation and staff

Community volunteer contribution to the process of producing the community newspaper is chiefly relevant in the non-commercial newspapers. Community voluntary participation does occur in the commercial newspapers, though to a lesser extent than in the non-commercial newspapers. Local community work contributes to production (*Huon Times*) and publication (*Circular Head Chronicle*) as well as maintaining columns and segments (*Devonport Times*).

Newspapers run by volunteer community members comprised 75% of the sample newspapers in 2000. Staff and production teams are outlined in Appendix C and noted in brief in Table 47. The make-up of the production teams across the sample newspapers is between two and 26 community members, which constitutes a sizeable though varied community contribution. An example of this volunteer commitment is noted in the reply by the editor to Jane Bushby's earlier letter:

Answer to Jane Bushby

Press release from the Premier's Office was in my opinion an innocuous fill-in, inserted after publication had been 'put to bed' and we found we were one page short. Unfortunately we do not have the resources enjoyed by the Examiner where 'Contentious Council issues' are covered by paid reporters. All our staff, editor/s typists, printers, collators are volunteers. Any assistance with the production of future editions of IN would be most welcome.

Editor, *Island News*, Friday 11 February, 2000

Source variables were identified in Table 20. Of these eight variables, three main variables pertain directly to the community contribution, that is, *community*, *civic/political contributor*, and *reader*. Appendix S 2 indicates the community resources contributing to social capital content specifically related to the knowledge and identity sub-category variables.

A comparison of source variables with other categories expands our knowledge of how community contribution to content functions in relation to social capital. Knowledge and identity resources, and tone and effect variables together identify how community contribution builds social capital and the manner in which it is built. The cross-tabulation of source variables and knowledge and identity sub-category variables is of particular interest,

identifying how and where social capital resources occur and from whom within communities.

Table 48 Social capital knowledge and identity sub-category by source: Percent of source within knowledge and identity sub-categories

Knowledge and identity sub-categories	Community	Civic/political	Correspondent	Editor	Foreign correspondent	Reader	Specialist	Staff/Unacknowledged	Total
Commitment to community	24.8	1.0	3.0	4.0		5.9		61.4	100
Precedents and procedures	16.7	5.6			2.8	2.8	8.3	63.9	100
Self-confidence	16.3	3.1	1.0	4.1	5.1	13.3	2.0	55.1	100
Skills and knowledge	22.2	6.7		2.2	4.4	8.9		55.6	100
Vision	33.3	16.7		16.7				33.3	100
Values/Attitudinal attributes	14.3	1.7	1.0	2.0	0.7	12.6	2.4	65.2	100
Information networks	15.2	9.6	3.6	1.5	2.0	4.1	2.5	61.4	100
Total	17.0	4.5	1.8	2.6	1.8	8.8	2.2	61.4	100

Note: Shading indicates the greatest and second highest frequency occurrence within knowledge and identity sub-categories

Table 48 indicates the most common source is staff/unacknowledged followed by community. It is interesting to note that the highest knowledge and identity resources in three of the sources, community, civic/political and editor, occurred in relation to vision, though vision was a small frequency resource overall, noted in Figure 25.

The role of the editor as community member and contributor

In interviews, editor/coordinators spoke of the *community* as all others, rather than self. While they did acknowledge and outline their contributions, editor/coordinators did not verbalise their work as part of the community contribution. What emerged from the interviews were the multi-skilled roles they play in the process of production of the newspaper and engagement of volunteer assistance. Editors act as coordinator and manager, human resources specialist, motivator, visionary, censor, journalist, graphic designer, technical coordinator and advisor, instructor of IT skills, community development officer, and researcher.

From the summary of their contributions it is possible to conclude that:

- the unspoken role of the editor is that of convenor of and overseer to the community dynamics that contributes to content and production of the community newspaper
- resources used by the editor/coordinator to generate and maintain the community dynamics enabling newspaper production encourage and build further interactive community processes
- the process of response to feedback and suggestions contributes a strong sense of democratic practice in communities
- the editor/coordinator is a highly responsive and committed community member.

It appears from the interviews, editor's contribute to the establishment of and community newspaper content, management, coordination and organisation of an ongoing production team (Editors, *Western Tiers*, *Island News*). They strongly support, and in some cases initiate, development of the local area, along with initiating community interaction in key community areas. Further, all editors/coordinators appear to have been deeply involved in other active community roles; for example:

- councillor, *St Helen's Herald*; *Western Tiers*
- school principal, *Western Tiers*; *Bagdad News*
- online centre coordinator, *Bruny News*, *Lilydale Progressive*, *Bagdad News*
- community committee member Bridport 2000, *Brid rePort*
- hospital roles of the coordinators of the *Valley and East Coast Voice*
- postmistress, *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo*.

Appendix S 2 is a cross-tabulation between source and the four dimensions of social capital. Editors contributions are notable in inclusivity (elements), bridging (networks), knowledge (k & I resources) and in values, and attitudinal attributes. The final dimension Incorgov was coded across each variable for highest source to each variable. The editor appeared in the majority (8/16) of incorgov variables.

Table 49 Source variable by effect variable: Percent within source

Source	Building	Building and outcome	Diminishing	Outcome	Not social capital	Total
Community	8.7	6.8	0.1	1.7	82.7	100
Civic/Political	16.8	2.4	0.6		80.2	100
Correspondent	12.9	8.1			79.0	100
Editor	23.7	5.1		3.4	67.8	100
Foreign correspondent	2.4	2.4	1.2		94.1	100
Reader	11.8	3.7	0.6	1.7	82.1	100
Specialist	3.4	0.6			96.0	100
Staff/ Unacknowledged	4.3	2.1	0.2	1.0	92.4	100
Total	5.6	2.7	0.2	1.0	90.4	100

Note: Shading indicates each effect variable's greatest frequency by source.

From Table 49 it is possible to note that editors contribute the greatest frequency of items coded both as building and outcome of social capital.

Interviews from editors of the sample community newspapers in Appendix M, confirmed the broad variations in the circumstances that bring community and publication together, yet all with the same purpose, to inform the community about local specific information. The interviews bring to light the number of different modes of integrated social organization involved in commencing and maintaining production of local community newspapers. Community contribution to the papers ranges from, initiating and producing the local paper, to voluntary contributions maintaining columns, and more general letters, feedback and ideas. While the roles played by the community papers in their community do vary, the editors' interviews show consensus that the respective papers contribute to community cohesion and identity through both their presence and content. In many cases identity building was through a specific emphasis on recording and describing local history. A major theme emerging from the interviews with editors was focusing on the positive. Had papers not come into production, or ceased operation, editors interviewed presented accounts of community networks, and other social and material achievements, that would not be in existence.

Community contribution and newspaper closures

Why look at community newspaper closure? While the data presented in the sample community newspapers provide findings related to building and outcomes of social capital, and content and contributors, enquiry into community newspaper closure could also provide data about community social capital. The following three examples of newspaper closure describe various factors that impact on newspaper continuity.

Technical change and loss of community interaction

Lack of community contribution appears to have caused the closure of the *Quamby Whisper*, published from 1990 to 2000. The newspaper was a voluntary monthly community publication and a community activity. Its contributors and production staff saw the newspaper as a community interaction whereby its production was also a social occasion, involving a number of the community, working in different areas. The production team assembled over two evenings to organize and collate all information for each monthly issue. A change occurred. The newspaper was streamlined by one person collating all the information. They were able to use a desktop publishing program for the technical production of the newspaper. Social interaction ceased. The contributions diminished. 'One person could not do it all' (L. Geard, pers. comm. 6 August 2001). The newspaper closed.

Leadership

The *St Helens's Herald*, established in 1998, closed after its editor returned to the mainland in 2002. A two-person team had produced the newspaper, with the assistance of local online centre members in collating and distribution. The role of editor was undertaken by one person, a former publisher/writer, who used his expertise to contribute greatly to community both in newspaper publication and as an active member of the local government council. He also agitated for information transparency on future community development. After his departure the local community felt that no one person had the former editor's expertise (J. Collins, pers. comm., 18 June 2003). The newspaper ceased.

Competition

The *King Island News*, 1912–1983/9, ceased production when the long-time editor/owner/chief reporter of 13 years decided to sell the newspaper after a second newspaper was established on the island. The island population at that date was approximately 2,600. The newspaper was not sold due to lack of interest in it as a financial concern. The competing newspaper was published on a day in the week prior to that of the long-term newspaper. An

amalgamation was formed by the *King Island News* with a second Tasmanian media organisation. The old newspaper continued until 1989.

It appears from the examples of closures that the establishment and sharing of tasks encourages social interaction, leading to newspaper continuity. Leadership that is transformative, encouraging learning and sharing of roles between production team members engenders democratic process (Forde, 1999) and contributes to newspaper continuity. Findings from the interviews suggest that by the inclusion of newspaper closures as well as the successes, valuable data in relation to social capital networks and dimension is gained. This is further discussed in the following chapter.

Conclusion of Research Question 3 results

Analysis of the findings shows that later twentieth century publications revealed a higher proportion of social capital in their total content. However, the number of subject and social issue variables in which social capital was present in older, and commercial, independent community newspapers appears to indicate broader and diverse interests in relation to social capital. Predominance of indicators of social capital in 1930, 1990 and 2000 suggest that the amount of social capital in Tasmanian community newspaper content may in fact also relate to hard times.

Findings identify that the four dimensions of social capital: elements, networks, knowledge and identity resources and Incorgov contribute four separate aspects or facets of social capital. They help to identify which social capital variables predominate in communities in the context of social history. Through analysis of elements, for example, it is possible to identify relational interactions in the light of theoretical aspects such as inclusivity or historicity. Analysis describes what network is in operation where social capital occurs in content. Findings suggest that social capital in community newspapers is associated chiefly with bridging social capital, indicating the structures that facilitate the building and outcomes of social capital through community newspaper content. Knowledge and identity resources, for example, describe what resources are being used and how social capital occurs or is built. Incorgov provides an umbrella view of social capital, and places the interaction in a global context—be it heart-centred and cohesive, for example, community togetherness—or attached to an idealised and visionary item such as the examples of civic republicanism indicated for example in Research Question 3.

Summary of Chapter 4

Chapter four has presented the study findings. Research Question 1 analysed secondary data related to the growth of community newspapers in Tasmania and the demographic, economic and social factors affecting newspaper establishment. Research Question 2 presented findings from a content analysis of a sample of 16 Tasmanian independent community newspapers of geographic locale. It identified issues reported and how they were presented in the sample newspapers. Research Question 3 examined further data from the content analysis framework, specifically regarding the social capital area and dimensions. The section concluded with findings from data gathered from semi-structured interviews with editors/coordinators related to community contribution and finally newspaper closures. Readers are encouraged to read Appendix M, being a summary of editors/coordinator semi-structured interviews, before continuing on to Chapter 5, as the discussion and conclusion presented therein relates to social capital and community contribution.

Discussion and Conclusions

How to grow young again. Dr. J L Nasher has discovered that rejuvenescence—getting young again—depends primarily upon increased mental activity.

Huon Times, 19 February 1910, p. 3

Introduction

The purpose of the study is to explore the relationship between community newspapers and social capital by analysing the content, and investigating the timing of the establishment and production of independent community newspapers published in Tasmania between 1910 and 2000. The findings presented in Chapter 4 indicate remarkable growth in the number of community newspapers in Tasmania between 1970 and 2000. They highlight the previously undocumented link between community newspapers' commencement dates and periods of 'hard times', that is, high emigration and economic downturn.

The findings further confirm that the focus of issues and interests within the newspapers over the period examined changed from *human interest* to *community*, and from items describing overseas and national content to a strong local focus. These changes occurred after the 1950 decade year. The range of subjects pertaining to social issues in community newspapers expanded over the century. Findings on how community newspapers in Tasmania reported issues and offered support to their communities suggest a particular perspective as outlined below.

The role of the community newspaper as an agent transmitting overseas cultural values, and as a critically placed informant on commercial information in the earlier decade years diminished over time due to a number of factors. These include the advent of technological changes that lead to supply of information and news from many sources, such as radio, TV and the internet. Marked changes in content in community newspapers 1950 were noted. This was a result of both new publications developed by volunteer community members fostered by technological changes enabling accessible publication methods. Both the existing and newly formed bonds contributing to the establishment of community newspapers were underpinned by trust.

This study is particularly interested in content analysis as a tool for exploration of the existence of social capital. Content analysis allows for identification of social capital at a number of levels. Using a content analysis framework based on the dimensions of social capital allows exploration of the proportions of content that demonstrates social capital within the community newspapers. The framework also provides a tool to profile community social capital patterns over time. Using content analysis to observe dimensions of social capital has provided useful insight into community actions and interactions.

Findings through content analysis, semi-structured interviews and the literature identify that volunteer independent community newspapers emerge as a result of community action and engender cohesive processes within communities. Volunteer community newspapers reflect the highest levels of social capital in their content. However, by observing the older commercial community newspapers in comparison with the more recently established newspapers, it is possible to show that the manner of reporting items containing social capital was linked to the focus and roles of the community newspapers over time. Findings show that the older newspapers report broader numbers of subjects and social issues showing social capital. However, both independent commercial and non-commercial community newspapers, examined within the study over time, contributed to community resources of social capital, thereby contributing to their community's wellbeing.

This chapter will discuss the findings in relation to the three research questions and with reference to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The final section provides conclusions that emerge from the first three sections, and highlights potential areas for further research.

Research Question 1: Community newspapers in Tasmania

- (a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- (b) Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

Research Question 2: Issues in community newspapers

- (a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910–2000? and
- (b) How have issues been presented?

Research Question 3: Community newspapers and social capital

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

Summary of key findings

Five major findings emerge from this study in answer to the three research questions. The results of this study in summary form suggest that:

- i. Over the period studied, there has been a three-fold and hence major increase in the establishment of independent community newspapers in Tasmania since 1970.
- ii. Patterns of newspaper establishment over the century show there is a significant relationship between the establishment of independent community newspapers and periods of net migration loss and hard times in Tasmania.
- iii. Social capital is identified as increasing in content between 1920 and 1930 and between 1990 and 2000.
- iv. Independent community newspapers are identified in this study as community cohesive structures enabling democratic practice through both processes of production and local voice. Their presence contributes to the generation of and the outcomes of social capital.
- v. Community empowerment through the establishment and continuity of a community newspaper is the result of cyclical reciprocity. Cyclical reciprocity underpins how social capital functions in communities through newspaper content, contribution to newspapers and support for community newspapers.

These findings are further discussed in relation to the context of the three research questions and, in turn, the findings are related to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

Research Question 1: Community newspapers in Tasmania

- (a) What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and
- (b) Does the geographic distribution of newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

Seven key findings emerge in answer to the first research question. The results suggest that:

- Independent community newspapers published in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000 show a pattern of increasing growth in numbers, chiefly in the last three decades of the century (Figure 2).
- A classification structure for independent community newspapers of geographic locale.
- Of the new newspapers established over the period studied, 94% are from rural areas.
- During the period studied, evidence of strong growth in the establishment of community newspapers is accompanied by a high percentage (48%) of newspaper closure. Of these closures, 31% occurred in the same decade in which the paper was established.
- Community newspapers in Tasmania have been established in periods of high emigration and poor economic performance.
- Volunteer community members and groups were responsible for the establishment of 73% of the community newspapers.

What community newspapers have been published in Tasmania in the period from 1910 to 2000?

Newspapers increase in numbers, not according to their cheapness, but according to the more or less frequent want which a great number of men may feel for intercommunication and combination.

de Tocqueville, 1840, Vol. 2, p. 137.

Growth of independent community newspapers

The growth in numbers of independent community newspapers in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000 is a quiet revolution. The literature review (Chapter 2) failed to find any research studies

which relate to the growth of independent community newspapers in Tasmania or Australia over the period studied. Given that they did not command much attention, the growth of independent community newspapers in Tasmania and the growth of community newspapers as noted in the literature relating to the United States and the United Kingdom may indicate that they are in fact ‘the mini-giants’ of media. The social, economic and political implications related to the establishment of small-scale grass-roots organizations and independent commercial community newspapers within local communities suggest that their presence deserves more attention. The discussion of findings from Research Question 1 considers the trends in growth, and patterns of establishment of community newspapers in Tasmania over the last century, reflecting on the broad-scale implications.

Tasmania has had one of the lowest population growth rates and highest emigration rates of Australia’s states during the twentieth century, yet the number of community newspapers have tripled since 1970 (Figure 2). The establishment of independent community newspapers between 1910 and 2000 in Tasmania indicates that 83% of newspapers were established between 1970 and 2000 (Figure 3).

The presence and growth of independent community newspapers, as demonstrated in the findings, also represents an undocumented dynamic associated with democratic practice. Concerns over media ownership in Australia as democratic practice are a major research focus (Chadwick, 1993; Lewis 2001). Media in the hands of a few presents challenges in terms of preserving the freedom of dissent, and is seen to lessen localized news, decrease self-censorship and cause conflict of interest. This thesis suggests that the numbers of community newspapers established as independent media, preserving local interest, reflect a growing source and encouragement of democratic practice.

The findings indicate a higher level of community newspaper growth in Tasmania than was evident in the United States and Great Britain for the same period. For example, the number of new independent community newspapers in Tasmania grew by 16% compared with a growth rate of 6% in the United States between 1996 and 1999 (Bomann, 1999). However, this difference may be partly due to definitional disparities. The current study identifies and defines community newspapers as endomorphic; that is,

independent community publications, of geographic locale, published bi-weekly or less frequently, arising as a result of local initiative and not attached to a mainstream media organization.

These productions may not have been included in Bomann's (1999) community newspaper study figures. Bomann defines community newspapers as 'general interest newspapers published not less than four times a week' (p. 1). Geographic and demographic factors may also contribute to the higher number of community newspapers established in Tasmania than is recorded in other studies. While urbanization is noted as contributing to the decrease in rural populations nationally and internationally, 32% of Tasmania's population live in rural centres and areas, as opposed to 21% of the population of mainland Australia.

At the same time, it is likely that the growth rate of community newspapers in Tasmania may be slightly higher than reported in the current study. Community newspapers are recorded by copies of the publication being forwarded to the State Library of Tasmania (SLT) archives from the publication team/organizers. There are a small number of independent community newspapers in Tasmania that are not recorded. This raises the question of whether publishers of some small publications perceive their communications to be not of significance or interest. While there is no official definition of community newspaper available from the STL, categories STL documents include commercial, commercial advertising inserts, local monthly advertisement newspapers, and community newspapers of interest and of geographic locale.

Two factors strongly related to the increase in community newspaper establishment and growth over the last century, supported by the literature, are technological change and trust.

Technology and newspaper growth

Technological changes in the second half of the twentieth century were the primary enabling factor for growth in numbers of community newspapers (O'Connor, 1998; Kirkpatrick, 1999) although historically, communities that have felt the need to develop communications have succeeded without the technologies employed in the twentieth century (Nord, 2001). However, economic factors supporting newspaper production demand a certain population size. The chief beneficiaries from technological changes and IT in terms of newspaper production are small-population communities.

The first paper established in Tasmania by volunteer community members appears to be the *Island News*. This was made possible by the use of the gestetner (a stencil and ink duplicator) and the photocopier in the 1950s and 1960s, followed by the computer in the late 1960s. Further, the establishment of online centres in small communities in Tasmania in the early 1990s has expanded the capacity of communities to publish community newspapers. In fact, online centres frequently publish community newspapers that have been in some cases

initiated by other community groups or individuals. For example, the *Bagdad News* was first produced as a community newspaper by the local school principal and volunteer school and community members. On the principal's retirement from the school and the paper, community members continued its production. Those community members in turn became involved in the development of the local online centre and the paper's production continued as part of the community involvement with the centre. The origin and production methods of the sample newspapers are shown in Figure 40.

Trust

Trust underpins the growth and continuity of independent community newspapers. Literature reviewed describes trust as a major factor contributing to the physical presence of community newspapers, their growth, and their circulations (Dickson & Topping, 2001; Newspaper Association, 2003; Newspaper Society, 2003). Trust is also identified in the literature as underpinning the intangible structures that make up voluntary associations (Schafft et al., 2000; Falk & Gunther, 2002; Bushnell, Bergthold, & Agger-Gupta, 2004) such as those that establish community newspapers. Trust, as it contributes to community newspaper numbers and circulation growth, is discussed more fully in the section on Research Question 3 as trust is also assumed to be a key factor in social capital. After acknowledging the importance of the contribution of technological change and trust to newspaper establishment, it appears the same two factors may also contribute to newspaper closure.

Factors related to community newspaper closure

Just under half of all the community newspapers established in Tasmania in the twentieth century subsequently closed (Figure 4). Comparisons can be made with the large (recognized) proportion of all types of businesses which fold after 2 to 4 years (Kilpatrick & Crowley, 1999). Of those newspapers, 31% closed within the decade they were established. Seven per cent of independent community newspapers were acquired by mainstream newspaper organisations. Such acquisition is not included in closures as in most cases the former community newspapers are included as weekly inserts in the mainstream and daily press by whom they were acquired. *The Western Tiers* and the *Derwent Valley Gazette* (now the *Gazette*) are the exceptions.

Findings in the current study suggest that as broad a range of factors contribute to the closures of community newspapers as contribute to their growth. Interviews with former staff members of closed newspapers identified economic factors (competition) and social network dynamics (production change and leadership) as contributing to closure.

Competition

As noted in Chapter 4, the closure of the *King Island News* (1912–1983/9) was due to competition. One year after the commencement of a new publication in a small population area, the editor placed the *King Island News* up for sale. In spite of its history within the community as a crusader for local commercial and maritime improvements, it was no longer deemed commercially viable. The *King Island News* amalgamated for a short period with another publication, running for only a few years, and was finally closed in 1989. Competition is noted in the literature as contributing to a large percentage of newspaper closures (Miller, 1952), and amalgamations and takeovers appear to occur almost equally in the literature. Competition does not always have negative outcomes. Tasmania in the nineteenth century was notable for the number of newspapers it maintained in comparison to the size of its population, although the newspapers were published in cities and regional centres rather than in the rural communities in this study (Moore-Robertson, 1933; Morris Miller, 1952). Given areas of small population, the staggering of production within a week could contribute to maintaining community interest in competing newspapers. Capturing community support and interest by producing a newspaper on the day prior to the original newspaper's publication suggests a form of competition where economic rather than community outcomes are a priority. This is particularly apparent given the isolation of the community of King Island. The closure of the *King Island News* embodied a loss of historicity (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000); a loss of identity resources relating to history, past action and the past, which are relevant to building the present and the future.

Production change

While technological changes contribute to newspaper growth, in some cases new technology represents a double-edged sword whereby, for example, by facilitating more efficient production, significant community networks ceased. The *Quamby Whisper* (1990–1999) ran for ten years, but the strong associational bonds between community members and the newspaper were broken by a change in production methods. Information technology advances—seen by some as a tool of regeneration and education (e.g. Kenyon & Black, 2001; Balatti & Falk, 2000)—appeared to be one of the contributing factors in disengaging the social networks associated with producers of the newspaper. A similar change of production occurred in the *Valley and East Coast Voice*, but with different outcomes. The volunteer staff maintained the group interaction by performing less structured tasks. Their action in the face of change indicated strong networks and cohesive dynamics between community members; the newspaper continues in production. A number of factors could have contributed to the continuity of one newspaper and not the other. Longer term associations and strengthened

bonds were present between community members producing the *Valley and East Coast Voice*. For example, several members had been part of the original production team. The original typist present at the inception of the newspaper maintains a presence, helping to collate the newspaper. In contrast, the *Quamby Whisper* was in production for a shorter period (just under one decade) and production team members did not appear to have similar strong social bonds. Strength of bonds and historicity supports ongoing production in these instances.

Leadership

The interviews with the editors indicate that leadership by altruistic and community-spirited individuals contributes to the establishment of community newspapers. This is supported by the literature (O'Connor, 1998; Vines, 2001). However, sustainability of the publication requires shared involvement and widespread support. The *St Helens Herald*, established in 1998, was produced by community members associated with the online centre. It was the initiative of a new 'local', a former publisher and writer. When he left, the community felt there was no one person in the group with the former editor's abilities, and the newspaper closed in 2002. While the newspaper was printed through the online centre and involved a number of community members, production was chiefly in the hands of two people; a writer and a publisher. Factors within the community newspaper's production team—for example, the willingness to allow one or two people to 'do the lion's share'—may have adversely affect continuity. Shared or non-shared roles could also relate to the bonds between team members; Further, the editor—an altruistic and community-spirited individual committed to a broad number of community activities—may have set a profile of leadership suggesting major individual commitment to the role of editor. The production team's trust—both social and associational—in one person's abilities, commitment and altruistic spirit to continue the process of editing the community newspaper, appears to have contributed to its closure. Community social capital which appeared at high levels within the newspaper's content was discontinued in newspaper content and resources, because of the newspaper's closure; brought about through weak bonding networks surrounding production and leadership.

From findings related to newspaper closures it appears that widespread and shared support where bonds between members are strong, contributes to community newspaper continuity. Leadership, based on encouraging production team contributions and interactions that are transformative and highly democratic appears to contribute to community newspaper continuity. The findings arising from this section will be discussed further in the following section.

1(b) Does the geographic distribution of community newspapers relate to changing demographic, economic and social factors?

Community newspapers, demographic, economic and social factors

The growth in community newspaper numbers in Tasmania relates closely to changing demographic, economic and social factors (Figures 6 and 7). Three valuable findings emerge from this section. Two findings emerged from the analysis of commencement dates of community newspapers and data gained from the Demographic Analytical Services Unit (Jackson, 2001). The first supports a relationship between the establishment of new community newspapers in Tasmania and periods of high emigration and low economic growth (Figures 14–16). The second is that most of the independent community newspaper commencements were in the period of highest recorded declining population and emigration, between the years 1996 and 1999. In that same period, community newspaper numbers increased by 16%. The third finding is that 94% of the sample community newspapers were from rural areas.

Establishment dates compared with population figures in the graph (Figures 9-11) show that 79% of all independent community newspapers established from 1910 to 2000 occurred in periods of net migration loss, that is, in difficult times or times of economic downturn. A correlation between population change and net migration with numbers and years of establishment of new newspapers, establish a significant relationship between these two factors. This finding signals a social phenomenon that applies to Tasmania, but may also apply to other rural areas suffering rural depopulation.

A second aspect of the association between increasing newspaper numbers and decreasing population relates to studies identifying Tasmania's population as rapidly aging (Jackson & Kippen, 2001) and approaching being Australia's oldest by 2010 (Campbell, 2003). Therefore increasing numbers of community newspapers could also be related to the age of Tasmania's population, partially a result of the high emigration rates of chiefly 17 to 35 year-olds. While ages of editor/coordinators were not requested as part of interview data, findings support the literature describing newspapers as being established by mature, chiefly long-term community members as noted in community newspaper background, (Appendix C). The literature also supports that community newspaper establishment tends to occur in communities where the average age of people 'settling down' and becoming involved in their community is over 39 (Stamm et al., 1983). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001) shows the median age of

Tasmanians in 2000 was 38.6 years. As referred to in Chapter 4, editors/coordinators were community members whose role as editor/coordinators was only one of a number of major community commitments they maintained.

The second finding identifies that, for the century under study, highest numbers of newspapers were established in the period of highest net migration, 1996 to 1999, which also supports the theory that newspapers were established as a reaction to difficult circumstances. Within those same four years, Tasmania experienced a rural full-time job loss of 6,200 positions, which would have affected more than 1.3% of the total population (Kenyon, 1999). The findings show that more newspapers have arisen in times of social and economic decline and hardship than in periods of relative stability and growth. The rapid growth in community newspapers could appear as a conundrum in periods where social factors affecting communities within the state would have contributed to concerns for future sustainability, reflected by declining economic opportunities.

Community newspapers and geographic distribution

Independent community newspapers are predominately from rural areas, but it should be noted that Tasmania has a much higher population living in rural areas than do other Australian states. The geographic distribution of the 16 independent community newspapers sampled for the study is presented in Figure 5 and Table 8. Analyses of population figures of the geographic areas from which the community newspapers originate were presented in Table 2. The analysis supports the literature describing a marked trend in rural depopulation over the twentieth century (Kenyon, 1999; Kenyon & Black, 2001; Davison, 2003). Lower population in 2000 than in 1910 is apparent in a number of the areas shown in Table 3. As Kenyon and Black (2001) report, the social changes accompanying depopulation reduce economic status and create general changes in societal norms that impact severely on rural communities. These social changes contribute to the sense of marginalization and exclusion felt in the communities, and to stress on family ties and community organisations (Kerby, 1992; Cox, 1995; Lovelace, 1995, as cited in Kenyon & Black, 2001). Findings demonstrate that many community newspapers are established within rural areas and therefore arise in areas that are impacted upon by adversely changing demographic, economic and social factors.

One aspect of the association between increasing newspaper numbers and decreasing population relates to strengthening community identity and cohesion as a result of the impact of depopulation. Where depopulation has occurred, a number of community newspapers have been established. The editor of the *Rossarden Mountain Re-Echo* noted the major population

loss suffered by the area, as did the editor of the *Brid rePort*, and the need to have a means of communication specifically for the area. In the case of the *Brid rePort* it was to communicate ‘good news’ in the area in times of economic downturn (1998).

Hence the establishment of community newspapers in Tasmania, particularly in the latter decade years of the twentieth century, follows a trend associated with periods of hard times and appears underpinned by community resilience and action. This in turn may reflect a significant movement from within rural communities towards supporting community identity and cohesion.

While Nord (2001) stresses that the formation of early American colonies evolved entirely from the link between community and communication, the formation of community newspapers as a link between community and communication in periods of decreasing population suggests an ‘unusual’ or perhaps common, though undocumented, social phenomenon.

Social cohesion and dynamic community interaction

Of the independent community newspapers in production in 2000, 73% were produced by volunteer community action. Backgrounds (Appendix C) indicate that the number of people involved in production of the volunteer newspapers ranged from 2 people (*Brid rePort* and the *Lilydale Progressive*) to 26 (*Island News*). The establishment and maintenance of the community newspapers suggest strong civic commitment and community participation. Two illustrations of the community newspaper production impacting on social cohesion in areas of population loss follow.

The *Island News* is produced on Flinders Island, a small island with a population at 2000 of under 1000 people. The newspaper has been produced for over fifty years through the dynamic interactions of up to 26 members of the community. In 2000 it published 200 copies of each issue per fortnight. Staff involved in its publication consider the newspaper’s production to be both a significant social occasion and a vital activity: vital in the sense, that it is acknowledged for the role it has played in maintaining the islands history and vital in acting as the community conduit. Its production has enabled community members to learn a number of skills they would not have had the opportunity to acquire in the newspaper’s absence. The continuity and tradition set by the publication of the *Island News* underpins the island’s social identity and networks.

A second example, the *Valley and East Coast Voice*, is published in a farming area near Tasmania’s east coast. The area has suffered a severe population loss throughout the period of

its publication since 1962. The *Valley and East Coast Voice* commenced publication in 1962 using roneoed print methods and in the mid-1990s obtained the Microsoft Publisher computer production program to organize its production. Newspaper delivery girls and boys distribute 300 issues of the newspaper throughout the town and nearby rural areas. The act of delivering the newspaper by hand is seen as an important community interaction, maintaining contact with many of the elderly community members. In addition, copies of the newspaper are forwarded to former members of the community living interstate and overseas. This supports findings by Cryle and Cosgrove (1999) in their study on reading in rural Queensland who also note that past community members maintain ties to their former neighbours and neighbourhood through subscription to the local newspaper. In maintaining links with former community members, networks are maintained between past and present members that are described as of equal importance to both. A sense of value is given to the producers of the newspaper; ties are perceived as maintained; and responses or contacts may be further developed with former members contributing stories and happenings, or returning for special events that are noted in the newspaper. The linking of former members to the community through the community newspaper can confirm both personal and community identity tied to change and historicity for the recipient, the newspaper production team and the community. Social cohesion acts to empower individuals and groups to produce communications, as observed here in the growth and continuity of new community newspapers (Bellah et al., 1991; Christians et al., 1993; Altschull, 1996). The presence of these community newspapers appears to have facilitated the continued communications that maintain the networks, underpinning the functions of a healthy community (Nord, 2001).

There are a number of ways of interpreting the dynamics contributing to the establishment and growth of independent community newspapers, in particular those of geographic locale in Tasmania. It appears from the results that a large proportion were formed in bridging ties and shared values; both the result of and resulting in social cohesion (Janowitz, 1952; Janes, 1958; Peterson, 1959, 1962; Blexrud, 1974; Brown & Davies, 1979; Becker & Fredin, 1987; Wilkinson, 1990; Emig, 1995; Davison & Cotter 1997; Kaffman, 2000).

A conclusion which may be drawn from these examples and the dynamics that extend from community newspapers' presence and publication is that community newspapers reflect their community's civic commitment (Bittell, 1992; Davison & Cotter, 1997; Lauterer, 2000). Their presence demonstrates dynamic social interaction as well as the trust of their communities, witnessed in the community newspaper's longevity and its continuity.

Summary

Community newspaper numbers in Tasmania indicate increasing and strong growth in the last three decades of the twentieth century. The growth of new community newspapers established in Tasmania is greater in proportion over the past three decades of the twentieth than that the proportions of community newspaper growth reported in the literature from the United Kingdom and the United States. While the increase in community newspaper numbers suggests an increasing civic involvement, community participation and a significant social trend at the grass-roots level, the findings in the current study suggest an unusual or perhaps undocumented trend underlying the establishment of community newspapers in Tasmania. Findings in the current study suggest that times of social and economic hardship draw communities together to build and affirm their identity through the publication of a community newspaper.

The literature supports the findings that the increase in circulations and numbers of community newspapers are a result of the market forces of globalisation impacting on the 'local' (Kenyon & Black 2001), new technology and social change (Stamm et al., 1983; Emig, 1995; Stamm, 2001; Davison, 2003). The technical changes assisting newspaper publication within small population areas have contributed to maintaining community identity and cohesion in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

The literature identifies that both the presence and growth of community newspapers are related to trust. The presence and numbers of independent media preserving local interests, is a significant contribution to democratic processes.

Having discussed patterns of establishment of new community newspapers, the following section relating to Research Question 2 discusses the results of a content analysis carried out on the 16 sample Tasmanian community newspapers. In focusing on content, it discusses how the issues and interests reported relate to social factors within the communities and within Tasmania more broadly.

Research Question 2: Issues in community papers

2(a) What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000? and

2(b) How have issues been presented?

Summary of key findings

There are six major findings:

- Social issues reported in community newspaper content were in low proportion of content (9.4 %).
- Issues are addressed both in a covert and overt manner in content.
- Major subjects reported in community newspaper content were community, sport and human interest/personalities
- A change in emphasis of subject from ‘of human interest’ to ‘community’ occurred in the 1960 decade year, marking a major shift relating to production, tone, horizons and the role of the independent community newspaper.
- After neutral tone, the highest occurring tone associated with community newspaper content is positive.
- Editors’ contributions contain the highest proportion of positive content.

What issues have been reported in community newspapers in Tasmania in the period 1910 to 2000?

While the previous research question explored the establishment of independent community newspapers in relation to demographic, economic and social factors, the following section relates to Research Question 2 (a) and discusses some outcomes of the content analysis of the 16 sample independent community newspapers. The first section examines how issues are addressed in community newspaper content; issues and the changing roles of the community newspaper; the manner in which issues differ between decades; and finally, patterns of content emerging in the issues over time. The section then links to Research Question 2(b) which examines the manner in which content has been presented.

De Tocqueville (1840) suggested more than one hundred and fifty years ago that the interests derived from reading newspapers were most valuable in that they took people out of themselves, and into considering their fellow man and ‘other concerns’. Findings from the content analysis reveal that on the whole, community newspapers over time contain an ascending proportion of community and local news. Historical events, social and economic change and demographic patterns, and modes of available communication, all contributed to community newspaper content and the issues the newspapers contain. Small or large, commercial or volunteer production, it appears that community newspapers, as Lippmann (1922) so succinctly stated, ‘provide perspectives, shape images... and highlight issues’ (p. 226, as cited in de Vreese, 2003. p. 21).

‘Issues’ within this study are those items of content related to subject and social issue variables reflecting strong local interests and concerns. ‘Social issues,’ as used in this thesis, were a combination of those social issues listed by the OECD (1982,) as indicators of wellbeing with a social issues index, and social issues indicators from the Internet Public Library (2001), defined in Chapter 3. Findings from the content analysis show the relative representation of social issues from the sample newspapers as: *command over goods and services*, equally with *health/public/personal safety*, followed by *time and leisure* as shown in Figure 19 and Table 10.

Social issues were identified in 9.4% of the total content items over the whole century. Given the difficulties both rural and urban communities have encountered historically over the century (Rae, 2002) it appears that social issues are not highly reported in community newspapers. However, the manner in which overt social issues are reported is strongly linked to the role of the community newspaper over time. In examining the content of each decade year, general historical events and major economic changes act as markers against which community issues and interests identified in the subject and social issues variables may be compared. In some cases these events are reflected in content, indirectly:

- 1910, pre-World War I, a time of high emigration
- 1920, a period of recovery and World War I soldier resettlement in Tasmania
- 1930, the Great Depression (1929–35)
- 1940, World War II
- 1950, returned soldiers, rehabilitation, an increase in immigration
- 1960, increase in the development of community focus on the local issues commenced in the 1950s and is evident in subjects related to local growth and economic development

- 1970 to 2000, economic downturn and changes in Tasmania and rural community patterns through depopulation and urbanisation.

Findings suggest that in a social context, the content of community newspapers in 1910 included extensive articles and stories illustrating values and attitudes that were equally present in English and Tasmanian social environments. The transition from content maintaining colonial ties in the early decade years to the manifestation of a strong national pride and emerging Australian identity after Federation in 1901 was evidenced in the declining number of items from overseas in 1920 and 1930. Overseas items were highly represented in the 1940 World War II period. Interest in national matters was reported at its highest in the 1940 decade year (Table 23). A large increase in local content was noted in 1950 and the highest proportion of local items was reported in the 1960 decade year (Table 24). The 1960 decade year reflected the major transitional point in the content analysis, where community newspapers' content reflected changes in focus towards the local.

As noted in Chapters 2 and 4, the changing focus of content in community newspapers over the decades between 1910 and 2000 is greatly impacted on by technological changes that reduced the need for broader global information and giving access to publication facilities. Technology provided additional resources for reporting current news, and the arrival of electricity, radio and television in the late 1920s to 1960, reduced the need for community newspapers to inform the community of external issues. Effectively, the previous role of the newspapers—bringing the world to the locale and giving the locale an identity in a global context—was reduced.

Findings from this study suggest that early twentieth century community newspapers in Tasmania were weekly and bi-weekly provincial newspapers whose role was critical to the industrial and economic progress of their community, similar to the role of late nineteenth century provincial newspapers (Walker, 1976; Kirkpatrick, 2000). In Tasmania during that period, the community newspapers played a major role in linking their communities to the external world, encouraging development, and sustaining local commerce and industry.

In the early decades of the century, community newspapers were a conduit whose content impacted on the community's economic wellbeing and survival. They passed on market reports and shipping and commerce details related to the local industries. Items such as those pictured in the summary of the decade years in Chapter 4 for 1930 dealt with command over goods and services and addressed issues such as local frustration with federal government neglect of freight and tariff levies.

The items were not only small, factual announcements, notices or reports, but also articles and reports provided by specialist foreign correspondents, and articles obtained from international agricultural articles and publications. They often supplied technical advice and notified the readers of recent innovations. Community newspapers in the first decades of the century considered that they shared a serious responsibility in shaping the progress of their community. They provided extensive industrial and commercial locale-specific information that would not otherwise have been available or published in the daily press due to the specific nature of the industry or interest. For example, the *Huon Times*, servicing an apple-growing region, catered to the apple industry, and included items lobbying for fair freight tariffs, along with reports of unfair federal freight levies. The newspaper championed its local area industries. Similarly, the *King Island News* engaged in major political lobbying for its island across the decades, and maintained a constant battle against poor maritime facilities and in support of local island industries, up until its closure in 1983. It can be argued that had these community newspapers not been present at these periods, or had they not occupied the key roles they did, community economic and social developments within the areas in which they were published would have been adversely affected.

Framing the issues

A number of factors related to both external and local circumstances influence what subjects and social issues are reported. Content was analysed within the framework described in Tables 7 and 8, and Figures 16 and 17 (Chapter 4). As noted earlier, the social issues *command over goods and services* and *health and public and personal safety* made up the highest proportions of content and as expected, other issues related to historical and economic events were identified in the social issues variables. For example, the highest proportion of content about *employment* was in 1930, relating to the Great Depression. *Housing/hunger/poverty* featured most prominently in 1990, relating to a time of economic decline and de-population in Tasmania. The following examples, however, indicate broadly differing influences on issues in content over time.

Agricultural

All the sample community newspapers are attached to rural areas, with the exception of the *Devonport Times* (published in a city that services rural industries). Agriculture showed it was at its highest proportion in 1910 (14%) and 1930 (17%), gradually declining in 2000 to 11% of content (Table 9). The diminishing agricultural content within the local community newspapers appears to be attributable to the early establishment of weekly rural interest newspapers: the *Tasmanian Fruitgrowers and Farmer* first published in 1923, and the

Tasmanian Farmer in 1937. The low proportions of agricultural items which, given the rural interests of the state and its rural communities would have been expected to contribute a large proportion of content to the newspapers. This may also have been the result of an increasing focus on community subjects within the newspapers after the 1930 decade year.

Political

There was very little variation in the proportion content related to of the subject variable political over the decades. Consistent with Cafarella (2001), who found that political issues and interests within community, non-daily and rural newspapers tend to be concerned with local government and local development in recent decades, it was anticipated that political items reported at the local level would make up a high proportion of content. However, political content featured most prominently in relation to state horizons and reports mainly community interactions between state political bodies and community organisations in 2000.

While the two examples, agriculture and political subjects, illustrate broadly differing influences on how issues varied in content over time, a further notable finding relates to patterns of issues. An unexpected finding in the current study was the low representation of social issues in independent community newspaper content. Issues in community newspapers are filtered by a concern with the outcome of content. This led to one of the most important findings from the content analysis relating to the social issues—the manner in which issues are reported.

Covert and overt framing of issues

The findings show a number of resources are used in ‘addressing’ issues in community newspapers. While relevance, timing and space are the primary criteria for inclusion of issues in all newspapers, the older and commercial independent community newspapers had particular policies regarding issue presentation. While findings show that community newspapers reflected the impact of the major socio-historical events and economic trends across the twentieth century, these events and trends are reflected in a covert rather than overt manner. Events that occur outside the local arena, in regional, state, national and global contexts, tend to be not directly recorded in community newspapers. However, what is most interesting is the impact of those external events on the mode in which the community newspaper addresses external events or change. What evolves from the content analysis and from the editors’ interviews is that there is a covert manner of addressing issues, not only in relation to external happenings, but also apparent in addressing local issues. The mode of

reporting issues is the result of a filtered and *sympathetic* (empathic, compassionate and understanding) response to community needs.

An example of covert support for the community in dealing with an event is noted on the front page of the *North Eastern Advertiser*, 26 July 1940. A small image of the front page is included in Chapter 4 in the summary of the decade year 1940. The page contains no specific World War II news. However, it contained a large and detailed article on bravery in the Sahara in the early 1900s: ‘of the men who in the silence of the desert worked ceaselessly for France, the most outstanding was Laperrine’ (p. 1). This was followed by the story of a young boy who had his larynx restored due to a unique operation in Kent, Great Britain. Immediately following was a small report on the shortage of small change in Spain. All items reported focused on bravery and resilience. They were positive, and each illustrated initiative that could be expected to lift community spirit in wartime.

Covert support is also identified in the findings related to how individual communities can be subtly sustained in difficult socio-economic circumstances through their community newspaper. The presence of jokes, quotes, and small humorous stories serves to lift community spirits. From a historical perspective it is not surprising that the highest levels of jokes, quotes and small humorous stories occurred in the Great Depression decade year, 1930. A good example is the large proportion of items coded as jokes, quotes and small humorous stories in the *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo*. The content analysis reveals no evidence of social issues related to difficult or hard times. The *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo* is published in a small community suffering depopulation because of the closure of a local mine—the major source of employment. There was a three-quarter reduction in population between the years 1982 and 2000. The social implications mentioned by Kenyon and Black (2001) and itemized by the Australian Bankers Association Report (1998) in the literature review in relation to Research Question 1 were raised by the newspaper’s editor. While the examples given above demonstrate how newspapers can address issues covertly, how issues are reported overtly also reveals strongly sympathetic stances to the community’s needs.

Changes in interest

When describing change of interest, ‘interest’ is defined in newspaper content as the focus of subject matter and social issues, reflecting the community, within the community newspaper items. Reviewing community newspaper content patterns over the decades shows there is only one major change in the subject of the content. Content coded as *human interest* was the main subject reported in community newspapers up to 1950. It was replaced by *community* as

the main subject from the 1960 decade year. The proportion of community content increased until 1990 and only slightly declined in 2000.

Danielson and Lasorsa, (1997), like Lasswell, Lerner and de Sola Pool (1952), found that there was a decrease in emphasis on the individual and an increase in emphasis on the group over time. While there is no literature directly related to content analysis of community newspapers over time, a study by Danielson and Lasorsa (1997), who analysed the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* headline content over a 100-year period, supports the findings of the current study.

The current study advances findings related to the move to community content over time. By observing not only patterns of the major subjects, but also trends in the number of subjects to which social issues refer, added insight is gained. Cross-tabulation of subject variables and social issues at each decade year illustrates the increase in subjects related to specific social issues, and presents some interesting patterns (Appendix H 2). For example, in 1910, major social issue variables such as command over goods and services occur in three different subject variables of agriculture, economic, and political. However, in the 2000 decade year, command over goods and services relates to five subject variables, including community and human interest. In another example, health/personal and public safety, and housing/hunger/poverty both report similar growth over time in the number of subjects to which they relate (Appendix H2 Subject by social issues by time). This increase in numbers and variety of subject areas indicates that the focus of social issues within the communities was more expansive in later decades than in earlier decades, reflecting more diverse issues and interests.

While this trend is not apparent in Danielson and Lasorsa's (1997) study, the increase in variety of issues over time related to subject variables is also identified in the increase in the numbers of new newspapers and the variety of their focus seen in the wide number of community contributions. From another perspective, when information is drawn from a smaller field of experiences, the expectation is that the number of experiences would tend to be more homogeneous. Given the high proportions of global and international information from foreign correspondents reflecting overseas horizons in 1910 and 1940 in particular, there was an expectation of greater variation in social issues and subjects in the early decades compared with later decade years. This was not the case. Given that there were far more community organisations in the latter decades than in the early decades, numbers of subjects present in relation to social issues reflected the increased community activity in the latter decades (Appendix H 2).

The increased number of contributors, or sources of content, and increased number of subjects in which social issues appear in the latter decade years suggests more representative and expanded democratic processes are in place within communities. Greater numbers of community groups, organisations, interests and individuals are represented in the diversity of issues. This appears to be contrary to the findings of Danielson and Larsorsa (1997), who suggest emphasis on the group in the daily newspapers is a way of also using ‘numbers to persuade’. Particular instances of expanding numbers of people involved with production (*Island News*) and the large volume of contributions to the *Bruny News*, support a different view on how the community newspapers support and act to further democratic practice.

Findings from the content analysis of community newspapers and editors’ interviews indicate that communities in the study reflect Tonnies’ (1887) *Gemeinschaft* model of community interaction (that is, community of persons closely knit by strong sentiments based on kinship and spirit). Danielson and Larsorsa (1997) hold that daily newspapers over the 100 years studied indicate a recurrent and often ‘bewildering change’ voiced in daily newspapers, which depict a world where deeply held values and beliefs are on the decline. Danielson and Larsorsa suggest this supports the view of the world moving from Tonnies’ (1888) *Gemeinschaft* to the notion of *Gesellschaft* (that is, a secular society loosely bound by impersonal interactions based on formal contracts and social functions). Tonnies’ interpretation of social change may apply to major urban social structures, whereas social change in Tasmania over the period 1910 to 2000, evidenced through analysis of rural community newspaper content and editors’ interviews, reflects developing and enduring networks that work to bind and develop community spirit in a period of growing global intransigence. This trend to a *Gemeinschaft* community model is supported by the growing number of community newspapers in Tasmania identified in the findings from Research Question 1, and represents a remarkable social trend in rural areas, based on strengthening communications between members, identity building, and increasing the avenues for voicing and addressing issues by local communities. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the role played by the community newspaper in the latter decades of the twentieth century appears equally of value and critical to its community’s wellbeing as that played in the earliest decades of the twentieth century.

