

**A Changing Sense of Place in Canadian Daily Newspapers: 1894-2005**

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## **Abstract**

In the modern era, changing perceptions of space and place and external intrusions into local space and culture have been theorized as weakening ties between people and the places they live in. Improvements in transportation and communication have enabled this process. Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991) describes the phenomenon as “disembedding” and considers it a hallmark of modernity while geographer Doreen Massey (1994) describes an increasing “disruption” of local spaces occurring over time.

This dissertation provides empirical evidence to support those theories. It examines the changing “sense of place” from 1894 to 2005 in two Canadian metropolitan daily newspapers: the *Toronto Star*, independent for most of the period under study, and the *Ottawa Citizen*, owned by a series of national chains since 1897.

The results show a significant decline in local content and the priority it is given in both newspapers over the 112-year study period. Content analysis was used to compare articles from all sections of the newspaper between three time periods: the Victorian (1894-1929), the Professional (1930-1970), and the Corporate (1971-2005).

While the quantity and priority of local news declined significantly in both newspapers after 1970, the decline was much sharper in the chain-owned

newspaper. Furthermore, disappearing local content was replaced almost entirely by national stories in both newspapers, with the chain newspaper displaying a much greater increase in national content. The phenomenon replaced many stories that imparted a local sense of place with ones whose sense of place was national.

Three possible reasons for this increase in national content after 1970—which is the study's major finding—are suggested in the conclusion: the threat of Quebec separatism, rising corporate influence on newspaper priorities, and a gradual process of spatialization that appears to favour the national and the global over the local.

This study relies heavily on Barnhurst and Nerone's (2001) theories about how the form of news structures its messages, and its results support their finding of increased corporate control of news since 1970. Other theories of representation are also examined in an effort to understand how newspapers create and shape a sense of place.

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(Not Included)

## Chapter 1: Introduction

“All news is local” is an expression one used to hear often in the news business<sup>1</sup>. Journalists recited it as a reminder that the local and the particular are the essence of the news story. Abstract themes and statements do not make for compelling narratives; stories must feature particular people, locations and events. One of the particulars long considered essential to every story is place—the *where* in the traditional Five Ws (who, what, where, when, why) that are supposed to be included in every article (Harrower, 2007).

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<sup>1</sup> The expression is a derivative of “all politics is local,” a favourite of the late Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill, longtime Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Its author is thought to be Finley Peter Dunne, author of the syndicated Mr. Dooley columns, which were popular around the start of the 20th century. But despite numerous references to Dunne’s authorship, none has cited which of Dunne’s publications contains the quote, and the author’s online searches of his most popular works, republished electronically, did not find it. This author was originally told of Dunne’s authorship by Timothy Kenny, director of research and news history at the Newseum, in Washington, D.C., in an email correspondence in March 2001. He did not reply to a more recent email. The claim has also been made in the *New York Times* (Purnick, 2006).

This dissertation examines how two Canadian metropolitan<sup>2</sup> newspapers have contributed to creating a “sense of place” about the local community each serves and its place in the wider world. It documents how that role changed between the 1890s—when one of them, the *Toronto Star*<sup>3</sup>, was founded and the other, the *Ottawa Citizen*, became part of the Southam chain—and 2005. This study uses the term “sense of place” as defined by geographers Agnew and Duncan (1989, p. 2) who call it “identification with a place engendered by living in it.” This definition applies well to the metropolitan newspaper, which is aimed at readers who live in the metropolitan area served by the newspaper, also known as its circulation area. This geographic area—which is well documented for both newspapers in annual reports archived by the Audit Bureau of Circulations—was used as the study’s definition of “local.”

The story is one of gradual change in both newspapers’ sense of place: the local, once the central focus of the North American daily newspaper, has been

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<sup>2</sup> By metropolitan, this study means a newspaper that covers and is distributed in a major city and its environs.

<sup>3</sup> The paper’s name when it was founded in 1892 was *The Evening Star*, which was changed in 1900 to *The Toronto Daily Star*. It became *The Toronto Star* in 1971 (Honderich, 1992).

gradually losing ground to the national in these two newspapers, though it is important to note that local news has not yet been bumped from first place in the *Toronto Star* (in either the proportion of stories or the “play,” i.e. priority, the stories receive). And while local news is tied with national news in the *Citizen* in recent years, international news is now in first place in the *Citizen*<sup>4</sup>. While the decline in local news over the study period was significantly more pronounced in the *Citizen*, which belongs to a national chain, it also occurred in the *Star*, a newspaper long considered a champion of the local<sup>5</sup>. A detailed content analysis of randomly selected editions of these newspapers over the 112-year span from 1894 to 2005 showed a steady decline in local news over the entire time span in the *Star*, and in the *Citizen*, a marked decline in the number and priority of local stories since 1970. Local stories were replaced, both in number and in priority<sup>6</sup>, primarily by national ones.

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<sup>4</sup> This includes all stories coming from the U.S. and other countries, in every section of the newspaper.

<sup>5</sup> Evidence for this characterization of the *Star* will be detailed later in this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> This term will be carefully defined in later chapters. Here, suffice it to say that the term involves story placement, length, headline size and other factors that give articles prominence in the newspaper.

One might wonder about the importance of such research in the era of the supposed “end of geography,” hailed by some, particularly in the business world, as a positive outcome of electronic communications. Books like *The Death of Distance* by Frances Cairncross, a senior editor at *The Economist*, and *The Borderless World* by Kenichi Ohmae, are among “a series of works announcing the triumph of technology over place, the annihilation of space with technology, the end of geography,” says Vincent Mosco (2004, p. 86). A typical Cairncross statement: “Wireless—the other communications revolution—is simultaneously killing location, putting the world in our pockets” (Cairncross, 1997, p. 2).

Mosco, by contrast, asserts that today, “place matters more than ever” (2004, p. 28), and nowhere more so than in the communications industry itself—a fact he has documented in a number of research projects (1997, 1998, 1999). If place did not matter, he asks, why would people flock to Silicon Valley as the home of the computer industry, or New York as the Mecca for advertising and broadcast media? And why would people care if North American jobs were “outsourced” to places like India?

But there are deeper reasons why place matters. As some of the literature to be explored in this dissertation theorizes, attachment to place is quite possibly a basic human instinct. However, in the modern era, increasing disruptions of and intrusions into local space and local culture by external influences—made possible

largely by improved communications and transportation—have been theorized as weakening ties to place (Giddens, 1990, 1991). This dissertation provides strong empirical support for that theory.

Loss of connection to place is part of a widespread modern phenomenon documented by many scholars whose work will be explored in Chapter 2. Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991) describes a process called “disembedding”—the lifting of social relationships out of local contexts—which he considers a hallmark of the modern era. Nicholas Entrikin (1991) describes the alienation moderns feel because they are pulled by a set of opposing forces, some universal and some particular. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai fears that localities themselves could be lost if people do not work to preserve them amid the global “world of flows” and “relations of disjuncture” that he describes in *Modernity at Large* (1996). And geographer Doreen Massey (1994) describes the increasing “disruption” of local spaces by global forces.

This study’s research objective was to seek evidence of these changes—including but not restricted to disembedding<sup>7</sup>—over the past century in representations of place by Canadian newspapers, particularly the local place that

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<sup>7</sup> Other concepts related to these changes will be introduced in Chapter 2.

the newspaper serves. In other words, how does the metropolitan Canadian newspaper construct a local sense of place, and has it changed over time?

Newspapers are ideal for examining the changing social and cultural sense of place because, in North America at least, they are traditionally based in localities; these can range in size from the village to the metropolis, but only in recent years has North America spawned national newspapers. In England, by contrast, there are numerous national newspapers and a second tier of local newspapers. The history of newspapers in North America, however, is one of parochialism: that is, their focus is on the local community (Dornan, 2003). Also, newspapers in North America have a traditional role in building and sustaining community or civic culture (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p. 1; de Tocqueville, 1835,1840/2000; Schudson, 1995; Wallace, 2005).

Thus, newspapers have long been considered important to a locality's sense of itself (Eyles & Peace, 1990; Kaniss, 1991; Parisi & Holcomb, 1994; Pauly & Eckert, 2002; Wallace, 2005). This history will be discussed more substantively in Chapter 3, which reviews the literature on the history of local news as well as changes in newspaper design that this thesis hypothesizes contribute to changing perceptions of the relative importance of the local. Bogart (1989) sums up the North American newspaper's role nicely:

The localized American press, in distinction to the national press

elsewhere, has drawn its strength from a special ability to embody the sense of community identity that gives people roots, that defines for them who they are. Newspapers fix people in space. (p. 31)

### **The research approach**

In reviewing the literature in several disciplines (geography, communication, anthropology and sociology) there was a lack of studies that measured how newspapers have represented the “sense of place” over the long sweep of North American newspaper history. A number of studies, primarily by geographers, have used textual analysis and case studies to examine how certain newspapers have represented a particular place at a particular time (Burgess, 1985; Eyles & Peace, 1990; Jablonski, 1989; Molotch & Lester, 1975; Parisi & Holcomb, 1994). Others have examined how newspapers treated place historically, and how that treatment changed over time (Brooker-Gross, 1985; Rantanen, 2003), however, both these studies stop early in the 20th century.

Taking another approach entirely, Cheng (2005) has documented the role of *Ming Pao (West Canadian Edition)*, a Vancouver-based community newspaper aimed at Hong Kong expatriates living in Canada. Many members of this community, Cheng explains, consider both Vancouver and Hong Kong to be their “local” communities. Her work makes important contributions to the definition of local, which she considers a “relational and contextual” concept (p. 143) that is related to both

territory and community. Particularly for immigrants, the idea of a “translocal” identity, and news media that appeal to this dual sense of community, is changing the way people perceive locality. Much of this has become possible, and indeed necessary, due to recent advances in transportation and communications.

All these studies were helpful to this project, but none provided a ready-made system for measuring the sense of place in a variety of newspapers over long periods of time. In other fields, such as geography, the sense of place has been measured for a variety of different purposes, particularly during the past decade, when sense of place has become a widely researched topic.

Keep in mind that the definition this study is using for sense of place is “identification with a place engendered by living in it” (Agnew & Duncan, 1989). This definition fits well with the newspaper’s function, serving a readership that is, for the most part, living in the area. Not all the attempts to measure sense of place found in the literature use this definition. Some are meant to be used in environmental assessments (Kaltenborn, 1998), others for tourism or recreation studies, to evaluate and quantify the ways that people value and feel *attached* to the places they visit or have cottages (Stedman, 2003a, 2003b).

The concept of sense of place is also used in forestry. Stedman (1999) studied the different types of attachments people have to forested places, a measure he expects to be useful when dealing with conflict situations over whether, for

example, a particular forest should be logged or preserved. Others have suggested that sense of place is important to anyone involved in “ecosystem management” of any type (D. R. Williams & Stewart, 1998). All these authors, however, tend to focus on *attachment* to place. In news media, the sense people get of a place can be negative or positive, so attachment is not what this study wanted to measure.

One excellent study does use the concept of sense of place as Agnew and Duncan define it. Geographer John Eyles (1985), later with David Butz (Butz & Eyles, 1997), set out to categorize all the ways in which people relate to the place where they live. Based on a survey method that involved extensive interviews with individuals living in Towcester, England in the early 1980s, Eyles developed a list of ten dominant modes by which people relate to place (Eyles, 1985, pp. 122-129). Later, the two geographers – again using interviews — compared the views of residents of Towcester with those of a very different place (Shimshal, Pakistan), thus setting up an interesting contrast and balance, by examining the applicability of these ten categories in Shimshal — a rural, indigenous community in the Himalayas. Their classification scheme will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 2. Their system was not well suited to measurement in a content analysis for several reasons. First, their methodology was based on interviews with people, not analysis of newspaper stories or any kind of written text. People are, by nature, subjective in their approach to place. News stories attempt to be objective. Furthermore, most

stories produce more than one of the types of sense of place on the list, and probably because individuals are so subjective about place, the three coders involved in this study could not agree (at an acceptable level of intercoder reliability) which one was dominant, or even which ones were *present* in any given story. What a person absorbs from a newspaper story, as Hall (1980) and others have documented, depends very much on their own personal experiences and perspectives. Hall calls the process “encoding” when the story is written and “decoding” when the individual reads it. One never knows whether the messages that are encoded will end up being decoded the same way the author might have intended. This study’s experience with Eyles’ senses of place tended to prove Hall’s theory, at least with respect to senses of place.

Thus, despite a great deal of research on place and the sense of place, none of it provided ways to operationalize<sup>8</sup> the variables this study wanted to measure in newspapers. Developing such an approach to operationalize this important and complex concept is one of the contributions of the present study.

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<sup>8</sup> Once concepts have been defined and translated into variables, the researcher must specify how they are to be measured. This is the process of operationalization. It describes the indicators of a concept, and shows how the process of assigning quantitative values will be done. (Neuman, 2007, pp. 210-214)

Content analysis was the method chosen to examine the sense of place in two Ontario newspapers from 1894 to 2005. This method is ideally suited for systematically examining large amounts of text (Krippendorf, 2004, pp. 42-43), and thus for studying how these two newspapers represented a sense of the local place and its position in the world. It also helped to capture the “sweep of change” (Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991, p. 2) in those representations over time. For more on the methodology employed in this research, please see Chapter 4.

In line with the basic understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002; Krippendorf, 2004), the methodological framework will yield findings that have both a quantitative component and a strong qualitative dimension. Combining the two perspectives (quantitative and qualitative) is increasingly considered to be the most effective way to examine complex questions (King, Keohane & Verba, 1994). Part of this study’s objective was to spot trends in how the sense of place was constructed in newspapers over this long period of time. Like Barnhurst and Nerone (2001), the author made detailed notes about qualitative aspects of these trends in each time period (see a discussion of the time periods in Chapter 3 on News and Representation, and Chapter 4 on Methodology) and some discussion of these is included in Chapter 5 on the Results.

Two newspapers were chosen for study, both located in Ontario and both more than a century old. The *Toronto Star*, which was founded in 1892 but began

regular publication in 1894, is Canada's highest-circulation daily newspaper (Canadian Newspaper Association, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2008) and is often considered an exemplar of the daily newspaper whose primary focus is local news and local interests (Stewart, 1980). The *Ottawa Citizen* was founded in 1845 as *The Packet*, and became the *Ottawa Citizen* in 1851. Located in the nation's political capital, the *Citizen* serves local, national and international<sup>9</sup> communities, and so provides an interesting contrast to the *Star*. The *Citizen* is also representative of chain-owned newspapers, having been owned by a sequence of chains since 1897, when it was purchased by the Southam family (Adam, 2005; Bruce, 1968).

### **Hypotheses**

Three basic hypotheses guide this research.

***Hypothesis One: The newspaper's representation of the local place will show evidence of Giddens' concept of disembedding and Massey's concept of disruption. That is, social relationships described in articles will be less tied to local places and the local space will be increasingly disrupted by extra-local influences.***

It was expected that this would result, over time, in:

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<sup>9</sup> The embassies of many foreign countries, and the headquarters of Canada's own foreign service, are located in Ottawa.

- a) Fewer stories focused on, or happening in, local places and more non-local stories as a proportion of the total number of stories in the paper. Thus, the distribution of *geographic categories* of stories would change over time, de-emphasizing local stories and those from another geographic category with a “local angle” or focus.
- b) Decreasing *priority* given to local news in the overall organization and design of the newspaper.
- c) Increasing *priority* given to non-local stories in the organization and design of the newspaper.
- d) Increasing *segregation* of local stories as a distinct (implication: optional) type of news, more like arts or sports than like national and international news.
- e) More stories involving *both local and nonlocal* elements in the same story.
- f) Fewer placenames mentioned in stories; in particular, fewer local placenames.

***Hypothesis Two: Stories will become more “generic”—that is, featuring less context and fewer surroundings—as the disruptive and disembedding aspects of modernity make physical location seem less important.***

It was expected that this would result in more articles that mention no place at all.

***Hypothesis Three: Newspapers that are part of a national chain will be inclined to favour stories and illustrations that can be shared by the entire chain.***

It was expected that this would result in the following results for the chain newspaper, the *Citizen*, compared to the non-chain newspaper, the *Star*:

- A larger proportion of national stories.
- A smaller proportion of local and provincial stories.
- A larger number of placeless stories.

### **Limitations and key assumptions**

The national representativeness and generalizability of the results are limited by the fact the sample includes only two newspapers, both from Ontario. However, using newspapers from the same province does have the advantage of inoculating the sample against interprovincial cultural and political factors that might make the newspapers less comparable in a nation-wide study. While it would be useful to study other newspapers, the detailed nature of the coding did not permit more extensive research at this time. It is hoped that the results of this research, coupled with its methodological contributions, will generate interest in that possibility.

### **The structure of the argument**

The next two chapters of this dissertation will review the literature in several fields, first (in Chapter 2) concerning place and the sense of place and second (in

Chapter 3) concerning the history, ownership and design of newspapers in Canada during the period under study. Following these reviews, Chapter 4 will present the hypotheses in more detail and describe the methods used to operationalize concepts in those hypotheses and collect data. Chapter 5 will present the results of both the qualitative and quantitative analyses. Chapter 6 will be an analytical discussion of the results and the conclusions that can be drawn from them.

## **Chapter 2: Sense of Place**

A place can be large or small: a village or a particular spot within a village, an entire city, even a country or continent. What makes something a place? There are actually several schools of thought on this, which span several disciplines. In geography, the discipline for which place is a central concept, there are currently two dominant paradigms: Physical geographers see places as geophysical entities with properties than can best be described using the objective detachment of the scientist. Cultural and humanistic geographers see places as social constructs: space becomes place when humans endow a particular location with meaning or value. The latter school of thought, which gained momentum in the 1970s, is most relevant to my own work, which sees news media as cultural products. Thus, the work of cultural and humanistic geographers will be the first part of the exploration this chapter undertakes, into the linked concepts of place and sense of place, with a few theorists from other fields included where their ideas are important and germane to the discussion.

Anthropologists and sociologists have their own conceptions of place, which will be introduced in their own sections following the geographers. And recently, a group of theorists from a variety of disciplines<sup>10</sup> have argued for a new, more

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<sup>10</sup> Anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000) and philosopher Edward S. Casey (1996), for

ecological approach to place, saying that places and humans “interanimate” one another. They thus take issue with the idea that place is a purely social construct. Finally, what of the nation-state? This geopolitical formation, which is so central to modern society, what kind of a place is it? This will be explored in another section of the chapter. The chapter will then turn to the concept of “sense of place,” offer a definition, and attempt to elucidate some current thinking about the concept. It will end with a brief section on “place-making” inspired by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai.

### **Humanistic geography**

Cultural and humanistic approaches to geography were not entirely new in the 1970s, as historical geographer Anne Buttimer (1993) points out. Indeed, two of modern geography’s pioneers—Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Carl Ritter (1779-1859)—ignored the rigorous split between geography and history that Buttimer attributes to Immanuel Kant. Kant, who was a geographer as well as a philosopher, defined the boundaries of geography strictly, as an empirical exploration of space and the earth’s surface, ceding to historians “the study of time ... and all that this implied in terms of emotion and human experience.” This division

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example.

held firm for most of the twentieth century; it was not until the 1960s that the stirrings of humanism again took hold in geographic thought (Buttimer, 1993, pp. 109-116).

Humanistic geographer Yi Fu Tuan is one of those who, in the 1960s and 1970s, helped to start a wave that moved many geographers away from the purely geophysical approach to place. Tuan defined his approach as phenomenological:

I take this term to mean a philosophical perspective, one which suspends, in so far as this is possible, the presuppositions and method of official science in order to describe the world as a world of intentionality and meaning. Phenomenology is concerned with essences: what, for example, is the essence of man, space, or experience? (1971, p. 181)

This “experiential perspective” includes information derived through the senses, from the tactile to the aesthetic. It reflects a philosophical assumption that “the given cannot be known in itself. What can be known is a reality that is a *construct of experience*” (Tuan, 1977, p. 9).

Tuan calls places “centers of felt value” and says “space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value” (p. 6). Thus, time is involved in the place-making process as well. “If we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for a location to be transformed into place” (p. 6). One does not form much of a sense of a place, for

instance, while travelling through somewhere on an expressway. Sense of place grows as more time is spent, with one's home a place endowed with special value.

The transformation of a particular location from space to place is discussed at length by Tuan (1977). A person learns to know a neighbourhood intimately—though at first it is “a confusion of images to the new resident; it is blurred space”—by getting to know street corners, architecture and other landmarks (pp. 17-18) until the space achieves a kind of concrete reality. Visual, auditory and physical sensations are important to this process. Walking through the neighbourhood, paying attention and pausing, however briefly, all are necessary.

An object or place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses as well as with the active and reflective mind. (p. 18)

But there is another aspect to place making. We fit our sense of any individual place or space into a schema of the cosmos, which is both physically and culturally dependent (p. 36). First, our own bodies and the way we orient ourselves in space (upright, forward-looking, etc.) have an important influence on how we see space and orient ourselves in the world, says Tuan. (p. 37)

The “prestige of the centre” is a well-known cultural phenomenon (p. 38). Nearly every culture believes it is at the centre of the world, and draws maps based

upon that assumption. Indeed, some of the current controversy about the wide use of Eurocentric world maps stems from this.

In support of these and many other points, Tuan cites cross-cultural information based on mythology, history and anthropology. However, it is not clear to what extent people in a given culture fully subscribe to the views Tuan attributes to their culture. When he discusses perception, he cites the work of psychologists, but again, it is not clear to what extent the things he cites as facts are supported by actual observations. It is perhaps unfair to criticize someone whose approach is deliberately non-positivist for failing to support his case with empirical evidence. However, his broad generalizations about what people think, feel and perceive are a bit difficult to accept without evidence. On balance, however, Tuan and other humanist geographers in the 1970s were blazing a trail, writing at a philosophical or theoretical level, rather than an empirical one. In subsequent years, many have explored the concepts they raised (For numerous examples see Adams, Hoelscher, & Till, 2001) and found them of enduring value.

More recently, geographer Nicholas Entrikin (1991) has written an enlightening history of the concept that geographers call "specific place," which he defines as "the conceptual fusion of space and experience that gives areas of the earth's surface a 'wholeness' or an 'individuality' " (1991, p. 6). Epistemologically, he suggests an approach to place that lies somewhere between the totally

objective, scientific view and the totally existential view that Tuan and others endorsed. His central thesis is that a set of pervasive modern dualities intersect and overlap in specific places, and since everyone is emplaced, these dualities pervade the modern consciousness, often creating feelings of alienation (1991, p. 44)<sup>11</sup>. The dualities he suggests are:

Universal----Particular

Naturalistic----Existential

Outside----Inside

Objective---Subjective

Starting with the Particular, at the top, the right side features the more *individual and experiential* aspects of specific place, studied in the chorological tradition of geography, which documents the realities of particular places and the people who inhabit them. Starting with the Universal, the left side features more *scientific approaches* to place, which seek universal truths. Each individual is somewhere in between the two sides, though the exact spot would differ for each individual and

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<sup>11</sup> He cites Fredric Jameson, and his concept of “postmodern hyperspace,” on alienation. Jameson contends that modern, human-made environments have exceeded the capacity of humans to comprehend them, resulting in “the inability of human subjects to ‘situate’ themselves in the world.” (Entrikin 1991, p. 44)

each element, depending how the pull of these overlapping dualities shapes that person's life world. What's important here is that for each individual there exists a tension between these multiple dualities. Entrikin says this is inherent in the concept of specific place; he calls it "a basic polarity of human consciousness" (1991, p. 9).<sup>12</sup>

While the global/local duality is often discussed in communication literature and will be discussed further in later chapters, let us briefly examine the other dualities mapped above. Relph (1976, p. 49-55) postulated the concepts of "insiderness" and "outsiderness" in relation to place, which have since become widely used in the geographic literature. Both are states of mind, with outsiderness a feeling and also an intention not to participate in a place. Insiderness, which is a feeling of

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<sup>12</sup> Hornborg (1994) postulates a similar "series of linked conceptual dualities" that he says are inherent in modernity. These, he says, exert "a tension which most people would recognize as running down the middle of their existence." Hornborg's dualities include:

Embedded----Disembedded

Local----Global

Sensory----Cerebral

Subjective----Objectifying

Irreplaceable----Interchangeable

belonging, takes place along a scale, with the most extreme version being “existential insideness”—Relph defines this as “complete and unselfconscious commitment to a place” (p. 50).

The universal/particular duality is also central to our understanding of place. Modernity is often accused of pushing society and human knowledge in a universalizing direction, with its emphasis on the supremacy of science and the homogenizing influence of technology (Grant, 1969, 1998). The particularity of specific place represents a pull in the opposite direction. It also opens a door for what is called “moral particularity” by the communitarian movement, which emphasizes the place-based nature of community and morality.

The story of my life is always embedded in the story of those communities from which I derive my identity -- whether family or city, tribe or nation, party or cause. In the communitarian view, these stories make a moral difference, not only a psychological one. They situate us in the world, and give our lives their moral particularity. (Sandel, 1984, p. 6)

Thus, the place where we live is the root of many types of particularity, among them the moral grounding in which our lives are situated.

Of particular interest to my project is Entrikin’s (1991) recommendation of narrative as the best way to express the “betweenness of place” in all its fullness.

The purely physical, scientific description, he asserts, is unable to capture the history, culture and social relationships that also come together in any one place. For many of the same reasons that historians favor the narrative form, Entrikin suggests that geographers should do the same, organizing material around “emplotment”:

Emplotment is a way of ordering experience by drawing events into a structured whole and giving them meaning. It overcomes the chaotic conception of events as they occur in the world both successively and simultaneously and “configures” them into stories. (p. 125)

The types of emplotment used by those geographers who already employ narrative often concern change through time, as in stories of development and change, as well as the “moral awakening of a regional or national consciousness” (p. 129), which is linked to the theme of moral particularity, on which Entrikin elaborates substantially.

Entrikin (1991) does discuss the limitations of historical narrative, particularly the critiques by structuralists and post-structuralists (pp. 126-128). The problems inherent in the structure of historical narrative are similar to those of media representations: the author shapes the story to fit the plot, leaving out many things. It’s a representation, not reality, yet people confuse the two. Of course, to include everything in a narrative would render it incomprehensible (p. 126); we value narrative partly because it does simplify and structure events and issues. Entrikin

also explores Ricoeur's more positive views of the role and utility of narrative, aligning his own arguments with those of Ricoeur: the narrative is a synthesis, something new and creative, with its own legitimate way of describing (Entrikin prefers the word "redescribing") the world (p. 127).

Both the geographer's synthesis and the historian's narrative incorporate a mode of knowing that Louis Mink describes as "seeing things together." ... The recognition of the synthetic quality of place and region implies the active role of the geographer as one who sifts through massive amounts of material to describe the world in a verbal portrait. (Entrikin, 1991, pp. 128-129)

This process sounds very similar to that of the journalist writing an article. Indeed, as a practicing journalist, one of my personal mantras is: "My goal is not to *change* the world; it is to *describe* it." The descriptive role is a truly important one, as the fiction writer, the essayist and the geographer can also attest. The use of narrative to emplot that description, connecting events and people, usually to specific places, is a longstanding tradition in journalism.

It is also similar to the historical progress of the idea of "nation" as an "imagined community," as expressed by historian Benedict Anderson (1983/1991). If the nation is an imagined community, then the underlying narrative that feeds that imaginary is the history that citizens learn in school as children and see reinforced in

the mass media, many of which—in Canada and many other countries—are organized on a national basis. In Canada this is particularly true because of the existence of a national public broadcaster, the CBC, whose mandate includes a requirement that it “contribute to shared national consciousness and identity” (CBC Radio Canada, 2008). Daily newspapers in Canada are owned predominantly by national chains (more on this in the next chapter). Through these media, Canadian citizens, as well as residents who are non-citizens, see the nation as narrative unfolding with themselves as participants. While a nation-state is not a “specific place” in the sense meant by Entrikin (1991) because it is too large, modern communications media help this larger community, too populous for everyone to know each other, to bind together by keeping the dream—or, if you will, narrative—that underlies it alive, as Anderson says (1983/1991, p. 6).

Also important to communication scholars is a related theme raised by Tuan (1997): People often find it impossible to communicate a sense of place that has any depth.

People tend to suppress that which they cannot express. If an experience resists ready communication, a common response ... is to deem it private—even idiosyncratic—and hence unimportant. (p. 6)

However, the fact it is not communicated does not mean it does not exist. Indeed, the stronger one’s sense of place, it would seem, the less likely it is that it can

actually be communicated to someone who does not share it. Consider the impossibility of describing one's hometown to a visitor or tourist in a short conversation. The difficulty of expressing deep feelings or sophisticated knowledge about place might also help to explain why before the 1970s, little attempt had been made by geographers to understand people's *relationships* with places, i.e. their direct experiences of space and place and their feelings about them (pp. 6-7). The bonds were, perhaps, taken for granted or assumed to be inexpressible, and thus, for this or other reasons, not readily measured or documented.

By contrast, professional writers—from poets to novelists to journalists—have found a wellspring of inspiration in people's feelings, perceptions and other experiences of place. Cultural studies theorist Raymond Williams' *The Country and the City* (1973) explores the sense of place in English literature extensively. Oakes (1997) undertakes another extensive discussion of the notion of place in literature, concluding (in a statement that sounds very much like Entrikin) that literary approaches to place find ways to express the "paradox of modernity"—that is, the pull, or ambivalence, between two competing modern mind-sets: subjectivity and scientific detachment.

I read literary places as representing the inherently unstable terrain of modernity—marked by paradox and contradiction—where human subjectivity meets the forces of abstraction and objectification, be they

represented by industrial and agrarian capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy or colonialism (Oakes, 1997, p. 510).

Oakes and Williams provide extensive support for the value of narrative, or story, as the best possible form for expressing place. In an era of vanishing attachment to place (a notion we will discuss shortly), journalists should take this to heart.

Entrikin (1991) notes that weakening of ties to place in modernity have “put a greater burden on the (modern) individual to construct meaning in the world.” This task leads individuals to “create new forms of attachment, as a means for gaining at least a ‘borrowed’ sense of centeredness” (p. 63). In many cases, these chosen attachments are still to particular places, but we are freer to choose the places we bond to: they do not have to be where we live, or where we live *now*—a retirement home or cottage may be in such a chosen place. Many places today are taking advantage of this perceived human need, Entrikin notes, with activities and organizations designed to “create local identities” for newly developed, or redeveloped, landscapes that have little or none.

The City of Los Angeles has created its own local geography by assigning names to sub-areas within its territory, and has done so in part to maintain and to create a sense of local identity in what has often been described as a socially isolating landscape. Business groups construct ideologies of localism to connect their interest to the

perceived needs of the community as a whole. Modern advertising plays on our nostalgia for attachments to local neighborhood, community and region in order to serve its goal of stimulating consumption. (pp. 63-64)

Duncan and Duncan (2001) have produced a remarkable study of the conscious shaping of community image and identity in Bedford, New York. In this place it's not community, but *idea* of community, that reigns supreme.

Landscapes are preserved so that history and community can be consumed as good taste, as symbolic capital. Here we see not only aesthetics replacing ethics in town planning, as David Harvey has noted in contemporary American society, but community ethics and values reduced to an aesthetics, and aesthetics as the highest value. It is the look of community, not the actuality, that is highly sought after. (p. 45)

Hobsbawm's (1988) work on "the invention of tradition" ties this type of conscious construction of nostalgia to the underlying tension between modernity and tradition that emerges as an ongoing theme in the study of place.<sup>13</sup> In other words, in

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<sup>13</sup> Some would argue that these image-making tactics are simply about making

many places throughout the modern world—including nation-states—we are manufacturing the idea of community, sometimes in defiance of a hollow reality, and using communications media, among other tools and techniques, to do it. The resulting images, narratives and myths apparently work by appealing to a topophilic<sup>14</sup> human urge to attach meaning, identity and the bonds of community to particular places.

Entrikin (1991) sees all these place-making efforts—which should also be familiar to Ottawa residents, who as denizens of the national capital are subjected to both national and local place-making by the federal government, the tourist industry, local municipalities, real estate developers and other commercial interests—less as legitimate local traditions than as “strategies for resisting the alienation and isolation of modern life through the self-conscious creation of meaning” (p. 64). The

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money, enhancing land values and promoting economic development. There is some truth to that, but in my view, advertising and image-making would not be effective without an underlying human need or desire for it to hook into. Nor would the land’s economic value increase without some underlying human value to which it was attached.

<sup>14</sup> The word “topophilia” means love of place; it was coined by Ti-Fu Tuan and used as the title of his 1974 book.

weakening of religious and mythical traditions in modernity has left individuals to create places for themselves in the world, says Entrikin. Tradition, he says, brings forth a constant evaluation of what is and should be “the good life.” The same is true of collective narratives and memories, which embody sets of virtues upon which members of the community agree, or once agreed. These narratives, in turn, help constitute and bind communities. So where they no longer exist, it is often deemed necessary to invent them (pp. 65-66).

### **Placelessness, space and time**

One interesting ramification of the idea that time is needed to develop a sense of place (Tuan, 1977) is the impact of rapid travel and the fact that it has become increasingly commonplace during the modern era. Marc Augé (1992/1995) developed the concept of the “non-place” to fit this and other modern phenomena that he says have destroyed the reality of place in many locations.

First, one must recognize that Augé (1992/1995) begins with an anthropological concept of place, similar to but different from Tuan's. He calls place a “concrete and symbolic construction of space” that is the location of “identity, (social) relations and of history” (p. 51-52). So it takes a lot more for a space to become a place in Augé's sense of the word than in Tuan's. Augé's is closer to what some geographers call “dwelling,” which Buttimer (1993, p. 3) calls “the most fundamental feature of humanness.” One would have to live in a space for a period of time for it to acquire this depth of meaning. Augé's (1992/1995) definition of a “non-place” is its opposite:

If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place. The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places. (p. 77-78)

This leaves us in need of his definition of supermodernity, which Lloyd summarizes as “a new, hyperactive stage of modernity” (2003, p. 97). Augé’s own definition is not so concise, but instead enumerates many of its features:

A world where people are born in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions (hotel chains and squats, holiday clubs and refugee camps, shantytowns threatened with demolition or doomed to festering longevity); where a dense network of means of transport which are also inhabited spaces is developing; where the habitué of supermarkets, slot machines and credit cards communicates wordlessly, through gestures, with an abstract, unmediated commerce; a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and ephemeral. (Augé, 1992/1995, p. 78)

Lloyd compares Augé’s concept of the non-place to Daniel Boorstin’s idea of “pseudoplaces”, developed in the 1960s (Boorstin, 1961/1987). It is also similar to the phenomenon that Relph (1976) called “placelessness”:

That is, the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the

significance of place (n.p.)<sup>15</sup>.

All three concepts—the non-place, the pseudoplace, and placelessness—have arisen in the past few decades, a fair indication of the extent to which these phenomena are proliferating in the modern, Western world. Non-places have qualities that appear to undermine permanent attachment. Thus, familiarity would appear to be an important but not an exclusive feature of the sense of place, despite Tuan's early assertion that "when space feels thoroughly familiar to us it has become place" (1977, p. 73). To be familiar with one airport terminal, condominium complex or fast-food restaurant is to be familiar with them all, as they become increasingly standardized and generic. Is this phenomenon a cause or a consequence of modern alienation from place?

Augé pays particular attention to the "traveller's space" as what he calls an "archetype of *non-place*" (1992/1995, p. 86, emphasis in original). The work of Williamson (2003) on the impact of Malaysia's national expressway, which opened in 1994, and the work of Lloyd (2003) on the privatized and renovated Sydney Airport, offer case studies that support and extend Augé's concept of the non-place. Most interestingly, for our purposes, Williamson finds that the expressway is destructive of locality in a way that older highways were not, because it is designed "to disconnect

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<sup>15</sup> This comes from the preface, where the pages are not numbered.

from the surrounding social space” (p. 124). Yet it promotes and bolsters *the idea of the nation*, a consequence it shares with other expressways. He cites examples of research on the U.S. interstate network, and European highways such as the German Autobahn. In Canada, the national railways as well as the Trans-Canada Highway have been similarly instrumental in building the nation, both physically and culturally. The Malaysian expressway, Williamson notes, makes the nation more “visible” in the sense that motorists get an overall view of the national territory as they drive on it or examine it on a map—the expressway extends from the northern border with Thailand to the southern tip of the peninsula (p. 118-120).

The proliferation of “non-places”, “pseudoplaces” and “placelessness” in the late modern era, reflecting an apparent decline in local cultures, has occurred concurrently with dramatic increases in the speed of both transportation and communications. This brings to mind political economist Harold Innis’s (1951/1991) description of the “space-biased” society, which erodes local cultures and favors expansion of the society through space, rather than its duration through time.

## **A plea for the local**

Harold Innis (1951/1991), a major influence on Canadian communication theory, examined the entire span of known human history and proposed that societies could be characterized by their dominant communications media, as either “time-bound” or “space-bound.” The time-bound society is predominantly oral, pre-literate and tribal. It emphasizes the continuity, or duration, of its culture through time, and values the collectivity and the common good. Speech is primarily face-to-face—in dialogue, debate, stories, myths, poetry and songs, and other oral forms—and is usually focused on the practical and particular, rather than the abstract. There may be written communication, but it uses a medium (e.g. stone tablets, parchment) that poses challenges: it is perhaps not easy to obtain, not readily portable and/or it may be restricted to an élite who have special knowledge. The space-bound society, by contrast, is secular, materialistic, and “impersonal in social relations,” valuing abstract knowledge and control over space, with little value for tradition or continuity with past generations. Communications media are highly portable, readily available and faster than in time-bound societies. Both of these are ideal types, which rarely exist in their absolute form, particularly in the modern era. (Babe, 2000, pp. 72-73).

The healthiest societies, Innis proposed—and he considered Greek civilization the epitome of this (Innis, 1951/1991, pp. 7-11, 41-44)—achieve a balance between space and time, though all societies are “biased” toward one type.

What determines their bias, Innis theorized, is the type of communications media that predominate: “time-biased” or “space-biased” (Babe, 2000, pp. 72-81; Innis, 1951/1991). The endurance of Greek culture, Innis suggested, was attributable to a primarily oral, time-biased culture which later adopted print. Modern Western society, by contrast, is highly dependent upon space-biased media such as mechanical printing and broadcasting, but because of this it is not likely to endure over time, Innis said, unless it balances this with more time-biased elements.

Of particular interest to this dissertation is how these two types of societies—and the communications media that predominate in them—envision geographic space. Babe offers a concise description:

*Space for time-bound cultures is where the community lives, where it maintains its connections with the past, and where its future will unfold.*

This view is totally at odds with the notion of space maintained by space-bound cultures. There, the desire is to conquer new territories, create larger markets, and organize land into efficient configurations (factories, assembly lines, territorial divisions of labour, and so on).

Space, like time, becomes commodified in space-biased cultures.

(Babe, 2000, p. 74, emphasis added)

In Innis’s lexicon, newspapers are primarily space-biased media—first, because “writing ... enlarges the time-and-space universe beyond things remembered and

places known, making the written word ultimately subversive of time-binding authority” (Babe, 2000, p. 75) and second, because of mechanization.

The conditions of freedom of thought are in danger of being destroyed by science, technology, and the mechanization of knowledge, and with them, Western civilization. (Innis, 1951/1991, p. 190)

However, it appears that Innis did not consider newspapers to be always, or *inherently*, space-biased. For Innis, newspapers only became space-binding when, combined with mechanized printing and paper-making, the medium obtained a “monopoly of knowledge”—a term used by Innis to mean a medium’s predominance, both economic and cultural, in a particular era; he theorized that the dominant medium in any era would assume a monopolistic power over the production of knowledge until challenged by a new medium. When these conditions do not hold, it is possible for the newspaper to produce a different effect. In the following quote, Innis is writing about the period at the end of the First World War:

The monopoly of knowledge centring (sic) around the printing press brought to an end the obsession with space and the neglect of problems of continuity and time. The newspaper with a monopoly over time *was limited in its power over space because of its regional character*. Its monopoly was characterized by instability and crises.

The radio introduced a new phase in the history of Western civilization by emphasizing centralization and the necessity of a concern with continuity. The bias of communication in paper and the printing industry was destined to be offset by the bias of the radio. (Innis 1951/1991, p. 60, emphasis added)

Thus, there have been times when newspapers were not space biased because of their “regional character,” but the advent of radio as a dominant medium meant Western society as a whole still exhibited a space bias. Innis seems, here, to be talking about local newspapers, saying they can exhibit a time bias. However, the above quote stands in sharp contrast to comments Innis made elsewhere about newspapers, as summarized by Babe:

Despite intense rivalry, according to Innis, newspapers generally produced a new monopoly of knowledge: occurrences in space were emphasized to the utter neglect of time. Newspapers were preoccupied with reporting events of the previous twenty-four hours, meaning that there arose a “continuous, systematic, ruthless destruction of elements of permanence essential to cultural activity.” For Innis, indeed, “the emphasis on change [became] the only permanent characteristic.” (Babe, 2000, p. 79)

Thus, newspapers have the potential to be both time-biased and space-biased, depending on whether their focus is regional—which seems to be Innis’s way of expressing the idea of local.

It would seem that Innis’s notion of the time-biased society is similar to Curry’s idea of a “world of places,” a fundamental worldview which, as Curry (1999) says, was lost when print culture made it possible to envision a world consisting of limitless space. This new worldview—dominant today—envisions places as points in space, rather than as the fundamental context in which everyday life occurs. This sounds remarkably similar to Innis’s idea of the space-biased society. The evolution in consciousness from a world of places to a world of space, furthermore, made it possible for the “imagined community” in which people saw themselves as living their lives to become larger, transforming the world of local places and city-states to one dominated by the nation-state as the fundamental form of political organization, as Anderson (1983/1991) describes.

If Innis and many others, including a majority of the scientific community, are correct in predicting that modern Western society is unsustainable over time, it would behoove us to re-emphasize elements of time-biased culture—in particular, the value it ascribes to local culture. Canadian newspapers can play a central role in this by continuing to make local communities their primary mission, both in print and on the Internet.

## **A sociological perspective**

Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991) has explored the social aspects of modernity in some depth. He identifies three primary characteristics of social systems in the current era, which he calls high modernity or late modernity. Two of the three involve spatial relationships:

- *Separation of time and space*, which formerly intersected in relatively isolated local communities (localities) where people spend most or all of their lives (1990, p. 16);
- *Disembedding* of social institutions from localities, and their *re-embedding* in different contexts (pp. 21-29); and
- *Reflexivity*: a continual shaping and reshaping of the self and social relationships, in light of constantly changing knowledge (pp. 16-17).

Most applicable to this examination of place and locality is the notion of disembedding: a “lifting out” of people from localities as global realities intrude into local contexts, and individuals once confined to local settings engage in global interactions (p. 21). The centrality of place in Giddens’ analysis is also evident in the first item in the bulleted list: the separation of time from space. In pre-modern cultures, Giddens explains, time was measured in ways that linked time with place: natural phenomena such as the turn of the seasons and the flooding of rivers, or the positions of the sun and stars, were common markers for time, which therefore

varied from place to place. Calendars and clocks, however, began to be standardized with the wide adoption of mechanical timepieces. Once clocks were in widespread use, two steps remained before time could be said to be separated from space: First, uniformity of time measurement led to ever more standardized ways of organizing time (the working day, hours of sleep). This happened gradually throughout the period of modernity. The second step was the standardization of time measurement across geographical regions, which happened during the 20th century.

During the same period, space was also uncoupled from place (Giddens, 1990, pp. 18-19).<sup>16</sup> As Western explorers discovered “remote” places and mapped the entire globe, relationships became possible with “absent others.” Modern communications technologies were crucial to these processes. From the invention of the printing press to the telegraph, and later, electronic communications, relationships with non-local people and places became more and more commonplace, as the local and the global increasingly intermixed and interpenetrated one another (pp. 77-78).

These were the “prime conditions” for what Giddens (1990, 1991) calls disembedding, a process which gradually severed connections between social

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<sup>16</sup> Note that Giddens defines place sociologically, using the word in the sense geographers would call “locale” or “locality” (Agnew, 1989).

activity and the “contexts of presence” on which these formerly depended. Place, in the modern era, is no longer at the centre of social and economic interactions, as it once was. Social and economic relationships have been removed, through the disembedding process, from local contexts and re-embedded, in other words, “restructured across indefinite spans of time-space.”

Modernity ‘dis-places’... What happens is not simply that localised influences drain away into the more impersonalised relations of abstract systems. Instead, the very tissue of spatial experience alters, conjoining proximity and distance in ways that have few close parallels in prior ages. There is a complex relation here between familiarity and distance. Many aspects of life in local contexts continue to have a familiarity and ease to them, grounded in the day-to-day routines individuals follow. But the sense of the familiar is one often mediated by time-space distancing.<sup>17</sup> It does not derive from the particularities of localised place. (1990, p. 21)

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<sup>17</sup> This term, time-space distancing, refers to influences on the local by the non-local.

Thus, no matter where they are, in the late modern era many people are able to interact with people near and far. Much of this is due to technological changes which have speeded up and otherwise facilitated transportation and communication.

Two key features of modern life act as “disembedding mechanisms” —things that have prised individuals loose from local contexts, according to Giddens. One is the use of “symbolic tokens” such as money, which can be exchanged without people actually meeting, and which have come to represent value independent of an actual, physical product. The other, Giddens says, is the ubiquitousness of “expert systems” to manage and explain the increasingly complex technological and social universe in what Giddens calls late modernity or high modernity (1990, pp. 22-29).

Why are these things capable of alienating individuals from the local contexts in which they continue to live? This requires two book-length explorations to explain (Giddens, 1990, 1991), but a central feature is the catalytic role of the mass media, which increase both the pace and the reach of the other factors, extending them across the globe and at the same time, deep into our communities, our homes and our most intimate interactions. In the end, neither the global nor the local remains pure or distinct.

Massey (1994) would argue that these changes began long before modernity; however, Giddens’ argument is that the speed of change increased enormously in

modernity, to the point of becoming a central feature of the era, not that they never happened in earlier times.

Examples of disembedding abound, but most relevant to this project is a recent paper by Hau Ling Cheng (2005) that explores the “multilocal sense of belonging” of members of Vancouver’s community of Hong Kong emigrants, many of whom spend a major part of each year in Hong Kong while maintaining homes in Vancouver. She studied how the Cantonese language newspaper *Ming Pao* (West Canadian Edition), constructs two versions of “the local” — one in Vancouver and the other in Hong Kong — for its readers.

Another fascinating example of the interpenetration of global with local is the situation of Roslyn, the town in Washington state where a 1980s television series called *Northern Exposure* was filmed. In the fictional television story, Roslyn was portrayed as Cicely, Alaska. Hanna (1996) examines the mix of fiction and reality that interweave in the actual town of Roslyn, as tourists visit, bearing their fictionalized senses of place about the town, and local residents earn a living catering to those tourists.

### **The ecology of place**

An ecological turn in recent thinking about place is exemplified by the writings of Casey (1993, 1996, 1998) and Ingold (2000). These theorists say that to view places as purely social constructions results from a false dichotomy between

humans and nature, which they argue is a warped but peculiarly modern perspective on the world. Places exist in their own right and animals, including humans, can connect with them in an interactive *relationship*. This capacity is not always realized, they say, but it is possible and, indeed, some cultures celebrate it. (For example, see Basso, 1996 for a description of connections to place in Apache culture.) Ingold, evoking Martin Heidegger, calls this a “dwelling” perspective (2000, pp. 153-156, 172-188). Casey (1993) argues that because everything is emplaced<sup>18</sup>, all the time, therefore, rather than space preceding place as universal, it is the reverse: place comes first, and the idea of space as some kind of neutral, measurable backdrop is something we have superimposed upon it in the modern era.<sup>19</sup>

Curry (1999) argues that it was not until the rise of the printed word and the widespread availability of maps and atlases that the world began to be seen, not as a world of places with associated stories about each of them, but as one of space, in

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<sup>18</sup> It is impossible *not* to be in a specific place, though we moderns often fail to recognize that fact.

<sup>19</sup> Stedman (2003a) notes the logical extreme implied by absolute social constructionism: “Are we really likely to attribute ‘wilderness’ meanings to a suburban shopping mall? I suggest that these symbols are at least partially based on some material reality” (p. 673).

which places were locations on a “flat surface that is imagined to be a replica of the world itself. So it becomes possible to imagine places as located within space” (p. 6). Curry links this concept, and the related concept of the region, to Anderson’s (1983/1991) idea of the nation, or nation-state, as an “imagined community” — a new sort of place that developed in modernity.

At root, Curry sees all places as communicative constructs:

When we start from the most basic feature of human life, that we communicate one with another, we are forced quickly to see places as important among the contexts of our actions ... . In each case—and note that the scale extends from the home to the nation state—the fundamentally communicative activities of using, variously, dialogue, ritual, narrative, classification, and symbol were the means by which the places in question were defined. (1999, p. 11)

Thus, places arise from communication between humans, in Curry’s view. By extension, one can envision that as media become capable of covering larger territories, and even contributing to the definition of those larger territories (an idea to be explored later in more depth), the places people are capable of identifying with and relating to become larger as well. Hence, oral communication that once held villages together gave way to print media—particularly newspapers—capable of uniting larger cities and holding their populations together (Kaniss, 1991; Wallace,

2005) using “dialogue, ritual, narrative, classification and symbol,” as Curry (1999) says. Still later, these same print media contributed importantly to the rise of the nation state (Anderson, 1983/1991), a form of social and political association solidified by broadcasting — particularly state-run broadcasting, which often considers nation-building part of its mandate. That satellite broadcasting and the Internet, both of which make it possible to readily share information and programming on an international scale, have come about at a time of globalization is not coincidental, if one accepts these premises. As the places to which people relate have become larger, throughout modernity and the rise of technological society, it could perhaps be expected that a corresponding decline in people’s sense of local place would occur.

Reflecting upon the perspective offered by Casey (1993, 1996) and Ingold (2000), I find it impossible to agree with Lefebvre (1974/1991b) and Curry (1999) that place is constructed entirely socially and/or communicatively. However, I do agree that social construction and communicative action (Habermas, as described in Butz and Eyles, 1997) are at least *part* of the way we relate to places—indeed, a major part. A large body of literature has illustrated the many ways in which communication—face-to-face or through representations such as news, photography, art and literature—helps to “construct” or “produce” place (for example Burgess, 1985, 1990; Eyles & Peace, 1990; Lefebvre, 1974/1991b; Rantanen, 2003;

Ryden, 1993; R. Williams, 1973). Some of these will be discussed further in the next chapter.

That place is, at least in part, social and representational is well explained by anthropologist Keith H. Basso (1996), who notes that some people seem to believe that relationships to places are “lived exclusively or predominantly in moments of social isolation” (p. 56). He emphatically disagrees:

Deliberately and otherwise, people are forever presenting each other with culturally mediated images of where and how they dwell. In large ways and small, they are forever performing acts that reproduce and express their own sense of place—and also, inextricably, their own understandings of who and what they are. (p. 57)

Communication, particularly in the ritual sense defined by Carey (1988a), is thus an important part of what geographers call “place-making” (Butz & Eyles, 1997), an important concept that will be explored further near the end of this chapter. Nevertheless, Burgess (1990) has found the mass media a field of study ignored by most geographers despite its rich possibilities. It is in our nature, as social beings, to create those shared meanings that shape place in our minds and hearts: humans do this through communicative action. As Oakes (1997) and Entrikin (1991) both make clear, place and the ways people express it have a way of exemplifying the peculiarly modern state of mind.

## **Territoriality and the nation-state**

In geography, as in anthropology, the so-called “postmodern turn” has brought new riches to the exploration of place. The postmodern outlook has been present in several of the theorists that have been mentioned—for example, Appadurai (1996), Entrikin (1991) and Massey (1994)—though they might not call themselves specifically postmodern. Whatever we call their theoretical approach, the same features are being discussed: fragmentation, overlapping realities, multiple identities and communities, all intersecting in the concept and reality of place.

Massey (1994) is critical of those in geography who think that interweavings of the global and the local are entirely new. Places have never been static; they have always involved a dynamic mixture of internal and external forces, past and current influences, and multiple identities.

It has for long been the exception rather than the rule that place could be simply equated with community, and by that means provide a stable basis for identity. In the United Kingdom, with the exception of a few small mining towns and cotton towns and (maybe) parts, for instance, of the Docklands of London, ‘places’ have for centuries been more complex locations where numerous different, and frequently conflicting, communities intersected. Nor do ‘communities’ necessarily have to be spatially concentrated. (pp. 163-164)

Nor is there anything new, in most of the world, about feelings of dislocation, placelessness and invasion of one's space. For those whose spaces have been invaded, colonized, reorganized and reterritorialized, Massey notes, the idea that one's homeland is stable and its boundaries secure "must have dissolved long ago" (p. 165). She also cautions those who yearn to return to some kind of stable sense of place that this can be a "reactionary" impulse.

A particular problem with this conception of place is that it seems to require the drawing of boundaries. Geographers have long been exercised by the problem of defining regions, and this question of 'definition' has almost always been reduced to the issue of drawing lines around a place. I remember some of my most painful times as a geographer have been spent unwillingly struggling to think how one could draw a boundary around somewhere like the 'east midlands.' But that kind of boundary around an area precisely distinguishes between an inside and an outside. It can so easily be yet another way of constructing a counterposition between 'us' and 'them' (p. 152).

Yet this is a difficult concept for those raised with a vision of geography that focused on memorizing the names and capitals of countries. Almost any world map contains the message that societies are situated, bounded and separate, reflecting taken-for-granted assumptions that this system of dividing up space and assigning it

to particular human groups is natural. The premise that space is thus “naturally discontinuous” and “inherently fragmented” has shaped an understanding of the world as a collection of nation-states (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 6).

It almost goes without saying that the modern era has seen a vast increase in the mobility of human populations. The unsettling of humanity that came with major improvements to transportation and communications in the twentieth century cast doubt upon traditional assumptions about the natural locations of peoples, cultures and societies (Appadurai, 1996; Dalby, 2001; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). While world maps still feature discretely bounded countries, we are increasingly aware that this is a “convenient”<sup>20</sup> fiction, requiring frequent revision as new nation-states emerge and old ones dissolve. Diasporas have dispersed some once-homogeneous populations, while many of those bounded nations on the map feature populations of mixed ethnic, racial and religious heritage. Often, diasporic populations have direct links via satellite and Internet to their original home, and are able to retain much of their original culture. Indeed, for many people “home” and “community” are no longer

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<sup>20</sup> The convenience is only for some, of course. It is far from convenient for those who live near disputed borders, or who are otherwise involved in the incessant violence over boundaries.

places, in the sense of being permanently located; they move and take various forms, including the virtual world of the Internet.

Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai created a stir by predicting, in his 1996 book *Modernity at Large*, the imminent demise of the nation-state.

I have come to be convinced that the nation-state as a complex modern political form is on its last legs. ... Nation-states, for all their important differences ... make sense only as parts of a system. This system (even when seen as a system of differences) appears poorly equipped to deal with the interlinked diasporas of people and images that mark the here and now. Nation-states, as units in a complex interactive system, are not very likely to be the long-term arbiters of the relationship between globality and modernity. That is why, in my title, I imply that modernity is at large. (p. 19)

Replacing physically bounded states<sup>21</sup> in Appadurai's system are "global cultural flows" with names like *ethnoscape*, *mediascape* and *technoscape*. All are unbounded, circulating in a world characterized by rupture and unpredictability. And

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<sup>21</sup> There are indications in Appadurai's later work (notably Appadurai, 2001) that he later retreated from the position that nation-states were on the way out, or at least, put off their imminent demise. He does stick with the global cultural flows, however.

all arise out of interaction between the human imagination, the electronic media and mass migrations.

In fact, the idea of the nation, and the form of political organization called the nation-state, has appeared relatively recently in human history, and only come to dominate during modernity. Cerulo (2008) defines the nation-state as follows:

A nation-state has three characteristics—(1) its people share some or all of such common traits as culture, history, language, and religion; (2) its people experience a feeling of unity; and (3) its people inhabit a specific area of land with its own independent government.

Cerulo makes an interesting link between the rise of the nation-state and the changing sense of place that accompanied it. She also credits improvements in travel and communications for this new type of political organization.

Nation-states began to develop at the end of the Middle Ages. In this period, *people's sense of place changed*. Travel and communication improved, and people became increasingly aware of the parts of a country that lay beyond their immediate community. As a result, loyalty to local and religious leaders weakened, and allegiance to a monarch grew stronger. By the 1700's (sic), these factors enabled such European countries as England, France, and Spain to become nation-

states. In the 1800's (sic), additional nation-states, such as Germany and Italy, formed as the result of unification movements. In such cases, several provinces or states combined into a single political unit.

(Cerulo, 2008, emphasis added)

Anderson (1983/1991) argues that the simultaneous development of the printing press, capitalism and use of the vernacular form of languages at all levels of society (where formerly, élites had spoken a special dialect or even a separate language, such as Latin) were the necessary conditions for the development of the new political form called the nation-state. Anderson suggests the term “imagined communities” to describe nations. The role of the mass-produced, printed word—books, newspapers and magazines written in the language of ordinary parlance and available cheaply—along with the capitalist drive to sell more and more of these products, a combination that he calls “print-capitalism,” was absolutely central to this process, Anderson theorizes.

Has the nation-state seen its day? Is it on the way out? Certainly this is not evident in the two Canadian newspapers studied in this research project. Indeed, this study indicates the opposite: national news was on the rise, both in numbers of stories and in their priority. In the 35-year period from 1970 to 2005, the two newspapers under study increased their national coverage significantly, with a

corresponding drop in local coverage. This will be discussed further in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

### **Sense of Place**

The stage has now been set for an expanded definition and exploration of the term “sense of place,” which is at the heart of this dissertation. As the expression says, people use their senses to experience place, and *experience* is what it most depends on. Given the centrality of experience, a sense of place also develops over *time*: as we spend time getting to know a place, we become more fully cognizant of it (Tuan, 1977)<sup>22</sup>. Thus, there are degrees of sense of place: it can be strong or weak. A place that one person values because it is their home, perhaps, or place of worship, might not matter at all to another. Feelings about a place one has visited since childhood will be more fully developed than those for a place one has visited

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<sup>22</sup> Perhaps this time-centered sense of attachment to place is one reason Harold Innis (1951/1991) used the concept of *time* to express his idea that societies rooted in localities were more “time-bound” than those with a more expansive view of space, which he called “space-bound.” Of course, the concept of time, for Innis, primarily implies *continuity* over time, which Innis believed was an attribute of the time-bound society (Babe, 2000, pp. 72-73).

only once. If one does not attach much *meaning* to a place, it could be said that one does not have much of a sense of place about it.

The expression sense of place also derives particular meanings from its use of the word “sense.” While we have spent some time exploring the term “place”, the word “sense” is equally important. It is a complex word, one for which the *Oxford English Dictionary* has 30 different definitions, many of them with sub-definitions. The *Merriam-Webster*<sup>23</sup> dictionary (Merriam-Webster Online, 2008) offers seven, a more manageable number, four of which would seem to apply to this expression:

1. It suggests the use of the *sense organs* in apprehending place. In the newspaper, the visual sense would be paramount, but place descriptions that evoke the other senses are often included in stories.
2. It implies the *meaning* a person attaches to a place, as in the expression “making sense” of something. Every story or photograph depicting a local place would contribute to a person’s sense of that place, as would stories about other places that invite comparison and contrast with one’s own locality.

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<sup>23</sup> Merriam Webster, being an American dictionary, is also particularly appropriate to a discussion of North American newspapers.

3. There is a *kind or quality of sensation* one develops about something, as in, “He sensed that this was a gloomy place.” While this is somewhat similar to the first meaning, it implies the qualities of the place that give it a particular character.
4. There is a collective sense to the word that *Merriam Webster* describes as *consensus*. The newspaper gives readers this type of collective consciousness, particularly in editorials, columns and other opinion pieces, but also in news and feature stories that frame the event or issue and quote people talking about it. In this way, for example, one could absorb a sense of place that is conservative or liberal, gloomy or optimistic, positive or negative, and so on. Indeed, many municipalities and institutions have public relations staff, whose major purpose is to ensure that the “spin” on stories about the place is positive rather than negative. To some extent, this is about creating or manipulating the reader’s sense of place.

Shamai (1991, pp. 349-350) proposed a scale of degrees of sense of place that can be experienced by an individual, based on the notion of degrees of “insiderness” and “outsiderness” that Relph postulated (1976, pp. 49-55). Shamai’s ascending scale, adapted from these concepts, consisted of: no sense of place, knowledge of being in a place, belonging to a place, attachment to a place,

identifying with place goals, involvement in a place, and (willingness to) sacrifice for a place<sup>24</sup>.

Ryden's idea of the "invisible landscape" is an excellent metaphor for the concept of sense of place:

For those who have developed a sense of place, then, it is as though there is an unseen layer of usage, memory and significance—an invisible landscape, if you will, of imaginative landmarks—superimposed upon the geographical surface and the two-dimensional map. To passing observers, however, that landscape will remain invisible unless it is somehow called to their attention. (Ryden, 1993, p. 40)

Ryden gives the example of William James' visit to the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina. James was "appalled" by the landscape, about which he wrote: "The impression on my mind was of unmitigated squalor" (quoted in Ryden, 1993, p. 40). James went on to give a detailed description of the landscape he saw on first glance. James then described how he asked his driver, a local resident, why the landscape had been denuded of trees, fenced, and cluttered with buildings. The driver

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<sup>24</sup> He tested the scale on a sample of Jewish Toronto residents, with results that were promising, but the sample was too small to generalize from.

explained that in doing this, residents were “cultivating” the land and that this made them happy. James suddenly achieved a different perspective on the place:

I instantly felt that I had been losing the whole inward significance of the situation. Because to me the clearings spoke of naught but denudation, I thought that to those whose sturdy arms and obedient axes had made them they could tell no other story. But when *they* looked on the hideous stumps, what they thought of was personal victory. The chips, the girdled trees, and the vile split rails [fences] spoke of honest sweat, persistent toil and final reward. The cabin was a warrant of safety for self and wife and babes. In short, the clearing, which to me was a mere ugly picture on the retina, was to them a symbol redolent with moral memories and sang a very paean of duty, struggle, and success. (quoted in Ryden, 1993, p. 41, italic the author's)

This example also illustrates how place meanings are negotiated, in the Habermasian sense (Habermas, 1984; Butz & Eyles, 1997), by members of a speech community. Indeed, James' written version of his encounter with this place has entered the wider speech community of his readers, forever influencing how they will see and experience this particular place.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the definition of the term sense of place that this study is using comes from Agnew and Duncan (1989, p. 2), who define it as “identification with a place engendered by living in it.” They distinguish this concept, *sense of place*, from *location* (the spatial distribution of things) and *locale* (the settings for social interactions and everyday life). Together, the three are complementary dimensions of the geographical concept of place.

Geographers John Eyles and David Butz discovered that people have different ways of relating to the place where they live. Eyles (1985) set out first to categorize all these ways of experiencing one’s home, using an open-answer interview-type survey in Towcester, England in the early 1980s. From the answers to this survey, he developed a list of ten dominant modes by which people relate to place (1985, pp. 122-129). In 1997, working with David Butz, the two geographers compared the applicability of the ten categories in Shimshal, Pakistan—a rural, indigenous community in the Himalayas—with Eyles’ earlier findings in Towcester (Butz & Eyles, 1997). In both places, they used an interview methodology that did not structure responses, which meant that they were more likely to capture the complete range of attitudes people might have about the place where they live.

Butz and Eyles (1997, pp. 13-15) classified the respondents by the “dominant” sense of place exhibited in these interviews. This list features abbreviated descriptions of these categories:

1. **Social:** This sense of place is dominated by social ties and interaction. Place has little meaning without reference to these ties and interactions; the place is seen as the centre of these networks of relationships.
2. **Apathetic-acquiescent:** This category “may be regarded as having no sense of place at all” (p. 13). These individuals showed little interest in or commitment to the place.
3. **Instrumental:** These individuals see place as “a means to an end” such as goods, services and opportunities. Employment, recreational and cultural opportunities are central to this sense of place.
4. **Nostalgic:** This sense of place is dominated by feelings towards the place at some time in the past. People’s loyalties are shaped by past experiences, with little in their present reality that ties them to the place.
5. **Commodity:** This sense of place “is dominated by a search for some ‘ideal’ place to live” (p. 13) and is usually held by people who are mobile and in professional, managerial or other upper-income jobs. They tend to see their place of residence as a “consumable” commodity for which they feel no permanent attachment.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> This almost perfectly describes the sense of place described by Duncan and Duncan (2001) in their study of Bedford, New York. However, the Platform/Stage

6. **Platform/Stage:** These people see where they live as a stage on which to act out their lives, but it is not as commodified as Category 5. They are searching for people like themselves, or a place where they fit in. They choose their place, rather than basing it on existing roots or relationships.
7. **Family:** This sense of place is defined in terms of family connections. Feelings about the place are shaped by the nature of these family relationships, which are central life concerns for these individuals.
8. **Way of life:** The social dimension is central but more than that, these individuals feel their entire life is bound up in the place. Jobs, friends, other relationships, feelings of belonging, all tie them to the place.
9. **Roots:** This sense is based on, or rooted in, the past, but not stuck there, as in Category 4. Family ties in the town or district bring a sense of continuity or tradition, they feel “at home” in a deep sense.
10. **Environmental:** Place is not important for its social, family or traditional meanings but as an aesthetic experience, or a feeling of being “in tune with the countryside.” Place is not seen as a commodity, rather, the countryside is “something to be lived in itself.”

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category also applies, and may be more appropriate for some residents of the town.

Interestingly, the top categories in Towcester (numbers 1 to 4), were at or near the bottom in Shimshal, with the exception of the Instrumental category, which was important in both samples. Shimshalis emphasized Roots, Way of Life and Family senses of place, which ranked ninth, eighth and seventh on the Towcester scale. But in Shimshal, as in Towcester, the Instrumental sense of place was at or near the top of the list (1997, p. 19-20).

The Environmental sense of place was not dominant in either study, but Butz and Eyles found that in Shimshal, the environmental was integrated into other senses of place, such that all Shimshali senses of place featured the ecological (1997, p. 22). This too was in contrast with the Towcester sample, whose members did not often integrate the Environmental into their dominant senses of place, but instead, “defined them mainly around social relationships” (p. 22).

Another important feature of the Eyles (1985) and Butz and Eyles (1997) studies was their realization that “senses of place constitute and are constituted through communicative and instrumental action” (p. 19). Both studies relied heavily on the theoretical approach of Jürgen Habermas (1984), whose theory of communicative action is central to their work. While they did not examine media representations of place<sup>26</sup>, these also fit the phenomena they describe. Readers of a

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<sup>26</sup> Eyles has done this in other studies, for example, his 1990 “Iconology of

newspaper, particularly those who live in the paper's circulation area<sup>27</sup>, are members of a Habermasian speech community, who engage in two types of agency: instrumental and communicative action. The former, to put it very briefly, is the type of everyday action individuals take to get things done. The latter is a social process in which people attempt to negotiate meanings and understand one another.

Butz and Eyles (1997) found Habermas's two types of agency, and the relationships between them, useful in conceptualizing senses of place. Underlying communicative action, in Habermas's (1984) scheme, is an inter-subjectively shared life world, which shapes communicative action and is in turn shaped by it. Senses of place, Butz and Eyles theorize, are derived and continuously renegotiated as a result of these interactions (1997, pp. 4-6). This structure is also useful to explain the way newspapers shape readers' perceptions of place.

Butz and Eyles (1997) found that frequent face-to-face communication between individuals in a speech community, as occurred in Shimshal, appeared to lead to more social consensus about senses of place. In Western communities such as Towcester, communicative action is not as often face-to-face, thus, mediated

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Steeltown," on news images of Hamilton, Ontario.

<sup>27</sup> The circulation area — the geographic area in which the paper is delivered to readers — is what I have used to define the term "local."

communication such as local news helps to shape the reader's sense of place. Ultimately, sense of place is neither purely individual nor purely collective, they determined. It is collective because it must be grounded in a life world shaped by communicative action, which is constantly engaged in negotiating and renegotiating meanings. Yet all individuals bring their own place experiences into the picture, so no two individuals will have exactly the same sense of place (p. 6).

This project originally attempted to apply Eyles' (1985) categories to a content analysis of newspaper articles, but was unable to achieve acceptable levels of inter-coder agreement. This happened, I believe, because their categories were developed to fit with people's feelings and points of view in the larger context of place identification, not newspaper stories. The latter can—and in our coding experience, usually do — express more than one type of sense of place. In addition, because each individual sees things differently with regard to sense of place, Eyles and Butz might well have predicted our experience: the three coders involved in this project did not agree, at level of 80 percent or higher, on which sense of place was *dominant* in any particular story. A second attempt revised the task, allowing coders to select *all* senses of place that an article contained, but was still unsuccessful in achieving acceptable inter-coder agreement. It would seem that, although Eyles' categories are interesting and probably valid, they are subjective, and the categories are not distinct enough from each other to be used reliably by coders in a content

analysis. This subjectivity and overlap between the categories allowed coders to interpret the sense of place in any one story in different ways.

To be really clear about why Butz and Eyles' categories did not work in the quantitative part of this study, the coding of articles in a content analysis requires *categories that do not overlap* (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 119). Butz and Eyles, however, were not attempting to develop mutually exclusive categories; they were not conducting a content analysis. For example, their Roots category is hard to separate from the Family category and the Social category seems to apply to almost everything. Although this researcher tried to collapse the overlapping categories into one another, making fewer, more broadly defined categories, even this did not solve the problem. Senses of place, it seems, simply overlap. And they are deeply subjective.

The low level of intercoder agreement on Eyles' categories could also be seen as confirmation of the subjectivity of the "decoding" process postulated by Hall (1980) to describe how individuals absorb media stories. He proposed that news stories contain messages or "codes" that are transmitted, either knowingly or unknowingly, by news workers embedded in the prevailing dominant culture and working within the organizational constraints that construct news. However, no one can predict how those messages will be "decoded" by individual readers—it is a highly subjective process that may or may not recognize, or absorb, the original

codes (whether they were intended or not). It would appear, from our results with Eyles' (1985) categories of sense of place, that senses of place in news stories are individual and idiosyncratic enough to defy measurement in a quantitative analysis. Their categories were useful in the qualitative part of this analysis, however.

Butz and Eyles (1997) also provide an enlightening description of how a Habermasian speech community can shape the individual's sense of place. Even though individuals might not interpret the sense of place in any individual story the same way, people are influenced by what they *share* (i.e. communicate) about place. This is communicative action at work. When the three coders sat down and discussed their responses to the sense of place in articles, more often than not each would respond to a categorization different from her own with, "Oh, why didn't I think of that? Of course!" The discussion of other people's perceptions affected their own conceptualizations, in other words. While this did not help us to quantify the sense of place (since coding has to be done in isolation, with coders unaware of others' responses), it did help us to understand this theoretical concept.

One other study, this one by Eyles and Peace (1990), illustrates the value of studying representations of place in newspapers, and making qualitative observations of those newspapers in order to understand the sense of place a city's residents see and express about their locality. Eyles and Peace use "iconography"—a type of semiotic analysis—to examine images of Hamilton in various "texts" such

as *Steeltown*, a National Film Board film about Hamilton from 1967; reviews of the film in a number of newspapers; and a selection of feature articles about Hamilton over a period of about 20 years in several newspapers, ranging from the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* to the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Hamilton Spectator*. In addition, a speech by the mayor of Hamilton to the Canadian Club of Hamilton, reprinted in the *Hamilton Spectator*, is also examined. The analysis finds a number of common signs and symbols in these articles and the NFB film that have become iconic images of Hamilton: the Stelco smokestacks, the workers in the steel plants with their lunchbuckets, the air pollution that hangs over the industrial city, and so on. And it digs deep into the collective psyche of Hamiltonians, through their newspaper and film images, to discover that Hamilton's basic problem is that it is always comparing itself to Toronto, a much bigger and more diverse city (Eyles and Peace, 1990).

While semiotic analysis was not a method chosen for this study, some of its principles were incorporated. For example, Eyles and Peace specify that it's important to examine not just the text, but also "the *context* of the text and its 'reality' must be fully explored". Eyles and Peace did this by briefly summarizing demographic, historical, economic and social facts about the city of Hamilton, then comparing the way it was portrayed in the aforementioned selection of newspaper stories and film to those simple facts. One problem with their approach was that

there was apparently no systematic method used to collect the newspaper stories, or at least, none is described in the article; the articles and visual images referred to seem to have been chosen to fit with the portrayal of Hamilton in the NFB film. It is a fascinating analysis, and it provides great insight into the nature of Hamilton, however, it is not a systematic, longitudinal study.

In this study, by contrast, we wanted to systematically examine changes in the sense of place over a long period of time. The author made no assumptions about what kind of sense of place the two cities would express about themselves. It simply looked at a random and very large selection of stories, selecting quantitative and qualitative measures that had been determined in advance to contribute to the sense of place (see more about how the variables were operationalized in Chapter 4: Methodology). The contextual side of the exploration done in this study examined the context of the printed page and the newspaper as a whole, incorporating the rules of graphics and design into both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the analysis—a process developed and used extensively by Barnhurst (1994), Barnhurst and Nerone (1991, 2001) and Nerone and Barnhurst (2003a, 2003b). The histories of the two newspapers used in the study are also examined in some detail. So this is the context in which this analysis is set, rather than the histories of the two cities, Ottawa and Toronto. However, it is through this analysis that we come to understand some interesting facts about those two cities and how they view

themselves—not by superimposing upon them a particular film and particular stories, and their analysis of the cities, but by looking at the way the two cities portray themselves in the pages of their best-read newspapers, and how that portrayal changed over a very long period of time.

Thus, after reviewing the literature in geography, anthropology and communication, this author was unable to find a study that had measured the sense of place as we have defined it, in a newspaper context. This study therefore was required to operationalize<sup>28</sup> this concept for the first time in this context. In doing so, the author turned to an extensive literature about news and representation, which are the subjects of the next chapter.

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<sup>28</sup> The term means to make a construct measurable in a specific, consistent and replicable way (Hayes, 2005b, pp. 18-20).

### Chapter 3: News and Place

The experience of place does not have to be first-hand. People often experience places through communications media: books, the visual arts, photography, newspapers, radio, television and the internet. These “representations” tell us about places, local or elsewhere, which we often feel that we know after reading about them or seeing them in a movie, without ever having visited them in person. Indeed, this ability to experience places without actually being in them could be considered a central feature of the modern era.

Appadurai includes a chapter on “The Production of Locality” in his classic work, *Modernity at Large* (1996, pp. 178-199). He states:

It is one of the grand clichés of social theory (going back to Tönnies, Weber, and Durkheim) that locality as a property or diacritic of social life comes under siege in modern societies. But locality is an inherently fragile social achievement. Even in the most intimate, spatially confined, geographically isolated situations, locality must be maintained carefully against various kinds of odds (p. 179).

Appadurai explains the cultural mechanisms seen by anthropologists as central to this process of producing locality:

- one is the “production of local subjects” —which are “actors who properly belong to a situated community of kin, neighbors, friends, and enemies” (p. 179)—through things like rites of passage and kinship;
- another is the “spatial production of locality” through things like house-building, the marking of paths and roads, fields and gardens, and so on—things that cities collect under headings like “planning” and “development,” but also the much less formal kind of place-making that people do when they create gardens or paths.

Much of this is done, Appadurai notes, through ritual: “Space and time are themselves socialized and localized through complex and deliberate practices of performance, representation and action” (p. 180).

Newspapers play important roles in the production of local subjects: they abound with notices and stories about rites of passage. Births, deaths, marriages and engagements, graduations, and so on are the subjects of notices<sup>29</sup> and, in the case of prominent people or unusual circumstances, full articles.

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<sup>29</sup> In metropolitan newspapers these notices are paid for, and are a sort of intermediate form, between articles and advertising. Thus, they are paid for by the family, but given special prominence by the newspaper, their location often indexed on the front page. In smaller, so-called “community newspapers,” as well as in daily

The news also aids in the spatial production of locality, covering debates about the construction of new buildings, housing and commercial developments, public monuments, cultural amenities, and roads. Attempts to preserve and enhance public spaces and natural features often make the news. Indeed, all these types of stories are staples of local news. This chapter will discuss how these and other aspects of daily newspapers create and shape the sense that readers have of the place where they live.

### **The “imagined community”**

Benedict Anderson (1983/1991) invoked the concept of the “imagined community” to describe the nation-state. Key to the triumph of this modern form of political organization, Anderson argued, was the newspaper’s role in pulling together its readership. The rise of print media, starting in the 16th century, combined with other factors such as the use of the vernacular form of language at all levels of society, made it possible to bring and hold together larger communities, beyond the size where face-to-face communication would suffice. Daily newspapers in many parts of the world are national in scope and readership, thus corresponding to

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newspapers from decades ago, these types of notices are/were quite common and often unpaid-for.

Anderson's vision. In North America, however, the daily newspaper's "traditional"<sup>30</sup> community has been local.

North American newspapers trumpet their claim to a local community right on the front page. The typical nameplate gives not just the title of the publication but emphasizes place as well—the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Los Angeles Times*. Even the leading U.S. business daily, which bills itself as "the daily diary of the American dream," bears a name that appeals to place: Wall Street, in the heart of the New York financial district. (McKercher, 2002, p. 17)

The history of North American newspapers bears witness to the fact that the "imagined community" is born as soon as the local community becomes larger than a village. Wallace (2005) documents the essential role of daily newspapers in building a sense of community in a variety of American places— from the small town to the nation, from urban to suburban to rural. Kaniss (1991) demonstrates how metropolitan daily newspapers bind their readership together using the "symbolic

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<sup>30</sup> As we shall see, this "tradition" did not really result in a lot of local news coverage prior to the late 19th and early 20 century. Newspapers had a local outlook prior to that, but it was most often a local outlook on national or international events and politics.

capital” of the downtown, although since the Second World War most readers have lived in suburbs. And Nerone and Barnhurst refer to the “civic function” of news, saying “media also work to enable groups of people to live together as a community” (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003a, p. 112).

Many years before these scholars, sociologist Robert Park (1923) wrote “The Natural History of the Newspaper,” in which he said:

The motive, conscious or unconscious (sic), of the writers and of the press ... is to reproduce, as far as possible, in the city the conditions of life in the village. In the village everyone knew everyone else.

Everyone called everyone by his first name. The village was democratic. We are a nation of villagers. Our institutions are fundamentally village institutions. In the village, gossip and public opinion were the main sources of social control. (p. 277-278)

Quoting Thomas Jefferson’s oft-cited statement that “I would rather live in a country with newspapers and without a government than in a country with a government and without newspapers,” Park continued:

If we propose to maintain a democracy as Jefferson conceived it, the newspaper must continue to tell us about ourselves. We must somehow learn to know our community and its affairs in the same

intimate way in which we knew them in the country villages. The newspaper must continue to be the printed diary of the home community. Marriages and divorce, crime and politics, must continue to make up the main body of our news. Local news is the very stuff that democracy is made of. (p. 278)

The newspaper and its readership would also seem to form an important part of a “communication-community” of the sort described by Jürgen Habermas (1984/1981, p. 14-15, 82). Individuals in such a community participate in an “intersubjectively shared lifeworld [which] forms the background for communicative action” (p. 82). This type of action is the way communities negotiate meanings, find consensus on social norms and the different “validity claims” that individual members might make. In places where population size does not permit face-to-face interactions, mediated communication plays an essential role in this process.

Communicative action differs fundamentally from “instrumental action”, which Habermas describes as the actions people take to get things done. Butz and Eyles (1997) draw particular attention to the role of communicative action in creating senses of place:

“The relationships Habermas posits among communicative action, instrumental action and lifeworld help clarify the ways that place, community and senses of place are integrated, and suggest several

points which help move the sense of place concept beyond its roots in humanistic geography to recentre it within well-developed theories of social organization and society. First, the communicative efforts of a speech community necessarily occur somewhere. The social process of communicative action, to the extent that it is emplaced, engenders senses of place on a very small scale, which links the place of interaction with the form of interaction and lends them both significance. Second, place, to the extent that it is shared by members of a speech community, becomes a basis for commonality in the lifeworlds of participants, so that the shared senses of place facilitate efforts to achieve intersubjective understanding among members of a speech community. Third, the process of communicative action ensures that lifeworld is as much a social construct as it is a mental one; shared senses of place are outcomes of communicative action as well as constituent elements of it. (p. 23)

One example of communicative action mediated by newspapers, as Kaniss (1991, p. 16) and others note, is the role newspapers have played in socializing newcomers to the city since the early days of the Penny Press in the 1830s. At the time, cities were experiencing dramatic growth as a result of industrialization.

The Penny Papers were sold, as their name implies, for a penny rather

than the six-cent price of earlier papers, and instead of subscriptions, they were hawked in the city's streets by newsboys. Their content was also a dramatic departure from the earlier commercial newsletters or political treatises. News of abroad and of national government was replaced by local news that had little to do with the economy. As cities had grown in population and spread over space, the average urban dweller could no longer learn the town's happenings simply by strolling the streets and squares or patronizing his favorite tavern. The newspapers began to take on the function of telling stories about the town that had once flowed directly from person to person in the form of face-to-face communication. (p. 15)

The mid-1800s is where we pick up the stories of the two newspapers in our sample, for it is when the older of them, the *Ottawa Citizen*, was founded.

### **The Ottawa Citizen**

The *Ottawa* was founded as *The Packet* by William Harris, a "fiery frontier politician" ("The *Ottawa Citizen*: The newspaper that grew with Canada's capital," 1988, p. 1). But it was more than 50 years before this newspaper became a member of the Penny Press. *The Packet* first served a city that was neither Ottawa nor the capital of Canada, but rather its predecessor: "a frontier settlement" called Bytown,

described as “a struggling backwoods village; a rough brawling lumber town, half savage, half civilized” (p. 1).

*The Packet* was not a populist paper: its purpose was political. Harris promoted and supported the Reform Party of Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine, of which he was a member (p. 3). However, Harris lasted only two years as publisher, selling the paper to John G. Bell and Henry J. Friel, whose newspaper was just as political and partisan but supported the Conservatives (p. 4-5). In 1851, the *Packet* became the *Ottawa Citizen*, but it was not until the 1860s, when the paper was sold to J.B. Taylor, that the newspaper became a daily and began to take up the less partisan style characteristic of the modern newspaper. Still staunchly Conservative, it supported Sir John A. Macdonald and Confederation on its editorial pages, but also reported a lot of non-partisan news, from the local to the international (p. 5).

It was not until 1897, when William Southam of Hamilton, Ontario, bought the *Citizen* as the second newspaper in what was to become a national chain, that the idea of courting broad popular appeal really took hold. Southam’s aim was to increase circulation and therefore advertising, on which profits were based. Southam appointed his son, Wilson Mills Southam, to run the *Citizen*. The latter lost no time in launching an evening edition (it was at that time a morning paper) priced at a penny, which was half the cost of the city’s other newspapers at the time, the *Journal* and

the *Free Press*<sup>31</sup>. W.M. Southam also built up the *Citizen's* classified advertising to become "Ottawa's want-ad newspaper" (p. 13), a reputation it maintained for at least a century<sup>32</sup>. Both these moves were designed not only to increase circulation, but to appeal to working-class people.

This trend to produce more populist afternoon newspapers was true across the country in the late 19th and early 20th century, with the rise of the "popular press," as Rutherford (1978) calls it<sup>33</sup>. In Ottawa, the *Journal* (born in 1885) was

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<sup>31</sup> It was not until 1954, however, that the separate morning edition was phased out, only to return as the Valley edition in 1980. Then, over a five-year period from 1990 to 1995 the *Citizen* gradually switched from an evening newspaper to a morning newspaper, as did many newspapers across North America, recognizing that readers preferred a morning paper (R. Mills, 1995).

<sup>32</sup> When I moved to Ottawa in 1978, I was told by many people that they bought the *Citizen* for the classified ads, and that it was the paper to advertise in if you wanted to sell something. Since the *Citizen's* major competition, the *Ottawa Journal*, folded in 1980, the *Citizen* had no problem maintaining its dominance in classified advertising.

<sup>33</sup> Rutherford actually calls it a "renaissance of the popular press" because there had been examples earlier (p. 49).

founded during this period and in that spirit, as were the *Montreal Star*, *La Presse*, and in Toronto, the *Telegram*, the *World* (p. 49), and the *Star*. The *Citizen*, as a morning paper, was considered more “highbrow” until it started its afternoon edition:

There remained a distinction in tone at least, between morning and evening newspapers. The morning dailies, roughly one-quarter of the total, like the *Toronto Globe* or the *Montreal Gazette* or *Le Canada*, were a touch more reserved, even highbrow, aimed usually at a metropolitan audience of middle and upper income Canadians; whereas the afternoon and evening dailies like *La Presse* or the *Toronto Telegram* were flamboyant, popular sheets which appealed in particular to a local audience of middle and lower income readers. As well, each newspaper proudly claimed its own traditions and personality. ... The Southam dailies, unlike the Hearst papers in the United States, were never produced according to some rigid formula but rather according to the individual publishers’ conceptions of what their clientele desired. (Rutherford, 1978, pp. 52-53)

The *Citizen* was a part of the Southam chain for nearly a century until 1996, when Conrad Black’s Hollinger chain gained majority control of Southam Inc. In 2000, Black sold the *Citizen* and other Southam newspapers to the Asper family of Winnipeg, to become part of the Canwest Global media conglomerate.

As Carleton University historian John Taylor is paraphrased as saying in an article printed on the occasion of the newspaper's 160th anniversary, "the *Citizen* has struggled between being a city newspaper and a national newspaper, a battle that reflects the community's own search for a balance between town and country" (Adam, 2005). This is clear from the beginning in our sample, which shows a higher proportion of national stories and a much higher proportion of world stories, in the *Citizen* than in the *Star*.

Newspapers in the Southam chain were granted, from the chain's beginnings, an unusually high degree of editorial independence:

Each big-city newspaper [in the 1920s] necessarily had a particular flavour suitable to the tastes of its locality. That was true even of the chain newspapers. The Southam dailies, unlike the Hearst papers in the United States, were never produced according to some rigid formula, but rather according to the individual publishers' conceptions of what their clientele desired. (Rutherford, 1978, p. 53)

However, Rutherford does go on to say that despite these local "distinctions and idiosyncrasies," starting in the 1920s the big-city dailies in Canada became increasingly homogeneous.

The daily newspaper was fast becoming a standardized product like

the other consumer goodies produced by the industrial machine. All too often, if the packaging was different, the contents were not. The typical newspaper (what Carlton McNaught called “the department store of literature”) endeavoured to reach a mass audience by supplying, in different quantities and with a different flair, much the same kinds of information, entertainment, features, and comment. The logic of mass communication had fostered a roughly homogeneous journalism. The age of everybody’s newspaper had dawned. (p. 53)

This increasing homogeneity was both a cause and a result of the ability of newspapers to share stories through wire services such as the Associated Press, which was available to both newspapers from 1894, the start of the period under analysis (Allen, 2006). Later, the two papers joined the Canadian Press, which in 1917 became a not-for-profit, co-operative effort by Canadian newspapers to share the costs of reporting on the First World War (Canadian Press, 2008). Individual newspapers that belong to the CP network send copies of their stories to a central service, which distributes them to all members. CP also has its own team of reporters. As a result of CP and other wire services (the Associated Press, Reuters, United Press International, and so on), a steady supply of stories became available to newspapers, starting in 1894 but really picking up steam in the 1920s. These stories clustered in certain categories, contributing to the growing homogeneity

mentioned by Rutherford (1978) and Allen (2006). The geographic categories of national, international and local were fundamental, as they had been to newspapers from the start, as were sports and business. But to this were added things like “women’s news” (fashion, recipes, housekeeping hints) and other family fare such as comics, puzzles and fiction.

In 1928, the Southam Publishing Company, which had six newspapers at this point, launched Southam News Services with correspondents based in Montreal, Washington and London and, a year later, a Parliament Hill bureau in Ottawa (Bruce, 1968, pp. 186-187, 407-412). Southam News, as the service was later called, supplied a steady stream of national and international stories to papers in the chain from a network of bureaus that later stretched around the world, all linked to the national bureau in Ottawa, its headquarters. However, these were not the only national and international stories available to Southam editors. They also had access to the Canadian Press and dozens of other wire services. The former Southam News (renamed Canwest News Service after Canwest’s 2000 purchase of the former Southam chain), closed all but two of its 11 international bureaus after 2000, leaving only Washington and London, shortly after the Canwest takeover (Canada, 2006a, p. 10). However, Canwest News Service was re-launched and revitalized to some extent in February 2008, following Canwest’s decision to leave Canadian Press in July 2007 (Cobb, 2008). If the standardization of news that Rutherford

(1978) alludes to was contributed to by the wire services (which used telegraph wires at first, but have been internet-based since the 1990s) this could be expected to show up in this study, perhaps increasing the number of national, world and/or placeless stories. However, the study did not keep track of which stories came from wire services, so it was not possible to attribute results definitively to that.

### **The Toronto Star**

The *Toronto Star*, the second newspaper in the study sample, was founded in 1892 by striking workers locked out of the *Toronto News*. However, it did not start publishing regularly until 1894 — after starting in 1892, it was forced to suspend publication in 1893 due to an economic crisis called the Great Panic (Honderich, 1992). It was still a struggling business in 1899, when Joseph E. Atkinson took over, first as editor, later as majority shareholder. He is credited with turning the *Star* into Canada's most successful newspaper, using all the techniques of the era's popular press: sensational stories and crusading campaigns for the concerns of working people; an emphasis on local news; bold layout, with headlines and design calculated to attract the reader; special sections and features designed to appeal to women and children, as well as sports and business sections aimed primarily at men; relentless self-promotion; and illustrations that livened up the pages (Harkness, 1963; Honderich, 1992)).

Atkinson developed a “people’s paper” philosophy, crusading for the rights of workers and the underprivileged, which has lived on in the famous Atkinson Principles. They remain the newspaper’s governing mandate, and are posted on the *Star’s* website—although Torstar, the conglomerate that now runs the enterprise and a growing range of other businesses, primarily in publishing, notes that only the *Star*, and not its other businesses, abides by the Atkinson Principles.<sup>34</sup> Among these six principles, number four is a commitment to the local:

Community and Civic Engagement: Atkinson continually advocated the importance of proper city planning, the development of strong communities with their vibrant local fabrics and the active involvement of citizens in civic affairs. (*Toronto Star*, 2005).

The *Star* was an independently owned newspaper from its founding until at least 1975, with the most significant loss of editorial independence beginning in the late 1990s. For most of the first two decades, from 1894 to 1912, the *Evening Star* (as it was called at the time) was owned by several small groups of investors who did not own other newspapers. From 1913 to 1942 the *Star* had a single controlling

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<sup>34</sup> The disclaimer reads: “Torstar’s commitment to observe and promote the Atkinson Principles is confined to the operations of the *Toronto Star* and does not extend to Torstar’s other newspapers or businesses.” (*Toronto Star*, 2005)

shareholder: Atkinson, who was also the paper's editor and later publisher. Atkinson did not own any other newspapers. In 1942, a few years before Atkinson died (in 1948), he established a charitable trust to run the *Star* in accordance with his principles. However, "a retroactive change in Ontario law barred such a foundation from owning more than ten per cent of any profit-making business. So his trustees were given court permission to buy the paper in 1958, after promising to uphold its longstanding traditions" (Honderich, 1992). Torstar Corporation was thus founded in 1958 to acquire the paper, which was at this time named the *Toronto Daily Star*.

Torstar's principal activity, until 1975, was publishing the *Star*, though it did some commercial printing and community newspaper publishing. In 1975 Torstar began to acquire interests in book publishing. The biggest changes, however, came in the late 1990s, when Torstar bought more newspapers, both daily and weekly, spawning its own chain which now includes four Ontario dailies, one Chinese-language daily (located in Canada), and more than 100 weekly community newspapers across Canada. It has also acquired—and in some cases later sold—interests in other media (internet and other digital products, and television), and educational materials (books, software and even an educational institution: ITI's Information Technology Institute) (Bianco, 2000).

Despite all these changes, Torstar continued to operate the *Toronto Star* as a separate business. The *Star* alone abided by the Atkinson Principles, according to

the Torstar and *Star* websites. In the fall of 2006, however, there came signs of an apparent loss of editorial independence, when *Toronto Star* publisher Michael Goldbloom and editor Giles Gherson were replaced by Torstar. Olijnyk, a national business writer, cited falling profits as a reason for their dismissal (Olijnyk, 2006). This would seem to indicate that the *Star's* editorial side is now answerable to shareholders in a much larger corporate enterprise whose primary focus is not the newspaper.

### **The rise of local news**

Local news was not a key feature of the earliest North American newspapers. It was not until the era we have just been describing, the late 19th and early 20th century, with its intense competition for circulation, that many newspapers began to emphasize local news because it was popular with readers. “In the beginning, the great staple was foreign news, and the newspaper remained the colonist’s window on the world,” says Rutherford (1978, p. 17). “The coverage of the civic scene was not abundant, and given the space available that was hardly surprising, especially not in the party organs where foreign or political news usually had priority” (p. 19).

As previously mentioned, North American newspapers played an important role in integrating newcomers to the city—either from the surrounding countryside or as part of the waves of immigration that came to North America (Kaniss, 1991, pp.

16-22). In that spirit, local news was an important component of the package they offered readers.

Once the circulation wars of the early 20th century were over, local news was here to stay because the victors, for the most part, had found it part of their winning formula (p.22). In recent decades, however, a handful of North American newspapers have bucked tradition and established a national readership. Some, such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Globe and Mail*, arose out of particular cities. Two more recent arrivals—*USA Today* and Canada's *National Post*—have no local roots, which could be a sign of Giddens' concept of disembedding, but which might mean many other things, since it is, after all, the longstanding custom in many countries to have national newspapers.

In today's North America there are many people for whom the local means little, who live transient lifestyles<sup>35</sup> filled with travel and frequent changes of

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<sup>35</sup> Wallace (2005, p. 180) cites research done by Al Neuharth before the startup of *USA Today*, showing that "in 1979, 28 million Americans — traveled by air, 1.5 million people stayed in hotels and motels each night, and 100 million people had moved (residence) in the past ten years." Those numbers have steadily increased. The Bureau of Transportation Statistics in the U.S. reported that in 2006, U.S. airlines carried 744.4 million scheduled domestic and international passengers, and

residence. This has made it possible for *USA Today*, a national newspaper without local roots that specifically targets that nomadic audience, to become the best-selling newspaper in the United States (Wallace, 2005, p. 7)<sup>36</sup>. The *National Post* has not been so successful in Canada. Its top-selling newspaper has long been, and continues to be, the *Toronto Star*—an unabashed champion of the local<sup>37</sup>.

### **The form of news**

It is widely acknowledged that news is a form of culture, presenting a constructed reality that encodes the values and beliefs of the surrounding society (Burgess & Gold, 1985; Carey, 1988a; Hall, 1980, 1997; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson,

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of those, 658.2 million were domestic passengers (U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2007).

<sup>36</sup> Of course, with a national readership to draw on, it is easier for *USA Today* to get its circulation figures up than it would be for a local newspaper.

<sup>37</sup> The 2007 average daily circulation of the *Toronto Star* was 465, 803 copies, its nearest rival the *Globe and Mail* well behind at 337,387. The *Ottawa Citizen*, the other newspaper in the sample, is No. 10 on the list of Canada's highest-circulation newspapers, with 131,419 average daily circulation. In 2003 and 2006, the *Star*, *Globe* and *Citizen* were in the same relative positions in the top-10 list (Canadian Newspaper Association, 2004, p. 18, 2006b, p. 21, 2008).

Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Schudson, 1995; R. Williams, 1961/1989). Thus, news is more than just the transmission of messages. News structures the reader's world, as James Carey suggests, by presenting it in a "symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed" (1988a, p. 23). In doing this, the local newspaper is one of the windows through which residents see the reality of the local; it is structured and "framed" for them (Tuchman, 1978).

Carey (1988a), evoking Harold Innis (see particularly pp. 142-172), describes the cultural process by which the newspaper operates as a "ritual," which is directed "not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs" (p. 18). The shared daily activity of reading, watching or listening to news, is a custom many people share. It became widespread as newspapers gained mass readerships in the early 20th century, Carey explains, such that the mere act of reading the newspaper began to take on increased cultural significance. It became a daily observance made with the knowledge that at the same time, many others were doing the same thing. Reading a newspaper, Carey says, is somewhat like attending the theatre: "The reader joins a world of contending forces as an observer at a play" (p. 20).

In North America, the newspaper has traditionally been centered in a defined geographical area—a town, city, or region (Bogart, 1989; Dornan, 2003; Kaniss,

1991; Wallace, 2005)<sup>38</sup>. Some newspapers are not geographically based, instead serving readers with shared interests—perhaps workers or professionals in the same field or organization—but these are not usually daily newspapers. Thus, the world that readers join, in the ritual of newspaper reading, has traditionally been experienced from a local perspective.

News historian John Nerone and graphic arts scholar Kevin G. Barnhurst ((Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991, 2001; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003a) have taken Carey's idea of the ritual function of news a step further: the *form* of news, they argue, embeds the values and relationships of the surrounding society as much as its content.

The form of news creates an *environment*: it invites readers into a world molded and variegated to fit not only the conscious designs of journalists and the habits of readers but also the reigning values in political and economic life. ... Readers do not read bits of text and

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<sup>38</sup> Physical geography is a major reason that national newspapers did not appear in North America until the second half of the twentieth century (though some newspapers had national readerships earlier). Distances between North American cities are great, and only in the past few decades has technology made it possible to deliver the same day's newspaper across the country at roughly the same time.

pictures. What they read is *the paper*, the tangible object as a whole.

They enter the news environment and interact with its surface textures and deeper shapes. Readers don't read the news; they swim in it.

(2001, p. 6, emphasis in original)

The environment that the newspaper creates incorporates a “network of represented relationships” (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003a, pp. 111-112) that includes the people who produce the newspaper, newsmakers, advertisers and readers. Nerone and Barnhurst call this environment a “polity,” and stress that in this role the newspaper *mediates* between readers, editors, producers of news and the newspaper, buyers and sellers of products and services. Thus media, in addition to being “things in themselves” also have an important element of “middleness ... If we keep this in-betweenness in mind, it is the network of relationships between all of the producers and receivers and buyers and sellers that connect through it.” At the same time, they say, most readers entering this familiar environment are performing a ritual that “enable(s) people to live together as a community” (p. 112).

In coming to these conclusions, Barnhurst and Nerone studied a broad range of newspapers over the entire history of newspaper publishing in the United States, pointing out how both the form of news (i.e. from broad-brush layout and design to apparently small things like typefaces) and the values inherent in it had changed gradually, but markedly, over time, both expressing and reflecting the societal values

of the time. Their work has been a very significant influence on this research. Thus, it is important at this point to explore some of their ideas about newspaper form and how they apply to place.

It is also important to note here that, from the beginning, newspapers in Canada were heavily influenced by those in the United States and followed many of the same patterns:

The Canadian newspapers of 1905 resembled those of the United States. Indeed, in the 1890s Canadian publishers had only to look across the border to see that visually exciting newspapers meant increased profit. They were aware of Joseph Pulitzer's innovative journalistic methods of the 1880s and of how his turn-of-the century circulation war with William Randolph Hearst had led to spectacular circulation gains for Pulitzer's *World*. Canadian publishers and editors, despite their occasional denunciations of sensationalism and "yellow journalism," were clearly influenced by developments in the American newspaper industry. Their trade journals regularly reprinted articles from American trade journals such as *Editor and Publisher* and *Newspaperdom*. In addition, Canadians attended American newspaper conventions and belonged to American associations. In the early twentieth century, newsman Orlo Miller observed that more and more

American methods were being adopted, both in the writing of news and its display tradition, following the lead of the big New York dailies.

(Sotiron, 1997: 18)

When we pick up a newspaper today, we see a hierarchical arrangement of stories that the newspaper's editors and owners deem interesting (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, pp. 194-232). We see, but are often unaware of, the messages and values inherent in this arrangement. Some stories get a lot of space while others do not. Some stories have graphic or typographical features that make them more prominent than others. These techniques for expressing priority range from the story's placement (what page it's on and where on the page), to the size of its headline, the presence or absence of a decorative border or screen, whether it has accompanying charts or photographs, and other features. Perhaps the most widely acknowledged signal of a story's relative value is the page the story appears on, with a berth on the front page signaling a story of the highest priority (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, pp. 185-218; Moen, 1984/2000, p. 196). This does not necessarily mean the story is of great import—for example, the latest antics of a celebrity or foolish slip of the tongue by a well-known personality is not necessarily important. But it is interesting, and will often be singled out for high-priority treatment, depending on how editors view its novelty.

Most of these conventions were not followed in the late 19th century when the two Canadian newspapers studied in this research project were founded. The “modern” front page, with its “streamlined and rationalized” form and “hierarchical story placement” only came into full realization, Barnhurst and Nerone found, in the years between 1920 and 1940 (2001, pp. 20-21). Prior to that, from about 1860 to 1920 the formation was what Barnhurst and Nerone call Victorian and the type Industrial. The scheme they developed is reproduced, in

<b>Modern Newspaper Evolution</b>			
<i>An adapted version of the timeline Barnhurst and Nerone (2001, p. 20) propose for the types and ideals of modern newspaper formation. Used with permission.</i>			
FORMATION	VICTORIAN		MODERN
YEAR	1890-1900-1910-1920-1930-1940-1950-1960-1970-1980-1990-2000		
TYPE	Industrial	Professional	Corporate
IDEAL	Department store	Social map	Index

**Table 3-1: Modern Newspaper Evolution**

slightly modified form, in Table 3-1. The periods being discussed here are indicated in the top line, labelled Formation. By the 1890s, when this study’s sample begins, the North American newspaper was evolving rapidly toward what Barnhurst and

Nerone (2001) call Modern formation. Indeed, the *Toronto Star*, from the time Joseph Atkinson took control in 1899<sup>39</sup>, almost always had a modern-looking front page with stand-out headlines and hierarchical placement of stories, little or no advertising and some art, usually an editorial cartoon or engraving in the early days before photography was readily reproducible in newspapers<sup>40</sup>.

A more typical Victorian front page, to use one from the study sample, comes from Ottawa's *Morning Citizen* in 1902 (See Figure 3-1)<sup>41</sup>. This page is extremely gray, with no illustrations and only the most limited graphics to make anything stand out on the page—a far cry from the department-store display window that is the metaphor for the early modern front page. Note that the advertisement in the upper

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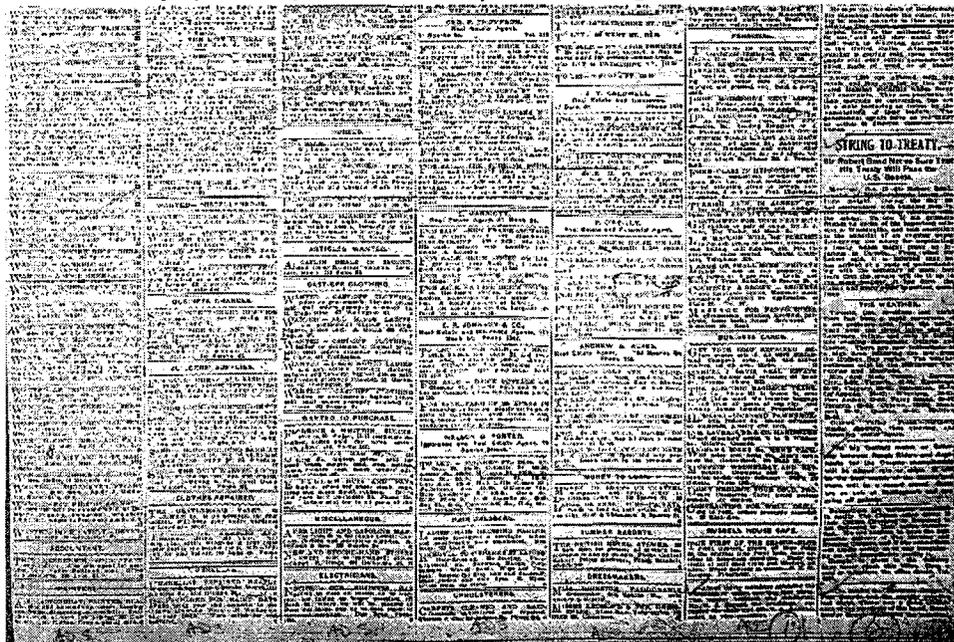
<sup>39</sup> The *Star* was founded in 1892 but for a variety of reasons, did not publish regularly until two years later.

<sup>40</sup> This was surmised based on a quick survey of these front pages from the database Pages of the Past, which contains as complete a record as is available of the *Toronto Star*, in PDF format, from 1894 to 2005. Within the study sample, of course, the pages were studied in much greater detail.

<sup>41</sup> This page can only be shown in two separate halves because there is no PDF file of this newspaper, so it was scanned by the author. Please excuse the occasional yellow highlighting and pencil notations, done during coding.



Figure 3-1: Top (above) & bottom (below), page 1, Citizen Oct. 23, 1902



left corner makes better use of white space, headlines and graphics to draw attention to itself than do the news stories. This is typical of the way things progressed in the evolution of newspaper graphics: Advertising led the way, with news only later adopting the attention-getting devices pioneered by advertising (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p. 85).

The *Citizen* front page (in Figure 3-1) is also largely classified advertising, with only a single column of news on the extreme right. Headlines<sup>42</sup> are not much larger than those on the classified ads in the other columns (although at the time, they probably seemed enormous, at double the size). And the news story begins lower down on the page has a larger headline, “The Crazy Douks”, than the “Pith of the News” headline at the top. This runs counter to the usual Modern form, in which the stories with the largest headlines are at the top of the page (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, pp. 203-204; Harrower, 1998, p. 25).

Finally, it is important to note that Victorian newspapers generally printed the most important news on the inside pages, which were printed last. The front and back pages (which are joined) were printed first, and often contained out-of-date news, and/or news of lesser importance.

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<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately the top news headline “Pith of the News” is partially obscured by a stray bit of paper stuck to the page.

Contrast this *Morning Citizen* front page with the *Star's* for the same day in 1902 (Figure 3-2). The *Star* already has the look that Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) call Modern, with a clearly hierarchical structure, much larger headlines and better use of white space to emphasize key stories and features. Art (a cartoon in this case) is central to the page, and is played much larger than most pictures in earlier newspapers. And there is beginning to be a horizontal look to stories, with some running over two columns rather than the old vertical, one-column look one sees in the *Citizen*, and indeed, in the two columns on the right in the *Star*. This page has seven columns, with each somewhat wider than those in the eight-column format used on most pages in that era. But the *Citizen's* front page also uses seven columns on the same day, as does its editorial page; this was relatively common at the time, though eight columns were fairly standard in the two newspapers in my sample. Sometimes the Victorian newspaper would increase to nine or even more columns, with all stories running vertically and the resulting look even grayer. Later in the Modern period, newspaper pages reduced the number of columns to six, or even five, which created a more pronounced horizontal look, particularly when combined with the tendency to run stories (and headlines and art) over three, four or more columns. This became most pronounced in the late 20th century.

So what do these contrasting forms tell us about the times? In the Victorian era “(news)papers did not clearly signal the importance of individual items”

THE TORONTO DAILY STAR LAST EDITION

TENTH YEAR

TORONTO, THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 23, 1902

ONE CENT

HOUSES FOR POOR PEOPLE

Controller Graham Proposes That the City Council Go Into the Business and Build Tenements. AND WIPE OUT UNSANITARY HOVELS

Controller J. H. Graham has submitted a report to the city council on the subject of the city's housing problem. He proposes that the city council go into the business of building tenements and wiping out unsanitary hovels. He says that the city is now spending \$1,000,000 a year on the maintenance of its streets and sewers, and that it is also spending \$1,000,000 a year on the maintenance of its parks and public buildings. He says that the city is now spending \$1,000,000 a year on the maintenance of its streets and sewers, and that it is also spending \$1,000,000 a year on the maintenance of its parks and public buildings.



ON THE CONSERVATIVE STAGE. LEADING MAN BORDEN—Who is this come so jauntily adown the center of the stage and has the calcium turned on him? A no longer actor in mine own company?

TAXES REDUCED ON STREET RAILWAY

Board of Three County Judges Give Out Their Decision

MR. TARTE WRITES HIS STORY OF IT

Excesses What He Calls the "Barbarism of the Premier's Letter."

IN ASSESSMENT APPEALS

No Budget in Three Counties' Assessment But Electric Light Escapes \$25,000

THE PRIME MINISTER IN MONTREAL

Have Manifestation Bought Papers?

BOYS WENT ON STRIKE

Preparations Made for Being Done for Hours and Days

THE O. T. A. AND THE I. C. R.