Research Question 2(b): How have issues been presented?

Findings discussed for in relation to Research Question 2(a) indicate major changes occurred at the 1960 decade year. This decade year was significant as a turning point in content focus, the changing role of the community-produced newspaper, and the introduction of volunteer produced community newspapers; all of which impact on how issues have been presented. To

the 1950 decade year, community newspapers closely resembled daily newspapers in their format, and in their inclusion of broad issues, though additionally combining local perspectives and supporting local commercial interests through the inclusion of specific interest content. However, the presentation and style of reporting content in community newspapers after 1960 expanded considerably due to better access for individuals and community groups to a means of production, as discussed previously. In a chronology of Sydney newspapers over the last 200 years, Isaacs and Kirkpatrick (2003) consider that 'one hundred years ago the basics of reporting local news was similar to now' (p. 12). Findings in the current study relating to how issues have been presented suggest the opposite of this premise occurred in community newspapers over that same period.

Discussion in the following section relates firstly to the visual (format, shape, photo-shape); followed by who affects how issues have been presented, relating to source, tone, horizon of content. These modes of presentation will be discussed in relation to both historical patterns and the literature.

Visual presentation of content

Findings in the current study show community newspapers in 1910 closely followed the format and style of their daily counterparts. The front pages of the community newspapers resembled daily newspapers in the number of advertisements they contained. Occasional elegant line drawings of sewing machines or items of technological interest to the farmer were included. Serious news followed on the second page. It is at this point that community newspapers differed from daily newspapers. Local shipping and fruit cold storage news was interspersed with overseas court cases and comment on national news. Attention was given to items concerning community news, local council and local social events, as well as information from overseas. A conclusion can be drawn that the placement of local items alongside overseas reports culturally elevated local events and community activities. The perception of community identity in relation to a global context had a major impact on the building of local identity in the early decades.

Changes in format from broadsheet to tabloid occurred over the century in the commercial independent community newspapers which used a newsprint process. However, while the commercial newspapers increased in page number and size, there was actually a decrease in the number of items contained in the independent community newspapers over the century, particularly in the last three decades of the century. This was an unexpected finding, and was attributed to two causes. While numbers of pages had increased, typeset was larger in all newspapers. More intrinsic to content was where different subject items in early newspapers

were often reported following on in one column without subheadings. Recent editions therefore did not have the small item mixed subjects. Where early decade papers focus was to impart as much information to readers as possible given space limitations, again the need to act as a major informant of local, national and overseas news diminished over time. The multitude of items decreased in line with the increase in interests and focus on the local and community life.

Two categories from the content analysis contribute to examining how issues are presented: shape and photo-shape. Shape represents the form the content item takes: article, competition, editorial, joke/humorous story, letters, notice, poem/quote morale, report, story/serial, sports results, photo, and recipe. Photo-shape variables indicate the associated items that the photo accompanied, that is, article, or report, or as a solo inset. Each variable was defined in the codebook referred to in Chapter 3.

Shape

The findings indicate a number of patterns associated with shape (Gunaratne, 1982) variables each decade year (Table 15). For example, an interesting difference in shape variables was the decrease in the proportion of *articles* from 1910 to 1920. This was accompanied by a significant increase in items coded as *reports*. The change reflects the fact that many items in 1910 were presented in a more detailed and discursive manner. The high proportion of *mediatory* tone reported in the first two decades confirms the move from discursive articles to briefer more factual reports. Differences in shape in the later decade years as opposed to the early decade years were the higher proportion of sports results and growing numbers of photos and competitions. Editorial showed its highest proportion in 1970 (Table 15).

Jokes/small humorous stories featured most prominently in 1910 and 1930. This shape could be related to economic conditions because it appears in low proportions when economic conditions are good and high when they are bad. Supporting this conclusion for 1930 was the tone variable *humour* in 1930 also at its highest level, shown in Appendix J.

Photo-shape

Photo-shape variables are identified in Figure 13 and Tables 18 and 19. Most apparent from the coding of this category was that photos were used in much greater numbers in the more recently established publications such as the *Western Tiers* (1980) and the *St Helens Herald* (1998) compared to issues of the older established papers from the same years. In these two examples, images were used as a tool to develop reports and emphasise a particular stand on an issue, rather than solely as a record of social events. They included, for example, images of

bad roads that should be attended to, and logging areas to highlight questionable forestry practices. Although a detailed analysis of photo-shape was beyond the scope of the current study, it would seem that the use of photos in community newspapers warrants further investigation.

Who effects how issues have been presented?

Decisions regarding the selection and presentation of issues in community newspapers are determined by the editor/coordinators. In mainstream and daily newspapers, content is presented in accordance with set editorial and journalistic practices, directed by policy from a central authority (Isaacs & Kirkpatrick, 2003). Reader contributions in the form of letters and feedback are secondary to the fundamental purpose of daily newspapers in imparting ‘news’ items. By contrast, from the current study, interviews with editors of community newspapers operating in recent decades indicate that responsibility for policy-making concerning content in community newspapers varies from a number of community members to a single individual acting to produce the newspaper either as an independent commercial or non-commercial enterprise.

Findings from the editors’ interviews indicate three broad categories of newspaper production affecting the presentation of content that can be broadly structured as:

- commercial independent community newspapers following set structured editorial and journalistic practice using newsprint process (e.g. *Circular Head Chronicle*)
- independent volunteer community newspapers following set structured editorial and semi-journalistic practice using newsprint process (e.g. *Western Tiers*)
- independent community newspapers following individual structures and format using a variety of non-newsprint processes (e.g. *Zeehan Community News*).

Forde (1999) notes that the issues presented in the independent and alternative press are not formal, and lead to ‘a cooperative copy flow’. She suggests that because of this, independent newspapers are run democratically, with staff in these organisations undertaking a broad range of tasks associated with publication. One example from this study already noted in relation to Research Question 1 is the changing production team maintaining the *Island News*. The staff is a volunteer group of 26 community members who rotate production positions every four months. Because of the more democratic processes involved in community newspapers, the sources of community newspaper content are more varied than that of mainstream and daily newspapers.

Source

Source variable frequencies are given in Table 19. They are further analysed by decade year in Table 20. Findings from the current study indicate that while community and readers contribute letters and articles from the earliest decades, volunteer community members have also acted as journalists and correspondents, providing small reports from outlying districts. For example, in the 1910 *North Eastern Advertiser*, local community members acted as correspondents for reports on or from small towns and areas, e.g. Ringarooma. The editor of the *Western Tiers* noted one of his prime skills was to ‘find the right person for the right job’ (Editors’ interviews, Appendix M). The paper contained items from a number of community volunteer members who maintained ongoing columns and regular features, as well as contributions from each of the five local schools, including a page of content from their school committees, staff and pupils. School pupils were encouraged to report on events and contribute articles as part of the educational process (Richard, 2002). It is the diversity of contributors over the last three decades of the century that denotes the increasing inclusivity of community newspapers. This contributes to building community identity (Wenner, 1999).

Horizon

The horizon (Henningham, 1986) of content is the geographic area from which the subject item arises. Changes in horizons over time indicate major shifts in community content focus related to social history. The high number of news items gathered from cable sources from all parts of the world in the earliest decade had diminished by mid-century. Frequency of horizon variables is given in Figure 18. Table 24 gives the variables by decade year. Local content made up the highest proportion of content for all decade years. Items of national interest were highest in the 1940 decade year and related to war news and government information as well as war policy discussion. Higher numbers of national content items appeared in the earlier decades of the century than after 1940, as mentioned earlier in this section. This trend is related to growing national identity. It is by relating these horizons to other categories (such as tone, discussed below), that significant patterns emerge in relation to the subjects and social issues within the content.

Tone

Tone variable frequencies are shown in Figure 17. The variables were developed from a study by Loo and Hurst (1995), giving tone systematic classification variables of *critical or supportive*, *mediatory* or *neutral*. There are two aspects related to the variables are considered in the current study. The first is the general patterns of tone in content as they occur over the

period studied. These patterns, combined with the horizon of items, identify cultural changes in community newspaper protocol and how issues are presented. The second aspect is ways of interpreting empirical findings. The first aspect relates to a commonly perceived fact in the literature that *positive items* emerge as strongly associated with community newspapers (Kirkpatrick, 1999; Kenyon, 1999; Kenyon & Black, 2001; Vines, 2001; Wahlquist, 2001). While the association with positive content is identified theoretically, the current study findings do provide an empirical gauge of high proportions of content displaying positive tone associated with community newspapers, and identify that high proportions of content with a positive tone are a major characteristic of community newspapers historically. The literature in late twentieth century studies suggest the harnessing of positive content fosters community capacity building and empowerment (Lappe & Du Bois, 1997; Peirce & Johnson, 1997; McManamey et al., 1999; McManamey & Falk, 2001). The literature also identifies that lack of a positive approach and destructive sensationalism has harmful results not only for communities but for cities and whole cultures, as shown in Chinese (Guon et al., 2001) and United States cities and in the Northern Territory (Guzan-Artwick & Gordon, 1998; McQuillan, 1998).

Tone variables, that is, critical, humorous, mediatory, negative, neutral, and positive, evident in community newspapers indicate shifts in cultural values and community newspaper protocol. For example, the high proportion of mediatory items in the first three decade years (Table 21) indicates a style of journalism producing articles similar in tone to those found in the daily newspapers of that period (Kirkpatrick, 2000; Isaacs & Kirkpatrick, 2003). Mediatory items referring to crime, community and housing social issues in 1930 suggest discursive content surrounding those issues. The appearance of *positive* tone in items almost tripled between 1910 and 2000. The largest increase in *positive* items occurred between the 1950 and 1960 decade years; a number of key patterns occurred in content serving to identify the 1960 decade year as a major point of change in both focus of content focus in community involvement within community newspapers.

A positive tone was present in only three social issues in 1910 and 1920, whereas eight social issues were reported in a positive tone in 1940 during World War II. However, there were nine social issue variables containing positive content in 2000. This period represents a time of slower economic growth in Tasmania than national averages, with higher unemployment as well as population loss. Proportions of content with a positive tone are important, but equally important is the number of areas where the positive tone occurs, reflecting social responses over time.

Cross-tabulations of tone and shape variables indicate that the highest proportions of both positive and mediatory content are found in editorials, followed by letters and community contributions. These findings, associated with the role of editors, indicate that editors' contributions are a small proportion of content (Table 19). However the high level of positive tone in editorials (Table 22) is an indication of a particular position and policy underpinning the whole production process. The presence of positive tone is associated with and demonstrates how community newspapers build the morale of their communities. The presence of high levels of positive content associated with editorials is confirmed by editorial coordination philosophies revealed in the interviews. It appears that the editor's main position is to relay this tone to the production team who are supporting and contributing to both process and content. The dynamics surrounding positive content, positive policy and its implementation in process and production impacts markedly in turn on community cohesion (Cahill, 1995; Kenyon & Black, 2001). Therefore, while positive tone contributes to community cohesion it has further implications for the role of the papers play in building social capital and is discussed later in Research Question 3.

Can the ways in which issues have been presented help classify community newspapers?

Community newspapers with circulations below the Australian Circulation Audit Board's base calculation circulation figures are not highly visible in media research. Small circulation community newspaper presence and growth has not been pursued as a significant research area (McCleneghan et al., 2002). Findings from the content analysis of community newspapers over time and relating to Research Question 2, from a current perspective, give rise to the questions: Is it possible through the coding of variables such as those reflecting issues and contributors, to identify community newspapers by type, and could the number of subject and social issues, shape, source, and horizon variables contribute to classifying community newspapers into categories?

From analysis of the content variables and considering the overall framework structure this should be possible, but it is not. A number of categories were cross-tabulated with the sample community newspapers over time and shown in Appendix N 1–8. The numbers of variables and how they occurred in each paper were observed. No significant patterns were discernable. Although small population community newspapers had smaller variable counts than larger newspapers, there was no pattern in the subjects and shape noted in Chapter 4. It appears patterns observed in the categories and their variables were linked to socio-economic and historical factors pertaining to each newspaper.

From the literature reviews in Chapter 2, it appears that a more comprehensive and inclusive classification of community newspapers is needed for grass-roots and small population community newspapers. Findings pertaining to newspaper backgrounds, supported by the literature, suggest the classification endomorphic may be applied to such newspapers. Endomorphic community newspapers are one of a three-part classification, community newspapers, aimed at integrating and simplifying the definitions of the community newspaper that may be diverse, overlapping and often ambiguous. Endomorphic was defined in Chapter 2 (an on page 221). In the light of findings from the content analysis, combined with discussion in the previous section, the current study forwards a definition of endomorphic community newspapers, which

- function in, and focus on, the local community interests irrespective of population size,
- are formed though local community initiative and are a major resource and force for community cohesion, development and empowerment; they provide a democratic voice for the issues and interests that empower the community.
- achieve this by giving importance to the values and attitudes that build and sustain their local community.

Many of the sample community newspapers emerged as publications initiated by a non-professional body as opposed to commercial community newspapers. ‘Non-professional’ means without the presence of qualified journalistic input. As noted, there does not appear to be research to date on grass-roots independent community newspapers of geographic locale. However, their increasing numbers and the role they play in sustaining communities in Tasmania over the decade years, as shown in the content analysis, suggest community newspapers are significant social indicators of community cohesive structures. By classifying these individual and independent organisations under the heading of endomorphic community newspapers, they become an entity or unit that may be approached as a whole.

What are the main factors contributing to the lack of research interest in community newspapers?

The current study suggests that there are four main factors that have contributed to the lack of research on independent community newspapers. These factors are format, contributor, structure and market importance.

Format. Format of community newspapers covers a broad range, and is related to the community’s resources, size, and the newspaper’s editorial policy. Forde (1999) notes that the

broad variety of formats, within independent alternative press has discouraged serious media research. There is a strong link between the various formats in which newspapers are presented and the lack of attention they receive from media research, though this is not a single cause or factor. Disinterest in community newspapers and their content is also tied to the following three factors.

Contributors. The ability of the community newspaper to be the voice for local issues is based on the fact that a broad number of community interests and individuals may contribute to its content. On the one hand this process enables truly democratic practice in the access the newspaper provides to small town and local interests to voice opinions. On the other hand the inclusion of non-journalistic contributions such as schoolchildren's input (as part of an educational policy to use the newspaper among other purposes as a learning tool, e.g. *Western Tiers*, *Bagdad News*) discourages research interest. The varied sources of contributions to content in the newspapers are most community inclusive in providing content to enable community learning, and also in some cases, to generate self-esteem in younger community members. While the range of contributors to the newspapers within the individual communities adds to community cohesion and inclusivity, it is likely that mainstream media research would not take interest in them because of those same non-journalistic contributions.

Structure. While these endomorphic publications activate cohesive processes within their communities, they have no structural body outside of their individual communities linking or supporting them. In some instances community newspapers have not contributed copies to be archived at the State Library of Tasmania, suggesting editors/coordinators may not view the publication as important or of cultural significance or not aware that it is a desirable/required procedure. It also may suggest that the editors/coordinators see the newspapers as of purely current interest and not of interest to anyone in the future. Their individualism and isolation suggests there may be benefit in building future networks between production teams of community newspapers functioning within the state.

Market importance. Research interest from both media and social science overlooks small non-profit or non-market organisations (McCleneghan, 2001; Toepler, 2003). From a media perspective, the market importance of community newspapers in this study sample is minimal. This is illustrated by the outcomes of amalgamations which have in the main contributed to the absorption of smaller publications into a segment of the daily publication, thereby boosting circulation on low performance days (E Weir, pers. comm., February 1999). This study suggests research into media and social capital surrounding small-scale voluntary associations and community organisations making up the community newspapers has been thus far overlooked due to their size and the lack of market interest. Rich stores of data

surrounding social capital are ignored. A study supporting this view (Toepler, 2003) relates to philanthropic organisations and suggests that the nature of social capital and civil society arguments have focused renewed attention on informal, voluntaristic groups, ‘many of which are small in scale and thus are missed in existing data sources’ (p. 365).

What is the importance of community newspapers?

Independent community newspapers’ establishment and growth patterns are an exciting data source. Findings show that independent community newspapers in Tasmania have increased more than three-fold in the last three decades of the twentieth century. The presence of growing numbers of community newspapers in Tasmania has to date been missed or overlooked and their establishment has not been recorded in other Australian states to date (2004). Why then is it important to examine this social phenomenon? And further, why is it important to examine its relationship to social capital?

An overarching factor is identified in the findings that link responses to Research Questions 1 and 2 to Research Question 3. Findings from both the editors’ interviews and the literature in Chapter 2 identify that trust in the local community newspaper contributes to its local support (Lauterer, 2000; Future Foundation Report, 2003) and further supports the growth in numbers of newspapers. The literature, both in individual studies (Fanning, 1994; Guzan-Artwick et al., 1998, Guon et al., 2001) and in studies attached to media movements in the United States (Rosen, 1998; Dickson & Topping, 2002; Massey & Haas, 2002) suggests that public mistrust in national dailies contributes to their decreasing circulations and numbers. As noted in Chapter 2, this phenomenon has been one of the major factors contributing to the rise of the public/civic journalism movement. While proposing that the end result of community/citizen participation in the public/civic journalism initiatives is a form of empowerment, the literature supports public and civic journalism not being a grass-roots reform. It is market driven and can be seen as a top-down movement (Massey & Haas, 2002). Findings from this study supported by the literature identify independent community newspapers differ from mainstream national and regional dailies in a number of ways that contributes to that trust.

The current study identifies that issues and interests presented in community newspapers differ from mainstream and national dailies in that they:

- contain geographic site specific interests (Kirkpatrick, 2001)
- contain detailed information and communications at the local level

- are valued for fairness and balance (Vines, 1999; interviews with Editors: *Circular Head Chronicle, North Eastern Advertiser*)
- are produced by an editor/production team/staff who are known local identities (interviews with Editors: *Circular Head Chronicle, North Eastern Advertiser*)
- focus on promoting wellbeing and developing community and locale (Kirkpatrick, 2001)
- give access to voicing opinion and raising questions and debate at a local level (Putnam et al., 2003)
- give respect, balance, and importance to a wide variety of activities that, seen in a national or global context, would be considered insignificant
- give importance to the attitudes, values of good fellowship, and personal relational interactions of a community (Blexrud, 1972)
- engender identity and local 'belonging' at a core level (Stamm et al., 1983; Stamm & Weiss, 1986; Harvey, 2001, Kenyon, 1999).

Therefore, based on findings in this study, it appears that the manner in which community newspapers address and present issues and interests in content is linked to a sympathetic understanding of community needs, a strong focus on support and uplifting community spirit, and by including broad community contributions within content and process they engender community cohesion.

Summary

Content analysis indicates that community newspapers have altered focus from human interest to community items, reflecting a shift from the individual to the group over the decades 1910 to 2000. The 1960 decade year reflected the major point of change over the century in terms of community newspaper production, presentation and contents. The number of community issues and subjects reported in the later decade years of the century reflects a growth in democratic deliberation in communities. In addition, the positive tone of community newspaper content indicates high levels of support by the paper for the community, a factor strongly evident from the 1960 decade year.

The content analysis confirms that the highest source of positive content is editors/coordinators, who contribute to the positive values of their communities. While the number of social issues are not highly reported in community newspapers, an underlying cause may be how issues are addressed in a manner that is more covert than overt. The

content analysis also identifies high proportions of humour in content related to periods of adverse times identified historically with social and economic difficulties.

Technological changes between 1910 and 1930 resulted in an increase in the number of resources available for the reporting of current news and diminished the need to inform the community of external issues in the local paper. Technological changes between 1950 and 2000 have allowed the publication of community newspapers in a variety of formats not associated with mainstream media.

While discussion in relation to responses to Research Questions 1 and 2 has focused on findings and the literature, the essence of the study is drawn together in the discussion relating to responses to Research Question 3. Research Question 3 is discussed in three sections. First, the results of the first two research questions are linked to social capital, followed by a discussion of the findings and literature related to the social capital area of the content analysis, and finally the relevance of the methodology applied to social capital is discussed.

What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?

Introduction

Research Questions 1 and 2 identify community newspapers as significant institutions, both covertly and overtly contributing to community identity and support. Tied to the independent community newspapers' vigorous growth and independent structure is a strong grass-roots movement within communities, identified in this study after the 1950 decade year. The increasing focus of content on community issues and interests as well as positive values and support in difficult or hard times, reflects the patterns and growth of community 'spirit' across the century. The 1990 and 2000 decade years represent the highest levels of community action, through the number of new newspapers established, numbers in production, and the focus of content. The fact that the appearance of new community newspapers is not driven by a network of external agents but is the outcome of spontaneous, individual community initiatives, each quite unique in its organisational processes, indicates a strong independent trend within communities. This aids community cohesion.

This section examines three different aspects of the relationship between community newspapers and social capital. It will first consider outcomes of the two previous research questions in relation to social capital. Second, findings specifically from the social capital area of the content analysis framework will be discussed, drawing on interviews with editors, and newspaper background data as relevant. Finally, the relevance and implications of examining identified levels of social capital using content analysis as a tool of enquiry will be discussed.

Social capital discourse and theory

Research Question 1 findings and their relationship to social capital

While Research Question 1 has previously been discussed, the specific focus of this section is to consider the question in relation to social capital. Social capital in the responses to

Research Question 1 is discussed in relation to four areas: newspaper establishment, hard times, trust, and reciprocity.

Newspaper establishment

Findings indicate that community newspapers are facilitators of social capital through networks, norms and trust seen in the establishment of newspapers by volunteer community members, and in the outcome of their content. This is based on Putnam's definition of social capital as: 'features of social organisations, such as networks, norm and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for the mutual benefit' (Putnam, 1993a, p. 1). The remarkable increase in numbers of community newspapers over the last three decades of the twentieth century indicates an increase in the resources of social capital and facilitation of coordination and cooperation within communities in Tasmania.

Findings show that 73% of community newspapers were established by volunteer community members. This fact relates to two areas of social capital.

- The first is Coleman's definition of social capital as 'the ability of people to work together for the common purpose in groups and organisations' (cited Wall et al., p.1998 p. 310) which describes the ability of the production team publishing the paper. Coleman's view on how and why social processes develop—created by the free will of individuals, is in contrast to Bourdieu's (1986) construct of constraint by underlying economic organisations. The spontaneous initiative seen in the development of each paper is a unique entity.
- Civic participation, which Putnam argued is declining (Putnam, 1993a, 1995, 2000), appears to be increasing, as witnessed by the increasing number of community newspapers in Tasmania in the last three decades of the twentieth century. This observation and conclusion is supported by Sirrani and Freidland's (2002) findings that, while political participation as an indicator of social capital appears to be declining, participation in citizen activism and community problem solving is increasing.

The current study did not set out to support or refute Putnam's findings on declining social capital. However the findings of this study support de Tocqueville's statement:

There is a necessary connection between public associations and newspapers: *newspapers make associations and associations make newspaper*; and if it has been correctly advanced that associations will increase in number as the

condition of men become more equal, it is not less certain that the number of newspapers increases in proportion to that of associations. (de Tocqueville, 1840, Vol. 11. p. 135)

Increasing numbers of papers and levels of social capital in content of community newspapers in Tasmania from 1970 indicate that social capital appears to be increasing at the community level, refuting Putnam's argument.

More specifically, findings in the current study show that 94% of the 67 independent community newspapers were located within rural areas in Tasmania, indicating that rural communities in Tasmania are a prime area of growth and increasing social capital. This is supported by Galper's (2002) findings that social capital 'is concentrated in small mature counties with small populations, high newspaper readership' (p. 26). Findings in the current study indicate a very high percentage of community newspapers established in Tasmania are related to rural areas. Given the worldwide trend towards rural depopulation and increasing urbanization, rural areas appear to be those suffering the greatest economic and social adjustment problems (Kenyon & Black, 2001). While rural areas in the United States are identified by Galper (2002) as containing the highest levels of social capital, he also suggests that they have 'moderate incomes and low unemployment' (p. 26). This raises the question from an economic perspective; does the presence of moderate incomes and low unemployment reflect social capital outcomes? While the study did consider geographic patterns related to demographics, and social and economic change, it did not extend into a profile of economic factors within the areas of sampled community newspapers. This was beyond the scope of the study and is an area for further research.

Although social capital content between newspapers in each decade varies greatly, the findings clearly show that the highest proportion of social capital content within newspapers occurred concurrently with the highest numbers of newspapers being established. This was the period of greatest emigration and economic downturn (Figure 7). As previously noted there are two likely reasons for this. Firstly, newspapers established from 1990 to 2000 were, in some cases, produced by community groups that were encouraged by state and federal policy towards community renewal and sustainability. Community action was underpinned by a deliberate emphasis on partnerships, stimulating capacity building and empowerment (Taylor, 2000; Winter, 2000). Secondly, community newspapers established in this same period, most likely because of the nature of their role focusing on their local community, contained the highest proportion of positive content relating to values and attitudes compared to older established newspapers published at the same time.

Periods of hard times

The current study identifies that hard times/difficult circumstances can frequently set in motion social capital resources and outcomes. Allowing for the impact of Information Technology (IT) on the establishment of community newspapers in Tasmania, in the later decades of the twentieth century, findings in the current study support a strong relationship between periods of net migration loss and the establishment of community newspapers. This fact links community action and empowerment directed towards establishing stronger cohesive structures in communities in times of population loss and in hard times.

Community newspapers established during periods of social and economic downturn represent the use of social capital resources to strengthen communities in Tasmania during these periods. The building of social capital as a response to difficult circumstances is documented in the literature. Bonfil (1994) notes that voluntary confraternities in thirteenth century Spain, forerunners of modern voluntary associations, sprang up to support community members 'under disparate and trying conditions' (p. 195). Further, the Migros cooperative established language schools in 1941, promoted cultural activities and published free community newspapers, to establish communications and understanding between communities (Alderson, 1999). The editors' interviews provided examples of establishment of community newspapers (the *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo*, the *Brid rePort* and the *Devonport Times*) as a result of hard times.

This thesis suggests that there is a significant link between hard times/difficult circumstances and the establishment of community newspapers as an outcome of social capital, based on Halifan's (1916) notion of social capital. While Halifan's early definition has been applauded for its relevance to current concepts (Putnam, 1995), Halifan's definition of social capital contains the word 'sympathy'. The word does not appear to have been included in subsequent definitions which could be an oversight.

Sympathy can be perceived as a fundamental component of the concept of social capital because it describes the basis of the response arising in individuals, groups or organizations when social capital is activated and generated for another's good. Social capital noted in developmental (World Bank, 1997–2003), rural and community sustainability (Flora, 1995; Flora et al., 1996) and health studies (Stone, 2001), is associated with a global perception that its application can result in positive outcomes. These outcomes may in turn alleviate economic and social hardship, and help rectify social imbalances. Social capital can be seen in the content of this study as the benefits arising from activated empathy, sympathy and

understanding and the desire for the wellbeing of others as an outcome of the use of social capital.

Trust

As discussed earlier in this chapter in the section on findings related to Research Question 1, trust is essential to the development of new community newspapers and their continuity. The growth of community and local newspapers in the United Kingdom is identified in the literature as arising from the trust people have for their local newspaper (Newspaper Society, 2000; Future Foundation Report, 2003). Theoretically, trust also underpins the process of social capital and is discussed within the literature on many levels. The most popular construct is of trust as the core of social capital (Putnam, 1993a). It is also considered as providing a proxy for social capital (Woolcock, 1998; Putnam, 2001). The belief that trust and networks are core elements of social capital through which social capital relationships function and occur (Granovetter, 1973; Coleman, 1990) relates directly to community newspapers as a resource of, and function of, social capital. The absence of trust would contribute to the dysfunction of networks; those formed to process the community newspaper and those that emerge as an outcome of content. Trust, on the one hand as a proxy for social capital, implies that, through the functioning and networks of community newspaper production and their community support, the community newspaper is a major unit representing social capital. Trust, on the other hand, can be seen as the core element of social capital that describes what underpins the actions and activities of community members and links the community to its community newspaper.

The implications of decline in daily and national paper circulations and the decline in social capital resources have been posited in the United States as rising from lack of civic engagement, and suggesting a major loss of public trust (Norris, 1996; Paxton, 1998). The literature identifies, however, that concerns are related to democratic deliberation in both instances (Friedland et al., 1995). Norris (1996) and Paxton (1998) identify a concern over democratic practices by policy makers as an American angst relating to the arguments over declining social capital. Lack of political participation suggests disinterest in exercising basic democratic rights. Massey and Haas (2002) also suggest that the lack of civic engagement and political participation in the 1988 Presidential elections ignited the public/civic journalism movement and debate. From the literature, it appears that that same 1988 Presidential election electoral response and outcome, impacting on mass media concerns over falling circulations and democratic deliberation, also contributed to the concerns at policy and governance levels that underpinned the overwhelming interest and response to Putnam's claims on declining social capital.

Reciprocity

Reciprocity, discussed in the social capital literature, does not appear without containing the element of obligation (Langston, 2004). However, the current study suggests that the dynamic interactions contributing to the production of the community newspaper and the response of the community is a cyclical reciprocity based on trust. Here the element of reciprocity as cyclical reciprocity does not end in the return of one benefit for another through obligation, termed generalised reciprocity (Putnam, 1993a, 1993b). Nor does it adhere to the notion of obligation embedded in Bourdieu's (1986) structured reciprocity or Fukuyama's (1995) construct of reciprocity. Rather, it can be identified as a continuing dynamic response, generating and confirming the actions of others and supporting the wellbeing of the community.

Cyclical reciprocity is important to rural communities in that it generates community cohesion. It is a spontaneous dynamic that occurs as a natural response, based on trust that allows the continuity of the community newspaper.

Research Question 2 findings and their relationship to social capital

As discussed earlier in Research Question 2, the major findings relating to social capital are the patterns of expanding numbers of subjects within social issues providing evidence of broader community discourse in the latter decades of the twentieth century, and the growing contributions from community, which represents active participation.

The increase in the number of subjects within social issues in the newspapers over time displays broader interests on the part of the community and an increase in the number of voices that support community democratic practices and contribute to community empowerment. The development of democratic processes is facilitated at a number of levels in community newspapers; by content and its contributors; by expanding issues voiced; and through the establishment of independent media sources. The increase in the number of subjects within issues in the newspapers over time displays broader interests on the part of the community and an increase in the number of voices that support community democratic practices and contribute to community empowerment. The diversity of controversy (Flora & Flora 1998; 2000) whereby issues are cited and views balanced, is evident in interviews with editors of the *North Eastern Advertiser* and the *Huon Times*; also controversy where local issues are addressed and supported further in the of lobbying state government bodies is described in interviews (editor, *Circular Head Chronicle*) and content. Examples such as the

'Letter to the editor' by Jane Busby (p. 215) *Island News*, 2000, 11 February, while critically challenging what was perceived as editorial bias, resulted in a positive reply. The reply from the editor further provided information transparency and credited the work a community group proactive in a social context. Similarly, the inset, 'Galah', *Western Tiers*, 26 April 1990 was a critically toned letter suggesting ill-informed judgement on the part of a federal government advisor adversely affected a number of aspects of local community life, and endangering future public health. It further informed and voiced ways of perceiving issues surrounding the perceived misjudgement. The development of democratic processes is facilitated at a number of levels in community newspapers; by content and its contributors; by expanding the issues that are voiced; and through their status as independent media sources.

It could be argued that community newspapers act as a proxy for social capital. Trust and networks build, structure, and contribute to the continuity of both.

Findings from the responses to the first two research questions indicate that independent community newspapers and their associated social capital are both a facilitator of networks and an outcome of communications. Their relationship as structures of community communications is also supported at a theoretical level. Characteristics of social capital could equally be applied to community newspapers, with both being 'an accumulation of the knowledge and identity resources drawn on by communities of common interest' (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000, p. 4). Taking the view that community and community newspapers are generated and sustained by each other (Christians et al, 1993), the definition of social capital as 'the glue that holds societies together and without which there can be no economic growth or well being' (Serageldin, 1999, p. 1, as cited in Langston, 2004) can equally be applied to community newspapers.

Summary

By considering the relationship between social capital and community newspapers in relation to the findings discussed in response to Research Question 1, social capital is intrinsic to functioning and continuity of the community newspaper, through community civic commitment and participation witnessed in voluntary action. The vigorous growth of community newspapers over the latter decades of the twentieth century represents a growth of social capital networks in rural communities in Tasmania. These social capital networks are visible in both the formation of newspaper production teams, and the continuity of community newspapers, thus representing cohesive social organisations and reciprocity. Establishment of the community newspapers is also establishment of independent media organisations, identified as a growth in democratic deliberation. Social capital, as represented

in the findings from Research Question 2, is reflected through the patterns of issues described in the content analysis. It is possible to argue from the findings that the focus of community newspaper content has contributed to major democratic processes empowering communities through debate and discourse. These processes are guided by editors through production teams that contribute positive content and develop networks, underpinned by trust.

Social capital findings from content analysis and interviews

The following section discusses findings from the third area of the content analysis framework, social capital, literature, and data gathered from the semi-structured interviews. The thesis has discussed patterns of community newspaper establishment across the twentieth century in Tasmania, and related it to social capital in relation to the first section of this research question. It has then discussed patterns found in content and how issues have been presented in relation to social capital.

The final two aims of the study were: firstly, to devise a content analysis framework identifying social capital from a number of perspectives in order to investigate how social capital occurs in community newspapers; and secondly, to investigate the relationship between content production process and community contribution. The following section discusses the findings from the content analysis in relation to social capital, and relates findings from editors' interviews to community contribution containing social capital.

Six major findings emerge from the study in relation to the social capital area of the content analysis and the editors' interviews.

- 11.6% of the content of community newspapers in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000 can be identified as reporting or generating social capital
- Highest levels of social capital in content was reported in newspapers established in the last three decades of the twentieth century
- Major increases in social capital levels occurred between 1920 and 1930, and between 1990 and 2000
- Social capital was most represented in community subject variables followed by human interest and economic subjects
- The community contributes to social capital through content, production process, and support for the newspaper's continuity.

- The relationship between community newspapers and social capital can be profiled through a structured content analysis framework.

Social capital findings from content

All findings relate to the third area of the content analysis framework that examines items in relation to social capital dimensions. The discussion will focus on six issues:

- What does the proportion of social capital in content show?
- Newspapers with highest levels of social capital
- Increasing levels of social capital
- When and where are social capital levels highest?
- Editors/editorials related to social capital content
- Role of the community contributing to the newspapers
- Summary of key findings related to social capital dimensions.

What does the proportion of social capital in content show?

The total proportion of content that was classified as social capital within the sample community newspapers was 11.6%. This finding immediately raises questions. It was expected that the proportion of social capital content in community newspapers would be higher, as suggested by theoretical comparisons of community and social capital as synonymous (Temkin & Rohe, 1998). However, the lower than expected proportion relates to a number of factors: the changing roles of community newspapers over time, discussed earlier in relation to Research Question 2; the broader focus of interests of commercial community newspapers over time; high levels of social capital content appearing in smaller population community newspapers; smaller population community newspapers appearing chiefly in the last three decades of the twentieth century.

Findings identify the major factor contributing to lower social capital proportions in newspaper content was that 70% of items gathered are found in 25% (4) of the sample community newspapers. Larger numbers of the content sample items came from these four newspapers than from the later established smaller population areas of newspapers. All of those four newspapers were established in the two earliest decades and were also established as independent commercial enterprises. The roles and structure of these independent commercial community newspapers over time, as opposed to those of the later established

chiefly volunteer community newspapers, related to the inclusion of a major proportion of content aimed at informing and supporting their communities' commercial progress. In spite of the differences in focus of the newspapers, seen in the quantity of informative news from overseas and mainland horizons, proportions of social capital in content in early decade years were relatively high. There was a similar proportion of social capital in content in 1960, compared to 1910, although 1920 contained the lowest proportion of all content containing social capital (Figure 25).

Newspapers with highest levels of social capital

Two factors emerged from the level of social capital in each newspaper's content over time. Newspapers containing the highest proportion of social capital were established in the last three decades of the twentieth century (Table 25). Circulation sizes, however, were varied.

The highest levels of social capital content were in the *Lilydale Progressive*, 45% of its content. It was established in 1981, followed by three newspapers all established in the mid-to late-1990s.

However, there are two ways of viewing social capital content resulting from the content analysis; firstly, through levels of social capital content items as a total proportion of content; secondly, by examining the numbers of variables containing social capital, related to the subject and social issues categories.

For example, Figure 25 shows levels of social capital content in the sample community newspapers. Figure 33 shows the number of variables containing social capital in each newspaper. In contrast to levels of social capital in content, newspapers with highest numbers of subject variables containing social capital are more likely to be older and longer established. This indicates that social capital was located within broader community issues and interests, found within these newspapers. For example, in Table 34, the *North Eastern Advertiser* (1909) items coded to 15 subject variables contained social capital; the *Huon Times* (1910), *Island News* (1954) and the *Circular Head Chronicle* (1906) reported social capital in 11 variables. In comparison, the *Lilydale Progressive* which displayed the highest overall proportion of social capital in content, social capital reported in six subject variables. A similar pattern emerged with social issues containing social capital (Table 35).

examining social capital content measures from different perspectives. The first is that reporting the levels of social capital are of benefit to each individual community as a measure of social capital content, particularly if differences over time are of interest. Comparisons of levels between newspapers are of lesser value considering the variety and complexity of

socio-economic backgrounds and the community structures involved in the content and production of community newspapers.

Therefore, it appears while newspapers reporting high levels of social capital in content, appears, the focus of social capital is related to fewer or to narrower interests than newspapers with higher numbers of variables containing social capital and therefore related to broader interests in the community. For example, a newspaper with high levels of social capital occurring in a small number of variables could indicate that reporting is carried out by a narrowly focused group or production team voicing a strong input on fewer community interests.

As one role of community newspapers is to reflect socio-economic and cultural history pertaining to each community, it is not accurate to suggest that one newspaper contains more social capital than another. While levels of social capital within newspapers do differ, the range of subjects containing social capital also provides a valuable measure.

Increasing levels of social capital

Levels of social capital content in Tasmanian community newspapers doubled over the century. They rose from 9% in 1910, through 12% in 1990, to 18% in 2000.

How and why were high levels of social capital resources and outcomes from the use of social capital observed when social capital has been posited as declining (Putnam, 1993a, 1995, 2000; Cox, 1995)? How important are geographic factors in contributing to the pattern over the last three decades? Were there specific patterns of organisation that contributed to the upsurge in social capital within the study boundaries?

Some prime differences between studies suggesting declining social capital resources (Putnam, 1993a, 1995, 1998, 2001) and this study are that this study:

- explores social capital through newspaper readership and community contribution, factors have been observed to be strongly equated with high levels of social capital (Putnam, 1993a, 1995; World Values Study, 1997; Kreuters et al., 1998; Galper, 2001)
- is not 'seeking evidence for societal level phenomena through individual level survey' (Norris, 1996, p. 3; Social Analysis, National Statistics, UK, 2001)
- perceives social capital as essentially contextual specific (Bourdieu, 1986; Edwards & Foley, 1998)
- explores resources and the generation of social capital chiefly through secondary sources

- is chiefly related to rural areas
- focuses on a bounded geographic area that has experienced economic difficulties and social change during the period studied, hence it is case specific and not in line with national and international socio-economic performance.

Findings from the responses to Research Question 1 indicate that increasing levels of social capital resources are found in rural Tasmanian communities, yet as mentioned, the study was not designed as a rural specific research but as a broad enquiry exploring independent community newspapers of geographic locale. A number of factors contribute to the high levels of social capital within and surrounding the functioning of community newspapers in the latter decades of the century:

- increasing numbers of altruistic and community-spirited individuals acting as editors, with a desire to improve community communications noted in the editors' interviews; that is, community engagement, and supported by O'Connor, (1998) and Vines, (2001)
- technology, through more accessible production methods (e.g. community online centres and desktop publishing) which facilitates community interactions. This in turn, building knowledge and identity resources. However these processes were in place from the 1960s. It is the community cohesion, using new technology and initiating the newspapers, that suggests high levels of social capital caused by
 - high levels of community commitment by volunteer community members in establishing the community newspapers, which mirrors the commitment of community groups and associations to community wellbeing
 - policy supporting community development through social capital building, to address community and regional problems and sustainability (Kenyon, 1999; Winter 2001)
 - contributions from readers and community to the newspaper and community support for the newspaper's continuity through reading the paper
 - the need, for support for community activities and interaction in difficult circumstances or hard times.

The groups responsible for production of the community newspapers were varied. Background data and editors' interviews identify that while community newspapers were established mainly by community groups in the latter decades of the twentieth century (e.g. Bruny Island Community Group and Tourist Group, Lilydale Progress Association and the Bridport 2000 Group), reflecting the influence of community-driven associations, newspapers were also initiated and established by individuals.

The editor of the *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo* and the editors of the *Bagdad News* and the *Western Tiers* initiated and established their community newspapers. Although the *Bagdad News* and the *Western Tiers* were both established by school principals, the production process and continuity of their newspapers were dependent on volunteer community members and school staff (Johns, 2004). The *Bagdad News* went on to be produced by the local online centre in association with support from a number of community groups; the *Western Tiers* was bought by a regional newspaper company in 1995 and continued unaltered for five years in format and style, maintained by the original founding editor until his retirement in 2000. This acknowledges the role many individual editors play in maintaining the knowledge and identity resources (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000) within their communities. The editors are pivotal community members with a ‘knowledge of who, when, and where to go for advice or resources and knowledge of how to get things done’ and ‘able and willing (committed) to act for the benefit of the community and its members’ (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000, p. 105). The editor of the *Western Tiers* noted his knowledge of ‘what people were good at’ and his ability to approach the right person for the right task ‘in getting things done’ (Falk & Muldford, 2001; Johns et al., 2001). The number of community members contributing to and involved in the production of, and contributing to content in the latter decades of the twentieth century, suggests a greater community involvement in the continuity of community newspapers compared with newspapers that are established and produced as a commercial operation. Individual editors from both commercial and volunteer production papers were also major facilitators of social capital at the community level, through knowledge and identity resources and by building and maintaining community dynamics that contributed to community cohesion.

When and where are social capital levels highest?

Discussion in relation to findings from Research Question 1 identified that social capital in content in the first half of the century was highest in 1930—a period within the Great Depression. The highest level of social capital in the second half of the century was between 1990 and 2000—also a most difficult economic period in Tasmania.

While overall levels of social capital in Tasmanian community newspapers doubled over the century, this pattern did not occur in every paper. A major distinction appears in the levels of social capital content over time between commercial and voluntary community newspapers. Appendix O 2 Social Capital by Paper by Time, shows patterns of social capital over the decade years and also when papers reported their highest levels in content. The four earliest community newspapers shown in Appendix O 3 were commercial papers. They also appear,

comparative to the study size, in the larger population centres. The social capital content does increase in the last two decade, in two of the commercial papers, though the highest social capital content in all four papers occurs in earlier decade years, being 1970, 1930, 1980 and 1950 respectively for the *Circular Head Chronicle*, *Huon Times*, *King Island News*, and the *North Eastern Advertiser*. A comparison with voluntary community newspapers indicates that voluntary papers in production over the last two to three decade years or longer did show a growing increase in social capital in content. The *Island News* for example increased from 9% in 1980, to 34% in 1990 and 40% in 2000; the *Bruny News* showed an increase in social capital content from 20% to 60% over the same three decade years. The comparisons between the two groups, commercial and voluntary community newspapers support the conclusion in Chapter 2 that the multiple structured roles of community newspapers differ and there are a number of functions they perform contributing to the structure and development of their communities. It is, however, possible to note from Appendices O 2 and O 3, that voluntary community newspapers include higher levels of social capital content. Highest levels of social capital in content in this study are therefore associated with voluntary community papers in small population areas. The patterns of increasing social capital content over time are chiefly associated with voluntary community newspapers, though both commercial and voluntary community newspapers show high levels of social capital in content in relation to historical and socio-economic factors.

Social capital in content and tone. The highest social capital levels reported in humour were in 1930, while *positive* content containing social capital increased three-fold between 1980 and 2000. One newspaper was established specifically to help build positive attitude, as noted in the editors' interviews (*Brid rePort*). Positive content building social capital has been cited in the literature related to instances of rural renewal, and to community empowerment (Lappe & Du Bois, 1997; Kenyon, 1999; McManamey & Falk, 2001). In this study, levels of social capital were also reflected in the high levels of positive content.

The tone used most often to report social capital in content over all the decade years was positive tone. This is in spite of the fact that neutral tone was used for the largest proportion of content. In 1960 positive content more than doubled compared to its presence in the previous decade year. It reflected the highest levels of social capital (Table 37). The literature supports the inclusion of positive content as a major tool in building levels of social capital in newspapers (Lappe & Du Bois, 1997; McManamey et al., 1999; McManamey & Falk, 2001).

The findings from the current study in relation to levels of social capital in content suggest that voluntary community newspapers contain highest levels of social capital in content. When considering where highest levels of social capital occur in both commercial and

voluntary community newspaper, the findings suggest that at certain periods of history, hard times and difficult (economic) circumstances can be a powerful initiator of social capital, activating the resources that build social capital. This is evident in the current study and relates to both socio-historical and economic circumstances, and is supported in the literature. Where social capital is understood as context specific (Bourdieu, 1986; Edwards & Foley, 1998; Norris, 2000), it arises from a need, and theoretically can be argued to be a response to a need based on the human principles underpinned by *sympathy* (Hume, 1739; Halifan, 1916). Social capital can be seen in the context of this study as the resources and benefits arising from activated empathy, sympathy and understanding and the desire for the wellbeing of others, as discussed earlier in this section in relation to Research Question 1.

Editors/editorials related to social capital content

The role of editor/coordinator is pivotal to newspaper content and the visionary process of establishing the newspaper. This is evidenced by the highest proportions of social capital content being found within editorials as noted in the previous section. Editors drive the community with their visionary leadership, as illustrated in the findings related to knowledge and identity resources and confirmed by high levels of *values and attitudinal attributes*. One example supporting these findings is an article titled ‘The Vision Splendid’, about a mythical community with certain characteristics working together and achieving a major shared sporting facility. It was written by the editor of the *Western Tiers*. The ‘Vision’ became a reality when by public demand community bodies all came together to investigate building a similar facility, using the processes of empowerment described in the original article. A small excerpt is pictured in Figure 29.



Source: *Western Tiers*, 1983 'The vision splendid'.

The way in which individuals and groups established community newspapers in many cases revealed a shared vision, for example, 'to generate and create vital interest in our island, and to encourage locals and visitors alike to realise the potential of this island paradise (*Bruny News*, 19 October 1980, p. 1). The coordinator of the *Valley and East Coast Voice* describes how 'a number of funny incidents had happened and we wanted to have a way that the community could share things'. *Community togetherness* was a key theme relating to editors and editorials. The content item *inclusivity* reflected the way in which community cohesion was engendered by encouraging and drawing together community members to take on roles in producing the newspaper and engender community identity (Janowitz, 1952; Stamm, 1985; Alderson, 1999; Wenner, 1999; Cavaye, 1999; Putnam et al., 2003).

Role of the community contributing to the newspaper

Content analysis and the editors' interviews identify that the role of the community in contributing to content impacted on the focus of issues and interests over time. The editors' interviews identify that the community is integral to the structure and function of both commercial and non-commercial independent community newspapers. That position is clearly acknowledged by the editor of the *Circular Head Chronicle* who says, 'they (the community) are the newspaper'. Interviews with editors from commercial independent community newspapers, however, reveal variations in the role of the community in contributing to the community newspaper. They range from 'feedback and suggestion' (Editor, *Devonport Times*) to the editor of the *North Eastern Advertiser* describing how the

newspaper received community contribution from two areas; that of critical appraisal of content, plus written contributions such as sports results and community reports. By contrast, many of the non-commercial community newspapers use community contributions as the major source for content. For example, content in the *Bagdad News* in 2000 was chiefly made up of contributions from community organizations such as health services, and local agricultural activity group reports and information.

However, not all non-commercial community newspapers find strong support through community contributions. Editors' interviews identify that the dynamics related to gathering community contribution vary considerably. In one newspaper reporting high levels of social capital (27%) in its content, community contribution is low: 'probably everything I get I chase up. It's a little bit disappointing that more people don't contribute' (Editor, *Brid rePort*). This is in contrast to the *Bruny News* which exhibited high community contribution: 'Well, let me put it this way; we are always struggling to fit everything into the pages. We don't have to go out looking for anything. Someone said they have never heard of a community newspaper where you had to hold over articles till the next edition. Contributions come in from everywhere, not only the locals' (Editor, *Bruny News*). While the *Brid rePort* may have limited support in content contributions, support in the form of suggestions, feedback and assist with newspaper production, can offset lack of written contributions. 'Everyone wants the newspaper and someone said "Why don't you have a big one like Lilydale?"' (Editor, *Brid rePort*). Findings show that levels of social capital are not necessarily linked to high levels of community contributions to content (Table 25). Rather, social capital levels appear related to content focus.

Structured content analysis framework

Although social capital is generally perceived as a community characteristic, it is usually measured by asking questions of individuals and aggregating their replies. This is considered problematic because collective social capital can not simply be the sum of individual social capital.

It is suggested that there is a need to measure the quality of social capital not merely the quantity.

Social Analysis and Reporting Division, Office for National Statistics UK,
October, 2001, p. 3.

This study is particularly interested in the process of content analysis as a tool for exploration of social capital concepts and dimensions. The following sections will discuss the findings

from the content analysis framework related to social capital. Whereas content analysis has accompanied primary research methods investigating social capital (Flora, 1995), a successful content analysis tool evaluating and describing social capital dynamics does not appear to have been developed (Kreuters et al., 1998). Findings from this study indicate a content analysis framework structure containing dimensions of social capital is valuable in providing a further understanding of the causes and outcomes of social capital within communities. This section will discuss the social capital area of the content analysis framework containing the four dimensions and their variables. It is followed by a discussion of how the social capital content analysis is applied to different levels of research and practice. Finally, the content analysis findings are identified in relation to socio-history.

Application of the three levels of analysis

There are three levels at which the results of the content analysis related to social capital information can be considered. The first level examines the dimensions of social capital related to community newspapers and qualifies social capital in terms of the variables present in content, as touched on in the previous section. The second examines the descriptive areas of the framework related to social capital. It indicates the mechanics of where and from whom contributions arise, and in what forms, and the tone of the content, as seen in profiles from each newspaper in relation to the social capital in its content. The third level examines two examples of patterns of the content in relation to social history.

Summary of key findings related to social capital dimensions

- Of the items coded to elements of social capital coded in the community newspapers, 45% were coded to inclusivity, 16% shared values, and 11% historicity.
- Of the items coded to networks in community newspaper content, 75% were bridging social capital, 14% bonding social capital, and 8% linking social capital.
- Knowledge and identity resources reflect the relationship of each newspaper to its community. Of the 73% of items coded as knowledge resources; subcategories show highest proportions in, values and attitudinal attributes. Information networks and in equal proportions the identity resources self-confidence, and commitment to community.
- Of the items coded to Incorgov variables, 25% were community togetherness; 18% were community engagement; 12% were value of work and life connection.

Dimensions

Coding of social capital was based on exploring four different facets of social capital. As described in Chapter 3, the dimensions of social capital comprise of four separate categories assembled for this study from theory and the research literature. They have been constructed to investigate how social capital can be explored in community newspaper content. The four dimensions were theoretical, structural, and two unrelated research models. Each dimension was assembled to function in the content analysis as an independent empirical scale; the dimensions were also chosen as a foil to each other in case one was not operational. Coding, was an exploration of social capital, and therefore it was not expected that every item would conform to each dimension in the way it did. Findings confirmed that while independently applied, they work in concert with each other. They validate that an item was either generating or reporting a social capital outcome, or diminishing social capital. Where an item did not conform to one of the variables within a dimension, it was found not to apply to a variable in other dimensions. Therefore, what was originally constructed as a multi-dimensional structure to achieve a balance and give alternative perspectives of social capital also resulted in validation of social capital coding. Several examples of how variables occurred in the dimensions were included in Chapter 4.

The framing of variables within the dimensions allows the reporting of quantitative measures, as well as allowing insights into qualities of social capital. Further, framing the variables provide a measure of collective and community dynamics over time. Measures of the quality of social capital as a collective response rather than that of individual aggregated measures are most needed (Office for National Statistics UK, 2001).

Elements

As a theoretical frame for discussing the dynamics occurring in the community, the first dimension—elements—is based on theoretical concepts discussed in the literature. The elements within the study represented a first order of framing the concept. While the elements are conceptual constructs from the literature, the content analysis enables examination of their relevance to particular historical events or socio-economic change. It is most interesting to note that *shared values* is highly represented in the early decade years. Conceptually the variable is included as relating to Halifan's definition of social capital, containing a social emphasis and relationship. While strong in the first two decades in content, shared values is less represented in subsequent decade years. Inclusivity (Bourdieu, 1986) appears most represented and is highest in the later decade years. Inclusivity theoretically links to the

processes of communication seen by Park (1929) as the prime mechanism through which individuals maintained the collective enterprise called ‘community’.

Inclusivity is also linked to diminishing social capital. Theoretically inclusivity was based on Bourdieu’s notion of inclusivity as noted in the definition and justification shown in the code book (Appendix E.3). Coding of diminishing social capital when cross-tabulated with the elements in Appendix U Effect by each Dimension, shows that diminishing social capital is found highest associated with inclusivity 27.5%, though only marginally higher than participation in voluntary associations. Findings do not show dependency is created through control of resources as opposed to lack of resources, rather they show empowerment through the combined inter-actions (of *cyclical reciprocity* and *trust*) from the production-readership process. This process of cyclical reciprocity and trust is also evident at the content level through either reportage of events or mention of social capital engendering inclusivity.

Networks

Networks (Coleman, 1990; Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock, 1998) are described in the literature as the structures of social capital facilitating ‘collective action for mutual benefit’ (Woolcock, 1998). The framing of content through a structural network of bonding, bridging and linking social capital (Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock, 1998) provides an overview of the structural ways in which social capital functions in communities. This was identified and discussed in the previous section on content and changing focus.

A key point made in the book *Better Together* (Putnam et al., 2003) was the importance of, and difficulties in building, bridging social capital in communities. Bridging social capital relates to social relations between a diverse range of individuals and organizations, which give rise to a generalised trust. Findings identify that the community newspapers contains more bridging social capital (76%) than the other network types (Table 30). High levels of bridging social capital reflect the structure of interactions reported in community newspapers and also relate to the roles played by the community newspaper in reporting on issues and interests within its community. This finding of high levels of bridging social capital can be linked to literature reporting the roles of the community newspaper, such as Hurst & Provis (2000), who note the multi-dimensional roles played by the community newspaper, among which are to stimulate community action, and to act as the building blocks of civic, corporate life and pride. An example of bridging social capital is contained in the Editors reply to Jane Bushby, *Island News*, 11 February 2000, in Chapter 4.

Findings also identify that a small proportion of content is bonding social capital (ties with relatives and friends and 'likely' relationships). Bonding social capital is also linked to one of the roles played by the community newspapers, that of promoting unity in adversity and diversity (Hurst & Provis, 2000). Bonding social capital was at its highest as a proportion of content in 1930, followed by 1990, decade years related to adverse times in Tasmania. Highest levels of linking social capital (representing relations between individuals and institutions and 'unlikely' relations as between those with different power or status) were evident where community newspaper content reflected external and global issues in 1940 and 2000. An example of linking social capital was identified in 1940 related to civic republicanism, in Chapter 4, Research Question 2. Therefore, from analysis of content through network variables it is possible to show that the reporting of networks links to the role of community newspapers, and also to social history, contributing to identifying how social capital is built in communities.

Knowledge and identity resources

Application of the knowledge and identity resources model of social capital (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000), of the content analysis produces a map of community social capital and how it functions. Content coded to knowledge resources in community newspapers show values and attitudinal attributes are consistently the highest sub-category in the newspapers over the century. When knowledge and identity resources are cross-tabulated with subjects and social issues, they provide an enlightening map of what resources are being used in the communities. For example, in 1910 (Appendix O 4), the highest number of knowledge and identity resource sub-category items occurs in agricultural items that related to information networks. Economic items were the second highest number, also relating to information networks. However in 2000 highest number of items in knowledge and identity resources sub-category was community subject items related to values and attitudes. This was followed by the second highest number of items found in community subjects related to information networks. While these examples are only of two decades, the differences between them relate to findings in other areas of the content analysis such as changes in subjects over time. They disclose what social capital is actually occurring specifically what and where (the subject eg agricultural) social capital is being built or has occurred, and further how (information networks). This therefore is valuable when communities are examining the social capital in their community through the local paper to see where and what social capital is occurring in their locale through the local newspaper reportage. Thus, by relating the variables and resources to historical context and by cross-tabulating subject and social issues with the

knowledge and identity resources subcategories, a valuable profile of community interactions emerges.

Incorgov

The fourth dimension, Incorgov, provides a broader and more global context in relation to the variables contributing to the community map that emerged from the results of the knowledge and identity resources (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). The high representation of *community togetherness* and *community engagement* in social capital content could be expected. The decade years in which some of the lesser-occurring variables were at their highest did provide an insight into general community contexts. For example, the occurrence of *interpersonal and institutional trust* was high in 1930 which reflects the values and attitudes within content during the depression period building on trust. *Interpersonal and institutional trust* was recorded at its highest level in 2000, equally highest over time, with proactive in a social context ('personal and collective efficacy or personal agency within a social context', Onyx & Bullen, 2000, p. 29). This suggested the presence of community action and dynamics that related to empowerment.

While the Incorgov dimension was included to relate content to a broader global perspective of social capital, it further validated findings from the other dimensions, describing and expanding community dynamics through social capital.

For example, the items included in Chapter 4 illustrating single dimensions were coded through a number of dimensions expanding the analysis of each item. While the item in Chapter 4 entitled 'Tour a Success', (*Circular Head Chronicle*, 2 April 1980) was coded to the element *relationship building* and then seen as bridging social capital, as a knowledge and identity resource the item acted as an *information network* representing both social capital being built and as an outcome as an outcome of social capital. This item was further coded to the Incorgov classification as *community togetherness*. The final Incorgov dimension confirmed the content item as representing social capital, coded through elements, networks, knowledge and identity variables, and framed it in relation to a broader overview of social capital.

Possible weaknesses or changes

Although the low representation of some variables could be viewed as a weakness of design, the researcher found each variable to be useful. Each of the variables has proved of value as examples of how these particular processes build and sustain social capital within communities in Tasmania over time. For example, an item that would have had considerable

impact on shaping readers' attitudes was reported in the *Circular Head Chronicle*, in July, 1940. It was an overseas item coded as *civic republicanism* which is defined as, 'characterised by politicised citizens, learned in public matters having a sense of responsibility' (Sudarsky, 1998, p. 30). The British Prime Minister advocated mediation and fair process for the treatment of Germany when the war (WW II) would be over. He made an historical comparison with WW I and the implications for all nations in this second and future process of reconstruction. The item was an example of social capital, designed to build community. However the community was not a local area alone. Publication of the item contributed to strengthened communities, regions, the state, the nation, and allied countries. It allowed people to perceive and plan for the future (futuricity) building on a code of human rights and drawing on history (historicity). In the current study the item was coded under the element of *shared values*. It could also have been coded as *futuricity*. While there were a number of elements under which the item could have been coded, the Incorgov variable of *civic republicanism* was singularly apt.

In future studies, by melding components or variables within the four separate dimensions, variables within the framework could be constructed flexibly. These variables would not necessarily conform to the original set of indicators included in the current study given the scope and diverse interpretations of social capital. Simple changes could be implemented within the code book by redefining the new or additional variables, according to the need or subject matter of documentation for analysis.

Historical indicators

Similar to comparisons made in Chapter 4 examining content and contributors over the decade years, this section discusses social capital in content particular to 1930 as an example of the information that may be compiled using the dimensions to address social history.

Compared with the 1910 and 1920 decade years, levels of social capital in content in 1930 soared and were not equalled again until 1980. Evidence of social capital was concentrated in social issues of employment and health/public and private safety, and chiefly in community, followed by agricultural and economic items. The proportions of the element inclusivity had almost doubled, as had bridging social capital when compared with the earlier decade years. Linking social capital decreased and bonding social capital increased. Identity resources had increased as had values and attitudinal attributes within the community. Community togetherness was represented highest.

From the example, it is clear that the broader significance of the study's findings is that they can provide a historical overview of social capital dimensions in the context of socio-economic change. This allows comparisons to be made and conclusions to be drawn, informing research and policy.

Summary

The final section relating to responses from Research Question 3 has discussed social capital results arising from the content analysis. Could the thesis answer the research question, 'What is the relationship between community newspapers and social capital?' without a content analysis? Based on the dynamics within communities taking part in voluntary associations, the findings show rising numbers of volunteer community newspapers and immediately flag a strong independent movement. Certainly, survey and interview techniques could have served to investigate the role of community newspapers and social capital using a number of indicators similar to those employed by Kreuters et al. (1998) and Galper (2002). Based on the theoretical structures and elements of social capital functioning through networks, a narrative analysis of historical and current newspaper practice could also have arrived at similar conclusions. So what, then, did the content analysis do that was valuable and unique to the design of the framework? The content analysis:

- showed levels of social capital in community newspapers as well as the breadth of issues and interests in content containing social capital. This was visible through the dimensions.
- identified content contributors and, in relation to content tone, identified the proportion of positive content in community newspapers, validating the position of editor as central to community cohesion.
- identified location horizons of content that reflected the changing role of the community newspapers over time.
- identified content in relation to elements of social capital, showing the changes over time related to changing historical and economic circumstances (Halifan, 1916; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Putnam, 1993b, 1995, 1996, 2000).
- was able to find what network structures are both generated by and outcomes of community newspaper content (Appendix U), seen as an important facet of social capital (Woolcock 1998; Putnam et al, 2003).

- was able to map community social capital in relation to the social capital knowledge and identity resources used over time, and applied this to individual newspapers (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; Kilpatrick & Falk, 2003).

Secondary sources and editor/coordinator interviews confirmed findings from the content analysis.

Areas for further research identified by this thesis

The current study suggests that processes of evaluation of social capital and the dimensions in which it occurs within documents will be a valuable, hitherto unutilized resource, for a wide number of research applications. The framework can be applied to a broad range of documents in order to examine social capital content in a historical or current context.

Social capital

The current study is a case study of a bounded geographic area. Further investigations of the relationship between social capital and community newspapers could be performed based on a wider subject area, for example, rural regions of the mainland (Kenyon & Black, 2001).

One area for the application of the content analysis framework analysis of social capital resources present in weekly/monthly newsletters is to analyse membership in larger organizations. Use of the framework offers a profile of social capital dynamics related to schools/companies/organizations. As a means of further qualifying social capital not only in textual content, the use of the four dimensions and their variables may provide a further framework for examining relational interactions.

Community development

Comparative studies of the growth and implications of community newspapers in other areas of Australia could confirm and/or extend the findings from this study. Identification of patterns of establishment and publication of new community urban and rural newspapers in other Australian states to ascertain similarities to the Tasmanian case study would be valuable.

Further qualitative research is needed to examine the dynamics within groups making up community newspaper production teams, and the relationship to social capital outcomes within the community. Such research would contribute rich data in relation to social capital, community needs and capacity building. Community enterprise and dynamics highlighted in

the 2000 Saguaro conference, 'Better Together' were based on the same theme as in the United Nations Millennium Forum 2000. During the Millennium forum the Secretary-General advised members to build on their communities and the great value in further exploration of undocumented community interaction. The focal swing to examine what is working, and positive examples of social capital in communities (Kenyon & Black, 2001; Putnam, et al., 2003) shows a transition in research considering how outcomes of social capital can also build social capital.

Social history

As Tasmania was the first Australian colony to obtain independent press in 1824, documentation of the history of independent community newspapers in Tasmania from 1910 to 2000 would be an important addition to social history research resources. The extent and value of resources within community newspapers are vastly underrated, and to-date have been ignored. Much social history lies untapped due to the small geographic audience for which it was first published.

Content analysis

A major innovation of this study is that it has explored social capital resources using a tool of investigation that expands social capital inquiry to include a method other than survey and interview. The implications of applying content analysis as a major analysis tool to social capital, whether through the framework developed in this study or subsequent framework structures building from this study, will allow enormous stores of data, documentation, visual and multi-media information to be operationalised in the quest for understanding of causes (Glaeser, 2001) and implications (Woolcock, 1998) of the dynamics surrounding the concept of social capital.

Economic implications

While the study did observe Tasmania-wide geographic patterns related to demographics, and social and economic change, it did not extend into a profile of economic factors within the areas of sampled community newspapers. The literature suggests high levels of social capital have certain economic implications for the communities in which they are identified. By further examining economic indicators applied to the locations where community newspapers report high levels of social capital, or as a comparison between newspapers, a further understanding of the 'cause and effect' dynamics within communities may be gained.

Implications of this study for practice and policy

By examining data, particularly those related to newspaper closures, a number of recommendations are made to ensure community newspaper continuity.

- Implement widespread support for production teams. Help promote community publication networks, whereby a number of individuals sustain the newspaper in changing circumstances.
- Rotate roles of the production team to increase community learning and contribution to the newspaper's continuity.
- Negotiate with new or competing publications as to how to best serve community needs together by staggering publication dates, diversifying subject interests and focusing on specific needs or groups.
- In the instance of amalgamation or takeover by mainstream press, safeguard the outcomes of the publication by agreements.
- Establish a seminar/annual meeting/conference for shared experience between editors/coordinators/teams of independent community newspapers within the state. These meetings/seminars/conferences would act to support and further identify the social and cultural significance for smaller-population community-newspaper production teams and offset the high percentage of newspaper closures.

Although it is noted in the literature that policy and legislation may contribute to the destruction of social capital, the current study suggests there is an area where policy can assist independent community newspapers maintain and build social capital, appropriate to the last dot point listed. Social capital is built in the process of producing community newspapers. Their establishment and continuity are based on community needs and contribution. Therefore outside support in any form would need to be sensitive to community structures. (and non-intrusive of the cyclical reciprocity that is in place). It would be of great value to give support to an independent community newspaper association, where shared experiences and a collective store of information generated by editors and coordinators would accumulate, would be of great value. The establishment of an independent association would thus maintain the stores of social capital already in action, and further generate community social capital. This in turn may generate interest from other communities to establish a community newspaper, and so strengthen community bonds. Therefore the independent association would play an ongoing and strengthening role in developing the relationship between communities, community newspapers and social capital.

A united body for community newspapers could also engender further research interest from a broad number of disciplines and provide access more readily to obtaining data underpinning a most valuable and relatively unexplored social phenomenon: independent community newspapers.

Conclusion

This study is important because it has identified a number of previously undocumented findings related to Tasmanian social history and community newspapers. It has identified an area of strong growth of social capital resources in the form of a significant number of grass-roots organizations which are a relatively undocumented social phenomenon. Patterns of increasing social capital within communities have been identified, both through community newspaper content and through dynamic interactions enabling establishment and continuity of production of community newspapers.

This study strongly suggests that social capital resources are increasingly present in rural communities in Tasmania to 2000, evidenced through their community newspaper numbers and content as discerned by this study. The findings hold broad implications and open discussion for a number of theoretical and research areas related to social capital growth and its functioning within communities.

In examining a specific area of community newspaper establishment, the study has assembled data and background information related to community newspapers 'of geographic locale', commercial and non-commercial, and published over the twentieth century within Tasmania (Appendices, A, B and C). This study has focused on a small sample of community newspapers in a bounded geographic area. It identifies that the relationship between community newspapers and social capital is based. Social capital is generated through reciprocity between communities and their local independent community newspaper. Reciprocity has been described as an element of social capital that is difficult to isolate for analysis within the content of community newspapers (Kreuters et al., 1998) where it is part of a functional process. However the study demonstrates that it is possible to observe reciprocity through the success and growth of community newspaper numbers and their continuity. The cyclical nature of reciprocity between newspaper and community suggest that, where community newspapers exist, dynamic interactions take place, empowering and supporting the community through the paper's publication. Communities in turn empower their community newspapers through their contribution and support.

The study has contributed a classification structure for the diversely applied concept 'community newspaper'. This classification enables independent community newspapers of geographic locale to be examined in future research as a unit. It has identified growth patterns of endomorphic community newspapers in Tasmania that will have further implications for rural and sociological research, community development practice and media studies.

Independent community newspapers in the current study are bound to place/locale. They report and result from networks of human interactions at many levels, affecting the manner in which issues are reported. It appears that some issues are addressed covertly rather than overtly. This is in contrast to a policy of direct reportage of issues in other forms of newspapers. Examples of lobbying for and against commercial and social interests and for local issues appear surprisingly infrequently. It is possible to conclude that content issues reported in independent community newspapers address and are concerned with what can be done and how support can be given. This approach, appears widespread in a socio-historical context, reflecting the overall focus of the independent community newspapers to aid, improve, build, sustain, and develop their community.

This conclusion is supported through other content attributes. Independent community newspapers over the century have reported strong positive perspectives in content. While 28% of content was positive in 2000, 60% of all positive content in that year related to social capital. The directive to shape content in a positive context must evolve from editorial policy; positive content generating social capital.

Editors/coordinators are pivotal to community knowledge and identity resources and impact on community positive outlook, building visionary attitudes that influence their community. They act to build and maintain cohesion within the newspapers' production teams. The social capital built in the production team is as significant in building the community as those social capital resources resulting from the newspaper. Where there is role exchange within newspapers' production teams it promotes broad democratic practice and contributes to the newspapers' continuity. The social dynamics surrounding independent community newspapers' production reflect effective and substantial community interactional infrastructures (Kilpatrick & Falk, 2003).

National government policy focused on social capital laments its lack of use, and appears not to comprehend its relationship with current community volunteer bodies and support (Peter Costello, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 July 2003). Instances of small dynamic community organisations and small-scale voluntary organisations such as community newspapers go unheeded, due to their size and limited market importance. This is exacerbated by the lack of

links between these small community bodies and organizations to form larger representative bodies. In not acknowledging the presence of small, highly successful social capital networks, a great store of resources that could contribute to further building social capital, is ignored by community and policy makers.

The presence of community newspapers within communities can be argued as a proxy for social capital. They are primarily democratic and independent communications resulting from and engendering civic participation. They act as a proxy for social capital through the dynamics of their production team, through content and through the newspaper's continuity. Content analysis of community newspapers allows a view into what social capital is present within specific communities. This is quantifiable though dimensions and variables indicating community issues and interests. The implications of those variables or measurements, however, are of great benefit when applied to specific communities rather than when used as a comparative tool of assessment between newspapers, though they can also provide an indication of the types of and differences in social capital between newspapers. Great value lies in examining the quality of interactions within individual communities through noting which social capital variables are present and to what degree. While the content analysis does provide statistical data, it also provides a means of describing content related to social capital through coding definitions.

Social capital is found in both commercial and voluntary community newspapers that appear to be grass-roots, spontaneous publications underpinned by a shared vision, the desire to engender community togetherness that relies on the strength of community bonds. The combination of extending and perceiving one of mankind's oldest socializing ideals, social capital, through rapidly increasing numbers of small independent community newspapers to communicate, access and address social needs at a grass roots level suggests new and vital areas of investigation lie ahead.

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**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL:
THE POWER TO EMPOWER**

APPENDICES A-V

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SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Independent community newspapers in Tasmania 1910 to 2000

APPENDIX A INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS IN TASMANIA 1910 TO 2000

	Start Title	Town	Publisher	Publications	Date if ceased or changed operation
1	1900 The Banner	Strahan	Herbert Edward Degan	Bi-Weekly	May 1900-March 1901
2	1906 Circular Head Chronicle	Smithton	Circular Head Chronicle	Weekly	
3	1909 North Eastern Advertiser	Scottsdale	North Eastern Advertiser	Weekly	
4	1910 Huon Times	Franklin	The Newspaper	Weekly	
5	1910 Deloraine and Westbury Advertiser	Deloraine	The Newspaper	Weekly	Nov 1910-Oct 1912
6	1912 King Island News	Currie	King Island News	Fortnightly	Nov-84
7	1919 Leven Leader	Ulverstone	The Newspaper		Dec-20
8	1923 Tasmanian Fruitgrowers and Farmers	Hobart	Huon Times Company	Monthly bi-weekly	1977
9	1937 Tasmanian Farmer	Launceston			1972 Tasmanian Country Life
10	1945 Table Cape News	Smithton	The Newspaper	Weekly	Inset Advocate after 1993
11	1954 Island News	Whitemark	Island Newspaper	Fortnightly	
12	1954 Derwent Gazette became Derwent Valley Gazette	New Norfolk	The Newspaper	Weekly	Changed 1955 to-
13	1955 Derwent Valley Gazette				
14	1955 Deloraine Mail	Deloraine	The newspaper	Weekly	1955
15	1961 The Courier	George Town			
16	1961 Risdon Vale Review	Risdon Vale	Parents and Friends Committee	Monthly	
17	1962 The Valley and East Coast Voice	St Marys	Valley voice Publications	Fortnightly	
18	1964 Tamar Courier	George Town/ Beaconsfield	The Newspaper	Weekly	1/12/1974
19	became Tamar Times 1970				
20	1974 The Ulverstone Herald	Ulverstone	Carole Anne Dwyer		1974
21	1975 West Coast Miner became the Westerner 1998	Queenstown			Dec-78
22	1977 Hod Press	Heybridge	The paper		
23	1977 The Derwent Clipper	Hobart	John Sullivan for Taspress	Weekly	
24	1977 Bagdad News	Bagdad	School community	Monthly	
25	1978 The Derby Echo	Derby	Derby Community Development Society	Quarterly	
26	1979 The New Age : Hobart's Prout Monthly	Hobart	Proutist Men and Women		Jun-09
27	Tasman Gazette: Tasmanian Peninsular	Tasman Penn	The Newspaper		1991
28	1979 Community News became in 1991 - Tasmanian Community News				
29	1979 Pipeline	Savage River	Pipeline Committee	Irregular	1985
30	1979 Midlander Monthly becomes Midlander 1985	Oatlands	Midlander Monthly Committee	Monthly	Midlander 1985
31	1980 Bruny News	Bruny Island	The Association	Monthly	
32	1980 Town Crier	Hobart			

	Start Title	Town	Publisher	Publications	Date if ceased or changed operation
31	1980 Tas Country Suncoast News become Suncoast News and Suncoast Bulletin 1983	Hobart	Davies Bros	weekly	1993 takeover
32	1980 The Spec News	Carlton River	The Newspaper	Monthly	
33	1980 Western Tiers	Mole Creek	Mole Creek Primary School	Monthly not July	1995/2000 Advocate run
34	1981 Central Coast Courier	Orford	The Courier	Fortnightly	
35	1981 Tasmanian Business Reporter	Hobart	Chamber of Commerce	Irregular monthly	
36					
37	1981 The Collinsvale Crier	Collinsvale	Collinsvale Progressive Association	Monthly	
38	1981 Luina News	Luina	The paper	Irregular	1984
39	1981 The Lilydale Progressive	Lilydale	Lilydale Progressive Association	Monthly	
40	1981 Waratah Whispers	Waratah	The Newspaper	Irregular	1993
41	1981 King Island Courier	Currie	R.J & A.C Conley	Weekly	
42	1983 Community Times	Queenstown	Community Times	Irregular	1988
43	1984 The Natone Connection	Natone	Natone Committee and Primary School	Weekly during school	1987
44	1985 Devon Country Times	Devonport	Taswegia	Bi-monthly	1990 June 1990 continued by East Coast Bulletin
45	1986 Binalong Bay Bulletin	Binalong Bay /St Helens			
46	1987 The Stanley Bugle	Stanley	The Newspaper	Irregular	Oct 1987-Dec 1989
47	1987 The Midlander	Oatlands		Weekly	1999
48	1988 Latrobe Gazette	Latrobe	Latrobe Promotions Association	Weekly	
49	1989 Bicheno Reporter	Bicheno			1993
50	1989 Tamar Times	George Town	Eleven Eleven Pty Ltd	Weekly	Examiner run/ inset
51	1989 Zeehan Community News	Zeehan	Zeehan Community Centre	Irregular Weekly	
52	1990 Quamby Whisper	Westbury	The Newspaper	Monthly	Nov 90-1995
53	1991 The Rossarden Mountain Re-echo	Rossarden	The Newspaper	Monthly	
54	1991 Cape Country Courier	Smithton	The newspaper	Weekly	1993 part Advocate
55	1992 Ringarooma School and Community Newsletter	Ringarooma	The School	Irregular Weekly	
56	1992 The Leven Leader Nexus: Elizabeth College Newspaper serving the Nexus: North Hobart community	Ulverstone	The Newspaper	Weekly	
57	1992 North Hobart community			Irregular	1993
58	1992 Oatlands News	Oatlands	The Newspaper	Irregular	1993
59	1992 The Western Herald	Rosebery	The Newspaper	Weekly	
60	1992 Norfolk Plains Gazette	Longford	The Newspaper		
61	1993 Sun Coast News	St Helens	The Examiner	Weekly	Becomes inset
62	1993 Top Centre Topics	Devonport		Monthly	

	Start Title	Town	Publisher	Publications	Date if ceased or changed operation
63	1993 Huon Valley News	Franklin	Huon Newspaper Co 1993	Irregular	
64	1993 Evendale Newsletter	Evendale	Evendale Special Committee	monthly	1994
65	1994 Highlands Digest	Bothwell	Central Highlands Community Development	Monthly	
66	1994 Kentish Chronicle	Sheffield	Think Small Printing Press	Monthly	
67	1995 Bicheno General Store Newsletter	Bicheno	Community	Fortnightly	1999
68	1995 The Standard	Sandy Bay	The Catholic Archdiocese of Hobart	Monthly	
69	1995 The BRID report	Bridport	Bridport 2000 plus	Monthly/irregular	
70	1995 Tasmanian Greens	Hobart	Tasmanian Greens	Weekly	
71	1995 The Voice	Burnie	Hellyer Training Services	Fortnightly	1997
72	1996 Tasmanian Anglican	Hobart	The Anglican Newspaper	Monthly	
73	1997 Bush Telegraph	Dover	David 7 Wendy Clark	Weekly	
74	1997 Star Suburban Newspapers	Hobart	Star Suburban Newspapers	Weekly	1998
75	1998 Eastern Shore Sun	Rosny	Business east Inc.	Monthly	
76	1998 Devonport Times	Devonport	The Newspaper	Monthly	
77	1998 Ulverstone Post	Ulverstone	Rod McLean	Weekly	1999
78	1998 St. Helens Herald	St Helens	The History Room	Monthly	2002
79	1998 Tasmanian Farmer	Launceston	Edward Weaver Publications	Weekly	
80	1998 Bicheno Newsletter	Bicheno	J. & J Campbell	Monthly	2000
81	1998 The Country Courier	Longford	Country Courier Newspaper	Monthly	
82	1999 The New Midlander	Oatlands	Oatlands On-Line Centre	Monthly /irregular	
83	1999 Brighton Community News	Gagebrook	Brighton Council	Irregular	
84	1999 The southern Times	Bellerive	The Southern Times	Fortnightly	
85	1999 North West Post	Ulverstone	The Newspaper	Weekly	

APPENDIX B

Independent community newspapers in Tasmania 1910 to 2000

Year established	Papers not published in decade year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
1964								Tamar Courier	Tamar Courier	Tamar Times	
1974	The Ulverstone Herald										
1975	The West Coast Miner										
1977									Derwent Clipper	Derwent Clipper	
1979									Tasman Gazette: Tasmanian Peninsula Community News Pipeline	Tasmanian Community News	
											Tasman Gazette
1979									The Midlander Monthly		
1980									Midlander		
1980									Briny News	Briny News	Briny News
1980									The Spec News	The Spec News	The Spec News
1980									The Suncoast News	Suncoast News and Bulletin	
1980									Western Tiers Western Tiers	Mainstream commercial	
1981									Central Coast Courier	Central Coast Courier	
1981									The Collinsvale Crier	The Collinsvale Crier	
1981									Luina News		

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Background information sample newspapers

- Background of sample independent community newspapers
- Background structured interview questions

APPENDIX C BACKGROUND OF SAMPLE COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

Circular Head									
Paper	Bagdad News (BDN) 1977	Brid rePort (BRP) 1998	Bruny Island News (BYN) 1980	Chronicle (CH) 1906	Devonport Times (DT) 1998	Huon Times (HT) 1910	Island News (IN) 1954	King Island Courier (KIC) 1984	
Date name change/ amalgamation	Taken from Bagdad News started 18 Huon News 1964-1993 Huon Valley News Aug 1993-								
Region	South-Southern Midlands		South-Kingsborough	North Western Rural	North-Central Coast	South-Huonville	Northern-North- eastern	North Western Rural	
Areas serving	Bagdad	Bridport	Bruny Island	Stanley, Watarah, Wynyard, Smithton, Marrawah	Devonport, Latrobe Ulverstone	Huon Valley Huonville, Cygnnet, Franklin, Geeveston, Dover, Southport, Kettering	Flinders and Cape Barren Islands	King Island	
Publisher	Bagdad Community Club and The Bagdad Online Access Centre	Editor and Online Centre	Bruny Island Community and Tourist Association	The newspaper	New Media Options Pty Ltd (Peter and Judy Lyons Props.)	Huon Newspaper Company Pty Ltd. D.M. Yeats Prop. Family company owned since inception	Voluntary community process	The newspaper	
Mode of publication	Publisher program	Publisher program	Publisher program	Commercial Printing		The newspaper itself as a commercial printery			
Frequency	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Monthly	Weekly -Wednesday	Fortnightly	Weekly-Tuesday	
Purpose	Community news supported by the Bagdad Community Club notices	community news, club notices	Voluntary community voice to support community action and development	Commercial Community Newspaper Member of The Victorian Country Press Association	Community and Council Newspaper	Member of The Victorian Country Press Association	Voluntary community new	Commercial Community news, rural industry. Member of The Victorian Country Press Association	
Pop in prime circulation area	681	1,234	600 390- 600 in tourist season	8,108	10,000	7,259	750	2,000	
Circulation	400	200-250		2,500	10,000	3000	200	10,000	
Nearest region centre	Hobart 45 Km	Scottsdale	Hobart	Burnie 87 Km	Devonport	Huon Valley Area	Launceston	Burnie	
Circulation area covering:		Mainly the town Bridport	Bruny Island with 100 issues mailed out interstate and 2 overseas			Huon Valley Municipality, Cygnnet, Franklin, Kettering Blacksman Bay	Cape Barren and Flinders Islands	King Island	

Paper	Bagdad News (BDN) 1977	Brid rePort (BRP) 1998	Bruny Island News (BYN) 1980	Circular Head Chronicle (CH) 1906	Devonport Times (DT) 1998	Huon Times (HT) 1910	Island News (IN) 1954	King Island Courier (KIC) 1984
Historical main industries of area	Mixed Farming	Fishing	Logging, farming, tourism	Rural, fishing, Timber	Rural, tourism,	Rural industries sheep and cattle grazing, apple industry, hops, dairy		Scheelite Mining 1920-1990
Current main industries/activities area	Timber industries/joinery, Vineyards, small amount of mixed farming approx 100 in area. Most commute to other areas	Boat building and Cargo shipping to Flinders Island	Logging, fish farming and farming, tourism	Timber, fishing, rural sheep and cattle grazing, dairy	Rural tourism	Aquaculture - salmon farming, rural industries, dairy, apple growing and processing, cherry growing, vineyards, timber, tourism		Tourism, kelp processing, beef cattle, dairy and processing cheese products, crayfish and oyster farming
Editor's status	Voluntary	voluntary	Voluntary- team of four	Employed	Formerly voluntary, employed	Only member employed on paper all others voluntary and working for printery		Full time
Editors in last 2 years	Same	one year	One long term editor and new team of 4	same	Same	Same		2
Number of staff	voluntary -two	one	four to five		two	one full time, five volunteers	26 voluntary workers	Two
Cost/free in 2000	Free	Free, printed by Dorset council	\$1.50		Free delivery every house in Devonport	50 cents	\$1.00 including to staff	\$1.10
Financial source	Advertising to Online Centre 1990s. Format from educational emphasis and contributions to broad	as above	Advertising and sales		Advertising	Commercial enterprise tied to Country Press Ltd	Advertising	Self funding
Changes/publishers		Started by Bridport 2000 committee taken on by online centre	recent change of editors 370-420. Sales rise noticeably in tourist season		Same, becoming Council publication	Business has been in the same family since its inception		none
Circulation growth changes	static	none			Same	Static	static	
Other community papers sourced in area	The New Midlander	The North Eastern Advertiser	None	None	None	None	None	None

APPENDIX C

Paper	King Island News (KIN) 1910	Lillydale		North-Eastern		Valley and East		Western Tiers (WT) 1980	Zeehan Community News (ZN) 1989
		Progressive (LP) 1981	Advertiser (NEA) 1909	Rossarden Mountain Re Echo (RMR) 1991	St Helens Herald (SH) 1998	Coast News (VEC) 1962			
Date name change/ amalgamation	1986-89 continued in part in -Suncoast News St Helens	None	None	None	None	Colloquially called the Valley Voice	2000 brought by The Advocate Newspaper Group- Harris Group	None	
Region	North West Rural	Northern Tasmania- Central North	Northern Eastern	Northern	North-Eastern	Break O' Day East Coast	Central North Meander Valley	West-Coast	
Areas serving	King Island	Lillydale, Lebrina, Karoola, Pipers River, Underwood, Golconda, Nabowla	Scottsdale	Rossarden and Avoca	St Helens, Stiglitz Arcoona, Binalong and Beaumaris	St Marys	Deloraine and surrounding districts	Chiefly the town	
Publisher	The newspaper	Lillydale Progressive Association		The paper/editor	The History Room	Publisher program	Sent to Advocate printery, Burnie	The Community Centre	
Mode of publication	Commercial printing	In 'Publisher' at Online Access Computer	Commercial Newsprint program	Desktop Publisher	Publisher program	Photocopied	Publisher program on computer to commercial printer	Publisher Program	
Frequency	Weekly- Wednesday	Monthly	Weekly	Monthly	Monthly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Weekly for school year - 40 issues	
Purpose	Commercial community newspaper	Voluntary community newspaper	Community commercial newspaper	Voluntary community newspaper/	Voluntary community newspaper	Voluntary community and notices community voluntary news	Voluntary newspaper till brought by Harris Bros. owners of The Advocate a commercial news company in Burnie North West Coast		
Pop in prime circulation area	Check shift	1,000	7,095	100		700	10,000	750	
Circulation	check	750	2,900	80-90		300	2,000	120	
Nearest region centre	Burnie	Launceston 22 km	Scottsdale	Launceston		Launceston	Devonport	Burnie	
Circulation area covering:	King Island		Ringarooma, Branxholm, Derby	Rossarden and Avoca		St Marys, Scamander, St Helens, mainland postage	Deloraine, Meander Valley, Westbury	Zeehan	

Paper	King Island News (KIN) 1910	Lilydale Progressive (LP) 1981	North-Eastern Advertiser (NEA) 1909	Rossarden Mountain Re Echo (RMR) 1991	St Helens Herald (SH) 1998	Valley and East Coast News (VEC) 1962	Western Tiers (WT) 1980	Zeehan Community News (ZN) 1989
Historical main industries of area	Scheelite mining, fishing crayfish industry, dairy and cheese processing beef cattle	Farming, Dairy, Timber	Timber, dairy, sheep and beef cattle,	Mining finished 1982, timber	Fishing, tourism, farming	Timber mining, farming	Farming, dairy, sheep and cattle,	Mining, small amount of farming
Current main industries/activities area		Farming, timber, dairy	Timber, dairy, sheep and beef cattle,	Timber		Coal mining, farming and recently poppies industries, tourism	Farming and Craft industries, tourism	Mining/ small amount of farming
Editor's status	full time	Voluntary position 2 years	Employed	Voluntary		Voluntary	Voluntary position, became paid when brought by advocate 1998	Volunteer on Community Management Committee
Editors in last 2 years		Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	new editor 2000	Same
Number of staff		Two		One	7 voluntary	All voluntary community input, 3-4 collators		3 - Editor/ coordinator/ delivery lady
Cost/free in 2000		Free to members	3 pence, 1910	Free		\$1.00 50cents		20 cents
Financial source	Advertising and sales advertising	Self funding -	No cost- advertising donation. Paper is photocopied at local mp's office	Advertising and sales	Advertising and sales	Advertising and sales	Advertising and sales	Donation for advertising and 20 cost of paper
Changes/publishers	1986- Suncoast News		logo last 6 months		Same		became commercial in 1998 brought by Harris disability health group	Originally started by Cosy - community
Circulation growth changes		600 to 750 over ten years		Same		Same less than 20 years ago	Diminished since sale to Harris and Associates 1998	Was 150 copies, loss of population now 120 copies weekly
Other community papers sourced in area	King Island Courier 1984 direct competition	North Eastern Advertiser	Tas Country		North Eastern Advertiser		Quamby Whisper Westbury now ceased approx 2000	None

APPENDIX C 2 BACKGROUND STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Paper

Abbreviation

Date commenced

Date name change/amalgamation

Region

Areas serving

Address

Phone /fax

Email

Publisher

Mode of publication

Frequency

Same as/name change

Purpose

Population in prime circulation area

Circulation

Nearest region centre

Circulation area covering:

Historical main industries of area

Current main industries /activities area

Editor

Editor's status

Number of editors in last 2 years

Number of staff

Cost/free

Financial source

Changes/publishers

Misc. changes

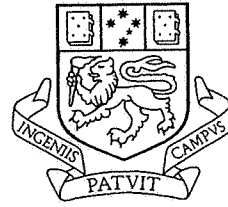
Circulation growth changes

Other community papers sourced in area

APPENDIX D

Participant information

- Project Information Sheets
- Interview question
- Statement of Informed Consent



Centre for Research and Learning in Regional Australia

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

Project Information Sheet

The project being undertaken is gathering material as part of a PhD research study developing the thesis: *The Relationship between Community Newspapers and Social Capital: the power to empower*

Purpose of this study

This study is an exploration of the relationship between independent community newspapers in Tasmania and social capital using a sample of 16 Tasmanian community newspapers.

Participants

Editors and co-ordinators of Tasmanian community newspapers are asked to participate in this study. People who consent to participating in an interview will be asked their opinions on the following:

- (a) the background and history of the community newspaper with which they are associated
- (b) the role of the paper within their local community
- (c) the role of the community in contributing to the local community newspaper

What do you have to do?

1. We would like you to participate in a telephone interview answering the six questions on the Attachment 2 form titled *Semi-Structured Interview Schedule*. The interview will take about 20-30 minutes. We would like to tape record the interview to make sure we accurately capture your answers.
2. At the commencement of the interview you will be asked to acknowledge you have
 - read and understood the Project information sheet
 - read the questions you will be asked and

- agree to the conditions of the statement of informed consent including that you are aware you will be given any material to be published arising from the interview for your approval prior to publication.

Confidentiality

The project is approved by the Northern Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee and bound by the ethics regulations of the University of Tasmania.

Before any material is published with reference to information discussed in this interview a draft copy of the publication will be supplied to yourself for approval.

If you wish to take part in the interview it is a requirement of the Ethics Committee that you (a) complete a signed statement of *Informed Consent* (see example attached) or agree by recorded voice form, prior to the interview that you have read the *Project Information Sheet*, the *Statement of Informed Consent* and accept the conditions stated.

Participation is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice or ask that any particular material be withdrawn.

Provision for report of findings

The student researcher will provide findings published in the thesis relevant to the results and discussion of the interview, upon request.

Statement of Benefit

Material obtained and results published from this interview and study may be of interest and benefit to you and your community in the following ways:

- It will provide an independent view of the interactions and benefits that both community and paper contribute to each other.
- It will give an indication of social capital building and outcomes in the paper and community.
- It will provide feedback to yourself/editors/coordinators on content and practice for your own comparisons and evaluation.

Contact persons

If you would like more information about the project contact Dr. Sue Kilpatrick, Director, Centre for Research and Learning in Regional Australia, University of Tasmania, Locked Bag 1 -313, Launceston, Phone (03) 63243124 or Fax (03) 63343040

Concerns or complaints

If you have any concerns of an ethical nature or complaints about the manner in which the project is conducted, they may contact the Chair or Executive Officer of the Northern Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. Chair: Professor Roger Fay (6324 3576) Executive Officer: Amanda McAully (6226 2763)

Information sheet and consent form

You will be given this information sheet to keep prior to the interview taking place.

Dr Sue Kilpatrick
Chief Investigator

Rosa McManamey
Student

Attachment 2: *Semi-structured interview schedule*

Project: The Relationship between Community Newspapers and Social Capital: the power to empower

Student: Rosa Maria McManamey

PhD candidate Year 3

CRLRA

Faculty of Education

University of Tasmania

Question to be asked at the telephone interview:

1. & 2. How and why did the paper start?
3. What involvement and contribution does the community make to the paper?
4. What is the role of the paper in the community?
5. What is the role of the editor/coordinator and others in this paper?
6. What things would be different in the community if the paper had not come into operation or ceased operation?



UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

Title of project

The Relationship between Community Newspapers and Social Capital: the power to empower

1. I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves the following procedures:
An interviewer will ask my opinion in a taped recorded telephone interview on six questions supplied and sighted in Attachment 2
4. I understand that the time needed to reply to these questions may take up to 30 minutes
5. I understand that any information to be published from information given in this interview will be given to me for my approval before it is published.
6. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I have the opportunity to check and approve the material.
9. * I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time without any effect.

Name of subject

Signature of subjectDate

10. * I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator . Rosa McManamey

.....

Signature of investigator

Date.....