An Arbitration to Settle Claims of Licensed Paper

ASKING \$20,000 FROM THE WORLD

An Arbitration to Settle Claims of Licensed Paper

MR. SUTHERLAND IN TARTE'S PLACE NOW

But May Not Be Permanently in Charge of West-Port.

MADE IN CANADA

Articles with Representative of the British Empire

LOCAL ITEMS

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

FINING INTERVIEW

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

SOOT OVER PROPERTY

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

CITY RECEIVES ITS FIRST FUEL

Four Carloads of Coal and Three of Wood Have At Last Reached The Municipal Yards.

The city has at last received a consignment of fuel. Four carloads of coal and three of wood have at last reached the municipal yards. This is the first consignment of fuel to reach the city since the strike of the railway workers.

The city has at last received a consignment of fuel. Four carloads of coal and three of wood have at last reached the municipal yards. This is the first consignment of fuel to reach the city since the strike of the railway workers.

ASKING \$20,000 FROM THE WORLD

An Arbitration to Settle Claims of Licensed Paper

An Arbitration to Settle Claims of Licensed Paper

MR. SUTHERLAND IN TARTE'S PLACE NOW

But May Not Be Permanently in Charge of West-Port.

MADE IN CANADA

Articles with Representative of the British Empire

LOCAL ITEMS

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

FINING INTERVIEW

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

SOOT OVER PROPERTY

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

TARTE HAS NOT BEEN STABLE

He Could Not Stick to One Opinion Long Enough to Get Along With Any Cabinet.

He could not stick to one opinion long enough to get along with any cabinet. This is the opinion of those who have known him for a long time.

MR. SUTHERLAND IN TARTE'S PLACE NOW

But May Not Be Permanently in Charge of West-Port.

MADE IN CANADA

Articles with Representative of the British Empire

LOCAL ITEMS

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

FINING INTERVIEW

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

SOOT OVER PROPERTY

Dr. Brown was in Toronto yesterday.

Figure 3-2: Toronto Star front page from Oct. 23, 1902

(Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p. 243) and the resulting hodgepodge of items, even on the front page, gave “an impression of an unmapped and perhaps unmappable world. At first, even the boundary between advertising and editorial content was not clearly demarcated” (p. 13). This is clear in the earliest papers in this study’s sample, where stories are definitely mixed in terms of geographic category, even within a single column of brief items—see detailed notes on the qualitative analysis of the 1898 *Toronto Star* in the Results section. The column “The Day in Paragraph” which is used as an example there makes this geographic hodgepodge particularly clear. The blurred line between advertising and editorial copy is exemplified in the 1902 *Toronto Star*, in the story “Expressman’s good fortune”, and was still turning up in the 1920 *Star*, as seen in the story “Mother and little son praise Tanlac”.

However, starting during the First World War and fully in place by the 1930s, most had adopted “a modern sense of hierarchy” which included a much larger, “banner” headline for the top story, across the top of the page, with the text for that story in the right-hand column, often with illustration(s) or related stories. There was a “top-down order,” or hierarchy, with the most important stories at the top (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, pp. 203-204). During the period Barnhurst and Nerone call “protomodernism”—from 1910 to about 1930—there was a revolution, they say, in:

... how journalism conceived of newspaper pages, especially the front

page. Modernist designers proposed a new way of viewing that took the entire page as a single canvas. Except on the occasional illustration page, traditional newspapering had ordered its existence on the column. ... Within the newly conceived front page, professional newswriters provided an orderly array—a functional map—of the day's news from top to bottom. Like a map, the front page also supplied a legend, that is, an index (an invention arriving very late in newspapers) that catalogued news in priority. (p. 204)

The *Star's* front page from 1902, shown in Figure 3-2, is clearly an early example of the protomodern form. The story "Houses for Poor People" seems to be its top priority, though the Tarte resignation, which gets two stories with equal-sized headlines, as well as the central image—the editorial cartoon, top and centre on the page—is clearly high priority. It is hard to believe that this front page represents the same day's news as the *Citizen* front page in Figure 3-1. Finding the news on the *Citizen's* front page is a challenge. While the "Pith of the News" story mentions Tarte, it leads with the idea that he will shortly make a trip to Paris, calls him "Hon. Mr. Tarte" (a term usually reserved for cabinet ministers), and does not mention his resignation, which is central to the *Star's* front page on the same day. The stories in the *Star* are second-day follow-ups, the resignation story having run in the Wednesday paper and this being Thursday's. The *Citizen*, on page 2 of the

Thursday paper, does have a story referring to Mr. Tarte as the “ex-minister of public works” without saying he had resigned, but announcing that there would be a meeting of his constituents at which the ex-minister would “explain his position and ask for ratification.” On the *Citizen's* editorial page, which is page 4, the reader finally gets a recap of the week’s events in which it becomes clear that Mr. Tarte wrote a letter to the prime minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) on Monday, it was received by the prime minister on Tuesday and the latter released his reply, relieving Tarte of his portfolio, to the press. Finally, on page 5 of the *Citizen*, we get the top story: “The Retirement of Hon. Mr. Tarte” in a large, half-page spread on the subject with a headline across three columns—unusual for the time, at least in the *Citizen*—and most of the rest of the page filled with reaction stories.

In today’s newspapers, the usual convention is to recap key events in every news story, understanding that some people might have missed the preceding day’s newspaper. This does not appear to have been the *Citizen's* style in 1902, and nor does the *Star* provide a convenient summary in its two follow-up stories on the Tarte resignation, on the same day. However, the key differences between the two newspapers on this day are in form: the *Citizen* (or at least, the *Morning Citizen*, of which this edition is—there was an *Evening Citizen* at this point in time and it might have featured a more modern front page) is clearly a Victorian newspaper, still printing the most important news on the inside pages, not using a hierarchical layout,

or the design features that make a hierarchical layout obvious to the reader (much bigger headlines with white space around them, large pictures and clear design contrasts between the more important and the less important stories). The latter, modern tradition is here represented by *Star*.

The preceding example helps to illustrate the statement that modern newspapers “assumed the crucial modern role of mapping the social world for the reader” (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p. 22), particularly during the period from about 1930 to 1970 when the prevailing newspaper type was what Barnhurst and Nerone call Professional (please see Table 3-1 again). In some newspapers this “mapping” appeared much earlier, and as we have seen, it was evident in the *Star* at the turn of the 20th century.

Thomas Walkom, in his 1983 doctoral dissertation on the newspaper industry in Toronto and Ottawa from 1871 to 1911, performed a semiotic analysis of Toronto newspapers in years that include this study’s Period One.<sup>43</sup> (Walkom, 1983, especially pp. 193-273). Reviewing the theoretical insights of de Saussure and Barthes, Walkom notes that newspaper stories produce signification on two levels: the denotative and the connotative. The denotative is the concrete meaning in its

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<sup>43</sup> It is unfortunate that Walkom does not extend this semiotic analysis to the Ottawa newspapers that his dissertation also covers.

historical situation, while the connotative is “a second-order system, a mythical system” (p. 191). Signs are the basic units of semiology. They are combined in systems of rules called “language” and in newspapers of this era, Walkom points to four “languages,” or systems of signification, that are at work (excluding the newspaper’s advertising function):

1. The overall format that connotes “*newspaper-ness*”: a disposable, soft-cover publication with type set in columns and the content a mixture of advertising and news.
2. The “*partisan structure*” that existed prior to and during part of this era, wherein political parties funded newspapers and readers were well aware of the newspaper’s political leaning. For example, in the 1870s, the *Globe* as well as the *Mail* (both Toronto newspapers) would print chronological accounts of the business of Parliament, without interpretation. “*Globe* readers for instance, would know that every speech of Sir John A Macdonald was one of dissembling duplicity, without having to be told so. If they were at all in doubt as to the depth of Tory malfeasance, they knew enough to turn to the editorial page where this would be spelled out” (p. 194). The partisan system waned over the years of Period One, however, as newspapers attempted to broaden circulation to attract advertising. Newspapers then turned to level three to subtly indicate to readers the underlying meaning of stories.

3. The “*language of presentation*,” which is essentially what we have been calling the form of news: the way stories are arranged on the page, the size of headline, the use of graphics and white space. This “language” is used, Walkom says, to express the newspaper’s ideology. And if the Atkinson Principles can be considered the *Toronto Star*’s “ideology,” at least in part, then promoting the local civic sphere and local culture is part of it.

4. The final level of meaning is the “*actual written word*”—the text within stories. The *Toronto Star* did not enter the picture that Walkom was examining until 1892, and even then it sputtered and failed in its first two years, not really taking hold until 1894 and thereafter. But by the first decade of the 20th century, Walkom says, the *Star* had mastered the art of level three representation.

While the *Telegram* and the *World* continued to moralize on level four, the up-and-coming *Star* was venturing into what would become the dominant language of the newspaper. The new language de-emphasized the level of the word, concentrating instead on the level of style and presentation. Instead of using loaded words, it signified meaning through the internal structure of the story and the structure of the page—including positioning and size of headline. (p. 252)

A major goal of this study was to discover how many of the stories assigned high priority through these “level three” techniques contribute to a sense of place that

values the local. It also sought to discover whether that quantity changed from Period One to Period Two to Period Three.

### **The professional newspaper**

For most of the twentieth century, Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) propose, North American newspapers fit the model they call the Professional newspaper, which arose “simultaneously with the development of an aesthetic of modernism” in the first half of the 20th century (p. 188), particularly between the two World Wars. The clean, simple lines of the modern, professional newspaper imposed a sort of order on the world, they say, giving readers a reassuring sense that the world was understandable, even controllable. The metaphor Barnhurst and Nerone suggest is a “social map.” By contrast, its predecessor, the Victorian newspaper, had a master metaphor of a “department store”—“a copious market made somewhat less chaotic under one roof of industry, representing an abundant social world for the selective appropriation of self-directed readers” (p. 188). The Professional newspaper had a completely different ethic and appearance.

Modern style, so appropriate to the professional newspaper, suggested a new master metaphor for the press: the social map. A map boils the complexity of the geographical world down to the minimum of lines and labels needed for political and commercial tasks, such as traveling, shipping, setting boundaries, and recording claims. From the churning

and abundant mass that Victorian newspapers displayed, the modern style distilled an ordered view of the social world, one serving a similar list of political and commercial activities but meant to excite the enthusiasm of citizens and consumers. (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p. 188-189)

This style of newspaper acted, in the earlier years of the modern era, as the “intersection where private and public versions of reason met and reckoned with each other” (p. 192). One of the results, Barnhurst and Nerone say, has been diminishing respect for government, as newspapers came increasingly to put their faith in “experts” rather than politicians. And the role of journalists in this new landscape was as detached professionals who could “translate” the complex jargon of the experts for ordinary readers:

Journalists were not themselves experts, but neither were they exactly the public either. Instead, their task became to translate the experts to the public. *Modern journalism evolved from the dialectic of expert and public reason.* (Barnhurst and Nerone, 2001, p. 193)

In a later article, Nerone and Barnhurst (2003a) posit that democratic society encompasses “two relatively autonomous spheres [which] balance each other out”: the economic and the political.

The economic sphere is dominated by market forces; individuals compete against each other for self-interested gain and inequality results. The political sphere is dominated by the deliberative mechanisms of public communication; citizens reason together to arrive at a consensus on how best to steer the polity and equality results (203a, pp. 113-114)<sup>44</sup>.

News media in North America are part of both systems: supported by the economic sphere, or market, they are also thought of as “the infrastructure of the public sphere”—a role they cannot always live up to, in part because of the pull from their market side. However, the Professional ethic that overtook journalists in the mid-twentieth century held that ideal high. The ideal required that reporters practice “objectivity”, eschewing the partisanship that had characterized newspapers in the late 19th century. A sign of their new, improved, status was the byline, which operated “not to lay claim to authorship, but to reassure the public that their authorship did not matter (2003a, p. 121). The Professional newspaper, Barnhurst and Nerone also note, was “a reporter’s newspaper”—theirs was the most important role, one with power and status.

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<sup>44</sup> They add the following parenthetically: In real life, the economic sphere tends to overpower the political sphere (2003a, p. 113).

Beginning in the final decades of the 20th century, as Barnhurst and Nerone (2001; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003a, 2003b) document, the Professional newspaper gave way to the Corporate newspaper, whose main objective appears to be economic growth, rather than citizenship. “As journalists complain that MBAs<sup>45</sup> rule the newsroom, it becomes clearer than ever that newswriters lack the independence and autonomy to deploy professional values” (2003b, p. 439). The “symptoms” of this include the return to partisanship in some media<sup>46</sup>, the erosion of media monopolies (such as the network evening news), and “the decline of a stable regime of routines, beats and rules among reporters” (2003a, p. 122). 3333

Canadian support for this assertion of an increased corporate role in the newsroom during Period Three comes from McKercher (2002), who describes

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<sup>45</sup> Masters of Business Administration, in other words, those interested in the economic, rather than the civic, function of the newspaper.

<sup>46</sup> Fox News is most often cited on this, but it has also been evident in the editorial stances of both Hollinger and Canwest newspapers in Canada. Resignations during the early Canwest years by several high-profile individuals protesting the loss of journalistic control of editorial opinion—for example, *Ottawa Citizen* publisher Russell Mills and, a year later, Editorial Page Editor Christina Spencer at the *Ottawa Citizen*—reflected the changing values of this period.

several processes that exemplify the trend. She uses the concept of “deskilling” introduced in the 1970s by Braverman, to describe changes in newspaper production brought about in part by the introduction of new technology and in part by increased managerial control over journalists. Some jobs were eliminated—in the composing room, for example, where stories were once converted into type and put onto pages—while other jobs were deskilled, for example, by turning copy editors into production workers who spend most of their time putting stories on pages by computer (or “paginating”), with consequently less time to edit them (pp. 37-56).

McKercher (2002) also uses the phrase “MBA Journalism” (which she attributes to Underwood) to refer to “the growing influence of marketers and managers—people with master’s degrees in business administration rather than backgrounds in journalism—on the news” (p. 30). Stories are chosen and new sections developed, increasingly, in consultation with specialists in marketing, advertising and market research, not only journalists. Importantly, she notes:

One of the consequences of the corporate convergences that have been described here has been the decline of the newspaper as a distinctly local enterprise. The “local” press has lost many of the elements that once marked it as a product of its own particular community. Newspapers still hire their own reporters, sell ads to local businesses, and offer home delivery. But instead of being owned by

people with ties to their communities, newspapers are owned by corporations whose loyalties and responsibilities lie with their stockholders rather than with local readers. (McKercher, 2002, pp. 32-33)

The change from Professional to Corporate newspapers took place, say Barnhurst and Nerone (2001; Nerone and Barnhurst 2003a, 2003b), from 1970 onward. And in keeping with their theme that news form reflects news values, they show how the changes were reflected in newspaper design. North American newspapers redesigned themselves, reducing the number of columns and increasing the use of photographs, adopting an ever more horizontal rather than vertical layout, with stories in rectangular boxes rather than the doglegged form of the 1960s and 1970s. The period from 1980 to the present, which they call Late Modernist in style, saw the rise of the designer (and the role of the designer, they say, was controlled by corporate management) in shaping the way news was presented and images were used: a so-called “design revolution.” Stories were “packaged” with the visual in mind.

By the end of the century newspapers came to share certain design features: six columns, modular layout, a small story count, two or three front-page illustrations, sans serif and upper- and lowercase headlines, and so forth. In order to present a uniformly crisp, modernist facade,

newspapers had become less diverse, not unlike the glass boxes of modern architecture. (2001, p. 213).

As the “high modern moment” eroded, corporate managers (and their design ideas) increasingly overruled professional journalists and their interests (p. 217). The growth of newspaper chains and the needs of economic competitiveness—as Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) concluded after a carefully designed study examining design in a wide variety of newspapers, from this and earlier periods—led to a “bland homogeneity” among newspapers, with control over design and content increasingly centralized at corporate headquarters. A parallel “centralization” of newsgathering efforts occurred in Canada, something the Senate of Canada’s Committee on Transport and Communications pointed to repeatedly in its final report on the Canadian News Media (Canada, 2006a).

It is worth noting here that the corporate newspaper was far from new in the late 20th century. Sotiron (1997) makes a very compelling argument that the first intensive “commercialization” of the press actually took place between 1890 and 1920. The drive to increase circulation that occurred in that era, which we described earlier in the chapter, ran many newspapers out of business and made it much more capital-intensive to launch a new newspaper thereafter (p. 23-38). Newspapers changed their content and appearance very significantly, adding a number of features simply because people found them interesting or amusing, not because

there was any social or political benefit to them—for example, syndicated comic strips. At the start of that period, in the late 19th century, newspapers were seen as having a public education function (p. 11), a belief that survives to this day. The following quote, taken from Sotiron, could still be made in the current environment:

Toronto *Globe* business manager J.F. Mackay noted in 1903 that the “press as presently constituted is a commercial venture,” which meant it was “weakening in its social role” as the watchdog of the public interest. Its increasing dependence on advertising, he warned, was leading to a fear of taking “strong stands,” which in turn would lessen its social influence. (Sotiron, 1997, p. 11)

Sotiron’s prime example of a newspaper that commercialized to attract readers is the *Toronto Star*, which today is seen, perhaps ironically, as having a rare and significant sense of social justice, embodied in the Atkinson Principles. But Atkinson’s sense of social justice was sharpened on the whetstone of reader interests:

The success of publisher Joseph Atkinson’s *Toronto Star* was attributed by his long-time employee J.H. Cranston to his understanding of the publisher’s view that what the average Canadian wanted in a paper was not “instruction in the more serious aspects of

the news, but entertainment and amusement. And since his objective was a large circulation, he must seek the tastes and preference of this wider audience. He must win favor with every section of the community large enough to provide a sizeable body of readers.” ... By the start of the twentieth century, partisan shrillness and heavy doses of political news began to give way to “human interest” news stories and other features designed to turn as many family members as possible into devoted newspaper readers. It became plain that success rested on the publisher’s ability to shift the newspaper’s emphasis from political news and advocacy to entertainment. (Sotiron, 1997, p. 20-21)

So it is clear that the corporate newspaper is not a new phenomenon, and that Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) understand full well that the trend for the paper’s business needs to trump the public interest began long before the era they have identified as corporate in their scheme. However, what they point to in the late 20th century is a further intensification of the corporate effect, brought about by waves of consolidation of newspaper ownership. The “bland homogeneity” and “centralization” of design often are directed, not in the local community where the newspaper is situated, but at some remove—a corporate headquarters, often in another city. This effect, if it is accurately interpreted by Barnhurst and Nerone, would be likely to show up in local news, where staff cuts and non-local control over content, and what is

spent to produce content, would have a significant impact. To understand how, it is necessary, first, to look at how newspapers produce or construct a sense of local place.

### **Representing place**

How have newspapers represented place, over time? What does the form of news have to do with it? Has the evolution from Victorian to Modern, and from Professional to Corporate, in the Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) scheme, had an impact on the sense of place created by newspapers in their pages? Let us review the work that has been done by others on this topic.

A seminal and widely-cited paper by Susan Brooker-Gross (1985) was, regrettably, her only paper on this topic. Her examination of “The Changing Concept of Place in the News” covers only the 19th century, ending in the early years of the 20th, but it is quite interesting. In the first half of the 19th century, she writes, newspapers acquired most of their news from people living in the places where it happened or documents, such as newspapers, sent from those places. Indeed, the place of origin was the paramount thing about news in this era, when “news-gathering ... was severely constrained by transport technology. News had to be transported physically in the same way as any other commodity” (p. 64). The system that resulted was that stories and documents were collected by local newspapers, or correspondents for distant newspapers who lived in that place, or even by travelers,

and sent in “packets” to newspapers in other cities. The news from each packet was printed together, regardless of topic or relative importance<sup>47</sup>. Many of the stories (most of which did not involve any reporting or editing, in today’s sense of the word) would appear quite trivial by today’s standards. Brooker-Gross called this system “geographic bundling.”

These bundles emphasized the place of the news occurrence and presented a varied picture of both routine and extraordinary news from a given place. ... To the modern reader the news appears jumbled and disorganized. This method of news filtering reproduced a distance source with little, if any, editorial filtering. Channels of communication directly moulded the presentation of news. Treatment of news was analogous to handling of tangible cargo—picked up from one location, deposited at another. (1985, pp. 65-66)

Brooker-Gross documents how that practice changed in one newspaper—the *Cincinnati Enquirer*—and a different “sense of place” came to dominate in the news, beginning with the arrival of the telegraph in the 1840s. Suddenly the most exciting stories were considered to be those obtained most recently, often from afar, using this new technology. Their *timing* (i.e. how “new” they were) came to dominate over

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<sup>47</sup> Note that the *Ottawa Citizen*’s founding name was *The Packet*.

place in the organization of news in the newspaper. Stories also began to be unbundled from other items that came in the same packet, and a *topical* organization began gradually to emerge. News about shipping, weather and travel conditions were among the first to receive special columns (in Cincinnati, located on the Ohio River, this became “River News”), as were market reports. Items on these topics were collected in columns for the convenience of readers needing to consult this information.

By the 1880s, the collection of events into topical columns was extended beyond markets and river news, and by the 1890s “geographical bundling and topical headings coexisted” (p. 68). By the turn of the 20th century topical items included “not only the original market and river reports but also fires, deaths, occasional *ad hoc* collections and, later, sports. Earlier scarcity of news would have precluded these topical collections, but as news quantity increased it became possible to organize news thematically. Items not falling into any common theme stood alone” (p. 69). She concludes:

The period from 1870 to the early 1900s, therefore, was an era of high place-orientation. Earlier, news was not abundant and few places were reported. After the 1920s, news from diverse places was still technologically available, but *orientation to place diminished, replaced by an orientation to event*. From the 1870s to 1920s we might

tentatively identify a transition to a high awareness of elsewhere. By the 1920s *a relatively placeless newspaper had emerged*, reflecting little of the diversity of life in other locations. (p. 70, emphasis added)

Thus, the arrival of the telegraph had a profound impact on the organization and perceptions of news. This is an example of what Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) describe: a fundamental change in the form of news that results from changes in priorities. And at this point in time—the arrival of the telegraph—place diminished significantly in importance, Brooker-Gross concludes. This is very similar to the shift described by Curry (1999) and Casey (1993, 1996), from seeing everything as “emplaced”, all the time, to seeing infinite space as the *a priori* backdrop for place. This seminal paper (Brooker-Gross, 1985) shows us when that shift in consciousness showed up in North American newspapers. It was prior to our study period, however, it had a significant impact on all that followed.

### **Geographic territoriality**

The body of research on this topic being small, we now skip to the 1970s and the work of Gaye Tuchman: another seminal study, this one book-length, entitled *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (1978). It describes how the practices and organizational needs of news organizations create the “frames” through which they filter and represent reality. Primary among them was the “geographic territoriality” of the news-gathering process. Tuchman describes the

operation as a “news net,” designed to capture stories by systematically stationing reporters in various locations. However, as she notes, a net contains holes, and certain locations (and the stories they generate) are favoured over others. The newsrooms she studied were organized around geographic categories such as local, national and international<sup>48</sup>, with different editors in charge of the staff working in each area (p. 15-38). In the 1970s, when Tuchman did her study, there were often separate pages, sometimes sections, of the newspaper for different geographic categories (but not in the sample for this study—please see detailed qualitative observations for the 1973 newspaper in this study sample in the Results chapter). There were also a number of “topical” categories, such as sports, financial and family/lifestyles (what used to be called “women’s sections”), each with their own editor(s) and reporter(s). A brief overview follows, of how these sections developed over time, but there will be much more detail on how this occurred in the study sample in Chapter 5, where the qualitative results for each newspaper studied are detailed.

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<sup>48</sup> These categories, she noted, depend on the mission of the newspaper. A community newspaper, which covers only the local community, obviously would not have an international news category.

Looking at the newspapers in this study sample, it can be seen how the newspaper's special sections developed over time. In Period One, from 1894 to 1929, pages were not organized around the geographic categories listed above. News stories—local, national and international or world—were mixed together on every news page (and these were the vast majority of the pages). However, there were, from the beginning of this period in the *Star* and somewhat later in the *Citizen*, separate pages for sports and business news, both of these featuring numerous tables and charts.

After the turn of the 20th century, still within Period One, first the *Star*, then the *Citizen*, developed special pages aimed at women and families, with social news, fiction and other non-news features like comics and puzzles. It is in these pages that the first “no place” stories and columns appear: fiction stories often mention no place, and stories giving advice about cooking or fashion are similarly placeless much of the time.

Period Two saw the continuation and expansion of these special pages for sports, women and families, and business into sections. However, they were not *separate* sections of the newspaper with their own section fronts but rather, were included in one of the paper's usual two sections. There was a section front for the “Second Section” in both newspapers, labeled as such, and usually filled with news from a mix of geographic categories. It was clear that this Second Section front was

giving prominence to news stories deemed interesting, but this section front was not generally used for the sports, women/families, or business sections (this might have happened on rare occasions, for example, if the local hockey team won the Stanley Cup).

Skipping to Period Three, there begin to be much longer newspapers, broken into more separate sections. And the growth of special sections is remarkable: in addition to sports, business and family life sections, there are new sections for entertainment, homes and real estate, automotive, travel, food, and so on. It is in these sections—apart from the travel section—that the placeless story, and the imported (i.e. “world” category, newswire story, particularly from the U.S. and to some extent from Britain) flourishes.

The separate local news section also develops in Period Three (as does the separate world news section). It is evident in the 1973 *Star* in this study sample, but interestingly, the two *Star* papers from the 1980s seem to have retreated from the idea of sectioning off local news, and put local news back into the A section, mixed with other news on most pages but with a single Metro Page featuring only local news or news with a local angle<sup>49</sup>. In the 1990s paper (from 1993) this continues,

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<sup>49</sup> These are stories that are national or international in scope but feature some connection to the newspaper’s local area.

with two pages labelled Greater Metro, within the A section, followed by several more pages of primarily local news, then labelled pages for Ontario, Queen's Park, Canada and World, all within the A section. So the front section contains all the news that's not specialized, and the remaining sections are things like Business, Sports, Lifestyles and Entertainment.

The *Citizen* in the 1980s, by contrast, has the news all divided up, with every news page, except the front and perhaps a turn page<sup>50</sup>, labelled Canada, World or Local. Even pages in the back of the Classified section, if they contain any news stories, feature a geographic label. And there is basically no local news in the front section of the *Citizen*, apart from stories that make it to the front page (and turn page, which is often page 2). Instead, a separate section with its own section front is labelled The Local. Thus, the *Citizen*, by the 1980s, had put "the local" in its place, and that was not with other news. The *Star*, by placing Metro news before other sections within the front section of the newspaper, was also sending a message about where the local belongs in its hierarchy of importance, and that was front and centre. By the time we get to the 2001 and 2002 papers in the study sample,

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<sup>50</sup> A page where continuations of front-page stories go, often page two. The *Citizen* tends to run "turns" all together on the same page if possible.

however, even the *Star* had succumbed to the prevailing trend to offer local news in a separate section.

### **Locating reporters: the beat system**

Returning to Tuchman's findings, in the 1970s, within each of the geographic categories of news (local, national and world), the newsgathering process featured a system to *locate reporters where news was likely to happen*—usually at institutions such as government, courts and police headquarters—which had been in place since the 19th century (Tuchman, 1978, p. 18). These locations, usually called *bureaus*, as well as some topics around which coverage was organized, were part of a system of specialized “beat” reporting. (As we will discuss later, this system has largely been disbanded over the past ten to fifteen years). Over time, one of the primary locations or beats known to generate a reliable flow of stories that would interest readers was city hall. As part of her participant-observation study, Tuchman spent considerable time observing the operations of the city hall press room in a major U.S. city (which she did not name), where reporters from all local news media converged when important events were going on.

Municipalities are often called the level of government closest to the people for two reasons: they are the most accessible because they're nearby and hold many open public meetings, and they have the greatest impact on the look, feel and general livability of the local place. Accessibility makes city hall a *polis*, like the

Athenian town square, where citizens, politicians, bureaucrats and interest groups debate major issues regularly, face to face, in public forums—hence the popular term “town hall meeting” to describe public forums involving face-to-face individuals on television. The presence of actors from all these important groups (government, citizens, bureaucrats and interest groups) makes city hall a news bonanza, as Tuchman discovered.

As mentioned, municipalities have jurisdiction over the majority of government functions that affect the appearance and ambience of place. Planning is about deciding where roads, buildings, stores, industry and parkland go. Cities build and operate libraries, parks and recreation facilities, and often, other cultural amenities. Public transit, or the lack of it, can make the difference between a city that belongs to everyone, and one designed only for those who have cars. Environmental services like the disposal of sewage and garbage are municipal responsibilities. The appearance of the city’s streets and parks, public squares and institutions also depends on city services like snow-clearing and sidewalk maintenance, litter collection, parking regulation and maintenance of gardens and roadside greenery. Often, city decisions about these matters generate intense public interest and input, a fact that has long made city hall a central beat. Stories arising at city hall are crucial to the local sense of place imparted by the newspaper.

Indeed, the city hall at the center of the metropolitan area was *the* central beat at metropolitan newspapers for much of the 20th century. Two decades after Tuchman, Phyllis Kaniss (1991) took an in-depth look specifically at local news coverage by metropolitan newspapers. *Making Local News* (her title evoking and paying homage to Tuchman's widely cited earlier study) looked in particular at the curious phenomenon of metropolitan newspapers in the mid- to late-20th century giving vastly more coverage to the downtown urban area than would seem warranted by the distribution of readers, commerce and industry following postwar suburbanization. Kaniss concluded that the reason for this coverage was primarily symbolic, and the motivation, at its root, economic:

From the nineteenth century on, the economic fortunes of local newspapers in America have been dependent on their ability to link their audiences in a common bond of local identity. ... The major focus of local news coverage in media markets throughout the country has come to be placed on issues with the symbolic capital necessary to unite the fragmented suburban audience. In other words, in order to sell their product—a set of messages the hallmark of which is their uniquely local character—the metropolitan news media have had to *produce local identity* as much as they produce news and entertainment. (Kaniss, 1991, pp. 3-4, emphasis added)

In pursuit of this mandate, newspapers in North America made city hall the primary local news beat, Kaniss says, because city government “offered the kinds of symbols and images capable of creating a common local identity among the fragmented urban population” (p. 22).

There is an ideology that underlies this approach, McKercher notes, grounded in the idea that newspapers are every bit as integral to the social, political, and economic life of a community as the local town hall or fire department. Journalism, produced and circulated locally, is seen as providing a service to local citizens, and newspaper writers, editors, and publishers are servants of that community (McKercher, 2002, p. 18).

However, in the last half of the twentieth century the rise of the corporate newspaper—along with increasing concentration of ownership in North American media, cross-ownership across different media by the same owner, and the fact these owners are, increasingly, publicly traded companies—“has transformed the daily newspaper from a publication rooted in its own community to a product of conglomerates with stakes in a variety of media forms. Instead of being ruled by local markets, newspapers are increasingly subject to the disciplines of national and global markets” (McKercher, 2002, p. 18).

In these larger markets, with much larger conglomerates as owners, shareholders can replace journalists in calling the tune, and the tune they tend to

demand is constant growth in profits. Since circulation is not increasing in Canadian newspapers, that growth in profits often results from cost-cutting within the organization. As the Senate Committee on Transport and Communications heard in recent hearings on the state of the Canadian news media, “more with less” was the dominant mantra of the 1990s and early 21st century, as newspapers cut staff and other expenses such as training and travel. In such circumstances, the beat reporter, whose expertise and contacts produce specialized stories, was increasingly seen as a luxury, with the all-purpose “general assignment” reporter a much more efficient creature (Osnos, 2006; Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24, 2004).

The beat system, which arose during the Professional period, as reporters gained status and authority, demarcated areas of expertise for which senior reporters were given responsibility. Sometimes the beat is a place—a “bureau” at city hall or the courthouse or police headquarters, or farther afield, on Parliament Hill, at the Supreme Court, or overseas—where the reporter works close to the *action s/he is covering, and specializes in the types of issues that arise at that place* (politics, justice, crime). Sometimes the beat is an issue of ongoing concern to the public, such as health care or the environment.

The trend toward increasing concentration of ownership in Canadian media has been documented in a series of federal government reports, beginning in 1970

with the report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Communication, known as the Davey Committee. The Royal Commission on Newspapers, known as the Kent Commission, followed a decade later (Canada, 1981), and 25 years after that, the Senate Committee on Transport and Communications followed up with an interim report in 2004 and a two-volume final report in 2006. This series of reports documents the fact that Canada's daily newspaper ownership is among the most highly concentrated in the world, and that the degree of concentration has grown steadily since 1970.

The most recent figures, which rank newspaper ownership by circulation, are from 2003 (Canada, 2004, p. 8). They show that 78.9% of Canada's newspapers were at that time in the hands of only five corporations (in descending order): Canwest, Quebecor, TorStar, Gesca and Bell Globemedia, the top three of which owned 63.3%, by circulation (Canada, 2004, p. 8). Since that time, Quebecor has acquired Osprey, which was number six on the list in 2003, and Quebecor now claims to be Canada's largest newspaper publisher on its website, [www.quebecor.com](http://www.quebecor.com), though it does not say by what criterion that size was determined (circulation, revenues, etc.).

The Final Report of the Senate Committee (Canada, 2006a and 2006b) did not update the list of top circulation newspaper owners, but did include a chart of 2005 revenues earned by the top Canadian newspaper owners: Canwest was in first

place with \$1.229 billion in gross revenues and \$255 million in EBITDA,<sup>51</sup> with Quebecor third at \$916 million in revenues and \$222 million in EBITDA, and Torstar in second spot for revenues totalling \$1.011 billion from its three subsidiaries (*Toronto Star*, MetroLand and CityMedia) but in third spot for EBITDA totalling \$173 million from the same three subsidiaries. All three of these corporations have other subsidiaries, of course, so these are not total corporate revenues. The chart was compiled from annual reports (Canada, 2006b, Appendix 2, p. 49).

The same Senate report (Canada, 2006a) draws attention to a major consequence of this concentration of ownership: the “centralization” of news coverage. This has been a change of great significance to this dissertation because it involves a decline in the geographic territoriality that Tuchman (1978) and Kaniss (1991) documented in the mid-20th century. It occurred around the turn of the 21st century, when many North American newspapers closed bureaus located around the city, the country and sometimes the world as a way of cutting staff (“Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24,” 2004)<sup>52</sup>. To make most efficient use of the remaining staff, the reporting function was

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<sup>51</sup> EBITDA stands for earnings before Interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization.

<sup>52</sup> This rash of bureau closings was well documented by witnesses from Canada’s largest union of media workers, the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers,

also “deskilled” by eliminating most beats (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003b), and centralized in the newsroom, where managers could dictate what stories would be covered and how they would be shaped and written, a process well documented by McKercher (2002). This type of reporting is called “general assignment” and usually, the reporter is assigned new stories on different topics every day. Many reporters are also multi-tasking: taking photographs or video as well as notes for print stories, preparing stories for several media, including newspapers, internet sites—which can include blogs, photos and video clips—and broadcast media owned by the same company, as Lise Lareau, president of the Canadian Media Guild, told the Senate Committee in 2004 (Canada, 2004, p. 71). At chain newspapers, assigned stories are often written to be shared with other newspapers in the chain, which means they cannot be totally local in focus. This is the process the Senate Committee’s Final Report refers to as “centralization”, which generally they define as a sharing of resources between separate media outlets with the same owner. It is one of the main issues about which the committee expresses concern, although its tone is somewhat lukewarm:

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before the Senate of Canada’s Standing Committee on Transport and Communications (“Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24,” 2004). This will be discussed further below.

In short, some witnesses were worried that a continued stress on centralization by Canadian media groups would lessen the diversity of news and information in Canada. Few dispute that some degree of centralized service can be an advantage. The question is: how far should centralization go? Centralization may threaten both the media owner and consumers as the resulting loss of local coverage may reduce both demand for the franchise's products and the diversity of news and information available to Canadians. (Canada, 2006a, p. 13)

Edward J. Epstein (1973), in *News from Nowhere*, was among the first to document the process of "nationalizing news stories" for the convenience of national television networks. He documented how national news programs on the major U.S. television networks passed off stories that repeatedly used the same handful of locations as "national," due to technological limitations that made it much more costly and time-consuming to cover places outside the telecommunications corridor between Washington and Chicago. This was done on the assumption that many places in the country share the same problems or trends. Newspapers nationalize stories as well, but it's much more convenient for newspapers, which have no need for footage of individuals experiencing the trend, or problem, in various cities. A simple handful of sources from other cities, contacted by telephone, can be deemed sufficient to document the trend and take a local story to the national level. If the

newspaper is part of a national chain, this makes the story readily usable by other newspapers in the chain.

This dissertation documents how national stories have been gradually replacing local stories in the two newspapers studied, but particularly in the chain newspaper, both in number and in priority. Often, the method described above is used. The opposite technique—taking a story that comes in from news services<sup>53</sup> and contacting one or more local sources to add a “local angle”—is also popular. The results of this study show increasing priority being given to “local angle” stories, many of which are derived in this way.

The Final Report of the Senate Committee on Transport and Communications (Canada, 2006a) expresses substantial concern over the impact of newspapers closing bureaus. Please note the particular wording of its expression of concern:

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<sup>53</sup> Such stories usually come in from news services such as Canadian Press, Associated Press, Reuters, etc. But in chain newspapers, an internal news service that shares stories from the chain’s bureaus and other newspapers is another source—at Canwest, since it opted out of Canadian Press in 2007, this is even more likely. And of course, newsroom editors are constantly scanning the Internet, television, radio and other print publications, for stories that have already been proven to have news value.

One example [of the impact of increased concentration of ownership] is the closing of news bureaus – *international, national and provincial* – and, more generally, the centralization of news coverage. These practices, it was argued, reduce the diversity of both news and analysis available to Canadians (Canada, 2006a, p. 9, emphasis added).

The report cites *only the non-local bureaus* as worthy of attention. Yet many of the bureaus that have been closing at newspapers across Canada are local ones.<sup>54</sup> So while Tuchman's observations of a "news net" of reporters stationed at various locations around the city and county was the reality in the 1970s, today's reality is reporters spend more time in the newsroom, conducting interviews on the telephone.

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<sup>54</sup> For example, at the *Ottawa Citizen*, about a year after Conrad Black's Hollinger corporation achieved majority ownership of the Southam chain in 1996, the paper's new editors shut most of the newspaper's local bureaus, removing reporters from offices at Ottawa City Hall, the regional municipal government, and the West Quebec bureau in Hull, all of which had existed for decades. The only local bureaus that remained were those involved in crime coverage: the courthouse and police headquarters. The City Hall bureau was reopened in 2001, when the city, its suburbs and some rural areas amalgamated.

Bureau closings and cancelled beats were a topic of concern when Joe Matyas of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers' Union of Canada (CEP), the country's largest media union, addressed the Senate Committee on Transport and Communications on Nov. 24, 2004 ("Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24," 2004). He spoke about the situation in Southwestern Ontario, where he headed CEP Local 87-M (traditionally known as the Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild or SONG)<sup>55</sup>, beginning with the paper where he worked, the *London Free Press*, which until recently had been

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<sup>55</sup> To quote from Matyas: "We are the largest media local in North America. We represent 3,500 members in practically every department that you can name in the news industry, including the editorial, advertising, distribution and production departments, along with others. Approximately 1,000 of our members are journalists, reporters, editors and photographers. We represent people at most of the major newspapers in Ontario, including *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star*, *Toronto Sun*, *Hamilton Spectator*, *The Record* in Kitchener and the *London Free Press*. We are also involved with just about every major chain that you know about, Torstar, Sun Media, Quebecor, Osprey, Bell/Globemedia, as well as CHUM and Corus." ("Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24," 2004)

owned by the Blackburn family for 144 years, but was sold to a national chain in 1997.

We have been sold twice. First, we were sold to Sun Media and then to Quebecor, which now owns Sun Media. If you had looked at our operation 10 to 15 years ago, you would have seen that we had 152 people in the editorial department. Today, the number is 77. When the *London Free Press* was owned by the Blackburn family, it had twice as many reporters as it does now. It had many more beats. Today, we no longer have reporters assigned to cover agriculture, consumer affairs, environment, labour, religion, social services, and other areas of interest as we once did. The days when the *Free Press* would routinely send beat reporters to national conventions and conferences to cover their beat areas are gone. ... We also had bureaus. Our paper had a bureau in Ottawa and in Queen's Park. The bureaus are gone. Those beats are gone. The days when our paper would send reporters to Italy, China, Russia or even Northern Ontario in pursuit of stories with local angles are all largely gone. We do not have the space. We do not have the person-power that we once did. There is not the same commitment on the part of employers to do that kind of work on a local basis. *There is much more chain content in the papers. There is a*

*reduction in local voices.* ("Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24," 2004, emphasis added)

The Senate committee's Final Report quotes from Janet Ingram-Johnson, a Media Union of British Columbia spokeswoman, who presented data on staff losses at that province's three major daily newspapers: the *Vancouver Sun* and *Province* (jointly known as Pacific Press), and the *Victoria Times-Colonist*.

The *Sun* and *Province* newsrooms, in their heydays, used to have a combined total of 760 reporters and editors, according to Marc Edge in his 2001 treatise on the history of Pacific Press. Even into the 1980s, the *Sun* counted an editorial staff of around 200 and the *Province* about 165. Current *Sun* staffing is around 120, with only a tiny contingent of general-assignment, city-side reporters. The *Province* has a total contingent of 106 on a good day, and both these sets of figures include part-timers. Around 20 journalists were cut from the *Province* staff in 2003 alone. The *Times-Colonist* has lost 10 reporters since 1993, and the list goes on. (Canada, 2006b, p. 40)

The *Vancouver Sun* is one of Canada's top 10 newspapers in circulation, and the largest of the three British Columbia dailies. It currently ranks number seven in

Canada, in average daily circulation. (Canadian Newspaper Association, 2008). The *Province* is not far behind, at number eight, and the *Citizen* is number ten. All three have been part of the same chain (Southam, then Hollinger, and most recently Canwest) for several decades. It is also worth noting that, of the top 10 Canadian newspapers, there are now two national newspapers, for which local news is either nonexistent (the *National Post*) or no longer a top priority (the *Globe and Mail*). These changes would indicate that local news was, at least since 2000, not a top priority for at least half of Canada's top ten (in circulation) newspapers.

What happens when beat reporters—those from bureaus and those who are based in the newsroom—are reassigned to general assignment? Christopher Waddell of Carleton University's School of Journalism, a former CBC national bureau chief and, before that, a *Globe and Mail* reporter, described the consequences:

The result is that more and more reporters know less and less about what they are covering. What are the implications that spring from that? Simply put, I think it means that, increasingly, national politics, and I suspect many other issues across the country as well, are covered as though everything that happened that day has never happened before and will never happen again. There is *a lack of context and perspective* in how stories are reported and played in the media, and there are plenty of examples of that. There is a second,

related issue. No matter how little you might know about a subject area, there are always two things you can cover: personality and conflict. Is it any surprise that media coverage of politics and public policy is increasingly centered on personality and conflict?

("Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24," 2004, emphasis added)

This is an example of what McKercher (2002; McKercher & Mosco, 2007) describes as deskilling, using the concept first enunciated by Braverman (1974). It also reflects Barnhurst and Nerone's (2001, 2003a, 2003b) description of the transition from the Professional to the Corporate period of newspaper history.

Clearly newspapers operating with fewer reporters, and most of those on general assignment, cannot do the same job they did in the past in the labour-intensive task of producing local news. But staff-cutting, beat elimination, bureau closings and other economic efficiencies introduced in recent years are not the sole reason for declining local coverage. Modernity, technology, nationalism, globalization and other influences are also having profound effects on the local. As described by the geographers, anthropologists and sociologists reviewed in Chapter 2, the local is in decline in society at large. And this trend is being reflected in newspapers, say Pauly and Eckert (2002). They describe what they call "the myth of the local" and make the argument that "journalism's insistent invocation of the local masks the

collapse of social worlds that this term purports to describe” (p. 312). The local as we once knew it, isolated from other localities, no longer exists, they say, because communities are so interconnected. The result is that the term local is now used to refer to everything from a village to, in some cases, an entire nation-state.

It is now nearly impossible to specify what local means. The *Oxford English Dictionary* traces its earliest usages, in the sixteenth century, as a term for “something nearby”—especially a neighborhood, village, town, country, district, or parish. The local designated the here as a place that stood apart from the there. The local was a spatial construct. It assumed the physical isolation of one place from another. ...

Journalism’s [idea of] local references a stable, geographically distinct world. But the global and local now interpenetrate in numberless ways. Members of the local community work for international corporations, and buy goods and services from outlets of national franchise stores. They spend their free time watching television programs and movies, listening to music, and reading stories that are produced and distributed all over the world. Professionals of many sorts—lawyers, physicians, writers, professors, city managers, school superintendents, actors, corporate executives, and, yes, journalists and publishers—now think of the local as one rung on a national career ladder. Our

image of the homogeneous urban neighborhood, experienced in a similar way by all its members, has dissolved. (Pauly & Eckert, 2002, p. 319)

A sign of how perceptions and experiences of the local have changed was former *Citizen* editor Neil Reynolds' decree, in 1998, that the term local was "confusing," and should be removed from all stories. While this seemed odd at the time for a newspaperman, for whom the local used to be defined by the paper's circulation area, perhaps Reynolds was just being more thoughtful than most journalists about the term<sup>56</sup>. Journalists such as Matyas, Ingram-Johnson and Waddell are understandably upset about the loss of informed, professional coverage by reporters with the expertise they used to develop under the beat system. But perhaps those who protested to the Senate committee were doing what Pauly and Eckert assert: invoking a mythical reality that, while it once was central to the journalist's role in society, no longer exists. Whatever the answer to this question, it is clear that some very significant changes have taken place in how people perceive and experience locality, over the course of the 20th century. There have also been major changes inside newspapers, in how they cover the local. Thus, it was decided

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<sup>56</sup> However, the goal might have been to make more stories produced by local staff usable in other newspapers in the chain.

in this study to examine how two Canadian metropolitan daily newspapers represented the local, and how those representations might have changed, over the long stretch of time between the Victorian and the Corporate eras.

### **Placing the local**

In order to study how representations of place have changed, one must first establish what they were to begin with. Based the work of Barnhurst and Nerone (Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991, 2001; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003a), Tuchman (1978), Kaniss (1991), Walkom (1983) and Wallace (2005), as well as two classic newspaper design textbooks (Harrower, 1998; Moen, 1995, 1984/2000), the following is a proposed list of practices newspapers use to construct a sense of place, particularly about the local. These take two basic forms: things that are part of the overall newspaper's form or design, and things that occur within individual stories.

In the newspaper as a whole, many practices are responsible for *placing the local*. The priority given to local stories is an important part of this. In the hierarchical modern newspaper, everything has an encoded priority, a system which has already been discussed at length. Priority for local stories and photographs is indicated in part by their placement in the newspaper: What pages are they on? And where on the page? It is also signaled by how much space they get, relative to other stories, and whether a photograph or other illustration accompanies them. A key signal of

priority is the size of the story's headline, relative to other headlines. All these things encode priority in the overall scheme of the newspaper (Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991, 2001; Harrower, 1998; Moen, 1995, 1984/2000).

The existence of a special local section is a relatively recent phenomenon in newspapers, arising in this sample—the *Toronto Star* and the *Ottawa Citizen*—only in the late 20th century. How does the existence of a separate section affect our perception of the local? The reasons for and implications of this relatively new phenomenon have not been sufficiently addressed in the literature to allow us to draw any decisive conclusions, however, this dissertation argues that it implies that reading this section is optional: it has become a special interest, like sports, entertainment and business. This opinion is not shared by everyone in the news businesses; in fact, nothing has provoked more argument, when the author has had opportunities to discuss this idea amongst journalists and communication scholars at conferences and other venues, than the idea that local news is denigrated by giving it a separate section. Some have argued that the separate section offers local news a regular section front, therefore elevating its stature from the days when local news was mixed with national and world news in the front section of the newspaper. In the hierarchy of pages, section fronts are considered by many to be second only to the front page in terms of importance and “play”—that is, readers are more likely to see a section front than any other page except the front page of the newspaper as a

whole. It is possible that many readers choose to read *only* the local section. But consider this: if national and world news occupy most of the front section, and local news is not included there, what does that say to readers about the place of the local? It is my argument that the message inherent in this arrangement is that local news is secondary, and does not belong with national and international news.

Consider these examples, all from *Editor and Publisher* magazine, a leading industry publication covering the newspaper industry in the United States. In 1994, ten suburban newspapers owned by the Gannett chain in the New York City area moved local news “up to the front section” of the newspaper—the opposite change to what we have been discussing. What does that imply? *Editor and Publisher* quotes Gannett vice president and executive editor Ken Paulson as saying of the move: “We’re returning to our roots and to the kind of community journalism that first made these newspapers successful” (“More local news at Gannett papers in suburban N.Y.C.,” 1994). Two years later, another Gannett paper follows suit in Rockland, New York, and this too was considered unusual and important enough for a brief article in *Editor and Publisher* (“New format,” 1996). In October 2007, the Mesa, Arizona paper, the *East Valley Tribune*, went further, making the entire front section of the newspaper local news, in tabloid<sup>57</sup> format, and wrapping it around the

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<sup>57</sup> Tabloid format is the smaller, unfolded type of newspaper typified by the *Ottawa*

other sections, which were still printed in broadsheet. There was still a national news section, but it was inside the paper—just as the local section is in most newspapers.

Journalism scholar Tim McGuire<sup>58</sup> writes

The content choice the newspaper has made compartmentalizes local news in ways most papers have avoided. With all local news—no matter its department or subject, in the A Section—*that means national news is secondary.* (McGuire, 2007, p. 86, emphasis added)

McGuire is someone with extensive experience as a newspaper editor, and as a spokesman for other American newspaper editors. Would it not then stand to reason that moving local news *out* of the front section also makes it secondary, or at least

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*Sun.* Broadsheet format is the large, folded size typified by the *Ottawa Citizen* and *Toronto Star*.

<sup>58</sup> Tim McGuire is the Frank Russell Chair for the business of journalism at Arizona State University's Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communications. He was editor of the Minneapolis *Star Tribune* from 1992 to 2002, and prior to that, the paper's managing editor for 13 years, and he is a past president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He writes a blog called *McGuire on Media* at <http://cronkite.asu.edu/mcguireblog/> from which this biographical information was drawn.

sends that message to some readers? There is also the statement by Barnhurst and Nerone, of the attitude adopted toward sections during the Professional era (when local news was not sectioned off):

The journalist's ideology of the public mission of the newspaper partitioned the sections into ghettos filled with the concerns of specific subgroups (like women and children) or special interest groups (like businessmen and baseball fans), stuff that didn't pretend to general importance for the common public. As serious journalism came to shun the sections they became centers for design innovation. (2001, p. 248)

Moving on to other techniques used to "place the local" in newspapers, photographs are an important technique for representing place. Some photographs display a lot of context or surroundings, and consequently, contribute more to the sense of place. *Long shots* are photographs that contain the most context: they take a wide view of a scene. *Medium shots* have a small amount of context that is close to the main subjects of the photograph. Then there are *close-ups*: these are photographs that display no context; they're usually just a human face or object. The amount of context in photographs is of obvious importance to the function of representing place. If readers see largely decontextualized faces and objects, they are not getting a feel for the place where those photographs were taken. Indeed, they could have been taken anywhere.

Given that the newspaper cannot cover everything that happens, which stories it does choose to cover and the way they are presented also sends messages about the local and its place in the world. For example, Kaniss (1991) examined why metropolitan newspapers focus almost exclusively on the downtown area of the city, despite the fact that most of their readers live in the suburbs. She found that newspapers need the “symbolic capital” (p. 4) of the city’s centre to unite their readership and present a unified audience for advertisers. Perhaps one of the reasons that suburban sprawl and the accompanying environmental damage it causes were slow to catch on as a public issue, is that many newspapers virtually ignored suburban development to focus instead on downtown projects<sup>59</sup>. This was not universally true, of course. Wallace (2005) describes several newspapers—such as *Newsday* on Long Island and the *Los Angeles Times*, the latter owned by

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<sup>59</sup> Not all daily newspapers have a downtown focus, of course, because some are rural and others suburban. *Newsday*, whose community is Long Island, New York, is an example of the latter, and its coverage of New York’s “bedroom” suburbs has raised and covered many issues of particular interest to that community (Wallace, 2005). Indeed, Wallace (2005) also puts the *Los Angeles Times*, during the decades following the Second World War, into the suburban newspaper category.

developers active in creating suburbs—whose apparent *raison d'être* was suburban growth.

There are also techniques for representing place that occur *within stories*. These include placelines (also known as datelines, for they originally included a date and time as well as the place), place mentions and full descriptions of places. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Placelines are the capitalized place names that start most non-local stories—a feature that most people do not notice, or at least not consciously. They name the town or city where the story originated or was filed—sometimes a story is sent from a nearby location for technological reasons. The fact these names are hardly noticed does not mean readers are not influenced by them. Because local stories usually do not have a placeline, it's a way of distinguishing stories about Us from stories about Them (Rantanen, 2003). A story that begins with the dateline PARIS or BUENOS AIRES will be read as something exotic, something non-local, something Other than ourselves. Even a story that is placelined TORONTO will be seen as Other, if you're reading the *St. Catharine's Standard* or the *Hamilton Spectator*.

Place mentions are another important part of representing place in newspapers. The names of places have not just locational, but also symbolic, value. Names given to places often reflect local history: the names of important figures in the city's past or present, the names of businesses, some of them no longer

functioning. The study of place names, or toponymy, is an important discipline, but not one to be covered here. It would be a promising area for future research, to study placenames in newspapers and whether they have changed over time. This study did count placenames in all stories, and in local stories it counted the relative numbers of local versus nonlocal placenames. The results will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Place descriptions are another important way of depicting place. Which places get described? Why and under what circumstances? Often, local people would not find it necessary to read a description of a local place they all know well—this would change, however, if there was flooding or some other disaster that changed the familiar place. At the start of this dissertation’s study period, when photographs were rare and almost always small “head shots” rather than depictions of scenes, written descriptions were common to depict the visual impact when unusual events took place. Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) found that when photography began to be used more widely in newspapers, there was a gradual decline in the writing technique known as “walking description,” which involved a reporter or reporters walking around in a crowd at an event, or in the city at large on a day when something major happened, and describing the scene’s visual impact in great detail. They observed this in a study of newspaper coverage of the deaths of U.S. presidents in office (p. 140-177), which happen to have occurred in at

somewhat regular intervals: Garfield in 1881, McKinley in 1901, Harding in 1922, Franklin Roosevelt in 1944, and Kennedy in 1963. They also noticed, over time, that while news coverage was initially local in character and approach, even for a national event such as the death of a president, it was later nationalized and, eventually, internationalized.