Content analysis framework and code book

- Simplified content analysis framework categories and variables
- Content analysis framework categories – variables - code – definitions
- Content analysis code book definition and rationale table

APPENDIX E 1 SIMPLIFIED CONTENT ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK CATEGORIES

Social Capital																		
Identification		Description																
Paper No	Date	Format	Pages in	Story page no.	Size related to page	Combined Shape (Gunnaratne 1982)	Photo shape	Written Description 2/4 words	Subject categories Harvard 111 & 114 Psychosociological Dictionary: Henningham 1986	Social Issue Categories from OECD Publication 1986, Internet Public Library	Tone (Loo Time frame 1995)	Horizon (Henningham 1986)	Elements of social capital arising from 'basic elements' in theory 1998)	Networks (Granovetter 1973; Woolcock & Kilpatrick 2000)	Knowledge and Identity resources (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000)	Incogrov from Synergy Approach Woolcock & Narayan 2000 p.17)	Effect	
title	vol. no.	broad sheet		full	civic/council	article	Photo only		accident/disaster	command over goods and services	mediatory	current	local	futurity	bonding	knowledge	active citizenship	building
		tabloid		large	community	competition	Photo/article		agricultural	crime	neutral	past	regional	historicity	bridging	skills an knowledge available	charitable involvement	diminishing
		A4		medium	correspondent	editorial	photo/report		artistic	disability	positive	future	state	inclusivity	linking	precedents and procedures	civic participation	outcome
				small	editor	joke/humorous story			community	education & learning	negative	not relevant	national	participation in voluntary associations	negative	identity	civic republicanism	both building and outcome
					foreign correspondent	letter			economic	employment/quality of life	critical	overseas		reciprocity		self confidence	community engagement	
					other	notice			educational	environment	humorous	universal		relationship building		vision	community togetherness	
					reader	poem/quote/moral			human interest	health/public/personal safety		not relevant	shared values			commitment to community	family and friend connection	
					specialist	recipe			legal	housing & poverty			vision			hierarchy		
					staff/unacknowledged -ed	sports result			media	human/land rights						horizontal relationship		
						story /serial			medical	philanthropy & social service						interpersonal and institutional trust		
									military	time and leisure						mutuality and reciprocity		
									other							neighbourhood connections		
									political							proactive in a social context		
									recreational							tolerance of diversity		
									religious							value of work and life connection		
									sport									

APPENDIX E 2 CONTENT ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK CATEGORIES - VARIABLES - CODES - DEFINITIONS

Identification										Description										Social Capital									
Paper	Vol	No	Date	Format	Pages in Paper	Story page	Story Number	Size	Sources	Shape (Gunaratne 1982)	Photo shape	Written Description - few word/ heading	Subject (Harvard 111 Dictionary, Stone et al., 1966; Henningham, 1996)	Social issues (OECD 1982 revise 2000; Internet Public Library http://www.ipl.org/ref/rm/static/soc8000.html)	Tone (Loo & Hurst,1995)	Time (time frame surrounding subject of article)	Horizon (Henningham, 1996)	Elements ('history of ideas', arising from indicators of basic elements in social capital theory)	Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock 1998)	Knowledge and Identity resources (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000)	Knowledge and Identity resource sub-categories	Incorgov (combination of indicators of 6 studies in the synergy approach; developmental "synergies" i.e. dynamic professional alliances and relationships - between and within state bureaucracies and civil society", Woolcock & Narayan, 2000 p.17)	Effect - (How could social capital be viewed? as being built; as outcome; both outcome and building; or diminishing?)						
					Broadsheet = b		page number = 1	full page = f	civic/ council = ci	articles = a	Photo only = p image unattached to information, caption only	-	accidents/disasters = ad noun: An unfortunate happening, unintentionally caused and unexpected	Command over goods and services = cgs OECD, 1982, 1986	mediatory = m	current = c	local = l		futuricity = f (social capital outcome resulting in building future, ideal, vision, Falk & Kilpatrick 2000)	bonding = b common interests/families/ groups	knowledge = k ' of who, when and where to go for advice or resources a and knowledge of how to get things done' (Falk & Kilpatrick p. 89)	information networks = in	active citizenship = ac active citizenship 'looks at the performance of the American people relative to what they believe are their obligations as citizens' (NICE 1998, p1)	building social capital = b					
					tabloid = t		large = l half three/quarter page		community body = c	competitions = c	photo/article = pa		agricultural (forestry, fishing agriculture) = ag adj, Having to do with agriculture 'All aspects of primary industry including production and trade' Henningham 1996	crime = c Internet dictionary	neutral = n	past = p	regional = r		historicity = h developing identity resources through including history, past actions, relating the past in order to build the present or future (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000) though			skills and knowledge available = s	charitable involvement = ci charitable involvement - looks at the kinds of causes and charities to which people give money to or volunteer time' (NICE 1998, p1)	diminishing stores of social capital = d					
					A4 = a		medium = m quarter to half page		correspondent = co	editorials = e	photo/ report = pr		artistic = ar noun: One who creates works of art, especially a painter	disability = d	positive = p	future = f	state = s		inclusivity -inclusion = i (based on Bourdieu's concept 'linking = l ' 'A social relationship allowing individuals to claim access to uncommon resources held by their associates')			precedents, procedures, rules = p	civic participation = cp (Sudarsky, 2000)	o outcome of social capital = o					
							small = s up to quarter page entry		editor = e	joke or small humorous story = j			community = c noun-adjective: Town, collectivity formed by proximity or common interest, Harvard 1V (including community issues)	education and learning = el trends- average year if regular edu. distribution of pop below above levels, in adult ed. at some uni-level, Oecd 82 p.50-59	negative = ng nr	not relevant =	national = n		participation in voluntary association = pv (Putnam 1995, 2000)	negative = n		communication sites = cs	civic republicanis = cr (characterised by politized citizens, learned in public matters having a sense of responsibility, Sudarsky 2000, p.3).	both building and outcome = bo					
									foreign correspondent = fc	letters = l			economic = e adjective: Pertaining to the allocation of resources	employment and quality of working life = eq unemployment demographics , length of time distribution discouraged workers, trends in hours per week worked % of pop 45 hours plus, commuters by time, night or public holiday workers , fatal accidents and exposure to specific nuisances OECD, 1986 p. 69-99.	critical = c		overseas = o	reciprocity = r (Fukuyama 1995)			value/attitudinal attributes attributes of community = va	community engagement = ce community engagement- 'looks at what people are actually doing in their community ' (NICE 1998, p1)							
									other = o	notices = n			education = ed noun: The act or process of imparting or acquiring knowledge--a degree level or kind of schooling	environmental = e internet dictionary	humorous = h		universal = u	relationship building = rl (Loury 1977, Cox 1997)		identity = i being able to and willing to act for the benefit of the community and its members	self confidence = sc	community togetherness = ct							
													human interest/personalities = h 'people-centred' item, emphasising individuals' activities and achievements or humorous incidents; focus on individual 'famous people' sucl as movie stars.	health/public/private safety = h life expectancy, mortality rates of mother , disability day of average person , pop restricted by long term health conditions, pop by certain types dysfunctional disability (OECD 1986 p. 30-45); public safety =pu; personal safety= ps. OECD, 1982 1986 (death rate external causes, from motor accident s, work addictions , neighbourhood =ps.				shared values = s (Good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among individuals and families who make up a social unit, Halifan, 1916)			commitment to community = cc	family and friend connection = fc (phone call in last week other contact, Onyx & Buller 2000 p. 29)							
									specialist = sp	poem/ quote/ morale = pm			legal = l	housing and poverty = hp int dictionary				vision (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000)		vision = v									
									staff/unacknowledged contribution = s	report = r			media = m mass entertainment and information media industries including newspapers, radio an television, telecommunications	human rights/ land rights = hl int dictionary									hierarchy = h						
													medical = m adj: pertaining to medicine-Harvard 4 'Medicine/health : medical and paramedical practioners and institutions: morbidity rates; health policy, personal fitness (eg exercise or diet)' Henningham 1996, p33	philanthropy and social service = p int dictionary									horizontal relationships = hr						
										sports results = sr			military = ml noun-adj: Of, for, or pertaining to the army, armed forces, affairs of war, or to the soldiers themselves	time and leisure = tl OECD,1982/6									Interpersonal and institutional trust= it (Onyx and Bullen, 2000; Sudasky 1998; Narayan, 1999; NCCR, 1999;)						
													other = o idiom-prep: "Other than"--besides other than already mentioned; 'items that could not be categorised into any other category '(Henningham 1996, p.33)										neighbourhood connection = nc (concerns the informal connections within the local area) Onyx & Bullen 2000, p. 29.						
													political = p adj: Pertaining to or involving politics										political participation = pp NCCR 1998, Narayan 1998, Sudasky2000						
													recreational = r agreeable pastime, combine with 'Henningshams popular culture /entertainment' seen as 'mass' culture, including pop music, public entertainment, cinema, television programs. Differs in activities that are community activities in tat they are often sourced from outside the community.										proactive in social context = ps (refers to sense of personal and collective efficacy or personal agency within a social context) Ony & Bullen 2000, p.2.						
													religious = rl adj: Of, concerning, or based on the nature of religion' all aspects of institutionalized religion including activities statements by clergy; theology' (Henningham 1996, p.33)										mutuality and reciprocity = rm reciprocity (Sudasky, 1998)						
													sport = s noun-adj: Athletic pastime										value of life and work connection = vc (Part of a team in work) Onyx & Bullen 2000						

APPENDIX E 3 CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE BOOK, DEFINITION AND RATIONALE TABLE

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Identification	paper	title	name	Mayer 1964
Identification	volume & number	volume	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	date	number	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	format	size of sheet	b = broad sheet -	
Identification	format		t = tabloid -	
Identification	format		a = A 4 -	
Identification	pages in paper	number of pages per issue	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	columns on page		number	Mayer 1964
Identification	story page		number	Mayer 1964
Identification	story number	position on page by number	number	Mayer 1964
Description	size	article related to space taken on page	f = full l = large- half to three quarter page m = medium quarter to half page s = small - up to quarter page	Mayer 1964
Description	source	contributor/compiler of material printed	c = community body contribution	Loo and Hurst, 1995, p. 111
			ci = political body contribution	
			co = correspondent	
			e = editor	
			f = foreign correspondent	
			o = other	
			r = reader	
			sp = specialist	
			s/un = staff/unattributed item	

APPENDIX E 3 CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE BOOK, DEFINITION AND RATIONALE TABLE

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Identification	paper	title	name	Mayer 1964
Identification	volume & number	volume	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	date	number	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	format	size of sheet	b = broad sheet - t = tabloid -	
Identification	format		a = A 4 -	
Identification	format		number	Mayer 1964
Identification	pages in paper	number of pages per issue	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	columns on page		number	Mayer 1964
Identification	story page		number	Mayer 1964
Identification	story number	position on page by number	number	Mayer 1964
Description	size	article related to space taken on page	f = full l = large- half to three quarter page m = medium quarter to half page s = small - up to quarter page	Mayer 1964
Description	source	contributor/compiler of material printed	c = community body contribution	Loo and Hurst, 1995, p. 111
			ci = political body contribution	
			co = correspondent	
			e = editor	
			f = foreign correspondent	
			o = other	
			r = reader	
			sp = specialist	
			s/un = staff/unaccompanied item	

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	shape	appearance of material	a = article c = competitions e = editorial l = letters j = joke/small humorous story n = notice p = photo (added after code) pqm = poem/quote/morale building rec = recipe r = report s = story/serialized story sp = sports results	Loo and Hurst 1995, p. 111 Gunaratne 1982, p. 19 Gunaratne 1982, p. 20
Description	written description	outline to identify story for reliability check		
Description	Subject	Tags applied to subject of each article		Harvard 111 & 1V Psychosological Dictionary 1V (Stone et al., 1966, 1989)
Description	Subject	ad = Accidents/disasters noun: An unfortunate happening, unintentionally caused and unexpected 'Accidents of all kind involving injury, death or damage, including motor vehicle, industrial, air, marine and sports accidents, natural disasters' Henningham	ad = Accidents/disasters	
Description	Subject	ag = agricultural (forestry, fishing agriculture) adj. Having to do with agriculture- Harvard1V (Stone 1989) 'All aspects of primary industry including production and trade' Henningham 1996,	ag = agricultural	Henningham, (1996 p.33)
Description	Subject	ar = artistic , noun: One who creates works of art, especially a painter	ar = artistic,	
Description	Subject	c = community , noun-adjective: Town, collectively formed c = community, by proximity or common interest.		Harvard 1V Psychosological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1989) & Henningham (1996, p.33)
Description	Subject			Harvard 111 & 1V Psychosological Dictionary 1V (Stone, 1966, 1989)

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	Subject	e = economic , adjective: Pertaining to the allocation of resources	e = economic,	Harvard 111 & 1V Psychosological Dictionary 1V (Stone et al., 1966, 1989)
Description	Subject	ed = education , noun: The act or process of imparting or acquiring knowledge--a degree, level or kind of schooling		
Description	Subject	hi = human interest/personality , people centred item , emphasising individuals' activities and achievements or humorous incidents; focus on individual 'famous people' .	ed = education	Henningham (1996, p.33)
		ma = media /communications : mass entertainment and information media industries including newspapers, radio an television, telecommunications	ma = media	Henningham (1996, p.33)
Description	Subject	m = medical -Harvard 4 'Medicine/health : medical and paramedical practioners and institutions: morbidity rates; health policy, personal finessed exercise or diet) ' Henningham 1996, p33.	m = medical adj: pertaining to medicine	Henningham (1996, p.33)
Description	Subject	ml= military noun-adj: Of, for, or pertaining to the army, armed forces, affairs of war, or to the soldiers themselves	ml = military	Harvard 111 & 1V Psychosological Dictionary 1V (Stone, 1966, 1989)
Description	Subject	o = other idiom-prep: "Other than"--besides other than already mentioned. 'items that could not be categorised into any other category '(Henningham 1996)	o = other	Harvard 111 & 1V Psychosological Dictionary 1V (Stone et al, 1966, 1989)
Description	Subject	p = political adj: Pertaining to or involving politics; combine with Henningham's category 'riot/demonstrations' protests; mass crowd activity large public disturbance' (1996.p.33)	p = political	Henningham (1996, p.33)
Description	Subject	r = recreational agreeable pastime, combined with Henninghams popular culture /entertainment seen as 'mass' culture, including pop music, public entertainment , cinema, television programs. Differs in activities that are community activities in tat they are often sourced from outside the community.	r = recreational	Harvard 111 & 1V Psychosological Dictionary 1V (Stone et al, 1966, 1989)

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	Subject	rl = religious adj: Of, concerning, or based on the nature of religion 'all aspects of institutionalized religion including activities statements by clergy; theology' (Henningham 1996, p.33)	rl = religious	Harvard 111 & 1V Psychosological Dictionary 1V (Stone et al, 1966, 1989) & Henningham(1996, p.33)
Description	Subject	s = sport noun-adj: Athletic pastime	s = sport	Henningham(1996, p.33)
Description	social issues	Indicators from 33 concerns, list of social concerns OECD paper 1982, 1986 and Internet Dictionary accessed 2001/ 2004		
Description	social issues	el = education and learning Use of educational facilities: regular education experience; adult education; literacy rate OECD Report. 1982 p.13. OECD, 86 p.50-59.trends- average year if regular edu,distribution of pop below above levels , in adult ed at some unilevel; including literacy int dictionary	el = education and learning	
Description	social issues	c = crime 'Crime /courts :reports of crime, activities of criminals, court cases (criminal and civil)	c = crime	OECD Social Indicators Development Program Report 1982;OECD Report, 1986
Description	social issues	cg = command over goods and services , OECD, 1982. Income, distribution of income, low income, material deprivation, numbers of people experiencing material deprivation , distribution of wealth.		Internet dictionary
Description	social issues	d = disability Internet dictionary	d = disability	OECD., 1982, 1986, Stone, 2001
Description	social issues	eq = employment and quality of working life- unemployment demographics , length of time, distribution, discouraged workers, trends in hours per week worked % of pop 45 hours plus, commuters by time, night or public holiday workers , fatal accidents and exposure to specific nuisances.	eq = employment and quality of working life	eq = employment and quality of OECD Paper, 1982, p. 13

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	social issues	e = environment aggregate of surrounding things Internet dictionary, plus physical environment oecd 1986 - persons per room , access to open space, households without inside basic amenities, pop living near basic services ,access to primary school -to post office emission of public transport, pop exposed to air/noise pollutants)	e = environment	
Description	social issues	hl = human/ land rights Internet dictionary	hl = human rights	OECD, 1982, 1986, p.30-45 Internet dictionary
Description	social issues	hp = housing poverty/ hunger Internet dictionary	ho = hunger	
Description	social issues	hps = health/ public/personal safety -OECD 1982,p.13. h = health h OECD life expectancy, mortality rates of mother; healthful ness of life- disability day of average person , pop restricted by long term health conditions, pop by certain types dysfunctional disability; public and personal safety = (death rate external causes, from motor accident s, work accidents , afraid to walk alone in neighbourhood, including public safety Internet Dictionary.	hps = health public and personal safety	OECD 1982, 1986, p.30-45 OECD 1986, p.30-45 Internet Dictionary
Description	social issues	p = philanthropy and social service Internet dictionary	p = philanthropy and social service	Internet dictionary
Description	social issues	tl = time and leisure OECD 1986 (by social function , television viewing , social time , reading time , cultural time , organizational time)	tl = time and leisure	OECD 1982, 1986, p. 30 -45
Description	tone	overall tone of article /story to subject matter	m = mediatory	
Description	tone		n = neutral	Loo & Hurst 1995, p.111 Loo & Hurst 1995, p.113 & Harvard 1V Psychosociological Dictionary 1989 category
Description	tone		p = positive	Harvard 1V Psychosociological Dictionary 1989 category

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	tone		ng = negative	Harvard 1V Psychosociological Dictionary 1989 category
Description	tone		c = critical	Loo & Hurst 1995; p.113 &
Description	time		h = humorous	
Description	time		c = current	
Description	time	c = current	f = future	
Description	time	f = future	p = past	
Description	time	p = past	nr = not relevant	
Description	time	nr = not relevant		
Description	horizon	where subject of article arises		
Description	horizon	l = local	l = local	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	r = regional	r = regional	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	s = state	s = state	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	m = mainland	m = mainland	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	o = overseas	o = overseas	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	u = universal	u = universal	Henningham 1996
Social capital	elements			
Social capital	elements	f = futurity social capital outcome resulting in building future, ideal, vision,)	f = futurity	Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
Social capital	elements	h = historicity developing identity resources through including ,history, past actions, relating the past in order to build the present or future (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000)	h = historicity	
Social capital	elements	i.e. = inclusivity/ inclusion (based on Bourdieu's concept 'A social relationship allowing individuals to claim access to resources held by their associates'	i.e. = inclusivity inclusion /exclusion	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	elements	rl = relation-ship building	rl = relation-ship building	inclusion Keyes1996; exclusion - Loury, 1977; Bourdieu 1988
Social capital	elements			Loury 1977; Coleman, 1988,1990;Cox 1996 1998;

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Social capital	elements	sv = shared values (Good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among individuals and families who make up a social unit.)	sv = shared values	
Social capital	elements	pv = participation in voluntary association	pv = participation in voluntary association	Halifan, 1920, Coleman 1988, 1990
Social capital	elements	v vision (articulation of shared)	v = vision	Putnam 1995, 2000 Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	networks	'The norms and networks facilitating collective action for 'mutual' benefit' (Woolcock 1998) Social capital network by origin = fo, oi, t, n		
Social capital	networks	bo = bonding -	bo = bonding	Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Coleman, 1990; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital	networks	b = bridging 'unlike interests'	b = bridging	Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Coleman, 1990; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital	networks	l = linking - uncommon interests, 'unlikely partnerships' l = linking (OECD p.42),	l = linking	Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Coleman, 1990; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital		n = negative negating the above relational interactions		Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Coleman, 1990; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital	knowledge and identity	k = knowledge ' of who, when and where to go for advice or resources a dn knowledge of how to get things done'	k = knowledge l = identity	Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
Social capital	knowledge and identity	l = identity being able to and willing to act for the benefit of the community and its members (Falk & Kilpatrick 1999 p.3)	ki = both knowledge and identity	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	knowledge and identity	ki = both knowledge and identity		Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
Social capital	knowledge & identity subcategories			Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
Social capital	Knowledge	sk = skills and knowledge available	sk = skills and knowledge available	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	Knowledge	p = precedents, procedures, rules	p = precedents, procedures, rules	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Social capital	Knowledge	in = information networks	in = information networks	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	Knowledge	va = values/attitudinal attributes , attributes of community	va = value/attitudinal attributes attributes of community = va	
Social capital	identity	sc = self confidence	sc = self confidence	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	identity	cc = commitment to community	cc = commitment to community	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	identity	v = vision	v = vision	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000 Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	Incorgov	Incorgov Approach combining total indicators of 6 studies (developmental "synergies" i.e. dynamic professional alliances and relationships - between and within state bureaucracies and civil society		
Social capital	Incorgov	ac= active citizenship -active citizenship 'looks at the performance of the American people relative to what they believe are their obligations as citizens'	ac = active citizenship	Woolcock & Narayan 2000 p.17 NICE 1998, p. 1 & Http://www.hudson.org/press6.html 20.6.2001 p.1
Social capital	Incorgov	ce = community engagement 'looks at what people are actually doing in their community'	ce = community engagement	NICE 1998, p. 1 & Http://www.hudson.org/press6.html 20.6.2001 p.1
Social capital	Incorgov	ci = charitable involvement looks at the kinds of causes and charities to which people give money to or volunteer time' (NICE 1998, p1)	ci = charitable involvement	NICE 1998, p. 1 & Http://www.hudson.org/press6.html 20.6.2001 p.1
Social capital	Incorgov	cp = civic participation member of a non religious voluntary organization , participating in local activities	cp = civic participation	Sudarsky 1998, p. 8
Social capital	Incorgov	cr = civic republicanism, 'characterised by politized citizens, learned in public matters having a sense of responsibility'p.30	cr = civic republicanism	Sudarsky 1998, p.30
Social capital	Incorgov	ct = community togetherness	ct = community togetherness	Narayan 1998
Social capital	Incorgov	fc = family and friend connection interaction (phone calls in last week?)	fc = family and friend connection	Onyx & Bullen, 1997; 2000 p.29

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
	Incorgov	h = hierarchy ties and relationships across uncommon eg state , nation and local business/ organizations	h = hierarchy	
Social capital	Incorgov	hr = horizontal relationships, solidarity and solutions for collective problem	hr = horizontal relationships	Sudarsky 1998, p.9; Latham, 2000
Social capital	Incorgov	it = interpersonal and institutional trust - (the trust of citizens in third institutions and the ease which these generate fro every day life) mr = mutuality and reciprocity, 'reciprocity is the process of exchange with a social relationship where 'goods and services' (Meaning an exchange of any kind) given one party are repaid to that party by the original who received the original 'good and services ' stone 2001 , p 30	it = interpersonal and institutional trust mr = mutuality and reciprocity	Sudarsky 1998, p.8 Sudarsky, 1998
Social capital	Incorgov	nc = neighbourhood connection (concerns the informal connections within the local area) ps = proactive in social context (refers to sense of personal and collective efficacy or personal agency within a social context) td = tolerance of diversity differences in community, defined by 'how do you think multiculturalism makes life in your area better?	nc = neighbourhood connection ps = proactive in social context td = tolerance of diversity	Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000, p. 29 Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000, p.29 Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000, p. 29
Social capital	Incorgov	vc = value of life and work connection ('do you feel valued by society?' p. 29) (Part of a team in work)	vc = value of life and work connection	Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000,p.29

APPENDIX E 3 CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE BOOK, DEFINITION AND RATIONALE TABLE

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Identification	paper	title	name	Mayer 1964
Identification	volume & number	volume	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	date	number	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	format	size of sheet	b = broad sheet -	
Identification	format		t = tabloid -	
Identification	format		a = A 4 -	
Identification	pages in paper	number of pages per issue	number	Mayer 1964
Identification	columns on page		number	Mayer 1964
Identification	story page		number	Mayer 1964
Identification	story number	position on page by number	number	Mayer 1964
Description	size	article related to space taken on page		
			f = full	
			l = large- half to three quarter page	Mayer 1964
			m = medium quarter to half page	
			s = small - up to quarter page	
Description	source	contributor/compiler of material printed	c = community body contribution	Loo and Hurst, 1995, p. 111
			ci = political body contribution	
			co = correspondent	
			e = editor	
			f = foreign correspondent	
			o = other	
			r = reader	
			sp = specialist	
			s/un = staff/unaccompanied item	

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	shape	appearance of material	a = article c = competitions e = editorial l = letters j = joke/small humorous story n = notice p = photo (added after code) pqm = poem/quote/morale building rec = recipe r = report s = story/serialized story sp = sports results	Loo and Hurst 1995, p. 111 Gunaratne 1982, p. 19 Gunaratne 1982, p. 20
Description	written description	outline to identify story for reliability check		
Description	Subject	Tags applied to subject of each article (Second-Order, <i>Institutional Context</i> .)		Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p.173)
Description	Subject	ad = Accidents/disasters noun: An unfortunate happening, unintentionally caused and unexpected 'Accidents of all kind involving injury, death or damage, including motor vehicle, industrial , air , marine and sports accidents, natural disasters' Henningham	ad = Accidents/disasters	Henningham, (1996 p.33)
Description	Subject	ag = agricultural (forestry, fishing agriculture) adj. Having to do with agriculture- Harvard1V (Stone 1989) 'All aspects of primary industry including production and trade' Henningham 1996,	ag = agricultural	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p. 173); Henningham (1996, p.33)
Description	Subject	ar = artistic , noun: One who creates works of art, especially a painter	ar = artistic,	

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	Subject	c = community , noun-adjective: Town, collectively formed by proximity or common interest.	c = community,	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p. 173); Henningham (1996, p.33)
Description	Subject	e = economic , adjective: Pertaining to the allocation of resources	e = economic,	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p. 173)
Description	Subject	ed = education , noun: The act or process of imparting or acquiring knowledge--a degree, level or kind of schooling		Henningham (1996, p. 33)
Description	Subject	hi = human interest/personality , people centred item , emphasising individuals' activities and achievements or humorous incidents; focus on individual 'famous people '	ed = education	Henningham (1996, p. 33)
		ma = media /communications : mass entertainment and information media industries including newspapers, radio an television, telecommunications	ma = media	Henningham (1996, p. 33)
Description	Subject	m = medical -Harvard 4 'Medicine/health : medical and paramedical practioners and institutions: morbidity rates; health policy, personal finessed exercise or diet' ' Henningham 1996, p33.	m = medical adj: pertaining to medicine	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p. 173)
Description	Subject	ml= military noun-adj: Of, for, or pertaining to the army, armed forces, affairs of war, or to the soldiers themselves	ml = military	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p. 173)
Description	Subject	o = other idiom-prep: "Other than"--besides other than already mentioned. 'items that could not be categorised into any other category '(Henningham 1996)	o = other	Henningham (1996, p. 33)
Description	Subject	p = political adj: Pertaining to or involving politics; combine with Henningham's category 'riot/demonstrations' 'protests; mass crowd activity large public disturbance' (1996,p.33)	p = political	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p.173)
Description	Subject	r = recreational agreeable pastime, combined with Henninghams popular culture /entertainment seen as 'mass' culture, including pop music, public entertainment , cinema, television programs. Differs in activities that are community activities in tat they are often sourced from outside the community.	r = recreational	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966, p. 173)

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	Subject	rl = religious adj: Of, concerning, or based on the nature of religion 'all aspects of institutionalized religion including activities statements by clergy, theology' (Henningham 1996, p.33)	rl = religious	Harvard 111 Psychosociological Dictionary (Stone et al., 1966); Henningham (1996, p. 33)
Description	Subject	s = sport noun-adj: Athletic pastime	s = sport	Henningham(1996, p. 33)
Description	social issues	Indicators from 33 concerns, list of social concerns OECD paper 1982, 1986 and Internet Dictionary accessed 2001/ 2004		
Description	social issues	el = education and learning Use of educational facilities: regular education experience; adult education; literacy rate OECD Report. 1982 p.13. OECD, 86 p.50-59.trends- average year if regular edu,distribution of pop below above levels , in adult ed at some uni level; including literacy int dictionary	el = education and learning	OECD Social Indicators Development Program Report 1982;OECD Report, 1986
Description	social issues	c = crime 'Crime /courts :reports of crime, activities of criminals, court cases (criminal and civil)	c = crime	Internet dictionary
Description	social issues	cg = command over goods and services , OECD, 1982, Income, distribution of income, low income, material deprivation, numbers of people experiencing material deprivation , distribution of wealth.		OECD., 1982, 1986, Stone, 2001
Description	social issues	d = disability Internet dictionary	d = disability	
Description	social issues	eq = employment and quality of working life- unemployment demographics , length of time, distribution, discouraged workers, trends in hours per week worked % of pop 45 hours plus, commuters by time, night or public holiday workers , fatal accidents and exposure to specific nuisances.	eq = employment and quality of working life	OECD Paper, 1982, p. 13

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	social issues	e = environment aggregate of surrounding things Internet dictionary, plus physical environment oecd 1986 - persons per room , access to open space, households without inside basic ammenities, pop living near basic services ,access to primary school -to post office emission of public transport, pop exposed to air/noise pollutants)	e = environment	OECD, 1982, 1986, p.30-45
Description	social issues	hl = human/ land rights Internet dictionary	hl = human rights	Internet dictionary
Description	social issues	hp = housing poverty/ hunger Internet dictionary	ho = hunger	OECD 1982, 1986, p.30-45
Description	social issues	hps = health/ public/personal safety -OECD 1982, p.13. h = health h OECD life expectancy, mortality rates of mother; healthful ness of life- disability day of average person , pop restricted by long term health conditions, pop by certain types dysfunctional disability; public and personal safety = (death rate external causes, from motor accident s, work accidents , afraid to walk alone in neighbourhood, including public safety Internet Dictionary.	hps = health public and personal safety	OECD 1982, p. 13 Internet Dictionary
Description	social issues	p = philanthropy and social service Internet dictionary	p = philanthropy and social service	Internet dictionary
Description	social issues	tl = time and leisure OECD 1986 (by social function , television viewing , social time , reading time , cultural time , organizational time)	tl = time and leisure	OECD 1982, 1986, p. 30 -45
Description	tone	overall tone of article /story to subject matter	m = mediatory	Loo & Hurst 1995, p. 111
Description	tone		n = neutral	Loo & Hurst 1995, p. 113
Description	tone		p = positive	
Description	tone		ng = negative	
Description	tone		c = critical	Loo & Hurst 1995, p. 113

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Description	time		h = humorous	
Description	time	c = current	c = current	
Description	time	f = future	f = future	
Description	time	p = past	p = past	
Description	time	nr = not relevant	nr = not relevant	
Description	horizon	where subject of article arises		
Description	horizon	l = local	l = local	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	r = regional	r = regional	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	s = state	s = state	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	m = mainland	m = mainland	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	o = overseas	o = overseas	Henningham 1996
Description	horizon	u = universal	u = universal	Henningham 1996
Social capital	elements			
Social capital	elements	f = futurity social capital outcome resulting in building future, ideal, vision,)	f = futurity	Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
Social capital	elements	h = historicity developing identity resources through including ,history, past actions, relating the past in order to build the present or future (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000)	h = historicity	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	elements	i.e. = Inclusivity/ inclusion (based on Bourdieu's concept 'A social relationship allowing individuals to claim access to resources held by their associates'	i.e. = inclusivity inclusion /exclusion	exclusion - Loury, 1977; Bourdieu 1984, 1986, 1990;
Social capital	elements	rl = relation-ship building	rl = relation-ship building	Loury 1977; Coleman, 1988,1990;Cox 1996 1998;
Social capital	elements	sv = shared values (Good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among individuals and families who make up a social unit.	sv = shared values	Halifan, 1916; Coleman 1988, 1990
Social capital	elements	pv = participation in voluntary association	pv = participation in voluntary association	Putnam, 1993, 1995, 2000
Social capital	elements	v vision (articulation of shared)	v = vision	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Social capital	networks	'The norms and networks facilitating collective action for 'mutual' benefit' (Woolcock 1998) Social capital network by origin = io, oi, t, n		Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital	networks	bo = bonding -	bo = bonding	Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital	networks	b = bridging 'unlike interests'	b = bridging	Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital	networks	l = linking - uncommon interests , 'unlikely partnerships' (OECD p.42),	l = linking	Networks (Granovetter, 1973; Woolcock, 1998)
Social capital		n = negative negating the above relational interactions		
Social capital	knowledge and identity	k = knowledge ' of who, when and where to go for advice or resources a dn knowledge of how to get things done'	k = knowledge	Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
Social capital	knowledge and identity	l = identity being able to and willing to act for the benefit of the community and its members (Falk & Kilpatrick 1999 p.3)	l = identity	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	knowledge and identity	ki = both knowledge and identity	ki = both knowledge and identity	Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
	knowledge & identity subcategories			Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000
Social capital	Knowledge	sk = skills and knowledge available	sk = skills and knowledge available	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	Knowledge	p = precedents, procedures, rules	p = precedents, procedures, rules	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	Knowledge	in = information networks	in = information networks	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	Knowledge	va = values/attitudinal attributes , attributes of community	va = value/attitudinal attributes attributes of community = va	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	identity	sc = self confidence	sc = self confidence	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	identity	cc = commitment to community	cc = commitment to community	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Social capital	identity	v = vision	v = vision	Falk & Kilpatrick 2000
Social capital	Incorgov	Incorgov Approach combining total indicators of 6 studies (developmental "synergies" i.e. dynamic professional alliances and relationships - between and within state bureaucracies and civil society		Woolcock & Narayan 2000, p. 17
Social capital	Incorgov	ac= active citizenship -active citizenship 'looks at the performance of the American people relative to what they believe are their obligations as citizens'	ac = active citizenship	NICE 1998, p. 1 & Http://www.hudson.org/press6.html 20.6.2001 p. 1
Social capital	Incorgov	ce = community engagement 'looks at what people are actually doing in their community'	ce = community engagement	NICE 1998, p. 1 & Http://www.hudson.org/press6.html 20.6.2001 p.1
Social capital	Incorgov	ci = charitable involvement looks at the kinds of causes and charities to which people give money to or volunteer time' (NICE 1998, p1)	ci = charitable involvement	NICE 1998, p. 1 & Http://www.hudson.org/press6.html 20.6.2001 p. 1
Social capital	Incorgov	cp = civic participation member of a non religious voluntary organization , participating in local activities	cp = civic participation	Sudarsky 1998, p. 8
Social capital	Incorgov	cr = civic republicanism , 'characterised by politicized citizens, learned in public matters having a sense of responsibility'p.30	cr = civic republicanism	Sudarsky 1998, p. 30
Social capital	Incorgov	ct = community togetherness	ct = community togetherness	Narayan 1998
Social capital	Incorgov	fc = family and friend connection interaction (phone calls in last week?)	fc = family and friend connection	Onyx & Bullen, 1997; 2000, p. 29
	Incorgov	h = hierarchy ties and relationships across uncommon eg state , nation and local business/ organizations	h = hierarchy	
Social capital	Incorgov	hr = horizontal relationships , solidarity and solutions for collective problem	hr = horizontal relationships	Sudarsky 1998, p.9; Latham, 2000

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Social capital	Incorgov	<p>it = interpersonal and institutional trust - (the trust of citizens in third institutions and the ease which these generate fro every day life)</p> <p>mir = mutuality and reciprocity, 'reciprocity is the process of exchange with a social relationship where 'goods and services' (Meaning an exchange of any kind) given one party are repaid to that party by the original who received the original 'good and services ' stone 2001 , p 30</p>	<p>it = interpersonal and institutional trust</p> <p>mir = mutuality and reciprocity</p>	<p>Sudarsky 1998, p.8</p> <p>Sudarsky, 1998</p>
Social capital	Incorgov	nc = neighbourhood connection (concerns the informal connections within the local area)	nc = neighbourhood connection	Onyx & Bullen, 1997; 2000, p. 29
Social capital	Incorgov	ps = proactive in social context (refers to sense of personal and collective efficacy or personal agency within a social context)	ps = proactive in social context	Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000, p.29
Social capital	Incorgov	td = tolerance of diversity differences in community , defined by 'how do you think multiculturalism makes life in your area better?	td = tolerance of diversity	Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000, p. 29
Social capital	Incorgov	vc = value of life and work connection ('do you feel valued by society?' p. 29) (Part of a team in work)	vc = value of life and work connection	Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000.p.29

Area	Category	Category and variable definition	Code	Theoretical justification
Social capital	Incorgov	<p>it = interpersonal and institutional trust - (the trust of citizens in third institutions and the ease which these generate fro every day life)</p> <p>mr = mutuality and reciprocity, 'reciprocity is the process of exchange with a social relationship where 'goods and services' (Meaning an exchange of any kind) given one party are repaid to that party by the original who received the original 'good and services ' stone 2001 , p 30</p>	<p>it = interpersonal and institutional trust</p> <p>mr = mutuality and reciprocity</p>	Sudarsky 1998, p. 8
Social capital	Incorgov			
Social capital	Incorgov	<p>nc = neighbourhood connection (concerns the informal connections within the local area)</p> <p>ps = proactive in social context (refers to sense of personal and collective efficacy or personal agency within a social context)</p> <p>td = tolerance of diversity differences in community, defined by 'how do you think multiculturalism makes life in your area better?</p>	<p>nc = neighbourhood connection</p> <p>ps = proactive in social context</p> <p>td = tolerance of diversity</p>	<p>Onyx & Bullen, 1997; 2000, p. 29</p> <p>Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000, p. 29</p>
Social capital	Incorgov	<p>vc = value of life and work connection ('do you feel valued by society?' p. 29) (Part of a team in work)</p>	vc = value of life and work connection	Onyx & Bullen 1997; 2000.p. 29

APPENDIX F

Newspapers

- Newspaper items by time
- Subject by newspaper

APPENDIX F 1 NEWSPAPER ITEMS BY TIME

Paper	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
BDN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	111	30	39	180
BRP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	26
BYN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	95	103	215
CH	74	94	148	141	198	69	91	136	100	192	1243
DEV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	96
HT	270	134	208	256	0	0	119	45	110	223	1365
IS	0	0	0	0	0	59	95	86	170	124	534
KINC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	83	174
KINN	0	67	123	101	49	123	105	96	0	0	664
LP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	89	89
NEA	198	128	152	112	177	141	102	125	127	119	1381
RMR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	78	78
SH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	66	66
VEC	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	48	62	11	170
WT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	246	0	372
ZN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	41	71
Total	542	423	631	610	424	392	561	790	1061	1290	6724

APPENDIX F 2 SUBJECT BY NEWSPAPER

% of subject items coded within each newspaper

Newspaper	Accident/ disaster	Agricultural	Artistic	Community	Economic	Education	Human interest/pe	Legal	Medical	Media	Military	Other	Political	Recreation- al	Religious	Sport	Joke/quote	Total
BDN		2.2		56.7	6.1	5.6	6.1	0.6	6.1			1.7	2.2	1.7	1.1	7.8	2.2	100
BRP		3.8		57.7	3.8	3.8	3.8		3.8		3.8	11.5	3.8	3.8				100
BYN		0.5	2.3	35.3	7.9	1.9	12.6	0.9	3.7	0.5		0.9	9.8	2.8	1.9	3.3	15.8	100
CH	0.2	4.8	0.5	21.6	10.8	2.2	18.6	2.7	0.3	0.1	1.8	2.3	5.9	3.9	1.6	21.7	1.0	100
DEV		1.0	4.2	38.5	1.5	2.1	20.8		3.1			2.1	7.3	4.2		4.2	1.0	100
HT	1.0	9.9	1.1	12.4	11.3	2.6	19.4	3.1	2.9		2.3	1.5	5.8	3.1	1.0	15.6	7.1	100
IS	1.5	8.1	0.9	31.1	10.1	1.3	7.9	1.5	0.6	0.2	3.0	0.9	5.2	2.2	9.0	13.1	3.4	100
KINC	0.6	5.7		23.0	20.7	2.3	10.3	1.1	0.6			1.7	7.5	2.3		24.1		100
KINN	0.8	9.0	2.1	16.1	17.2	3.3	13.9	0.8	2.7		1.5	2.6	3.5	1.4	1.1	16.4	7.8	100
LP			1.1	64.0	1.1	5.6	13.5		5.6			2.2				5.6	1.1	100
NEA	2.0	7.7	2.0	21.3	12.5	1.8	10.2	2.2	2.2	0.1	0.7	2.0	5.3	5.9	1.2	18.1	4.9	100
RMR				9.0			12.8		6.4							1.3	70.5	100
SH	1.5	1.5		33.3	13.6		10.6	1.5	6.1				15.2	10.6		3.0	3.0	100
VEC	0.6	2.9	1.2	32.4	1.8	2.9	14.1	1.8	3.5		1.2		8.2	2.4	7.1	14.1	5.9	100
WT	0.5	1.3	2.7	38.2	5.6	14.8	9.1	1.9	1.6				5.4	4.6	0.5	11.3	2.4	100
ZN	1.4		1.4	62.0	1.4	11.3	7.0							5.6		4.2	5.6	100
Total	0.9	6.4	1.4	23.8	11.0	3.1	14.0	2.0	2.2	0.1	1.4	1.7	5.4	3.6	1.8	15.7	5.5	100

Note: Space in table represents no recording of item in variable

APPENDIX G

Subject by time

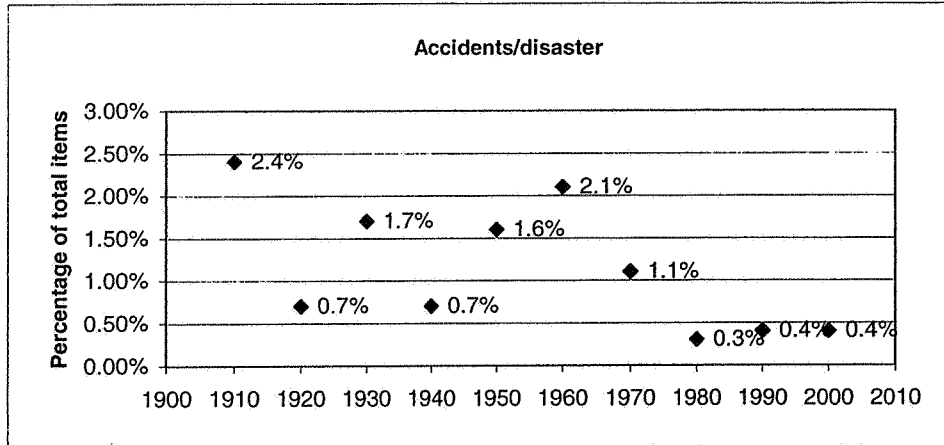
- Subject variables by decade years –individual graphs
- Reduced subject variables by year – chi-square human interest, community

APPENDIX G 1 SUBJECT VARIABLES BY DECADE YEARS

Percentages represent each subject's contribution to each each decade year. Table 13 shows subject's percentage per decade year

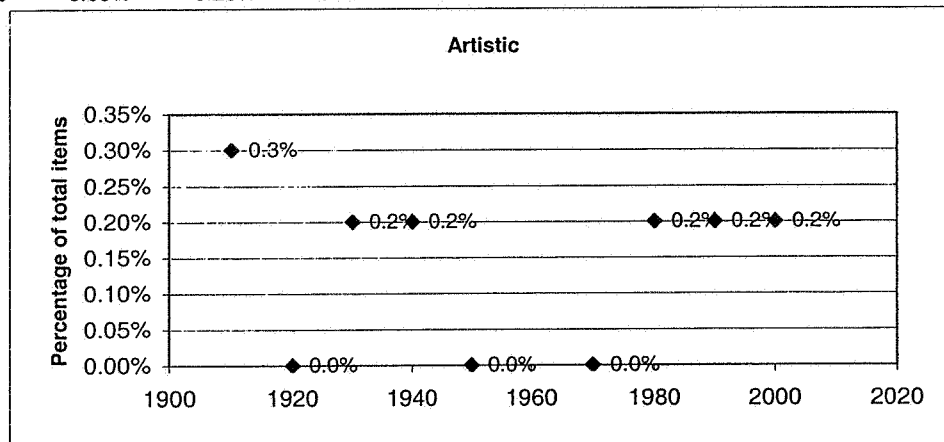
Accidents/disaster

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
2.40%	0.70%	1.70%	0.70%	1.60%	2.10%	1.10%	0.30%	0.40%	0.40%



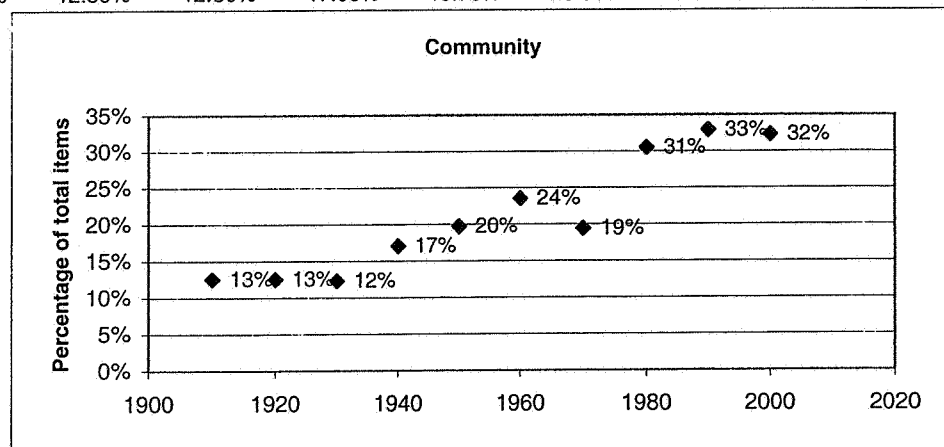
Artistic

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
0.30%	0.00%	0.20%	0.20%	0.00%		0.00%	0.20%	0.20%	0.20%



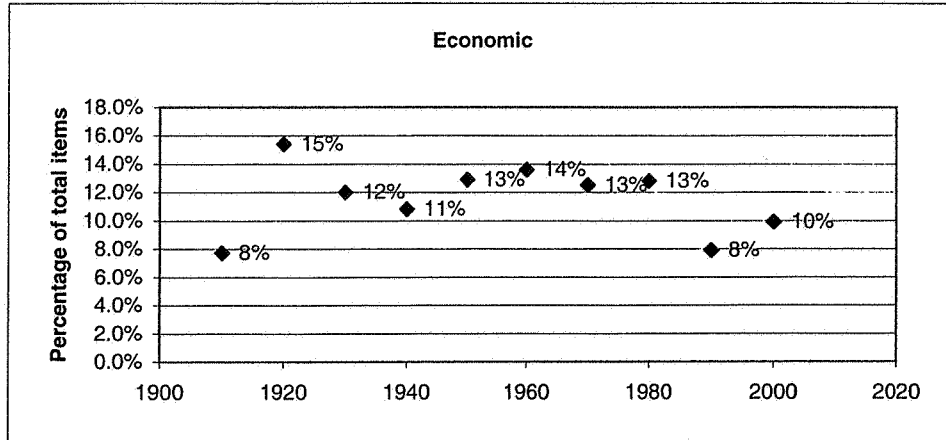
Community

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
12.50%	12.50%	12.30%	17.00%	19.70%	23.50%	19.40%	30.50%	32.90%	32.30%



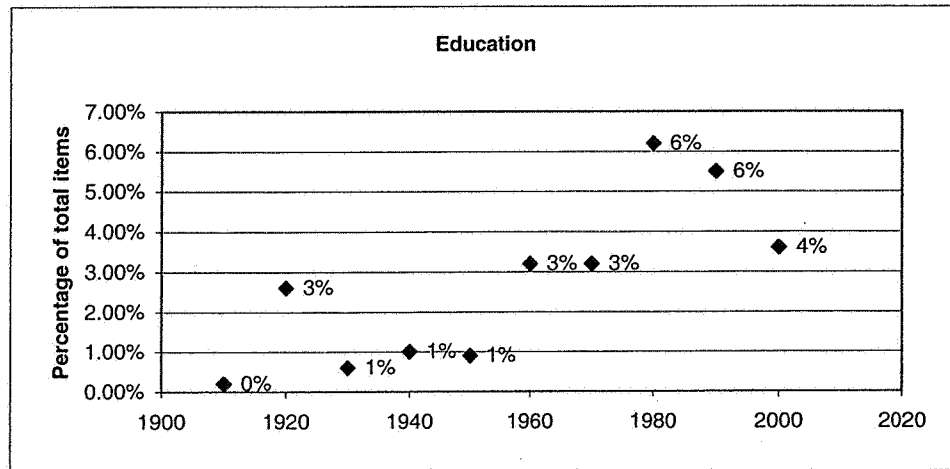
Economic

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
7.7%	15.4%	12.0%	10.8%	12.9%	13.6%	12.5%	12.8%	7.9%	9.9%



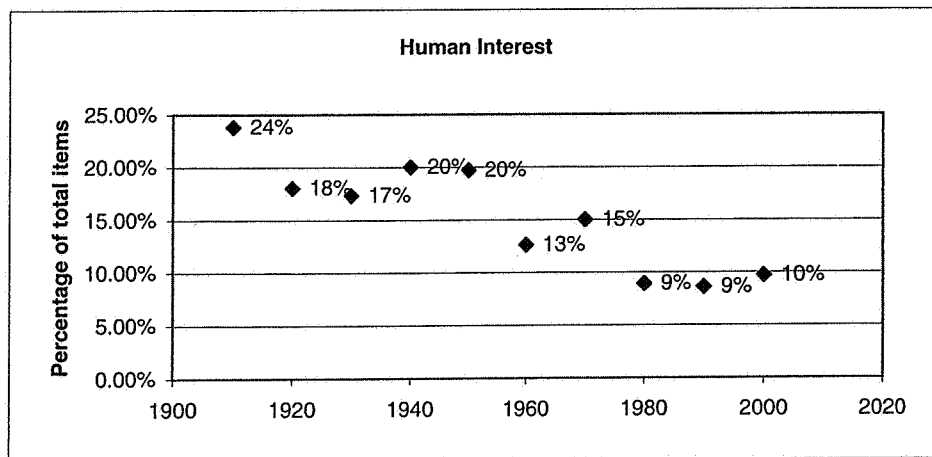
Education

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
0.20%	2.60%	0.60%	1.00%	0.90%	3.20%	3.20%	6.20%	5.50%	3.60%