The occasion for walking description became less compelling over time, as newsworthy mourning was redefined. In the early deaths it was decentralized, and the reaction of the people was the news<sup>60</sup>. *The local character of even national events gave impetus to walking description. News slowly abandoned the local definition of political life in favor of larger domains. Gradually, mourning became defined by the official statements of prominent men, clustered first in the nation's capital, then later in the capitals of the world. Increasingly, grief when a U.S. chief executive died in office became internationalized. The deaths of Garfield and McKinley, especially, but also of Harding,*

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<sup>60</sup> Elsewhere they note: "With Garfield's assassination, major newspapers carried reports from every city in the nation. Over time that changed into a national audience watching events in Washington and perhaps in one or two secondary locations, and the grief of leading men replaced public expressions of mourning" (p. 162)

inspired local stories and angles with the pictorial coverage limited almost entirely to places such as Buffalo and Canton [where these presidents died or were born]. (2001, p. 164, emphasis added)

This change from “local character” to “larger domains” is exactly the phenomenon that this thesis has documented. (There will be further discussion of this in Chapter 5.)

Different parts of the city receive different types of descriptions in news stories, which construct a very different sense of place. Consider the portion of downtown that has been branded the “inner city.” Burgess (1985) describes how the “myth of the inner city” as “alien, outside ‘normal’ places” was constructed in 10 British newspapers during “riots” in the summer of 1981. The use of language (including the word “riots”), photographs and particular types of stories cast the physical environment as decaying; the working-class culture of the inhabitants as inferior and characterized by large numbers of children, poor parenting, overcrowding, illicit sex, crime, low education levels, lack of ambition and despair; the race and West Indian culture of the inhabitants as different and responsible for some of these problems; and the prevailing “street culture” as featuring loose moral standards as well as crime (p. 207-208). This type of “ghetto” or “slum”

characterization is also common in North American newspapers<sup>61</sup>. Purdy (2005), for example, reviews the literature on coverage of Toronto's Regent Park through the 20th century:

The media played a crucial role in constructing Regent Park as a problem area. As a number of scholars have established, the mainstream media tends (*sic*) to cover poor working-class, immigrant and/or black neighbourhoods in such a way as to stress anything that runs counter to the accepted social, economic and moral order. In such a way, Regent Park was almost always characterized in all forms of the local and national media as solely a site of poverty, behavioural problems and crime. The wider public, with little or no direct experience of the project or its tenants, only received the 'bad' and the sensational from the media, significantly distorting their opinions on the project and its tenants. (p. 531)

### **Producing local subjects**

The local newspaper can appeal to the reader's sense of identity: it produces "local subjects" through depictions of place, ethnicity and local culture. Chapter 2

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<sup>61</sup> I have personal experience of living in a neighbourhood that experienced this type of coverage.

briefly discussed Appadurai's notion of the production of locality and local subjects, through rituals such as rites of passage and the naming of places (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 178-199). In reading the following passage from Appadurai, which refers to anthropological studies of a variety of local cultures, think about how many of these functions are incorporated into local news:

The large body of literature on techniques for naming places, for protecting fields, animals, and other reproductive spaces and resources, for marking seasonal change and agricultural rhythms, for properly situating new houses and wells, for appropriately demarcating boundaries (both domestic and communal) is substantially literature documenting the socialization of space and time. More precisely, *it is a record of the spatiotemporal production of locality.* (p. 180, emphasis added)

Daily newspapers cover annual festivals such as Winterlude and the Tulip Festival in Ottawa, the Canadian National Exhibition and Royal Winter Fair in Toronto, and so on—each city has its own celebrations of this sort. Seeing their function from an anthropological perspective, they are part of “marking seasonal change and agricultural rhythms” (p. 180). And these things matter to people, often deeply.

Newspapers also keep track of, and often write about, proposals for new buildings and developments, often focusing on their names, whether they would

eliminate natural areas and wildlife, provide public entertainment and athletic facilities, and whether they are properly situated with respect to water flow and traffic patterns, and whatever has previously occupied the space. Such stories are also modern equivalents of the traditional cultural practices Appadurai (1996) lists above.

Newspapers also name a great many places, from small mentions such as the routine identification of where individuals live between commas after their name, to entire stories focused on one place. Often, news stories will make several references to the same place, making use of alternative names: Ottawa, for example, is called the capital, the nation's capital, the city, downtown, Centretown, here (which may sound like a small word, but consider the sense of co-presence it evokes for readers, and the implied contrast with "there"). Portions of the city have community names whose invocation builds a sense of place, associating these traditional names with descriptions, people and events, not only in the moment but also evoking all the community history that residents, consciously or unconsciously, associate with that name. Again using Ottawa as an example, consider the very different news coverage received by Vanier, Overbrook and Lowertown, compared to the more affluent Glebe and Rockcliffe Park. How different would the impact be on those communities if their local names were not used?

These are all ways in which place, or the sense of place, is invoked in the newspaper. But there is one more thing this study looked for, which is equally

important: what is omitted. A key question in representation theory, as in the practice of journalism, is what gets left out (Hall, 1997, p. 59; Tuchman, 1978). For example, a reporter covering an event is faced with a huge amount of information and very limited space. The result is that news stories focus on one aspect of the event, perhaps mentioning a couple of other facts or occurrences (particularly if they are related to the main focus), but largely ignoring most of what happened. The “inverted pyramid” story structure, with the most important items first and everything else in descending order, was invented in order to permit editors to truncate stories by simply chopping from the end—time is often of the essence when dealing with breaking news<sup>62</sup>. The news photographer, likewise, might take a great many pictures at an event but in most cases only one is published<sup>63</sup>. That single photo is focused

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<sup>62</sup> Sotiron (1997) alleges that *Toronto Star* sports editor W.A. Hewitt was, in the early 20th century, the first journalist to use new “inverted pyramid” style of story structure in Canada. “The reason for its use really lay in the overriding needs of advertising. Because Hewitt never knew how much space an advertisement would require, he instructed his reporters to ‘tell the result of the contest in the first paragraph, then if your report has to be cut for an advertisement, the readers will at least know who played, where, and who won, and the score.’” (p. 21)

<sup>63</sup> Both these examples are based on my personal experience at three different

on one portion of the scene, sometimes including no more than a single face. The degree of focus can vary: from the close-up to the medium shot, which includes minimal surroundings, to the long shot, takes in a wider view.

This study examined something that is sometimes left out of stories and photographs: the geographical context, or sense of place. The author found an increasing number of stories—though still a small percentage—were becoming like the close-up photograph: devoid of context, mentioning no place at all. These “no place” stories were only 1% of the articles in the first time period of the study sample, from 1894-1929. By Period Three, from 1970-2005, they represented 5% in the *Star* and 4% in the *Citizen*<sup>64</sup>.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology developed to examine these news practices for representing place and how they changed from 1894—the beginning of regular publication for the *Toronto Star* and close to the time of the *Citizen's* purchase by the Southam chain—until the early part of the 21st century.

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newspapers over a period of 25 years.

<sup>64</sup> Gasher (2007) found that in his news flow studies of on-line editions of three national newspapers (the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Le Devoir*), that as many as 17 per cent of stories mentioned no place at all.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

The process of selecting a research method begins with a goal or set of objectives, which in this case involved exploring trends in the geography of news, in particular, does the daily newspaper help to create in readers a sense of place? And has this changed over time? Only after carefully reviewing the literature to investigate the theory behind these questions and what other research has been done on the topic, does the researcher go about formulating specific hypotheses and selecting a method to test them.

The objectives of this study arose from two directions. The first was a perceived lessening of the commitment to locality in some daily newspapers and a curiosity about whether this was part of a societal trend, that is, a devaluation of locality in society at large. The second was political-economic: If local news coverage in newspapers was found to be changing, would this be related in any way to increasing concentration of ownership in Canadian media? And third, if there was any evidence that these phenomena were happening, what might have caused them?

Literature reviews in geography, anthropology, sociology and communication have been presented in the preceding two chapters. This chapter will discuss the hypotheses that arose from those literature reviews, the key concepts and how they were “operationalized” as variables, and the methods chosen to test them. Details

about the data collection method will be presented next, including the important preliminary stage of testing for inter-coder reliability, or agreement, before starting work on the actual sample. The last part of this chapter will explain how the sample was selected, including the theoretical and historical justifications for the two newspapers and three time periods chosen for comparison in the data analysis to come.

### *Key concepts and their operationalization*

#### **1. Devaluation of the local: disembedding and disruption**

The trend toward a devaluation of place, or locality, in society at large was confirmed by a review of the literature on place and the sense of place. This review revealed<sup>65</sup> two key processes, theorized as unique to—or at least, greatly accelerated in—the modern era, and having a deep impact on localities: *disembedding* and *disruption*. It was decided to test these theoretical concepts.

The first term, disembedding, is sociologist Anthony Giddens' (1990, 1991) and, as discussed in Chapter 2, it describes *the lifting of social relationships out of local contexts*, a phenomenon attributed in part to modern communications systems. The concept of disembedding was operationalized in this study by looking at the number of local stories in the newspaper, their prominence relative to stories

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<sup>65</sup> As detailed in Chapter 2

situated in other geographic categories, and how those two things changed between 1894 and 2005. If we accept that, as Barnhurst and Nerone (2003a) assert, the newspaper is “a network of represented relationships”<sup>66</sup> or, to put it another way, its readership is a Habermasian “speech community” (also translated as a “communication-community”<sup>67</sup>), as Butz and Eyles (1997) assert<sup>68</sup>, then it is this

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<sup>66</sup> To quote Barnhurst and Nerone directly: “Etymologically, *media* means something like ‘things in the middle’ or ‘in-between things’. Media studies, in trying to foreground the media as things in themselves, can lose sight of their middleness or in-betweenness. Thus vivisected, the media can seem to be collections of artifacts, or of texts, or of text-producing organizations. That is to say, one might look upon the *New York Times* as a paper-and-ink product, or as the text of today’s *Times*, or as the New York Times Company. It is, of course, all of these things and more. If we keep its middleness in mind, it is the network of relationships between all of the producers and receivers and buyers and sellers that connect through it (2003a, p. 112, italics in original).”

<sup>67</sup> The McCarthy translation, published by Beacon Press in 1984, uses this term. It happens to be the translation I have used, but clearly it is not the version used by Butz and Eyles (1997), who prefer the term “speech community.”

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this concept.

thesis's assertion that *the newspaper on any given day offers a set of social relationships at a fixed moment in time in which the amount of local context can be observed and measured*. Assuming that the sample is appropriately chosen and the variables are reliable, if the proportion of local stories rises in relation to other geographic categories, that indicates an increase in "local context"—defined as the amount of local stories, place mentions and descriptions in stories, and the amount of physical landscape or surroundings shown in pictures. If the proportion of local stories goes down, it represents a decrease in local context within that speech community or network of represented relationships. If it goes up, it represents an increase in local context, within the context of the newspaper as a whole.

This study also made detailed qualitative observations of the amount of local context in photographs, the placement of local stories in the newspaper (for example, the degree of segregation of local news from other news, and where in the newspaper local news was found on any given date) and other factors described in Chapter Three as "placing the local" within the newspaper as a whole and within individual stories.

If we accept, as well, the contention that a newspaper is a hierarchical arrangement of stories (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001), a change in the *relative* position of local news in the hierarchy, if it could be measured, would also indicate a change in the *relative importance of locality in the network of represented relationships that*

*is the newspaper*. This study created a Priority Factor, which will be described in more detail later in this chapter. Each story's prominence, or priority, was measured using the characteristics that Barnhurst and Nerone (2001), Harrower (1998, 2008) and others point to as indicators of a story's position in the hierarchy of news created by the newspaper's design. These include headline size, placement in the newspaper as a whole and on the individual page, the amount of space devoted to the story, and so on. Each of these features was assigned points depending on how high on the priority scale they were (for example, a large headline earned more points than a small one) and the total of these points earned by each story was its Priority Factor. The sum of these numbers in each geographic category, in each year of the sample, was also compared to see whether the local gained or lost priority relative to other geographic categories.

Much depends on the operational definitions of terms such as "local" and how the research sorts stories into appropriate geographic categories. This will be discussed at length below under the heading Operational Definitions. There is more detail on the study's operational definitions in Appendix A, which was the guide given to the people who coded the stories.

Let us turn now to the second term, no less important, that is theorized as a growing phenomenon in the modern era. *Disruption of local spaces*, as described by geographer Doreen Massey (1994), involves the intrusion of external, or extra-local,

influences into local spaces. This was also discussed in Chapter 2. This concept was operationalized by looking at *the number and types of stories that mixed local and non-local elements*. Two types of stories were found to be the majority in this category: First, there are many stories that have a “local angle”, which means their geographic domain is something larger than local (it is either provincial, national or world) but the story focuses on some local element that is present in that larger story: for example, a local person visiting abroad, or a local school that wins a national prize. Second, any story that mentioned both local and non-local *places* was coded as belonging to this category. Sometimes a story in a larger domain mentioned local places but did not focus on something local, so it did not qualify as having a “local angle” (see Appendix A for the detailed operational definition of this concept), however, it did mix the local and the non-local. The number of these stories in any edition of the newspaper, or any time period, was taken as an indicator of disruption of locality.

There were also qualitative observations that looked for evidence of disruption. The qualitative analysis examined all pages, some in detail (for example the front page and section fronts), and at least one randomly selected local story from each newspaper in the sample. The mingling of local and non-local elements in the same story or set of related stories was considered an indicator of Massey’s concept of disruption.

Two hypotheses were developed to test the concepts we have just defined:

***Hypothesis One: The newspaper's representation of the local place will show evidence of Giddens' concept of disembedding and Massey's concept of disruption. That is, social relationships described in articles will be less tied to local places and the local space will be increasingly disrupted by extra-local influences.***

It was predicted that this would result, over time, in:

1. Fewer stories focused on, or happening in, local places and more non-local stories as a proportion of the total number of stories in the paper. Thus, the distribution of geographic categories of stories would change over time, de-emphasizing local stories and those with a "local angle" or focus.
2. Decreasing priority given to local news in the overall organization and design of the newspaper.
3. Increasing priority given to non-local stories in the organization and design of the newspaper.
4. Increasing segregation of local stories as a distinct (implication: optional) type of coverage, more like arts or sports than like national and international news.
5. More stories involving both local and nonlocal elements in the same story.

***Hypothesis Two: Stories will become more “generic,” that is, featuring less context and fewer surroundings, as the disruptive and disembedding aspects of modernity make physical location seem less important.***

It was predicted that this would result, over time, in more articles that mention no place at all.

## **2. Media ownership**

The second major question concerned a possible relationship between media ownership and the fate of local news. As explained in Chapter 3, there has been a significant and well-documented increase in corporate concentration in the ownership of Canadian media in the latter part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st (Canada, 1981, 2004, 2006a, 2006b). A number of scholars have documented the relationship between this trend and the fate of foreign news coverage in Canadian newspapers over this period, primarily through news-flow studies (Kariel & Rosenvall, 1995; Soderlund & Lee, 1999; Soderlund, Lee, & Gecelovsky, 2002). But similar attention has not been paid to local news, which might well have suffered a similar fate. This study attempts, in part, to remedy that gap.

Soderlund and Lee (1999) attribute the abundance of Canadian research on the foreign-news topic in the late 20th century to the influential 1970 report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, known as the Davey Committee, “which

criticized the nation's newspapers for failing to report foreign policy and international news from a Canadian perspective" (Soderlund & Lee, 1999, n.p.). This prompted a flurry of Canadian research that examined both the numbers of foreign stories that get published, and the sources of those stories, which are often U.S. wire services and hence, do not provide a Canadian perspective.

In the United States, some scholars and observers have noted—and in some cases, decried—an apparent *increase* in local news coverage in chain newspapers, particularly those belonging to the Gannett chain (Arnett & Lansner, 1998; Edmonds, 2007; Plopper, 1991; Shin et al., 2005) in the latter part of the 20th century<sup>69</sup>.

However, the author's experience and the documentation provided in 2004 by Canada's major media union, the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers, to the Senate Committee on Transport and Communications ("Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24," 2004) led the author to suspect that in this respect, Canada might not resemble the United States. That is, in Canada, it seemed that in the late 20th and early 21st century, local coverage was declining in some newspapers in the same way as foreign

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<sup>69</sup> Plopper (1991) notes that Gannett also owns a national newspaper, *USA Today*, so he speculated that its strategy was to have people purchase both the national and the local paper.

coverage, and for some of the same reasons: the staff cuts and reorganizations that accompanied media consolidation.

It is important to note that this study is not intended to be a conclusive analysis of the difference between chain-owned and independent newspapers. Due to the very detailed nature of the analysis, only one newspaper in each of these categories could be sampled over time. It was still a large sample: more than 3,000 articles in each of the two newspapers sampled were included in the content analysis. However, because only two newspapers were involved this is not a large enough sample to produce generalizable conclusions about the differences between chain-owned and independent newspapers. Nevertheless, it was important to make observations on this issue (of chain versus independent ownership) that might be relevant to future research, and to the ongoing debate in Canada over concentration of media ownership. Thus, when choosing newspapers to be part of the sample, one independent and one chain-owned newspaper were chosen deliberately, with this in mind.

There has been little research on changes over time in local news coverage in Canada, and what there is has unfortunate methodological flaws. The extensive series of news flow studies by Kariel and Rosenvall (summarized in their book, *Places in the News*, in 1995), which purported to examine all places mentioned in the news and might have been of great help to my own work, assumed that any

story that did not have a placeline was a local story. This study has documented that this is not true: many non-local stories do not get tagged with placelines. The reverse is also true: some local stories do get placelines, though not many do. It is heartening to see that the Geography of News project, based at Concordia University in Montreal, which has used news flow methodology to produce an ongoing series examining both print and online versions of newspapers—where their stories come from and what places they mention—does not make the same mistake. However, the Geography of News project has not examined newspapers prior to 2000.

To conclude, a review of the literature found that studies focusing on changes in local coverage in Canadian newspapers over the course of the 20th century were rare. Thus, the author's second major question has not yet been adequately answered: Would a chain-owned newspaper show different trends in local news coverage than an independent newspaper? The hypothesis is:

***Hypothesis Three: Newspapers that are part of a national chain will be inclined to favour stories and illustrations that can be shared by the entire chain.***

It was expected that this would result in the chain newspaper having:

1. A larger proportion of national stories, compared to the non-chain newspaper.
2. A smaller proportion of local and provincial stories.

3. A larger number of placeless stories.

### **Chosen method**

The approach decided upon was deductive: the study used content analysis to collect both qualitative and quantitative evidence to document any trends and/or significant changes over time. It was particularly important to study newspapers through the entire 20th century in order to put any trend(s) or change(s) that might emerge into a continuous historical perspective. It was also decided to examine every article (including columns, letters to the editor, editorials and other opinion pieces) in each newspaper studied, because local context can appear in every section of the newspaper and every type of writing. And it was important that the work be replicable by other researchers, and in other newspapers, since the nature of this analysis—its level of detail and the extended time period it examined—meant that in this initial study only two newspapers (19 full editions of each, examining every article) could be examined. Thus, this study is microscopic rather than macroscopic, in that it examines a small number of newspapers in detail. However, it has developed a method for examining and comparing the sense of place newspapers construct about the locality they cover, which could be used in future, with some refinement, to examine a broader range of data sources.

Two Ontario newspapers were selected for examination by content analysis: the *Toronto Star* (originally the *Evening Star*, then *Toronto Daily Star*) and the

*Ottawa Citizen* (which had two editions, the *Morning Citizen* and *Evening Citizen*, for several decades, both of which are represented in the sample). The random sample was drawn from the years 1894 to 2005 in three “constructed weeks” from each newspaper, each drawn from a different time period: Period One: 1984-1929, Period Two: 1930-1970, and Period Three: 1971-2005. This resulted in a total of 19 editions of each newspaper in which all articles were examined: a total of 3,745 articles from the *Star* and 3,384 from the *Citizen*, resulting in a total sample of 7,129 articles. More detail on the selection process is provided later in this chapter, in the section entitled “Selecting the newspapers to analyze”.

Content analysis is a method well suited for systematically examining large amounts of text (Krippendorf, 2004, pp. 42-43; Neuendorf, 2002). It is thus appropriate for a study of how newspapers represent a sense of the local community and its place in the world, and the “sweep of change” in those representations over time (Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991, p. 2).

Other methods were considered, including various forms of textual analysis such as discourse analysis or semiotic analysis. However, these are not suitable for large samples—typically, each study examines a relatively small number of pages. While the insights they can shed on texts is very valuable, this study needed to use a technique capable of establishing trends over time, that was reproducible by future researchers who might wish to challenge or extend the findings.

A “case study” approach that examined, perhaps, two or three newspapers during an intense period of newspaper consolidation, such as the 1990s—perhaps before and after significant changes—would also have been a viable way to study the third hypotheses. However, it was important to place these results in a broad time perspective, observing the sweep of change in the newspaper’s depiction of place through the entire 20th century and into the 21st , to examine the first two hypotheses. The third hypothesis was ancillary to that purpose, an interesting thing to observe but not the primary purpose of the study. And case studies would not be an efficient way of examining all three hypotheses over such an extended time frame.

The 112 years of newspaper history selected for study begin during the years when local news first became an important feature of metropolitan newspapers in North America (Kaniss, 1991), and end in what Giddens (1990, 1991) and others have called the late modern era. This permits an extended examination of changes and trends in the priority given to place, particularly the local, over that extended time span. The choice to begin sampling in 1894 was made because it was the year the *Toronto Star* began publishing regularly, and just three years before the *Citizen* became part of the Southam chain.

### **Qualitative observations**

The intent of this content analysis was not entirely quantitative; it was hoped to spot trends in how the sense of place was constructed in newspapers over time. Like Barnhurst and Nerone (2001), the author made detailed notes about qualitative aspects of these trends in each time period. Also following Barnhurst and Nerone, the author studied the way the form of the newspaper contributes to the sense of place it constructs. Summaries of these qualitative observations for each time period are included in Chapter Five in a separate section from the quantitative results. The observations were made using the format introduced in Chapter Three which outlines techniques for “placing the local” in newspapers. The same headings used in that section were used for the detailed notes taken in the qualitative analysis:

**Placing the local: in the newspaper as a whole**

*Priority given to local stories:*

- placement
- headline size
- story length
- photo with story
- number of local stories

*City section: Are local stories segregated or mixed?*

*Photographs: amount of context included*

## Placing the local: within stories<sup>70</sup>

*Placelines: Them and Us*

*Place mentions:* Are local places mentioned as often as non-local?

*Place descriptions:* Which places are described?

## Criticisms of content analysis

Not everyone considers content analysis an ideal tool for analyzing representations and their meanings. Burgess, who operates from a structuralist, cultural studies perspective, criticizes it as a tool for examining meaning in texts:

Content analysis assumes a transparent text, i.e. that meaning is fixed, universally understood and unproblematic. It is an assumption which has been shattered by more theoretically-informed work. Meaning is not given: it is negotiated between different groups, some of which have more power than others. (Burgess, 1985, p. 194)

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<sup>70</sup> For the second part of this qualitative analysis—Placing the local: within stories—a local story was randomly selected from each edition of each newspaper, using the numbers assigned to each story. If the number selected was not a local story, the nearest story in number was used.

Burgess' objection has been at least partially overcome in studies, like this one, that use content analysis to examine the relationship between news form and content. Barnhurst and Nerone (Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991, 2001; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003a) as well as Baym (2004), who uses content analysis to perform a similar analysis of television form and its influence on content, are examples. Those studies, like this one, are not looking for story meanings, but rather, coding for common elements on the pages: the length of the story, size of headline, placement on the page. These variables do not encounter the problem of "fixed meaning" Burgess was referring to, in which the coder is asked to make a qualitative judgment about whether the story is, for example, positive or negative in tone. The items coded in this study are, for the most part, facts about how the story and the page look. Inferences can be made about meaning, however, from these elements of form.

For example, a story that appears at the top of the page, with a large photograph and headline, gets the attention of the reader more readily than one at the bottom of the page with a small headline and less space devoted to it. Readers absorb cues about a story's place in the news "hierarchy" of the day from these features: a story with a large headline and space allocation on the page has been assigned a higher priority by the editors than one with a small headline, etc. These markers have not always been used in newspapers. Barnhurst and Nerone's

detailed examination of more than 200 years of American newspaper design found that these features arose in the early 20th century in an era they call Proto-Modern (2001, p. 20), during the transition from Victorian to Modern newspapers. As noted in Chapter 3 (see Table 3-1), the Victorian newspaper presented sort of a hodge-podge of stories, giving the impression of an “unmapped and unmappable world” while the Modern newspaper’s design imposed considerably more order on its representation of the world.

Modernist [newspaper] designers proposed a new way of viewing that took the entire page as a single canvas ... [whereas] traditional newspapering had ordered its physical existence on the column. ... The page as canvas (drawing a metaphor from art) or as display window (drawing from commerce) imposed on journalism the logic of the social map. Within the newly conceived front page, professional newswriters provided an orderly array—a functional map—of the day’s news from top to bottom. Like a map, the front page also supplied a legend, that is, an index (an invention arriving very late in newspapers) that catalogued news in priority. (2001, pp. 203-204)

That “index” involved the use of headline size and story placement to arrange the news in hierarchical form, Barnhurst and Nerone stress. Toward the end of the 20th century, the phase they call High Modern used a “center of visual attention,

signaling the most important content, judged according not to news events but to the entertainment value of the image” (p. 209). At this time, Barnhurst and Nerone assert, “graphic-design professionals ruled supreme, or close to it” and this change (earlier, professional journalists had decided what went where in the hierarchy) represented the increasing control by the corporation over the newspaper as they attempted to make it a more attractive consumer product—news professionals took a back seat (pp. 208-218).

But no matter who controlled the arrangement of news, a hallmark of the Modern era was this clearly visible *hierarchy of priority* on the newspaper page. This study made use of the signs or markers of that hierarchy—the amount of space allocated to the story, its placement in the newspaper as a whole, its placement on the “canvas” of the individual page, and its headline size—to create a quantitative measure called the Priority Factor for each story.

This research also takes some of its inspiration from the so-called “news flow” studies that use a special content analysis technique to look for geographical facts in newspapers and internet sites (Gasher, 2007; Gasher & Gabriele, 2004; Kariel & Rosenvall, 1995; Soderlund & Lee, 1999; See for example Soderlund et al., 2002). It incorporated some of their methods in examining which places are mentioned in stories. For example, the coders in this study counted all the places mentioned in every story in the newspaper. In every local story, or story in another geographic

category that featured a “local angle,” they noted how many of the places mentioned were actually local.

### **Operational definitions**

This study worked with a number of important concepts, which require both conceptual and operational definitions. The simpler concepts (for example, what constitutes an article, a headline, a placeline, and so on) are defined in Appendix A, which features all the study’s operational definitions. However, a few concepts require more explanation because of their complexity and their importance to the analysis. These include the *geographic categories* to which articles were assigned; the term *sense of place*; and the concept of *priority* as it applied to individual articles. The reader will find references to the questions coders were asked to answer about each article on the Content Analysis Form, which can be found in Appendix B.

#### **1. Geographic Categories**

Perhaps the most important concept in this thesis is the idea of *local*, which, as has been discussed previously, can lead to confusion if not carefully defined. Because this study involved examining the local in newspapers, which are clearly a cultural product (Carey, 1988a), this is a type of “communicative action” in which a local community establishes shared meanings and cultural norms (Habermas, 1984/1981). Therefore what was needed was what Habermas would call the newspaper’s “communication-community” (also translated as “speech community”,

for example, in Butz and Eyles, 1997). This would be the newspaper's readership, combined with the people who produce the newspaper itself, a group that Nerone and Barnhurst (2003a) call a "network of represented relationships".

With this in mind, this study defined *local* as the newspaper's "circulation area" —the area in which newspapers are delivered to people's homes. Fortunately, there is an objective, annually updated, description of the changing circulation areas for the two newspapers in the sample, which has been recorded annually since 1915. The Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) has, since that year, verified newspaper circulation areas and figures in Canada. There were no records at the two newspapers in the sample that defined the circulation areas for years prior to 1915, so it was decided to use the 1915 circulation area for the three editions in the sample from prior to 1915. This was not an ideal choice, but it seemed to be the only one consistent with the objective method this study had chosen, to use ABC records to define the local area. To do otherwise could leave this study open to criticism that it had manipulated the boundaries.

The term used by the ABC for the concept of circulation area has changed over the years, including such names as the "retail trading zone", "primary market area" and "newspaper designated market" in addition to its original 1915 name, which was "circulation area." However, the two-paragraph description in the annual Audit Report (in the earliest years it was called the Auditor's Report) has remained

remarkably similar over the years. With the exception of the *Citizen's* earliest report, in 1915, which has only one area defined, all the reports used in this study (including the *Star's* earliest, 1915 report) outline a part (a) which describes a "city circulation" including the major city and its inner suburbs, and part (b) which describes the outer suburbs and rural areas included in the "retail trading zone" or whatever it was called at the time. Often, part (b) includes a listing of the eight largest towns in the trading territory. In recent years, most reports have included a map that shows the boundaries precisely and locates the largest towns on the map. The boundaries often follow county lines or census divisions.

David Eddy, Director of Research for the *Ottawa Citizen*, recently wrote an internal report on the paper's circulation, dating back to 1935. While this report was not made available, Eddy said in an interview that in recent decades the *Citizen's* Newspaper Designated Market has coincided with its Census Metropolitan Area, as defined by Statistics Canada. But not all newspapers use the CMA, he said, because in some cases the CMA is too large (Eddy, interview with author, July 13, 2005).

Question 11 on the Content Analysis Form (see Appendix B) asked coders to classify each article analyzed by its geographic category. Local stories were defined as ones falling within the circulation area of the newspaper, as defined by the ABC, as discussed above. The designation of a story as provincial referred only to stories concerning Ontario places or provincial issues, Ontario being the province where the

two newspapers and their readers are located. Stories from other provinces in Canada (except for stories from Hull, Gatineau and other West Quebec places that are part of the Citizen's circulation area) were coded as national stories because they were from a province other than the one where readers reside. Stories were also designated national if they concerned federal politics, national business, sports or other events at the national level. World stories concerned international places, people, events and/or issues—they could either be about events that happened in a country other than Canada, or stories about international affairs that took place in Canada.

One further category was offered in Question 19, which was called No Place. This category was not initially envisioned but during preliminary coding, before the study sample was selected, a number of stories were found that mentioned no place, nor did they mention any institutions or other characteristics that made it possible to locate them. In such cases, and only those cases, the story was deemed No Place. These stories tended to concern topics like fashion, cooking, health or decorating. They could also be fiction stories that mentioned no real place.

There was one secondary geographic designation possible that was of great importance in this study sample because of the numerous external influences on local spaces in the two cities whose newspapers were studied: That is the "local angle" designation. If stories focusing on national, provincial or international topics or

events happened to occur *within the local area of the newspaper*, they were still considered national, provincial, or world stories. But Question 19 offered an additional option to designate the story as having a *local angle* if it focused on a local person, place or issue. The story had to give significant attention to the local person, place or issue; a mere mention of the fact that an event was in Toronto, or of what building it was in, was not sufficient. But if the focus was in some way local (for example, Canada Day celebrations in Ottawa, or an international business conference taking place in Toronto, with references to disruptions of local traffic, perhaps, or participation by local residents) those stories would have a dual designation: “national with a local angle” or “world with a local angle”. In the calculation and analysis of the data, as will be seen in the next chapter, local angle stories were, when appropriate, considered part of the paper’s local content.

The local angle category is a very important part of the geographic picture in newspapers because stories with a local angle are quite common but they are not, strictly speaking, local stories. It was decided that they should count as local content, but be treated separately from stories that were exclusively local, in calculating the results. Thus, the story’s primary designation would not include the local angle, but there would be a secondary geographic category that indicated how many “local angle” stories occurred within those other categories. This may sound confusing but

it is hoped that when the graphs are shown, in the Results chapter, the concept will become crystal clear.

## **2. Sense of Place**

This study uses the Agnew and Duncan definition of sense of place, which was explored in some depth in Chapter 2. They define it as “identification with a place engendered by living in it” (1989, p. 2). Thus, it applies to newspapers, and readers, which are rooted in the area the newspaper serves—the area we have above defined as local. This is not to say the other geographic categories do not factor into the sense of place people have about where they live. As geographer Doreen Massey (1994, 1995; Massey et al., 1999) makes clear, places have long been disrupted by external influences, be they spatial—regional, provincial, national, global or even extra-terrestrial—or time-related, i.e. elements from the past and future of that same place. Residents of a place get a sense of their locality’s place in the wider world, as well as its past, present and future, through communications media such as newspapers (Burgess, 1985; Eyles & Peace, 1990).

The Agnew and Duncan (1989) definition also implies that the identity of person and place are intertwined. Chapter 2 explained how geographer John Eyles (1985) developed ten categories that express the variety of human identifications with place, ranging from the social to the environmental, which were supported through further research with colleague David Butz (Butz & Eyles, 1997). The current

study made an early attempt to measure the Butz and Eyles categories in newspaper stories; however, it was not possible to reach an acceptable level of inter-coder reliability about which categories were present in each story, so that particular measure had to be dropped from the study.

However, there are other measures for the concept of “identification with a place,” notably the names given to places. Naming is one of the primary ways people attach meaning to places (Basso, 1996; Lippard, 1997, pp. 45-53). Often, places have secondary names, similar to nicknames given to people, as a mark of fondness for the place, or recognition of the place’s particular character. For example, Carleton University is usually called “Carleton”—dropping the formality of the term “university” —on second reference, and can also be called the “campus,” a term that implies a kind of pastoral setting, as it comes from the Latin word for field or plain, park or recreation area, according to the Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary. Another Ottawa example is the building formally named the Aberdeen Pavilion, a landmark heritage structure located at Lansdowne Park. It is often referred to locally as the Cattle Castle, in recognition of its role in presenting the livestock shows during the annual Central Canada Exhibition and Winter Fair—a name that evokes memories from the past. Early in the 20th century, it was also commonly called the Manufacturers Building (Lansdowne Park, 2008). The existence of all these names

for the same place indicates a variety of meanings through which local residents identify with the place and have formed attachments to it.

Thus, counting place names—particularly the number that occur in local stories—would be way of operationalizing this aspect of the sense of place in stories. Stories that contain more local place names, and indeed, entire newspapers that contain more local place names, are presumably providing a greater sense of place about the local. Another way of operationalizing this concept would be to see how many places are given secondary names, ranging from “the campus” in our Carleton example, to the simple-sounding yet important “here” or “there” (which distinguishes between local and non-local, Us and Them). This study uses both these measures in stories that are local or have a local angle. However, the coding of secondary names proved so time-consuming and confusing for the coders that it was dropped about halfway through the sample<sup>71</sup>. These secondary placenames

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<sup>71</sup> Confusion arose most often from an inability to clarify what constituted a second reference to a place. For example, if a list of places was given and then a second reference used a collective noun (such as “the cities”) to refer back to all of the places on this list, did that collective noun count as a second reference for each one of the names in the list? It was not, in fact, a specific secondary name for any one of the cities involved, so one might judge that it should not count. But each instance

were counted, in Question 19, for the entire sample. But Question 21, which asks whether the specific name was a “multiple” reference to a place mentioned before, was answered only for Period One and part of Period Three. The limited results did provide enough data for a discussion of the multiple names given to places in the two periods in question, though the results cannot be considered replicable and quantifiable.

As noted in Chapter 2, the word “sense” in “sense of place” also implies that this concept involves the physical senses: sight, touch, smell, taste, sound. Thus descriptions of places that invoke the senses are important to this, as are pictures (usually photographs) of places, particularly those that include details of the surroundings. This study attempted to quantify descriptions of places but this turned out to be an extremely difficult thing to define, and the question (despite several rephrasings) never achieved an acceptable level of inter-coder reliability. For example, the question started out, in the first draft, asking: “Is the place described?”

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was different, and the coders made different judgments about what should count and what should not, whenever this type of thing occurred. I realized, upon going over these results, that they were not capturing the variable I had intended – that is, the kind of secondary name a place is given if it is well-known or well-loved by a community.

with a scale ranging from “Not at all” to “A lot.” When inter-coder reliability tests showed that question to be too indefinite, it was revised to “Less than one sentence” and “More than one sentence” or “Not at all”, but even the definition of a sentence proved too much for the coders—sometimes a number of places, for example, are listed in a single sentence, which says a few words about them collectively. Does this constitute a description? The three coders differed significantly on these assessments. Thus, the question had to be dropped from the study.

The question of photographs was not included in the quantitative analysis, but did provide some interesting results in the qualitative analysis. This raises the possibility of a study focusing on photographs, and what they contribute to the sense of place, as an interesting topic for future research.

### **3. Priority**

Also very important to the sense of place is the question of what *context* and *priority* are given to local stories. In this category, it is the form of news that counts, in the sense that Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) and other researchers have used it. That is, the newspaper page and/or section is the context in which the story is placed, and on that page, there are various ways for signaling a story’s priority, which were described in Chapter 3. Priority markers for the local included how many local stories occurred, relative to stories in other geographic categories (provincial, national, world, no place). The amount of space allocated to a story, including

photographs, charts and graphics, is an important indicator of priority. The amount of space was used by Gasher (2008) to indicate what he called “prominence.” Gasher was dealing, in his research, with stories on the internet, where other traditional signals of priority were not used, or at least, not used consistently. In the newspaper, it is also possible to measure whether local stories are given the same degree of “play” as national, international, and other types of coverage, using the techniques of layout described in newspaper design textbooks (See for example Harrower, 1998; Moen, 1995, 1984/2000). Are local stories found as often on the front page and the fronts of sections? Do they get large headlines and placement at the top of the page they are on? Are they mixed with national and world stories, or segregated? In other words, does the reader get the impression, upon picking up the newspaper, that the local community really matters, and is important in the context of the wider world?

A novel technique used in this study involved a quantitative evaluation a story’s prominence or priority. This determination was quantified based on the following variables:

- the story’s placement in the paper as a whole (stories on the front page or a section front were given bonus points for their placement<sup>72</sup>),

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<sup>72</sup> A story got maximum points for a spot on the front page, and one point less than the maximum for a section front placement. These totals differed for each time

- the story's placement on the page where it appeared (top, middle or bottom),
- headline size (largest on the page, smallest on the page, or somewhere in between these),
- the amount of space allocated to the story and any accompanying photos, charts or other illustrations<sup>73</sup>.

The measures for this factor changed somewhat between time periods because the way newspapers were designed—their form, in other words—changed significantly over time, as described in Chapter 3. The mathematical calculations used for the Priority Factor will be described in full in Chapter 5 when the Results are reported.

### **Intercoder Reliability Testing**

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period, as will be explained in Chapter 5, because the number of priority indicators changed between periods, increasing over time. Careful mathematical calculations were done to ensure that point totals were equivalent between time periods despite these differences.

<sup>73</sup> The coders measured how many columns, or what portion of a column, the story occupied on the page. When the results were compiled, a “banding” exercise was done using SPSS, which divided these lengths into three categories: long, medium and short. Points were assigned for each category, with short stories getting 1 point, medium stories 2 points, and long stories, 3 points.

It was essential to use other coders besides the author, to correct for possible bias on the part of the principal investigator and get the study done in a timely manner. This necessitated a lengthy training and testing for inter-coder reliability, to ensure that the judgments of coders, as well as their interpretations of the categories in questions that did not require judgments, could be assumed to be the same a majority of the time. As Neuendorf (2002) puts it, the coders “must be ‘calibrated’ against one another” in the same way one would calibrate a mechanical system of measurement. The second reason for requiring a high level of inter-coder reliability is “to provide basic validation of the coding scheme: That is, it must be established that more than one individual can use the coding scheme as a measurement tool, with similar results” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 142). This helps to ensure that the study can be replicated by other researchers in future.

Because many of the variables in this study were being *operationalized*—that is, made measurable—for the first time, there were no prior examples to use. Thus, the training was interactive and extensive, taking several months to accomplish. It involved amendments to the coding scheme when questions proved confusing to the coders, then re-testing of the new questions.

While some variables in this study were simple facts (a story’s length, a headline’s size), others required a judgment on the part of coders. For example, in Question 11 on page two of the Content Analysis Form (see Appendix B) they were

asked to determine the story's geographic category. This might seem simple, but it took a great deal of research and effort to define the geographic categories and set down the rules in the document called Operational Definitions (see Appendix A). The most challenging aspect of this variable was the definition of "local," which was discussed previously. It was defined as the circulation area of the newspaper in the year it was published, as defined by the Audit Bureau of Circulations. This meant that coders had to absorb any modifications over time (luckily, there were decades or longer when the circulation of these newspapers stayed the same) and carefully consult the ABC reports when deciding whether a place name or a story was local.

Another challenge to the geographic categories was that a story might contain elements of more than one category, so a judgment had to be made about which was predominant. For geographic categories, the rule was that "if the domain is mixed and includes some national, some world, etc., choose the largest domain" (Appendix A, p. 5)

With a number of the variables, there were occasional situations in which none of the categories applied. Whenever possible, an "Other" category was used to allow the coder to write in a different name. This technique is recommended by Neuendorf (2002, p. 118-119) to ensure that all possible options are covered in the coding. However, for some questions, "Other" was not an option, and other ways to introduce this flexibility had to be found. The geographic categories of stories are an

example of this: the traditional news categories (Local, Provincial, National, World) did not cover every contingency. Thus, two new categories—No Place and Non-local with a Local Angle—were added to deal with stories that did not fit the traditional categories.

To ensure that coders were responding to all the questions consistently, a series of Inter-coder Reliability Tests (IRTs) were carried out before the coding began. For these tests, a mini-sample had to be selected that would be representative of the actual sample but provide for a fairly quick test. Using the “constructed week” format (a Monday from one date, a Tuesday from another date, and so on through the week) used in the main sample, a random sample of single pages was chosen from the entire time period under study: 1894 to 2005. (The full study sample used a similar method but selected, rather than a single page, the entire edition of the paper for each date, coding all stories in every section of the paper.)

The random number generator from Microsoft Excel (the function called RANDBETWEEN) was used to select each element of the date: the year, the month, the day, and the page. The Excel function was preferable to using a random number table because it was found that in the tables, it was much more common to find a combination of a single-digit week (that is, the first 9 weeks of the year) and a year than would actually occur in a random sample—that’s because an eligible five-

number combination occurs more readily than a six-number combination in the tables. Using RANDBETWEEN and selecting the year, month, week, and day separately, this problem did not occur. (It was best to number the years of the sample from 1 to 112, assigning a number to each year, for this randomization function, rather than trying to randomize between 1892 and 2005). Finally, all the IRT samples were balanced for season, and to ensure that each of the three time periods in the main sample were represented at least once. All four IRT samples are listed in Appendix C.

Only the *Toronto Star* was used for the IRT tests because it is readily available to Carleton University students in PDF format<sup>74</sup>. It was also decided to keep the circulation area (which served as the definition of “local”) constant during the IRT, using the 1971 boundaries for the entire week, to prevent confusion. The 1971 boundaries were chosen because they were clear and they remained the same for a fairly long period in the history of the newspaper. This consistency saved the

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<sup>74</sup> The *Star* is available in a downloadable database called Pages of the Past, through the Proquest service, unlike the other newspaper in my sample, the *Ottawa Citizen*. It was much more challenging to access for historical dates.

coders from a lot of confusion and made the definition of “local” constant throughout the small IRT sample.

The results from the first test (see Appendix D<sup>75</sup> for comparative table of all results, from the four IRT tests and the supplements for IRT3 and IRT4) showed that many of the questions were not well constructed, or their terms not well defined, leading to confusion. The Holsti calculation for inter-coder agreement was 80% or greater for some questions (geographic category of story, whether the story had a dateline or placeline, headline size, and story placement on the page) but the results for many questions were well below that level. It was a good training exercise, however, since all three coders met to review and discuss the results, learning from the process. The problematic questions were revised, based on this discussion, and a second IRT was conducted. However, the results on some questions that had given us difficulty the first time were no better. The problematic questions included one about the type of sense of place a story reflected—using a modified version of the categories developed by Eyles (1985) and Butz and Eyles (1997). Another question that was not working well asked whether a place was *described* in the

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<sup>75</sup> The table uses Krippendorff’s *alpha* instead of Holsti—read on for a description of this coefficient and why it was ultimately chosen.

story, giving the coder a choice of (1) Not at all, (2) One sentence or less, or (3) More than one sentence. Coders had difficulty agreeing on what constituted a description, even within the sentence limits provided. A third problematic question involved *how place names were used in the story*: as a dateline or placeline, as a “locator” of a person or event, in the name of a sports team or institution, or as a “central element of the story.” Coders could not agree on what constituted a “central element of the story” and so the results were poor. Ultimately, all these questions had to be eliminated. But this was done only after the third IRT and even a supplementary test to try one last rewording of these particular questions.

Before giving up on those hard-to-phrase questions, however, the author did some additional reading about coefficients for testing inter-coder reliability (Hayes, 2005a, 2005b; Hayes & Krippendorf, 2007; Krippendorf, 2004; Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002, 2005; Neuendorf, 2002) and learned that the Holsti coefficient, which had been recommended by other researchers experienced with content analysis, has been criticized rather extensively. One criticism is that it does not correct for inter-coder agreements that would occur by chance (Hayes, 2005b, p. 121). Also, the Holsti coefficient is not recommended for studies using more than two coders (Hayes & Krippendorf, 2007, p. 80). Neuendorf (2002, p. 148) is emphatic about this: “Only Cohen’s kappa and Krippendorf’s alpha accommodate more than two coders at a time.” So it was decided to use Krippendorf’s *alpha*. First, it was

recommended by all the authors cited as an excellent measure. Second, a “macro” was readily available to compute it using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)<sup>76</sup>. It also takes into account different types of variables, for example, allowing for the fact that with a ratio-level variable (i.e. numbers that are mathematically computable, such as the length or width of a story, or the number of placenames in a story), two answers that are very close on the scale are significantly more “in agreement” than two that are distant. For ordinal variables (in sequence but not related mathematically; for example, if respondents are asked to rank things in order from best to worst) this is somewhat true. However, for nominal variables (i.e. those with a number assigned to a response, such as 1=Yes, 2=No), this is not at all true. The Hayes macro for Krippendorf’s alpha adjusts the calculations to take account of this factor, which made a great difference in measures such as the length of a story, where a tiny difference in measurement is common and really not significant, yet using Holsti, it could throw off the reliability measure very significantly since absolute agreement between all three coders would be difficult to achieve.

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<sup>76</sup> The author is indebted to Andrew Hayes of The Ohio State University (Hayes, 2005a) for the “macro” he made available to calculate Krippendorf’s alpha from data entered in SPSS.

Krippendorf's *alpha* is a very different calculation from Holsti, the latter being a simple percent agreement corrected only for the number of measurements actually made (so if one coder left out a question, it would correct for that). As a result of the rigorousness of the Krippendorf *alpha*, a lower level of inter-coder agreement is generally deemed acceptable for the two measures. It is generally true that a Holsti of .80 (or 80 percent) on all variables is entirely acceptable, and the occasional variable dipping into the .70 (or 70 percent) range is permitted, provided that is mentioned in the results and the overall average is .80 or greater. The acceptable level for the Krippendorf *alpha* is 0.7 out of a highest possible value of 1.0 (Hayes, 2005b, p. 128).

Results for the surviving variables on all four IRTs, using Krippendorf's *alpha*, are given in Appendix D. The fourth IRT was done, as required, during the coding, as the coders were beginning Period 2, after completing Periods 1 and 3. Because the sample for the first randomly selected week in IRT4 was unusually small (some pages had only one story on them) a second week was selected and tested, and the results merged. They showed an acceptable level of inter-coder agreement, using Krippendorf's *alpha*, on all questions (that is, .70 or 70 percent or higher) and an average score of 0.9284 (93 percent when rounded) at the start of the coding and 0.8970 (90 percent when rounded) in IRT4, done two-thirds of the way through the coding.

### Selecting the newspapers to analyze

It was considered essential to include the *Toronto Star* in this study because of its express commitment to local news, which began with the hiring of Joseph Atkinson as the paper's editor in 1899 and continued following his death in 1948 in the form of the Atkinson Principles, described in Chapter Three, which are still posted on the newspaper's website and cited as its guiding philosophy. This philosophy makes the Star an ideal "control" newspaper, in that its priorities are well known and clearly expressed, and include a very high priority for local news.

Selecting the second newspaper to study was much more difficult. It had to be part of a national chain throughout as much as possible of the study period (to test Hypothesis Three), and it needed to come from a city comparable to Toronto, if possible, in size and population. Southam, Inc. was the first chain formed in Canada and while it did not become truly national in its holdings until the 1908, when it acquired the *Calgary Herald* (Bruce, 1998, p. 114), it did begin that process, becoming a chain, with the purchase of the *Ottawa Citizen* by the Southam family in 1897. The *Hamilton Spectator*, which was the founding newspaper in the Southam chain, was another possible choice.

Among all the chain newspapers in Ontario, the *Citizen* was felt to be an appropriate choice for comparative purposes because Ottawa and Toronto are

comparable in being “capital cities”, one each of the two types described by Whebell (2009):

Canada’s capital cities can be classed into two groups, according to whether the territory they now control politically was defined so as to reflect and enhance the political and commercial interests of an existing settlement, or whether the territory had been delimited already before the capital site was chosen. Cities of the first group are more likely to be totally dominant within their respective territories, having the great advantage of prior communications routes; those in the second are more likely to have had to compete for dominance with some other city in the same territory or elsewhere.

Toronto is in the first group, Whebell notes, while Ottawa is in the second due to the timing of its being chosen as the capital city. Ottawa did indeed have to compete with other cities to become the political capital, first of the Province of Canada, which today forms the southern portions of Quebec and Ontario, on the last day of 1857 (Taylor, 2009). When the competition became too fraught with dissention, Queen Victoria was called upon to decide, and she chose Ottawa. By 1867, with a decade of capital status, it was more readily chosen as capital of the Dominion of Canada at its Confederation.

Since that time Ottawa has been Canada's political capital, while Toronto is certainly one of the (and arguably the preeminent) business and cultural capitals of Canada. Toronto is also the political capital of Ontario, which is Canada's largest province (Careless, 2009). Thus, both Ottawa and Toronto have, throughout the study period, experienced comparable national and international influences—Toronto largely in business and culture, and Ottawa largely in politics—that other cities in Ontario do not experience to the same extent. Toronto is often thought by non-Canadians to be Canada's capital simply because it is the country's largest and, arguably, most famous city internationally.

At the time it was first named a political capital, Ottawa was a lumber town whose name until 1855 had been Bytown. While it was then a virtual backwater compared to Toronto, it nevertheless was well situated at the confluence of three rivers and on the border between what are now Quebec and Ontario. It contained one of the world's largest milling operations and the other functions of a lumber town (cutting, driving and barging), as well as connections to the Grand Trunk Railway and American rail networks as well as the Rideau Canal, which linked to the Great Lakes, adding to its pre-existing link via the Ottawa River with the St. Lawrence (Taylor, 2009).

By the time the study begins in 1894, however, Ottawa had grown into the role of national capital, as the federal bureaucracy and functions of an international

capital had attracted a new and different type of people to the city. Furthermore, it was this new, well educated population that was most likely to read the newspaper and therefore become part of its “network of represented relationships” (Nerone and Barnhurst, 2003).

If we look back to our discussion of place-making in Chapter 2, and in particular the idea that the tourist industry and real-estate developers market localities today using what Hobsbawm (1988) calls “invented traditions” and Entrikin (1991) calls “strategies for resisting the alienation and isolation of modern life”, we can also postulate that people in Toronto and Ottawa might be subjected to similar levels of national and local place-making propaganda. The national and international tourist promotion of both cities is strong, and their self-images (and newspaper representations) are probably influenced by the concepts and symbols that arise from that marketing. The levels of this marketing are probably comparable in Toronto and Ottawa, in ways that, for example, Toronto and Hamilton — the other city that has been part of the Southam empire since the start — are not. Thus, in many ways, *Ottawa and Toronto offer similar profiles for the purposes of comparison in a content analysis.*

Another reason for choosing Ottawa is that its newspaper became part of the Southam chain within three years of the time the *Toronto Star* began to publish regularly: the Southams purchased the *Citizen* in 1897 and the *Star* began regular

publication in 1894. Our sample, which by random chance does not include any newspapers prior to 1898, therefore surveys the two newspapers during the period when one belonged to a chain and the other was, for the most part, independent. Calgary, which was the third city to join the Southam chain, in 1908, is certainly a business capital of Canada today, but has not held that status for nearly as long as the period we are examining in this study. Meanwhile, Ottawa has been its national capital and Toronto a major business capital throughout the entire time span.

Both newspapers chosen for this study are from Ontario, which does limit the generalizability of the results. However, it also means that apart from purely local news, other events in the two papers would be selected from the same basic pool of stories. Thus, the amount of “play” or priority given to local news would be based on the *same set of alternatives* from other geographic categories. It was not possible to choose two newspapers from the same city—for example, another Toronto newspaper such as the *Globe and Mail*—because the *Globe* became a national newspaper during Period Three and it would therefore not be appropriate to compare it to the *Star* in terms of local news coverage. That is no longer the *Globe*’s priority, while it remains the *Star*’s, in indeed, it is the major way in which the two newspapers consciously distinguish themselves. And while there were several other daily newspapers in Toronto, none existed throughout the entire period under study.

A start date of 1894 was chosen for several reasons: it is when the *Toronto Star* started publishing regularly and it is shortly before the *Ottawa Citizen* became part of the Southam newspaper chain in 1897 (Bruce, 1968; "The Ottawa Citizen: The newspaper that grew with Canada's capital," 1988). This allowed a comparison between a chain-owned newspaper and one that was independent for much of the period under study.

This study covered more than a century of newspaper history in order to put the matter of local coverage into its historical context. Newspapers throughout North America did not begin to emphasize local news until the early part of the 20th century (Kaniss, 1991; Rutherford, 1978, pp. 48-76; Wallace, 2005). Thus, the project sought to confirm these historical accounts of the rise of local news during the early decades of the 20th century and its own hypothesis that local news would show a decline that grew more pronounced as time passed, particularly in a chain-owned newspaper.

### **Time Periods**

This study sampled newspapers from three time periods, drawing one "constructed week" from each of the two newspapers in each period. The idea of the constructed week is that a Monday paper is quite different in size and content from a Saturday paper, and indeed, every day of the week has its own characteristics—Wednesday papers, for example, often feature a lot of grocery advertising and

newspapers use the occasion to offer extra sections. So in choosing a sample, the leading researchers on sampling methodologies for content analysis (i.e. Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy, and colleagues, who are so described by Neuendorf, 2007, p. 87) advise selecting each weekday from a separate date within the time period of the study; this is called a “constructed week”. A two-week sample is usually recommended for constructed weeks (Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin, & Chang, 2001; Lacy, Robinson, & Riffe, 1995; Riffe & Freitag, 1997). However, because this study examined every article in the newspaper—rather than just the front page, as many studies do, or just stories that mention certain words or concepts—the sample size was considered large enough with one week for each newspaper in each time period, which resulted in a sample size of 3,745 for the *Star* and 3,384 for the *Citizen*. The one-week samples ranged in total number of articles (N) from a low of 869 articles (the total for the *Citizen* in Period One) to a high of 1479 articles (the total for the *Star* in Period Two).

Another amendment was made to the usual practice of constructed week sampling. Weeks are usually drawn from a one-year time period. This study stretches the constructed week over a much longer time period—up to 40 years—on the assumption that there will be a fair degree of consistency within each time period on the indicators being measured—an assumption which will now be discussed in

detail. It is admittedly a broad assumption, but it's important to remember that the coding is focused, for the most part, on elements of design and layout.

In deference to the extensive work done by Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) on the history of newspaper design in North America, this study uses the time divisions they suggest for the period under study, for the evolution of modern newspaper design. Table 4-1 (also seen in Chapter 3 as Table 3-1), adapted from their book, *The Form of News* (2001) is repeated below for easier reference.

<b>Table 4-1: Modern Newspaper Evolution</b>			
<i>An adapted version of the timeline Barnhurst and Nerone (2001, p. 20) propose for the types and ideals of modern newspaper formation. Used with permission.</i>			
FORMATION	VICTORIAN		MODERN
YEAR	1890-1900-1910-1920-1930-1940-1950-1960-1970-1980-1990-2000		
TYPE	Industrial	Professional	Corporate
IDEAL	Department store	Social map	Index

This study uses the three time periods in the row labeled Type in Table 4-1, which encompass the following years:

- Industrial (which this study calls Victorian), from 1894 to 1929.
- Professional, from 1930 to 1970.
- Corporate, from 1971 to 2004.

Barnhurst and Nerone do not specify cutoff dates for each period because, they say, the transitions occurred gradually, over decades (2001, pp. 20-21). However, the nature of this analysis required that specific start and finish dates be selected before commencing the random selection of the constructed weeks. These decisions were based in part on the availability of the two newspapers in the sample and in part on the Canadian historiography discussed below.

Since the *Toronto Star* was founded in 1892 but only started publishing regularly in 1894, this content analysis sampled both newspapers beginning in 1894, although the *Citizen* had been founded decades earlier.

The first period, the Victorian (which is called Industrial by Barnhurst and Nerone, 2001), runs from 1894 to 1929. Rutherford (1978) calls this period “the golden age of the press” in Canada, an era he considers to run from Confederation in 1867 through to the 1930s Depression. While other historical research does not support a single period of this duration ( i.e. one starting as far back as 1867), a start date of 1890 or thereabouts is supported. This is a distinct period for Rutherford, he explains, because the print media were “almost unchallenged by other media” during this time, they were already well established in this country, and literacy rates in the general population were quite high. So newspapers were accessible, widely read, and the dominant media during this period (p. 38). Among print media, Rutherford adds, the “big city dailies” were at the top of the “press hierarchy” in terms of

readership, public interest and influence (p. 48). During this period, Rutherford does refer to a “general mutation of newspapers which began during the 1890s” which ended “during the 1920s” (p. 48). It is this “mutation” to which other researchers have more recently drawn attention, and which forms the basis for this study’s Period One.

A more recent review of the historical literature (Buxton & McKercher, 1998) notes some groundbreaking thematic historical studies, published since Rutherford’s, which shed significant light on the late Victorian and early modern newspaper periods. Although their start and end dates vary somewhat, Sotiron (1997) and de Bonville (1988, cited in Buxton & McKercher, 1998), and an unpublished doctoral thesis by Walkom (1983), lend support to the inclusion of a Victorian category with a range from the 1890s to the 1920s in this study.

Sotiron (1997) pinpoints the period from 1890 to 1920 as the era when Canadian newspapers began the commercialization process that has resulted in steadily increasing ownership concentration through to the present day. The nature of the newspaper shifted from a role as “public educator” and “servant of the public interest” to a profit-oriented business whose primary goal was increased circulation and the advertising dollars that circulation could attract (Sotiron, 1997, pp. 10-22). At the same time, the types of stories and the way they were treated (rising sensationalism, improved layout, increased use of illustration and a new use of the

front page to display the product) changed the content of newspapers significantly. Also during this period, ruthless competition and escalating production costs drove many newspapers out of business, while rising production costs made it more difficult to start up new ones (p. 6).

The stretch of time from 1884 to 1914 was chosen for study by de Bonville (cited in Buxton & McKercher, 1998) because it covered the rise of mass media in Quebec, whereas Sotiron surveys daily newspapers from throughout Canada. Nevertheless, de Bonville's results are similar: he finds a "massive transformation" occurring in the Quebec print media, which he attributes to the rise of advertising as a new method of financing newspapers, which became increasingly costly to produce. This led publishers to seek the highest possible circulation. Advertisers favoured newspapers that would reach the biggest markets. In their quest to recoup high production costs and attract advertisers, publishers began to see readers as consumers rather than citizens. They also developed a new range of products to offer to a consumer society: local news, "faits divers," entertainment and features. (Buxton & McKercher, 1998, p. 46)

Another reason for introducing a new journalistic era in the late 1920s was the rise of radio, which at around this time became a significant alternative to newspapers for the provision of news and entertainment. Other relatively new

entertainment media—phonographs and motion pictures—were also important during this era. So the “golden age” had started to move on to other media.

The first epoch in this study therefore runs from 1894 to 1929, which roughly corresponds to the period Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) call the Industrial newspaper (which is part of a much longer period they call the Victorian), and the latter part of Rutherford’s “golden age.” It is called Period One: Victorian in this study.

Period Two, the Professional era, begins in 1930 and, still following the Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) scheme, runs through to the 1970s. This was discussed at some length in Chapter 3 so the reasons why it is called Professional, and how that characteristic arose in the 1930s will not be repeated here. However, it is necessary to discuss why the year 1970 was chosen for the end of this period. The decision was helped by three major reports that emanated from the Canadian federal government in the latter half of the 20th century: the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media in 1970, the Royal Commission on Newspapers in 1981, and the Senate Committee on Transportation and Communications’ study of the mass media in Canada, which released an Interim Report in 2004 and a two-volume Final Report in 2006.

The period after 1970 was considered by many to be a new era in Canadian journalism<sup>77</sup>: a time of technological revolution that, in the succeeding decade, led newspapers to begin using computers for many functions. The first decade of this, through the 1970s, saw the introduction of “cold type,” which obviated the need for linotype machines to set type. “For the first time in the history of mass circulation newspapers, journalists will be in a position to control the entire apparatus of production,” hailed the Royal Commission on Newspapers (Canada, 1981, pp. 183-186). In fact, Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) and McKercher (2002) document that the opposite has happened: changes in production technology and newspaper design allowed more corporate control of newspaper operations. But these phenomena were not as apparent in 1981.

It was also a time of increasing corporate concentration in the newspaper industry. The year 1980 is widely considered a watershed in Canadian newspaper history because two prominent newspapers—the *Ottawa Journal* and the *Winnipeg Tribune*—were closed down on the same day by different chains, leaving each city

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<sup>77</sup> However, Rutherford (1978, pp. 89-123) considers the changeover to have started in 1960, when television became very popular and led to, in his words, “the triumph of the multimedia.” His book ends in the 1970s, which makes his longer-term perspective somewhat different than that of today.

with one major newspaper where it had previously enjoyed two competitive English-language dailies. However, as the Royal Commission on Newspapers (1981) reported the following year, the changes that led to this event had begun a decade earlier. It was the culmination<sup>78</sup>, rather than the beginning, of a period of newspaper closures, mergers, acquisitions and consolidations that whittled down the number of independent Canadian newspapers from 39.6 per cent of total English-language circulation in 1970 to 25.7 per cent in 1980. An even more dramatic drop occurred in the French-language sector, where independents accounted for 50.8 per cent of total circulation in 1970 but only 10 per cent a decade later (Canada, 1981, pp. 2-3).

As it turned out, 1980 was not the end of this trend toward consolidation any more than it had been the beginning. Its continuation saw the proportion of independent newspapers drop to 17.4 per cent in 1994, and to less than one per cent by 2000 (Canada, 2004, p. 8). The Senate committee's Interim Report (Canada, 2004) also notes that the sole difference between 1994 and 2000 was the presence of the *Toronto Star* in the 1994 tally, while by 2000, the *Star's* owner, Torstar Corporation, had acquired several other papers and itself become a chain.

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<sup>78</sup> The authors were not aware, of course, that consolidation would continue well beyond what they decried at that point in time. So it was not really the culmination, but perhaps the end of the beginning.

Given these facts, the period from 1970 to 2005 should be considered a single period in Canadian newspaper history, which this study follows Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) in calling the Corporate period. There is support from several Canadian sources for the Barnhurst and Nerone contention that this final time period was one of significantly increased corporate control of the editorial side of newspapers, which, at least during the Professional era, had been discouraged. The Southam family, which owned (or controlled through majority share ownership) the *Citizen* from 1897 to 1996, was known for respecting the individuality and local character of its newspapers (Bruce, 1968, pp. 188-198, 399-402; Rutherford, 1978, p. 94). When Hollinger, in 1996, and later Canwest in 2000, assumed control of the *Citizen*, however, there was significantly more managerial control of editorial content by the chain<sup>79</sup>. For a brief period under Hollinger, from 1995 to 1998, the *Citizen*

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<sup>79</sup> The Senate Committee on Transport and Communications' Interim Report (Canada, 2004) quotes Tom Kent, who chaired the 1981 Royal Commission on Newspapers, who appeared as a witness before the Senate committee on April 29, 2003:

The defence of concentration that used to be made — the claim that kindly corporations did not interfere with journalism — had some basis in truth in the early days. However, that claim has been completely and

attempted to become “Washington Post North”<sup>80</sup>: a national newspaper, rooted in the nation’s capital with significant local coverage—and a flagship for the chain, in keeping with the expressed desire of Hollinger’s owner, Conrad Black, to publish a conservative national newspaper. However, the Washington Post North experiment ended in 1998 when Black launched the *National Post*<sup>81</sup>. It is important to note that

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clearly destroyed by the uninhibited brashness of the Black and Asper ownership. (p. 89)

It also quotes former Ottawa Citizen editor James Travers, who resigned at the time of the Hollinger takeover and later became the *Toronto Star*’s national bureau chief, saying “Canwest is a much different company and behaves in significantly different ways than the Southam Group or even Conrad Black’s Hollinger” (p. 89). During the early days of Canwest’s ownership, there were several high-profile resignations at the *Citizen*, including that of publisher Russell Mills and national columnist Lawrence Martin, due to differences between their editorial judgment and that of the Asper family who own Canwest (Thorne, 2002; Zerbisias, 2002).

<sup>80</sup> This was the expression used within the newspaper at the time to describe Black’s aspiration for the Citizen. The author knows about this from personal experience.

<sup>81</sup> This meant staff cuts for the *Citizen* since, when the *National Post* started up, a significant number of the reporters hired came from the *Citizen*, where they were not

the sample for this study did not include a *Citizen* edition from the 1996-1998 time period, which might arguably have inflated the national results<sup>82</sup>.

### Selecting the constructed weeks

The dates for the constructed weeks in each newspaper were selected from within each time period using Excel's RANDBETWEEN function. Two columns of figures were generated for each time period: one for the week (a number between 1 and 52) and one for the year (a number between 1894 and 1929, inclusive, for Period One; 1930 and 1970 for Period Two; and 1971 and 2005 for Period Three). Thus, if the numbers that came up first were 34 and 1898, the Monday of Week 34 of the year 1898 was selected, using a calendar for that year from the Time and Date website (<http://www.timeanddate.com/>) with a custom request for a Canadian calendar (to help eliminate holidays) and numbered weeks. This procedure was done for each weekday in each time period, until the sample had been selected.

If a holiday or other inadvisable date was indicated (e.g. Sept. 12, 2001) it was eliminated and the next set of numbers generated by RANDBETWEEN was

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replaced. And while *Citizen* stories were required to be shared with the *Post*, the latter did not share its stories with other papers in the chain.

<sup>82</sup> This was not intentional; random sampling did not select any editions from those two years.

used until an appropriate date was found. The same system was used to ensure that every season (winter, spring, summer, fall) was included and that every decade in the period was included at least once.

It has been suggested that the inclusion of war years and other major world events, or the year of Canada's Centennial, 1967, in the study sample might skew the results toward more world or national news. However, there are two answers for this objection: one, that both newspapers included the same dates with the exception of one year<sup>83</sup>. And two, that to eliminate these years would also skew the sample. World events happen at many different times, and one cannot achieve a fair sampling of the news over more than a century without encountering some major events.

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<sup>83</sup> And in that one year, it is true that the June 3, 1953, edition of the Citizen did contain photographs and stories related to the recent Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in England, which had taken place several days earlier. However, it will be noted (see the Results section, Chart 5-6 and Chart 5-8, both of which show year-by-year results) that despite this, the Citizen in 1953 experiences one of the few years in the entire sample when local news far exceeds world news. So the date might have had an influence, but the trend for the Citizen to favor local news in that year was not disrupted.

Some might consider that a sample of only 19 editions of each newspaper would not capture enough of the 111 years in the sample. However, given that each edition was from a different year, 19 years is 17 percent of all the years in the study period.

Once the sample had been selected, it was then necessary to obtain copies of the newspapers in question. Only if every page and article in the newspaper was legible and its photographs at least semi-visible, in both newspapers, was that date included in the sample. Because it so often happened that a page, or portion of a page, could not be deciphered, a complete set of “back-up” dates was selected at the start. Thus, if one was in the library, examining and photocopying the pages, one could stop after finding a page that was not acceptable and start immediately on the back-up edition. Only if that edition was also unacceptable would it be necessary to select some new dates.

The *Toronto Star* was, fortunately, available in PDF format throughout the entire study period, though the database called *Pages of the Past*, now part of Proquest but initially an independent database. Carleton University’s MacOdrum Library had this database, as well as the *Ottawa Citizen* for most of the years in question. Photocopying the *Citizen* pages proved difficult however, because neither at Carleton nor at the City of Ottawa’s special Ottawa Room (which has a complete collection of the *Ottawa Citizen* on microfilm) was it possible to photocopy the entire

page on a single piece of paper in such a way that the design could be examined and stories were legible, at the same time. Finally, it was discovered that the National Archives had complete sets of both the *Citizen* and the *Star*, and had technical staff who would make photocopies on 11 x 17 paper, ensuring that they were legible, for a minimal charge to students. This was a great breakthrough, and this study is deeply grateful to the National Archives, both for its collection and for its willingness to make most of the copies required for this study. The cost was still significant, but not nearly as much as it might have been.

At last, with all the pages collected, the study sample took its final form, which is detailed in Figure 4-1.

It is also important to explain that in Period One, the *Citizen* had three different forms: the *Morning Citizen*, the *Evening Citizen* and simply, the *Citizen*. In that time period only, the three editions of the paper were each represented twice in the sample. While these editions had different names, they are in reality the same newspaper. The National Archives does not consider them separate newspapers: its records contain, usually, just one of the three for any particular date. The National Archives of Canada being a highly respected organization whose collection is gathered and documented by some of the nation's most highly regarded professionals, it would seem acceptable to follow their lead and treat these three editions of the *Citizen* as one in this study.

The Toronto Star also has different editions, which are less easy to recognize because the only difference is the number of stars shown on the masthead (something most readers probably don't notice): one star, two star, three star, all the way to five stars. The earliest edition printed—the one-star —goes out first in the trucks that travel farthest and reaches the most distant—probably rural—readers. As the number of stars increases, the readers of these papers live in more urban areas.

In later years, the *Citizen* adopted a system similar to the *Star*'s; there were still different editions but they did not have different names, at least to the public. However, the earliest, which actually switched to morning delivery in 1980, was referred to internally as the Valley edition because it went out to readers in the rural areas and small towns of the Ottawa Valley, and had a special page of Valley news. The latest edition to leave the plant was called the Final, and because the *Citizen* was an afternoon paper for most of its existence (it completed a gradual switch to morning delivery in 1995), the final edition had a noon deadline and went out for home delivery in the afternoon. After the *Citizen* completed the switch to morning delivery, there continued to be two evening deadlines for copy and two editions, but in most cases there were not many changes between the two.

Thus, it was this researcher's conclusion that, whether the paper was called the *Morning Citizen* or the *Citizen* with an internal name of Valley Edition, and

whether readers were aware of the difference or not, it was still substantially the same newspaper as the *Evening Citizen* or the Citizen with an internal name of Final Edition. In the first case, because of the different names, the two might have seemed like two different newspapers and indeed, as we will see in the

**Figure 4-1: The study sample**

The sample included the following randomly selected dates; entire editions of both newspapers were coded. \*Note: A mistake was made that was not discovered until after the coding process was complete: The date of the Friday paper in Period Two is Jan. 22 1954 for the Star, and June 5, 1953 for the Citizen. N = number of articles in edition.

**Period One: 1894-1929**

Date of newspaper	N for Toronto Star	N for Ottawa Citizen
Monday, May 17, 1920	205	203
Tues, March 21, 1905	158	132
Wed. Dec. 27, 1922	215	172
Thurs. Oct. 23, 1902	128	129
Fri. Aug. 5, 1898	43	87
Sat. Aug. 28, 1915	139	146
Total N	888	869

**Period Two: 1930-1970**

Date of newspaper	N for Toronto Star	N for Ottawa Citizen
Mon Apr 17, 1933	290	196
Tues Nov 5, 1968	159	157
Wed Feb 8 1967	183	183
Thurs Oct 24, 1940	336	253
Fri June 5, 1953*		209
Fri Jan 22, 1954*	185	
Sat Nov 29, 1941	326	284
Total N	1479	1282

**Period Three: 1971-2005**

Date of newspaper	N for Toronto Star	N for Ottawa Citizen
Mon Nov 22, 1982	148	152
Tues March 13, 1984	276	194
Wed Dec. 4, 2002	163	190
Thu April 15, 1993	202	189
Fri May 11, 1973	218	171
Sat Feb 11, 1995	231	231
Sun July 29, 2001	140	106
Total N	1378	1233

<b>Total N entire sample:</b> 7129	<b>Total N, Toronto Star:</b> 3745	<b>Total N, Ottawa Citizen:</b> 3384
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results, they often *looked like* two different newspapers, with different design on the front page. But the news they contained was, to the best of my knowledge, substantially the same. And so this study adopted the National Archives' policy, that the Citizen was always a single newspaper with different editions, as was the Star, and that it was not possible to ensure that the same edition was collected each time. It was, however, essential to ensure that all pages photocopied as being in a single edition of the paper were, in fact, from the same edition. As noted at the top of Figure 4-1, there was one mistake made in that regard, that was not discovered until after all the coding had been done and the results compiled, so it was too late to go back and do it again.

Thus, in every case except one the same date was used for both newspapers, meaning that a similar set of nonlocal news was available to both<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> It has been determined that both newspapers were almost certainly subscribers to international wire services from the beginning of the study period. Gene Allen at Ryerson University has written about the availability of the Associated Press wire service in Canada (Allen, 2006) during the period from 1894 to 1917, before the Canadian Press wire service was formed. His 2006 paper, "News across the border: Associated Press in Canada, 1894-1917", states that Ontario newspapers were able to get the AP service relatively cheaply and the major dailies did subscribe. In a

newspapers. While it is unfortunate that the one edition for 1953/1954 was not sampled from the same day, it is not crucial to the results. We are, after all, not looking for precise numbers in this study, but only the general trends in the amount of news and priority given to each geographic category in each newspaper over many years.

The next chapter will introduce the study results.

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personal communication, Allen gave me the name of the person at the AP head office in New York who might be willing to check in the AP annual reports for the early years of my study sample. She is currently on vacation but did send a personal reply that she would contact me on her return. These reports listed which newspapers in Canada subscribed to the service in each year.

## Chapter 5: Results

The results in this chapter show how two Canadian metropolitan newspapers altered their news geography—and consequently, the sense of place they constructed—over 112 years from 1894 to 2005. Very early in the 20th century, local news was a top priority for the *Star* and by the 1920s it was also a top priority for the *Citizen*. By Period Two, the Professional period, from 1930-1970, local news and non-local stories with a “local angle” or focus, were given good play<sup>85</sup> in both newspapers. Local news was mixed with national and international news in all sections of the newspaper, from the “hard news” at the front, to the editorial pages, sports, family/women’s pages, business and arts/entertainment.

In Period Three, however, local news stories became less frequent and less prominent in the newspapers studied. There were definite ups and downs from year to year, but the overall trend was clear and pronounced. In the Corporate era, after 1970, local stories rose, then declined in number and in prominence in the *Star* and fell even lower in number and prominence in the *Citizen*, while national stories

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<sup>85</sup> The term “play” is a colloquial term for the story’s place in the news hierarchy: where it is located in the paper as a whole and on the page, its headline size, and how much space is allocated to it, including photographs and graphics that accompany the story.

showed a steady, continuing increase in number and in prominence in the *Star* and a dramatic jump in both number and prominence in the *Citizen*. However, there was some evidence that individual local stories, particularly local-angle stories, were being given higher priority than ever before—in terms of their placement, length and headline size—and that the major reason for their overall decline in priority was that there were a lot fewer of them.

Overall, the balance between local and non-local stories shifted over time, so that by Period Three (1970-2005), the gap between the amounts of local and non-local content was much wider, particularly in the *Citizen*, than it had been in either earlier time period, with a far greater proportion of the news being non-local.

At the same time, in Period Three local news was segregated into its own section and moved back in the paper in the *Citizen*, and for a short time in the *Star* (which, however, moved it back to the front section after a brief segregation in the 1960s). However, even in the *Citizen* the most interesting local stories did have a chance to appear on the front page, and local stories were included in topical sections like sports, arts/entertainment and an increasing number of new sections focused on consumer topics, from homes to automobiles to travel. However, as the number of stories on the front page declined to a mere handful, where there had been dozens on a single front page early in the century, the chance any particular category of story, including local, had of appearing on the front page became more

remote. The establishment of a separate local section with its own section front assured that at least one section of the newspaper would give its best play to local news, as the local lost prominence in the newspaper overall.

In this study there are qualitative observations, particularly of newspaper design and how this is used to “construct” a sense of place, as well as quantitative results from the coding. The two are linked in the phenomenon of sense of place in newspapers.

The first section of this chapter will explore and describe the data set as a whole. The second will review the qualitative observations by time period, showing the major trends and analyzing some individual stories and pages that exemplify those trends. The third section of this chapter is the quantitative results, presented through a review of the hypotheses stated at the beginning of this dissertation, and the quantitative results that pertain directly to each of these hypotheses, with some analysis of those results.

### Exploring the Data: Overall Themes

The sample consisted of 38 newspapers—19 editions each of the *Toronto Star* and the *Ottawa Citizen*—containing a total of 7,129 articles. They were divided into three time periods:

- 1894-1929 (Period One, six editions of each newspaper, one for each day of the week except Sunday),
- 1930-1970 (Period Two, six editions of each newspaper, one for each day of the week except Sunday), and
- 1970-2005 (Period Three, seven editions of each newspaper, one for each day of the week including Sunday).

Appendix E shows the dates and numbers of articles in each edition and the total number of articles (N) for each time period, each newspaper, and the overall sample.

The basic unit of analysis was the article, but its context (on the page and in the newspaper as a whole) was essential to the analysis, particularly the notion of priority, described in Chapter 4 and analyzed more fully below. Thus, certain facts about each article's contextual arrangement were coded—for example, where on the page the article appeared and how its headline's size compared to others on the page—particularly when those contextual details related to the priority assigned to individual articles in the hierarchy of priority constructed by the newspaper (a concept more fully discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). Qualitative observations were

also made, and are detailed in the next section of this chapter. Many of the comments in this section are based upon those notes.

The data show several things worth noting at the start about how these two Canadian newspapers changed over time. The earliest papers, from Period One, featured a large number of short articles on just a few pages. Over time, story length increased, as did the number of pages in each edition, resulting in fewer articles per page but more and longer articles in the paper as a whole. Advertisements also increased in size, as did photographs—in Period One nearly all the photographs<sup>86</sup> in the sample were one-column “head shots” featuring a single face. In Period Two the photographs increased in size and scope, including many more “medium shots” which feature some of the surroundings, and “long shots” which feature a great deal of the surroundings (Lewis, 1995, p. 138).

In Period Three, the use of colour photographs and graphics became central to newspaper design, influencing what many have referred to as a “design revolution” from the 1960s to the 1990s. Photographs were played larger and pages—particularly the front page and section fronts—often featured a “centerpiece”

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<sup>86</sup> And there are not many—the mean number of photos per page in Period One is 0.68 while in Period Two it's 3.3 and in Period Three it is 2.9 (keep in mind that photos got larger in Period Three).

story that grabbed the attention with a vivid photo and headline, with lots of space devoted to the story. Layout began to be done in “modules,” or rectangles, to keep related elements together on the page. While some have called this change in newspaper form a “design revolution,” Barnhurst and Nerone (1991, 2001) dispute the idea that the changes in Period Three were revolutionary, instead showing how they built on trends established decades earlier, some a century or more. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, Barnhurst and Nerone do link the late 20th century design changes, and the resulting focus on design in the newspaper industry, to a rise in corporate control of the news in Period Three (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003a, 2003b).

It is clear that the two newspapers in this sample adopted new design features at different rates. In Period One, as discussed in Chapter 3 and illustrated in Figure 3-1 and 3-2 in that chapter, the *Star* was quick to adopt design features that Barnhurst and Nerone call Modern<sup>87</sup>, while the *Morning Citizen*, for most of Period

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<sup>87</sup> Thomas Walkom points out, in his 1983 dissertation (pp. 212-219, 252-257) that the Toronto newspapers were using elements of modern front-page design as early as the 1870s. The *Star* in particular—which doesn’t appear in his discussion of the semiotics of Toronto newspapers from 1871-1911, until the first decade of the 20th century—used design as “the dominant language of the newspaper ... The new

One, kept a number of Victorian design features, particularly on the front page. (The *Evening Citizen* seems, from the examples in this sample, to have moved to modern layout on page one much sooner than its morning counterpart.) Modern design characteristics incorporated by the *Star*, first, and later the *Citizen*, included:

- a front page that announced the day's most important or interesting stories, in part by selecting only a few of them. This "radically simplified the news of the day" (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p. 194).
- the use of varying headline sizes, on individual pages and in the paper as a whole, to create a hierarchy of importance among stories,
- longer stories where warranted by timeliness and importance,
- a tendency to sensationalize and give extensive coverage to particular stories,
- the use of photographs and other graphic material to break up the text and make pages—particularly the front page—more attractive, and
- gradual adoption of a horizontal layout, with stories and headlines running over two, three or more columns and often, headlines across the top of the page. (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, pp. 180-254; Walkom, 1983).

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language de-emphasized the level of the word, concentrating instead on the level of style and presentation" (p. 252).

While the *Star* had adopted these practices by 1902, the second randomly selected year in the Period One sample (see Figure 2 in Chapter 3), the *Citizen*—particularly the *Morning Citizen*—did not pick up the full complement of modern design trends until the 1920 newspaper in this sample, the fifth randomly selected year (out of six) in Period One<sup>88</sup>. This had a methodological implication: Because the

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<sup>88</sup> It is likely that the Ottawa *Evening Citizen* used these front-page design techniques earlier than 1920, and indeed, the 1898 edition in our sample, which happens to be an *Evening Citizen*, has five columns of stories on the front page, and only two of classified ads, compared to the *Morning Citizen*'s single column of news and remaining columns all classifieds, in the 1902 and 1905 editions that are included in our sample. The Period One sample features two each of the *Morning* and *Evening Citizens*, plus two simply called The *Citizen*, from after the two were merged. The morning edition was aimed at the business and professional class, while the evening edition was designed for the working class. The *Evening Citizen*'s modern front page, like the paper's one-cent price, was meant to appeal to as broad as possible an audience, many of whom purchased the newspaper on the street, not as subscribers, and read it after returning home from work. Thus, the *Evening Citizen*, which was started in 1897 as Wilson M. Southam's first major change after purchasing the *Citizen*, featured a different design from the morning edition, which

priority markers chosen for measurement in Period One had to apply to both newspapers throughout the time period, front-page placement therefore could not be used as a marker in Period One. However, headline size and story length were used consistently to create a hierarchy on inside pages in both newspapers, with longer stories bearing the largest headlines almost uniformly at the top of the page and both the headline size and story length descending throughout the page. This tendency was actually more pronounced in Period One, in these two newspapers, than it was later in the 20th century<sup>89</sup>. So these were the markers used for the quantification of priority in Period One: headline size, story length and position on the page.

Results on this aspect of the study confirm the trends outlined by Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) for the three time periods adopted from their analysis, which this study calls Victorian<sup>90</sup> (1894-1929), Professional (1930-1970) and Corporate (1971-2005).

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continued as the *Morning Citizen*. (Bruce, 1968, pp. 70-109)

<sup>89</sup> In Period Three, it was often the case that the largest headline on the page appeared in the middle, rather than the top of the page, and sometimes a story at the bottom of the page had a headline as large, or almost as large, as one at the top.

<sup>90</sup> Barnhurst and Nerone actually see this study's Period One as a subset of the Victorian period, which they call Industrial. Since this study only includes the

Victorian newspapers mixed stories of all geographic types and topics (though special pages or sections began for business, sports, and family news during this period) in a relative hodge-podge that represented the world as relatively “unmappable”— something the individual could never fully comprehend. Gradually, through Period One, the rise of the front page as a “social map” was apparent—see Figure 3-2 in Chapter 3 and compare it with Figures 3-1 (Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991; 2001, pp. 185-254). This new front page was a hallmark of modernity, in that it “shifted from the abundant complexity of the Victorian era to the fixed simplicity of modernism” (2001, p. 194).

One of the primary changes found by Barnhurst and Nerone (1991, 2001) was a marked decline in the number of articles on the front page over time. This study examined not just front pages, but all pages, in this regard. And as Table 5-1 shows, this study found the same kind of decline that Barnhurst and Nerone noted

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Industrial portion of the Victorian period, I have chosen to call it by the latter name to make clear that this was a very different design era.

<b>Table 5-1: Total Number of Articles on Page by Time Period</b>			
<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Mean # of Articles on Page</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Total Number of Articles in Period</b>
1894-1929	16.13	7.467	1757
1930-1970	13.19	8.477	2761
1971-2005	5.79	8.213	2611

on front pages, in the number of articles per page on all pages in the paper as time went by. In the *Toronto Star*, the number of articles on each page (excluding pages that are totally advertising, tables, comics or puzzles and therefore were not coded) varies from a high of 43 on page 17 of April 17, 1933 (in Period Two), to a low of one story per page<sup>91</sup> on 22 different pages in Period Two and 126 different pages in Period Three. In Period Three, there are no pages that feature more than 25 stories, and this maximum occurs on Friday, May 11, 1973, the earliest paper in the Period Three sample.

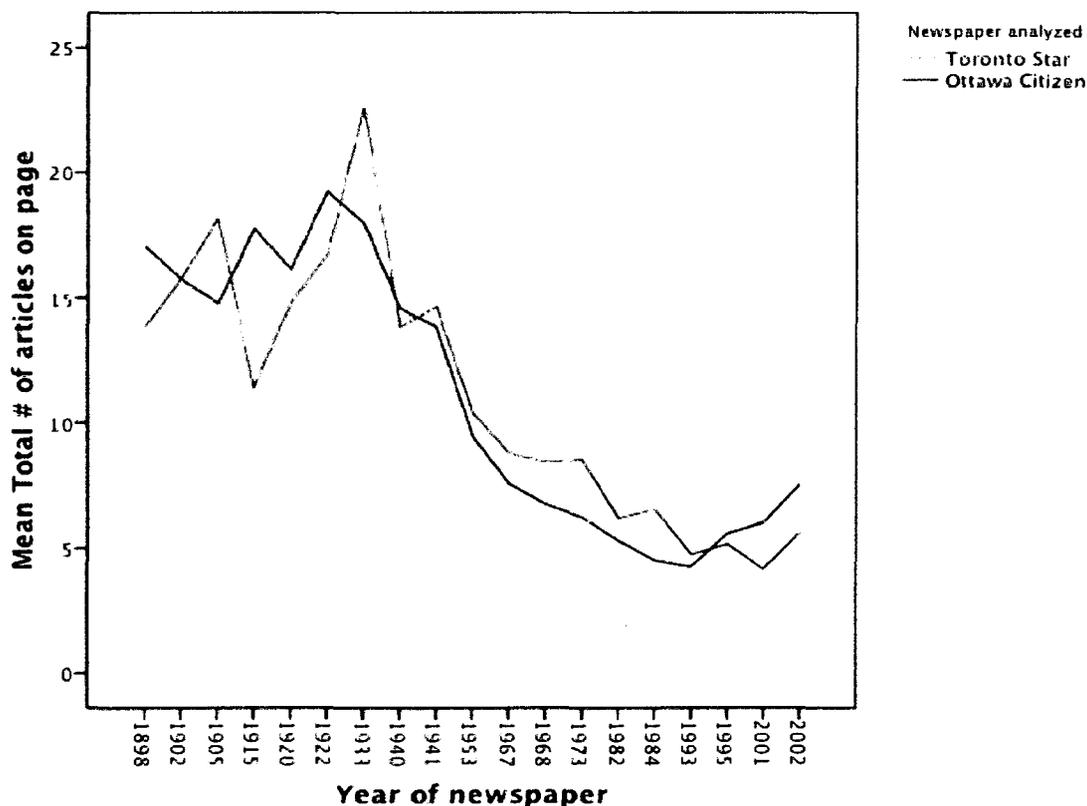
The result of packing more stories onto each page, as they did in the early years of this sample, is that the stories are shorter. Most stories in Period One newspapers in this sample are very short by today's standards. The mean story length in the *Toronto Star* for Period One is 0.31 columns, which is about one-third of

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<sup>91</sup> Only pages containing at least one article were coded, thus, pages with only advertising or features such as comics were not included in the analysis.

a column. Mean story length increases to 0.44 column in Period Two, which is just under half a column. It more than doubles, to 0.93 column in Period Three, which is nearly a full column<sup>92</sup>. One third of the Period One sample are stories of one-tenth of a column or less, while two-thirds are 0.3 column or less. Thus, a story longer than a third of a column is considered long, in Period One.

In Period Two, most stories are not much longer, but there are more longer stories. Thus, when SPSS is asked to divide the Period Two sample of the *Star* or the *Citizen* into equal thirds by story length, the cutoff points are 0.1 and 0.4 columns length, and two-thirds are less than half a column long. A story longer than two-fifths



**Chart 5-1: Mean # of articles on page by year of sample**

of a column is considered a “long” story in Period Two—not much different than Period One.

In Period Three, however, the cutoff points in the *Star* are 0.3 column or less for “short” stories, 0.3 to 1.0 column for medium stories, and a “long” story is something more than a full column in length. In the *Citizen* the cutoff points are 0.3 and 0.9 column. These numbers are significantly different from earlier time periods, and they change the layout and appearance of the newspaper substantially. The greater variability in story length in Period Three makes it easier to assign priority to certain stories simply by making them longer. A longer story in the modern, more horizontal layout requires a large headline simply by virtue of its size, and a longer story will take up more of the page, making a more significant visual impact. There is more white space around longer stories when they run over several columns and the headlines are horizontal, which is more often the case in Period Three. White space helps attract attention as well. And because modern layout does not permit too much grey type without a photograph or graphic, longer stories are often given even more space because they are assigned photographs and/or graphics that go with them on the page<sup>93</sup>. All these things make it very obvious which stories are high priority in Period Three newspapers.

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<sup>93</sup> The coding in this study included any accompanying photos, tables or graphics in

The front page of 1885 was a dense jungle of news items and, quite often, advertisements; it gave an impression of diversity, randomness, and complexity, leaving it to the reader to make sense—or draw a map—of the world. Gradually, newspapers lost the habit of placing dozens of stories on the front page in narrow columns. The contemporary front pages are far more tightly structured and sparsely populated; they also bear frequent evidence of the newspaper’s concern to map the world for its readers. For example, the primitive headline, with its multiple decks stacked vertically above a single column, offered an outline of the story. The modern headline tells the reader the point—the import—of the story. The changes suggest a subtle shift in the meaning of headlines (Barnhurst & Nerone, 1991, p. 7)

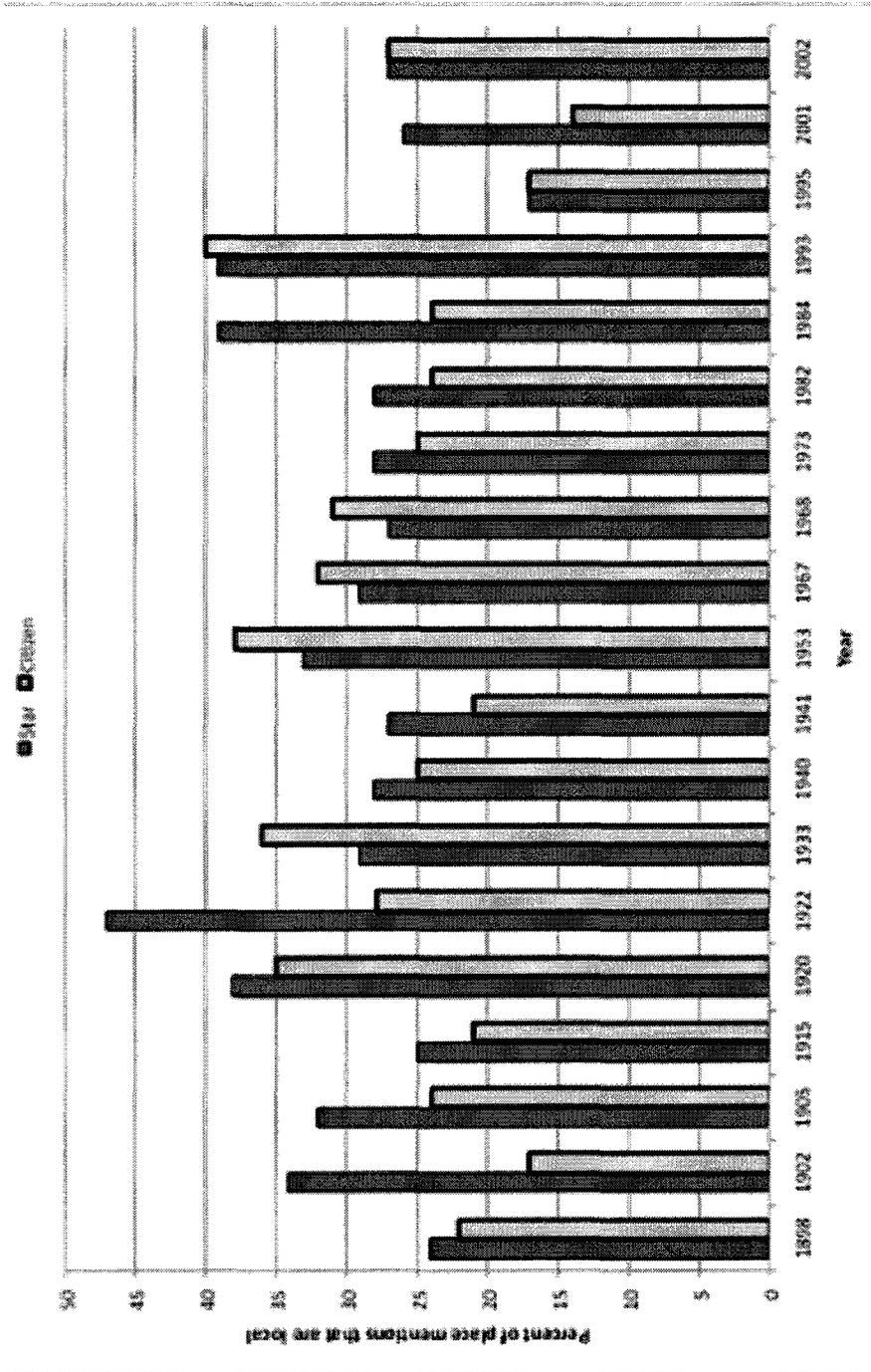
One other thing to discuss, before starting into the detailed qualitative and quantitative results, is the number of local places mentioned, relative to all places mentioned, in the newspapers surveyed. Naming local places is among the techniques for “placing the local within stories”, discussed in Chapter 3. Data was

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the length of the story.

collected on this and Chart 5-2 on the preceding page summarizes it for the entire sample.

Note in Chart 5-2 that during Period One (up to 1929), the *Star* (red bars) is consistently higher than the *Citizen* (yellow) in the percentage of local places mentioned. However, this changes in Period Two (1930-1970), when the *Citizen*, more often than the *Star*, has the higher percentage. In Period Three, the *Star* returns to its former role as the newspaper that mentions local places most, except in 1993 when the *Citizen* is higher, and two years when the two newspapers are equal in this respect: 1995 and 2002.



**Chart 5-2: Percentage Local Place Mentions by Year, in the Citizen (yellow), and the Star (red)**

## Part Two: Qualitative Results and Analysis

It becomes clear in the qualitative observations that are about to be introduced that Toronto and Ottawa have local identities, shaped and constructed in these newspapers, and that their identities incorporate non-local as well as local elements. As the examples will show, this is partly because many non-local events take place within the local space of these cities: Ottawa is the national capital and contains many foreign embassies and missions as well as many national governmental and non-governmental agencies and institutions. Toronto is Canada's acknowledged business capital: it contains the major stock exchange that Canadians look to as an indicator of economic times, and many head offices are located there, not just of businesses but also those of non-profit and non-governmental organizations. Toronto is also the provincial capital of Ontario, and as can be seen in the pages of its première local daily newspaper, Toronto's identity includes Queen's Park—the seat of the provincial legislature—and the other provincial government institutions in its midst. In Canada's federal system the provinces have significant power, and their jurisdictions include health care, education, the environment, trade and commerce. So it could be said that for people in Ontario, Toronto is arguably as important a capital city as Ottawa. However, it is also evident by reading these two newspapers that Toronto—at least in the pages of the *Toronto Star*—lacks the

international dimension that Ottawa possesses as an international capital. Let us now look at the results.

### **Period One**

As mentioned in Chapter 3 on newspaper form, the front pages of the *Morning Citizen* in two of the early years—1902 and 1905—do not use Modern format as defined by Barnhurst and Nerone (2001). They are largely classified ads, with a “Pith of the News” column at far right summarizing a few interesting stories.

However, on all other pages apart from page 1, even in the earliest newspapers in the sample there is a hierarchy from top to bottom of page, with larger headlines on top and story length another measure of priority.

In the 1902 *Morning Citizen*, the biggest story of the day, the resignation of federal cabinet minister Joseph-Israël Tarte, does not appear until page 5 and it totally contradicts a page 1 mention of Tarte, in the column called “Pith of the News”, which says he’s about to make an official trip to Paris! Page 1 also calls him Hon. Mr. Tarte whereas page 5 doesn’t—Hon. being an honorific used for a federal cabinet minister. So it seems that the front page may have been printed—or set in type—a day or more before page 5. Page 5’s story on Tarte is really long by the standards of the day, with the biggest headline in the whole paper. The second-largest headline in the paper is on the next page (6) and concerns the Toronto Argonauts football team.

This is a marked contrast to the *Toronto Star* on the same day. Its layout and design are much more readable and inviting. The front page is used in the way we are now accustomed to, with no advertising, and a large cartoon giving it visual attractiveness. Importantly, the *Star* emphasizes the local strongly, giving it pride of placement at the top of the page and down the left side. The national is the focus in the center, however, with the cartoon featuring Sir Robert Borden (not yet prime minister; Wilfrid Laurier is) and the resignation of a key cabinet minister (Tarte) the subject of three articles, showing early indications of the *Star's* later tendency to “go to town” on one issue, devoting many stories to the same topic in a single edition. Three articles on the front page and another on page 3 deal with the Tarte resignation, as does the cartoon.

However, it is really interesting to note that the front page of the 1898 *Citizen*, which is called the *Evening Citizen*, is *much* more reader-friendly than the *Citizen* fronts in 1902 and 1905, with different sized headlines, only two columns of classified ads, and the most important news on the front page: for example, the story “WAR IS OVER”, datelined Cuba, clearly announcing the withdrawal of American troops and the end of the Spanish-American War. The difference in the 1898 version is that it's an *Evening Citizen*, a different edition of the same newspaper, and the one that was Southam's pitch for the working class reader. The previous two editions mentioned were *Morning Citizens*.

Given the differences between the *Morning* and *Evening Citizens*, the study sample contains two of each, from the years when the two clearly distinct editions operated. After 1920, the paper was simply the *Ottawa Citizen*, though it certainly had different editions, even in the 1980s: the Valley edition (which had local news aimed at rural readers, and was the edition that went out first) and the Final edition (which went out in the afternoon with updates and often a new front page). The name of the edition is often on the front page up at the top, though readers usually don't notice it. When the *Citizen* switched to morning delivery, these editions changed but there were different deadlines for the early edition and late one, and pages that got redone were called "makeovers".

The *Star* also had, and continues to have, different editions, which are called the one-*Star*, two-*Star*, three-*Star*, etc. and denoted by little *Stars* at the top of page 1. Unfortunately, the selection of newspaper in the National Archives did not offer a consistent edition so that we could sample the same one every time, though in the more recent years it does offer different versions of pages – each edition only changes a few pages in the newspaper as a whole. By simply choosing what was available in the National Archives and the Pages of the Past database, the sample ended up with a random selection of editions.

## **Placing the local in the newspaper as a whole:**

### Priority given to local stories:

**1. placement:** Throughout Period One, local stories get good play on the front page (except the aforementioned *Citizen* front pages that are not in the Modern form and therefore not indicative of priority) and in the news sections of both newspapers, where all news stories, regardless of their geographic origin, are mixed. Even within columns of short news stories (known as briefs) the items could be mixed, which is somewhat jarring to the reader of today! For example, on page 3 of the *Star* for 1898 is a column “The Day in Paragraph” that contains a mixture of local (2), provincial ((4), national (3) and world (7) briefs. Note: This story was classified as world because we ruled that the broadest category within a story would determine its geographic category. However, given that parts of it focus on local events, it was also classified as Local Angle.

The mixture of stories in the papers as a whole, as well as in a column like the “Day in Paragraph”, places the local in the context of the world, giving it equal status with stories from other countries and places in Canada. The column “Day in Paragraph”, for example, begins with a piece about Toronto’s Palace hotel, then an item about Montreal, then something about Brantford. There’s a report on relations between England and Russia, something about Pope Leo XIII writing an encyclical that applies to Catholics in Spain, coming elections in Cape Town, etc. This could be

seen as a way of saying that our locality matters in the larger world, and stories about ourselves are of equal importance to those other stories. This type of column, with mixed geographic categories, we do not see in future Time Periods in this study. There are always columns of briefs, but they generally are connected by either geography or topic, such as sports, entertainment or arts news.

The 1922 papers illustrate some important distinctions between the two papers in terms of story placement. First, the *Star* and *Citizen* have totally different stories on their front pages. The *Star's* focuses intensely on the local municipal election, particularly the mayoralty race, and the issue of “radials”, which are public transit rail lines going outside the city. Indeed, this focus on the mayoralty, the election, and the radials issue dominates the first few pages of the *Star* on this date.

The *Citizen's* front page is much more cosmopolitan, as might be thought to befit a national capital like Ottawa. The municipal election coverage (Ontario has municipal elections on the same day throughout the province) on the front is confined to one article down the extreme right-hand side, and the “street railway issue”—a major issue in that campaign—gets a discreet two-inch story at the bottom of the page. The remaining stories on the *Citizen* front are national and world.

Second, the two newspapers have very different styles in typography, layout and design, as noted above. This continues in 1922, the last paper in the Period One

sample. The *Citizen* is much more grey, the *Star* is using illustrations much more often, and beginning to set some stories in boxes to give them more prominence. Still other items, which seem to be editorials, are set in larger type with more white space so they really stand out on the page (these are on p. 1, 4, and 7 in the *Star*, not just the editorial page). These opinionated *Star* articles, not bylined, are really “in your face” and much more so than the *Citizen*’s editorials.

Also, the *Star* is “championing” causes: in the 1922 paper it is the “radials” proposed by the Hydro authority, these are commuter railways going out of the city via the waterfront. The *Star* makes a huge deal out of these and expresses its opinion in every article on the matter, of which there are many! It’s the one election issue for the *Star*, and every ward, as well as the mayoralty, is made to focus on that one issue, it seems, in addition to separate articles on the issue itself, and these huge editorials. More than one addresses this radials topic, but one is about taxes and the mayoralty candidate who will supposedly lower them, and another is about the alleged superiority of this candidate.

On page 4 of the *Star*, an editorial denouncing the “waterfront land grab” by the Hydro commission to build rapid transit not controlled by the TTC, to out of town places like Port Credit and London, is set in larger type with more white space, so it leaps off the page. The whole tone the paper takes toward this “grab” debate, and



Figure 5-1: Story from Toronto Star, page 3, Aug. 5, 1898

the election that the issue seems to dominate (according to the extremely biased reporting, which talks of almost nothing else), is really one-sided. One has no idea who the other candidates for mayor are, apart from R.J. Fleming, though the incumbent mayor, McGuire, is mentioned occasionally as a villain in the “grab” debate who tricked council into passing an agreement significantly different from earlier versions, without them realizing the significant detriment to Toronto – according to the *Star*. This is on page 4 in great detail.

And on page 1 there is a box – looks like an ad, except that it seems to be the newspaper’s editorial endorsements, saying “Vote for These”. Yet the editorial page is actually page 6. The latter looks more like the traditional editorial page, and contains regular editorials.

The *Citizen* also participates in this type of local campaign to change things, but not quite so boldly. In the 1915 paper, the *Citizen* has an editorial that’s sort of like an announcement, that repeats six times on different pages in the Saturday paper ( pages 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13). It’s a campaign to get people to sign petitions to city council asking that the number of establishments licensed to serve alcohol in the city be reduced. The petition is located at the *Citizen*’s business office. I coded it as a story every time it appeared, because it is part of the story environment on each of those pages, and each time it’s in a box that makes it stand out on the page.

**2. headline size:** Even in the earliest papers, headline size distinguishes the important stories from the rest. However, in the earliest papers, headlines are only one column wide and there are only a couple of possible headline fonts and sizes, so the distinction between sizes is not great. A headline's depth (there can be many lines, interspersed with smaller sub-headlines) seems to be as important as the height of its letters in ascribing importance to a story. By 1915, the *Star* was moving beyond this style but the *Citizen* wasn't yet doing so, resulting in the following description of their front pages in my notes:

The *Citizen* front page begins to have more standout headlines but only three basic sizes are used. A few have subheadings as well. Everything is still one column width. And there are some smaller headlines at the top of the page, though size is graduated from top (biggest heads) to bottom (smallest heads). So this is sort of an intermediate style, getting into the hierarchical setup for sure, but not entirely hierarchical.

The *Star's* front page on the same day looks ten years ahead of the *Citizen's* (as usual) with a huge headline right across the top, that applies to several stories in fact, and a definite hierarchical structure to the page. Illustration also improves the page—there is none in *Citizen*, but the *Star* features a map plus two photos (those are still just head

shots, though later in the paper, on the turn page from page 1 actually, there are two long shots! This is a first.)

**3. story length** – As mentioned above in connection with the Tarte resignation story, the most important stories tend to get length, even in the oldest papers in the sample. In the 1898 *Citizen*, which uses a modern layout on its front page, local stories are definitely featured on the front page, and one of the longest is a particularly interesting local-angle story (with a World domain) that features an Ottawa woman alleged to have been duped by a New York financier. After a lengthy lead paragraph, the second paragraph reads:

These facts, if they were all, would not perhaps be considered especially interesting to the people of Ottawa. But when it is known that one of the Capital's fair citizens is among the victims of this designing schemer the story at once assumes a different aspect – no less a person, in fact, than Miss Lillie O'Dell, of 158 Nicholas street. She is alleged by the New York press to have lost \$1,500.

The story goes on about the swindler and not Miss O'Dell until the end, when a section appears to have been added (to what appears to be a wire story) about a *Citizen* reporter's attempt to reach her and the reporter's resulting discussion with her mother, who told a very different story and claimed her daughter had lost only

the amount of money it required to consult a lawyer when she suspected the swindler of duplicity.

**4. photo with story** – The earliest papers have no photographs at all, and in Period One most of the photos are small head shots without context. However, as noted above, the 1915 papers begin to use photography with context.

**5. number of local stories** – When looking at the simple numbers of stories in each geographic category (as opposed to the percentages) the charts for Period One show the *Star* with more local stories than any other category in 1902, 1905 and 1922. The *Citizen* generally shows more world stories than anything else in Period One, however, the *Citizen* does have more local stories in 1920 than anything else. See Charts 5-3 and 5-4. It is also important to look at the percentage of stories in each category. This will be discussed further in the quantitative results section of this chapter.