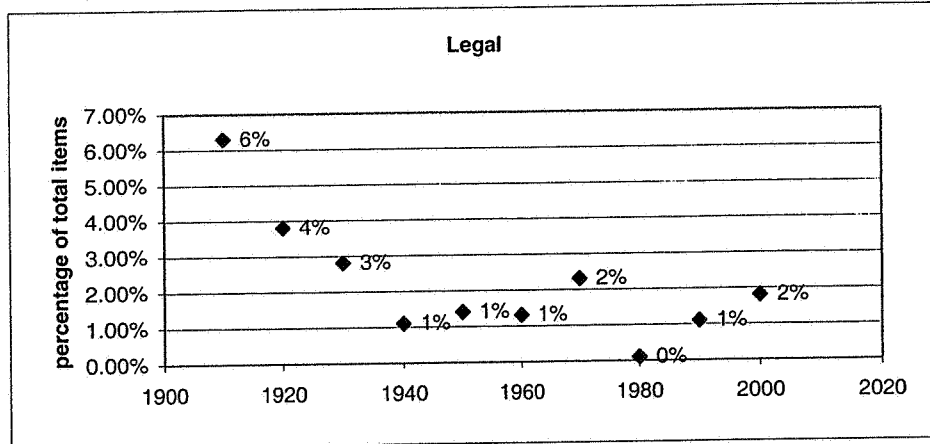
Human interest/personalities

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
23.80%	18.00%	17.30%	20.00%	19.70%	12.60%	15.00%	8.90%	8.60%	9.70%



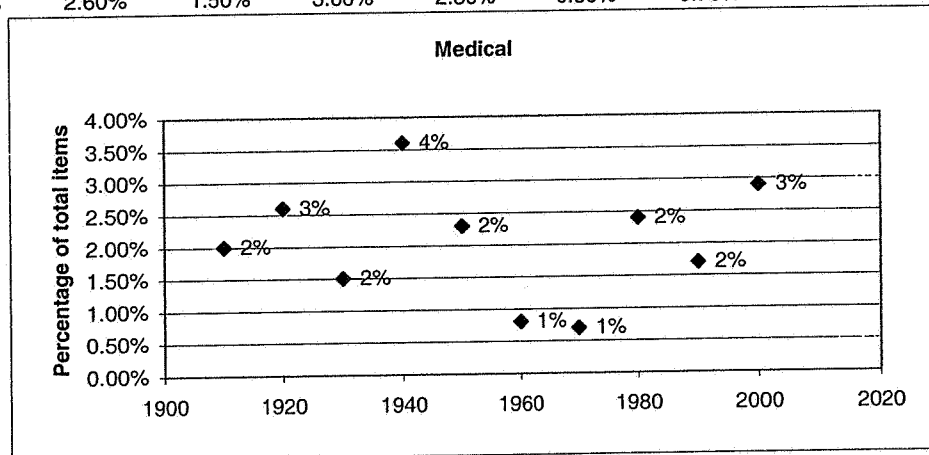
Legal

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
6.30%	3.80%	2.80%	1.10%	1.40%	1.30%	2.30%	0.10%	1.10%	1.80%



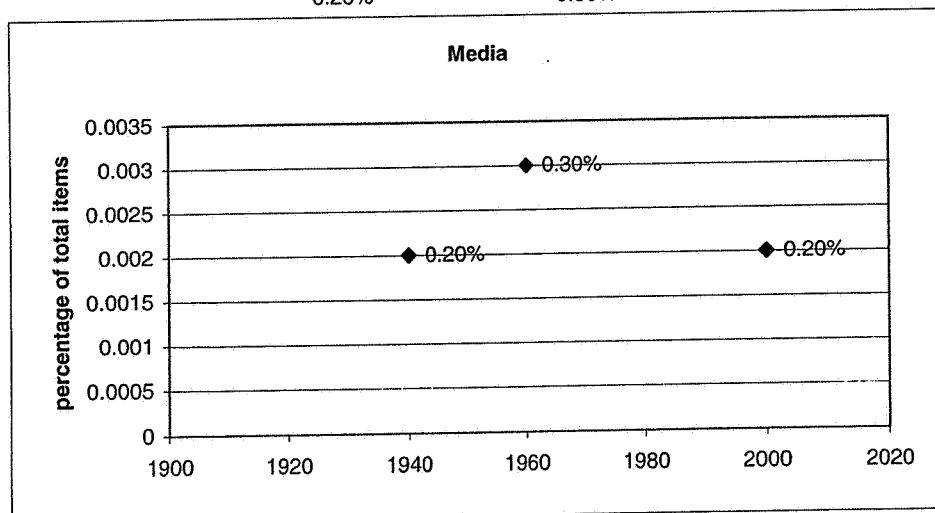
Medical

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
2.00%	2.60%	1.50%	3.60%	2.30%	0.80%	0.70%	2.40%	1.70%	2.90%



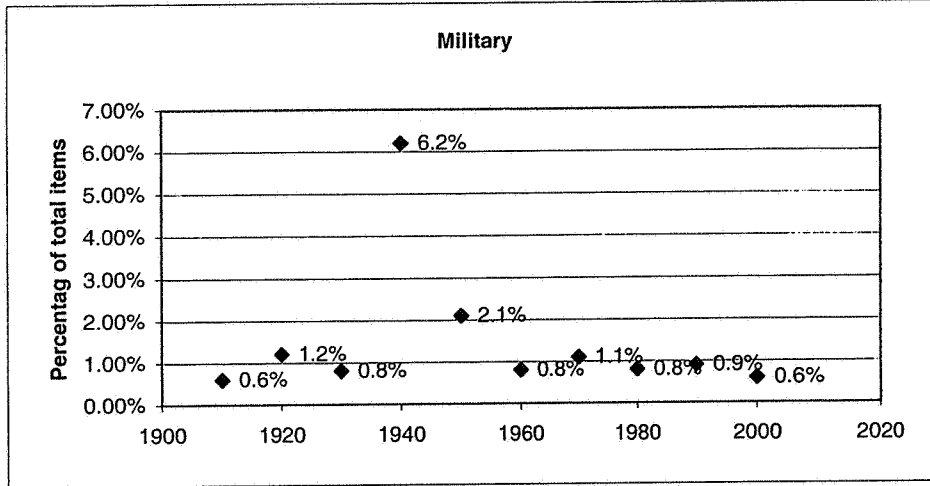
Media

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
			0.20%		0.30%				0.20%



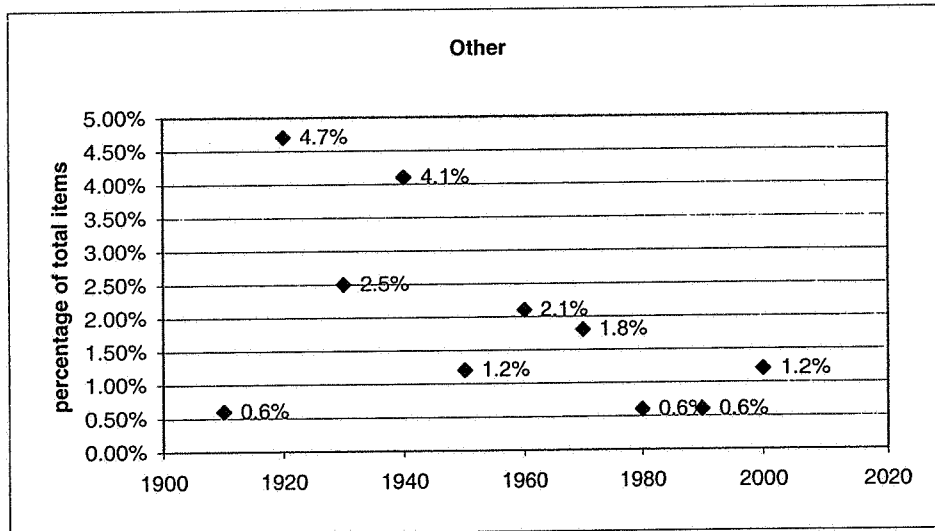
Military

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
0.60%	1.20%	0.80%	6.20%	2.10%	0.80%	1.10%	0.80%	0.90%	0.60%



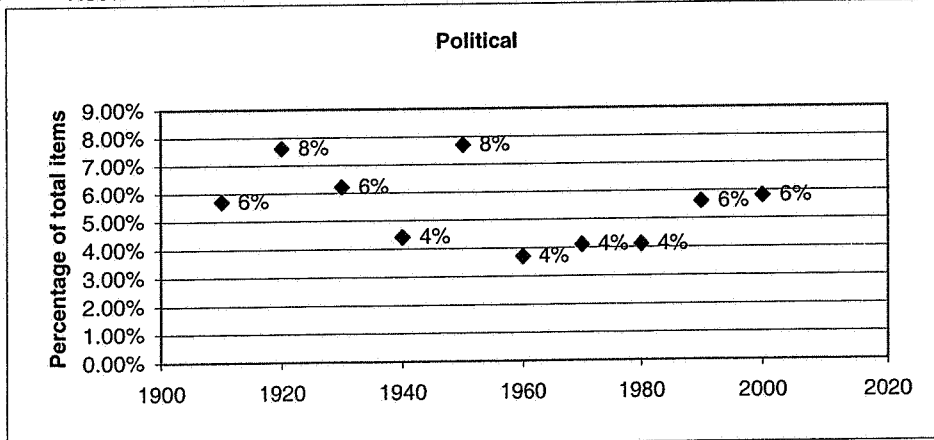
Other

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
0.60%	4.70%	2.50%	4.10%	1.20%	2.10%	1.80%	0.60%	0.60%	1.20%



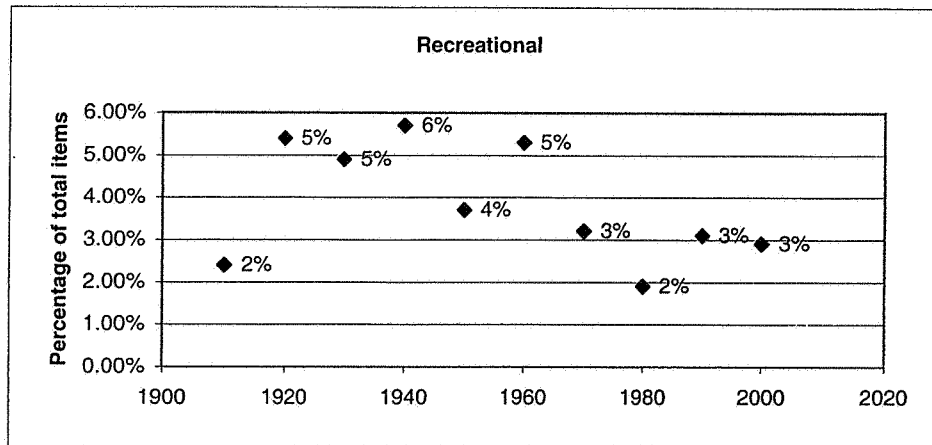
Political

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
5.70%	7.60%	6.20%	4.40%	7.70%	3.70%	4.10%	4.10%	5.60%	5.80%



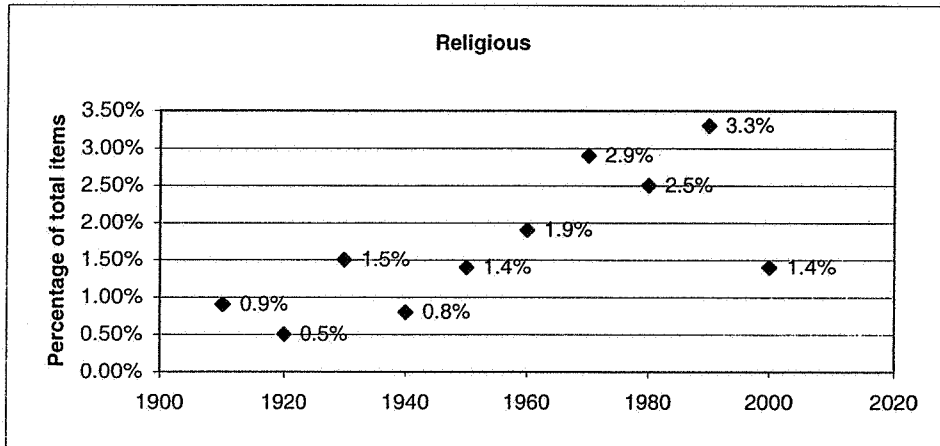
Recreational

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
2.40%	5.40%	4.90%	5.70%	3.70%	5.30%	3.20%	1.90%	3.10%	2.90%



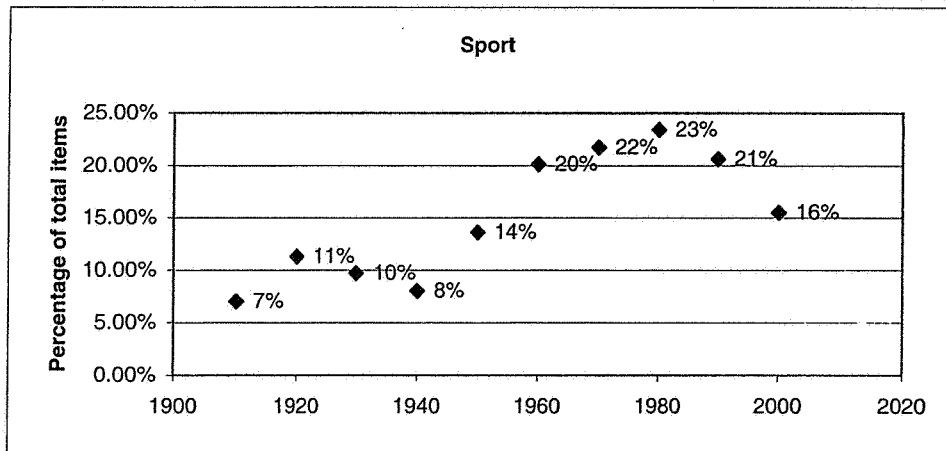
Religious

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
0.90%	0.50%	1.50%	0.80%	1.40%	1.90%	2.90%	2.50%	3.30%	1.40%



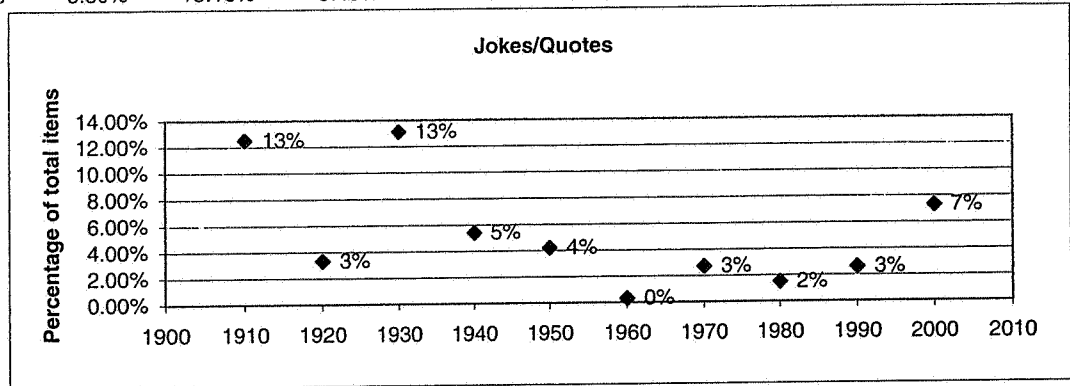
Sport

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
7.00%	11.30%	9.70%	8.00%	13.60%	20.10%	21.70%	23.40%	20.60%	15.50%



Jokes/quotes

1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
12.50%	3.30%	13.10%	5.40%	4.20%	0.30%	2.70%	1.50%	2.60%	7.30%



APPENDIX H

Social issues

- Newspaper by social issues
- Subject by social issues by time:
percent within social issues
- Subject by social issues by time:
frequency

APPENDIX H 1 SOCIAL ISSUES BY NEWSPAPERS

Paper	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	Health/public/personal safety	time and leisure	not social issue	Total
BDN				0.6	2.8			1.7	3.3	3.3	1.7	86.7	100
BRP										7.7	3.8	88.5	100
BYN				0.5		0.5		0.5	0.9	1.4	0.5	95.8	100
CH	0.6	1.9	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.2	1.4	0.6	93.1	100
DEV		1.0						1.0	4.2			93.8	100
HT	0.7	2.6	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.5	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.6	1.2	91.3	100
IS	0.7	0.2	0.2	3.9	0.4	1.5	0.7	1.7	0.7	6.0	5.6	78.3	100
KINC		2.3			0.6	1.1			1.1		2.3	92.5	100
KINN	0.3	4.1		0.2	0.3	0.8			0.8	1.4	0.3	92.0	100
LP					1.1					1.1	1.1	96.6	100
NEA	0.6	1.9	0.1	0.5	0.7	1.6	0.3	0.8	0.9	2.2	1.5	88.9	100
RMR					1.3							98.7	100
SH		6.1		3.0			1.5				1.5	87.9	100
VEC				1.2				1.8		1.2		95.9	100
WT	0.3			0.5	2.2		0.3	0.3	0.8	2.7	1.3	91.7	100
ZN								1.4		1.4		97.2	100
Total	0.5	1.8	0.1	0.6	0.6	1.0	0.3	0.6	0.8	1.8	1.4	90.6	100

[illegible]

Subject	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/and rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	health/pub/perisa	time and leisure	not coded	Total
military		100										1.0	1.2
other												5.1	4.7
political		25						33.3				7.2	7.6
recreational										50		5.6	5.4
religious												0.5	0.5
sport												12.3	11.3
												3.6	3.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.0	100.0
1930 accident/disaster													
agricultural		33.3			20				100		11.1	10.9	11.4
artistic												2.2	2.1
community		8.3				33.3			33.3		33.3	11.2	11.3
economic		25		100	60		50				11.1	10.3	11.9
education												0.7	0.6
human													
interest/personalities		8.3				33.3						18.8	17.6
legal	100											2.2	2.9
medical							50					1.6	1.6
military												0.7	0.6
other												2.8	2.5
political		25			20	33.3			66.7			5.3	6.3
recreational										44.4		4.8	5.1
religious												1.6	1.4
sport												10.3	9.5
												14.7	13.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.0	100.0
1940 accident/disaster													
agricultural					12.5					11.1		0.7	0.7
artistic						50						8.6	8.2
community							66.7		33.3		36.4	16.7	17.0
economic		80	50	100	87.5				22.2	9.1	8.8		10.8

Subject	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	health/pub/per/sa	time and leisure	not coded	Total
1960 accident/disaster	100	100	100	100	33.3	100	100	100	100	100	100	4.4	4.2
agricultural		36.4		33.3								2.3	2.0
community								100		25	100	7.4	7.9
economic		63.6		33.3	100					50		25.0	24.7
education										12.5		10.8	13.8
human					100							1.7	3.1
interest/personalities				33.3								13.4	12.2
legal	100					100						0.9	1.3
medical												0.9	0.8
media												0.3	0.3
military												1.1	1.0
other												2.3	2.0
political										12.5		3.7	3.6
recreational												5.7	5.1
religious												2.3	2.0
sport												22.2	19.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.0	100.0
1970 accident/disaster												1.2	1.1
agricultural		12.5			20	40				8.3333333		7.9	8.2
artistic												0.2	0.2
community									100	16.7		20.5	19.4
economic		87.5		100	20	40				66.7		9.9	12.5
education					40							3.1	3.2
human													
interest/personalities											16.6667	16.1	15.0
legal	100											1.7	2.3
medical								50				0.6	0.7
military										8.3		1.0	1.1

Subject	Total
crime	100
command over goods and services	100
disability	100
environment	100
education and learning	100
employment and quality of working life	100
human/land rights	100
housing/hunger/poverty	100
philanthropic and social service	100
health/pub/persa	100
time and leisure	100
not coded	100
Total	100

Year	Social Issues
	<div>crime</div> <div>command over goods and services</div> <div>disability</div> <div>environment</div> <div>education and learning</div> <div>employment and quality of working life</div> <div>human/land rights</div> <div>housing/hunger/poverty</div> <div>philanthropic and social service</div> <div>health/publ/per/sa</div> <div>time and leisure</div> <div>not coded to subjects</div> <div>Total</div>
1910 Subject	<div>accident/disaster</div> <div>agricultural</div> <div>artistic</div> <div>community</div> <div>economic</div> <div>education</div> <div>human interest/personalities</div> <div>legal</div> <div>medical</div> <div>military</div> <div>other</div> <div>political</div> <div>recreational</div> <div>religious</div> <div>sport</div> <div>Total</div>
1920 Subject	<div>accident/disaster</div> <div>agricultural</div> <div>artistic</div> <div>community</div> <div>economic</div> <div>education</div> <div>human interest/personalities</div> <div>Total</div>

[illegible]

Subject	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	humanland rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	Health/pub/per/isa	time and leisure	not coded to subjects	Total
agricultural	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	48	50
artistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	15	16
community	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	4	93	104
economic	0	4	2	1	0	7	0	0	0	2	1	49	66
education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
human interest/ personalities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	122	122
legal	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7
medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	20	22
media	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
military	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	36	38
other	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	25
political	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	2	0	19	27
recreational	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	30	35
religious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48	49
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	33
Total	3	5	4	1	1	8	2	3	6	9	11	557	610
1950 Subject accident/disaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	7
agricultural	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	26	29
artistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
community	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	76	81
economic	1	5	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	44	55
education	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
human interest/ personalities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	83	84
legal	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	6
medical	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	6	10
military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	9

Subject	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	health/pub/pe/sa	time and leisure	not coded to subjects	Total
other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
political	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	31	33
recreational	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14	16
religious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	58
	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	18
Total	2	6	1	3	4	1	1	1	13	5	387	424	
1960 Subject	accident/disaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
agricultural	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	31
community	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	2	88	97
economic	0	7	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	38	54
education	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	12
human interest/													
personalities	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	48
legal	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
media	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
political	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	13	14
recreational	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	20
religious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	78	78
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	1	11	3	5	4	1	2	3	8	2	352	392	
1970 Subject	accident/disaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
agricultural	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	41	46
artistic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
community	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	106	109

Subject	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	Health/pub/pe/sa	time and leisure	not coded to subjects	Total
economic	0	7	1	1	1	2		0	0	8	0	51	70
education	0	0	0	0	2	0		0	0	0	0	16	18
human interest/ personalities	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	83	84
legal	4	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	9	13
medical	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	0	3	4
military	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	5	6
other	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	10	10
political	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	0	21	23
recreational	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	0	16	18
religious	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	16	16
sport	0	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	0	3	118	122
	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	15	15
Total	4	8	1	1	5	5	2	2	1	12	6	517	561
1980 Subject	accident/disaster												
agricultural		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	1	2
artistic		2	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	17	20
community		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	12	12
economic		2	2	0	0	0		0	16	12	4	205	241
education		12	4	1	4	0		0	0	6	0	74	101
human interest/ personalities		0	0	12	0	0		0	0	0	0	37	49
legal		0	1	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	68	70
medical		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	1	1
military		0	0	0	0	0		1	0	1	0	17	19
other		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	5	6
political		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	5	5
recreational		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	3	0	29	32
religious		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	14	15
		0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	20	20

Subject	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	health/pub/psa	time and leisure	not coded to subjects	Total
sport		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	182	185
1990 Subject													
accident/disaster	3	15	1	12	7	6	5	13	11	29	25	699	790
agricultural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	4
artistic	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	35	43
community	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
economic	0	1	0	5	2	0	0	8	9	12	15	299	351
education	0	8	0	2	3	5	0	0	0	5	0	61	84
human interest/ personalities	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	58
legal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	83	91
medical	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	12
military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	15	18
other	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	4	9
political	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
recreational	0	1	0	2	1	0	3	0	0	4	0	48	59
religious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	31	33
sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	35
2000 Subject													
accident/disaster	3	15	1	12	7	6	5	13	11	29	25	934	1061
agricultural	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	5
artistic	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	41	47
community	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
economic	0	1	1	5	3	1	2	4	11	8	14	367	417
education	1	10	0	4	0	5	0	0	0	6	1	101	128
human interest/ personalities	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	43	47
	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	116	125

Subject	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	Health/pub/per/sa	time and leisure	not coded to subjects	Total
legal	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	19	23
medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	36	38
media	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
political	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	70	75
recreational	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	34	38
religious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	18
sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	196	200
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	94
Total	2	17	1	14	6	11	4	8	14	19	23	1171	1290

APPENDIX I

Newspapers by shape

- Shape by time cross-tabulation
- Newspaper by shape
- Newspaper by photo shape

APPENDIX I 1 SHAPE BY TIME

Crosstab	Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	
Shapt article	Count	248	54	144	119	80	52	70	126	69	132	1094
% within		45.75646	12.76596	22.82092	19.50820	18.86792	13.26531	12.47772	15.94937	6.50330	10.23256	16.27008
competitor Count	1	1				1		5	3	3	13	28
% within		0.18450		0.15848	0.16393	0.23585		0.89127	0.37975	0.28275	1.00775	0.41642
editorial Count			1					10	6	4	15	36
% within Year			0.16393					1.78253	0.75949	0.37700	1.16279	0.53540
joke/small Count	54		12	71	24	7	1	6	5	12	65	257
% within		9.96310	2.83688	11.25198	3.93443	1.65094	0.25510	1.06952	0.63291	1.13101	5.03876	3.82213
letters Count	16		18	15	11	5	12	17	66	103	72	335
% within		2.95203	4.25532	2.37718	1.80328	1.17925	3.06122	3.03030	8.35443	9.70782	5.58140	4.98215
notice Count	42		60	59	38	38	40	77	146	241	222	963
% within		7.74908	14.18440	9.35024	6.22951	8.96226	10.20408	13.72549	18.48101	22.71442	17.20930	14.32183
poem/quot Count	17		3	30	9	7		2	6	21	30	125
% within		3.13653	0.70922	4.75436	1.47541	1.65094		0.35651	0.75949	1.97926	2.32558	1.85901
report Count	141		269	270	368	252	249	270	313	506	584	3222
% within		26.01476	63.59338	42.78922	60.32787	59.43396	63.52041	48.12834	39.62025	47.69086	45.27132	47.91791
story/serial Count	15		1	15	15	1	4	6	10	6	12	85
% within		2.76753	0.23641	2.37718	2.45902	0.23585	1.02041	1.06952	1.26582	0.56550	0.93023	1.26413
sports rest Count	3		3	11	6	19	33	62	81	72	53	340
% within Year			0.70922	1.74326	0.98361	4.48113	8.41837	11.05169	10.25316	6.78605	4.10853	5.05651
phot Count	7		1	5	3	11	1	29	22	11	73	163
% within		1.29151	0.23641	0.79239	0.49180	2.59434	0.25510	5.16934	2.78481	1.03676	5.65891	2.42415
rec/ Count	1		2	10	15	3		7	6	13	19	76
% within		0.18450	0.47281	1.58479	2.45902	0.70755		1.24777	0.75949	1.22526	1.47287	1.13028
APPENDIX I 1 Count	542		423	631	610	424	392	561	790	1061	1290	6724
% within		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
joke/small Count	54	12	71	24	7	1	6	5	12	65
% within	9.96310	2.83688	11.25198	3.93443	1.65094	0.25510	1.06952	0.63291	1.13101	5.03876
%not	90.03690	97.16312	88.74802	96.06557	98.34906	99.74490	98.93048	99.36709	98.86899	94.96124

chi sq comp 1930

proportion of jokes in 1930 is higher in the other year except 1910

(difference of proportions)

0.68337

0.00775

1.00000

0.02058

0.00238

0.00050

0.00127

0.00078

0.00136

0.04928

APPENDIX 12 NEWSPAPER BY SHAPE: PERCENT AND FREQUENCY

Paper	Shape	article	competition	editorial	joke/small humorous story	letters	notice	poem/quote/m or	report	story/serial	sports results	photo	recipe	Total
BDN	Count	28	2	3	2	5	77	2	60	1	0	0	0	180
	% within Paper	15.6	1.1	1.7	1.1	2.8	42.8	1.1	33.3	0.6	0	0	0	100
BRP	Count	2	0	0	0	0	13	0	9	1	0	1	0	26
	% within Paper	7.7	0	0	0	0	50	0	34.6	3.8	0	3.8	0	100
BYN	Count	15	11	10	12	27	53	18	51	6	0	5	7	215
	% within Paper	7.0	5.1	4.7	5.6	12.6	24.7	8.4	23.7	2.8	0	2.3	3.3	100
CH	Count	147	0	1	4	48	156	5	733	9	95	35	10	1243
	% within Paper	11.8	0	0.1	0.3	3.9	12.6	0.4	59.0	0.7	7.6	2.8	0.8	100
DEV	Count	24	0	0	1	1	11	0	38	0	0	20	1	96
	% within Paper	25	0	0	1.0	1.0	11.5	0	39.6	0	0	20.8	1.0	100
HT	Count	210	2	5	77	29	60	39	786	24	81	34	18	1365
	% within Paper	15.4	0.1	0.4	5.6	2.1	4.4	2.9	57.6	1.8	5.9	2.5	1.3	100
IS	Count	56	3	7	18	69	231	23	88	16	16	2	5	534
	% within Paper	10.5	0.6	1.3	3.4	12.9	43.3	4.3	16.5	3.0	3.0	0.4	0.9	100
KINC	Count	4	0	2	0	10	6	0	122	0	19	11	0	174
	% within Paper	2.3	0	1.1	0	5.7	3.4	0	70.1	0	10.9	6.3	0	100
KINN	Count	62	1	0	47	28	17	10	417	16	55	6	5	664
	% within Paper	9.3	0.2	0	7.1	4.2	2.6	1.5	62.8	2.4	8.3	0.9	0.8	100
LP	Count	16	0	3	0	4	29	0	35	1	0	0	1	89
	% within Paper	18.0	0	3.4	0	4.5	32.6	0	39.3	1.1	0	0	1.1	100
NEA	Count	444	3	0	41	60	160	15	545	6	60	35	12	1381
	% within Paper	32.2	0.2	0	3.0	4.3	11.6	1.1	39.5	0.4	4.3	2.5	0.9	100
RMR	Count	7	4	0	42	1	3	3	13	1	0	1	3	78
	% within Paper	9.0	5.1	0	53.8	1.3	3.8	3.8	16.7	1.3	0	1.3	3.8	100
SH	Count	15	0	0	1	6	9	1	23	1	0	4	6	66
	% within Paper	22.7	0	0	1.5	9.1	13.6	1.5	34.8	1.5	0	6.1	9.1	100
VEC	Count	21	1	4	6	18	42	3	67	3	3	0	2	170
	% within Paper	12.4	0.6	2.4	3.5	10.6	24.7	1.8	39.4	1.8	1.8	0	1.2	100
WT	Count	42	1	1	2	28	39	5	229	0	10	9	6	372
	% within Paper	11.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	7.5	10.5	1.3	61.6	0	2.7	2.4	1.6	100
ZN	Count	1	0	0	4	1	57	1	6	0	1	0	0	71
	% within Paper	1.4	0	0	5.6	1.4	80.3	1.4	8.5	0	1.4	0	0	100

Paper	Shape	article	competition	editorial	joke/small humorous story	letters	notice	poem/quote/m or	report	story/serial	sports results	photo	recipe	Total
Total	Count	1094	28	36	257	335	963	125	3222	85	340	163	76	6724
	% within Paper	16.3	0.4	0.5	3.8	5.0	14.3	1.9	47.9	1.3	5.1	2.4	1.1	100

APPENDIX I 3 NEWSPAPER BY PHOTO SHAPE

	Article and photo	Photo only	Report and photo	Total proportion	No photo	Total
BDN				.00	100	100
BRP	3.8		3.8	7.7	92.3	100
BYN	0.9	1.4	2.3	4.7	95.3	100
CH	0.8	2.0	4.1	6.9	93.1	100
DEV	16.7	4.2	13.5	34.4	65.6	100
HT	0.1	2.3	4.3	7.8	93.2	100
IS		0.4		.4	99.6	100
KINC	5.7	0.6	9.2	15.5	84.5	100
KINN	0.2	0.8	1.4	2.3	97.7	100
LP				0.0	100.0	100
NEA	1.0	1.5	0.9	3.5	96.5	100
RMR		1.3		1.3	98.7	100
SH	19.7	4.5	12.1	36.4	63.6	100
VEC				0.0	100.0	100
WT		2.4	36.0	38.4	61.6	100
ZN				0.0	100.0	100
Total	1.0	1.6	4.6		92.8	100

APPENDIX J

Tone

- Tone by shape by year
- Tone by year by paper

APPENDIX J TONE BY SHAPE BY YEAR

		critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
1910 Shape	article	3.2	0.8	9.3	73.0		13.7		100
	competition				100.0				100
	joke/small humorous story		98.1					1.9	100
	letters	12.5		25.0	25.0	18.8	18.8		100
	notice				92.9		4.8	2.4	100
	poem/quote/morale		5.9	5.9	47.1		23.5	17.6	100
	report			0.7	87.2	0.7	9.9	1.4	100
	story/serial		6.7		80.0			13.3	100
	photo				42.9		14.3	42.9	100
	recipe				100.0				100
	Total	1.8	10.5	5.4	68.6	0.7	10.7	2.2	100
	1920 Shape	article	16.7	7.4	7.4	46.3		22.2	
competition			75.0		8.3			16.7	100
joke/small humorous story		50.0		5.6	22.2	5.6	16.7		100
letters			5.0		91.7		3.3		100
notice					100.0				100
poem/quote/morale		1.5	0.7	3.0	79.9	2.2	11.9	0.7	100
report					100.0				100
story/serial					100.0				100
photo					100.0				100
recipe					50.0		50.0		100
Total		5.2	4.3	3.1	73.0	1.7	11.8	0.9	100
1930 Shape		article	3.5	6.9	4.9	63.9	0.7	18.8	1.4
	competition				100.0				100
	joke/small humorous story		95.8					4.2	100
	letters	26.7		26.7	20.0	13.3	6.7	6.7	100
	notice		1.7		88.1		8.5	1.7	100
	poem/quote/morale			3.3	86.7		10.0		100
	report	0.7	0.4	1.9	80.0	0.4	15.9	0.7	100
	story/serial		6.7		80.0			13.3	100
	sports results				90.9		9.1		100
	photo		20.0		20.0			60.0	100
	recipe				80.0		10.0	10.0	100
	Total	1.7	13.0	2.7	66.7	0.6	12.8	2.4	100
1940 Shape	article	3.4	2.5	4.2	74.8	0.8	13.4	0.8	100
	competition				100.0				100
	editorial			100.0					100
	joke/small humorous story		83.3					16.7	100
	letters	9.1			63.6	9.1	18.2		100
	notice				86.8		7.9	5.3	100
	poem/quote/morale		33.3		33.3		22.2	11.1	100
	report	0.5	0.3	0.5	84.8	1.6	11.7	0.5	100

		critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
	letters	22.7	3.0	18.2	25.8	10.6	19.7		100
	notice	0.7	0.7	0.7	84.9		13.0		100
	poem/quote/ morale				66.7			33.3	100
	report	3.2		3.5	67.1	1.0	24.9	0.3	100
	story/serial		10.0		70.0		20.0		100
	sports results				93.8		6.2		100
	photo		4.5		31.8		63.6		100
	recipe						66.7	33.3	100
Total		3.8	0.8	3.4	68.1	1.3	21.1	1.5	100
1990 Shape	article	2.9	1.4	4.3	50.7	2.9	37.7		100
	competition				33.3		33.3	33.3	100
	editorial						100.0		100
	joke/small humorous story		8.3				8.3	83.3	100
	letters	17.5	1.0	15.5	34.0	10.7	20.4	1.0	100
	notice	1.2	0.8	0.8	86.3		10.0	0.8	100
	poem/quote/ morale				28.6		19.0	52.4	100
	report	1.8	0.2	1.2	58.5	1.6	36.2	0.6	100
	story/serial			16.7	66.7		16.7		100
	sports results			1.4	93.1		5.6		100
	photo				54.5		45.5		100
	recipe		7.7		53.8		30.8	7.7	100
Total		3.0	0.7	2.7	62.7	2.0	26.2	2.7	100
2000 Shape	article	2.3		2.3	53.0		41.7	0.8	100
	competition		7.7		7.7			84.6	100
	editorial	20.0		6.7	26.7	6.7	40.0		100
	joke/small humorous story		3.1				6.2	90.8	100
	letters	18.1		12.5	26.4	4.2	38.9		100
	notice	0.5		0.5	77.9	0.9	13.5	6.8	100
	poem/quote/ morale		13.3		13.3		26.7	46.7	100
	report	0.3	0.3	1.5	64.6	2.1	30.8	0.3	100
	story/serial			8.3	58.3		25.0	8.3	100
	sports results				100.0				100
	photo				42.5	4.1	53.4		100
	recipe			5.3	26.3		26.3	42.1	100
Total		1.7	0.7	1.9	57.7	1.6	27.8	8.6	100

APPENDIX J 2 TONE BY YEAR BY PAPER

% within Year

Paper	Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total	
BDN	Tone	critical							2.7			1.7	
		humorous									2.6	0.6	
		mediatory							4.5	3.3		3.3	
		neutral							66.7	86.7	64.1	69.4	
		positive							22.5	10.0	33.3	22.8	
									3.6			2.2	
Total								100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
BRP	Tone	neutral									53.8	53.8	
		positive									46.2	46.2	
	Total										100.0	100.0	
BYN	Tone	critical								5.3	3.9	4.2	
		humorous								1.1	1.9	1.4	
		mediatory								7.4	3.9	5.1	
		neutral							94.1	60.0	45.6	55.8	
		negative								1.1	1.0	0.9	
	positive							5.9	12.6	22.3	16.7		
									12.6	21.4	15.8		
Total								100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
CH	Tone	critical		4.3	3.4			1.1	2.2	9.0	2.1	2.3	
		humorous			0.7	0.7		1.1		1.0		0.5	
		mediato	4.1		2.7	1.4	3.0		1.1	1.5	1.0	2.1	1.9
		neutral	83.8	79.8	75.7	83.7	84.8	81.2	82.4	72.1	62.0	59.9	75.7
		negative			0.7	0.7					1.0	3.1	0.7
	positive	8.1	16.0	15.5	10.6	8.1	17.4	14.3	24.3	26.0	32.3	17.8	
		4.1		1.4	2.8	2.0	1.4				0.5	1.2	
Total			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
DEV	Tone	neutral									57.3	57.3	
		positive									41.7	41.7	
	Total										100.0	100.0	
HT	Tone	critical	1.5	3.0	1.4	1.6				0.9		1.2	
		humoroi	1.5	1.5	1.0	0.4							0.7
		mediato	1.9	6.7	1.9	1.6		1.7	2.2	0.9	2.7	2.3	
		neutral	68.9	71.6	63.9	78.1		61.3	48.9	62.7	74.0	69.2	
		negative	1.5	3.0	0.5	2.7		5.0	6.7	0.9	0.4	2.0	
	positive	10.4	11.9	15.4	7.4		31.9	42.2	34.5	22.0	17.5		
		14.4	2.2	15.9	8.2					0.9	7.2		
Total			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
IS	Tone	critical					1.7		9.3	5.3	5.6	4.7	
		humorous					1.7		1.2		2.4	0.9	
		mediatory					1.7	4.2	4.7	4.1	4.0	3.9	
		neutral					69.5	78.9	66.3	64.1	37.1	61.4	
		negative					1.7	3.2		0.6	0.8	1.1	
	positive					22.0	12.6	16.3	21.8	37.9	23.0		
						1.7	1.1	2.3	4.1	12.1	4.9		
Total							100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
KINC	Tone	critical								2.2		1.1	
		mediatory								2.2	2.4	2.3	
		neutral								64.8	61.4	63.2	
		negative								7.7	7.2	7.5	
		positive								23.1	28.9	25.9	
Total									100.0	100.0	100.0		
KINN	Tone	critical		1.5	0.8				2.1			0.6	
		humorous			0.8	3.0		1.9	3.1			1.4	
		mediatory			0.8	1.0	1.6		10.4			2.1	

Paper	Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
	neutral		77.6	56.9	82.2	85.7	68.3	70.5	61.5			69.9
	negative		1.5	0.8		2.0	4.1	8.6	3.1			3.0
	positive		10.4	8.9	7.9	12.2	26.0	19.0	17.7			15.2
			9.0	30.9	5.9				2.1			7.8
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			100.0
LP	Tone neutral										69.7	69.7
	negative										1.1	1.1
	positive										28.1	28.1
											1.1	1.1
	Total										100.0	100.0
NEA	Tone critical	3.0	10.2	1.3	2.7	1.7	2.8	1.0	1.6	2.4	0.8	2.8
	humorous		6.3	6.6	3.6	0.6					0.8	1.7
	mediato	10.6	3.1	5.3	0.9	0.6	1.4	1.0	3.2	5.5	0.8	3.6
	neutral	65.2	67.2	66.4	67.9	78.5	74.5	65.7	71.2	64.6	63.0	68.7
	negative		1.6	0.7			0.7	6.9	1.6	4.7	4.2	1.7
	positive	12.1	9.4	9.9	23.2	10.2	20.6	21.6	22.4	22.0	29.4	17.2
		9.1	2.3	9.9	1.8	8.5		3.9		0.8	0.8	4.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
RMR	Tone humorous										1.3	1.3
	neutral										19.2	19.2
	positive										9.0	9.0
											70.5	70.5
	Total										100.0	100.0
SH	Tone critical										7.6	7.6
	humorous										1.5	1.5
	mediatory										4.5	4.5
	neutral										56.1	56.1
	positive										27.3	27.3
											3.0	3.0
VEC	Total										100.0	100.0
	Tone critical								6.3		9.1	2.4
	humorous								2.1	1.6		1.2
	mediatory								2.1			0.6
	neutral							71.4	75.0	77.4	90.9	75.9
	positive							8.2	14.6	21.0		14.1
								20.4				5.9
WT	Total							100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Tone critical								7.1	1.2		3.2
	humorous								0.8	1.6		1.3
	mediatory									1.2		0.8
	neutral								69.0	53.3		58.6
	negative								1.6	1.6		1.6
	positive								18.3	39.0		32.0
									3.2	2.0		2.4
ZN	Total								100.0	100.0		100.0
	Tone neutral									73.3	65.9	69.0
	positive									13.3	7.3	9.9
										13.3	26.8	21.1
										100.0	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX K

Newspaper by source

APPENDIX K NEWSPAPER BY SOURCE

Source	community	Civic/ political	correspo ndent	editor	foreign correspond- ent	reader	specialist	staff/un- acknowledged	Total
BDN	69.4	3.9		2.2	0.6	6.7	2.2	15	100
BRP	46.2					3.8	7.7	42.3	100
BYN	40.5	8.4	4.2	5.1		13	6	22.8	100
CH	3.3	0.5		0.1	0.9	3.9	1.1	90.3	100
DEV	9.4	20.8	2.1			1	4.2	62.5	100
HT	4.2	0.9	0.1	0.6	7.2	1.6	4.8	80.5	100
IS	33.7	9	0.6	2.2		11.4	4.9	38.2	100
KINC	1.7	2.3		1.1		4.6		90.2	100
KINN	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.5	2	3.8	7.7	84.5	100
LP	58.4	3.4	9	4.5		6.7	4.5	13.5	100
NEA	2.3	1.1	1.3	0.1	3.1	4	6.3	81.8	100
RMIR	9			2.6		7.7	34.6	46.2	100
SH	25.8	12.1	1.5		1.5	6.1	1.5	51.5	100
VEC	7.1	1.8		4.1		8.8	14.7	63.5	100
WT	7	4.3	4.3	1.1	0.5	14.8	0.8	67.2	100
ZN	64.8	1.4	1.4				1.4	31	100
	10.6	2.5	0.9	0.9	2.5	5.2	4.9	72.6	100

APPENDIX L

Horizon

- Source by horizon
- Horizon by paper

APPENDIX L SOURCE BY HORIZON VARIABLES

Source	Local	National	Overseas	Regional	State	Universal	Not coded	Total
Community	78.3	2.4	4.6	3	2.5	5.8	3.4	100
Civic/political	82	4.2		7.2	4.8	1.2	0.6	100
Correspondent	48.4	11.3	8.1	21	3.2	3.2	4.8	100
Editor	71.2	8.5		1.7	10.2	5.1	3.4	100
Foreign correspondent	7.1	4.1	79.9			4.7	4.1	100
Reader	72	6.1	1.7	5.5	6.6	3.7	4.3	100
Specialist	15.9	11.9	6.1	0.6	7.9	42.4	15.2	100
Staff/unacknowledged	73.7	3.9	2.9	5	4.5	4.3	5.6	100

APPENDIX L 2 HORIZON BY PAPER: FREQUENCY AND PERCENT

Paper	horizon	local	national	overseas	regional	state	universal	not relevant	Total
BDN	Count	163	3	2	2	2	4	4	180
	% within Paper	90.6	1.7	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.2	2.2	100
BRP	Count	25	0	1	0	0	0	0	26
	% within Paper	96.2	0	3.8	0	0	0	0	100
BYN	Count	149	7	5	5	5	10	34	215
	% within Paper	69.3	3.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	4.7	15.8	100
CH	Count	1047	29	25	56	48	23	15	1243
	% within Paper	84.2	2.3	2.0	4.5	3.9	1.9	1.2	100
DEV	Count	89	2	0	1	2	1	1	96
	% within Paper	92.7	2.1	0.0	1.0	2.1	1.0	1.0	100
HT	Count	711	98	178	72	70	139	97	1365
	% within Paper	52.1	7.2	13.0	5.3	5.1	10.2	7.1	100
IS	Count	405	13	1	16	25	50	24	534
	% within Paper	75.8	2.4	0.2	3.0	4.7	9.4	4.5	100
KINC	Count	155	9	3	0	7	0	0	174
	% within Paper	89.1	5.2	1.7	0	4.0	0	0	100
KINN	Count	468	31	31	3	26	53	52	664
	% within Paper	70.5	4.7	4.7	0.5	3.9	8.0	7.8	100
LP	Count	78	1	0	0	0	9	1	89
	% within Paper	87.6	1.1	0	0	0	10.1	1.1	100
NEA	Count	865	85	88	107	87	95	54	1381
	% within Paper	62.6	6.2	6.4	7.7	6.3	6.9	3.9	100
RMR	Count	11	1	1	0	1	9	55	78
	% within Paper	14.1	1.3	1.3	0.0	1.3	11.5	70.5	100
SH	Count	54	1	3	2	1	3	2	66
	% within Paper	81.8	1.5	4.5	3.0	1.5	4.5	3.0	100
VEC	Count	112	5	0	5	15	23	10	170
	% within Paper	65.9	2.9	0.0	2.9	8.8	13.5	5.9	100
WT	Count	292	10	4	44	13	0	9	372
	% within Paper	78.5	2.7	1.1	11.8	3.5	0	2.4	100
ZN	Count	55	0	0	0	1	0	15	71
	% within Paper	77.5	0	0	0	1.4	0	21.1	100
Total	Count	4679	295	342	313	303	419	373	6724
	% within Paper	69.6	4.4	5.1	4.7	4.5	6.2	5.5	100

APPENDIX M

Data from editors' interviews

Data from Interviews with Editors

Data were gathered through telephone interviews with editors of the sample community newspapers. Two types of data were assembled from the interviews: (a) information on the newspaper's background, production methods, staff and local area geography presented in Appendix x; and (b) qualitative data in response to six open ended-questions as follows. A synthesis of responses is presented in this section, including extracts from selected interviews.

1 & 2. How and why did the paper start?