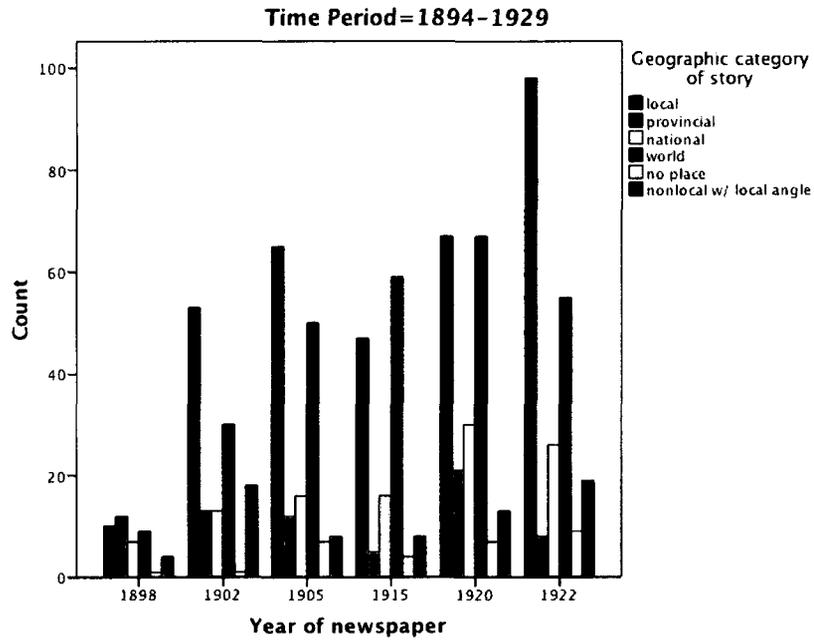
*City section: Are local stories segregated or mixed?*

Throughout Period One, local news stories are mixed with news stories from other geographic categories throughout the paper. This is also true in the sections, which start to develop in Period One, for sports, business and families, but are not separate from other pages in the paper. In other words, they are mixed in, as single pages in some cases, or more than one page together, but there are not enough

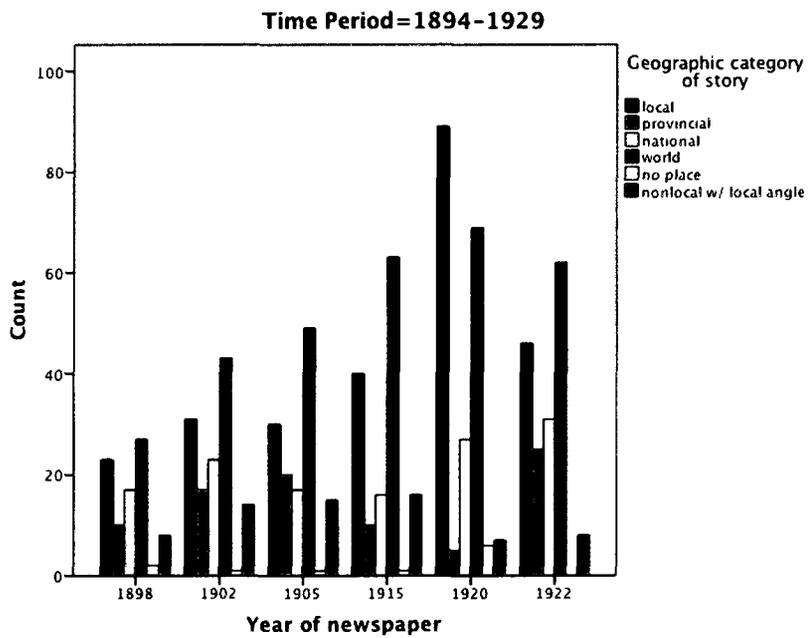
total pages in the paper to produce a separate section with a section front.

Photographs: amount of context included

The earliest papers have no photographs at all, and in the later years of Period One, most of the photos are small head shots without context. However, as noted above, the 1915 *Star* begins to use some photographs with context—that is, surroundings—which is most likely to evoke a sense of place. Photos on page 15 show, for the first time in the sample, a couple of long shots, the type of pictures that include the most context, taking a long view of the scene. One is of the Recruiting Tent of the Toronto Women's Home Guard, this edition being during World War One. The other photo is of the drill grounds (as in where they practice marching) of these same women. Evidently (the caption says) the crowd at the women's recruiting tent was so large, the men's league had to come over to help restore order. Note: Although this display of three photos – two Long shots and one close-up of the formidable woman who heads the Women's Home Guard in Toronto – is on a back page, it is the turn page for the main Page One story about the war, so it would be well-read.



**Chart 5-3: Star, Period One, Number of stories/geographic category**



**Chart 5-4: Citizen, Period One, Number of stories/geographic category**

The Monday, May 17, 1920 *Toronto Star* seems to have a great many more photographs than the *Citizen* of the same date. However, they can be clumsy. The big page 1 photo of hockey team is actually a montage of nine head shots See Figure 5-2). This is actually true of many photos in the paper of that era: on page 12, labelled "Women's Daily Interests", are two photos of couples that appear to be montages (See Figure 5-3), but only one is really clearly so (Mr. And Mrs. Charles Clarke, at left) because you can see the white line around the man's head where his photo was close-cropped. The other one is close enough to looking like it might have been taken with the couple standing together but it might just be a great example of early photo doctoring.

The 1922 *Citizen* on the same day has no photos.

## TORONTO AND PROVINCE CONGRATULATE FALCONS



### HOCKEY CHAMPIONS OF THE WORLD.

Members of the Falcon Hockey team, Olympic champions, on their arrival in the city this morning. From left to right they are, top: M. Goodman, H. Halvorson, C. Fridfinnson. Centre row: R. J. Bousson, K. Johannesson, W. Byron. Bottom row: H. Asford, president; P. A. Woodman, and W. Pelttinen, secretary.

Figure 5-2: Page 1 picture, Toronto Star, May 17, 1920



a lot of local pictures. Several of the pictures on this display page have decorative borders.

The use of decorative borders, for example in a two-column picture of mayoral candidate Fleming on p. 1, makes it stand out, especially when it's the only art on the page. On the Second Section front there are a trio of children handled similarly – each of the three pictures has a decorative border. And on the “Woman’s Daily Interests” page, two more head shots with fancy borders. There is one picture of a house on page 2, with some surroundings. It’s the home of a woman accused of murder, says the caption, and there are photos of her as well as the deceased.

One advertisement is worth mentioning here. It’s a full-page ad sponsored by members of the “Toronto Radial Association” who have signed the page, and head shots of a slate of 28 candidates for municipal election who are “pledged to fight the ‘Grab’ also called “the Waterfront “GRAB”” in the ad. It exhorts readers VOTE FOR THEM! In large caps. The typeface and style make it look a lot like news copy, especially since the *Star* is supporting the same cause, and some of the same candidates, in large editorials all over the paper.

## Placing the local: within stories

### Placelines and datelines: Them and Us

It's interesting that the 1915 *Citizen*, which has a circulation area of 15 square miles from Ottawa City Hall, so it does not extend out into the countryside, nevertheless does not put a dateline on places like the Caledonia Springs Resort, which was about 80 kilometres (50 miles) east<sup>94</sup>. The article in question is on page 13 of the Saturday paper in Period One.

In 1898 there are several stories on page one with datelines, but none credits a particular wire service. (Nor does the *Toronto Star* on the same date, though many stories have datelines.) There are no bylines at all. And the story detailed above, about the New York swindler, does not credit a wire story or give a New York placeline, though it does, within the text, credit "the New York press" as having named Miss O'Dell as a victim who lost \$1,500. Later in the story the *Citizen* report seems to have been inserted, but only after all the details about Sir Henry Onequi and his several wives and financial swindles have been told. The *Citizen* does not

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<sup>94</sup> This resort, which is now a ruin, was a very popular spot in the late 19th and early 20th century, according to a 1998 *Citizen* article reprinted on this Internet site

[http://www.magma.ca/~leprecha/newspaper\\_article\\_8\\_sept\\_1998.htm](http://www.magma.ca/~leprecha/newspaper_article_8_sept_1998.htm)

say where and how it managed to get its hands on all the New York details of the story. This was not something a reporter could have done over the phone, presumably, in 1898.

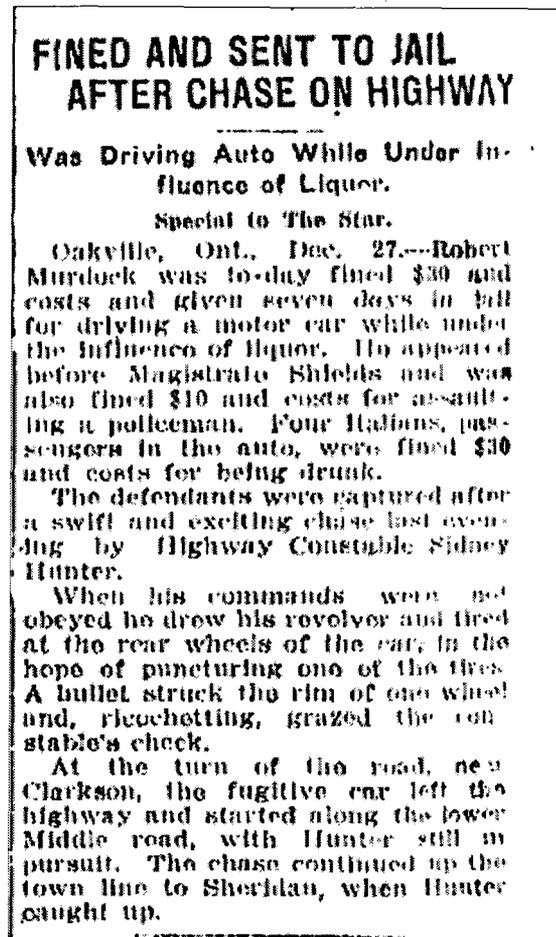


Figure 5-4: Toronto Star, page 2, Dec. 27, 1922

Figure 5-4 is “Fined and sent to jail after chase on highway”—an example of a *Toronto Star* story with a dateline that is within the local (circulation) area of the

newspaper, in Oakville. It comes from the Wednesday paper, Period One, Dec. 27, 1922. This happens frequently.

**Place descriptions: Which places are described?**

Figure 5-5 is an interesting story from page 4 of the *Toronto Star* in 1905, which is focused on the “where” of the story as opposed to the “what” or “how”. To a present-day reporter like me, the lead is at the very end. But the 1905 story focuses on *where* the inquest hearing was held.

The story does not mention why the inquest had to be held in this place, rather than in a government building. And most surprising, the story doesn't focus on what was *said* at the inquest. Perhaps this was covered in previous days' news stories? (It is the final day of the inquest.) I decided to look at the two previous stories about the death, and found that one covered the accident that killed Mahoney, nine days previous, and the second did cover the post-mortem, by two doctors who concluded that the victim had pneumonia and was run over by his own wagon. The story from the preceding week, on Monday March 13, 1905, page 7 (see Figure 5-6), describes the death of Mahoney, who was taken home by friends in a wagon, with police following, after a “spree” in which he got very drunk. The next day, March 14, a week before the inquest wrap-up, another story (see Figure 5-7)

## INQUEST IN A HALL.

### The Mahoney Case Disposed of—An Open Verdict.

John O'Neill last night opened his society hall, known as O'Neill's Hall, for the sitting of a coroner's jury. It was the second time lately that Mr. O'Neill has found this course necessary. The alternative was to provide accommodation for the jury at his hotel, corner Queen and Parliament streets. The law gives the coroner authority to use a room in any hotel, and Coroner W. A. Young had selected Mr. O'Neill's hotel for the final sitting of the inquest on the body of Thomas Mahoney, who died on Sunday, March 12, at his home, 442 Front street east.

An open verdict was returned by the jury. After the autopsy Drs. Simpson and A. J. Johnson had concluded that Mahoney's death was due to acute pneumonia and injuries caused by being run over.

Figure 5-5, Toronto Star, page 4, March 21, 1905

gives the opinion of the two doctors who did the autopsy, that pneumonia figured in the man's death by his own wagon. It also covers the beginning of the inquest, held in the funeral home. Still it is interesting that no intervening stories ran between this, a week before the inquest, and the story neither recaps the previous stories nor

discusses what happened at the final day of the inquest, such as the testimony of witnesses.

And how do these stories create a sense of place? First, after the first one runs, it is assumed that everyone knows the Mahoney story already so it doesn't need recapping: this portrays Toronto as a large neighborhood where everyone it assumes knows everyone else's business, and reads the newspaper!. And second, the things already known make the verdict here almost irrelevant, while the fact the inquest had to happen in a hotel was more relevant —an ongoing issue. And in fact, a story several days later focuses of a city official who, when called and asked to report for another inquest, refused to “do his duty” on the jury because of the inadequate facilities where inquests were being held. Thus, it seems that the facilities were an issue that was ongoing at the time.

Also on page 4 of the 1905 *Star* is a fairly long (for its day) story about “the Island” (i.e. Toronto Island) and a meeting of its Board of Control (see Figure 5-8). Almost everything in the story is about the physical environment: what money is being spent for top-dressing and getting rid of weeds in lagoons, as well as “groynes” along the shore of the water. Another section concerns sidewalks and the need for them, alleged by “residents of the Western sandbar” who attended the meeting. A shelter is proposed, and the money allocated alleged to be sufficient only to build a barn. And so on. While the discussions were almost

## SATURDAY SPREE ENDED IN DEATH

Thomas Mahoney Said He Had Been  
Beaten. But No Marks of Bruises  
Can Be Seen.

Thomas Mahoney died early yesterday morning at 224 Front street east, and though heart failure, following a spree, is thought to have caused his death, the surrounding circumstances are such as to make an inquest necessary.

Deceased had worked at Gooderham and Worts' agency for thirteen years, and went at 1 o'clock Saturday afternoon to the home of the night watchman, William Ryan, who lives at 22 Lewis street. Ryan says that they drank a bottle of whiskey, and that as Mahoney got drunk and became noisy he got his clothes out. He is positive, however, that he used no force.

George Jackson, who lives in the rear at Ryan's house, says that he was asleep, who lives at 224, but Mahoney went at the back door about 4 o'clock on Saturday afternoon. He says that in the alleyway he found a man, and Jackson, being unable to get into his room, ran to Queen street and told the watchman at King street West. The watchman filed the complaint next, and, having placed him against a house, went to ring for the police.

### TAKEN AWAY IN WAGON.

When he returned two of Mahoney's acquaintances drove down the street. They were John Fuchs of Huron street and a man named Driscoll, who drove a light-colored wagon for James Hamilton, a street porter. Hearing that the constable had come to 224, for the police wagon, they got into the wagon and drove from the alleyway and for this purpose they quickly got Mahoney into their rig and drove away. The constable ran after the rig and shouted for them to stop. As they would not comply with his request, the constable seized another rig and gave chase down Eastern avenue, but without overtaking them.

Mahoney's friends carried him to his home and placed him on the lift when seen. He complained of a pain over his heart, and said he felt that he would never be able to walk again. Dr. Simpson, 221 King street east, was called. He gave Mahoney some medicine. But Mahoney gradually grew worse, and after a further shift, in which, becoming partly conscious, he said of being shocked by some men. He died about 4 or 5 o'clock Sunday morning.

### HURT BY THREE MEN?

The police were told that Mahoney's death resulted from a beating received in a hotel night, that three men had been seen kicking deceased.

Charles Young's investigation showed that deceased's left hand was swollen, and his face slightly scratched and cut. He was found in a room at 224 at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon.

Whether his wife, deceased leaves six children. He was 45 years old.

Figure 5-6, Toronto Star, page 7, March 13, 1905

## WHAT KILLED MAHONEY

He had Pneumonia and Was Run Over By His Own Wagon.

That Thomas Mahoney of 42 Front street east came to his death early on Sunday morning as a result of pneumonia, combined with the effects of falling from his wagon and being run over, is the conclusion of Dr. A. J. Johnson and Dr. Simpson, who conducted the post-mortem examination. The doctors say that Mahoney was suffering from pneumonia, and that as a result of the injuries received by deceased the disease became fatal. This would show that there was no foundation for the rumors of assault.

Coroner Young last night opened an inquest at McCabe's undertaking establishment. Four witnesses were called.

The widow was not aware that deceased had been in any trouble. He was a quiet man and had not been drunk for over three weeks.

Her son John told of his father complaining of being beaten, but it was impossible to learn from his father who had struck him.

A daughter and Robert Mishaw, a neighbor, gave similar testimony.

After hearing this evidence the coroner adjourned the inquest till Monday.

Figure 5-7: Toronto Star, March 14, 1905

entirely about how much the budget could spare for these items, every one contributes to a sense of the Island as a sandy place with lagoons, weeds, open space and cottages, where people go for vacations—people who care enough to come out to a meeting to ask for a sidewalk near their cottages, and for larger

# MONEY FOR THE ISLAND

**Controllers Do a Great Deal of Pruning With the Committee's Estimates.**

## GROYNE QUESTION UP AGAIN

**Necessity of Dragging Weeds Out of Lagoons Considered--Shelter at the Wharf.**

The Island estimates commanded the attention of the Board of Control yesterday afternoon.

It was agreed at the outset that \$4,000 was little enough for labor, as compared with \$12,000 granted last year.

Objection was made to an expenditure of \$1,000 for earth for top dressing, and Controller Spence suggested \$400.

"That wouldn't pay for the earth we have taken over seaward," said the Park Commissioner.

"Who authorized the work?" asked Controller Spence.

"The Island Committee," replied Mr. Chambers.

"The committee have no power to authorize work calling for such expenditure," said the Controller.

"The Council approved of the committee's recommendation," said Mr. Chambers.

The amount was fixed at \$300.

### TO PROTECT THE SHORE.

A deputation of Island residents presented the old requests that groynes be built out into the lake, and that the weeds be cleaned out of the lagoons. They also asked for a building as a shelter.

The Council has already provided funds for a machine to drag weeds from water, but Engineer Hunt said these machines were not proving satisfactory.

Ald. Jones made a plea for the expenditure of \$2,000 for eight new groyne. He said that irrespective of what the Government were prepared to do to protect the Island beach, the city should not fail to do all in its power to save the beach from deterioration.

Controller Spence suggested that the members of the Board of Control, the City Engineer, and the Government Engineer take a trip to the Island and take in the situation before an expenditure was recommended. He did not think a heavy expenditure should be included in this year's estimates. The suggestion was adopted.

The Board increased the \$200 estimate to clear the lagoons of weeds to \$310.

THE WESTERN ISLAND.

## THE WESTERN ISLAND.

Mr. Albert Chamberlain headed a deputation of about a dozen residents of the Western sandbar, and stated that they represented about 40 property-owners of that part of the Island. They were especially desirous that a new sidewalk should be constructed in front of the cottages on the west side of the lagoon, also that they be allowed to increase the size of their cottages. At present cottagers are limited to 15 x 18 feet of land.

The Mayor said that was a matter for the Island Committee to investigate and report on.

Mr. Chamberlain also asked that hydrants be placed on the sandbar, so that the residents could get city water. He said they would pay the cost of laying the pipes.

As a final shot to the Board, Mr. Chamberlain said he had eleven children, and if they thought the cottages were large enough, he invited them to live with him for a week.

### ONLY A BARN.

The Park Commissioner asked for \$2,500 for a new shelter near the wharf, but the Mayor thought \$1,500 would build a splendid shelter.

"It would only build a barn," said the Park Commissioner.

The Board preferred the barn, and only \$1,500 was voted.

In the City Engineer's estimate \$100 was allowed for sidewalk repairs, as compared with \$100 asked; \$200 for paving in cleaning streets, instead of \$100; \$2,000 for sand pumps, as against \$7,100; \$2,500 was struck out for repairs to shore, and protection of same, west of breakwater.

For a wharf at the south end of Blackhorse Bay, \$1,000 was asked, and only \$100 granted.

### NO NEW SAND PUMP.

The Board were not inclined to grant \$2,500 for a small sand pump, and the item was struck out.

For the extension of the water main to Ward's Island, \$2,000 was asked, but Mr. Hunt was asked to do the work under the Waterworks Act, and the item was struck out.

The total amount cut off was \$4,100.00, out of a total of \$14,000.00.

Figure 5-8, Toronto Star, page 4, March 21, 1905

cottages to be permitted. An interesting sense of the community is obtained from the story.

Next, in Figure 5-9, is an example of a place that's NOT described that is really interesting. It is from the *Citizen* of 1905. Headlined "Found Fifty Dollars", it's a local story from page 2 (which I have rearranged to make scanning easier – it begins halfway down the page and continues at the top of the next column). It assumes the readers know where "Mr. R.C. Cumming's boot store" is—only later in the story is Sparks street mentioned so you can place the incident, and even then it's vague. There is actually less description of the place here because they once again seem to assume everyone knows where it is and what it looks like.

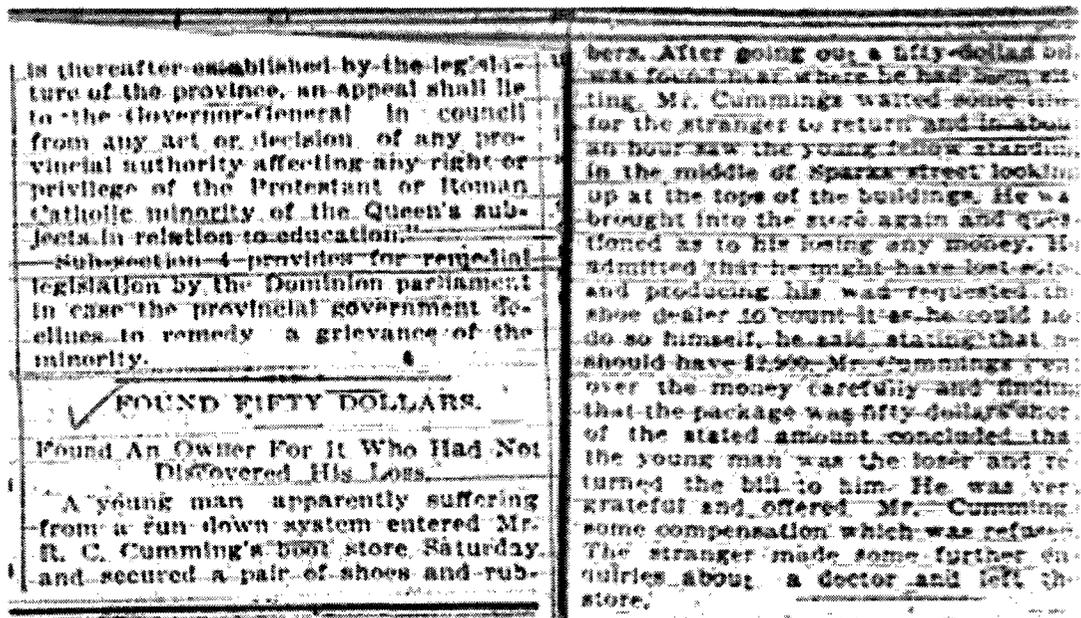


Figure 5-9, Ottawa Citizen, page 2, March 21, 1905

### Place mentions

While we have already discussed the quantitative levels of local place mentions relative to the total of all places mentioned, it's also worth mentioning that in Period One, places, when named, are often given lengthy identifiers. For example, in the 1920 *Toronto Star*, on page 21, the story Real Estate, lists "three buildings on the north side of Adelaide street, between Yonge and Bay streets, taking in Nos. 16 to 24." The story refers twice more to the same buildings, as "the lands" and "the buildings." This type of long name for a place is not unusual, though it does not represent the majority of place names. And in Figure 5-10, "Blaze at dawn" is a story that includes a number of these placenames; the level of detail on the place is something I particularly want to draw attention to. In a newspaper today, this type of detailed fire report is not something seen in a daily metropolitan newspaper, unless the place is extremely important or there are deaths involved. In the mid- to late-twentieth century, weekly newspapers and their "hyperlocal" news transferred responsibility for more localized coverage of smaller fires and other types of events to the so-called "community weeklies," which sprung up in suburban areas (Wallace, 2005, p. 144-145).

**A BLAZE AT DAWN.**

**Fire Did \$5,000 Damage to a Factory  
in George Street.**

A fire in Coulter & Campbell's brass works at 155 George street, corner of Britton, this morning at 5.30 o'clock did nearly \$5,000 damage, which is covered by insurance.

The blaze originated under the flooring of the copper shop, which is at the rear of the building, but from what cause it started is not known. A woman living near by noticed the fire first and rang in the alarm. Within five minutes the brigade had six streams playing. Chief Thompson was routed out from between the blankets and was on deck. The fire burned for two hours.

The fittings of the copper shop and the stock were a complete loss. The machinery in the brass shop was damaged to some extent, the belts and pulleys being burned, and the machinery warped with the heat.

The office was not damaged at all, and the tenants of the building, which is a three-storey one, suffered only slight loss. Adam Beck, cigar box manufacturer, suffered damage to boxes and labels by smoke; the Toronto Machine Tool Company, no damage.

A copper doubler and two condensers, being made for Hiram Walker & Son's brewery, worth \$1,200, were destroyed. In the basement, although right up against the fire, a number of tons of fuel escaped entirely.

The furnace-room, where the fire was incorrectly reported to have started, was untouched.

**Figure 5-10: Toronto Star, page 21, May 17, 1920**

Use of senses:

Two stories illustrated previously—the Island story from the *Star* and the “Found Fifty Dollars” story from the *Citizen*—will be discussed again in this context. The Island story contains a lot of visual material, in its description of lagoons,

“groynes”<sup>95</sup>, cottages, sand and particularly, the quote from the cottager with 11 children inviting those who questioned his need to expand his cottage to come and stay with his family for a week! This invokes several senses: sound, the physical sensation of crowding, visual images.

The *Ottawa Citizen* story, “Found Fifty Dollars” (Figure 5-9), evokes visual images for those familiar with Sparks Street, the inside of the shoe store, and the idea of a man wandering around *Staring* at the tops of buildings in a dazed state.

*Eyles sense of place:*

The *Star* story’s predominant Eyles category is Environmental but also includes Social and to some extent Roots, because there is some reference to traditions in cottage size. The *Citizen* story is Social.

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<sup>95</sup> These are structures built on the edge of the water to control erosion, trap sand or direct current, according to Webster’s Online Dictionary.

## Period Two: Placing the Local

### *In the newspaper as a whole*

The *Toronto Star* of Monday, April 13, 1933, which is the first paper in Period Two, continues the tradition seen first in 1920 (though it may have started anytime between 1915 and 1920) and continued into the 1940s, of producing a “Greater Toronto and Surrounding Areas” page filled with local stories from outside the city, in suburbs and rural townships and counties within the circulation area. Many of these stories have placelines, even though they’re local by this study’s definition. Many are places that are today well within the city of Toronto (even before the recent amalgamation with its suburbs) such as Mimico.

A second tradition that begins to be apparent in the 1930s and 1940s is a Second Section, with a special section front offering more hard news, which is labelled “Second Section”. Both newspapers do this. The page—but not the entire section—is all news, and it gets a masthead, smaller than the front page’s but visible nevertheless. It is page 17 in the 1933 *Star* and has 43 stories—more than the front page. For a couple of decades it is the only section front apart from the front page—the topical sections are not real, physical sections so they don’t start with a “front” layout either. But this is the precursor to the separate sections that we see develop in Period Three.

Priority given to local stories:

**–placement:** The war years (1940 and 1941) are interesting in the priority they give to world stories over local ones. The *Star's* front page in 1940 contains no local stories and only one national story. The rest are world. The *Citizen* front page in 1940 has 3 local stories and 3 local-angle stories (of these, one is a world story, one national, and one provincial). All local and local angle stories are below the fold—that is, in the lower half of the page. Newspapers put higher priority stories above the fold, so that when they are in newspaper boxes those stories can be seen. Thus, they are the stories expected to attract readers most.

In 1941 there is an *Evening Citizen*, and its page 1 is largely world news, most of it about the war. In all, 13 of the 19 stories are world, only 2 are local and one has a local angle. All local, and local angle stories are in the lower half of the page below the fold. The Second Section front is all world, except for one small meeting announcement that is local, and one national story that's equally short (1 paragraph) and low on the page.

In the *Star* of 1941, it clearly is wartime and the main stories (there are three stacked headlines across the top) are all world, and war related. There are fewer stories (and longer) and more photos. Of the 14 stories, only 1 is local, another is provincial with a local angle, and 10 are world. Local stories are below the fold. Page 2 has no local stories, just national (7) and world (6) and provincial (3). Page 3 is

more of a mix, as are pages that follow. Page 21 is the Second Section front, with 12 world stories, 5 national, 2 provincial, and only 1 local.

The 1953 front pages give a stronger sense of the different places being constructed by these two newspapers. It is no longer wartime, and provincial stories get top billing on page 1 of the *Star*, with the top headline and longest story a murder charge against a Belleville woman. Two more provincial stories dealing with government issues, all at the top of the page.

The *Citizen's* headline (and granted, this is not on the same day—the *Citizen* is from June 5, 1953, the *Star* from Jan. 22, 1954) heralds the possible end of the Korean War. Next comes something about the Queen's coronation—it's the "morning after" with guests departing – the Coronation was on June 2. A photo—long shot—of the mess and cleanup crews, and a story about Canadian troops being saluted by Prince Charles as they marched past Buckingham Palace. Indeed, there are 10 world stories on page 1 and only one local story; 3 stories are national.

The war over, the *Star* has reverted to things close to home, while the *Citizen* continues the internationalism it has practised from the beginning of the sample. There are a great many local stories in this *Citizen*—this is a year when local stories far exceed world stories—but on the front page, where the paper makes its most important statement about what matters, Ottawa is an international city. Note that the provincial government, which is important in the *Star*, is actually located in Toronto.

And the Belleville murder suspect's arrest involved provincial police, some of whom came from the Toronto area.

On the *Star's* front page in 1968, there is only one purely local story but several local-angle stories and nonlocal things that take place in Toronto make this page about one third local in terms of space. The line story (biggest headline) is about U.S. election day, and a picture of presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey is the central photograph. And the other top story is a federal tax proposal for the provinces to negotiate at meetings that day. There are 7 national, 4 world and 1 each for provincial and local on the front page.

The *Citizen's* line story on the same day in 1968 is the Paris peace talks on the Vietnam War being delayed. Under that is something about the U.S. election, and another U.S. election story is at the left. However, a large photo at top left over 3 columns (of 6) features the new Miss Ottawa Rough Rider and two runners up as the vote is announced. It keys to story inside, on page 2, which features another photo and is the top story on page 2. The bottom of the page features two large local stories. The front page has 3 world, 3 national and 2 local stories, with the locals at the bottom of the page, but large and with good headline size.

–**headline size:** The largest headlines in both papers go to war stories in 1940. The same is true in 1941—the *Star* that year has three stacked headlines that go right

across the top, all about the war. On the Second Section front it's the national conscription question that gets the banner headline.

The *Citizen's* largest front-page headline in 1941 also goes to a world story: "Axis Libyan Units in Desperate Plight", about New Zealand troops fighting Germans in Libya, and other fighting in North Africa.

In 1953, the *Citizen* gives the largest headlines to world stories but the *Star* is giving the province the biggest headlines: the Belleville murder and the provincial government get the best play.

The 1953 *Citizen's* page one has only one local story. But page 2 makes up for its world focus on the front, with a story about all the local men returning from the Korean war being greeted at the train station. It lists each one and what town or they live in, and the Ottawa men get their street address listed. There are pictures but they're too black to make out in my copy, except that you can see they are of people. There's also a local column on page 2, concerning a house on Besserer Street in Sandy Hill. Page 3 is back to events in London but one story features Ottawa's Mayor Charlotte Whitton attending a reception there – it is a Canadian Press wire story that is not rewritten, however, to focus on her. Only the headline does; Charlotte Whitton herself is mentioned low down, in a list.

–**story length:** In the 1941 paper, the *Citizen's* page 1 conscription story is by far the longest on the page, at 2.8 columns running over 4 cols in the center of the page with photo. It is a national story.

In the 1954 *Star*, length on front page (and page 2) goes to the Belleville murder story (Belleville is not local; it's provincial), which continues on page 2 and 3. This is an example of the *Star* "going to town" on a story, with all-out coverage and several stories and lots of photos over several pages. On the *Star's* Second Section front, the most space goes to a National Ballet story with many photos plus a story, and the second most space goes to a story about the West Indies, which continues on another page.

Meanwhile the June 1953 *Citizen* front page gives the Coronation aftermath the most space, with three stories and a photo, plus another event in London at which the prime minister spoke. So while the Korean War gets by far the biggest headline (not across entire top, but it's two lines at about 60 points, which is very big) but the Coronation aftermath gets more space.

–**photo with story:** The 1941 *Citizen's* conscription story has center art on page 1: a three-column shot of troops marching, "at a training camp somewhere in England" – of course, they could not say exactly where. This is a national story but with war the subject, giving it world overtones.

In the 1953 *Star*, the Second Section front features a story about the National Ballet (located in Toronto) being on verge of bankruptcy, with individual pictures of 7 dancers in costume and special note of the Toronto ones. So that story is very prominent though it doesn't get the biggest, or even second-biggest head. It has pride of placement with the photo spread.

In the 1968 *Star*, the U.S. election gets center art and a story about a group of illegal Filipino immigrants who got arrested in Toronto are secondary art at bottom of page, over 4 columns of 9. Hubert Humphrey, the U.S. presidential candidate, is also over 4 columns in the center of the page.

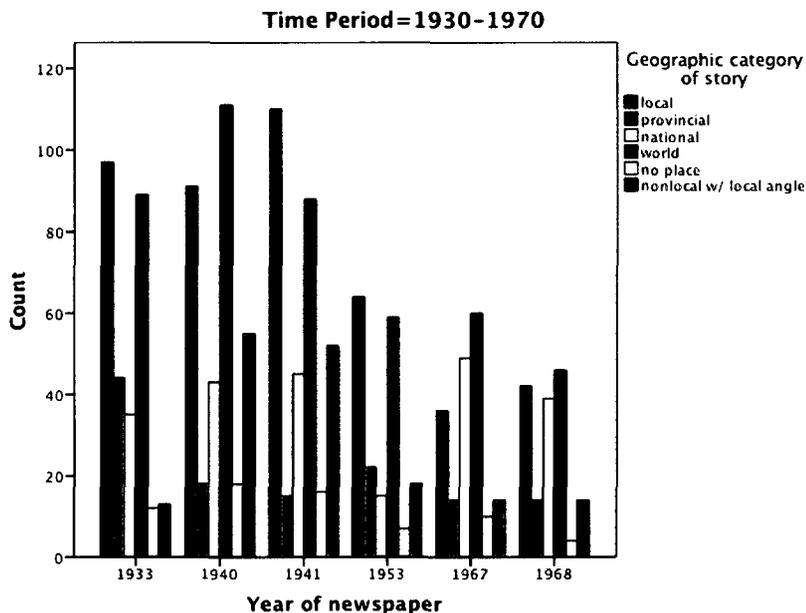
The *Citizen* on the same 1968 day features a photo with a U.S. election story features a couple of average folks in a New Hampshire town before a blackboard. Miss Rough Rider gets the biggest photo on the page, center art as it's called, but the main story and another photo are on p. 2 at the top. This gives priority to a local story and it is the *Star* that is looking more international than the *Citizen* on this day.

**–number of local stories:** In Charts 5 and 6, which show the numbers of stories in each geographic category by year, it can be seen that the *Citizen* changes its priorities in the latter half of the second period and goes from always having more world stories than any other category, not just in Period Two but also in Period One, to having more local stories than anything else in 1953, 1967 (by a very small amount) and 1968.

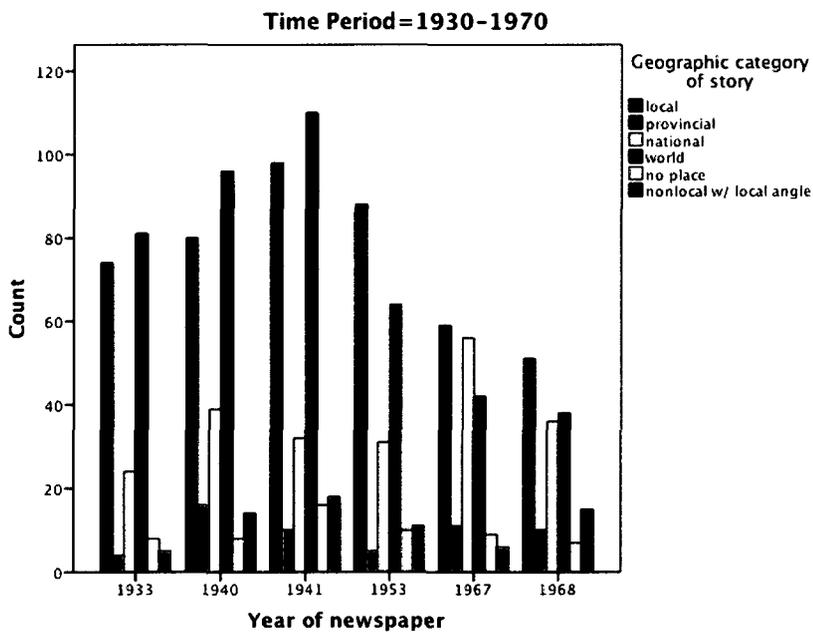
Meanwhile the *Star*, which has had local as its top category for decades, does its own switchabout and makes world the top category in 1940, 1967 and 1968. Granted, 1940 is one of the years of World War Two, but if that is the cause, why doesn't the *Star* do the same in 1941, which is also a war year? The 1940 result is the first time in the *Star* since 1915, that the number of World stories exceeds the number of local stories. Note that the previous occasion was during World War One.

However, the local angle category is also very high in the *Toronto Star* in the two World War Two newspapers—those red columns on the graphs are much higher in the *Star* at this time than the *Citizen*, and when the two categories are combined (local and local angle), this raises the total amount of local content in the *Star* quite considerably (see charts X and X in the quantitative results).

In the *Citizen*, it has been customary for world stories to exceed local in number, and 1940 is no exception. The local category is quite high, though, and approaches the world category's level that year. More on the numbers—particularly the percentages in each geographic category, and their levels when local and local angle stories are combined—in the quantitative section.



**Chart 5-5: Star, Period Two, # stories in geographic categories**



**Chart 5-6: Citizen, Period Two, # stories in geographic categories**

City section: Are local stories segregated or mixed?

In 1933 there are local stories on every page in the *Citizen*, but some pages are preponderantly local, others preponderantly world. The *Star* has some pages without local stories, but most have at least one. Some pages are nearly all local but none exclusively so.

The other sections are becoming more noticeable in 1933. Social news gets its own page in the *Citizen*. There isn't a banner across the top but there is a column labelled "Social and Personal News" that is quite prominent and declares the theme for the whole page. There is also some Arts news, with the "At the Theatres" column. The *Star* has three pages of sports news segregated, pages 8-10 inclusive, but no banner at the top announcing this. Markets are on page 12, which also seems to be a business page but it's not labelled as such the way they are today. And there are a few business stories on page 13 but there are other topics also on that page, such as a "Greater Toronto and Nearby Centres" column, lots of local news, but also national politics, etc.

The *Citizen* has sports in the second section, pages 12-13, in 1933, with headlines (not banners though) across the top of both that make it clear these are sports pages. No pictures for the most part—just a head shot, a non-sports cartoon, and a column with a bird, a golfer and other small drawings in a sort of collage.

The 1933 *Citizen* also has “The Home Page” on page 15 with stories, columns, child-rearing advice (4 local items, 4 no place, and one world), and “The Fun Page” on page 14 (all no place). These are aimed at families. The remaining pages are social and arts, which is mostly local (8 items of 11 on page 17). The Editorial Page is last and it has 2 local items out of 11, and no cartoon.

In the 1940 and 1941 *Citizen* the Women’s section is in the front of the paper, starting in both years on page 4. Probably it’s because so many men were away at war and women really had high priority for a change. But to see the Women’s section, which was later relegated to much further back in the paper, so close to the front of the paper is somewhat startling! The other thing about this Women’s section is the number of No Place stories. In 1940 the first page (p. 4) is entirely no-place stories: seven of them. The succeeding pages are mostly local stories—social notes, meetings of “women’s organizations” and weddings, lots of weddings. So that trend (of no place stories) doesn’t continue.

In the 1941 *Citizen* there is some segregation of topics, but not local news. The pages aimed at women (“Fashions, First Aids for Homemaking, Manners and Personality Chats” is the banner on page 4) are together. Page 5 is “Social and Personal Activities – Meetings of Women’s Organizations”, another such page. Mostly local stories on p. 5, that is, 5 of the 7 stories on the page. Page 6 is another women’s page with same banner as 5, and all 10 stories are local on this page. And

page 7 features a prominent story about a “dollar-a-year woman” with a senior government job she’s not paid for, who was at an exhibition in New York representing the Canadian Department of National War Services and just returned to Ottawa. A large, attractive picture accompanies the story.

In the 1954 *Star*, after the first five pages, local news is scarce until page 15, which is all local except for one world story. So the front section is still mixed, but not as local as in earlier years. There is not yet a local section, though. After page 15 there is a world story on page 16, then ads, then on page 18 sports, with all world stories (9 of them) except for one national story on that page, and more of a mix on the remaining sports pages, 19, 20 and 21. After this come Stocks, Markets, etc. which is all world and national for two pages. The Second Section front, page 27, is mixed, with 3 local and 5 world plus 1 national story. On the *Star’s* Society page, page 9, stories are all local except for 1 national.

In the 1953 *Citizen* there is plenty of local news in the front section of the newspaper, mixed with world, national, and provincial news. Often a local story gets the largest headline in this section. In the paper overall, there are no separate sections as there are today, but there is a banner at the start of the Second Section, page 25, which has that label on it. There is also a Daily Home Page (page 22) with things like astrology, a cooking question and answer column, advice column (not Ann Landers or Abby, but one Mary Haworth). Also, notably, this page has the

highest concentration of no place stories, with four out of five in that category. The other is national; there is nothing local on this page. The next page makes up for it though, with social and personal notes, lots of weddings and women's club news.

In 1967, the *Star* is largely segregated for the first time in the study sample. There is a Metro section—and this term, Metro, is new—starting on page 25, through to 28, with its own section front. After that, there is one turn from a local story on page 34. Lots of ads in this section, which is what the intervening pages are. It's Wednesday – grocery ads day, when the paper balloons in size due to extra advertising from grocery stores. Page 37 starts the World section, which is just a front, however, it has 18 world stories on it. Next page has TV listings and several columns; it's sort of an arts section, for several pages. Then page 42 has Canada briefs. The next page is provincial stories, then more national news, though there's one local story on page 44. On page 58, in the middle of the classified ads, is a column on courts (local) and another called "Witness Box" on courts, also local, with one tiny world story lower down. Page 59 has world and national stories – one small local story mixed in about a strike at a company with plants in Southern Ontario. Page 61 starts the Women's Section with a front and total 6 pages. On the front is one very large local story at the top of it with five photos of a girls' fraternity house and how it's decorated. Many non-local stories are in this section, however. Page 62 is all no-place stories, and the other pages are almost all world (i.e. U.S. and British)

stories; one is national. The remaining pages in the paper are mixed as to geographic categories, including local on most pages.

The 1967 *Citizen*, by contrast, has lots of local stories and pictures (with context) in the front section. Local gets top of page priority on page 2, 3, and 5, but there are other categories represented – page 2 has 4 national stories and 1 local story but the local story is larger, at top, and has a picture. Page 4 is mixed geographic categories, as are all front-section pages until pages 7, 8 and 9 which are world and national, with one provincial story. Page 8-9 Markets and business. Page 10 Arts mixed with Queen's Park story.

The first section front is on page 17 and features a photo spread from China, mostly of Chinese people with some context—a classroom, inside a train performing under a banner featuring a picture of Mao and some writing. A couple of buildings, one with Chinese writing on it, and a crowd around a statue of Chairman Mao, and children at a park with posters but it doesn't say what the posters are about. Sports begins on page 18, page 19 has some pictures of hockey players but not on the ice, and Sports runs through to page 24 with a couple of full pages of ads. Not much art, head shots mostly. There's local news on page 25, more sports on 26, TV and cartoons with a couple of national and world stories on page 28, more TV and cartoons, radio highlights, "Ask Andy", and two local stories on page 29. Page 31

appears to be women's news but there's no "front" for the section, which runs to page 34.

In the *Star* of 1968 there is a limited local presence in the front section, with the occasional article or column, but there is also a Metro News page—not a section, however. Immediately after the Metro section front come arts pages, several of them, then a few more local stories on page 28, in an "In the Courts" column. Another page, just before this, has several provincial stories. So local stories are not segregated entirely but they do have their own Metro page where 13 of the 15 stories are local (the others provincial and national with local angles). It may be that the local section in the 1967 *Star* was not an everyday thing, but only happened on Wednesdays when there were lots of local grocery ads. That could explain why in 1968 the *Star* reverts to mixing local news in with other news—only there is less of it, in this paper.

In the *Citizen* of 1968 the local presence is still strong in the front section, with Miss Ottawa Rough Rider getting attention on pages 1-2, and pages 3, 4 and 5 featuring lots of local news. Page 6 is editorial and while there is no local editorial there is a huge letter at the top about an Ontario Municipal Board case that's local. Pages 7-8 are World and National pages page 8 is stock tables and markets, page 10 is arts, then 11 is back to hard news with a mixture of local, national and provincial stories. Page 12 is one national, one provincial story. Page 13 and 14 mix

local with other news. Page 15 is sports stories but page 16 goes right back to news – a mix of national, world and provincial. Page 17 is U.S. elections stuff. Page 18, 19, 20 return to Sports and are a sort of section. Then on 21 there's more local news. Page 22 is TV & comics. Page 23 is three opinion columns: one national, one local, one world, and a national news story and a bridge column. Page 24 is more arts. The Second Section begins on 25 but the banner doesn't say Second Section. It features a photo spread—no context in the photos though—of scholars honored with awards. The lower third of the page is a boxed story about two alcoholic housewives. Page 26-29 inclusive are “women's” news, then classified ads, with a few stories among the ads. Page 40 features five local and one provincial stories. Page 41 is local and national stories. Page 42 is mixed.

What does the beginning of the section called Metro, and the use of this new term, mean in the *Toronto Star*? How does it affect the perception of Toronto that readers have, their sense of place? It gives the idea that Toronto is not just the city called by that name, but a larger metropolitan area of some size and significance—Canada's largest city and business center, in fact. It also may be the beginning of the *Star's* long campaign to unify this metropolitan region, which it later (in Period Three) begins to call the Greater Toronto Area or GTA.

Photographs: amount of context included

In 1933 the photos in both papers are still mostly head shots with some decorative borders, very little context. However, page 3 in *Citizen* features a two-column long shot of a new German navy ship, page 5 features an interesting shot of the House of Morgan building on Wall Street with a descriptive caption saying it's in midst of skyscrapers in NYC – this goes with a feature about the House of Morgan, banner head over 2 columns, and five head shots in nice arrangement. The beginning of more modern layout. This is the only full story on the page, it's long, and it's one of a series. There is a continuation of a page 1 story at the bottom of this page.

The Second Section of the *Star* in 1933 starts with a lovely photo of a military wedding with soldiers holding swords in an arch for the bride and groom to walk out of a local church. Context in this shot is good and it's run over 4 columns. World stories predominate on this section front but in addition to this standalone photo, there are 8 local stories out of 43. Page 19 is almost all photos, a spread, however, most are in the world category. One of them is local, taken at Sunnyside boardwalk, a Toronto place that was a big deal in the 1930s. Page 20 has a number of shots of people's Easter fashions, including a set of triplet girls. This is a social page, and the photos seem to be local.

In 1941, the *Citizen* is still not using a lot of photos with context, and most of these are in the latter half of the paper: Up to page 9, then skipping to page 17, only head shots and other close-ups are used.

- On page 9 there is a photo that I can't make out that may be a painting or drawing (my copy is dark) – it seems to show some airplanes in clouds, and the caption is a flippant comment about war strategy. Not local.
- On page 18 we finally get a long shot, of female troops marching – these are Women's Australian Auxiliary Air Force troops, marching in front of a pillared building in Melbourne, Australia. Not local.
- Another Australian picture is center art on page 19, and features a woman with a ram. She is in the Land Girls' Army, they work on farms. Not local.
- On page 20, "Uncle Ray's Saturday Club Page", for children, features a nice two-shot of children making candy, with the boxes and candy in front of them. Seems to be local.
- On page 21, there are pictures of female factory workers in South Wales, one of whom is being presented with a bicycle to help her get to work—she has been walking a long way. Not local.
- Page 27 shows several shots, together over 3 columns, of soldiers getting medicals.

- Page 30 features an interesting aerial shot of the Burma Road, which zigzags across the territory and is crucial to the invading Japanese. Not local.

One common theme in all these *Citizen* photographs is that *most of the photos that feature context are not local*. What do these photos—women in Australia, the Burma Road, soldiers getting medicals, an airplane in clouds and some local children—suggest about Ottawa's sense of itself? It is quite international and war-related, but very different from the images in the *Star* on the same day. Whereas the *Star* is interested in the local people who are abroad, and sort of *extending Toronto-ness into the world*, the *Citizen* instead seems to establish a feeling of kinship with people overseas because of their joint war effort—it's *bringing the world into Ottawa*, which already has a strong sense of internationalism. The women in Australia, for example, are probably people the women in Ottawa are expected to feel a bond with. And as we saw earlier, the women's section is moved up to the front of the paper, indicating that women are assumed to be the prime readers of the paper at the time.

Meanwhile, in 1941 the *Star* uses a lot of photographs, many with context, and they are larger than in the past, or than those in the *Citizen*. It is worth going through the entire list, which illustrates the kind of photos that were being used at the time:

- The front page has Roosevelt and LaGuardia signing something with a big Bill of Rights poster behind them, in honor of its 150th anniversary; the second photo

on the page is a big ship with troops standing on deck that's probably in the Arctic; third, there is a head shot at bottom showing a female war correspondent in North Africa. None is local.

- Page 3 shows women's new military uniforms with four 2-column shots across the top of the page. They're medium shots with little context, except that the captions say they were taken in the tailor shop in the cellar of the Supreme Court of Canada in Ottawa. So the photos are not local, and none of the women are identified as from Toronto.
- Page 5 shows a tank with some overseas Canadian soldiers, all named and where they're from (one from Cobourg which is local in the *Star*) and some context – road and grass at side. Not local, but some people are.
- Page 8 is the "Greater Toronto and Nearby Centres" page and features four photos across the top with context: two at Etobicoke High School and two in a local machine shop on University Avenue. All 4 local.
- Page 10 features a photo from the book *Botany Bay*, which is reviewed. It shows the place in long shot. Not local.
- Page 11 is entitled "The Soldier's *Star*" and features six pictures, particularly of attractive women, mostly head shots. Of the four medium shots, one is of a soldier practising in the Carolinas, another is two New York actresses visiting Toronto and a mirror reflecting them; the third is an Ice Follies promotional photo

of two female skaters on ice—they could be anywhere; the fourth is a soldiers in California. None is local. This page, readers are told, is meant to be sent by families to soldiers overseas.

- Page 15 shows a bird in someone’s hand but no context. Probably local.
- Page 18 features the one action shot in Sports: two payers in soccer game, not much context but they are on a field in England or Scotland. Not local.
- Page 21 is the Second Section front and features a large, five-column picture of a London night street scene—actually from a movie. Not local.
- Page 23 is a photo spread, with three long shots showing lots of context – one of lumber at a CNE exhibit (local); one of planes overhead and on ground in Libya; one of a storage warehouse for salvaged materials (cans, bottles, etc.) on Canadian National Exhibition grounds (local). One local angle shot from Glasgow shows a large group with the visiting prime minister of New Zealand—two Toronto residents are mentioned and located by name in the picture. The others are people shots, two of them medium shots with some context but it’s not local. So this page is mixed, local and nonlocal.
- Page 24 has two photos at top of page that feature local women with corsages for Christmas. Local but not much context.

- Page 25 is wedding shots of couples, no context, but they're mostly local. Page 26, under a "Women's War Work" banner, shows two women with piles of mail from soldiers. It's local.
- Page 27 shows lots of local people at ball, also scholarship winners. No context though.
- Page 28 has photos from movies across the top of the page. Not local.

I have listed these to show how many of the pictures are nonlocal, particularly among those with context. What does this tell us about Toronto's sense of itself, and sense of place at the time? Many of the photos (and stories) feature the war, and this is indicative of the many Toronto men and women who were overseas at the time. The women in uniform are, like the *Citizen's* women in Australia, meant to be people with whom women readers will identify. And the involvement of Toronto people—one of whom is named in a picture from Scotland—is important. Women sorting mail from overseas, making corsages as they bravely celebrate Christmas despite the absence of their loved ones, appear to be as important as the soldiers in camps or sailors on ships. Wherever possible there is a connection made to Toronto. This is part of what geographer Doreen Massey talks about with the concept of "disruption": the local place has many non-local influences, which become so intertwined with locality that the local is disrupted and expanded, in a sense, to encompass many other things. Here we see Toronto being disrupted. Even U.S.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and New York's Mayor LaGuardia celebrating the anniversary of the Bill of Rights—part of the United States' constitution and presumably of little interest to Canadians—seems relevant because those kinds of rights are what people are perceived to be fighting for overseas.<sup>96</sup>

The year 1967 is a very important one in this sample because it is a major turning point in the quantitative results, after which local news starts a long decline and national begins to climb steadily. Let's take a look at the photos and see whether anything is apparent here. In the *Star* in 1967, the front page photos are a close-up and a medium shot of a man reading papers. Not much context. The next page with any significant photos is page 6. Two men close-up at top, then women working in the fields in Laos in center of page. Page 11 is the Money & Markets front (though it's impossible to tell if it is a separate section). It features one business man at the control room for electric power sharing located in New York state. It's over 3 columns (of 9 on page). Other art on this page is all head shots. Page 13 features a 3-column long shot of a couple of men doing something in a new telephone control room in Montreal.

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<sup>96</sup> The copies I received of the 1953 papers, from the National Archives, have very poor photo reproduction. Most have black backgrounds and this is true in both the *Star* and the *Citizen*. So I do not analyze these here.

The Sports pages feature much better photos than in previous years. A great hockey shot dominates page 14, and a runner on page 15 is actually running! Page 16 features 16 headshots across the top of the page—a local story about the best high-school basketball players in the Toronto region. No context in these shots, though. Page 17 features Lake Simcoe ice fishing—one medium shot of a guy with fish he's caught and a basket, a long shot of an ice hut and trees and the lake. These shots are both over 3 columns. Although this counts as a provincial story, the landscape is close to Toronto and story has a local feel to it.

Page 25, the Metro front, features a woman being helped from a burning building over 4 columns of 9. And four head shots. The World front shows a Tasmanian scene, long shot, showing the devastation of bush fires, and a large portrait of a woman wiping her face as she watches flames engulf her home, also in Tasmania. Page 38 features close-ups of actors.

On page 39 a local music review features internationally acclaimed cellist Mstislav Rostropovich playing, ostensibly in Toronto (see Figure 5-11), though the Toronto Symphony Orchestra can't be seen – it's a shot of him and the cello, without context. It could have been taken anywhere. The story plays up the fact that the cellist chose Toronto for the world première of a new composition by renowned composer Dmitri Shostakovich, rather than another international city.