The editors confirm that community newspapers start for many reasons, though the singular main purpose is a strong desire to communicate local information. For example, the *Valley and East Coast Voice* at St Marys began in 1964 with a small group of nurses and staff at the local hospital enjoying a 'hilarious' series of events and wishing there was an avenue for the whole community to share their mirth:

Thirty-six years ago a group of ladies at the hospital, I think we had two visiting nurse all got together and our typist at the hospital and put a few articles and bits together. That secretary of 36 years ago is still involved.

The editor of the *Bruny News* remembers that the newspaper commenced as the 'brainchild' of a local councillor with the intention of informing people what was happening on the island, but more specifically to inform people about the 'Cottage Co-op' that had recently started. An extract from the first page of the first issue reads:

The birth of a new era on Bruny
Through the *Bruny News* we hope to create vital interest in our island and to encourage locals and visitors alike to realise the potential of this island paradise (October 19, 1980, p.1).

In 1954, the editor of the *Western Tiers* Editor was a fifteen year old who remembered a local weekly publication 'The Deloraine Mail that was in existence for 18 months.

I can remember how much I looked forward to it coming out every Saturday morning and I know from that how much people wanted a local paper and I put that in the back of my mind. When, I came back to Mole Creek as principal in 1980 I had that in mind and after a few months I sent out a notice saying the ads would be cheap, and the paper started. The reason was that I could see so many benefits in the community sharing its news.

The *St Helens Herald*, was started in 1998 because there was no avenue for local information and the editor saw it as an attempt to bring local public information together. The 'how' was a small group of two who acted as editor and typesetter assisted by members of the History Room.

The birth of it came out of a group meeting on health issues. At the meeting I said, 'It's a waste of time talking about health here, what is needed here is more information, what we need is a broad sheet'. Someone else said, 'well you better start it' and I did.

Building positive attitude in a difficult period was one of the chief reasons the *Brid re Port* commenced. Its' editor remembers:

The Bridport 2000 committee started the paper because they wanted to get all the community news in one paper. A lot of people didn't read the weekly local paper so they wanted something on Bridport only. At that time the town was in a little bit of a slump and they wanted positive things happening in the town and they thought that through this little newspaper they could have all the positive things that were happening in the town. At the time ship building in the town had stopped and there was a little bit of gloom and doom.

3. What involvement and contribution does the community makes to the paper?

There are three major areas of involvement and contributions from the community to their local paper: production team/staff; contribution to letters and voluntary segments; feedback and advertising. The production 'team' of the *Island News* comprises of 26 members of the island's community. The team assembles for two days each fortnight to carry out the various tasks, and their positions are rotated every few months.

The editor of the *Bruny News* considers the community contribution to the paper as huge:

Well, let me put it this way, we are always struggling to fit everything into the pages. We really don't have to go out looking for anything. People email, council send notices. Someone commented that they had never heard of a community newspaper where you had to hold over articles till the next edition. Contributions come in from everywhere, not only the locals. If Forestry have something to say about what they are doing down here they send us things. We have had people send us things on weed management that are interested in the environment, and most of us are. People can write in and express their opinion. Then we have an arts group that contribute monthly.

Similarly, when asked about the involvement and contribution that the community makes to the papers, the editor of the *Circular Head Chronicle* replied:

They own it. The *Chronicle* has become an integral part of the local community as a source of information and an avenue to get messages out into the district. Everyone is interested in it, in hearing about what's happening, about people and their successes. The paper is fuelled by the community, by its input and its support. There's rarely a day goes by when a local resident doesn't phone in with a story idea or an event which needs to be covered ... even a criticism or 10!

The editor of the *Western Tiers*, who did retire in 2000, considered local community contribution to the running of the paper was enormous. He encouraged members of the community to contributed articles, stories and reports. He felt the difference between other community newspapers of similar production size, and the *Western Tiers* was the style of writing and non emphasis on professional journalism. Contributions were inserted relatively unchanged. 'Nothing made me happier than to have a front page story not written by me'.

In contrast to the *Western Tier*, not all community newspapers thrive on community input and can be built on individual or small group endeavours. When asked this question the editor of the *Brid re Port* felt:

probably very little. Probably a little bit disappointing that more people don't contribute. Probably everything I get I chase up. It's a little bit a sign of the times. Every one wants the paper and someone said why don't you have a big one like Lilydale.'

A number of editors felt the main contributions from community took the form of feedback. The editor of the *Devonport Times* sees this as a central role the community plays in the paper.

‘Feedback is the chief contribution the community makes to the *Devonport Times* and tips on articles’ (Editor, *Devonport Times*).

4. What is the role of the paper in the community?

While the major role of community newspapers is to inform as noted in interview data from question 1, the degree and shape of information and how broadly it is gathered varied enormously. The variety of each paper’s content and the shape it is presented in is tied to the role the paper played in the community. Interviews with editors initially identify major roles played by community newspapers followed by a number of lesser but also most significant roles. Editors identify the roles the papers perform in their communities are:

- Report the local
- Act as a voice of the people
- Act as a lobby for community opinion and action
- non- investigative-(seen as detrimental)
- Report the positive and build positive attitude
- Created balance through fair reporting
- Engender community spirit
- Act as a notice board
- Care for community through staff/ community contact
- Educate

The editor of the *Circular Head Chronicle* felt the paper played two major roles, though in the interview went on to mention several smaller roles.

Firstly, to report on current issues and events, local achievements and local identities. People in the area love seeing and hearing of what others are doing, and the who’s who of local organisations and programs. Secondly, the paper is a voice for the community of Circular Head. The *Chronicle* has played a role in swaying decisions such as the recent sealing of the Arthur River Road to ensure fruition of Hydro Tasmania’s historic wind farm at Woolnorth. The paper was also active in speaking out against a proposed council amalgamation for Circular Head, and no services were lost as a result.

It is worthy of noting that the paper is not an investigative newspaper and if it were, would probably be detrimental to the local community. It is generally a portrayal of positive events in the area, although the paper is not afraid of controversial issues and will address them when needed.

Giving a balance to issues in the community as a role emerged from the interview with the editor of the *Huon Times*. She saw that the paper’s role is to distribute the news and let people know what is happening to share news; it is the voice of the people through letters to the editors, Naturally we have issues that people get upset about but people from both sides of the argument have said we are fair.... We don’t aim to show our own opinion’.

Also emphasising balance, the editor of the *North Eastern Advertiser* suggests one of the major difference between a daily newspaper and a weekly community newspaper is that

'every you walk outside your office every one knows who you are. It is important to be fair and get both sides of the story wherever possible'.

A further significant role that the editors identify is the building of community spirit. Two examples follow. When asked this question the editor, of the *Devonport Times* replied:

It might sound a little bit trite but I've always thought Devonport lacked a soul and I'm hoping the magazine has put something of a soul back into the city. From the comments from people that's the general feeling.

The editor of the *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo* sees the central role of the paper as a communication that lifts and maintains community spirit in an area formerly suffering from problems of isolation and severe de-popularization. The paper focuses on humour, local community identity stories, creative efforts of local members such as poems and writings, as well as communicating local notices and events.

Reflecting narrower roles that some of the smaller community newspapers play in their communities such as the *Bagdad Times* in 2000, the Editor of the *Brid re Port* considers the paper's main role:

to keep people informed of up and coming events in the town. It's more a notice board. I have introduced business profiles and people profiles.

One now unusual role carried out by a paper could be described as communications of a first hand nature. The editor of the *Valley and East Coast Voice* considers most valuable is the contact and communication with the older and house-bound members of the community through paper deliveries to all the homes by paper boys or girls.

Added to the list given earlier of what is the role of the paper in the community, the editor of the *Western Tiers* lists a number of roles he sees the paper undertaking:

- historian , 'by looking back, the paper has preserved huge amounts of history
- news breaker
- watchdog in the community
- mouthpiece for many groups
- spread council news
- influence public opinion
- a forum for groups and individuals to the whole community

Community cohesion has been achieved in a number of ways through the publication of the *Western Tiers*. Some of the examples the editor gives are that the paper acknowledged people who contributed to the community and this in turn 'spurred on others'. The paper had built bridges between the older settlers and farmers, and the newcomers, through articles. He also described approaching all the principals of the district to contribute a page from each school to the newspaper. This too had developed great social interaction between principals and schools as well as building pride and sense of identity within the schools themselves.

While school events and committee notices were included in the *Western Tiers*, the school children were encouraged to write and publish literary efforts and articles. This focus on the local paper as a teaching and learning tool had also occurred in the *Bagdad News* in the 1980s where school children as part of their curriculum were encouraged to develop both writing skills and confidence. Both the *Western Tiers* and the *Bagdad News* papers maintained an important and direct role in education.

5. What is the role of the editor/ coordinator and others in the paper?

Editors/coordinators of community newspapers, both voluntary and commercial appear to be multi-skilled. They undertake journalistic, photographic and managerial practice and act as censor, motivator and visionary. Interviews with editors of commercial community newspapers indicated that many of their journalistic and managerial practices are similar to those of daily newspapers.

The commercial community newspapers, that is, the three oldest community newspapers and the *Devonport Times* had certain similarities in the structure of the roles undertaken by their editors. They were one person full-time productions accompanied by some part-time staff. All appeared to be the main news coordinator and business manager. The three older papers also maintained printeries and staff from these second enterprises who either volunteered or worked part-time on production of the paper. The editor of the *Circular Head Chronicle* outlines her role as:

The news editor generates news for the paper and is the main journalist and photographer. In many cases, she is the face of the paper and can hardly walk up a street in Smithton without someone stopping here to give a story idea or criticism. There is another part-time journalist and graphic designer who doubles as a photographer, and they receive similar treatment from the community. In a small newspaper, employees do what they have to get the news. Each works together to get the job done, and that can be from sourcing information to getting the news and laying out the newspapers itself (sub-editing).

One lesser mentioned editor's role came to light when the editor of the *Western Tiers* was asked about community contributions. His reply reflected on the role of the editor in identity building. 'What I did was to match a person to something I thought they would be good at, and that needed doing'.

A different perspective was noted in some of the smaller sized papers revealing a narrower range of contributions and a heavier load on individual editor/coordinator. The Editor, *Brid re Port* feels that:

The editor does it all. A coordinator helps from online centre. The editor gathers all news and advertising.

The role of the editor as censor was an interesting role that emerged in a number of the interviews. 'Sometimes people give us things that you can't quite put in...you have to censor them a little bit' (Editor, *Rossarden Mountain Re-echo*). When commenting about letters to the editor in the *Huon Times* the editor suggested that there were forestry and environmental issues in the area that people get upset about. 'We don't want to have divisions in the community. People from both sides contribute'. While there was little change to contributions generally, the editor of the *Western Tiers* saw necessary some changes 'on the odd occasion, to tone things down a bit'.

The editor of the *Bruny New* sees her role as censor as a major role relating to community understanding and empathy.

Well I get the final say on what goes in. If I think something is not quite right or in the wrong context, and being someone who has had ties with the island (third generation) I know the history. We have three other people on the staff; two are virtually newcomers to the island, and one older member. We

People would miss the friendly, somewhat informal newspaper to keep them updated on what's happening in their neck of the woods. Country newspapers have a vital role. They feed people with the information not published in larger newspaper such as the *Advocate* (daily newspaper in Tasmania based in Burnie). They talk about people, about life in their area, and allow community groups the opportunity to get their message out, even if it is about a country fete, an over-sized pumpkin, or a bull ride that is happening at one of the local schools.

The importance of papers as historian, archivist and identity keeper was strongly noted throughout the interviews. The editor of the *Huon Times* suggests a major loss of history in answer to this question.

The paper is a way of recording things. People come and ask if they can look at back issues; they are looking back at when someone passed away, a sports record. Something that reports the past is a segment 25, 75 Years Ago and the sections creates a great deal of interest.

After considering the question on its absence or cessation, the editor of the *Bruny News* emphasised the importance of the paper as a network for local communications:

I think the community would be much poorer for it and there would be limited distribution of information. It just wouldn't get around. They all get something out of it. They often ring us if sometime the printer puts out job on hold and ask 'when is the *Bruny News* coming out I really need to know what is happening next month'.

The editor *Brid re Port* reflected on the purpose of the paper's production and its possible achievement in reply to this question:

Town has absolutely boomed since its commencement in 1998; don't know how much it relates. The paper reflects a little bit of everything happening in the community, school sports. It's nothing elaborate but the papers disappear.

Summary

Interviews from editors of the sample community newspapers confirmed the broad variations in the circumstances that bring community and publication together, yet all with the same purpose, to inform the community about local specific information. The interviews bring to light the number of different modes of integrated social organization involved in commencing and maintaining production of local community newspapers. Community contribution to the papers ranges from, initiating and producing the local paper, to voluntary contributions maintaining columns, and more general letters, feedback and ideas. While the roles played by the community papers in their community do vary, the editors' interviews show consensus that the respective papers contribute to community cohesion and identity through both their presence and content. In many cases identity building was through a specific emphasis on recording and describing local history. A major theme emerging from the interviews with editors was focusing on the positive. Had papers not come into production, or ceased operation, editors interviewed presented accounts of community networks, and other social and material achievements, that would not be in existence.

Cross tabulations with year

- Year by paper by subject
- Year by paper by social issue
- Year by paper by shape
- Year by paper by source
- Year by paper by tone
- Year by paper by horizon
- Year by paper by size
- Year by paper by photo shape
- Year by format by size
- Year by source by shape
- Year by source by tone
- Year by tone by subject
- Year by horizon by subject

Note: Hatching indicates subject variable's highest proportion

Year	accident/ disaster		human interest/p ersonal -																jokes/ quotes	Total
			agricultural	artistic	community	economic	education	ities	legal	medical	media	military	other	political	recreational	religious	sport			
1910	Paper	CH	12.2	5.4	14.9	5.4	27.0	5.4			1.4			5.4						
	HT	2.6	13.0	2.6	5.2	9.3	25.2	10.0	3.3		0.4	0.7		8.1		1.9		3.0	14.4	100
	NEA	3.0	9.1	5.1	21.7	6.6	20.7	1.5	1.0	0.5	0.5			2.5		4.0	1.5	8.6	13.1	100
	Total																			
1920	Paper	CH	1.1		21.3	17.0	2.1	24.5	2.1		2.1	5.3	4.3		4.3		16.0			100
	HT	16.4		3.0	17.2	2.2	28.4	3.0	0.7		0.7	3.0	10.4		3.7		8.2	2.2		100
	KINN	4.5	9.0	14.9	10.4	9.0	10.4		7.5	7.5	1.5	7.5		7.5	1.5		6.0	9.0		100
	NEA	2.3	1.6	22.7	14.8		6.3	7.8	3.9	0.8	0.8	4.7		7.0	10.2		14.1	3.9		100
1930	Total	0.7	7.6	0.5	14.9	15.4	2.6	18.0	3.8	2.6	1.2	4.7	7.6	5.4	0.5	11.3	3.3			100
	Paper	CH	8.1		12.8	12.8	0.7	23.0	4.7	1.4	0.7	3.4		4.7	6.8		16.2	1.4		100
	HT	1.0	13.0	2.4	9.6	10.6		22.1	2.4	1.9	0.5	1.9		6.7	3.8	1.4	7.2	15.4		100
	KINN		11.4	2.4	4.1	6.5	2.4	18.7		2.4	1.6	2.4		2.4	4.1	0.8	9.8	30.9		100
1940	NEA	5.9	12.5	3.3	17.8	17.1		5.3	3.9	0.7		2.6		10.5	5.9		5.9	8.6		100
	Total	1.7		2.1	11.3	11.9	0.6	17.6	2.9	1.6	0.6	2.5		6.3	5.1	1.4	9.5	13.5		100
	Paper	CH	0.7	6.4	0.7	24.1	6.4	0.7	21.3	3.5		2.8	6.4		5.7	7.1		9.9	2.8	100
	HT	1.2	9.4	0.8	12.1	11.3	0.8	22.7	0.8	5.5		9.4	4.3		2.7	4.3	0.4	6.3	8.2	100
1950	KINN		7.9	9.9	14.9	5.9	1.0	24.8		5.0		4.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	1.0	9.9	5.9		100
	NEA		8.0	2.7	21.4	19.6	1.8	8.0		2.7	0.9	5.4	2.7	6.3	9.8	0.9	8.0	1.8		100
	Total	0.7	8.2	2.6	17.0	10.8	1.0	20.0	1.1	3.3	0.2	3.3	4.1	4.4	5.7	0.8	8.0	5.4		100
	Paper	CH	2.0		18.7	13.1	1.5	23.7	2.0			4.0	1.5		9.1	5.1	2.5	15.2	1.5	100
1960	KINN		8.2		24.5	28.6		6.1		4.1				2.0		2.0	24.5			100
	NEA	4.0	11.9	1.7	18.1	8.5	0.6	19.2	1.1	4.5	0.6	1.1		7.9	3.4		9.0	8.5		100
	Total	1.7	6.8	0.7	19.1	13.0	0.9	19.8	1.4	2.4	2.1	1.2	1.2	3.4	3.8	1.4	13.7	4.2		100
	Paper	CH	2.9		27.5	5.8		17.4			1.4			5.8	2.9		36.2			100
1970	IS	5.1	5.1		35.6	10.2		16.9			3.4	1.7	1.7		1.7		5.1	11.9	1.7	100
	KINN	0.8	12.2		19.5	24.4	5.7	7.3	1.6	1.6	1.6	3.3	4.1		16.3		1.6	16.3		100
	NEA	1.4	9.2		23.4	9.9	3.5	12.1	2.1	0.7		2.1	2.8		18.4		2.1	18.4		100
	Total	2.0	7.9		24.7	13.8	3.1	12.2	1.3	0.8	1.3	1.0	2.0	3.6	5.1	2.0	19.9	0.3		100
1970	Paper	CH			22.0	9.9	1.1	19.8	2.2			2.2	4.4		2.2		3.3	29.7		100
	HT	0.8	4.2		16.8	16.8	2.5	22.7		1.7		1.7		1.7	0.8		2.5	27.7		100

[illegible]

Year	human interest/personal -														jokes/quotes		Total
	accident/disaster	agricultural	artistic	community	economic	education	ities	legal	medical	media	military	other	political	recreational	religious	sport	
KINC		3.6		24.1	22.9	1.2	10.8		1.2			1.2	13.3	2.4		19.3	100
LP			1.1	64.0	1.1	5.6	13.5		5.6			2.2				5.6	100
NEA	0.8	4.2	2.5	16.0	14.3	3.4	8.4	2.5	4.2		0.8	0.8	5.0	4.2	0.8	31.1	100
RMR				9.0			12.8		6.4							1.3	70.5
SH	1.5	1.5		33.3	13.6		10.6	1.5	6.1				15.2	10.6		3.0	100
VEC				27.3			27.3	9.1					9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	100
ZN				70.7		12.2	7.3							7.3		2.4	100
Total	0.4	3.6	0.8	32.3	9.9	3.6	9.7	1.8	2.9	0.2	0.6	1.2	15.5	2.9	1.4	15.5	7.3

APPENDIX N 2 YEAR BY PAPER BY SOCIAL ISSUES

Year	Social Issues	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/ hunger/p overty	philanthropic and social service	Health/public/ personal safety	time and leisure	not soc issues	Total
1910 Paper	CH	1.4	6.8			1.4			1.4				89.2	100
	HT	3.0	5.2				0.4	0.4	0.4		0.7	0.4	89.3	100
	NEA		0.5				0.5				0.5		98.5	100
	Total	1.7	3.7			0.2	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.2	92.6	100
1920 Paper	CH		3.2		1.1							1.1	94.7	100
	HT		6.0									0.7	93.3	100
	KINN								1.5				98.5	100
	NEA	2.3	0.8	0.8	1.6		4.7		2.3		0.8		86.7	100
1930 Paper	Total	0.7	2.8	0.2	0.7		1.4	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.5	92.4	100
	CH	2.0					0.7		0.7			0.7	93.9	100
	HT		1.0				5.3	1.4			0.5	2.9	88.9	100
	KINN		4.1				0.8						95.1	100
1940 Paper	NEA	1.3	1.3		0.7		1.3		0.7	0.7	1.3	1.3	91.4	100
	Total	0.8	1.9		0.2		2.4	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.5	1.4	91.9	100
	CH	1.4	1.4						2.1		2.1		92.9	100
	HT	0.4		1.2	0.4		1.2			0.8		1.2	94.9	100
1950 Paper	KINN		2.0			1.0	1.0			2.0		1.0	93.1	100
	NEA		0.9	0.9			3.6	1.8		1.8	5.4	6.3	79.5	100
	Total	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.2	1.3	0.3	0.5	1.0	1.5	1.8	91.3	100
	CH	0.5	1.0				0.5				1.0	1.0	94.9	100
1960 Paper	KINN		8.2			1.0							85.7	100
	NEA	0.6			0.6	0.6	1.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	4.5	1.7	88.7	100
	Total	0.5	1.4		0.2	0.7	0.9	0.2	0.2	0.2	3.1	1.2	91.3	100
	CH										1.4		98.6	100
1970 Paper	IS		1.7		1.7				1.7	1.7	1.7		91.5	100
	KINN	0.8	6.5			0.8	2.4			1.6	3.3	0.8	83.7	100
	NEA		1.4		1.4	2.8	0.7	0.7	0.7		1.4	0.7	90.1	100
	Total	0.3	2.8		0.8	1.3	1.0	0.3	0.5	0.8	2.0	0.5	89.8	100
1980 Paper	CH		2.2			1.1	3.3			1.1	4.4	3.3	84.6	100
	HT		1.7			0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8		1.7	1.7	92.4	100
	IS	1.1				1.1					1.1		96.8	100
	KINN	1.0	3.8										95.2	100
1990 Paper	NEA	2.0			1.0	2.0	1.0		1.0		2.9	1.0	89.2	100
	VEC										4.1		95.9	100
	Total	0.7	1.4		0.2	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.2	2.1	1.1	92.2	100

Year	Social Issues	crime	command over goods and services	disability	environment	education and learning	employment and quality of working life	human/land rights	housing/hunger/poverty	philanthropic and social service	Health/public/ personal safety	time and leisure	not soc issues	Total
1980 Paper														
BDN						3.6			0.9	3.6	5.4	0.9	85.6	100
BYN							5.9			5.9	5.9		82.4	100
CH			2.2		1.5	0.7							94.9	100
HT			4.4		2.2		4.4			4.4			82.2	100
IS					2.3						7.0	4.7	86.0	100
KINN			4.2		1.0						2.1		92.7	100
NEA			5.6			0.8	0.8			7.2	5.6	1.6	78.4	100
VEC					2.1								97.9	100
WT						5.6					0.8	1.6	92.1	100
Total			2.0		0.9	1.6	0.5		0.1	2.0	3.2	1.1	88.5	100
1990 Paper														
BDN									6.7	3.3			90.0	100
BYN									1.1		1.1	1.1	96.8	100
CH				1.0		2.0	1.0			1.0	6.0	1.0	88.0	100
HT		0.9	2.7			1.8				4.5	0.9		89.1	100
IS		0.6			5.9	0.6	2.9	2.4	1.8		6.5	10.0	69.4	100
KINC			2.2							1.1			96.7	100
NEA			7.9			0.8			2.4			2.4	86.6	100
VEC									4.8				95.2	100
WT		0.4			0.8	0.4		0.4	0.4	1.2	3.7	1.2	91.5	100
ZN											3.3		96.7	100
Total		0.3	1.4	0.1	1.1	0.7	0.6	0.5	1.2	1.0	2.7	2.4	88.0	100
2000 Paper														
BDN					2.6	2.6				2.6		5.1	87.2	100
BRP											7.7	3.8	88.5	100
BYN				1.0						1.0	1.0		97.1	100
CH			2.1		0.5			1.6			0.5		94.8	100
DEV			1.0										93.8	100
HT			1.8			0.4			1.0	4.2			92.8	100
IS		1.6			6.5		1.3			1.8	0.4	1.3	64.5	100
KINC			2.4	0.8		1.2	2.4		4.0	2.4	10.5	7.3	88.0	100
LP						1.1	2.4			1.2		4.8	96.6	100
NEA			1.7				2.5		0.8		1.1	1.7	93.3	100
RMR						1.3							98.7	100
SH			6.1		3.0			1.5				1.5	87.9	100
VEC					9.1								90.9	100
ZN									2.4				97.6	100
Total		0.2	1.3	0.1	1.1	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.6	1.1	1.5	1.8	90.8	100

APPENDIX N 3 YEAR BY PAPER BY SHAPE

Year	Shape	article	competi tion	editorial	joke/ small humor ous story	letters	notice	poem/quote/ morale	report	story/s erial	sports results	photo	recipe	Total
1910 Paper	CH	14.9			2.7	4.1	8.1	1.4	63.5	4.1		1.4		100
	HT	43.3			12.2	3.7	7.8	4.1	24.4	3.0		1.1	0.4	100
	NEA	60.6	0.5		9.6	1.5	7.6	2.5	14.1	2.0		1.5		100
	Total	45.8	0.2		10.0	3.0	7.7	3.1	26.0	2.8		1.3	0.2	100
1920 Paper	CH	9.6				2.1	18.1		68.1		1.1		1.1	100
	HT	7.5			0.7	1.5	9.0	1.5	78.4		0.7		0.7	100
	KINN	10.4			9.0	3.0	1.5		76.1					100
	NEA	21.9			3.9	9.4	23.4	0.8	38.3	0.8	0.8	0.8		100
	Total	12.8			2.8	4.3	14.2	0.7	63.6	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.5	100
1930 Paper	CH	6.1			0.7	5.4	17.6	1.4	64.2		2.7		2.0	100
	HT	19.7	0.5		12.5	0.5	5.3	11.1	42.8	3.8	1.0	0.5	2.4	100
	KINN	15.4			28.5	3.3	6.5	2.4	34.1	4.9	3.3	1.6		100
	NEA	49.3			5.9	1.3	9.2	1.3	28.9	0.7	0.7	1.3	1.3	100
	Total	22.8	0.2		11.3	2.4	9.4	4.8	42.8	2.4	1.7	0.8	1.6	100
1940 Paper	CH	7.8			0.7	0.7	15.6		74.5	0.7				100
	HT	13.7		0.4	6.6	2.0	1.6	0.8	67.6	2.7	0.8	0.8	3.1	100
	KINN	25.7	1.0		5.0	1.0	3.0	5.9	42.6	6.9	4.0		5.0	100
	NEA	42.0			0.9	3.6	8.0	0.9	42.0			0.9	1.8	100
	Total	19.5	0.2	0.2	3.9	1.8	6.2	1.5	60.3	2.5	1.0	0.5	2.5	100
1950 Paper	CH	12.6				0.5	9.6	0.5	69.2	0.5	4.5	2.5		100
	KINN					2.0			93.9		4.1			100
	NEA	31.1	0.6		4.0	1.7	10.7	3.4	39.0		4.5	3.4	1.7	100
	Total	18.9	0.2		1.7	1.2	9.0	1.7	59.4	0.2	4.5	2.6	0.7	100
1960 Paper	CH	13.0				1.4	14.5		50.7	1.4	17.4	1.4		100
	IS	8.5			1.7	10.2	20.3		55.9	3.4				100
	KINN	1.6				2.4	0.8		84.6	0.8	9.8			100
	NEA	25.5				1.4	12.1		54.6		6.4			100
	Total	13.3			0.3	3.1	10.2		63.5	1.0	8.4	0.3		100
1970 Paper	CH	30.8				2.2	12.1		27.5	1.1	18.7	7.7		100
	HT	2.5	0.8	3.4		0.8	3.4		61.3		9.2	18.5		100
	IS	1.1	3.2	3.2		4.2	45.3		31.6	4.2	7.4			100
	KINN	3.8				2.9	1.9	1.0	71.4		19.0			100
	NEA	25.5	1.0			2.0	8.8		51.0		6.9		4.9	100
	VEC	16.3		6.1	12.2	10.2	16.3	2.0	30.6	2.0			4.1	100
	Total	12.5	0.9	1.8	1.1	3.0	13.7	0.4	48.1	1.1	11.1	5.2	1.2	100
1980 Paper	BDN	21.6	1.8	2.7	0.9	4.5	31.5	1.8	35.1					100
	BYN	5.9		5.9					41.2					100
	CH	25.0				2.9	9.6		22.8	0.7	26.5	11.0	1.5	100
	HT	2.2				2.2			80.0		15.6			100
	IS	10.5		1.2	2.3	19.8	41.9	2.3	3.5	7.0	8.1	1.2	2.3	100
	KINN	4.2			1.0	14.6	2.1		58.3	2.1	13.5	4.2		100
	NEA	16.0				8.0	16.0		52.8		7.2			100
	VEC	10.4				4.2	37.5		43.8	2.1	2.1			100
	WT	22.2	0.8	0.8	0.8	10.3	11.1	1.6	42.9		6.3	1.6	1.6	100
	Total	15.9	0.4	0.8	0.6	8.4	18.5	0.8	39.6	1.3	10.3	2.8	0.8	100
1990 Paper	BDN	6.7					73.3		20.0					100
	BYN	7.4	2.1	4.2	4.2	13.7	35.8	10.5	17.9				4.2	100
	CH	6.0				13.0	6.0		58.0	1.0	14.0		2.0	100

Year	Shape	article	competi tion	editorial	joke/ small humor ous story	letters	notice	poem/quote/ morale	report	story/s erial	sports results	photo	recipe	Total
	HT					0.9	0.9	0.9	79.1		17.3		0.9	100
	IS	9.4			1.8	14.7	59.4	2.9	7.6	2.4		0.6	1.2	100
	KINC	1.1				7.7	3.3		71.4		16.5			100
	NEA	12.6				15.0	12.6		41.7		15.7	2.4		100
	VEC	9.7	1.6			16.1	22.6	3.2	43.5	1.6	1.6			100
	WT	5.7			0.4	6.1	10.2	1.2	71.1		0.8	2.8	1.6	100
	ZN	3.3			13.3		63.3		16.7		3.3			100
	Total	6.5	0.3	0.4	1.1	9.7	22.7	2.0	47.7	0.6	6.8	1.0	1.2	100
2000	Paper	BDN				2.6		51.3	38.5	2.6				100
		BRP						50.0	34.6	3.8		3.8		100
		BYN	8.7	4.9	7.8	13.6	10.7	7.8	26.2	5.8		4.9	2.9	100
		CH	2.6	0.5		6.8	13.5	0.5	70.8		1.0	3.1	1.0	100
		DEV	25.0		1.0	1.0	11.5		39.6			20.8	1.0	100
		HT	1.3			3.6	3.1		70.4	0.4	17.5	2.7	0.9	100
		IS	20.2	2.4	9.7	13.7	31.5	12.9	7.3		1.6		0.8	100
		KINC	3.6	2.4		3.6	3.6		68.7		4.8	13.3		100
		LP	18.0	3.4		4.5	32.6		39.3	1.1			1.1	100
		NEA	17.6			2.5	9.2		50.4		4.2	16.0		100
		RMR	9.0	5.1	53.8	1.3	3.8	3.8	16.7	1.3		1.3	3.8	100
		SH	22.7		1.5	9.1	13.6	1.5	34.8	1.5		6.1	9.1	100
		VEC	18.2	9.1		9.1	18.2		36.4		9.1			100
		ZN				2.4	92.7	2.4	2.4					100
	Total	10.2	1.0	1.2	5.0	5.6	17.2	2.3	45.3	0.9	4.1	5.7	1.5	100

APPENDIX N 4 YEAR BY PAPER BY SOURCE

Year	Source	community	civic/ political	correspondent	editor	foreign correspondent	reader	specialist	staff/un- acknowledged	Total
1910 Paper	CH	23.0				4.1	4.1	6.8	62.2	100
	HT	19.3				20.0	1.1	8.1	51.5	100
	NEA	3.5	0.5	0.5		2.5	1.5	7.1	84.3	100
	Total	14.0	0.2	0.2		11.4	1.7	7.6	64.9	100
1920 Paper	CH	6.4					2.1		91.5	100
	HT	2.2	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	91.0	100
	KINN		1.5			6.0	3.0	3.0	86.6	100
	NEA	3.1	3.1			1.6	8.6	3.1	80.5	100
	Total	3.1	1.4	0.2	0.2	1.9	4.0	1.9	87.2	100
1930 Paper	CH	7.4					6.8	0.7	85.1	100
	HT	1.0	0.5		0.5	2.4	1.0	7.7	87.0	100
	KINN	0.8	1.6			2.4	2.4	10.6	82.1	100
	NEA	3.3	2.0	7.2		5.9	1.3	9.2	71.1	100
	Total	3.0	1.0	1.7	0.2	2.7	2.7	7.0	81.8	100
1940 Paper	CH		1.4			3.5		1.4	93.6	100
	HT	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.8	14.5	2.0	7.0	74.2	100
	KINN		2.0	1.0		5.0	2.0	27.7	62.4	100
	NEA	1.8	2.7	4.5		11.6		7.1	72.3	100
	Total	0.5	1.5	1.1	0.3	9.8	1.1	9.2	76.4	100
1950 Paper	CH	1.5				0.5	1.0	0.5	96.5	100
	KINN	2.0					2.0	2.0	93.9	100
	NEA	3.4	1.7			5.1	1.7	12.4	75.7	100
	Total	2.4	0.7			2.4	1.4	5.7	87.5	100
1960 Paper	CH								100.0	100
	IS	15.3	1.7				10.2	5.1	67.8	100
	KINN	0.8					3.3		95.9	100
	NEA	1.4		0.7		2.1	2.1	9.9	83.7	100
	Total	3.1	0.3	0.3		0.8	3.3	4.3	88.0	100
1970 Paper	CH		1.1			1.1	1.1		96.7	100
	HT		2.5		3.4		0.8	0.8	92.4	100
	IS	6.3	9.5		3.2		5.3	5.3	70.5	100
	KINN		1.0	1.0		1.0	1.9	4.8	90.5	100
	NEA	4.9	1.0			1.0	2.0	4.9	86.3	100
	VEC				6.1		12.2	16.3	65.3	100
	Total	2.0	2.7	0.2	1.8	0.5	3.0	4.3	85.6	100
1980 Paper	BDN	60.4	5.4		1.8		10.8	3.6	18.0	100
	BYN	94.1			5.9					100
	CH	0.7				0.7	2.9		95.6	100
	HT						2.2		97.8	100
	IS	24.4	5.8		3.5		18.6	14.0	33.7	100
	KINN				3.1		11.5	2.1	83.3	100
	NEA	0.8				0.8	6.4	1.6	90.4	100
	VEC	10.4			4.2		4.2	8.3	72.9	100
	WT	1.6	3.2	4.8	3.2		29.4		57.9	100
	Total	14.3	1.9	0.8	1.9	0.3	11.5	3.0	66.3	100
1990 Paper	BDN	90.0			6.7	3.3				100
	BYN	47.4	8.4	4.2	4.2		13.7	7.4	14.7	100
	CH	1.0					13.0		86.0	100
	HT		0.9				0.9	0.9	97.3	100
	IS	53.5	10.6	1.2			11.8	3.5	19.4	100
	KINC	1.1	2.2				6.6		90.1	100

Year	Source	community	civic/ political	correspondent	editor	foreign correspondent	reader	specialist	staff/un- acknowledged	Total
	NEA				0.8		15.0	1.6	82.7	100
	VEC	11.3	4.8		1.6		9.7	19.4	53.2	100
	WT	9.8	4.9	4.1		0.8	7.3	1.2	72.0	100
	ZN	23.3		3.3				3.3	70.0	100
	Total	19.1	4.1	1.6	0.8	0.3	9.0	3.0	62.0	100
2000	BDN	79.5	2.6						17.9	100
Paper	BRP	46.2					3.8	7.7	42.3	100
	BYN	25.2	9.7	4.9	5.8		14.6	5.8	34.0	100
	CH	1.0	1.6		0.5		6.8	2.6	87.5	100
	DEV	9.4	20.8	2.1			1.0	4.2	62.5	100
	HT		1.8				3.1	2.7	92.4	100
	IS	42.7	12.1	0.8	4.8		11.3		28.2	100
	KINC	2.4	2.4		2.4		2.4		90.4	100
	LP	58.4	3.4	9.0	4.5		6.7	4.5	13.5	100
	NEA						3.4	1.7	95.0	100
	RMR	9.0			2.6		7.7	34.6	46.2	100
	SH	25.8	12.1	1.5		1.5	6.1	1.5	51.5	100
	VEC				9.1		9.1	9.1	72.7	100
	ZN	95.1	2.4						2.4	100
	Total	19.4	5.2	1.3	1.7	0.1	5.7	4.5	62.1	100

APPENDIX N 5 YEAR BY PAPER BY TONE

Year	Tone	critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
1910 Paper	CH			4.1	83.8		8.1	4.1	100
	HT	1.5	1.5	1.9	68.9	1.5	10.4	14.4	100
	NEA	3.0		10.6	65.2		12.1	9.1	100
	Total	1.8	0.7	5.4	69.6	0.7	10.7	11.1	100
1920 Paper	CH	4.3			79.8		16.0		100
	HT	3.0	1.5	6.7	71.6	3.0	11.9	2.2	100
	KINN	1.5			77.6	1.5	10.4	9.0	100
	NEA	10.2	6.3	3.1	67.2	1.6	9.4	2.3	100
1930 Paper	Total	5.2	2.4	3.1	73.0	1.7	11.8	2.8	100
	CH	3.4	0.7	2.7	75.7	0.7	15.5	1.4	100
	HT	1.4	1.0	1.9	63.9	0.5	15.4	15.9	100
	KINN	0.8	0.8	0.8	56.9	0.8	8.9	30.9	100
1940 Paper	NEA	1.3	6.6	5.3	66.4	0.7	9.9	9.9	100
	Total	1.7	2.2	2.7	65.9	0.6	12.8	13.9	100
	CH		0.7	1.4	83.7	0.7	10.6	2.8	100
	HT	1.6	0.4	1.6	78.1	2.7	7.4	8.2	100
1950 Paper	KINN		3.0	1.0	82.2		7.9	5.9	100
	NEA	2.7	3.6	0.9	67.9		23.2	1.8	100
	Total	1.1	1.5	1.3	78.2	1.3	11.1	5.4	100
	CH	1.0	1.0	3.0	84.8		8.1	2.0	100
1960 Paper	KINN				85.7	2.0	12.2		100
	NEA	1.7	0.6	0.6	78.5		10.2	8.5	100
	Total	1.2	0.7	1.7	82.3	0.2	9.4	4.5	100
	CH				81.2		17.4	1.4	100
1970 Paper	IS	1.7	1.7	1.7	69.5	1.7	22.0	1.7	100
	KINN			1.6	68.3	4.1	26.0		100
	NEA	2.8		1.4	74.5	0.7	20.6		100
	Total	1.3	0.3	1.3	73.0	1.8	21.9	0.5	100
1980 Paper	CH	1.1	1.1	1.1	82.4		14.3		100
	HT			1.7	61.3	5.0	31.9		100
	IS			4.2	78.9	3.2	12.6	1.1	100
	KINN		1.9		70.5	8.6	19.0		100
	NEA	1.0		1.0	65.7	6.9	21.6	3.9	100
	VEC				71.4		8.2	20.4	100
	Total	0.4	0.5	1.4	71.1	4.5	19.4	2.7	100
1990 Paper	BDN	2.7		4.5	66.7		22.5	3.6	100
	BYN				94.1		5.9		100
	CH	2.2		1.5	72.1		24.3		100
	HT			2.2	48.9	6.7	42.2		100
	IS	9.3	1.2	4.7	66.3		16.3	2.3	100
	KINN	2.1	3.1	10.4	61.5	3.1	17.7	2.1	100
	NEA	1.6		3.2	71.2	1.6	22.4		100
	VEC	6.3	2.1	2.1	75.0		14.6		100
	WT	7.1	0.8		69.0	1.6	18.3	3.2	100
	Total	3.8	0.8	3.4	68.1	1.3	21.1	1.5	100
1990 Paper	BDN			3.3	86.7		10.0		100
	BYN	5.3	1.1	7.4	60.0	1.1	12.6	12.6	100
	CH	9.0	1.0	1.0	62.0	1.0	26.0		100
	HT	0.9		0.9	62.7	0.9	34.5		100
	IS	5.3		4.1	64.1	0.6	21.8	4.1	100
	KINC	2.2		2.2	64.8	7.7	23.1		100

APPENDIX N 6 YEAR BY PAPER BY HORIZON

Year	horizon	local	national	overseas	regional	state	universal	not relevant	Total
1910 Paper	CH	60.8	4.1	12.2	9.5	2.7	6.8	4.1	100
	HT	20.7	6.3	27.4	4.4	7.8	18.9	14.4	100
	NEA	44.4	3.5	6.1	8.1	4.5	24.2	9.1	100
	Total	34.9	5.0	17.5	6.5	5.9	19.2	11.1	100
1920 Paper	CH	87.2	2.1		5.3	4.3	1.1		100
	HT	30.6	13.4	17.2	17.9	6.7	11.9	2.2	100
	KINN	70.1	1.5	11.9		4.5	3.0	9.0	100
	NEA	74.2	3.9	7.8	3.1	3.1	5.5	2.3	100
1930 Paper	Total	62.6	6.1	9.7	7.8	4.7	6.1	2.8	100
	CH	83.8	2.7		2.0	6.8	3.4	1.4	100
	HT	38.9	7.2	6.7	5.3	7.2	19.2	15.4	100
	KINN	39.0	3.3	8.9	1.6	0.8	15.4	30.9	100
1940 Paper	NEA	44.1	12.5	11.2	15.1	7.2	2.0	7.9	100
	Total	50.7	6.7	6.7	6.2	5.9	10.6	13.3	100
	CH	85.8	0.7	5.7	1.4	2.1	1.4	2.8	100
	HT	36.7	12.9	23.0	2.0	5.9	11.3	8.2	100
1950 Paper	KINN	44.6	8.9	9.9		1.0	29.7	5.9	100
	NEA	42.0	7.1	19.6	17.0	9.8	2.7	1.8	100
	Total	50.3	8.4	16.2	4.3	4.9	10.5	5.4	100
	CH	91.4	1.5	1.0	2.0	0.5	1.5	2.0	100
1960 Paper	KINN	98.0	2.0						100
	NEA	58.8	5.6	10.2	6.8	4.5	6.8	7.3	100
	Total	78.5	3.3	4.7	3.8	2.1	3.5	4.0	100
	CH	97.1	1.4					1.4	100
1970 Paper	IS	89.8	1.7		1.7		5.1	1.7	100
	KINN	94.3	4.1			1.6			100
	NEA	77.3	6.4	2.8	2.8	5.7	5.0		100
	Total	88.0	4.1	1.0	1.3	2.6	2.6	0.5	100
1980 Paper	CH	90.1	2.2	1.1	5.5	1.1			100
	HT	89.9	4.2	0.8	1.7	2.5	0.8		100
	IS	88.4	2.1		1.1	3.2	4.2	1.1	100
	KINN	81.9	4.8	1.0	1.0	10.5	1.0		100
	NEA	69.6	2.9	2.0	9.8	7.8	3.9	3.9	100
	VEC	51.0			4.1	12.2	12.2	20.4	100
1990 Paper	Total	81.1	3.0	0.9	3.7	5.7	2.9	2.7	100
	BDN	88.3	2.7			1.8	3.6	3.6	100
	BYN	94.1				5.9			100
	CH	91.9	0.7	2.2	1.5	2.2	1.5		100
	HT	88.9	2.2		6.7	2.2			100
	IS	77.9	3.5		1.2	7.0	8.1	2.3	100
	KINN	81.3	6.3	1.0		8.3	1.0	2.1	100
	NEA	82.4	2.4	1.6	4.8	8.0	0.8		100
	VEC	77.1	6.3			8.3	8.3		100
	WT	81.7	2.4		7.9	4.8		3.2	100
1990 Paper	Total	84.4	2.9	0.8	2.8	5.2	2.4	1.5	100
	BDN	93.3		3.3	3.3				100
	BYN	70.5	2.1		3.2	4.2	7.4	12.6	100
	CH	82.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	10.0	2.0		100
	HT	93.6	1.8		3.6	0.9			100
	IS	75.9	0.6	0.6	5.3	4.1	9.4	4.1	100
1990 Paper	KINC	87.9	6.6	2.2		3.3			100

Year	horizon	local	national	overseas	regional	state	universal	not relevant	Total
2000 Paper	NEA	76.4	8.7	0.8	3.9	7.9	1.6	0.8	100
	VEC	71.0	3.2		1.6	6.5	17.7		100
	WT	76.8	2.8	1.6	13.8	2.8		2.0	100
	ZN	83.3				3.3		13.3	100
	Total	79.5	3.0	0.9	5.7	4.4	3.6	2.7	100
	BDN	94.9		2.6	2.6				100
	BRP	96.2		3.8					100
	BYN	64.1	4.9	4.9	1.9		2.9	21.4	100
	CH	71.9	5.7	0.5	12.5	7.3	1.6	0.5	100
	DEV	92.7	2.1		1.0	2.1	1.0	1.0	100
	HT	84.8	3.1	3.1	4.9	2.2	0.9	0.9	100
	IS	58.1	4.8		3.2	7.3	16.1	10.5	100
	KINC	90.4	3.6	1.2		4.8			100
	LP	87.6	1.1				10.1	1.1	100
	NEA	70.6	8.4		6.7	6.7	6.7	0.8	100
	RMR	14.1	1.3	1.3		1.3	11.5	70.5	100
	SH	81.8	1.5	4.5	3.0	1.5	4.5	3.0	100
	VEC	54.5			18.2	9.1	18.2		100
	ZN	73.2						26.8	100
	Total	74.0	3.6	1.6	4.3	3.5	4.7	8.4	100

APPENDIX N 7 YEAR BY PAPER BY SIZE

Year	Size	full	large	medium	small	Total
1910 Paper	CH	1.4	13.5	32.4	52.7	100
	HT		10.4	21.9	67.8	100
	NEA		12.1	21.2	66.7	100
		0.2	11.4	23.1	65.3	100
1920 Paper	CH		9.6	14.9	75.5	100
	HT		11.2	12.7	76.1	100
	KINN		4.5	13.4	82.1	100
	NEA		12.5	12.5	75.0	100
Total			10.2	13.2	76.6	100
1930 Paper	CH	0.7	7.4	16.9	75.0	100
	HT	0.5	10.1	18.3	71.2	100
	KINN	1.6	7.3	18.7	72.4	100
	NEA		18.4	15.8	65.8	100
Total		0.6	10.9	17.4	71.0	100
1940 Paper	CH	1.4	8.5	17.7	72.3	100
	HT	0.8	9.0	20.3	69.9	100
	KINN	1.0	4.0	18.8	76.2	100
	NEA	0.9	16.1	19.6	63.4	100
Total		1.0	9.3	19.3	70.3	100
1950 Paper	CH	1.5	11.1	23.2	64.1	100
	KINN	4.1	12.2	20.4	63.3	100
	NEA	1.7	14.1	27.1	57.1	100
Total		1.9	12.5	24.5	61.1	100
1960 Paper	CH	1.4	15.9	20.3	62.3	100
	IS	6.8	13.6	35.6	44.1	100
	KINN	2.4	19.5	18.7	59.3	100
	NEA		12.1	23.4	64.5	100
Total		2.0	15.3	23.2	59.4	100
1970 Paper	CH	1.1	24.2	27.5	47.3	100
	HT		15.1	42.9	42.0	100
	IS	9.5	11.6	29.5	49.5	100
	KINN	11.4	18.1	21.9	48.6	100
	NEA	1.0	24.5	26.5	48.0	100
	VEC	10.2	18.4	16.3	55.1	100
Total		5.0	18.5	28.9	47.6	100
1980 Paper	BDN	29.7	15.3	35.1	19.8	100
	BYN	58.8		35.3	5.9	100
	CH	0.7	23.5	33.1	42.6	100
	HT		8.9	44.4	46.7	100
	IS	5.8	27.9	29.1	37.2	100
	KINN	10.4	17.7	26.0	45.8	100
	NEA		17.6	36.0	46.4	100
	VEC	22.9	12.5	39.6	25.0	100
	WT	19.8	6.3	27.0	46.8	100
Total		12.0	16.5	32.7	38.9	100
1990 Paper	BDN	6.7	20.0	20.0	53.3	100
	BYN	36.8	14.7	28.4	20.0	100
	CH		19.0	38.0	43.0	100
	HT	2.7	10.9	31.8	54.5	100
	IS	5.9	18.2	24.7	51.2	100
	KINC	4.4	15.4	37.4	42.9	100

Year	Size	full	large	medium	small	Total
2000 Paper	NEA		20.5	27.6	52.0	100
	VEC	32.3	12.9	27.4	27.4	100
	WT	28.5	17.1	21.1	33.3	100
	ZN	13.3		30.0	56.7	100
	Total	13.9	16.2	27.8	42.0	100
	BDN	20.5	17.9	25.6	35.9	100
	BRP	11.5	15.4	42.3	30.8	100
	BYN	29.1	19.4	27.2	24.3	100
	CH	1.0	13.0	38.5	47.4	100
	DEV	44.8	13.5	33.3	8.3	100
	HT	2.2	11.2	29.6	57.0	100
	IS	25.0	5.6	25.0	44.4	100
	KINC	7.2	18.1	37.3	37.3	100
	LP	25.8	13.5	31.5	29.2	100
	NEA	1.7	22.7	47.9	27.7	100
	RMR	6.4	9.0	32.1	52.6	100
	SH	15.2	21.2	34.8	28.8	100
	VEC	27.3	27.3	18.2	27.3	100
	ZN	51.2	9.8	29.3	9.8	100
	Total	14.9	14.2	33.3	37.6	100

APPENDIX N 8 YEAR BY PAPER BY PHOTO SHAPE

Year	photoshape	article/ photo	photo/only	report/photo	not photo	Total
1910 Paper	CH		1.4		98.6	100
	HT		1.1		98.9	100
	NEA		1.5		98.5	100
	Total		1.3		98.7	100
1920 Paper	CH				100.0	100
	HT				100.0	100
	KINN				100.0	100
	NEA		0.8		99.2	100
1930 Paper	Total		0.2		99.8	100
	CH				100.0	100
	HT	0.5			99.5	100
	KINN		1.6		98.4	100
1940 Paper	NEA		1.3		98.7	100
	Total	0.2	0.6		99.2	100
	CH				100.0	100
	HT		0.8		99.2	100
1950 Paper	KINN				100.0	100
	NEA	1.7	1.7	0.6	96.0	100
	Total	1.4	1.2	1.4	96.0	100
	CH	1.4			98.6	100
1960 Paper	IS				100.0	100
	KINN				100.0	100
	NEA				100.0	100
	Total	0.3			99.7	100
1970 Paper	CH	4.4	3.3		92.3	100
	HT	0.8	17.6	11.8	69.7	100
	IS				100.0	100
	KINN				100.0	100
	NEA			1.0	99.0	100
	VEC				100.0	100
	Total	0.9	4.3	2.7	92.2	100
1980 Paper	BDN				100.0	100
	BYN				100.0	100
	CH	0.7	10.3	0.7	88.2	100
	HT			13.3	86.7	100
	IS		1.2		98.8	100
	KINN	1.0	3.1	9.4	86.5	100
	NEA				100.0	100
	VEC				100.0	100
	WT		1.6	21.4	77.0	100
1990 Paper	Total	0.3	2.5	5.4	91.8	100
	BDN				100.0	100
	BYN				100.0	100
	CH			8.0	92.0	100
	HT			12.7	87.3	100
	IS		0.6		99.4	100
	KINC			12.1	87.9	100

Year	photoshape	article/ photo	photo/only	report/photo	not photo	Total
2000 Paper	NEA	2.4			97.6	100
	VEC				100.0	100
	WT		2.8	43.5	53.7	100
	ZN				100.0	100
	Total	0.3	0.8	13.2	85.8	100
	BDN				100.0	100
	BRP	3.8		3.8	92.3	100
	BYN	1.9	2.9	4.9	90.3	100
	CH	0.5	2.6	19.3	77.6	100
	DEV	16.7	4.2	13.5	65.6	100
	HT		2.7	11.2	86.1	100
	IS				100.0	100
	KINC	12.0	1.2	6.0	80.7	100
	LP				100.0	100
	NEA	6.7	9.2	9.2	74.8	100
	RMR		1.3		98.7	100
	SH	19.7	4.5	12.1	63.6	100
	VEC				100.0	100
	ZN				100.0	100
	Total	4.0	2.6	8.1	85.3	100

APPENDIX N 9 YEAR BY FORMAT BY SIZE

Format of Paper	Size	full	large	medium	small	Total
1910	broadsheet		10.8	22.5	66.7	100
	tabloid	1.9	17.0	28.3	52.8	100
1920 Total		0.2	11.4	23.1	65.3	100
Format of Paper	broadsheet		12.2	12.8	75.0	100
	tabloid		8.4	13.7	78.0	100
Total			10.2	13.2	76.6	100
1930 Format of Paper	broadsheet	0.3	8.9	17.5	73.3	100
	tabloid	0.9	13.0	17.4	68.7	100
Total		0.6	10.9	17.4	71.0	100
1940 Format of Paper	broadsheet	0.6	11.0	18.9	69.4	100
	tabloid	1.4	7.5	19.8	71.3	100
Total		1.0	9.3	19.3	70.3	100
1950 Format of Paper	broadsheet		2.6	28.9	68.4	100
	tabloid	2.1	13.5	24.1	60.4	100
Total		1.9	12.5	24.5	61.1	100
1960 Format of Paper	tabloid	1.2	15.6	21.0	62.2	100
	a4	6.8	13.6	35.6	44.1	100
Total		2.0	15.3	23.2	59.4	100
1970 Format of Paper	tabloid	2.6	20.5	31.2	45.7	100
	a4	10.2	14.2	23.9	51.7	100
Total		5.0	18.5	28.9	47.6	100
1980 Format of Paper	tabloid	2.7	18.7	33.6	45.0	100
	a4	21.6	14.2	31.7	32.5	100
Total		12.0	16.5	32.7	38.9	100
1990 Format of Paper	tabloid	11.9	16.4	29.5	42.2	100
	a4	17.1	15.9	25.1	41.8	100
Total		13.9	16.2	27.8	42.0	100
2000 Format of Paper	tabloid	2.4	14.9	37.0	45.7	100
	a4	26.3	13.5	30.0	30.2	100
Total		14.9	14.2	33.3	37.6	100

Year	Shape	joke/small humorous										Total		
		article	competition	editorial	story	letters	notice	poem/quote/ morale	report	story/serial	sports results		photo	recipe
1950	foreign correspondent	26.7				8.3			65.0					100
	reader		14.3			85.7								100
	specialist	46.4					1.8	12.5	8.9	23.2		3.6	3.6	100
	staff/unacknowledged	15.7			5.2		7.5	0.4	66.5	0.4	1.3	0.2	2.8	100
	Total	19.5	0.2	0.2	3.9	1.8	6.2	1.5	60.3	2.5	1.0	0.5	2.5	100.0
1960	Source community	30.0					10.0		50.0			10.0		100
	civic/political								100.0					100
	foreign correspondent	60.0							40.0					100
	reader					83.3	16.7							100
	specialist	50.0						20.8	16.7			8.3	4.2	100
1970	staff/unacknowledged	15.9	0.3		1.9		9.7	0.5	63.6	0.3	5.1	2.2	0.5	100
	Total	18.9	0.2		1.7	1.2	9.0	1.7	59.4	0.2	4.5	2.6	0.7	100.0
	Source community	33.3					16.7		41.7	8.3				100
	civic/political						100.0							100
	correspondent	100.0												100
1980	foreign correspondent	66.7							33.3					100
	reader	7.7				84.6				7.7				100
	specialist	58.8							35.3	5.9				100
	staff/unacknowledged	9.9			0.3	0.3	10.7		68.7	0.3	9.6	0.3		100
	Total	13.3			0.3	3.1	10.2		63.5	1.0	8.4	0.3		100.0
1990	Source community	9.1					45.5		45.5					100
	civic/political	13.3				20.0	33.3		33.3					100
	correspondent								100.0					100
	editor			100.0								33.3		100
	foreign correspondent	66.7												100
2000	reader	5.9				76.5	11.8		5.9					100
	specialist	41.7					4.2	4.2	20.8	16.7			12.5	100
	staff/unacknowledged	11.3	1.0		1.3	0.2	13.3	0.2	52.7	0.4	12.9	5.8	0.8	100
	Total	12.5	0.9	1.8	1.1	3.0	13.7	0.4	48.1	1.1	11.1	5.2	1.2	100.0
	Source community	9.7		0.9			53.1		34.5			0.9	0.9	100
2010	civic/political					26.7	33.3		40.0					100
	correspondent						66.7		16.7		16.7			100

Year	Shape	joke/small humorous							poem/quote/morale			sports			Total
		article	competition	editorial	story	letters	notice		poem/quote/morale	report	story/serial	results	photo	recipe	
1990	editor	33.3		26.7		20.0	6.7			13.3					100
	foreign correspondent					50.0						50.0			100
	reader	31.9			1.1	61.5				2.2					100
	specialist	29.2													100
	staff/unacknowledged	14.1	0.6	0.2	0.8	0.4	29.2			16.7	20.8	4.2			100
	Total	15.9	0.4	0.8	0.6	8.4	13.2	0.6	0.8	39.6	1.3	10.3	2.8	0.8	100.0
	Source	community													
	civic/political	3.0			0.5	3.0	70.9	3.0	3.0	18.2	1.0			0.5	100
	correspondent	5.9				29.5	22.7		5.9	45.5	2.3				100
	editor	12.5		50.0	11.8	25.0	12.5			52.9					100
2000	foreign correspondent	33.3				33.3				33.3					100
	reader	2.1				83.3	3.1	3.1	6.3			1.0	1.0		100
	specialist	25.0			3.1		18.8	18.8	21.9	6.3			6.3		100
	staff/unacknowledged	7.6	0.5		1.2	0.2	11.1	0.8	64.7	0.2	10.9	1.5	1.4		100
	Total	6.5	0.3	0.4	1.1	9.7	22.7	2.0	47.7	0.6	6.8	1.0	1.2		100.0
	Source	community													
	civic/political	12.0	0.4		1.2	3.6	44.0	4.8	29.6	1.6		1.2	1.6		100
	correspondent	4.5			1.5	10.4	31.3		52.2						100
	editor	23.5				5.9	17.6		29.4	11.8		5.9	5.9		100
	foreign correspondent	4.5		68.2	4.5	9.1	9.1		4.5						100
Total	reader	5.4				67.6	4.1	10.8	5.4	1.4		2.7	2.7		100
	specialist	20.7			34.5	1.7	3.4	1.7	25.9	1.7		5.2	5.2		100
	staff/unacknowledged	9.6	1.5		5.0	0.2	10.1	1.1	56.2	0.5	6.6	8.0	1.1		100
	Total	10.2	1.0	1.2	5.0	5.6	17.2	2.3	45.3	0.9	4.1	5.7	1.5		100.0

APPENDIX N 11 YEAR BY SOURCE BY TONE

Year		critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
1910 Source	community	2.6			88.2	3.9	3.9	1.3	100
	civic/political				100.0				100
	correspondent						100.0		100
	foreign correspondent		1.6	1.6	79.0		8.1	9.7	100
	reader	22.2		44.4	11.1		22.2		100
	specialist			12.2	68.3		4.9	14.6	100
	staff/unacknowledged	1.7	0.9	5.4	65.6	0.3	12.8	13.4	100
	Total	1.8	0.7	5.4	69.6	0.7	10.7	11.1	100
1920 Source	community				76.9		23.1		100
	civic/political	16.7			83.3				100
	correspondent				100.0				100
	editor			100.0					100
	foreign correspondent				87.5		12.5		100
	reader	47.1		5.9	23.5	5.9	17.6		100
	specialist			12.5	75.0		12.5		100
	staff/unacknowledged	3.5	2.7	2.7	74.8	1.6	11.4	3.3	100
	Total	5.2	2.4	3.1	73.0	1.7	11.8	2.8	100
1930 Source	community	5.3		5.3	73.7	5.3	10.5		100
	civic/political			16.7	66.7	16.7			100
	correspondent			9.1	72.7		9.1	9.1	100
	editor			100.0					100
	foreign correspondent	5.9		5.9	70.6		5.9	11.8	100
	reader	23.5		23.5	23.5	5.9	11.8	11.8	100
	specialist		2.3	2.3	79.5		6.8	9.1	100
	staff/unacknowledged	1.0	2.5	1.4	65.7	0.2	14.0	15.3	100
	Total	1.7	2.2	2.7	65.9	0.6	12.8	13.9	100
1940 Source	community				66.7		33.3		100
	civic/political				100.0				100
	correspondent				85.7		14.3		100
	editor			100.0					100
	foreign correspondent			3.3	85.0	1.7	10.0		100
	reader	14.3			57.1	14.3	14.3		100
	specialist		5.4		85.7		3.6	5.4	100
	staff/unacknowledged	1.3	1.3	0.9	76.6	1.3	12.2	6.4	100
	Total	1.1	1.5	1.3	78.2	1.3	11.1	5.4	100
1950 Source	community				70.0		30.0		100
	civic/political				100.0				100
	foreign correspondent				90.0		10.0		100
	reader	16.7			50.0	16.7	16.7		100
	specialist		4.2		66.7		4.2	25.0	100
	staff/unacknowledged	1.1	0.5	1.9	83.8		9.2	3.5	100
	Total	1.2	0.7	1.7	82.3	0.2	9.4	4.5	100
1960 Source	community	8.3			41.7		50.0		100
	civic/political				100.0				100
	correspondent						100.0		100
	foreign correspondent				33.3		66.7		100
	reader	7.7		15.4	61.5		15.4		100
	specialist				94.1		5.9		100
	staff/unacknowledged	0.9	0.3	0.9	73.9	2.0	21.4	0.6	100
	Total	1.3	0.3	1.3	73.0	1.8	21.9	0.5	100
1970 Source	community			9.1	63.6	18.2	9.1		100

Year		critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
1980	civic/political	6.7			73.3	20.0			100
	correspondent				100.0				100
	editor			40.0	50.0		10.0		100
	foreign correspondent				66.7		33.3		100
	reader		5.9	5.9	35.3	11.8	41.2		100
	specialist		4.2		62.5		16.7	16.7	100
	staff/unacknowledged	0.2	0.2	0.4	73.3	3.8	19.8	2.3	100
	Total	0.4	0.5	1.4	71.1	4.5	19.4	2.7	100
	Source								
	community	0.9		1.8	77.0		19.5	0.9	100
	civic/political			13.3	66.7	6.7	13.3		100
	correspondent				100.0				100
	editor			13.3	60.0		26.7		100
	foreign correspondent				50.0		50.0		100
1990	reader	16.5	2.2	11.0	45.1	6.6	16.5	2.2	100
	specialist			4.2	83.3		12.5		100
	staff/unacknowledged	2.7	0.8	1.9	69.5	0.6	22.9	1.7	100
	Total	3.8	0.8	3.4	68.1	1.3	21.1	1.5	100
	Source								
	community	2.0	0.5	1.5	74.4		19.7	2.0	100
	civic/political			13.6	68.2	2.3	15.9		100
	correspondent			5.9	52.9		23.5	17.6	100
	editor				25.0		62.5	12.5	100
	foreign correspondent			33.3	33.3		33.3		100
	reader	17.7	1.0	12.5	29.2	10.4	26.0	3.1	100
	specialist				78.1		6.3	15.6	100
	staff/unacknowledged	1.7	0.8	0.9	63.7	1.5	29.5	2.0	100
	Total	3.0	0.7	2.7	62.7	2.0	26.2	2.7	100
2000	Source								
	community	1.6	0.8	0.8	55.6	0.8	32.8	7.6	100
	civic/political	1.5		3.0	77.6		14.9	3.0	100
	correspondent				58.8	5.9	35.3		100
	editor	13.6		9.1	22.7	4.5	45.5	4.5	100
	foreign correspondent				100.0				100
	reader	13.5		6.8	33.8	4.1	31.1	10.8	100
	specialist		1.7	1.7	53.4		3.4	39.7	100
	staff/unacknowledged	0.5	0.7	1.6	60.0	1.7	28.1	7.2	100
	Total	1.7	0.7	1.9	57.7	1.6	27.8	8.6	100

APPENDIX N 12 YEAR BY TONE BY SUBJECT

% within Subject Categories

		Tone							Total
	Subject	critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	
1910	accident/disaster			7.7	84.6		7.7		100
	agricultural	4.8		4.8	79.0		11.3		100
	artistic				90.5		9.5		100
	community	1.5		14.7	58.8		25.0		100
	economic	2.4	2.4	9.5	81.0		4.8		100
	education				100.0				100
	human								
	interest/personalities		1.6	1.6	84.5		12.4		100
	legal			2.9	97.1				100
	medical			18.2	72.7		9.1		100
	military				100.0				100
	other				100.0				100
	political	9.7		12.9	58.1	12.9	6.5		100
	recreational		7.7		46.2		46.2		100
	religious				60.0		40.0		100
	sport	5.3		5.3	84.2		5.3		100
					11.8			88.2	100
	Total	1.8	0.7	5.4	69.6	0.7	10.7	11.1	100
1920	accident/disaster				100.0				100
	agricultural	3.1		3.1	81.3	3.1	9.4		100
	artistic				100.0				100
	community	4.8	3.2		68.3	1.6	22.2		100
	economic	12.3	3.1	9.2	60.0	1.5	13.8		100
	education			18.2	63.6		18.2		100
	human								
	interest/personalities		2.6	1.3	84.2		11.8		100
	legal		6.3	6.3	81.3	6.3			100
	medical		9.1		45.5		45.5		100
	military				100.0				100
	other		5.0		85.0		10.0		100
	political	21.9		6.3	62.5	9.4			100
	recreational	8.7	4.3		69.6		17.4		100
	religious				50.0		50.0		100
	sport	2.1			95.8		2.1		100
					14.3			85.7	100
	Total	5.2	2.4	8.1	73.0	1.7	11.8	2.8	100
1930	accident/disaster			9.1	81.8		9.1		100
	agricultural	2.8	1.4		79.2	2.8	13.9		100
	artistic		15.4		69.2		15.4		100
	community		2.8	1.4	64.8		28.2	2.8	100
	economic	1.3	4.0	10.7	65.3	1.3	17.3		100
	education		25.0		75.0				100
	human								
	interest/personalities	1.8	2.7		82.9	0.9	10.8	0.9	100
	legal	5.6			94.4				100
	medical			20.0	80.0				100

Subject	critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
military				75.0		25.0		100
other				93.8		6.3		100
political	10.0		5.0	82.5		2.5		100
recreational		6.3		56.3		34.4	3.1	100
religious				55.6		44.4		100
sport	1.7		5.0	85.0		8.3		100
				1.2			98.8	100
Total	1.7	2.2	2.7	65.9	0.6	12.8	13.9	100
1940 § accident/disaster				100.0				100
agricultural			4.0	82.0	8.0	6.0		100
artistic		18.8	6.3	62.5		12.5		100
community	1.9	1.0	1.0	73.1		23.1		100
economic	4.5	1.5		74.2	3.0	16.7		100
education				83.3		16.7		100
human								
interest/personalities	0.8	0.8	0.8	93.4		4.1		100
legal				100.0				100
medical		4.5		81.8		13.6		100
media						100.0		100
military				86.8		13.2		100
other				100.0				100
political	3.7		11.1	74.1	3.7	7.4		100
recreational		5.7		80.0		14.3		100
religious				80.0		20.0		100
sport				87.8	2.0	10.2		100
							100.0	100
Total	1.1	1.5	1.3	78.2	1.3	11.1	5.4	100
1950 § accident/disaster				100.0				100
agricultural	3.4	3.4		86.2		6.9		100
artistic				66.7			33.3	100
community			1.2	84.0		14.8		100
economic	1.8		1.8	87.3	1.8	7.3		100
education			25.0	50.0		25.0		100
human								
interest/personalities		2.4	1.2	91.7		3.6	1.2	100
legal				100.0				100
medical				70.0		30.0		100
military				77.8		22.2		100
other				100.0				100
political	6.1		9.1	81.8		3.0		100
recreational				87.5		12.5		100
religious				33.3		66.7		100
sport				89.7		10.3		100
	5.6						94.4	100
Total	1.2	0.7	1.7	82.3	0.2	9.4	4.5	100
1960 § accident/disaster				87.5	12.5			100
agricultural	3.2			64.5	3.2	29.0		100
community	2.1		2.1	57.7		38.1		100
economic		1.9	3.7	77.8	5.6	11.1		100
education			8.3	66.7		25.0		100

Subject	critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
human								
interest/personalities				72.9		27.1		100
legal				60.0	20.0	20.0		100
medical				100.0				100
media				100.0				100
military				75.0		25.0		100
other				75.0		25.0		100
political	14.3			85.7				100
recreational				90.0		10.0		100
religious				62.5		37.5		100
sport				85.9	1.3	11.5	1.3	100
							100.0	100
Total	1.3	0.3	1.3	73.0	1.8	21.9	0.5	100
1970 § accident/disaster				83.3	16.7			100
agricultural		2.2		82.6	4.3	10.9		100
artistic				100.0				100
community			3.7	56.9	1.8	37.6		100
economic	1.4		1.4	62.9	15.7	18.6		100
education			5.6	66.7	16.7	11.1		100
human								
interest/personalities				81.0	2.4	16.7		100
legal				76.9	15.4	7.7		100
medical				100.0				100
military				50.0		50.0		100
other		20.0	10.0	50.0		20.0		100
political				91.3		8.7		100
recreational				83.3		16.7		100
religious			6.3	81.3		12.5		100
sport	0.8			80.3	1.6	17.2		100
							100.0	100
Total	0.4	0.5	1.4	71.1	4.5	19.4	2.7	100
1980 § accident/disaster				50.0		50.0		100
agricultural	10.0			70.0	5.0	15.0		100
artistic				83.3		16.7		100
community	4.1	0.8	2.9	59.8	0.4	32.0		100
economic	8.9	1.0	11.9	58.4	5.0	14.9		100
education		2.0		83.7		14.3		100
human								
interest/personalities			4.3	72.9		22.9		100
legal				100.0				100
medical	10.5			68.4		21.1		100
military			16.7	50.0		33.3		100
other				100.0				100
political	18.8	3.1	6.3	59.4	3.1	9.4		100
recreational			6.7	46.7	6.7	40.0		100
religious				75.0		25.0		100
sport	0.5	0.5	0.5	83.8	0.5	14.1		100
							100.0	100
Total	3.8	0.8	3.4	68.1	1.3	21.1	1.5	100
1990 § accident/disaster	25.0			50.0		25.0		100

Subject	critical	humorous	mediatory	neutral	negative	positive	not relevant	Total
agricultural	2.3			79.1		18.6		100
artistic				76.9		23.1		100
community	0.9	0.9	2.8	58.4	1.1	35.6	0.3	100
economic	10.7		8.3	57.1	11.9	11.9		100
education	1.7			43.1	1.7	53.4		100
human								
interest/personalities	1.1		2.2	68.1	1.1	27.5		100
legal	16.7			75.0	8.3			100
medical				55.6		44.4		100
military	33.3			55.6		11.1		100
other				100.0				100
political	11.9	3.4	11.9	61.0	5.1	6.8		100
recreational	3.0	3.0		57.6		36.4		100
religious	2.9	2.9	5.7	62.9		22.9	2.9	100
sport	0.9		0.5	78.9	0.5	19.3		100
							100.0	100
Total	3.0	0.7	2.7	62.7	2.0	26.2	2.7	100
2000 § accident/disaster				60.0		40.0		100
agricultural	6.4		4.3	66.0	4.3	19.1		100
artistic				50.0		50.0		100
community	1.2	1.0	1.0	55.2	1.2	37.6	2.9	100
economic	3.9	0.8	7.0	60.2	2.3	25.0	0.8	100
education			2.1	66.0		31.9		100
human								
interest/personalities	1.6	2.4	4.0	51.2	0.8	40.0		100
legal	4.3			65.2	30.4			100
medical			2.6	76.3		21.1		100
media				50.0		50.0		100
military				50.0		50.0		100
other		6.7		80.0	6.7	6.7		100
political	8.0		2.7	80.0	1.3	8.0		100
recreational			2.6	71.1		26.3		100
religious				44.4		33.3	22.2	100
sport				73.5	0.5	26.0		100
							100.0	100
Total	1.7	0.7	1.9	57.7	1.6	27.8	8.6	100

APPENDIX N 13 YEAR BY HORIZON BY SUBJECT

% within subject		horizon						not	Total
Year		local	national	overseas	regional	state	universal	relevant	
1910	accident/disaster	46.2		38.5	7.7	7.7			100
	agricultural	27.4	6.5	16.1	11.3	9.7	29.0		100
	artistic	14.3		4.8	4.8	9.5	66.7		100
	community	76.5	1.5		17.6	1.5	2.9		100
	economic	16.7	14.3	26.2	11.9	19.0	11.9		100
	education	100.0							100
	human								
	interest/personalities	23.3	0.8	29.5	0.8	2.3	43.4		100
	legal	44.1		44.1	8.8	2.9			100
	medical	36.4	9.1	9.1			45.5		100
	military	33.3	33.3			33.3			100
	other			66.7		33.3			100
	political	32.3	19.4	12.9	9.7	25.8			100
	recreational	76.9		7.7	7.7		7.7		100
	religious	80.0					20.0		100
	sport	65.8	18.4	13.2	2.6				100
	joke/quote/ small humorous story	5.9		2.9			2.9	88.2	100
	Total	34.9	5.0	17.5	6.5	5.9	19.2	11.1	100
1920	accident/disaster	66.7	33.3						100
	agricultural	40.6	12.5	15.6	9.4	9.4	12.5		100
	artistic						100.0		100
	community	92.1	3.2		3.2		1.6		100
	economic	52.3	13.8	1.5	13.8	16.9	1.5		100
	education	72.7			27.3				100
	human								
	interest/personalities	42.1	2.6	31.6	3.9		19.7		100
	legal	87.5	6.3	6.3					100
	medical	63.6	9.1	18.2			9.1		100
	military	40.0	20.0			40.0			100
	other	60.0	10.0	20.0		5.0	5.0		100
	political	53.1	6.3	6.3	25.0	9.4			100
	recreational	87.0		4.3	8.7				100
	religious	100.0							100
	sport	89.6	2.1	2.1	6.3				100
	joke/quote/ small humorous story	7.1					7.1	85.7	100
	Total	62.6	6.1	9.7	7.8	4.7	6.1	2.8	100
1930	accident/disaster	45.5	9.1		36.4	9.1			100
	agricultural	38.9	15.3	11.1	5.6	16.7	12.5		100
	artistic	23.1	7.7	7.7		7.7	53.8		100
	community	84.5	1.4	1.4	12.7				100
	economic	52.0	13.3	5.3	9.3	14.7	5.3		100
	education	100.0							100
	human								
	interest/personalities	45.9	3.6	14.4	2.7	0.9	32.4		100
	legal	72.2	5.6	11.1	5.6	5.6			100
	medical	40.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	20.0		100
	military	75.0		25.0					100
	other	62.5		6.3	6.3	18.8	6.3		100
	political	47.5	22.5	12.5	5.0	10.0	2.5		100
	recreational	68.8	6.3	6.3	3.1		15.6		100

Year	local	national	overseas	regional	state	universal	not relevant	Total
religious	77.8					22.2		100
sport	85.0	1.7		10.0	3.3			100
joke/quote/ small humorous story	1.2						98.8	100
Total	50.7	6.7	6.7	6.2	5.9	10.6	13.3	100
1940 accident/disaster	100.0							100
agricultural	34.0	26.0	10.0	2.0	12.0	16.0		100
artistic	18.8	6.3	12.5			62.5		100
community	88.5	1.9	1.0	5.8	2.9			100
economic	33.3	18.2	27.3	6.1	10.6	4.5		100
education	66.7				16.7	16.7		100
human								
interest/personalities	39.3	6.6	27.9	1.6	2.5	22.1		100
legal	100.0							100
medical	13.6	9.1	40.9			36.4		100
media					100.0			100
military	26.3	23.7	47.4		2.6			100
other	48.0	4.0	12.0	12.0	12.0	12.0		100
political	51.9		25.9	7.4	14.8			100
recreational	68.6		5.7	11.4	2.9	11.4		100
religious	100.0							100
sport	85.7	6.1		8.2				100
joke/quote/ small humorous story							100.0	100
Total	50.3	8.4	16.2	4.3	4.9	10.5	5.4	100
1950 accident/disaster	85.7		14.3					100
agricultural	44.8	6.9	6.9	3.4	20.7	17.2		100
artistic			33.3			66.7		100
community	93.8		1.2	4.9				100
economic	74.5	9.1	9.1	5.5	1.8			100
education	100.0							100
human								
interest/personalities	90.5	2.4	3.6			2.4	1.2	100
legal	66.7		33.3					100
medical	30.0	10.0	40.0	10.0		10.0		100
military	77.8	22.2						100
other	100.0							100
political	78.8	6.1	3.0	9.1	3.0			100
recreational	75.0			12.5	6.3	6.3		100
religious	50.0					50.0		100
sport	96.6			3.4				100
joke/quote/ small humorous story	5.6					5.6	88.9	100
Total	78.5	3.3	4.7	3.8	2.1	3.5	4.0	100
1960 accident/disaster	87.5			12.5				100
agricultural	71.0	6.5	3.2		12.9	6.5		100
community	96.9	1.0		1.0	1.0			100
economic	87.0	5.6	3.7	1.9	1.9			100
education	66.7	16.7		8.3	8.3			100
human								
interest/personalities	95.8		2.1			2.1		100
legal	100.0							100
medical	66.7	33.3						100
media	100.0							100
military	100.0							100
other	87.5				12.5			100

Year		local	national	overseas	regional	state	universal	not	Total
								relevant	
1970	political	85.7	7.1			7.1			100
	recreational	55.0	25.0				20.0		100
	religious	50.0			12.5		37.5		100
	sport	96.2	1.3			1.3		1.3	100
	joke/quote/ small humorous story							100.0	100
	Total	88.0	4.1	1.0	1.3	2.6	2.6	0.5	100
	accident/disaster	66.7	16.7			16.7			100
	agricultural	78.3			8.7	10.9	2.2		100
	artistic	100.0							100
	community	96.3			0.9	1.8	0.9		100
	economic	67.1	10.0	2.9	5.7	11.4	2.9		100
	education	77.8	5.6			16.7			100
	human interest/personalities	81.0	6.0	2.4	2.4	3.6	4.8		100
	legal	76.9			23.1				100
	medical	50.0	50.0						100
	military	66.7	16.7			16.7			100
	other	40.0		10.0	10.0	20.0	20.0		100
	political	78.3				21.7			100
	recreational	88.9				11.1			100
	religious	68.8					31.3		100
	sport	94.3			4.9		0.8		100
	joke/quote/ small humorous story							100.0	100
	Total	81.1	3.0	0.9	3.7	5.7	2.9	2.7	100
1980	accident/disaster	100.0							100
	agricultural	55.0	5.0			40.0			100
	artistic	75.0	8.3			8.3	8.3		100
	community	96.3		1.2	1.2	0.8	0.4		100
	economic	72.3	4.0		7.9	11.9	4.0		100
	education	83.7			8.2	6.1	2.0		100
	human interest/personalities	78.6	10.0	2.9		2.9	5.7		100
	legal	100.0							100
	medical	89.5				5.3	5.3		100
	military	66.7	16.7			16.7			100
	other	40.0	40.0				20.0		100
	political	62.5	12.5		6.3	15.6	3.1		100
	recreational	80.0	6.7		6.7	6.7			100
	religious	70.0			5.0		25.0		100
	sport	94.1	1.1	0.5	1.6	2.7			100
	joke/quote/ small humorous story							100.0	100
	Total	84.4	2.9	0.8	2.8	5.2	2.4	1.5	100
1990	accident/disaster	100.0							100
	agricultural	55.8	11.6	2.3	9.3	11.6	9.3		100
	artistic	76.9	7.7			15.4			100
	community	88.9	0.3	0.3	6.8	2.0	1.4	0.3	100
	economic	79.8	6.0		6.0	8.3			100
	education	87.9			5.2	3.4	3.4		100
	human interest/personalities	67.0	6.6	4.4	6.6	4.4	11.0		100
	legal	100.0							100
	medical	50.0	5.6	5.6	16.7		22.2		100
	military	44.4	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1		100

Year	local	national	overseas	regional	state	universal	not relevant	Total
other	33.3	16.7	16.7			33.3		100
political	64.4	11.9	1.7	6.8	13.6	1.7		100
recreational	84.8			6.1	6.1	3.0		100
religious	71.4				2.9	22.9	2.9	100
sport	90.4	1.8		4.1	3.7			100
joke/quote/ small humorous story							100.0	100
Total	79.5	3.0	0.9	5.7	4.4	3.6	2.7	100
2000 accident/disaster	80.0				20.0			100
agricultural	44.7	10.6	8.5	17.0	8.5	10.6		100
artistic	100.0							100
community	89.4	0.5	0.2	1.4	2.2	3.6	2.6	100
economic	70.3	12.5		7.0	8.6	1.6		100
education	87.2		2.1	4.3	6.4			100
human interest/personalities	76.8	5.6	6.4	1.6	4.0	5.6		100
legal	78.3	8.7		8.7	4.3			100
medical	52.6	2.6	2.6	5.3		36.8		100
media	100.0							100
military	62.5	25.0				12.5		100
other	60.0	6.7		13.3		20.0		100
political	82.7		2.7	6.7	8.0			100
recreational	68.4	5.3	7.9	5.3	5.3	7.9		100
religious	22.2					55.6	22.2	100
sport	86.5	4.5		7.5	1.5			100
joke/quote/ small humorous story							100.0	100
Total	74.0	3.6	1.6	4.3	3.5	4.7	8.4	100

Social capital content and elements

- Social capital and not social capital in content by time
- Social capital in content by paper
- Social capital by paper by time
- Social capital by four oldest papers by time
- Elements by time
- Elements by newspaper: frequency and percent

APPENDIX 01 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND NOT SOCIAL CAPITAL IN CONTENT

	Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
not social capital	% within social capital	8.3	6.5	9.4	9.4	6.4	6.0	8.6	11.8	15.7	17.8	100.0
	% within Year	91.3	92.0	88.7	91.1	89.6	91.3	90.7	88.9	87.9	82.2	88.4
social capital	% within social capital	6.0	4.3	9.1	6.9	5.6	4.3	6.6	11.3	16.4	29.4	100.0
	% within Year	8.7	8.0	11.3	8.9	10.4	8.7	9.3	11.1	12.1	17.8	11.6
Total	% within social capital	8.1	6.3	9.4	9.1	6.3	5.8	8.3	11.7	15.8	19.2	100.0
	% within Year	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

APPENDIX O 1B SOCIAL CAPITAL IN CONTENT BY PAPER: FREQUENCY AND PERCENT

Paper		Not social captial	social capital	Total
BDN	Count	161	19	180
	% within Paper	89.4	10.6	100
BRP	Count	19	7	26
	% within Paper	73.1	26.9	100
BYN	Count	180	35	215
	% within Paper	83.7	16.3	100
CH	Count	1149	94	1243
	% within Paper	92.4	7.6	100
DEV	Count	66	30	96
	% within Paper	68.8	31.3	100
HT	Count	1250	115	1365
	% within Paper	91.6	8.4	100
IS	Count	436	98	534
	% within Paper	81.6	18.4	100
KINC	Count	154	20	174
	% within Paper	88.5	11.5	100
KINN	Count	626	38	664
	% within Paper	94.3	5.7	100
LP	Count	50	39	89
	% within Paper	56.2	43.8	100
NEA	Count	1193	188	1381
	% within Paper	86.4	13.6	100
RMR	Count	72	6	78
	% within Paper	92.3	7.7	100
SH	Count	53	13	66
	% within Paper	80.3	19.7	100
VEC	Count	163	7	170
	% within Paper	95.9	4.1	100
WT	Count	304	68	372
	% within Paper	81.7	18.3	100
ZN	Count	66	5	71
	% within Paper	93.0	7.0	100
Total	Count	5942	782	6724
	% within Paper	88.4	11.6	100

APPENDIX O 2 SOCIAL CAPITAL BY PAPER BY TIME

Paper	social capital	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
BDN	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	1	7	19
	% within Paper	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	57.9	5.3	36.8	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	0.8	3.0	2.4
BRP	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
	% within Paper	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.0	0.9
BYN	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	21	35
	% within Paper	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8.0	5.5	9.1	4.5
CH	Count	4	5	12	10	8	4	16	12	8	15	94
	% within Paper	4.3	5.3	12.8	10.6	8.5	4.3	17.0	12.8	8.5	16.0	100.0
	% within Year	8.5	14.7	16.9	18.5	18.2	11.8	30.8	13.6	6.3	6.5	12.0
DEV	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	30
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13.0	3.8
HT	Count	18	10	31	10	0	0	9	2	10	25	115
	% within Paper	15.7	8.7	27.0	8.7	0.0	0.0	7.8	1.7	8.7	21.7	100.0
	% within Year	38.3	29.4	43.7	18.5	0.0	0.0	17.3	2.3	7.8	10.9	14.7
IS	Count	0	0	0	0	0	4	12	9	33	39	97
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	4.1	12.4	9.3	34.0	40.2	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	11.8	23.1	10.2	25.8	17.0	12.4
KINC	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	14	20
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30.0	70.0	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.7	6.1	2.6
KINN	Count	0	4	3	4	4	11	5	7	0	0	38
	% within Paper	0	10.5	7.9	10.5	10.5	28.9	13.2	18.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
	% within Year	0	11.8	4.2	7.4	9.1	32.4	9.6	8.0	0	0	4.9
LP	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	40
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17.4	5.1
NEA	Count	25	15	25	30	32	15	10	16	11	9	188
	% within Paper	13.8	8.0	13.3	16.0	17.0	8.0	5.3	8.5	5.9	4.8	100.0

Paper	social capital	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
RMR	% within Year	53.2	44.1	35.2	55.6	72.7	44.1	19.2	18.2	8.6	3.9	24.0
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	100.0
SH	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.6	0.8
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	100.0
VEC	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.7	1.7
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	7
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42.9	57.1	0.0	100.0
WT	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.4	3.1	0	0.9
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	47	0	68
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30.9	69.1	0.0	100.0
ZN	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23.9	36.7	0	8.7
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	5
	% within Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20.0	80.0	100.0
	% within Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.8	1.7	0.6
	Count	47	34	71	54	44	34	52	88	128	230	782
	% within Paper	60	4.3	9.1	6.9	5.6	4.3	6.6	11.3	16.4	29.4	100.0
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: shaded line indicates distribution of social capital content in each newspaper each decade year of its total sample

APPENDIX O 3 SOCIAL CAPITAL BY FOUR OLDEST PAPERS BY TIME

Paper	Social capital	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
CH	Count	4	5	12	10	8	4	16	12	8	15	94
	% within Paper	4.3	5.3	12.8	10.6	8.5	4.3	17.0	12.8	8.5	16.0	100.0
	% within Year	8.5	14.7	16.9	18.5	18.2	11.8	30.8	13.6	6.3	6.5	12.0
HT	Count	18	10	31	10	0	0	9	2	10	25	115
	% within Paper	15.7	8.7	27.0	8.7	0.0	0.0	7.8	1.7	8.7	21.7	100.0
	% within Year	38.3	29.4	43.7	18.5	0.0	0.0	17.3	2.3	7.8	10.9	14.7
KINN	Count	0	4	3	4	4	11	5	7	0	0	38
	% within Paper	0	10.5	7.9	10.5	10.5	28.9	13.2	18.4	0	0	100
	% within Year	0	11.8	4.2	7.4	9.1	32.4	9.6	8.0	0	0	4.9
NEA	Count	25	15	25	30	32	15	10	16	11	9	188
	% within Paper	13.3	8.0	13.3	16.0	17.0	8.0	5.3	8.5	5.9	4.8	100.0
Total	% within Year	53.2	44.1	35.2	55.6	72.7	44.1	19.2	18.2	8.6	3.9	24.0
	% within Year	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Hatching identifies each newspaper's highest level of social capital in content

APPENDIX 0 4 ELEMENTS BY TIME

		Elements * Year Crosstabulation										
Elements	Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
futurity	Count	2	7	5	5	6		4	5	8	23	65
	% within Year	0.37	1.65	0.79	0.82	1.42		0.71	0.63	0.75	1.78	0.97
historicity	Count	3	1	8	8	6	3	4	6	16	35	90
	% within Year	0.55	0.24	1.27	1.31	1.42	0.77	0.71	0.76	1.51	2.71	1.34
inclusivity	Count	10	10	26	11	14	17	21	44	69	118	340
	% within Year	1.85	2.36	4.12	1.80	3.30	4.34	3.74	5.57	6.50	9.15	5.06
participation in voluntary	Count		1	2	9	1	5	8	13	14	25	78
	% within Year	0.00	0.24	0.32	1.48	0.24	1.28	1.43	1.65	1.32	1.94	1.16
reciprocity	Count		1	3	2	3		1	1	7	6	24
	% within Year		0.24	0.48	0.33	0.71		0.18	0.13	0.66	0.47	0.36
relationship building	Count	2	4	2	6	3	8	4	3	7	4	43
	% within Year	0.37	0.95	0.32	0.98	0.71	2.04	0.71	0.38	0.66	0.31	0.64
shared values	Count	28	10	21	13	8	1	10	16	6	15	128
	% within Year	5.17	2.36	3.33	2.13	1.89	0.26	1.78	2.03	0.57	1.16	1.90
vision	Count	2		4		3				1	4	14
	% within Year	0.37		0.63		0.71				0.09	0.31	0.21
not social capital	Count	495	389	560	556	380	358	509	702	933	1060	5942
	% within Year	91.33	91.96	88.75	91.15	89.62	91.33	90.73	88.86	87.94	82.17	88.37
Total	Count	542	423	631	610	424	392	561	790	1061	1290	6724
	% within Year	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

0.8436 pearson r correlation between participation in voluntary associations and year. A proportion of all items coded (6724)

0.7013 positive relationship between proportion of social capital and time

0.9165 positive relationship between proportion of social capital and time between 1960 and 2000

		1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
social capital	Count	47	34	71	54	44	34	52	88	128	230	782
	% not	91.3	92.0	88.7	91.1	89.6	91.3	90.7	88.9	87.9	82.2	88.4
	% sc	8.7	8.0	11.3	8.9	10.4	8.7	9.3	11.1	12.1	17.8	
chi sq comp 1930	chi sq comp 1930	0.41	0.31	1.00	0.45	0.78	0.41	0.53	0.97	0.80	0.04	
	chi sq comp 2000	0.02	0.01	0.09	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.08	0.13	1.00	

APPENDIX O 5 ELEMENTS BY NEWSPAPER: FREQUENCY AND PERCENT

[illegible]

APPENDIX P

Networks

APPENDIX P NETWORK BY PAPER

% within Paper

Paper	bonding	bridging	linking	negative	not soc/cap	Total
BDN		10.0	0.6		89.4	100
BRP		26.9			73.1	100
BYN		16.3			83.7	100
CH	0.1	5.9	1.3	0.3	92.4	100
DEV		29.2	2.1		68.8	100
HT	0.8	6.4	1.0	0.2	91.6	100
IS	7.7	9.6	0.6	0.4	81.8	100
KINC		10.9	0.6		88.5	100
KINN		5.4	0.2	0.2	94.3	100
LP		44.9			55.1	100
NEA	3.8	8.3	1.1	0.4	86.4	100
RMR		7.7			92.3	100
SH		10.6	4.5	4.5	80.3	100
VEC		4.1			95.9	100
WT	0.3	16.9	0.8	0.3	81.7	100
ZN		5.6	1.4		93.0	100
Total	1.6	8.9	0.9	0.3	88.4	100

Knowledge and identity resource sub-categories

- Knowledge and identity subcategories by newspaper
- Knowledge and identity subcategories by subject
- Knowledge and identity subcategories by social issues
- Knowledge and identity subcategories by subject by year

APPENDIX Q I KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY SUB-CATEGORIES BY NEWSPAPER: FREQUENCY AND PERCENT

Paper		commitment to community	precedents and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision	values/ attitudinal attributes	information networks	not social capital	Total
BDN	Count	1	0	0	0		10	8	161	180
	% within k and l sub-category	1	0	0	0	0	3.4	4.1	2.7	2.7
BRP	Count	1	0	1	0	1	3	1	19	26
	% within k and l sub-category	1	0	1	0	8.3	1	0.5	0.3	0.4
BYN	Count	6	0	3	1	0	17	8	180	215
	% within k and l sub-category	5.9	0	3.1	2.2	0	5.8	4.1	3	3.2
CH	Count	17	7	22	0	1	26	21	1149	1243
	% within k and l sub-category	16.8	19.4	22.4	0	8.3	8.9	10.7	19.3	18.5
DEV	Count	2	0	0	0	0	21	7	66	96
	% within k and l sub-category	2	0	0	0	0	7.2	3.6	1.1	1.4
HT	Count	6	5	14	6	1	55	28	1250	1365
	% within k and l sub-category	5.9	13.9	14.3	13.3	8.3	18.8	14.2	21	20.3
IS	Count	20	4	11	7	2	25	28	437	534
	% within k and l sub-category	19.8	11.1	11.2	15.6	16.7	8.5	14.2	7.4	7.9
KINC	Count	0	0	1	1	1	13	4	154	174
	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	1	2.2	8.3	4.4	2	2.6	2.6
KINN	Count	11	0	3	6	0	17	1	626	664
	% within k and l sub-category	10.9	0	3.1	13.3	0	5.8	0.5	10.5	9.9
LP	Count	10	5	4	6	3	5	7	49	89
	% within k and l sub-category	9.9	13.9	4.1	13.3	25	1.7	3.6	0.8	1.3
NEA	Count	23	11	18	13	2	61	60	1193	1381
	% within k and l sub-category	22.8	30.6	18.4	28.9	16.7	20.8	30.5	20.1	20.5
RMR	Count	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	72	78

[illegible]

APPENDIX Q 2 KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY SUB-CATEGORIES BY SUBJECT

Subject	knowledge and identity sub-categories	precedents								Total
		commitment to community	and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision	values/attitudinal attributes	information networks	not social capital	
accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	58	63
agricultural	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9
	Count	0	4	2	2	1	5	23	395	432
artistic	% within k and l sub-category	0	11.1	2.0	4.4	8.3	1.7	11.7	6.6	6.4
	Count	1	0	2	0	0	7	1	80	91
community	% within k and l sub-category	1.0	0	2.0	0	0	2.4	0.5	1.3	1.4
	Count	66	14	42	13	6	156	75	1230	1602
economic	% within k and l sub-category	65.3	38.9	42.9	28.9	50	53.2	38.1	20.7	23.8
	Count	2	7	6	17	1	10	41	656	740
education	% within k and l sub-category	2.0	19.4	6.1	37.8	8.3	3.4	20.8	11.0	11.0
	Count	1	2	6	2	0	14	11	174	210
human interest/personalities	% within k and l sub-category	1.0	5.6	6.1	4.4	0	4.8	5.6	2.9	3.1
	Count	15	1	15	1	0	46	7	855	940
legal	% within k and l sub-category	14.9	2.8	15.3	2.2	0	15.7	3.6	14.4	14.0
	Count	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	132	135
medical	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	0	2.2	0	0.3	0.5	2.2	2.0
	Count	4	0	2	3	0	12	7	118	146
media	% within k and l sub-category	4.0	0	2.0	6.7	0	4.1	3.6	2.0	2.2
	Count	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
military	% within k and l sub-category	2.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1
	Count	2	1	4	2	0	2	6	75	92
other	% within k and l sub-category	2.0	2.8	4.1	4.4	0	0.7	3.0	1.3	1.4
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	112	113
political	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	1.9	1.7
	Count	2	4	3	2	1	9	17	328	366
recreational	% within k and l sub-category	2.0	11.1	3.1	4.4	8.3	3.1	8.6	5.5	5.4
	Count	0	1	5	1	1	12	1	222	243
religious	% within k and l sub-category	0	2.8	5.1	2.2	8.3	4.1	0.5	3.7	3.6
	Count	1	0	3	0	1	6	0	113	124
sport	% within k and l sub-category	1.0	0	3.1	0	8.3	2.0	0	1.9	1.8
	Count	5	2	8	1	0	10	4	1026	1056
	% within k and l sub-category	5.0	5.6	8.2	2.2	0	3.4	2.0	17.3	15.7