# Great cellist likes Toronto Toronto likes Rostropovich

Musician Rostropovich gets praise for his debut recital in this city, but some say that he did not give as good a performance as he did in other cities. He is the first to play the city of the Great Lakes since the war, and he is the first to play the city of the Great Lakes since the war, and he is the first to play the city of the Great Lakes since the war.



CELLIST MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH North American debut of Shostakovich concerto

His performance was praised for its technical skill and its emotional depth. The concert was a success, and Rostropovich is expected to return to Toronto in the future.

Some critics, however, felt that his performance was not as good as it could have been. They felt that he was a bit out of sync with the orchestra at times, and that his playing was a bit too heavy in some places.

Despite the mixed reviews, Rostropovich's performance was a landmark event for the Toronto music scene. It showed that the city was still a major center for classical music, and it gave the audience a chance to hear one of the world's greatest cellists.

The concert was a success, and Rostropovich is expected to return to Toronto in the future. His performance was praised for its technical skill and its emotional depth.

On this occasion, the Toronto Symphony's players and conductor also performed the concerto with Rostropovich. The concert was a success, and Rostropovich is expected to return to Toronto in the future.

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Some critics, however, felt that his performance was not as good as it could have been. They felt that he was a bit out of sync with the orchestra at times, and that his playing was a bit too heavy in some places.

Despite the mixed reviews, Rostropovich's performance was a landmark event for the Toronto music scene. It showed that the city was still a major center for classical music, and it gave the audience a chance to hear one of the world's greatest cellists.

The concert was a success, and Rostropovich is expected to return to Toronto in the future. His performance was praised for its technical skill and its emotional depth.

Some critics, however, felt that his performance was not as good as it could have been. They felt that he was a bit out of sync with the orchestra at times, and that his playing was a bit too heavy in some places.

**LAST 4 DAYS**  
The **frogs**  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
**POOR ALEX**  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**O'KEEFE CENTRE**  
FRONT ST. E. TORONTO  
MELODY MERCURY  
Now playing through Feb. 19  
Available for rent  
PERFORMANCES  
RENTAL OFFICE  
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**THE BIBLE**  
A VAUGHAN PRODUCTION  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**THE NIGHT OF THE GENERALS**  
A VAUGHAN PRODUCTION  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**THE BLUE MAX**  
A VAUGHAN PRODUCTION  
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Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**40° SOCIAL CLUB**  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**THE BIBLE**  
A VAUGHAN PRODUCTION  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
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**THE BLUE MAX**  
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Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**LOVES OF A BLOND**  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**PARIS BURNING?**  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
A heavy fare by Arthur Hailey  
Directed by Michael Curtiz

**THE BLUE MAX**  
A VAUGHAN PRODUCTION  
Directed by Michael Curtiz  
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Figure 5-11: Toronto Star, page 39, Feb. 8, 1967

On page 59 is a long shot of Times Square in New York City, and at the bottom of the page a 5-column photo of a local bakery that collapsed under weight of snow. And on page 61 there is a two-thirds of a page spread on a University of Toronto sorority house, with a street shot of the building run small, and four room shots run over 3 of 5 and 2 of 5 columns. So the indoor shots have lots of context, the outdoor one doesn't. It is close cropped on the building. Next page features three photos from a local pancake breakfast fundraiser, pretty much all people but in one shot, two women are flipping pancakes! On page 65 there's a shot of Katherine Hepburn with her niece Kate.

Thus, the *Star's* photos show a city that has international influences within its own boundaries. An internationally acclaimed cellist comes to Toronto to perform the North American debut of a piece by Shostakovich. A photo of New York's Times Square is on the same page as a Toronto bakery that collapses under the snow. Toronto is becoming a world-class city. But unlike Ottawa, which sees itself in the pages of the *Citizen* as a relatively small player despite its status as a world capital (but a large player within Canada, as home to those who govern the country), Toronto is a major international city and is starting to see itself as such. We will see more of this attitude as it grows in Period Three.

The *Citizen* of 1967 has front-page photos showing a New York snow scene and picture of federal politician Sinclair Stevens, the latter without context. Page 2

has a local-context photo of a tent set up on Rideau Street by the federal department of Energy, Mines and Resources to show surveying and publicize a conference in the Chateau Laurier nearby. Page 3 features another local photo, this one with a story, about students who are angry at long walks because buses don't serve the campus of the Eastern Ontario Institute of Technology. It's a long shot of a student walking in the cold, hunched over. It's dark but I think the campus is in the background.

A long shot on page 7 illustrates a story about Rhodesia. The section front (not called Second Section any more, but there aren't any more fronts done up as such) is all China photos, a full page of them. Page 19 has two hockey players, one in uniform with equipment on a bench, the other a largish head shot. Page 31 has a group of women around an American woman visit the Optimist club wives for an international convention held in Ottawa. The wives met separately. Page 32 features a picture of a table set with nice china and a fancy tablecloth. Page 34 features three women drinking tea at an embassy party. Page 44 is dominated by a 4-column photo of a group of people surrounding "Klondike Kate" – an Edmonton woman (I think she won a beauty contest, and the person who is Klondike Kate changes every year) who is performing at a national conference in Ottawa. The photo goes with the profile of the woman who's Klondike Kate this year. Page 46 shows a shot of a library's worth of books with a Canadian flag and two men—the books are being

donated to Lebanon and have been collected by Canadians. A movie review and a story about a satellite being launched by France are on the same page. Page 45 has a large map showing a new park on the Quebec side of the river.

Ottawa is a national place as well as an international place, but it's not a business capital, it's a political capital. It has visits from symbolic or cultural figures like Klondike Kate, it has national conferences and departments, and it also has embassies with tea parties and readers who care about the problems in Lebanon (quite a few are from Lebanon, in fact) and Rhodesia and other international issues. And it has a "Quebec side" (an expression Ottawans use frequently to refer to the Quebec side of the Ottawa River, which is also local) where the language and culture are mostly French.

### **Placing the local: within stories**

#### *Placelines: Them and Us*

As noted above in the general observations about this time period, the *Star* often uses placelines/datelines for places within the circulation area. One can only speculate about what this means; whether it is a way of distancing these places or, perhaps, indicating that they have a distinct character.

In Period Two, the Canadian Press and Associated Press are being credited regularly in both papers, and placelines are generally used for nonlocal stories. However, page 3 of the *Citizen* in 1941 provides an excellent example of a world

story that has no placeline because it is a book excerpt, and like columns, these do not get placelines. And on the far right of page 3 there's a short story about a Hawkesbury plant closing, which has a placeline although Hawkesbury is within the circulation area.

*Are local places mentioned as often as non-local?*

No, but that's never true. In Period Two, the percentage of local placenames varies between 21 and 38 percent in the newspapers sampled. The most notable thing is that in Period Two the *Citizen* catches up with and actually exceeds, for a period of time, the *Star's* devotion to local news. Chart 5-2 (in the Period One section) illustrates that the *Citizen's* percentage of local placenames, relative to all places mentioned in stories, exceeds the *Star's* in 1933, 1953, 1967 and 1968 in Period Two—four out of six papers. During the other two time periods, there is only one year (1993) when the *Citizen* beats the *Star* on this, and two other years (1995 and 2002) when the two papers are at the same level.

*The following stories from the 1933 papers in the sample (Star first, then Citizen, starting on the next page), illustrate how the newspapers placed the local within stories:*

EAST YORK

## TWO YOUTHS ACCUSED OF PAPE AVE. HOLD-UP

### Young Men Arrested on Charges of Armed Robbery

8 Charged with the armed robbery of Thomson's grocery store, 1021 Pape Ave., last Tuesday night, Kenneth Morton, 20, Monarch Park Ave., and Joseph DeClara, 21, of Queensdale Ave., were arrested by East York police last night.

Constables Smith and Masters of the East York police force picked up DeClara on suspicion and following investigations arrested him and his companion.

Philip Simone, 18, of Monarch Park Ave., and Ernest Kerr, 20, of Woodrow Ave., were arrested by Constables Smith and Masters last night on charges of auto theft.

Allego do have robbed a branch of the Thomson grocery concern on Sammon Ave., Morton and a companion, Edward Jobin, 21, of Cedarvale Ave., face charges of shopbreaking, police report.

Figure 5-12: Star story from page 2, April 17, 1933

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1933

ED-10111  
EMPLOYMENT 19

The special effort in Ottawa at present to find employment, however temporary, for some of the workers who have been unemployed throughout the winter should receive the earnest consideration of every householder. It means much to the community to give workless men an opportunity to earn a few dollars rather than to leave the unfortunate workers entirely dependent upon public relief. There is the immediate benefit of improving the general outlook of Ottawa by having the gardens, lawns, backyards and other places tidied up. Most houses accumulate a certain amount of litter that can well be dispensed with when the snow has disappeared.

The temptation is, of course, for the householder to do this tidying work himself. Because of the economy doctrine, the better is likely to be more than ever general that any painting to be done or minor repairs, could be left in abeyance for another year. Or the householder may have a virtuous feeling that he is acquiring merit by doing this work himself on Saturday afternoons or in the evening after office hours. In many instances there would be far more merit in going off to play golf or tramping in the hills than in staying at home to do extra work when there is an army of unemployed sacking fellow citizens to give them an opportunity to escape from involuntary idleness.

While the amount to be earned by one day's employment may seem to be small, there is more in it than merely earning a few dollars. The effect of prolonged unemployment on many otherwise willing workers is demoralizing. After months of vain endeavor to get work, the tendency in some cases is to give up the hope of work. Eventually it is to lose the desire for work. Many willing workers have thus been changed from being unemployed to being unemployable. This process can be seen going on at present.

The jobless men cannot be blamed for becoming disheartened to such an extent that they lose the will to work. The responsibility is on the community. It has already become necessary to make allowances for the apparent lack of keenness when some men are offered employment after having been out of work for a year or more.

At the present time, Canada is probably losing far more by the undermining of the morale of industrious people than would be the loss in dollars by a big decline in the exchange value of Canadian currency in New York. The present state of deflation has liquidated Canadian agriculture by driving the farmer below the margin of existence. It is similarly liquidating Canadian industrial workers by keeping them in compulsory idleness so long that they are unable to lose the will to work.

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Figure 5-13: Citizen story from page 2, April 17, 1933

Use of senses:

The *Star* story (Figure 5-12) offers no sensory descriptions, however, the idea of a trio of young men, aged 18-21, robbing grocers and getting arrested is sad. Compare this with the *Citizen* story, which is an editorial and so it can express opinion – the *Star*'s brief, factual account gives no idea of the dire circumstances in which people were finding themselves in 1933, and the desperation that must have prevailed in families. This is no ordinary time, yet the *Star* story is not able to evoke that sense of place because it follows the strict factual reporting of the hard news story.

The *Citizen* story, which is an editorial, has visual appeal, describing the litter and the tidy-up that's needed. There is a sense of trying to help those without jobs from becoming demoralized and disheartened by giving them work cleaning up the gardens of those who are employed, who it suggests should go and play golf or something. It's a gloomy sense of place, and the story expresses a feeling of determination to pull together to overcome these circumstances with a feeling of community, in which people care about one another. What a difference from the *Star*'s "objective" news story! This is not to say that the *Star* did not have community spirit in its own editorials and opinion columns; it is the method of random selection that produced these differences.

Eyles sense of place:

Both stories produce a sense of place that is Social but also Instrumental. However, the *Citizen* story adds a Roots dimension that makes it more positive in tone.

One story from each of the 1953/54 papers will also be analyzed for their treatment of the local within stories:

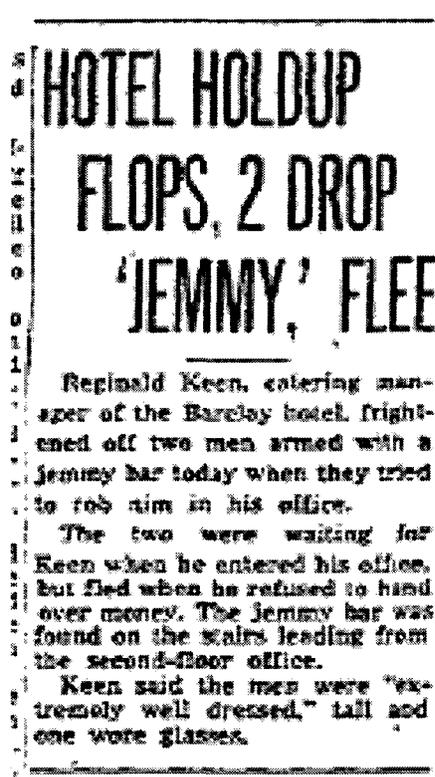


Figure 5-14: Toronto Star, page 1, Jan. 22, 1954

## Group Rejects Resignation Of President

By an unanimous vote, the board of directors of the Deschênes Ratepayers Association has rejected President John N. McCaffrey's resignation. The Citizen learned last night.

A spokesman for the board said the association has given McCaffrey an unanimous vote of confidence. The president resigned May 9 when the question of languages—French and English—was brought up.

The board's spokesman said that out of respect to the president—who is not bilingual—English was usually used at the meetings. Some members thought French should be the language spoken.

McCaffrey said he resigned when the issue threatened to split the association.

In a statement issued last night, the board asked that McCaffrey remain in office "at least until January 1, 1954." The president's term expires at that time.

Figure 5-15, Citizen story, page 24, June 5, 1953

Place descriptions: Which places are described? None in the two stories examined.

Use of senses: The Star story, from page 1 (Figure 5-14), describes a hotel manager frightening off two men armed with a "jemmy bar" who tried to rob him in his office. It's clearly visual; the men are described, and one can also feel, physically, the tension he must have felt, and the urge to flee that the robbers felt.

The *Citizen* story (Figure 5-15) mentions the Deschênes Ratepayers Association but does not mention where Deschênes is—in Quebec, across the river from what are now Ottawa’s extreme west end suburbs. Many readers would not know this today—the paper would explain its location as, for example, “in Pontiac County” and/or “100 kilometres west of Gatineau.” It’s interesting that they were fighting about the use of French at meetings even in those days, and that the English, as today, were the ones who had trouble speaking a second language, even though they were living in Quebec. Pontiac County is a longtime English-speaking area that is well known for such problems.

Thus, the sense of place we get here is of tension between English and French at the level of the community trying to govern or represent itself and work on things together. It is Social in Eyles’ sense. And there is a Roots aspect, in the traditions of the English and French communities, their languages and their tensions.

*Eyles sense of place:*

The *Star* story is Instrumental – place is a “means to an end” in this case. It is also Social; the reader gets a feeling for the people involved and probably makes a moral judgment about them. The *Citizen* story is Social and Roots.

### **Period Three: Placing the local in the newspaper as a whole**

#### Priority given to local stories:

–**placement:** The *Star's* front page in 1973 has no local stories, though there are two provincial stories with local angles. At the top of the page is a story about a Kenora bank robber blown up by his own bomb. The *Star* manages to get a local angle on this story—which takes place about 1,800 kilometres (1,100 miles) away—in a sidebar story about a *Star* reporter who was in Kenora for another assignment, taking a picture at the grisly scene. The other local-angle story has Ontario's then-premier Bill Davis pledging new transit funds and initiatives, and how they'll benefit Metro. Note: The *Star* has begun calling the Toronto area Metro, as noted in 1967, when it began in our sample. This may be the beginning of the newspaper's campaign to unify Toronto and its suburbs—there is an editorial in the 1984 paper (one of many over the years) promoting this idea.

The Canadiens' victory in hockey's championship Stanley Cup does make page 1 in the *Citizen* of 1973, when Montreal was the closest NHL team. But the top story in headline size and placement is a local one, about Douglas Fullerton heading up a task force to study the feasibility of a National Capital District such as the U.S.'s District of Columbia, surrounding Washington.

In 1982, the local has pride of place at the top of the front page in the *Citizen*, with a Queensway accident and photos of the Santa Claus Parade occupying most

of that space. In the *Star* in 1982, the Toronto Argonauts' football win over Ottawa to get into the Grey Cup game gets a huge headline and picture, as well as the longest story and three keys to other stories. Three world stories and one more local story (which is at top as well as the Argos story) share the page but the local dominates on page 1.

The 1984 papers are perhaps the most interesting from Period Three because of the story of arrests made in connection with the shooting of a Turkish diplomat that took place in Ottawa. The two papers play this story entirely differently, of course, because for Ottawa, it is a local story. The *Star* finds a local angle in the fact the arrests were made in Toronto<sup>97</sup>. And there are certainly international overtones in this story that say a lot about Ottawa's sense of "the local" and the role of the international in the city's identity.

So the 1984 *Star* has only one story on the front page that is even partly local—four Toronto residents arrested in connection with the Ottawa slaying of the aforementioned Turkish diplomat. It is written in the *Star* as a local-angle story. And

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<sup>97</sup> Finding a local angle is a feat for which the *Star* is famous among journalists, as former *Star* reporter Walter Stewart wrote in his memoir chapter about the paper in the 1970s. He said the approach to every staff-written story was "What does this mean to Metro?" (Stewart, 1980, pp. 111-125)

the headline is small, though it's in the top half, at the right, of the front page. The Lebanon war is at the top of the front page, with the U.S. presidential elections (it's the time during the primary season known as Super Tuesday) most prominent, with pictures and a box around it. However, the biggest headline in the *Star* goes to a national story about "our dollar."

The *Citizen* on the same day in 1984 gives top play to two local stories, which dominate the front page and completely fill the top half (except for the keys in a column down the left side of the page). The story "4 held in shooting of envoy" (about the arrests in the Turkish diplomat's shooting) has the largest headline. It's a local story with international implications. Across the top (like the *Star*, the *Citizen* features a story with a smaller headline at top of page) is another local story with international implications: plans for the pope's upcoming visit to Ottawa. Low down on the front page are three national stories: one on politician John Turner and the one on the dollar that was also in the *Star*, and another on the Supreme Court being asked to rule on the validity of Manitoba laws passed unilingually despite a constitutional guarantee of bilingualism in that province.

The last story mentioned, which is about bilingualism, illustrates an important thing about Ottawa: many francophones live there—some are Franco-Ontarians who were born there and others moved there to work in the federal civil service, media, or other organizations related to the federal government. Many more francophones live

in West Quebec, a local region on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River, where the majority is French-speaking (though places like Pontiac County, Chelsea and others are traditionally English – and Protestant).

In this newspaper, the *Citizen* begins a full column, down the left side of page one, of keys to stories inside the paper, each with a geographic or section label; however, local is not one of these. They include Canada, World, Business, Consumers, Hi-tech and TV Tip. Hi-tech does point to a special section on the area's high-tech community, which is local but also national. Another part of Ottawa's identity – "Silicon Valley North," as it sometimes calls itself.

The top key (under the weather report, which is right at the top) actually features a story that in most other papers would probably be on the front page. It takes place "at Government House" – a reference meaningful primarily to locals, who know it to be in Ottawa – and involves King Juan Carlos of Spain, who visited Ottawa and spoke at a "lavish state dinner" with 100 guests. This is a sign of the *Citizen's* construction of locality, implying by giving this lesser play, and also by referring to *Government House* without explaining what it is, that this type of event is typical in Ottawa, which is an international capital that of course, receives frequent visits from heads of state, including royalty. The story, on page 3, features a picture of then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau with Queen Sophia, looking every bit the equal of the royals from abroad.

As this qualitative analysis progresses it is becoming evident the extent to which Toronto's sense of itself includes the national and the provincial (because Queen's Park, the seat of the provincial government, and nearly all its ministries are located in Toronto), and even the international. And Ottawa's sense of itself is very much that of a national capital among other capitals, with international embassies and visitors, and the federal parliament and government departments. Interestingly, Canadians in other parts of the country tend to call the federal government "Ottawa" – making it a generally unpopular place elsewhere, since the news about things "Ottawa" does is often unpopular with taxpayers. The converse of this – that Ottawans see themselves as the people who basically run the country, and play on an international stage – is an important part of the way the *Ottawa Citizen* constructs locality.

Continuing with the analysis, in 1993, the *Star's* centerpiece story, with large photos and the largest headline, is a world story with a local angle: a *Star* reporter happened to be in a crowd in Soweto when police opened fire on black protesters (Note that this is yet another example of the *Star* focusing on the local angle, as it did in Kenora and the slaying of the Turkish diplomat). The top of page story is a provincial education story, there is a local story at the bottom of the page, and there is a national story and world story at the lower right, run small, with a "bright" (i.e. light in tone) world story down the right, with small headline. National and world

stories occupy the first three pages after the front, then there's one local column on page A5 with two other stories, one World and one National. Page A6 and 7 bear the Greater Metro label and feature all local stories, followed by three pages of local stories thereafter.

The 1993 *Citizen's* front page has a big local story about the Ottawa Senators' first season back in the NHL since 1934. The story has two pictures, one of them at the center of the page. However, the biggest headline, in darkest bold type with a subhead, goes to a South African story headlined "Angry blacks go on rampage"—this is the same story the *Star* made its centerpiece, with the local angle. There is a picture with the South African story but it's below the fold and smaller than the main Senators picture. Another local story and a national story are below the fold, plus a large key to another local story about a large new development. Keys at the top of the page are for "CityLights"—a local going-out guide, a local story about Almonte and a contest (no place). Page Two (which has that name as a label) contains a long turn from the Senators story with another picture. And a world story. Plus a correction with a picture, small but noticeable, in a box.

In the 1995 *Star*, the line story on page one is local, as is the story with the largest picture—a shooting in Rosedale (a wealthy Toronto neighbourhood) run over three columns with photo at lower right, but into the upper half of the page. A local-angle feature story about Frank Stronach (local businessman, born in Austria and

part-time resident there) runs down the left and another, small, local story under it.

There is only one non-local story and it is in the middle over one column – a national story about the upcoming referendum in Quebec.

In the *Citizen* of 1995, the largest headline on page 1 and top-of-page play go to a national story on public service buyouts. This is a national story of intense interest to local people, many of whom work for the public service or have relatives who do. Of the other three stories, one is local, one local angle, and one provincial—the latter is about parent councils in schools and a new policy on their role. So again, it's of intense interest to local people but it's provincial. And the biggest photo is of a demonstration in West Quebec (which is local) by people holding Canadian flags, coinciding with hearings of the sovereignty commission in Campbell's Bay (one of the French-speaking areas of West Quebec). A lot of Canadian nationalists from the English-speaking Pontiac appeared and sang "O Canada" at the meeting. This is a local-angle national story. So they have two local-national stories, as well as one national and one provincial, all with deep local roots.

*2001 Star*: The line story is local and runs across the top. The centerpiece with picture is also local and above the fold, under the line story. The one remaining story above the fold is also local. There's only one non-local story, and it's at the bottom. There is a large key across the top to something called Global Revolt that is in the World and Business section (they are together).

In the 2001 *Citizen* there isn't a single local story on the front page. The line story is national, the centerpiece is world, and there are two other world stories and one national story. There is a key at top of page to a local story: a long feature on Little League in Centretown in the *Citizen's Weekly*. But it doesn't start on the front page; it's all in the section called the *Citizen's Weekly*, which is like a magazine only on newsprint.

In the 2002 *Star* there is one local story on the front page, and it's at the bottom. The top story is provincial, with a centerpiece that's national and the other story world. Keys to one world and one no place story. City gets a front and a full section of its own. And in Sports, the next section, the stories on the front are all local (if you can consider the NHL local). The Arts & Entertainment front is a world story with a local angle – famous international star comes to Toronto to perform (there are many such stories in the *Star's* Arts & Entertainment section, particularly in the more recent newspapers). And a local restaurant review is also on the cover. The Business front gives national the best play, at the top with big headline. And the ice wine harvest is the centerpiece feature with photo on the Business front—a provincial story but from an area close to Toronto.

In the 2002 *Citizen* the top stories on the front page are national and provincial, each getting two stories under a large photo of an individual without background: the people are the Ontario and federal Auditors General, and the

stories concern their reports, which came out on the same day. At the bottom of the page are three small stories: one local, one world, and one national.

**–headline size:** In the 1973 *Star*, the biggest headline on the front page goes to provincial sales tax hikes and how much they'll cost the average family. Next-largest is the one across the top, I think—it's boldface, so it's quite prominent, but there are two that might be larger: one on a national story about a possible price freeze, another on a 103-year-old who beat off a rapist with a broom in Atlanta.

In the 1973 *Citizen* the biggest headline on page 1 is local. Next is NHL hockey, which is really a world story—Montreal beat Chicago. And the next-largest headline goes to a story on French immersion, another local story—in fact, Ottawa is famous for introducing the earliest French immersion program ever attempted in Canada (at Grade 1 level).

One interesting difference in headline sizes and priority, also in 1973, is on the Stock tables. In the *Citizen*, the tables (page 8) for Toronto, New York and Montreal get the same size banners. In the *Star*, page 25, Toronto's stocks get the most space and the biggest headline, while New York is second and Montreal is much smaller as if it didn't matter nearly as much. From the *Citizen* page we get the impression they are roughly equal in importance.

In 1982, the *Citizen's* largest page 1 headline goes to a Queensway accident story, which is local. However, this was not the line story in all editions; the paper

obtained from the National Archives has a front page marked “Revision” and the City front features the same Queensway story that’s on the front, which would not have happened in any of the actual papers; it’s a mistake—the local front would also have been revised when the accident story went to the front page. So at some point the Queensway story was moved onto or off the front. The remaining stories on the front page are not local: three are World and two, National—however, there might have been another local story that switched places with the Queensway accident story in the revised version.

The 1982 *Star*’s “line story” (top headline) is local. No contest from other stories on the page.

In the 1984 *Star* the largest headline on the front page goes to a national story about “our dollar” – the “us” in this story is Canadians, so this is a story expressing national identity rather than local. This is an interesting development for the *Star*.

In the 1984 *Citizen*, the story “4 held in shooting of envoy” has the largest headline. As discussed earlier, it’s a local story with strong international implications. Across the top (like the *Star*, the *Citizen* features a story with a smaller headline at top of page) is the pope’s upcoming visit to Ottawa. Low down on the front page are three national stories.

In 1995's *Star's* line story concerning a report about race in Toronto schools. Page 2 is all national. Page 3 is fascinating. A local story gets far the best play but there's a huge picture of Boris Yeltsin on the page that keys to a story on page A21. There are also a national and provincial story on the page.

In 2001, the line story is local in the *Star*, national in the *Citizen*.

In 2002, the *Star's* biggest headline on page 1 goes to the provincial Auditor General's report, even though the federal one came out on the same day. In the *Citizen*, the biggest headline is shared between the national and provincial Auditor Generals' reports.

**—story length:** In the 1973 *Star*, the longest story on front page is the Kenora bomb story with a photo and sidebar, and a turn that occupies all of page 3 with photos and two more sidebars. Next is the National story on sales taxes, which is turned with a small turn on page 2. A U.S. Watergate story starts with a small presence on page 1, middle of page at left, and longer turn on two. Length also goes to the national story on the price freeze, which turns to page 5 and takes up about half the page that is not ads.

Length on the front page of the 1973 *Citizen* goes to the hockey Stanley Cup story, with a couple of photos and more type than others, as well as a turn to the sports section, with a full page on the sports "front" (which probably isn't a section front—it's not possible to tell from these microfilm photocopies) and lots of photos.

The longest story on the 1982 *Citizen* front page, or that starts there, is a national one with a local angle, about four canoeists on a cross-Canada trip. The local angle is they are staying at an Ottawa home for a break. This type of story builds national consciousness – this was one of many cross-country marathons that followed Terry Fox’s Marathon of Hope in 1980. However, the lead canoeist was an American who had done many U.S. trips, so it’s not entirely Canadian.

The 1982 *Star*’s longest front-page story is the Argonauts. Again, no contest. That same story in the *Citizen*, home of the defeated team, plays differently. The *Citizen* runs a “key”—a small photo or symbol at the top of the front page and small headline, that tells readers the Riders story is on page 29. There, one finds two stories and four pictures. The headline is huge: “RIDERS OVERWHELMED”, probably 60 point or even 72, all caps. It tells of the Ottawa Rough Riders’ elimination from the Grey Cup in the final Eastern Championship game against the Toronto Argonauts. This story gets the top key on page one, with an iconic photo, 1 column, of a R-labelled Riders’ player’s helmet.

On the *Star*’s 1984 front page, the most space goes to U.S. election with Hart and Mondale photos featured large and central (world). One small head shot of John Turner is at bottom (national but also local—he lives in Toronto and represented a Toronto riding), another at right is of Ottawa’s police superintendent (provincial). No local photos.

The 1984 *Citizen* gives top space to two local stories with world overtones: the envoy shooting and the plans for the pope's upcoming visit.

In 1993 the Soweto story gets the most space on the *Star's* front page, while the *Citizen's* front page has a big local story about the Ottawa Senators' first season back in the NHL since 1934, with two pictures, one of them in the center of the page

In the 1995 *Star* the schools story (the report on race in the schools) also gets an editorial and two more stories, one of which takes up the entire Insight front and most of page B4 as well. So it's an example of the *Star* "going to town" on an issue and producing reams of copy. The front-page story keys to the other stories and the editorial.

In the 1995 *Citizen*, the flags story gets only a photo—the largest photo, however—on page one but the caption points to two items in the City section, about local Quebec politics regarding the upcoming sovereignty referendum. So these are local stories with strong national overtones and they get a lot of space in the paper.

In 2001 the longest story on the front is local in the *Star* and it gets a full-page turn (on a page with no advertising), as does another local story on page 1. World gets largest story on the *Citizen's* front page.

In 2002, length in the *Star* goes to the top two stories: the Ontario (provincial) Auditor General's report (which gets much better play than the federal one in the *Star*) and a feature about Davis Inlet, which is the centerpiece. The *Citizen* gives

equal length on page one to the two Auditor Generals' reports. A joint headline proclaims "A litany of waste" at both levels of government.

**–photo with story:** In the 1973 *Star*, the Kenora bomb story gets lots of play almost entirely because of the photos, taken by a *Star* reporter in Kenora for another story. These pictures run large, and they are long and medium shots. Meanwhile, Toronto's arch-rival the Montreal Canadiens' victory in hockey's Stanley Cup is on page 2, which is unusual in a Canadian newspaper. It includes a photo of two people: Henri Richard and his wife, who is hugging him.

The *Citizen's* center art on page 1 in 1973 is a photo of 2,000 fans greeting the Stanley Cup victors' homecoming at 2:40 a.m. The *Citizen* also ran a picture of the hugs (Henri Richard & wife) on one column, but the bigger picture was the fans at the airport over 3 columns (of 6) with context.

1982 *Citizen*: The canoeists story, which has length and a big headline, also has a photo. The Santa Claus parade is a photo, whose caption keys to a story inside that has three more photos – all close-in shots of children. This was when the photographers started to see a change in the number of close-ups versus long shots.

The *Star's* front-page photos in 1982 are with the Argos story. And on page 2, local stories get the photos. Page 3 starts to run World photos—there is one of a Queen impersonator getting on a subway in Paris, which is run much larger than the

same photo in the *Citizen*. And there is one of the Pope in a crowd, also run larger than the same photo in the *Citizen*, on page 4 of the *Star*.

1984 papers: The *Star* uses photos of the U.S. election primaries (world), the *Citizen*, the Turkish diplomat story (local) on page 1.

In 1995 the *Star's* largest photo on page 1 goes with the local story, while the photo for the local-angle story about businessman Frank Stronach is taken in Austria. The largest photo on the *Citizen's* front page in 1995 is a standalone picture (no story with it on the page) of a Canadian flag and background of many other people holding Canadian flags, lining a major route in west Quebec. This photo points to two items in the City section, about local Quebec politics concerning the upcoming sovereignty referendum. So these are local stories with national overtones, and the photo goes with them. On A2 there's another large local photo with a local story that has national overtones.

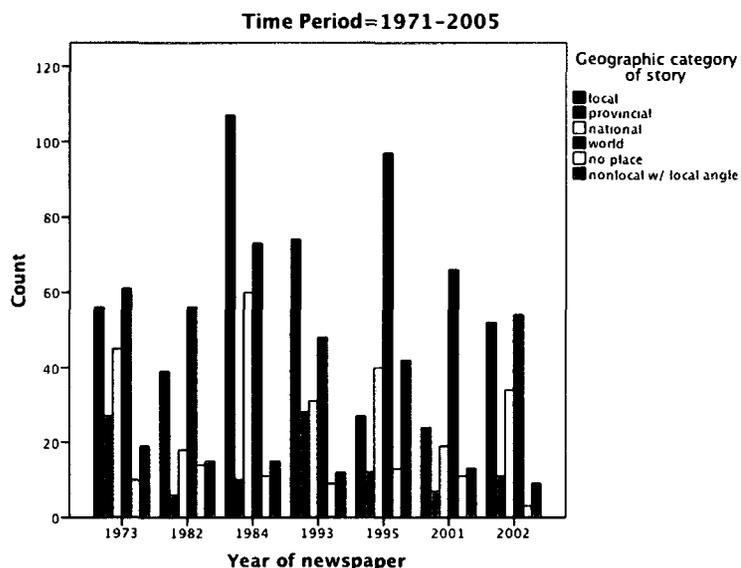
In 2001, the centerpiece story with photos on the front page is local in the *Star*, world in the *Citizen*.

2002 *Star*: A national story (about Davis Inlet, in the far North) gets the big picture on page 1. On the second section front, two Group of Seven paintings of Canadian wilderness get top-of-page play. National again. A big local photo with context is on the Letters page. The GTA (Greater Toronto Area) front gets two photos, one of a London, England auction of teddy bears that a Toronto curator won.

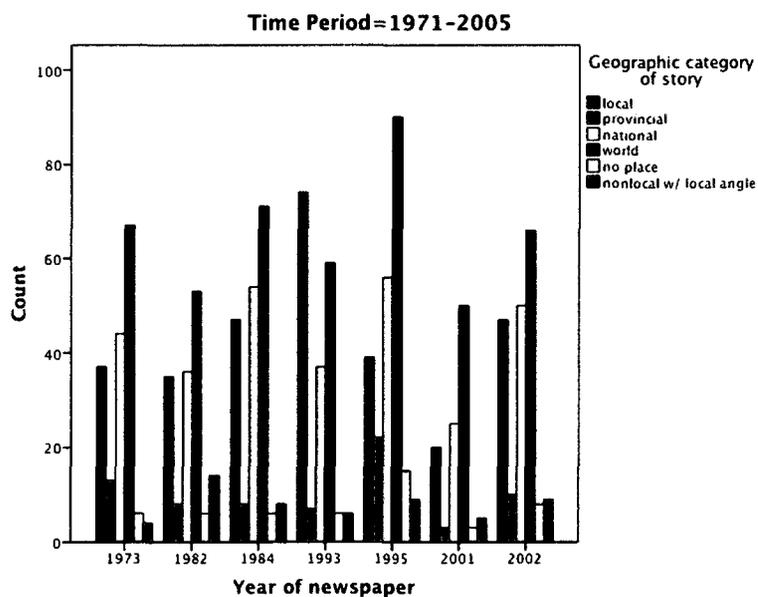
And a photo of Norm Gardner, local official, nice portrait shot of him waving a piece of paper, taken at an Editorial Board meeting at the *Star*. Page B2 in the GTA section shows a cyclist bundled up against the cold. It's December. Page 3 picture is of a local jazz musician who died. Sports photos played big go mostly with local stories (Leafs, Raptors). The A&E front has huge photo of Marianne Faithful that could be anywhere. Not local (it's a promotional shot, not credited to anyone). The Business front photo is for a story on the ice wine harvest in the nearby Niagara region of Ontario. In the *Citizen*, the two Auditors General get large pictures, of equal size, on the front page.

**–number of local stories:** Overall in the 1973 paper the *Citizen* is down in local stories since 1967 and 1968 (See Chart 5-8), when local exceeded world. Here, world has shot back up and local dropped back some, with national coming up somewhat from 1968 but not as high as in 1967, the Centennial year. National exceeds local for the first time in the *Citizen* in 1973, something it will continue to do for all the coming years of the sample except 1993. This is a big change for national and it seems to have begun in 1967, when national news moved up in numbers with the Centennial. But in 1973, world is also way up, to the levels we saw prior to the two late 1960s papers, so world is in top spot in the *Citizen*.

The 1982 *Citizen* is fairly low in local stories, relative to other years, and local is exceeded by national only slightly, and world by a lot. The *Star* (See Chart 5-7) is



**Chart 5-7: Toronto Star, Number of Stories in each Geographic Category by Year**



**Chart 5-8: Ottawa Citizen, Number of Stories in each Geographic Category by Year**

about equal to the *Citizen* in number of local and world stories, but much lower on national stories in 1982.

In 1984, the *Star* has a huge number of local stories—it's the highest year of all for local stories, and they are well above the other geographic categories in number. This is largely due to the “hyperlocal” supplement (covering neighbourhoods and very local events that the paper would not normally cover—it's more like a suburban weekly, which it essentially is), covering east-end suburbs, that is included with this paper. The *Star* had several of these, all of which were published at regular intervals, covering all the suburbs.

Overall, the *Citizen's* level of local stories in 1984 is moderate compared to other years, and compared to other categories in this year it is exceeded by world stories (a great deal), as well as national, which is in second place. This is true throughout Period Three except in 1993, when there are more local stories for the first time since 1967-68 (in Period Two) in the *Citizen*.

Local stories exceed all other geographic categories in number in the *Star* in 1993, but not nearly as much as they did in 1984 or 1922, the *Star's* peak local years.

Overall, in Period Three in the *Star*, the world category is highest in all but two years (1984 and 1993). However, if Local Angle stories are added to Local, two

more years would be highest in Local content: 1973 and 2002 (that would be a majority). And 1982 would be very close.

In Period One, local content is highest in three of the six years (1902, 1905 and 1922), tied in one (1920). However, if local angle stories are added to local ones, that would bring 1915 to a level where local and world are nearly equal. Interestingly, in 1898 the top category in the number of stories in the *Star* is provincial (and remember, the provincial capital is Toronto, so these stories take place in Toronto).

Period Two shows high levels of Local stories in three years (1933, 1941 and 1953) and if Local Angle stories were added to Local, 1940 and 1968 would be predominantly Local. World stories are highest in 1940, 1967 and 1968.

Paying particular attention to the *Citizen*, it's notable that 1993 is the only year in Period Three when the *Citizen* has more local stories than any other category. In every other year of the sample in Period Three, World is well ahead and National is in second place.

Local was ahead of national throughout Period One, and there was only one year in that period when it exceeded World.

In Period Two, however, there were three years when local was the highest category: 1953, 1967 and 1968. World was the top category in 1933, 1940 and 1941 but if Local Angle stories were added the amount of local content would have

exceeded or tied World, during the two World War Two years. So in Period Two there is a LOT more local content, relatively speaking, than in either Period One or Period Three, in the *Citizen*. Periods One and Three give World the highest number of stories except, in each case, for one year.

The world category shoots up, in the *Star* in 1995, to a level more than double any other category. And local is quite low – about a third its level in 1993 and less than a quarter its level in 1984. National is at a fairly normal level (despite the Quebec referendum – though this didn't happen till October 30).

World also shoots up in the *Citizen* in 1995 to a level much higher than even 2001 (this is also true in the *Star* for this year). National is quite high, as would be expected with the Quebec referendum and Ottawa being on the border of Quebec, as well as the capital of Canada. Local is third in the number of stories.

Please note that the date of the 2001 papers is well before September 11, so there would be no impact from the events of that date and the enormous world coverage that followed. Local stories are at a really low level in the *Citizen* in 2001, and it may be because this is a Sunday paper and from the start of the Sunday paper, in 1988, that edition always had a small local section. When we look at percentages, 2001 is still really low but 1995 is lower! 2001 is also the lowest year of all in the *Citizen* for the percentage of local place mentions (over the total number of places mentioned in all categories).

The year 2001 is also one of the *Star's* lowest years in the number of local stories, but like the *Citizen*, 1995 is lower in the percentage of local stories although the count (i.e. number of local stories) is higher.

In the 2002 *Star*, local has risen again but it is still below world in number of stories, with national a distant third. In the *Citizen* in 2002, local is third, after world (1st) and national (2nd). But local isn't nearly as low as in the 2001 (Sunday) paper. In the percentage of stories, local is very close to national but well below world in 2002.

*City section: Are local stories segregated or mixed?*

The front section of the 1973 *Star* has a few local stories but not many. It's largely national, provincial and world. Sports is page 16-21, also in front section, and Money and Markets. Metro News has its own front and four pages following, two almost filled with ads, before a World page, then the *Star* moves to Entertainment. World news also has a front, on page 39, though it was frequently in the front section. It then jumps (the Classifieds) to page 63, where a real mix of local, provincial, national and world stories fill a page with 2 3/4 columns of classifieds. Page 65 starts the Family Section with photos of the Queen and Royal Family that include lots of context. The section is the final one in the paper and includes lots of local content and photos, mixed with other content.

The *Citizen* in 1973 does not have a separate local section; local runs first in the paper, at the beginning of the front section, and occasionally later on, mixed with other geographic categories of news. There are no banners for the different sections and it's difficult to tell which are the section fronts except that there is a small *Ottawa Citizen* logo and the date in the middle of the page somewhere on these section fronts only.

In 1982, things change. The *Citizen's* pages are geographically segregated and labelled for the first time in this sample, throughout the paper. However, local news is not in a section that is physically separate—the four local pages appear within the front section of the paper.

Things are not as segregated in the 1982 *Star*. The pages in the front section of the *Star* are a mixture of local, national and world news, just like the much older papers, and most are not labelled by geographic category. There is a Metro Page but it's in the middle of the front section and there are local stories on other pages. World stories are rounded up on page 10 but not labelled as such. Then page 11 features more Argonauts celebrations and photos of same—crowds of people, some with signs, and cars, whooping it up in four large photos that occupy much of the page (no ads on this page either). And all three stories (one is a turn from page 1) on this page are about the Argos' win. But it's not in the sports section; it's local news. There are pages of national, world, and provincial stories but also local—for

example, page 16 has a local story with a sidebar (it goes with the local story) quoting a U.S. expert that's classified as world.

In the 1984 *Star*, local news is in the A section, with pages 3, 5, 6, and 7 being predominantly local. But there is not much purely local news in any of the subsequent sections—the paper's staff reporters and columnists are covering things like national business, Toronto and Montreal teams playing international hockey and baseball, and placeless things like a health story on kidneys and fashion, etc. There is a segregated "hyperlocal" section, however, in the Eastern (suburbs) supplement, a tabloid covering Scarborough and other eastern suburbs and outlying areas. Staff reporters also worked on that.

In 1984 the *Citizen's* pages are all labelled: Canada, World, etc., and on the World pages several articles are labelled with an overline saying "U.S" or "Persian Gulf" to indicate where the story takes place. Totally geographical orientation, by page and on the page. As if to say to readers, choose stories by which geographic region you're interested in.

The second section is entitled "The Local" and features more stories and photos about the arrests and the original shooting of the Turkish envoy. Pictures of two cars show the envoy wounded, head back, in the front seat and a broken window, then another shot of the car with driver's door open and no one inside. Third shot is Ottawa's police superintendent, in a press conference room of tables,

microphones, one TV cameraman fairly far back—it actually looks like the press conference is over and he’s sitting back, looking around. This photo is a long shot of the room. The fourth picture is of the apartment building where the original crime took place, on Riverside Drive in Ottawa. Then, and this is where this gets really unusual for a section called “The Local”—there is *a map of the Middle East featuring the locations of Turkey and Armenia*, and a second story explaining the history of the Armenian genocide in 1915 at Turkish hands – the motivation for the shooting and a later killing that took place on the Ottawa River Parkway. *This is “the local” in Ottawa on this day* (and many others, when this and other related crimes took place)—an international community where diplomats represent foreign lands and many immigrants come to live, bringing their longstanding issues from abroad.

The 1984 *Citizen* also features a “High-Tech” supplement, which is the final section of the paper. Most stories here are local but it’s local business, focusing on the high-technology industry. At this time, the High Tech supplement came out once a year, but in recent years it has been a weekly section, I believe.

Even though the pages are not labelled individually as being part of geographic sections, the 1984 *Star* is divided up very similarly to the *Citizen*, with Business stories together, World stories together, National stories together, and Local stories together, Entertainment, etc. Page A6 is labelled The Metro Page, but there are stories about Metro on the preceding and following pages. The local is

prominent in the front part of the paper—well, it's not on the front page, this day, except for the arrests of the Armenians. But the inside pages are predominantly Metro news up to A7. On page A8 comes national news (not labelled though), with the same photo of Pierre Trudeau and Queen Sofia of Spain that the *Citizen* ran (both are labelled CP photo). There are two stories with local aspects on this page, one on the Pickering nuclear reactor (a brief, at bottom) and another that covers a provincial government issue, of tender calls not done properly by the education ministry. Since those tenders would often come from the Toronto area, this has local interest but it is a provincial story. This is a sign of Toronto's vision of itself as the provincial capital. Then we turn the page to A10 and get World news, a two-page spread. Then A12 has a story on the provincial teachers' union and part-timers. Lower on that page is a world story from the U.S. On p. A13, across from this, is an account of a trial in the Ontario Supreme Court featuring a local woman. Page A14 is labelled Search for a Leader and features election stories, one local. A15 is labelled Insight and features a story on drug smuggling being controlled by the mafia in Canada and the U.S.

There's an interesting contrast between the editorial pages of the *Citizen* and the *Star* on this day. The *Star's* is on A16 and the top (of page) editorial is entitled "We're one big city" – part of the *Star's* decades long campaign for one big municipal government covering all the metropolitan area, which was finally achieved in 1998.

Most of the arguments are laid out here. In the *Citizen*, page 8 is the editorial page with a national editorial on native self-rule at top, and the one local editorial squeezed into a small space at the side, underneath two national editorials. The letters to the editor, on the same page, do feature 3 local Ottawa issues most prominently, but a column at the bottom of the page, by Richard Gwyn (of the *Star*) is national. The cartoon features John Turner about to jump into a swimming pool (the Liberal leadership race) on water skis, holding a handle. So the message of the page is, "We are national." The Op-Ed page, labelled Analysis, discusses world issues in two top stories, with a national column at bottom. Nothing local. In fact, it isn't until the second section that we get a page that proclaims "The Local", as if to say Ottawa has two equal parts: the national/international capital city and a separate locality that's truly "local." Only on this day, it's not! It's full of Turks and Armenians gunning each other down! And a map of the Middle East featuring locations of the local participants! So this is the reality of "the local" in Ottawa.

In the 1995 *Citizen*, the front two pages are mixed and largely local. After that the entire front section is Canada and World pages, each with a label identifying which. In the second section in this Saturday paper (which is different from weekdays, with different sections, features, etc.) is called the Observer. It is largely World and National stories and the editorial page, which is included in this section, is entirely World and National, though the Letters page has a fair number of Local

letters. Apart from those few letters, the section contains only one local story and it is about Valentine's Day and a couple who wed on the same day as Charles and Diane, written by the wife of that couple.

The 1995 *Star*, however, is largely mixed, with only a few labelled pages. The local news is in the front section, and many pages are mixed, geographically, with local news a part of that mix. Interestingly, the former "Metro" and "Greater Metro" page is now called the Greater Toronto page (which is A4 in this edition). The *Star* has begun using the term GTA (Greater Toronto Area) in its campaign, not just to regionalize the city but to have it considered Toronto, rather than Metro.

The front section of the *Star* in 2001 is geographically mixed, but a few pages carry labels: page 3 is labelled News but is all world stories, however, the next page is local and provincial stories without a label. Page 5 has a World label, but again the subsequent pages are mixed. Page A9 is labelled The Nation but pages following are mixed. Page A12 is Editorial with a local editorial at the top. Page A13 is the Opinion page but only covers national and world issues. A14 is Weather, with one world story. A15 is labelled "Have Your Say " and features more letters from readers, plus a world column. The final page of the front section, A16, is a full-page spread on The Beaches (a local place) where an international jazz festival is taking place.

The other sections in the *Star* on this Sunday in 2001 are World/Business (each using half of a section), atHome, Entertainment/Books, Sports, Body & Soul. Most of these have at least some local content.

The *Citizen* of 2001 is so geographically segregated that when choosing a story to analyze<sup>98</sup> it was necessary to go 20 units to find a local story. Local news is in the front section, which is paginated as follows: A1-A2 mixed with no local news, A3-A5 National, A6, A14 world, A7 labelled Health but all world stories, A10-11 Local, A12 Editorial (no local content), A13 Letters (some local). Section B is Sports, followed by Features (puzzles, etc.), and the Weather page with several weather-related stories, all world. Section C is the *Citizen's Weekly*, a magazine-style section with a long local story on Little League that includes the cover and three middle pages. Otherwise, the section is national and world, however, on C3 there is also a world story with a strong local angle.

In the 2002 *Star*, several pages in the front section are labelled News, however, all the stories on those pages are national. There are labelled sections and pages for other types of stories—local and world. Special topic labels are on many

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<sup>98</sup> The stories were all numbered and a number in each edition was randomly selected for detailed analysis. If the number chosen was not a local story, the nearest local story in number was selected.

pages. Some are related to a geographic category but not exactly the one on the coding sheet list, while many are topics within the category, such as the Auditor General's report, which is national. In sports, we coded the different sports that are on separate pages with special labels as all being sports.

The B section is labelled GTA in huge letters (which stand for Greater Toronto Area; however, this is not spelled out in the masthead). It's seven pages, all local stories. Sports is the C section. It's really mixed, with very good play to local hockey and basketball teams, especially. Arts & Entertainment is next, with a mix of local and world or national, sometimes in the same story as international/national stars visit Toronto to perform. But there is also a purely local restaurant review on the A&E front. Business is also mixed. But local stories fall off, as you get further along in the section. Food is section F. Local stories on the front, and many more throughout the section.

Note: In the 2002 *Citizen* it's clear that the in this edition, at least, the paper is using the local section for general provincial news as well, since those stories don't appear on Canada or World pages, all of which are labelled in this edition. There are some pages with theme labels, such as Health, that carry provincial news stories, and these might appear in Sports, Entertainment, etc. but these appearances are fairly rare.

Returning to a description of the 2002 *Citizen*, in the front section, pages 1 and 2 are mixed as to geographic category, but after that, there are no local stories until page A18, the last page in the section, which is labelled Health. Section B is the local section but its front and second page (where the stories from the front are continued) is geographically mixed, with 2 local, 2 provincial and one world story, the latter with a local angle. Page B3 is local news, B4 is City Editorial (the paper now has two each of editorial pages and letters pages—one of each is local and runs in the local section, and the other in the front section for other types of editorials, letters and opinion pieces. In this edition, the City Letters page also contains a world-focused column, so it is not exclusively local, but the local is entirely excluded from the A-section editorial and letters pages.) Page B6 is provincial news, plus a world picture with a local angle. B7 is also provincial, and B8 is local news.

Section C starts with Sports, which is geographically mixed, and Features (comics, puzzles, astrology, etc.) as well as classified advertising, with some provincial and world stories at the end where the advertising doesn't fill the pages.

Section D is Business and then general news, mixed but without local news, in the latter half of that section. Section E is Arts – on the section front stories are geographically mixed, but the one local story is a profile of the guy who's internationally famous as Max Headroom and at this time was living in Gatineau. Born in Washington DC, he lived on a British Columbia naval base and was

schooled in Peterborough. So it's a Local/National/World story! The remaining Arts pages feature national, world and no place stories.

Section F is the Food section and pages F1, F3, and F7 are local, F2 is no place, F4 and F8 are mixed (that means some of it is local), F5 is a local story about where to find Tuscan olive oil in Ottawa. And F6 is a local story about music and food around town, including Russian, Louisiana, Italian, Belgian, French and Canadian food, and a culinary contest in Germany where a Canadian team is participating. Talk about local and global intersecting!

Indeed, it is interesting to look at the mixture in the 2002 papers and see the extent to which attempts at strict geographic segregation are starting to break down and the local is being "disrupted", to use Doreen Massey's term, by all sorts of nonlocal influences, ranging from provincial and world stories in the local news section, to global influences in the Arts & Entertainment and Food sections.

*Photographs: amount of context included*

While this study collected qualitative information about *all* the photos that include context (and many that don't) there is such an increase in the number of photos in Period Three that listing them all would take many pages and be at cross-purposes with this project. Thus, this section focuses on photographs that are, entirely or partially, *of the local place*, describing how often and where in the paper they occur. However, it is important to note that some of these local photos are on

pages with photos of other places, many of which show context as well. And that there are many close-up photos in the paper that are local, but are omitted because they don't include context. Most are small "head shots" of individuals, while others are objects, primarily products. While these photos might be said to enhance the Social sense of place that Eyles (1985) and Eyles and Butz (1997) described, this section is looking at the photos that contain "context"—in other words, physical surroundings or, in some cases, objects that help to represent the story (there will be a discussion of these types of symbolic photos when they begin to arise in the sample, which is in Period Three).

This section will describe the papers in chronological order. The small numbers in parentheses after the year and name of the paper, at the start of each edition's write-up, represent the number of local photos with context in the paper that day. This is not meant to be a strict quantitative survey of this data; when this was tried, it was not possible to get all three coders to agree on the measurements that we started out with at that time (they were asked to decide whether each photo was a long shot, medium shot or close-up). There could also be some dispute about what constitutes a "local" photograph (for example, if a local person is photographed in Europe, or the reverse, an international celebrity, photographed in Toronto but without any context in the photo). For these reasons, please consider these numbers

just a rough guide to the level of local, contextualized photography in these newspapers in these editions.

**1973 *Star* (14)** – The first local photo with context is on page 4 and features a recent university graduate in her office typing, disappointed she didn't get a better job after earning a degree. A headshot of another graduate is featured. Page 7 features another person in an office: letter-to-the-editor-writer Stanley Bramham, who says Canada "must establish a national identity" so English and French divisions aren't so divisive. The *Star* has chosen to highlight this letter by selecting its author for a picture.

The op-ed page, or "Insight Page", on page 9 of the 1973 *Star* features three photos. Two are nonlocal but one is of Toronto's Yonge Street, a major artery that runs through downtown, showing a store banner advertising "new erotic features" with pictures of film ads. The story is about obscenity, the Yonge St. "strip" and the courts' inability to define obscenity well enough to deal with the mess.

Page 10 features Mayor David Crombie with a Macedonian woman in costume—this too is Toronto. He's at a restaurant on Danforth Street. The page is full of national stories except for this stand-alone local picture. But it brings the local onto the page, juxtaposing this scene of Toronto as a sort of symbol of local identity. Is it also meant to be a symbol of national identity, appearing on a page with all national stories? People often say that people in Toronto think they *are* Canada, and

lack sensitivity to other regions of the country. The same could be said of Ottawa, a city whose name is used by Canadians all over the country to represent the federal government. Sites of national power are often accused of mistaking their identity for the national identity, and their concerns for the concerns of people elsewhere in the country. This photo, appearing as it does with an otherwise national page, might be an example of that kind of thinking.