[illegible]

APPENDIX Q 3 KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY SUB-CATEGORIES BY SOCIAL ISSUES

Social Issues	knowledge and identity sub-category	commitment to community				precedents and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision	values/attitudinal attributes	information networks	not social capital	Total
		Count	0	0	0								
crime	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0		32
	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.2	0	0	0.0	31	0.5
command over goods and services	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	3	9	0.5	122
	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	2.8	0	0	0	6.7	0	1.0	4.6	106	1.8
disability	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.8	7
	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	2.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.5	3	0.1
environment	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	7	0.1	43
	% within k and l sub-category	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.4	8.3	1.4	3.6	28	0.6
education and learning	Count	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	5	0.5	41
	% within k and l sub-category	1.0	1.0	2.8	0	0	0	4.4	8.3	1.4	2.5	27	0.6
employment and quality of working life	Count	0	0	1	3	0	3	6	0	2	13	0.5	65
	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	2.8	3.1	0	3.1	13.3	0	0.7	6.6	40	1.0
human/land rights	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0.7	17
	% within k and l sub-category	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.7	1.0	10	0.3
housing/hunger/poverty	Count	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	8	1	0.2	37
	% within k and l sub-category	1.0	1.0	0	2.0	0	2.0	2.2	0	2.7	0.5	24	0.6
philanthropic and social service	Count	9	9	2	0	0	0	2	0	20	4	0.4	55
	% within k and l sub-category	8.9	8.9	5.6	0	0	0	4.4	0	6.8	2.0	18	0.8
Health/pub/per/sa	Count	6	6	0	2	0	2	1	1	9	23	0.3	122
	% within k and l sub-category	5.9	5.9	0	2.0	0	2.0	2.2	8.3	3.1	11.7	80	1.8
time and leisure	Count	9	9	1	9	0	9	3	0	16	4	1.3	93
	% within k and l sub-category	8.9	8.9	2.8	9.2	0	9.2	6.7	0	5.5	2.0	51	1.4
Not social capital	Count	75	75	28	82	0	82	24	9	222	126	0.9	6090
	% within k and l sub-category	74.3	74.3	77.8	83.7	0	83.7	53.3	75	75.8	64.0	5524	90.6
Total	Count	101	101	36	98	0	98	45	12	293	197	93.0	6724
	% within k and l sub-category	100	100	100	100	0	100	100	100	100	100	5942	100

APPENDIX Q 4 KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY SUB-CATEGORIES BY SUBJECT BY YEAR

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents				skills and knowledge	vision	values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total
		to community	and procedures	self confidence							
1910 accident/disaster	Count	0			0			0	0	13	13
agricultural	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0.0	2.6	2.4
	Count	0			0			1	8	53	62
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0		100		42.1	10.7	11.4
artistic	Count	0			0			0	0	21	21
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0.00	4.24	3.87
	Count	0			5			0	4	53	68
community	% within k and l Subcategory	0			33.3			0	21.1	10.7	12.5
	Count	0			0			0	3	39	42
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	15.8	7.9	7.7
education	Count	0			0			0	0	1	1
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0	0.2	0.2
	Count	0			6			0	1	119	129
human interest/personalities	% within k and l Subcategory	0			40			0	5.3	24.0	23.8
	Count	0			0			0	0	34	34
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0	6.9	6.3
legal	Count	0			0			0	1	10	11
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	5.3	2.0	2.0
	Count	0			0			0	0	3	3
military	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0	0.6	0.6
	Count	0			0			0	0	3	3
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0	0.6	0.6
other	Count	0			2			0	10.5	5.9	5.7
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			13.3			0	0.0	10	13
	Count	0			1			0	0	29	31
political	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	2	29	31
	Count	0			0			0	10.5	5.9	5.7
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0	10	13
recreational	Count	0			2			0	0.0	2.0	2.4
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			13.3			0	0.0	2.0	2.4
	Count	0			1			0	0	3	5
religious	% within k and l Subcategory	0			6.7			0	0.0	0.6	0.9
	Count	1			1			0	0	36	38
	% within k and l Subcategory	100			6.7			0	0	7.3	7.0
sport	Count	0			0			0	0	68	68
	% within k and l Subcategory	0			0			0	0	13.7	12.5
	Count	0			15			1	19	495	542
Total	% within k and l Subcategory	100			100			100	100	100	100

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents					values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total
		to community	and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision				
1920 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.8	0.7
agricultural	Count	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	29	32
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	50	0	0	0	7.1	10	7.5	7.6
artistic	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5
community	Count	3	0	0	2	0	7	1	50	63
	% within k and l Subcategory	60	0	100	0	0	50	10	12.9	14.9
economic	Count	0	1	0	0	1	2	5	56	65
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	50	0	100	0	14.3	50	14.4	15.4
education	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	11
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	2.6	2.6
human interest/personalities	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	75	76
	% within k and l Subcategory	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	19.3	18.0
legal	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.1	3.8
medical	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	8	11
	% within k and l Subcategory	20	0	0	0	0	7.1	10	2.1	2.6
military	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5.0
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.3	1.2
other	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	20
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.1	4.7
political	Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	30	32
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	7.1	10	7.7	7.6
recreational	Count	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	21	23
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	14.3	0	5.4	5.4
religious	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.5
sport	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	48
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.3	11.3
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	14
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.6	3.3
Total	Count	5	2	2	2	1	14	10	389	423
	% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1930 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	8	11
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	8	4	1.4	1.7

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents					vision	values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total
		community	and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge						
agricultural	Count	0	0	0	1	2	1	7	61	72	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	16.7	33.3	4	28	10.9	11.4	
artistic	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.3	2.1	
community	Count	4	0	0	3	0	9	1	54	71	
	% within k and l Subcategory	57.1	0	0	50	0	36	4	9.6	11.3	
economic	Count	0	1	0	0	3	1	7	63	75	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	50	0	0	50	4	28	11.3	11.9	
education	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.7	0.6	
human interest/personalities	Count	1.0	0	0	0	1	3	1	105.0	111	
	% within k and l Subcategory	14.3	0	0	0	16.7	12	4	18.8	17.6	
legal	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	18	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	2.9	
medical	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	10	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1.6	1.6	
military	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	
	% within k and l Subcategory	14.3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.4	0.6	
other	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	16	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	2.9	2.5	
political	Count	0	1	0	0	0	2	5	32	40	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	50	0	0	0	8	20.0	5.7	6.3	
recreational	Count	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	27	32	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	33.3	0	12	0.0	4.8	5.1	
religious	Count	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	5	9	
	% within k and l Subcategory	14.3	0	0	0	0	12	0	0.9	1.4	
sport	Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	58	60	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	10.4	9.5	
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	85	85	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15.2	13.5	
Total	Count	7	2	6	6	6	25	25	560	631	
	% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1940 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.7	0.7	
agricultural	Count	0	0	1	10	0	0	1	48	50	
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	10	0	0	9.1	8.6	8.2	

Year	Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents				skills and knowledge	vision	values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total
			to community	and procedures	self confidence							
artistic		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	15	16
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.8	0	2.7	2.6
community		Count	1	0	0	4	0	0	12	5	82	104
		% within k and l Subcategory	33.3	0	0	40	0	0	57.1	45.5	14.7	17.0
economic		Count	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	1	60	66
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	50	0	0	60	0	0	9.1	10.8	10.8
education		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.1	1.0
human interest/personalities		Count	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	119	122
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	20	0	0	4.8	0	21.4	20
legal		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.3	1.1
medical		Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	20	22
		% within k and l Subcategory	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	4.8	0	3.6	3.6
media		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.2
military		Count	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	33	38
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	10	0	20	0	4.8	18.2	5.9	6.2
other		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	25
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.5	4.1
political		Count	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	21	27
		% within k and l Subcategory	33.3	25	10	10	0	0	9.5	9.1	3.8	4.4
recreational		Count	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	0	30	35.0
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	10	0	20	0	14.3	0.0	5.4	5.7
religious		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.9	0.8
sport		Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	47	49
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	9.1	8.5	8.0
		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	33
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	5.9	5.4
Total		Count	3	4	10	10	5	21	100	11	556	610
		% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1950 accident/disaster		Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.8	1.7
agricultural		Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	27	29
		% within k and l Subcategory	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	7.1	6.8

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents					values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total	
		to community	and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision					
artistic	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.8	0.0	0.3	0.7
community	Count	6	1	2	1	0	0	7	3	61	81
	% within k and l Subcategory	85.7	25.0	66.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	41.2	50.0	16.1	19.1
economic	Count	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	50	55
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	25	0	50	0	0	0	16.7	13.2	13.0
education	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.1	0.9
human interest/personalities	Count	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	80	84
	% within k and l Subcategory	14.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.8	0.0	21.1	19.8
legal	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	6
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.9	0.0	1.3	1.4
medical	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	6	10
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	16.7	0.0	0.0	11.8	16.7	1.6	2.4
military	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	9
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.1
other	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.3	1.2
political	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	31	33
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.8	0.0	8.2	7.8
recreational	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	14	16
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	25	0	0	0	0	5.9	0.0	3.7	3.8
religious	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.6	1.4
sport	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	58
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15.3	13.7
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	17	18
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	4.5	4.2
Total	Count	7	4	3	6	1	6	17	6	380	424
	% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1960 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.2	2.0
agricultural	Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	30	31
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	7.1	0	0	8.4	7.9
community	Count	2	1	4	0	0	8	3	79	97	24.7
	% within k and l Subcategory	66.7	100	100	0	0	57.1	33.3	22.1		

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents				values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total
		to community	and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge				
economic	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	54
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	33.3	0.0	33.3	13.8
education	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.1	3.1
human interest/personalities	Count	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	48
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	28.6	0.0	12.2
legal	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.4
medical	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0.0	0.6
media	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.3
military	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.1
other	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	2.2
political	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	22.2	3.4
recreational	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	5.6
religious	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	8.0
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	2.2
sport	Count	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	78
	% within k and l Subcategory	33.3	0	0	0	33.3	7.1	0.0	19.9
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3
Total	Count	3	1	1	4	3	14	9	392
	% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1970 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	0	1.1
agricultural	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	46
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	8.2
artistic	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2
community	Count	7	2	2	1	0	9	4	109
	% within k and l Subcategory	87.5	40.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	60.0	26.7	16.9

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents					skills and knowledge			values/attitudinal attributes		information network		not social capital	Total
		community	and procedures	self confidence	knowledge	vision	knowledge	confidence	vision	attributes	network	capital			
economic	Count	0	2	2	2	1				1	4	60	70		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	40	33.3	50.0	100.0				100.0	26.7	11.8	12.5		
education	Count	0	0	0	0.0	1.0				0.0	1.0	16.0	18.0		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	50				0	6.7	3.1	3.2		
human interest/personalities	Count	1	0	2	0	0				0	0	78	84		
	% within k and l Subcategory	12.5	0	33.3	0	0				0	0.0	15.3	15.0		
legal	Count	0.0	0	0	0	0				0	0	13	13		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0				0	0.0	2.6	2.3		
medical	Count	0	0	0	0	0				0	1.0	3.0	4.0		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0				0	6.7	0.6	0.7		
military	Count	0	0	0	0	0				0	0	5	6		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0				6.7	0	1.0	1.1		
other	Count	0	0	0	0	0				0	1	9	10		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0				0	6.7	1.8	1.8		
political	Count	0	1	0	0	0				0	3	19	23		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	20	0	0	0				0	20.0	3.7	4.1		
recreational	Count	0	0	0	0	0				0	1	17	18		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0				6.7	0.0	3.3	3.2		
religious	Count	0	0	0	0	0				0	0	16	16		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0				0	0.0	3.1	2.9		
sport	Count	0	0	1	0	0				0	0	121	122		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	16.7	0	0				0	0.0	23.8	21.7		
	Count	0	0	0	0	0				0	0	15	15		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0				0	0	2.9	2.7		
Total	Count	8	5	6	6	2	1	15	15	509	561	100	100		
	% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1980 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0.3	0		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.3	0.1	19	20		
agricultural	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.5	12	12		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.3	2.7	9	9		
artistic	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1.3	101	101		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.5	0.0	10	28.2	30.5	30.5		
community	Count	11	1	2	2	0	0	19	10	198	241	101	101		
	% within k and l Subcategory	78.6	25.0	22.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	47.5	62.5	28.2	95	13.5	12.8		
economic	Count	0	0	2	2	3	0	0	1	95	101	13.5	12.8		
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	22.2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3	13.5	12.8	12.8	12.8		

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment precedents					values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total
		to community	and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision				
education	Count	0	1	2	0	0	8	2	36	49
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	25	22.2	0.0	0.0	20.0	12.5	5.1	6.2
human interest/personalities	Count	2	0	0	0	0	8	0	60	70
	% within k and l Subcategory	14.3	0	0	0	0	20	0.0	8.5	8.9
legal	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.1
medical	Count	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.0	17.0	19.0
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.0	2.4	2.4
military	Count	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	6
	% within k and l Subcategory	7.1	25	0	0	0	0	6.3	0.4	0.8
other	Count	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.7	0.6
political	Count	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	30	32
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	25	11.1	0	0	0	0.0	4.3	4.1
recreational	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	15
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	2.0	1.9
religious	Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	19	20
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	50	0.0	2.7	2.5
sport	Count	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	183	185
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	22.2	0	0	0	0.0	26.1	23.4
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.7	1.5
Total	Count	14	4	9	3	2	40	16	702	790
	% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1990 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.4	0.4
agricultural	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	42	43
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0.0	4.5	4.1
artistic	Count	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	10	13
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	8	0	0	0	2.6	1.1	1.2
community	Count	13	1	11	5	5	29	19	273	351
	% within k and l Subcategory	76.5	33.3	44.0	83.3	83.3	74.4	50.0	29.3	33.1
economic	Count	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	75	84
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	7.7	15.8	8.0	7.9
education	Count	0	1	3	0	0	3	4	47	58
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	33.3	12	0	0	7.7	10.5	5.0	5.5

Year Subject	Knowledge and identity sub-categories	commitment to community	precedents and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision	values/attitudinal attributes	information network	not social capital	Total
human interest/personalities	Count	4	0	1	0	0	3	1	82	91
	% within k and l Subcategory	23.5	0	4	0	0	7.7	2.6	8.8	8.6
legal	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.3	1.1
medical	Count	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	15	18
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	8	0	0	0	2.6	1.6	1.7
military	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	6	9
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	4	0	0	0	5.3	0.6	0.8
other	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.6	0.6
political	Count	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	56	59
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	4	16.7	0	0	2.6	6.0	5.6
recreational	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	32	33
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.6	3.4	3.1
religious	Count	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	32	35
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	8	0	0	2.6	0.0	3.4	3.3
sport	Count	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	214	218
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	8	0	0	0	5.3	22.9	20.5
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	27
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.9	2.5
Total	Count	17	3	25	6	39	38	933	1061	
	% within k and l Subcategory	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
2000 accident/disaster	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.4
agricultural	Count	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	41	47
	% within k and l Subcategory	0	9.1	0	0	0	2.1	6.3	3.9	3.6
artistic	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	10
	% within k and l Subcategory	2.8	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.0	0.8	0.8
community	Count	19	8	8	7	6	50	25	294	417
	% within k and l Subcategory	52.8	72.7	44.4	53.8	85.7	51.5	52.1	27.7	32.3
economic	Count	2	0	2	2	0	4	10	108	128
	% within k and l Subcategory	5.6	0	11.1	15.4	0.0	4.1	20.8	10.2	9.9
education	Count	1	0	1	1	0	3	2	39	47
	% within k and l Subcategory	2.8	0	5.6	7.7	0.0	3.1	4.2	3.7	3.6
human interest/personalities	Count	5	1	3	0	0	19	4	93	125
	% within k and l Subcategory	13.9	9.1	16.7	0.0	0.0	19.6	8.3	8.8	9.7

[illegible]

APPENDIX R

Incorgov

- Incorgov by newspaper
- Incorgov by paper by time

APPENDIX R 1 INCORGOV BY NEWSPAPER

% within Incorgov

Paper	active citizenship	community engagement	charitable involvement	civic participation	civic republicanism	community togetherness	family and friend connection	heirachy	horizontal relationships	interpersonal and reciprocity	mutuality and reciprocity	neighbourhood connections	proactive in a social context	tolerance of diversity	value of work and life connections	not social capital	Total
BDN		3.9	0.6			3.9		0.6							1.7	89.4	100
BRP						15.4		3.8		7.7						73.1	100
BYN	0.9	3.7	0.5	0.5		5.1	0.5			1.4	0.5	1.9	0.9		0.5	83.7	100
CH	0.2	1.1	0.6		0.2	2.2	0.2			1.0	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.7	92.4	100
DEV		6.3	1.0			5.2		1.0		5.2	1.0	1.0	6.3		4.2	68.8	100
HT	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.1	2.2	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	1.2	91.6	100
IS	0.7	2.4	1.9	0.4		4.1	1.1	0.4	0.4	3.0	0.6	0.2	1.7	0.4	0.9	81.8	100
KINC	0.6	2.3	0.6			4.6			0.6				2.3		0.6	88.5	100
KINN	0.3	0.2	2.6			1.1		0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3		0.6		0.2	94.3	100
LP	4.5	24.7	1.1	2.2		4.5				2.2	1.1	4.5				55.1	100
NEA	0.5	2.5	1.0	0.4	0.3	3.1	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.2	1.0	0.3	1.6	86.4	100
RMR		1.3				1.3	1.3	1.3				1.3			1.3	92.3	100
SH		4.5		1.5	1.5					4.5		1.5	6.1			80.3	100
VEC		1.2	1.8			0.6									0.6	95.9	100
WT		1.6	1.9	0.3	0.5	3.8	0.3			0.3	0.5	3.5		0.3	5.4	81.7	100
ZN		1.4		1.4		2.8						1.4				93.0	100
Total	0.4	2.0	1.1	0.3	0.2	2.8	0.4	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.1	1.3	88.4	100

APPENDIX R 2 INCORGOV BY PAPER BY TIME

% within Year

Paper	Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
BDN	community engagement								3.6		7.7	3.9
	charitable involvement								0.9			0.6
	community togetherness								3.6		7.7	3.9
	horizontal relationships										2.6	0.6
	value of work and life connections								1.8	3.3		1.7
Total									90.1	96.7	82.1	89.4
Total									100	100	100	100
BRP	community togetherness										15.4	15.4
	horizontal relationships										3.8	3.8
	interpersonal and institutional trust										7.7	7.7
	Total										73.1	73.1
Total											100.0	100.0
BYN	active citizenship										1.9	0.9
	community engagement										7.8	3.7
	charitable involvement										1.0	0.5
	civic participation								5.9			0.5
	community togetherness								23.5	2.1	4.9	5.1
	family and friend connection										1.0	0.5
	interpersonal and institutional trust								5.9	2.1		1.4
	mutuality and reciprocity									1.1		0.5
	neighbourhood connections								5.9		2.9	1.9
	proactive in a social context									2.1		0.9
value of work and life connections											1.0	0.5
Total									58.8	92.6	79.6	83.7
Total									100	100	100	100
CH	active citizenship				0.7					1		0.2
	community engagement			0.7		0.5				3	4.7	1.1
	charitable involvement				0.7			3.3	2.2	1		0.6
	civic republicanism				1.4							0.2
	community togetherness	5.405405	2.1	4.1	2.1	1.0		3.3	3.7		1.0	2.2
	family and friend connection				0.7				0.7			0.2
interpersonal and institutional trust				2.7	1.4		2.9	2.2	0.7		0.5	1.0

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Paper	Year	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
SH	Total										92.3	92.3
	Incorgov	community engagement									100.0	100.0
		civic participation									4.5	4.5
		civic republicanism									1.5	1.5
		interpersonal and institutional trust									1.5	1.5
		neighbourhood connections									4.5	4.5
		proactive in a social context									1.5	1.5
											6.1	6.1
	Total										80.3	80.3
	VEC	Incorgov	community engagement								100	100
		charitable involvement							2.1	1.6		1.2
		community togetherness							2.1	3.2		1.8
		value of work and life connections								1.6		0.6
								2.1				0.6
	Total							100	93.8	93.5	100.0	95.9
WT	Total										100	100
	Incorgov	community engagement										1.6
		charitable involvement							1.6			1.6
		civic participation						0.8				1.9
		civic republicanism								0.4		0.3
		community togetherness								0.8		0.5
		family and friend connection						2.4		4.5		3.8
		interpersonal and institutional trust							0.4			0.3
		mutuality and reciprocity							0.4			0.3
		neighbourhood connections								0.8		0.5
		tolerance of diversity						4.0		3.3		3.5
		value of work and life connections						7.9		4.1		0.3
								83.3	80.9			81.7
	Total							100	100			100
	ZN	Incorgov	community engagement							3.3		1.4
		civic participation									2.4	1.4
		community togetherness									4.9	2.8
		neighbourhood connections									2.4	1.4
									96.7	90.2		93.0
Total								100	100		100	

APPENDIX S

SHAPE SOURCE AND TONE

- Shape by paper by social capital
- Source by dimensions
- Photo shape by social capital
- Tone by time by social capital

APPENDIX S 1 SHAPE BY PAPER BY SOCIAL CAPITAL

Paper	article	competition	editorial	jokes/s	letters	notice	poem/	report	story/serial	sports results	phot	recipe	Total
BDN	21.1				5.3	10.5		63.2					100
BRP	28.6					28.6		28.6			14.3		100
BYN	17.1		5.7		11.4	14.3		45.7	5.7				100
CH	26.6				8.5	5.3		51.1	2.1		6.4		100
DEV	33.3							26.7			40		100
HT	25.9		0.9		4.3	2.6		61.2			0.9		100
IS	18.4		4.1		26.5	30.6		18.4	1		1		100
KINC	5				15			70			10		100
KINN	2.6				18.4			78.9					100
LP	15.4		5.1		7.7	12.8		56.4	2.6				100
NEA	58.5	0.5		0.5	2.7	5.3	0.5	29.8			2.1		100
RMF	33.3				16.7			33.3			16.7		100
SH	53.8							38.5				7.7	100
VEC					14.3			85.7					100
WT	31.9		1.4		2.9	2.9		58		1.4	1.4		100
ZN					20	40		40					100
Total	30.8	0.1	1.4	0.1	8.6	8.4	0.8	45	0.8	0.1	3.7	0.1	100

APPENDIX S 2 SOURCE BY DIMENSIONS

Elements by source (%)										
	futuricity	historicity	inclusivity	participation in voluntary associations	reciprocity	relationship building	shared values	vision	not sc	Total
community	1.5	2.1	10.0	2.1	0.3	1.0	1.4	0.3	81.3	100.0
civic/political	3.0	0.6	16.2	0.6			0.6		79.0	100.0
correspondent		1.6	9.7	3.2	1.6		6.5		77.4	100.0
editor	6.8	3.4	16.9	1.7			5.1		66.1	100.0
foreign correspondent	3.0	1.8	1.2			1.2	1.2		91.7	100.0
reader	1.4	2.3	10.1	0.6	1.4	1.2	2.6	0.3	80.1	100.0
specialist	0.3	1.5	1.5				1.5	0.3	94.8	100.0
s/un	0.7	1.1	3.8	1.2	0.3	0.6	1.9	0.2	90.2	100.0
	1.0	1.3	5.1	1.2	0.4	0.6	1.9	0.2	88.4	100.0

Networks by source (%)						
	bonding	bridging	linking	negative	not sc	Total
community	2.3	15.1	1.3	0.1	81.3	100.0
civic/political	0.6	18.6	1.2	0.6	79.0	100.0
correspondent	6.5	16.1			77.4	100.0
editor	3.4	28.8	1.7		66.1	100.0
foreign correspondent	1.8	3.6	2.4	0.6	91.7	100.0
reader	4.6	13.3	0.6	1.4	80.1	100.0
specialist	0.3	4.6	0.3		94.8	100.0
s/un	1.3	7.5	0.8	0.2	90.2	100.0
	1.6	8.9	0.9	0.3	88.4	100.0

Knowledge and identity resources					
	knowledge	identity	knowledge and identity	not sc	Total
community	11.5	5.1	2.1	81.3	100.0
civic/political	6.0	12.6	2.4	79.0	100.0
correspondent	11.3	11.3		77.4	100.0
editor	27.1	3.4	3.4	66.1	100.0
foreign correspondent	4.1	3.6	0.6	91.7	100.0
reader	16.1	3.7		80.1	100.0
specialist	2.7	2.4		94.8	100.0
s/un	6.3	2.7	0.8	90.2	100.0
	7.4	3.4	0.9	88.4	100.0

k and I Subcategory									
	commitment to community	precedents and procedures	self confidence	skills and knowledge	vision	values/ attitudinal attributes	informant ion networks	not sc	Total
community	3.5	0.8	2.3	1.4	0.6	5.9	4.2	81.3	100.0
civic/political	0.6	1.2	1.8	1.8	1.2	3.0	11.4	79.0	100.0
correspondent	4.8		1.6			4.8	11.3	77.4	100.0
editor	6.8		6.8	1.7	3.4	10.2	5.1	66.1	100.0
foreign correspondent		0.6	3.0	1.2		1.2	2.4	91.7	100.0
reader	1.7	0.3	3.7	1.2		10.7	2.3	80.1	100.0
specialist		0.9	0.6			2.1	1.5	94.8	100.0
s/un	1.3	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.1	3.9	2.5	90.2	100.0
	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.7	0.2	4.4	2.9	88.4	100.0

Source	Incorgov by source (%)																
	active citizenship	community engagement	charitable involvement	civic participation	civic republicanism	community togetherness	family and friend connection	hierarchy	horizontal relationships	interpersonal and institutional trust	mutuality and reciprocity	neighbourhood connections	proactive in a social context	tolerance of diversity	value of work and life connections	not social capital	Total
community	0.4	4.9	1.8	0.8	0.1	5.2	0.3	0.1	0.6	1.3	0.1	1.3	0.6	0.3	0.8	81.3	100.0
civic/political		2.4			0.6	1.2		0.6		12.0	1.2	1.2	1.2		0.6	79.0	100.0
correspondent	3.2	1.6	3.2		1.6	1.6			3.2		1.6	4.8			1.6	77.4	100.0
editor	1.7	5.1	3.4	1.7		11.9	1.7	1.7		1.7			1.7		3.4	66.1	100.0
foreign correspondent	0.6		0.6	0.6	1.2	0.6				0.6				1.2	3.0	91.7	100.0
reader	0.6	2.6	1.2		0.3	3.2	0.9	0.6	0.9	1.2	0.9	1.7	1.4	0.3	4.3	80.1	100.0
specialist staff/	0.3			0.3		0.9	0.6		0.3	0.3		0.3	0.6		1.5	94.8	100.0
unacknowledged	0.3	1.7	1.0	0.2	0.1	2.5	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.1	1.0	90.2	100.0
	0.4	2.0	1.1	0.3	0.2	2.8	0.4	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.1	1.3	88.4	100.0

APPENDIX S 3 PHOTOSHAPE NOT CONTAINING SOCIAL
CAPITAL AND CONTAINING SOCIAL CAPITAL

not social capital	Paper	article/ ph	ph/only	report/ph		Total
	BDN	0	0	0	161	161
	BRP	0	0	1	18	19
	BYN	2	3	4	171	180
	CH	5	24	48	1072	1149
	DEV	4	4	13	45	66
	HT	1	32	55	1162	1250
	IS	0	1	0	436	437
	KINC	8	1	12	133	154
	KINN	1	5	9	611	626
	LP	0	0	0	49	49
	NEA	11	20	13	1149	1193
	RMR	0	0	0	72	72
	SH	7	3	6	37	53
	VEC	0	0	0	163	163
	WT	0	8	114	182	304
	ZN	0	0	0	66	66
	Total	39	101	275	5527	5942

social capital	Paper	article/ ph	ph/only	report/ph		Total
	BDN	0	0	0	19	19
	BRP	1	0	0	6	7
	BYN	0	0	1	34	35
	CH	5	1	3	85	94
	DEV	12	0	0	18	30
	HT	1	0	4	110	115
	IS	0	1	0	96	97
	KINC	2	0	4	14	20
	KINN	0	0	0	38	38
	LP	0	0	0	40	40
	NEA	3	1	0	184	188
	RMR	0	1	0	5	6
	SH	6	0	2	5	13
	VEC	0	0	0	7	7
	WT	0	1	20	47	68
	ZN	0	0	0	5	5
	Total	30	5	34	713	782

APPENDIX S 4 TONE BY TIME BY SOCIAL CAPITAL

Crosstab Tone		Year by tone										
		1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000 Total	
critical	Count	10	22	11	7	5	5	2	30	32	22	146
	% within Year	1.85	5.20	1.74	1.15	1.18	1.28	0.36	3.80	3.02	1.71	2.17
humorous	Count	4	10	14	9	3	1	3	6	7	9	66
	% within Year	0.74	2.36	2.22	1.48	0.71	0.26	0.53	0.76	0.66	0.70	0.98
mediatory	Count	29	13	17	8	7	5	8	27	29	25	168
	% within Year	5.35	3.07	2.69	1.31	1.65	1.28	1.43	3.42	2.73	1.94	2.50
neutral	Count	377	309	416	477	349	286	399	538	665	744	4560
	% within Year	69.56	73.05	65.93	78.20	82.31	72.96	71.12	68.10	62.68	57.67	67.82
negative	Count	4	7	4	8	1	7	25	10	21	21	108
	% within Year	0.74	1.65	0.63	1.31	0.24	1.79	4.46	1.27	1.98	1.63	1.61
positive	Count	58	50	81	68	40	86	109	167	278	358	1295
	% within Year	10.70	11.82	12.84	11.15	9.43	21.94	19.43	21.14	26.20	27.75	19.26
	Count	60	12	88	33	19	2	15	12	29	111	381
	% within Year	11.07	2.84	13.95	5.41	4.48	0.51	2.67	1.52	2.73	8.60	5.67
Total	Count	542	423	631	610	424	392	561	790	1061	1290	6724
	% within Year	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
positive	Count	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	
	% within Year	58	50	81	68	40	86	109	167	278	358	1295
	% within Year	10.70	11.82	12.84	11.15	9.43	21.94	19.43	21.14	26.20	27.75	19.26
	% not	89.30	88.18	87.16	88.85	90.57	78.06	80.57	78.86	73.80	72.25	
chi-sg comp 1960		0.006617261	0.014482723	0.027846206	0.009116938	0.00251348	1	0.54429579	0.846800078	0.302958831	0.160105753	

APPENDIX T

Paper by subject by social capital

10

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APPENDIX U

Effect by each dimension

APPENDIX U EFFECT BY EACH DIMENSION

Elements by effect

Shaded area shows each dimension's highest variable in relation to each effect

% within Effect

Elements	building	building and outcome	dimishing	outcome	not coded to effect	Total
futuricity	8.4	8.7	7.1	4.3	0.2	1.0
historicity	12.7	10.4		8.7	0.3	1.3
inclusivity	50.4	38.8	50.0	27.5	0.9	5.1
participation in voluntary associations	5.3	16.9	7.1	26.1	0.1	1.2
reciprocity	2.1	3.8	7.1	4.3	0.1	0.4
relationship building	5.0	6.0	14.3		0.2	0.6
shared values	14.0	14.8	14.3	27.5	0.4	1.9
vision	2.1	0.5		1.4	0.1	0.2
not social capital					97.7	88.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Networks by effect

% within Effect

Networks	building	building and outcome	dimishing	outcome	not coded to effect	Total
bonding	13.2	13.7		17.4	0.3	1.6
bridging	78.9	79.8		78.3	1.6	8.9
linking	7.4	4.9	7.1	4.3	0.3	0.9
negative	0.5	1.6	92.9		0.0	0.3
not social capital					97.7	88.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Knowledge and identity resources sub-categories by effect

% within Effect

Knowledge and Identity sub-categories	building	building and outcome	dimishing	outcome	not coded to effect	Total
commitment to community	7.65	27.87		30.43		1.50
precedents and procedures	5.28	3.28	7.14	2.90	0.12	0.54
self confidence	12.93	10.93	21.43	7.25	0.35	1.46
skills and knowledge	6.33	7.10		2.90	0.10	0.67
vision	1.85	1.64		1.45	0.02	0.18
values/attitudinal attributes	35.09	33.33	42.86	37.68	1.10	4.36
info	30.87	15.85	28.57	17.39	0.58	2.93
not social capital					97.75	88.37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Incorgov by effect

% within Effect

Incorgov	building	building and outcome	dimishing	outcome	not coded to effect	Total
active citizenship	3.2	2.2	7.1	7.2	0.1	0.4
community engagement	14.0	26.8	7.1	23.2	0.2	2.0
charitable involvement	6.1	13.1		20.3	0.2	1.1
civic participation	1.1	2.2		4.3	0.1	0.3
civic republicanism	1.8	1.1			0.0	0.2
community togetherness	21.4	25.7	14.3	26.1	0.6	2.8
family and friend connection	2.4	3.3		7.2	0.1	0.4
heirachy	1.3	1.6			0.0	0.2
horizontal relationships	2.9	2.2			0.1	0.3
interpersonal and institutional trust	13.7	0.5	35.7	1.4	0.1	1.0
mutuality and reciprocity	2.4	5.5	14.3	1.4	0.1	0.4
neighbourhood connections	8.2	1.6			0.1	0.6
proactive in a social context	6.6	8.2	7.1	4.3	0.1	0.7
tollerance of diversity	1.3	0.5	14.3		0.0	0.1
value of work and life connections	13.7	5.5		4.3	0.3	1.3
not social capital					97.7	88.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

APPENDIX V

Profile of social capital in papers

- Subject shape and source

APPENDIX V PROFILES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN PAPERS BY SUBJECT - SHAPE - SOURCE

Note: Not sc -shaded column represents items not coded as social capital; sc represents social capital in category

The Baghdad News (BDN)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	161	19	180
% within Paper	89.4	10.6	100

Subjects	Shape			Source		
	not sc	sc	Total	not sc	sc	Total
Items	notice	sc	Total	community	sc	Total
agricultural	100		100	civic/political	11	100
community	87.3	12.7	100	editor		100
economic	100		100	foreign		100
education	90	10	100	correspondent		100
human interest/personalities	81.8	18.2	100	reader	8.3	100
legal	100		100	specialist		100
medical	90.9	9.1	100	staff/unacknowledged	14.8	100
other	100		100	Total	10.6	100
political	100		100			
recreational	100		100			
religious	100		100			
sport	85.7	14.3	100			
jokes/ quotes	100		100			
Total	89.4	10.6	100			

Brid rePort (BRP)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	19	7	26
% within Paper	73.1	26.9	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
agricultural	100		100
community	66.7	33.3	100
economic	100		100
education		100	100
human	100		100
interest/personalities			
medical	100		100
military	100		100
other	100		100
political		100	100
recreational	100		100
Total	73.1	26.9	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article		100	100
notice	84.6	15	100
report	77.8	22	100
story/serial	100		100
phot		100	100
Total	73.1	27	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	58.33	42	100
reader	100		100
specialist	100		100
s/un	81.82	18	100
Total	73.08	27	100

Bruny News (BYN)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	180	25	215
% within Paper	83.7	16.3	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
agricultural	100		100
artistic	100		100
community	75	25	100
economic	76.5	23.5	100
education	75	25	100
human	81.5	18.5	100
interest/personalities			
legal	100		100
medical	75	25	100
media		100	100
other	100		100
political	95.2	4.8	100
recreational	100		100
religious	100		100
sport	71.4	28.6	
jokes/ quotes	100		
Total	83.7	16.3	

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
Shape			
article			60
competition			100
editorial			80
joke/small			100
humorous			
story			
letters			85.2
notice			90.6
poem/quote/mor			100
report			68.6
story/serial			66.7
phot			100
recipe			100
Total			83.7

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	74.7	25	100
civic/political	77.8	22	100
correspondent	88.9	11	100
editor	72.7	27	100
reader	92.9	7.1	100
specialist	92.3	7.7	100
s/un	95.9	4.1	100
	83.7	16	100

Circular Head Chronicle (CH)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	1149	94	1243
% within Paper	92.4	7.6	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
accident/disaster	100		100
agricultural	98.3	1.7	100
artistic	100		100
community	83.3	16.7	100
economic	93.3	6.7	100
education	96.3	3.7	100
human interest/personalities	93.1	6.9	100
legal	100		100
medical	100		100
media	100		100
military	86.4	13.6	100
other	96.4	3.6	100
political	90.4	9.6	100
recreational	93.9	6.1	100
religious	90	10	100
sport	97.8	2.2	100
jokes/quotes	100		100
Total	92.4	7.6	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	83	17	100
editorial	100		100
joke/small humorous story	100		100
letters	83.3	17	100
notice	96.8	3.2	100
poem/quote/mor	100		100
report	93.5	6.5	100
story/serial	77.8	22	100
sports results	100		100
phot	82.9	17	100
recipe	100		100
Total	92.4	7.6	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	95.1	4.9	100
civic/political editor	83.3	17	100
foreign correspondent	100		100
reader	54.5	45	100
specialist	83.3	17	100
s/un	100		100
	93	7	100
Total	92.4	7.6	100

Devonport Times (DEV)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	66	30	96
% within Paper	68.8	31.3	100

Subjects	not sc	sc	Total
agricultural	100		100
artistic	75	25	100
community	64.9	35.1	100
economic	63.6	36.4	100
education	50	50	100
human	60	40	100
interest/personalities			
medical	100		100
other	100		100
political	85.7	14.3	100
recreational	100		100
sport	50	50	100
jokes/quotes	100		100
Total	68.8	31.3	100

Shape	not sc	sc	Total
article	58.3	42	100
joke/small humorous story	100		100
letters	100		100
notice	100		100
report	78.9	21	100
phot	40	60	100
recipe	100		100
Total	68.8	31	100

Source	not sc	sc	Total
community	77.78	22	100
civic/political	70	30	100
correspondent	100		100
reader	100		100
specialist	50	50	100
s/un	66.7	33	100
Total	68.8	31	100

Huon Times (HT)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	1250	115	1365
% within Paper	91.6	8.4	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
accident/disaster	92.9	7.1	100
agricultural	89.6	10.4	100
artistic	93.3	6.7	100
community	79.3	20.7	100
economic	92.2	7.8	100
education	85.7	14.3	100
human interest/personalities	94.7	5.3	100
legal	100		100
medical	75	25	100
military	87.097	12.903	100
other	100		100
political	91.1	8.9	100
recreational	85.7	14.3	100
religious	84.6	15.4	100
sport	98.1	1.9	100
jokes/quotes	100		100
Total	91.6	8.4	100

Island News (IN)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	436	98	534

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	86.2	14	100
competition	100		100
editorial	80	20	100
joke/small humorous	100		100
story			
letters	82.8	17	100
notice	95	5	100
poem/quote/mor	87.2	13	100
report	91	9	100
story/serial	100		100
sports results	100		100
phot	97.1	2.9	100
recipe	100		100
Total	91.6	8.4	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	94.8	5.2	100
civic/political	83.3	17	100
correspondent	100		100
editor	87.5	13	100
foreign correspondent	96.9	3.1	100
reader	86.4	14	100
specialist	93.9	6.1	100
s/un	91	9	100
Total	91.6	8.4	100

% within Paper 81.6 18.4 100

Subjects	sc		Total
agricultural	95.9	4.7	100
artistic	100		100
community	68.7	31.3	100
economic	74.1	25.9	100
education	71.4	28.6	100
human	88.1	11.9	100
interest/personalities			
legal	75	25	100
medical	100		100
media		100	100
military	62.5	37.5	100
other	100		100
political	85.7	14.3	100
recreational	100		100
religious	91.7	8.3	100
sport	94.3	5.7	100
jokes/quotes	100		100
Total	81.8	18.2	100

Shape	sc		Total
competition	100		100
editorial	42.9	57	100
joke/small	100		100
humorous			
story			
letters	62.3	38	100
notice	87	13	100
poem/quote/ mor	100		100
report	79.5	20	100
story/serial	93.8	6.3	100
sports results	100		100
phot	50	50	100
recipe	100		100
Total	81.8	18	100

Source	sc		Total
civic/political	77.1	23	100
correspondent	66.7	33	100
editor	41.7	58	100
reader	65.6	34	100
specialist	100		100
s/un	89.2	11	100
Total	81.8	18	100

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	154	20	174
% within Paper	88.5	11.5	100

Subjects	not sc	sc	Total
agricultural	90	10	100
community	75	25	100
economic	97.2	2.8	100
education	75	25	100
human	77.8	22.2	100
interest/personalities			
legal	100		100
medical	100		100
other	100		100
political	92.3	7.7	100
recreational	100		100
sport	95.2	4.8	100
Total	88.5	11.5	100

Shape	not sc	sc	Total
editorial	100		100
letters	70	30	100
notice	100		100
report	88.5	11	100
sports results	100		100
phot	81.8	18	100
Total	88.5	11	100

Source	not sc	sc	Total
civic/political	100		100
editor	100		100
reader	62.5	38	100
s/un	89.2	11	100
Total	88.5	11	100

King Island News (KINN)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	626	38	664
% within Paper	94.3	5.7	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
agricultural	98.3	1.7	100
artistic	100		100
community	77.6	22.4	100
economic	95.6	4.4	100
education	100		100
human	97.8	2.2	100
interest/personalities			
legal	100		100
medical	88.9	11.1	100
military	80	20	100
other	100		100
political	95.7	4.3	100
recreational	100		100
religious	100		100
sport	99.1	0.9	100
jokes/quotes	100		100
Total	94.3	5.7	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
competition	100		100
joke/small	100		100
humorous			
story	75	25	100
letters	100		100
notice	100		100
poem/quote/ mor	100		100
report	92.8	7.2	100
story/serial	100		100
sports results	100		100
phot	100		100
rec/	100		100
Total	94.3	5.7	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
civic/political	100		100
correspondent	100		100
editor	100		100
foreign	92.3	7.7	100
correspondent			
reader	80	20	100
specialist	100		100
s/un	94.5	5.5	100
Total	94.3	5.7	100

Lilydale Progressive (LP)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	50	39	89
% within Paper	56.2	43.8	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
community	52.6	47.4	100
economic	100	100	100
education	60	40	100
human	33.3	66.7	100
interest/personalities	80	20	100
medical	100	100	100
other	100	100	100
sport	100	100	100
jokes/quotes	100	100	100
Total	55.1	44.9	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
editorial	25	100	100
letters	82.8	75	100
notice	37.5	17	100
report	100	63	100
story/serial	100	100	100
rec/	55.1	45	100
Total	55.1	45	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
civic/political	33.3	67	100
correspondent	75	25	100
editor	66.7	100	100
reader	100	33	100
specialist	100	100	100
s/un	83.6	17	100
Total	55.1	45	100

King Island Courier (KINC)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	154	20	174
% within Paper	88.5	11.5	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
accident /disaster	88.9	11.1	100
agricultural	84.9	15.1	100
artistic	89.3	10.7	100
community	73.5	26.5	100
economic	82.1	17.9	100
education	80	20	100
human interest/personalities	91.5	8.5	100
legal	96.8	3.2	100
medical	74.2	25.8	100
media	100		100
military	80	20	100
other	100		100
political	87.7	12.3	100
recreational	86.4	13.6	100
religious	81.3	18.8	100
sport	98	2	100
	98.5	1.5	100
	86.4	13.6	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	75.2	25	100
competition	66.7	33	100
joke/small humorous story	97.6	2.4	100
letters	91.7	8.3	100
notice	93.8	6.3	100
poem/quote/mor	93.9	6.7	100
report	89.7	10	100
story/serial	100		100
sports results	100		100
phot	88.6	11	100
rec/	100		100
	86.4	14	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	87.5	13	100
civic/political	79.6	27	100
correspondent	66.7	33	100
editor	100		100
foreign correspondent	88.4	12	100
reader	90.9	9.1	100
specialist	88.5	11	100
s/un	86.4	14	100
Total	86.4	14	100

Rossarden Mountain Re-echo

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	72	6	78
% within Paper	92.3	7.7	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
community	57.1	42.9	100
human interest/personalities	70	30	100
medical	100		100
sport	100		100
	100		100
	92.3	7.7	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	71.4	29	100
competition	100		100
joke/small humorous story	100		100
letters		100	100
notice	100		100
poem/quote/mor	100		100
report	84.6	15	100
story/serial	100		100
phot		100	100
rec/	100		100
	92.3	7.7	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	57.1	43	100
editor		100	100
reader	83.3	17	100
specialist	100		100
s/un	100		100
Total	92.3	7.7	100

St Helens Herald (SH)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	53	13	66
% within Paper	80.3	19.7	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
accident/disaster	100		100
agricultural	100		100
community	81.8	18.2	100
economic	77.8	22.2	100
human interest/personalities	85.7	14.3	100
legal	100		100
medical	75	25	100
political	60	40	100
recreational	100		100
sport	50	50	100
	100		100
	80.303	19.697	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	53.8	47	100
joke/small humorous story	100		100
letters	100		100
notice	100		100
poem/quote/mor	100		100
report	78.3	22	100
story/serial	100		100
phot	100		100
rec/	83.3	17	100
	80.3	20	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	82.4	18	100
civic/political	62.5	38	100
correspondent	100	100	100
foreign correspondent	100		100
reader	100		100
specialist	100		100
s/un	82.4	18	100
Total	80.3	20	100

Valley and East Coast Voice (VEC)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	163	7	170
% within Paper	95.9	4.1	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
accident/disaster	100		100
agricultural	80	20	100
artistic	100		100
community	92.7	7.3	100
economic	100		100
education	80	20	100
human	100		100
interest/personalities			
legal	100		100
medical	83.3	16.7	100
military	100		100
political	100		100
recreational	100		100
religious	100		100
sport	100		100
Total	95.9	4.1	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	100		100
competition	100		100
editorial	100		100
joke/small	100		100
humorous			
story			
letters	94.4	5.6	100
notice	100		100
poem/quote/mor	100		100
report	91	9	100
story/serial	100		100
sports results	100		100
rec/	100		100
Total	95.9	4.1	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	83.3	17	100
civic/political	100		100
editor	85.7	14	100
reader	100		100
specialist	100		100
s/un	96.3	3.7	100
Total	95.9	4.1	100

Western Tiers (WT)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	304	68	372
% within Paper	81.7	18.3	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
accident/disaster	100		100
agricultural	80	20	100
artistic	50	50	100
community	74.6	25.4	100
economic	95.2	4.8	100
education	72.7	27.3	100
human	88.2	11.8	100
interest/personalities			
legal	100		100
medical	66.7	33.3	100
political	90	10	100
recreational	94.1	5.9	100
religious	100		100
sport	97.6	2.4	100
	100		100
	81.7	18.3	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	50	50	100
competition	100		100
editorial		100	100
joke/small	100		100
humorous			
story			
letters	92.9	7.1	100
notice	94.9	5.1	100
poem/quote/ mor	100		100
report	82.5	17	100
sports results	90	10	100
phot	88.9	11	100
rec/	100		100
	81.7	18	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	84.6	15	100
civic/political	87.5	13	100
correspondent	81.3	19	100
editor	50	50	100
foreign	100		100
correspondent			
reader	67.3	33	100
specialist	100		100
s/un	84.4	16	100
Total	81.7	18	100

Zeehan Community News (ZN)

Items in sample	not sc	sc	Total
Count	66	5	71
% within Paper	93.0	7.0	100

Subjects

	not sc	sc	Total
accident/disaster	100		100
artistic	100		100
community	90.9	9.1	100
economic	100		100
education	100		100
human interest/personalities	80	20	100
recreational	100		100
sport	100		100
	100		100
	93	7	100

Shape

	not sc	sc	Total
article	100		100
joke/small humorous story	100		100
letters		100	100
notice	96.5	3.5	100
poem/quote/mor	100		100
report	66.7	33	100
sports results	100		100
Total	93	7	100

Source

	not sc	sc	Total
community	89.4	11	100
civic/political	100		100
correspondent	100		100
specialist	100		100
s/un	100		100
Total	93	7	100