In Sports, on an inside page (page 17), a shot-putter coaches a kid at a track and field clinic at Maple Leaf Gardens (it's actually called "the Gardens" here).

A very interesting pair of long shots on the Business "front" (which is inside the front section of the paper) on A22, shows before and after shots of a parking lot in downtown Toronto (King, York, Wellington and Simcoe) at 4 p.m., full, and at 6 p.m. with one lone car. These take up a large part of the page.

The first real section front is the Metro section's, page 27, with a large (the term used in the newsroom is "center art") photo of a child with a dog at a water fountain in Withrow Park, which council has heard people complain about. My copy of the picture is dark but you can make out trees, other people in the background. Page 28 features an Italian police officer, one of 48 visiting Metro police, with a Metro Police officer.

Entertainment begins on page 32, with several celebrity photos including one of Toronto poet who's honored by a U.S. university, which includes some context.

Page 63 has a local photo of a co-op grocery store, with volunteer's people bagging groceries. Lots of context.

I can't see the photo on page 66 but it is supposed to feature a local woman of 72 who's still working, probably at her desk from what I can see. Page 67 features some Girl Guides with a history display they put on at Casa Loma, a distinctive place in Toronto. And a 3-column shot of a local child who has cancer, with his art therapy instructor.

Note: The advertising, in 1973 and thereafter, is full of photographs of objects, whereas they were drawings in older ads. This tends, in my opinion, to compete more with the photos in the news.

**1973 *Citizen* (6):** On page 2 two local police are featured with a painting of a rescue one of them carried out of a child—it's fairly close on the man and child without much background. Same with a photo of a new bus on page 3, sporting the new Ottawa-Carleton transit authority, OC Transpo's, look and colours. Page 4 shows a group shot of Ottawa Shriners presenting a cheque for the Shriners Hospital for Crippled Children in Montreal.

Page 5 has a long shot of city crews cleaning up a stretch of Hwy 11 near Chelsea where an expressway under construction caved in and flooded the highway with a "river of mud". The next local photo with context is a visiting band from Ireland in front of a curtain at a local venue, shown on page 20. Note: On the same page is

an ad featuring the National Arts Centre Orchestra, long shot, with Mario Bernardi conducting. This is a local photo too, but it's in an ad.

Page 66 features one two-column shot of a Pembroke (i.e. local) couple that have been married 60 years.

In the **1982 *Citizen* (16)** – there are many more large photos, and more with context, than were seen in previous papers to date. However, many of these photos are not local. Nevertheless, the 1982 paper has almost three times the number of local, contextualized photos than the 1973 one.

Four photos on page one are local (there are also three small ones in keys, as well, on the front page but all are close-ups without context) and each includes some context, though the two Santa parade ones are mostly focused on a few children. A family of canoeists who have stopped in Ottawa in a cross-country voyage were photographed locally by a *Citizen* photographer, however, it doesn't say where. The image of canoeists is however a highly symbolic one for Ottawans and many other Canadians. (The Ottawa River, which runs by the Parliament Buildings and many other things in Ottawa, was one of the key canoe routes to the interior during the time of the Voyageurs fur-traders.)

In the final edition, a makeover of page 2 shows a pileup accident on the Queensway, a long shot, which is local. There is also a fire photo that's local, which

is on the early edition's page 2—these pictures appear on a page with only one local story, the fire write-up, which is just a few paragraphs under the photo.

Page 9 features a small but top of page drawing of the national War Memorial, which is local and national at the same time.

The four pages labelled Local include a section front with two contextualized photos (one of a car being pulled from the Rideau Canal, one of the exterior of a strippers' bar in Gatineau) and on other pages, one of the Science Olympics featuring a bridge-making contest and judges around it, the canoeists again on page 15 (early edition), and a shot of a local Member of Parliament presenting a cheque at a local center with people looking on and some indoor context. The last local page features then-Ottawa mayor Marian Dewar with a visiting ambassador, probably at a local church, which is named in the story, and a headshot of a visiting Brazilian archbishop. This is Ottawa, the international capital city.

The Business front also features local shots: one of the interior of the Village Treats candy shop in Lanark, a long shot, and another, a medium shot of a guy with computers and desks. The Sports front follows, with three action shots from a football game, all medium shots, on a field—Toronto's according to the two long stories that accompany the photos, but it's the Ottawa Rough Riders playing the Argos so it's got a local angle.

Pages 50 to 62 are a skiing supplement, but the only local photos are in the ads! However, I did not receive page 49, which might be a cover for this tabloid-sized supplement, and which might feature a local photo with context. The National Archives was asked to supply all pages with content, including photos that were not advertisements, however, they might have mistaken this page for an advertisement!

**1982 *Star* (18)** – There is a lot of context in the *Star*'s photos on this date as well, with one very large front-page photo showing happy fans, and others later, of the Toronto Argonauts themselves, featuring lots of fans and background. On page A2 there's a photo of a reindeer from the Toronto Zoo with a zookeeper. Page A6 features a local Santa slinging pizza, which is his other job. Page A7 features a local woman with her house and a trailer beside it, lots of context.

Page A12 shows 4 more Argos fan shots, lots of context, and they are with local news rather than sports (there are more in Sports, but they feature players). Page A16 is a local woman, mother of a retarded man who's losing his longtime home in a facility in Aurora, also local. She's in front of a picture in her home, apparently. 9

Page B1, the Sports front, has 1 big picture of Argos quarterback Condredge Holloway with crowd on the front and 1 of a dejected Ottawa player after the game (which was in Toronto) on B2. B3 shows 2 local photos, one action shot of Holloway in on the field with lots of context, another of two injured players with blurred

background (crowd apparently). Page B12 is a 5-photo spread called “Toyland” of the displays of toys in local stores in this Christmas shopping season, all with context. The Family front is of an immigrant family from Iran in their Toronto-area home. Lots of context in this photo, which is local and runs over 4 of 5 columns.

**1984 *Star* (21)** – The first local photo with context is on page A6: a long shot of the cluttered one-room apartment of a Toronto immigrant. Then we skip all the way to E3, which shows two men in suits with a computer, apparently in Toronto.

The Sports front has a hockey picture of coach and two players at the side of the rink in “the Gardens” (Maple Leaf Gardens), observing the action on the ice. A photo on H2 shows hockey action around the goal in the same game.

The Neighbors section, East Edition, makes up for the relative dearth of local, contextualized photography in the rest of the paper on this day with many local photos that include context. On the cover are two costumed girls doing Irish dancing; there is some background but my copy of the picture is dark. The caption says they’re at the Parkwood Estate in Oshawa. Another picture on the cover focuses on a child doing some kind of project. Page ES2 features an Oshawa railroad crossing with protestors and signs and you can see tracks and buildings behind them. ES10 features a very large, long shot of a school classroom that’s shared by two classes, no wall between them, both teachers addressing their separate classes. It’s on the demise of open-area classrooms. ES14 shows two police officers, one in a regular

suit, in some kind of office—there's a lot behind them, looks like a squad room.

ES18-19 is a two-page spread featuring five photos: two large photos and a short story about sculpture classes on the left page, close on the sculpture and hands in one, and close on a child working on the project at a table, with blurry background, in the other. The right page features three more photos—one of a teacher with a large pot, three children watching him and a table cluttered with stuff, shelves behind him with objects on them. Another is a long shot of the classroom with completed sculptures on a table in the foreground and the class barely visible behind. The third shot is of two boys bending over their work, consulting, and one holding what appears to be a rolling pin on his shoulder.

ES20 features local St. John Ambulance workers in front of their logo, writing on a blackboard. ES21 shows a hockey player in a helmet, signing autographs for a class of “trainable handicapped” students, who are behind a railing with the hockey star at the front. E22 is a close-up two-shot of a mother and a child wearing an asthma mask. E23 shows a one-room library built in 1896 in Scarborough, with some trees and snow showing around it. ES26 shows wheelchair athlete playing basketball, fending off another player whose face is seen only in profile. ES27 shows two boxers, fighting. ES28 shows an actor in casual clothes, in a building, leaning on a stair railing with windows behind him, apparently waiting to go up the stairs. It's

apparently backstage at Toronto Free Theatre's so-called Theatre Downstairs. ES29 a medium shot of two men, drawing something or writing on a table, together.

**1984 *Citizen* (19)** – The front page features one of the arrested men in the Turkish diplomat shooting being dragged to court in Ottawa (good contextual background, medium-long shot) and large headshots of the dead man and the other two arrestees, the latter two each featuring some background but cropped. Page 3 is Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Queen Sophia of Spain with some context from state dinner at Government House, which is local for the *Citizen*.

The first Local page, 14, features a snow sculpture and its maker in front of his house. Page 15 shows a man clearing snow from the flags display at Bank and Sparks street, and a second photo of children in a gym bouncing a huge inflated ball at a local community center.

The Sports front, page 37, shows boxer Gaetan Hart, "the boxing pride of Buckingham" (which is a local town), working out with one of those punching balls that hangs from the ceiling. The photo is taken by a *Citizen* photographer so it's probably local.

The Entertainment front, page 43, shows the artistic director of a local theatre standing in front of a sign at the theatre. The Consumers section front, page 57, shows a long shot of a line waiting for bargains at the Sears Surplus Center on Walkley Road in Ottawa, and two smaller shots that still feature some context, of

consumers inside the store. Page 63 shows Lotta Hitschmanova at a desk with shelves behind, probably in her office. She was an Ottawa resident at the time.

The High technology section features a locator map of Ottawa's high-tech firms on page 75, two photos from Bell-Northern Research's new laboratory building on page 76 and another photo of Mitel's Kanata plant (inside) at bottom, both with lots of context. A medium shot on page 80 shows a man assembling a telephone. Page 81 features Nabu Network's chairman in an office. Page 82 shows three men in suits inspecting a cancer-treating machine they developed at Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. And page 86 shows workers testing computers in what looks like a lab crowded with equipment and workers. There might also be a local photo on the cover of this supplement, but the page was not included in the package sent by the National Archives. It might, like the cover of the 1982 skiing supplement, have been mistaken for an advertisement.

The high-tech section, as mentioned previously, expresses an important part of Ottawa's sense of itself as "Silicon Valley North." This flourishing business community helped Ottawa to expand into new areas in the 1970s after the federal government started moving workers elsewhere in Canada, and reducing the size of the bureaucracy in Ottawa. It soon became Ottawa's alter ego in the employment and business sense.

**1993 Star (30)** – Page A2 shows a photo of the new coach for the Toronto Argonauts in a school library in Markham. Page A6 shows firefighters in a grocery store, a detailed long shot of a whole bunch of them shopping for the food bank. Page A7, also Metro page, shows two costumed knights jousting in an arena—you can see audience in stands in background. Page A12 features an Oshawa man and woman (local) with their winning lottery ticket, blurry background. On the page labelled “Queen’s Park” (the location of the provincial government in Toronto), page A13, Premier Bob Rae is shown in a huge media scrum. A 17 has a photo of an actress from a local production of Show Boat with some background. Page A20 has a photo of man being led away into custody by plainclothes policeman, with car and building and road in background. Local shot.

The Life front is canoes and kids at a lake somewhere and a close-up of kids on a hike or something, at camp in rural Ontario. No photos other than this in section except small headshots. This is not local in the strict sense; however, these are local kids who go to these camps for the summer.

The Sports front shows local athletes for the Blue Jays and Maple Leafs—the Jays shot is on the field and Leafs shot is on the ice and my copy has black background but there may be more context. Two large boxing shots on page D3 show ring and not much in background, the audience is blurred. The fights took

place at the Royal York Hotel in Toronto. Page D6 shows three local golf players putting.

There is a Golf supplement with a big shot of the sand trap at Glen Abbey that's local, small shot of another golfer at Glen Abbey with trees in background, a couple of No Place shots of people swinging golf clubs, all these are with local stories. Another shot with a local story shows long shot of people pulling golf carts at a course somewhere local, a line of four of them, kind of funny! Next page is someone practising golf, also local.

Fashion shows a nice changing room at a local store illustrating a local story about good and bad changing rooms. Third page has another fitting room in local store, and a photo of a local hairdresser's elaborate "do". Fourth fashion page shows model in outfit, could be anywhere, but it's a local story. Ditto on pages FA5 and FA6. Page FA8 shows three photos of a local journalist's makeover, one of them with context: the place he bought clothes in background.

There are two Entertainment sections, one of which is a tabloid supplement called What's On that has a lot of promotional shots of bands and other performers in it, none with any local context or photo credit. Most photos in this section could have been taken anywhere. The other Entertainment section, which starts on page B9, features two local photos on its "front" (which isn't a front, it's inside the B

section) of singers from out of town performing at local venues. There's also a local story about a play in production featuring Inuit tales with a big photo on sixth page.

There is also a "regional" supplement, in this case, a Brampton section—there would be others on the same day, for other local "regions", but we chose to examine only one of them because any one copy of the paper would have only one of these inside. It has 7 local photos with context, including kids playing hockey; an historic mill by a river; two men in a library; a drawing of a scene with a paper mill, houses, trees and roads; and a big photo of a guy with two women pinning carnations on him and a whole bunch of flowers in front, with a sign behind them. There is also a large map of the Credit River, which originates in the local area and extends outside it, and a drawing of a proposed housing development, which would not normally contribute to the sense of place perhaps but in this case the drawing incorporates an historic mill and surrounding trees which are expected to be preserved within the development. So these two things certainly add to the sense of place.

**1993 *Citizen* (37)** – Local stories get lots of photos in the 1993 *Citizen*. The Senators hockey team is on the front page (2 shots) and page 2 (1 picture with blurred background, no context), as well as the first three pages of the sports section, where there are 8 more photos with context. These are part of a collection of stories looking back over their first year, which feature quite a few photos. There is

one local photo on page A3, of an election volunteer at Campbell headquarters, which the story says is on Metcalfe Street in Ottawa. It has very limited context – one of the new type of picture that contains only symbols that represent the story: a phone receiver at her ear and a big campaign sign behind her head.

The *Citylife*<sup>99</sup> section's photos include alderman-become-developer Graham Bird standing by a window and although the background in my copy is dark it shows the outlines of several buildings, so it's probably a nice, long shot. Another long shot, this time of a flooded house, on B2. The photos that accompany a feature on the Redwood Court housing development do not show Redwood Court, just close-ups of a couple of large shots of building code infractions. A family whose house was ruined by a gas leak from a neighbouring gas station gets a small photo on page B6.

The *CityLights* section (not to be confused with *Citylife*, a daily section, *CityLights* ran only once a week and featured stories and listings about weekend entertainment) front has photos with two large local stories, and a long shot of a restaurant on page D8. The *Business* front shows a local business that makes fire trucks in a large photo. The section with the most local photos is the *Kanata*

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<sup>99</sup> This was a new name, and new mandate for the local news section, merging the *City* section with the *Life* section.

“advertising feature”<sup>100</sup>, a section that is full of long shots, and even an aerial shot, showing the place, much of which is new housing under construction. A total of 16 pictures in this section with context, and this doesn’t include the advertisements, which have more.

Finally, the Fashion section shows the inside of the National Arts Centre (which is in Ottawa), though it’s shot in hallways and stairways that are pretty bland. Three big photos though, accompanying a local story, and another local story at bottom with a nice photo, probably colorful but my copies are black and white.

**1995 *Star* (26)** – both photos on the front page include context, but only one is local: a medium shot of an Ambulance attendant removing a shooting victim from a Yonge Street address (given in the caption). You can see the “2 HR Cleaning” sign in the background.

The Greater Toronto page (it’s not clear when Greater Metro became Greater Toronto in the *Star*, but it was sometime between April 1993 and February 1995) has

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<sup>100</sup> As mentioned earlier, the term “advertising feature” is what the *Citizen* itself used to describe this section in 1993. However, it was decided to code this section because it so closely resembled the “legitimate” section, introduced some years later and known as “Homes”, and even later as “New Homes” and “Real Estate”, the latter dealing with homes for rent or resale.

two dark photos of a crime scene building and the sidewalk outside (both are outside) with labels on them so you get the picture: “Blood-covered sidewalk” for example. These are in the center of the page. At the bottom of the page is a type of picture that has become very common – close-up of a face with props – a person with a cheque and a loonie. (She won a lottery by spending a loonie.) This is not really context, but rather, carefully chosen props that sum up the story. Which it does. On the next page, A6, is the kind of “parade” or “protest” picture that later becomes the norm: two kids with signs, and you can’t see the rest of the crowd or get any idea if this is the whole protest, from the picture. It says in the caption that there were 150 people. That helps, but not everyone trusts those figures.

On page A11 is a photo of Gord Downie (lead singer for the Tragically Hip) singing to a reported 14,500 fans in Toronto, at Maple Leaf Gardens. You can see a few tiny seats and people far off in the background but the photo is mostly Downie, not even the whole band, who were there playing with him. Page A18 features a World War Two veteran, in uniform, in a Toronto driveway with car and house behind. He is going to the Netherlands to be *fêted* for liberating the country from the Germans. Page A22 has 3 local photos with some context in each.

B3, the Letters page, features one writer in front of the statue of Egerton Ryerson at Ryerson University. Page B4, an education story, features a long shot of

desks in what looks like an examination room at a high school. Unidentified location but taken locally.

The Business front, page C1, features a big picture of a papermaking plant in Whitby. C3 is another local photo with context.

The next local shots are in the Homes section: three local shots on the front with context, and on H12 two local pictures with context. 19

The Life front shows Toronto Maple Leafs hockey player Doug Gilmour in an ad for milk, black background in my copy could be context, and he is local. Page K2 features a model railroad club with a big model they have constructed in Toronto. Page L3 features two artsy photos illustrating poetry – one of a girl on a beach but it doesn't say where, another of a cross in a cemetery, which also doesn't say where. I'd imagine the cemetery is local and the beach is not. Page L8 shows a woman playing piano in a local concert. On page L11 movie producer Atom Egoyan is shown with trophies for the movie *Exotica*, it doesn't say where but there is some likelihood it was in Toronto. Page L12 features a large local photo, artsy, as part of "An occasional feature on unusual cityscapes."

**1995 *Citizen* (19)** – The front page features a local picture, with context, as its main photo, run large. On page 2, there is also a local shot with medium context as the page's main photograph.

The Citylife front is illustrated by a drawing, with only tiny photos in keys. On C2 is a local photo run small of ice sculptures in Confederation Square. On C4 is a long shot of Clarence Street accompanying a story about a city-built garage on that street that got very expensive. On page C8 is a tiny local photo of a man on the river ice where his snowmobile sank.

The Entertainment front has two pictures of entertainer Tom Green, who is from Ottawa, and associates, one with stage apparatus.

The Business front shows disgruntled workers with an A&P store behind, sign above. Only a bit of the store is visible though. Page E4 shows an Ottawa cartoonist in his home office, feet up, lots of context.

Sports section's main art on the front is a local shot of a teacher, in a classroom, lots of context. G2 shows a local woman curling, medium shot. Page G3 shows one local and one nonlocal medium shots of hockey players.

The Homes front has a big spread on a local home, four pictures, all local and contextualized. Four mini-pictures at the bottom of page one key to stories inside. Page I3 is a tight shot of a local house with car in the driveway. The Hobbies page in the Features section, on page J2, features a local child with her collection of figurines.

**2001 Star (44)** – The front page contains two local pictures with context. Page A2 features Justin Trudeau at World Youth Day in Toronto but it's black in the

background in my copy, so I can't tell if there is context. It is a local photo. Page A4 has a local photo with lots of context, outdoors. Page A6 has one large local photo, with context. Page A8 has a long shot of a house in Stouffville, which is local. Page A10 has a local story with old pictures, one of which seems to have been taken in Italy, the other two of which are local, and they have context. Page A11 shows a local apartment building with trees and another picture of a woman in an office, also local.

Page A16 shows a long shot of the crowd at a local/international jazz festival and a closer shot of people playing and a kid watching, and another one of musicians with what looks like the city in the background. The story is focused on the place, Kew Gardens, in the Beaches. The performers come from many countries.

B5 is business front and features a local photo with context and a story focused on a person, but with a lot of place in it. It's continued with another local photo on page B6. Another local photo on B8, of a new Old Navy store – another example of the nonlocal invading the local.

The atHome section has seven photos, one huge and six smaller, of a place outside Toronto but local, where artists have transformed it into a fantasy land. And a large photo on C4, where the story turns, of the couple in their garden. Lots of context.

Page D1 is a local story featuring a very large shot of two guys watching planes land at Pearson Airport, and a movie shot from *Wayne's World* of them doing the same, which is placeless, though it might be the same place in the movie, I don't know! Page D2 shows actors in a park in Oakville, local. Lots of context.

There are 3 onstage shots on D3 but all seem to be in Toronto. The photo on D6 also seems to be a local shot. On D8 is a spread featuring international celebrities spotted in Toronto. A world-local intersection set! There are 6 photos on this page with captions, no text except the captions. And 4 more on D9, which would be open across the page. (There are also three people shots without context on D9 but I am not listing those because they have no context).

D10 has a big shot of the University of Toronto's downtown campus, noting its Victorian Gothic Revival architecture and including trees and lawns too. At the bottom of the same page is an open-air concert at Harborfront with scenic background, also local.

Sports is last and two huge photos illustrate the local Blue Jays baseball story. They are black in background in my copy, though one is clearly on the field and shows someone catching a ball. There may be context in the other one too.

**2001 *Citizen* (7)** – The first local photo is on page A11, and it has limited context but there is some. It shows a violinist, Anne Akiko Meyers, who played a concert that was part of the Ottawa Chamber Music Festival.

On page B4 there are two local people who won medals in Winnipeg, and the picture shows them at a swimming pool with their medals. Since the contest had taken place the preceding week, the story says, it's likely the picture was taken locally, when they got home, but it doesn't say where in the caption and it's not clear from the limited amount of context.

Page C1 shows a close-up of two local Little Leaguers with a blurred background, thus, no context. On pages C7, C8 and C9 there are 8 photos over 3 pages, four with lots of context, three with medium context, and one a close-up with no context. It is not clear where all the pictures were taken, but at least 4—notably, *the ones with lots of context*—are not local, though three of them feature local people. The team travelled to the Cove Creek Park in Virginia and most of the pictures, perhaps all, were taken there. However, giving the other 4 shots the benefit of the doubt, let's call them local, but note that only 3 of these have context.

**2002 *Star* (14)** – The first local photo with any context is on page A4. On page A6 the photo is with a provincial story but takes place in Toronto at Queen's Park, and includes context. The next local photo with context is on page A35 and features a Toronto businessman.

Page B1 is the "GTA" (Greater Toronto Area) front. One photo on the page is local: a large head shot of a city official at a meeting with the *Star's* editorial board. It contains no context. Page B2 of the GTA section shows a cyclist bundled up against

the cold: a local picture with context. Page B3 shows a local jazz musician who has died, with his trombone but no other context. Page B4 has a local photo with a small amount of context. And page B5 is a local photo of people at a funeral, with no context in the photo; it's all in the caption.

In Sports, the photos that are played big go mostly with local stories (Leafs, Raptors). There is a huge local shot on C1, with medium context, and another of the same on C2, a third on C5.

Page D2 shows a local photo of a stage production.

Page E3 shows a local store with context.

On page F6 there is a huge portrait shot of a local restaurant owner in his place, with context.

**2002 *Citizen* (15)** – Page A18 is the first page in the 2002 edition of the *Citizen* to feature a local picture. It seems to have medium context, but my copy is black.

Page B1 features a local picture of a psychologist who studies Ottawa's homeless. Can't see background because it's black; it is a large picture, center art on the City front, so it probably does have some context. Page B2 features a long shot of a local highway accident. Page B3 shows an Ottawa with their disabled son, medium context. Page B4, the City Editorial page, has a picture of a local man in front of big painting or print of Canadian winter scene. Page B5, the City Letters

page, has a local picture with context. Page B7 has a local picture of graffiti art, and even states where it is. Page B9 features a local/national/world picture: Shirley Thompson, Canada Council chair, presented with an award by France at the French Embassy in Ottawa. Page B12 shows another local/world mix: a Hanukkah ceremony hosted by the Israeli ambassador to Canada, which features an Ottawa choir (one member is shown with a menorah in background) at the local Clarica building.

Page E3 features a local photo with context, and page E5 has another.

Page F3 has 3 local shots, one with a local chef, two featuring the food he cooked. Page F6 has a local picture of a fabulous Russian cake baked for a special event. The picture on Page F7 is of a diner eating at a local restaurant, with context.

As can be seen from these descriptions and from the little numbers in parentheses at the start of each edition's write-up, the use of local, contextualized photography was fairly low in both newspapers, at both the beginning and the end of Period Three. This type of photography—which can be assumed to have a significant impact on the sense of place created in the newspaper's pages—reached a peak in each newspaper somewhere in the middle: 1993 in the *Citizen* and 2001 in the *Star*. This is not meant to be a quantitative assessment, just an observation. However, a more detailed, quantitative and qualitative analysis of the

photographs in late 20th-century newspapers would be an interesting follow-up project for further research.

This is not to say that these newspapers stopped creating a sense of place using pictures, or had a lesser sense of place before and after the final decade of the 20th century, when lots of local contextualized photographs were included. It just shifted the type of sense of place constructed, possibly to a more Social one (with more pictures of people in close-up—though we do not know if this was the case), but perhaps to a more national or global one (with more pictures of nonlocal places, either national or global). All of this remains to be seen in a future study!

### **Placing the local: within stories**

#### *Placelines: Them and Us*

1973: Notably, the *Star* does not (and has never) placeline(d) stories from the Ontario legislature or national businesses located in Toronto, which means a lot of stories look local that are classified as national or provincial in this study. It constructs the local community as a place that includes a lot of provincial and national events. This IS Toronto, just as Ottawa is a place where national events take place often, and world events intrude and even occur with some regularity. The local is therefore not isolated from other geographic contexts in either city. Part of Toronto's identity is that it is one of Canada's largest cities – and eventually *the* largest city, the business capital, a place where immigrants flood in, and many

different cultural communities abide—Toronto’s Mayor Crombie is seen in this paper at a Macedonian event, which takes place in a local Macedonian restaurant. This is an important image of Toronto, where many of Canada’s immigrants live.

The *Citizen*, similarly, does not placeline national stories that take place on Parliament Hill. However, there are none of these on the front page in 1973, and the entire first five pages feature “purely” local stories and photos.

A couple of small notes: In 1982, there’s a placeline for Lanark on the *Citizen’s* Business front, page 17, though it’s a local place by our definition. In the 1982 *Citizen*, datelines are not used on world stories in the Sports section (see page 31).

1995 *Star* – Page C7: This page is an interesting example: Some stories have placelines (Montreal, New York), and the rest do not – even the one that declares Systemhouse is moving to Cape Breton from Ottawa. And Noranda Mining will invest in Northwestern Quebec. It’s a column of briefs but they don’t have headlines. And no placelines. Instead of a placeline there is a capped intro to the brief that names the company rather than the place. One might assume from this that the company headquarters are all in Toronto, but then there is the Systemhouse one. Curious.

*Place mentions:*

**–How many: Are local places mentioned as often as non-local?**

*Please refer back to Chart 5-2 for a visual depiction of the data discussed here.*

In 1973 as Period Three begins, the *Star* is at 28% local place mentions, while the *Citizen* is at 25%. Neither figure is either high or low for either paper. 1982 is very similar, with the *Citizen* dropping a bit to 24%. But in 1984 the *Star* leaps to 39% while the *Citizen* remains at 24%. In 1993, they are both up, with the *Star* still at 39% and the *Citizen* at 40%, its highest level ever. (The *Star*'s highest level was 47% in 1922, but these two years are its highest since then, and its second highest overall in the entire study period). After 1993 things drop significantly. Both papers drop in 1995 to about 17%, which is less than half their 1993 levels! This is partly—or perhaps entirely—because it was a Saturday paper, which in the *Citizen* has always been low in local place mentions, relative to other years. However, the *Star* has not been low on Saturdays, and neither paper has been below 20% on a Saturday at any other time in the study period. The lowest level in the *Citizen*, however, is 14%, which occurs in the 2001 paper, which is a Sunday paper. This is not a low year for the *Star*, though. It's at 26% in 2001—nearly double the *Citizen*'s percentage of local place mentions. In 2002 both papers are back up to more normal levels of 27%.

So the *Citizen* in Period Three sees both its highest and its lowest levels of local place mentions in the newspaper: the highest, in 1993, occurs when the paper was still owned by Southam, Inc. In 1995, when it was sold to Conrad Black's Hollinger chain, it drops precipitously from its 1993 high, and in 2001, under yet

another new owner (the Aspers' CanWest News) it drops even more, though it rebounds modestly in 2002. And it's important to take into account that the 2001 result was for a Sunday paper, which was a new thing in Period Three, different from the rest of the week, and gave low priority to local news.

In the 1984 papers there are supplements: The *Star* has an Eastern Suburbs supplement, which is much more like the older newspapers in terms of the placenames. They are more detailed, with exact locations given a lot of the time, including street addresses but also names of surrounding buildings or streets, and former placenames remembered and mentioned, etc. There are lots of local placenames and I think a greater proportion of local placenames in the articles. Data entry was much more time consuming because of all this, like the older papers were<sup>101</sup>. In the *Citizen* of 1984 there is a High-Tech supplement, which is also largely local but it's a business section, focusing on Ottawa's high-technology sector, which is sometimes called Silicon Valley North. Most stories in the section are local but it is

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<sup>101</sup> In the first half of Period Three, and in Period One, data entry involved recording all the secondary names used for places. That is, if a place was mentioned repeatedly, those extra names were recorded, as well as the original names. We stopped doing this after 1984 because it was much too time-consuming for this project, and the data, being incomplete, were not analyzed.

notable that placenames are largely non-local. However, one story has a total of 76 placenames and half of those are local.

1993 is one of the *Star's* highest years in percentage of local placenames, tying with 1984 and exceeded only by 1922. And 1993 is the *Citizen's* highest year in the entire sample, in the percentage of local place mentions. It is also interesting that *both* papers had high levels of local place mentions in 1993, and that the *Citizen* exceeds the *Star*

In 1995 both papers are at the same level, 17%, which is very low in local place mentions—for the *Star*, this is its lowest level in the entire sample, while the *Citizen* is at its second lowest (after 2001).

2001 is one of the *Star's* highest years in percentage of local placenames, tying with 1984 and exceeded only by 1922. This is the *Citizen's* highest year in the percentage of local place mentions. It is also interesting that both papers had high levels of local place mentions in 1993, and that the *Citizen* exceeds the *Star* in that year.

NOTE: In the 2002 *Citizen*, places are often mentioned without specific locations. For example, on page B12 of the *Citizen's* city section, the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board's two outdoor education centres, which are about to close, are mentioned without saying where they are. The story is a brief, however, even briefs

in the Period One newspapers, would have given locator info for such things – indeed, nearly all the stories in that era were what we'd call briefs today.

***The next two sections draw upon some of the articles selected at random from each edition in Period Three for analysis. Examples from 2001 and 2002 are presented.***

Which places are described?

In 2001, the *Star* has quite a number of articles focused on local (and other) places: the Beaches jazz festival is played up and the place described and shown in quite a few photos. The story picked at random for analysis in this edition (see Figure 5-16, the lower story on the page headlined “The ‘science’ of people counting”) is from page A16 of the *Star* on Sunday, July 29, 2001. It is from a page focused on the jazz festival and is a “sidebar” to the main story, which describes the area as “jammed” with 200,000 on the Friday night and an expected 300,000 on Saturday. However, this article doesn’t describe the place or event further (which the main story does), focusing instead on the “science” of counting crowds in other places and occasions, as well, mentioning several popular Toronto festivals, such as Caribana, the Santa Claus Parade, the Pride Parade, and demonstrations or rallies at Queen’s Park, particularly the “tumultuous” (as the story says) Day of Action rally by unionized provincial government workers and their supporters in 1996. All these things occur with some regularity in Toronto, which is much like Ottawa in that sense. Mentioning them in the story is a way of reminding people of the “place making” that goes on in the city—the festivals, traditions and cultural events which result in the “production of local subjects” and the “spatial production of locality,” as described by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996, p. 180) and described in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. But it’s also important to note that many of these

A16 THE TORONTO STAR Sunday, July 29, 2001



LAD BACE: Crowds soak up the sun in Kew Gardens yesterday at the Beaches International Jazz Festival.

# Sun, song and all that jazz

## Home-grown artists bring the beats to the Beaches

BY CHRISTIAN COTRONEO

For 29-year-old Liam Brown, it all starts with his tiny right foot, as it taps in rhythm with a soft, shimmering drumbeat. When the singer's sultry voice erupts, so does Liam's body, swaying about in generous arcs.

By the time the rest of the band kicks in, the set is buzzed from head to toe, dancing feverishly at the side of the stage. His fever is contagious, engulfing more than 10,000 people gathered in New Gardens for the Beaches International Jazz Festival.

And that's just the way Bill King likes it. He has been leading the bands that bring the beats to the Beaches for the festival's entire 13-year history. "From November to March, I



BILL KING

listen to the bands and try to figure out what will work," he said. "This year he selected 54 acts; all but three of them are Canadian. "It's a lot of fun. The festival started as a way of bringing really strong Canadian bands to a large, multi-stage."

Canadian jazz, he said, hasn't always been taken seriously by the music industry. "It's almost like they were B artists, compared to mainstream artists. Owing to the four-day Decease International Jazz Festival now being, changing those perceptions by putting home-grown artists at the forefront. But as the festival's number of attendees, it is King who often finds himself front and center. The tatter between each act, he sees bands on and off the stage with smooth introductions and stirring farewells. "I tell the story of this festival, where they're going and what they've been doing." King's own story may not be celebrated on stage, but it resonates through every aspect of his life. "Bill devoted his life to mu-



CAPTIVE AUDIENCE: Wylie Kigg, a waitress as jazz pianist Michael Knechtmeyer performs in Kew Gardens yesterday.

During Tab Bennett's Louis Armstrong-style blues set, the open-air picnic scene seems like a smoky blues club. But even though cigar dealers peddle their wares on foot, most of that smoke comes from the thousands of hot dogs grilling throughout the park. Last year, firefighters from Station 17 heated things up with a performance of their own. They raised \$3,000 for charity by pooling off their shirts from the roof of the bus hall at Queen St. E. and Woodbine Ave. But the show may have been too steamy for some. After an anonymous caller lodged a complaint, the fire department cancelled plans for a return episode. "They held out fire boots and ask the public to put money in," said firefighter Michael Moxley. "There's a special class going through training right now so some of them have volunteered to do it."

## And talking about crowds . . . were there 100,000 or 300,000 at the Beaches?

# The 'science' of people counting

Tired of job that got politicized, police quit estimating numbers

BY NICHOLAAS VAN RIN

Do they? Or don't they? When it comes to estimating crowds, the Toronto Police Service has a standard approach. They don't. But don't tell people like Lido Chalk, president and producer of the Beaches International Jazz Festival, who under the impression they do. "Friday night has had over 300,000 people — it was busier than last year," he said yesterday, without a counter's hesitation.

By yesterday afternoon, more than 100,000 people had jammed Queen St. E. between Woodbine and Victoria Park Aves. Chalk's said, adding he was expecting more than 300,000 fans to jam the site last night.

And how does he come up with those numbers? "We ask the police," he replied, adding he deals with officers at the Toronto police command post set up to handle the event.

"They use a grid system to come up with a count of many people per space (on the grid) and that's what we go by. They talk to their officers and they get estimates on how thick the traffic is everywhere."

That's news to Sergeant Jim Muscat, a Toronto police communications specialist, who says police stopped es-



NOISE SECTION: Members of jazz pianist Michael Knechtmeyer's band perform at Kew Gardens yesterday.

timating crowds years ago. "We haven't done it for a few years." Muscat observed, blaming the inevitable argument that arises when a disinterested party like the police services goes one count, disapproving organizers of the event who invariably claim a higher — much higher — count. "What prompted it?" Muscat asks rhetorically. "Disputes between the organizers of events," he continued. "When I see disputes, I mean a misunderstanding, because the crowd . . . we look at the crowd, and we use to give estimates, and then we were essentially told the estimates must be honored. "So we've decided no longer to try and get an estimate for the event, and

we leave it up to the organizers to estimate the crowd. "That way there's no conflict. "When it comes to crowd estimates, it seems, there's no winning. But it took a while for that lesson to sink in. Back in the mid-1990s, bedeviled by the constant arguments over crowd estimates, Toronto police assigned Staff Sergeant Stan Betas to come up with a foolproof method of counting. "In the past, we've never had an accurate way of counting people," Staff Sergeant Stan Betas said in 1995, when he explained the grid-based system, which uses photon or video and a grid nearby to calculate the number of people present. Betas quickly learned that even a

foolproof system isn't foolproof when it comes to counting the number of people who turn up for summer's party. His grid system was put to the test in 1998 when 72,000 people, or 250,000 depending on who you listen to, turned up for a millennium Day of Action rally at Queen's Park. Betas's system said 75,000. Organizers said 250,000. "I don't know why the police are phoning guess," said Ron of the Canadian Union of Public Employees said at the time. "Maybe it's because they don't want (Premier Mike) Harris to be embarrassed." Even the Ontario Federation of Labour's Gord Wilson got into the act, saying that Toronto police chief Da-

vid Boothby, who announced the official police figure, "is just playing politics by underestimating the size of the crowd."

"He is someone who doesn't like anyone to challenge the establishment."

But an independent Ontario Provincial Police, which used a different method, also came up with 75,000 for the 1998 rally.

Still, when The Star called last week to ask how their counting method works, please what? "We don't do crowd estimates any longer," said spokesperson Marilyn Murray.

And when we put the question to another OPP spokesperson — just how were those earlier estimates arrived at — Sergeant Terry (the similarity) bit the bullet.

"I think it's just a guess, someone's good guess," he responded. Perhaps that explains how a parcel of independent counts arranged by The Star came up with estimates for that Queen's Park rally ranging from 210,000 to 300,000. Really.

It's not the only example. Carleton Place's Police Parade. At one time, police gave crowd estimates for every one of them. Organizers invariably had different, much higher, figures. In one infamous case, Carleton organizers claimed an attendance of nearly a million. Police said fewer than 100,000.

Go figure. And even though the same disputes still crowd numbers elsewhere, police usually just go on giving their best estimates — and let the critics mutter.

Figure 5-16: Toronto Star, p. A16, July 29, 2001

events have extra-local links: for example, the International Jazz Festival stresses in its name the fact that performers come from many places; the Caribana Festival celebrates Toronto's West Indian community and traditions; the Pride Parade is held in many other cities and celebrates alternative sexuality and the gay/lesbian community everywhere it occurs. So this is again a "disrupted" locality, as we have seen in previous stories we have examined.

The local story chosen at random from the 2001 *Citizen* (see Figure 5-17) is about a family from Winnipeg, driving across the country and "stuck in Ottawa" as the story says (a term that seems to disparage the local). Their motor home broke down, they have no money, and they are on their way to resettle in Halifax. The *Citizen* story does mention the family's hotel suite downtown and their 1979 26-foot motor home but neither is described in detail and there is no photograph of these places with the story.

*Use of senses:*

The *Star* story—particularly if one looks at the entire page, as shown in Figure 5-16—evokes the senses of vision (with pictures and description), touch (the physical feeling of being in a large "jammed in" crowd) and sound (the music and the noise of the crowd). These would be aroused by this story and the main story, which is continued from page 1 in the space right above this sidebar.

# ✓ Hard-luck family stuck in Ottawa

1.3  
local  
9.

## Series of misfortunes turns trip into a nightmare

BY JEAN-FRANÇOIS BERTRAND

The misfortune of a family from Winnipeg over the last five weeks could fill half-a-dozen country and western songs.

They were going to Halifax, where Michelle Clayton, the mother, was to study architecture. But now they are stuck in Ottawa, at the end of their rope.

Their bank account is empty, emergency funding from social services is about to run out and affordable housing is just about impossible to find here.

"This is beyond what I had imagined could go wrong," says father Robert Clayton in a downtown hotel suite, while his wife of four months and his son, Marguerite McLean, look on worried. In the next room, Kayla, 6, and Celine, 3, watch television, oblivious to the family's situation.

"This is quite the honeymoon," says Mrs. Clayton.

Their plan was simple: take 10 days to drive from Winnipeg to Halifax in a \$9,000 used motorhome they had just bought. Their pockets were full of money and there was more in the bank. Enough to rent a house and buy a car. They would have their possessions shipped from home once they got settled.

All of that now seems like an unreachable goal.

In Orleans on June 28, their 1979 26-foot motorhome broke down. "It died right there. The back axle seized," explains Mr. Clayton, 38. Because the RV is more than 20 years old, "it took time, they couldn't get the parts right away," he says. And often the parts wouldn't fit.

Travelling in a motorhome and staying at campgrounds is an affordable way to travel, the family says, but staying two weeks in a hotel waiting for a vehicle to be fixed is not.

"The hotel was \$125 a night, plus food for five in restaurants, plus the phone calls," says Mr. Clayton.

"Our reserves were drying fast," adds Mrs. Clayton, 38. They spent almost \$1,700 at the hotel, in addition to \$1,500 as a deposit for the work on the axle. (They learned three days ago that the total bill is \$4,000 plus tax — money they don't have any more.)

Meanwhile, Buddy, their eight-month old Pomeranian, is at a kennel. That bill, so far, is \$400.

They were told their vehicle would be ready July 18. They checked out of their east-end hotel, found that the motorhome was not ready and checked into the more convenient suite hotel.

By Monday, they needed help from Ottawa's social services. The motorhome would soon be fixed and they could be on their way. But on July 25, Mr. Clayton's driver's licence was revoked. And neither his wife nor his aunt, a senior, drive.

"I have a 35 centimetre mass, sitting in the right-hand side of my brain," he says. His doctor told him he could make the trip, but that tumour should be treated once he got there. Doctors prescribed morphine and other powerful painkillers and barred him from driving.

"He has major headaches. Now, it's constant pain, that wouldn't go away," says Mrs. Clayton.

The social services emergency assistance, currently paying for their accommodations, will stop helping tomorrow.

"We've got to get out of this situation, we have no choice," says Mrs. Clayton. "I have to find a way to keep the family going."

Mr. Clayton says he has worked all his life, and always managed to pull through.

"Now I can't."



PATRICK DOYLE, THE OTTAWA CITIZEN

Left to right, Marguerite McLean, Celine Clayton, 3, mother Michelle Clayton, mom, Kayla Randell-Clayton, 6, and father Robert Clayton were stricken by a sequence of bad luck.

Figure 5-17: Ottawa Citizen, page A10, July 29, 2001

There is some appeal to the visual sense with the photograph of the family (which is notably devoid of context) but the primary appeal in this story is to a less formal sense, that is, the emotions. Sympathy and despair, and perhaps motivation to help them out financially, would be the major feelings evoked by this story. On top of all their other bad luck, the man of the family has a painful brain tumor, at this point requiring morphine, so he can no longer drive. That would conjure up both images and feelings of pain as well. The noise and squalor of a family of five living in a hotel suite without money also evokes the senses.

Eyles sense of place:

**Star story:** Social, Roots.

**Citizen story:** Social.

### **Stories from 2002**

Which places are described?

**Star** – The story selected at random from the *Star* of December 4, 2002, is a letter to the editor<sup>102</sup> entitled “Story captured Christmas vibes”. It doesn’t describe a place.

However, it refers back to a story from December 1, 2002, entitled “Precious

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<sup>102</sup> For that reason —because it is not a story produced by Star staff—permission could not be obtained to reproduce the letter here as it appeared in the paper.

Permission was given to reproduce the original story to which it referred, however.

crèches” (Figure 5-18) which evokes the spirit of Christmas, according to the letter.

Those reading the letter would presumably have read the original story, which occupied a large section front and continued on an inside page.

Interestingly, the original story does not have any connection to Toronto, but is rather an examination of the tradition of displaying Christmas cribs or crèches in Christian homes and churches around the world, describing where there are interesting ones and even collections. So the spirit that the letter evokes is a global one, with no mention of Toronto. The letter-writer praises this article highly and says it has evoked the “real meaning of Christmas”, which she implies is religious and not “secular”—a term she uses to describe the “press.” Thus her surprise and delight to see this article in this secular medium. It would seem that her sense of place, and that evoked by the letter, involves traditions such as the religious and the folk art of a Christmas scene displayed in the home. It is not tied to a particular home, however, but is global—a time of shared belief and celebration with people all over the world. This is sort of an ironic twist on the Roots sense of place because the roots from which these traditions are derived are not actually “rooted” in place today, though they might once have been. Many people find it comforting when they move to a new place to bring along family and cultural traditions and set them up in their new home. It creates a sense of being at home for them in the new place. The story doesn’t call



upon this sentiment, however. It calls upon a global and religious sense of place—something not really encompassed in Eyles' list of types of sense of place.

**Citizen** – The local economy is described in this story, shown in Figure 5-19, which is from page D1 of the *Citizen* on December 4, 2002. It describes the results of a poll of 516 residents of the National Capital Region about how much money they plan to spend during the 2002 Christmas season. It predicts local retailers will suffer as spending drops from 2001. Perhaps the most interesting thing from a sense of place perspective is the various names given to the locality: the poll, according to Decima, the firm that conducted it, includes entire National Capital Region, an area that includes all of Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec, although they are in two different provinces with a river running between the cities. In the story, several names are used interchangeably for the place: the headline calls it *Ottawa* and plays on the word *capital*, while the lead paragraph calls it *Ottawa-Gatineau* and the pollster interviewed in the story calls it *the national capital region*, a term which is not capitalized in the story. (The latter is a precise term defined and used regularly by the federal government and its agencies, particularly the National Capital Commission.) In the story, there is also a reference to Ottawa and Gatineau as being where the 516 residents live. So there is a single city (Ottawa), a region (the NCR), two separate cities (Ottawa and Gatineau) and a conjoined city (Ottawa-Gatineau)

# Ottawa shoppers feel short of capital

New poll shows more will spend less this Christmas

BY BERT HILL

The cooling economy is putting a chill in the Christmas spending plans of Ottawa-Gatineau residents.

A new Decima Research poll shows that 39 per cent of respondents planned to spend less this holiday season, compared with only 26 per cent a year ago.

Only nine per cent plan to spend more compared to 14 per cent in a poll a year earlier.

The result is that 51 per cent of area respondents will spend about the same as last year. A year earlier, 58 per cent were planning to hold the line.

"These latest results confirm that national capital region residents are picking up negative signals about a slowing local economy, and adjusting their expectations accordingly," said Decima vice-president Keith Neuman.

"While it is too soon for local retailers to write off this holiday season, the data suggest spending will fall below last year's levels."

Decima said it talked to a representative sample of 516 residents of Ottawa and Gatineau between Nov. 21 and Nov. 27. It said the sample will provide results that are accurate within plus or minus 4.3 percentage points 19 times out of 20.

Strong consumer spending on housing, cars and other products, and resilient public sector hiring have kept the Ottawa-Gatineau economy humming despite a wipeout by the technology sector.

See SHOPPERS on page D2

Figure 5-19: Ottawa Citizen, page D1, Dec. 4, 2002.

as well as the “capital” in the headline which refers specifically to Ottawa. A city that doesn’t know what it is, maybe? Or is it perhaps all these things?<sup>103</sup>

It is also interesting that that the story sees residents primarily as consumers and shop owners—that is, as members of an “economy” who participate in various ways. Consumers, it seems, will let down the shop owners if they do not spend enough money on Christmas. Or they will let down the local “economy”, which is a way of expressing the type of community that is being described here. This would seem to be an Instrumental sense of place. It is seeing the place as “a means to an end” as John Eyles describes the prevailing view of those who have this type of sense of place.

*Use of senses:*

**Star** – This letter to the editor does conjure up Christmas spirit, in referring to an article it says did that. It refers to this family’s own crèche, which dates back to

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<sup>103</sup> In fact, it makes sense in the story to use the terms Ottawa and Gatineau and Ottawa-Gatineau rather than National Capital Region, because the former are terms people know and understand. Readers cannot be assumed to know what the NCR is. This is probably why the story was written that way, and it is, I believe, perfectly accurate. However, the headline is inaccurate.

the 1950s and is “contemporary” yet has become a “family tradition.” This brings in all the traditional Christmas appeals to the senses: smells, images and sounds.

**Citizen** – This really doesn’t appeal to the senses unless people imagine themselves out shopping. But that really is not an image that’s called up in the story. Even local retailers, who are referred to, are not spoken to in this story.

*Eyles sense of place:*

**Star** – Roots, but primarily global.

**Citizen** – Instrumental

### **Part Three: Quantitative Results**

This section will introduce the quantitative results in connection with the hypotheses to which they apply, adding some discussion and analysis.

#### **Examining the Hypotheses**

For convenience, the first hypothesis is reprinted here, followed by an explanation of the quantitative results for each sub-hypothesis:

***Hypothesis One: The newspaper's representation of the local place will show evidence of Giddens' concept of disembedding and Massey's concept of disruption. That is, over time, articles will be less tied to local places and local articles will be increasingly disrupted by extra-local influences.***

It was predicted that this would result, over time, in:

- A. Fewer stories focused on, or happening in, local places and more non-local stories as a proportion of the total number of stories in the paper. Thus, the distribution of *geographic categories* of stories would change over time, de-emphasizing local stories and those with a "local angle" or focus.
- B. Decreasing *priority* given to local news in the overall organization and design of the newspaper.
- C. Increasing *priority* given to non-local stories in the organization and design of the newspaper.

- D. Increasing *segregation* of local stories as a distinct (implication: optional) type of news, more like arts or sports than like national and international news.
- E. More stories involving *both local and nonlocal* elements in the same story.
- F. The number of placenames mentioned in articles will decrease over time. This will be particularly true for local placenames.

**Hypothesis One A: Fewer stories focused on, or happening in, local places...**

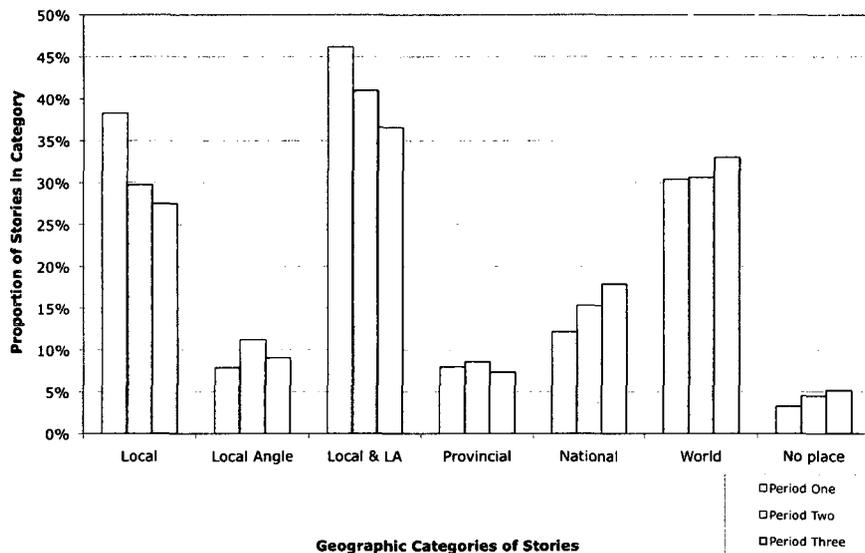
Chart 5-9 illustrates the results for the *Toronto Star* for the proportion of stories in each geographic category, by time period, of the *Star* sample's 3,745 articles. These data support the first part of Hypothesis One (a), showing a clear, statistically significant decline in the proportion of Local stories, as well as the combined total of Local & Local Angle stories, over time.

The *Star* contained 38% exclusively local stories in Period One, 29% in Period Two and 27% in Period Three. A chi square analysis<sup>104</sup> of the frequencies on

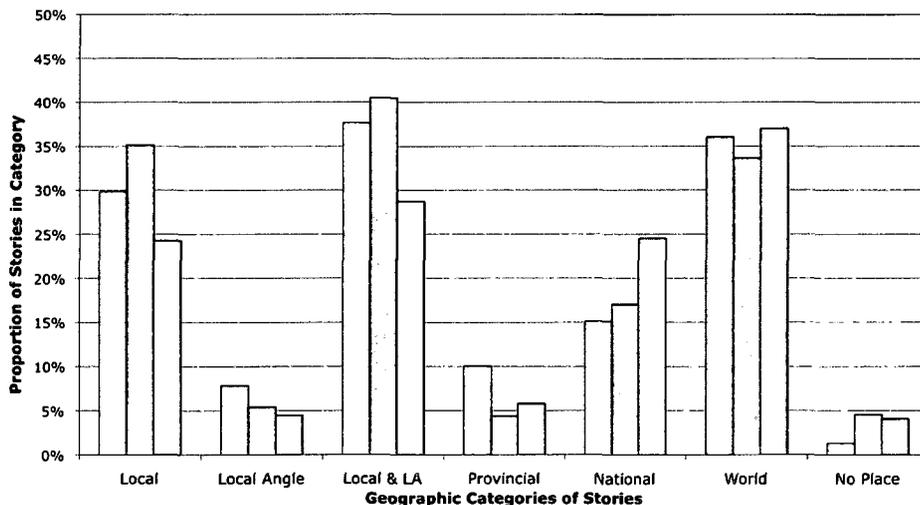
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<sup>104</sup> The chi square test is preferred for tests involving categorical, non-parametric variables, that is, variables that do not, or are not expected to, fit a normal distribution. That is the case in this study. The geographic categories are a nominal level variable and the time periods are an ordinal level variable, both of which are suitable for the chi square test. (Field, 2005, pp. 681-720; Hayes, 2005b, pp. 244-270)

**Chart 5-9: Geographic Categories by Proportion in each of the Three Time Periods, Toronto Star**



**Chart 5-10: Geographic Categories by Proportion in each of three Time Periods, Ottawa Citizen**



**Charts 5-9 and 5-10, Geographic Categories by Proportion in each of the three Time Periods, Toronto Star (above) and Ottawa Citizen (below)**

which these percentages are based found the differences to be significant, with  $p \leq .001$  when the frequencies of the three time periods were compared, or when Period One and Period Two were compared, or when Periods Two and Three were compared.<sup>105</sup>

When Local and Local Angle<sup>106</sup> stories in the *Star* were combined, Chart 2 shows the same type of decline, from 46% in Period One to 41% in Period Two and 37% in Period Three.

Chart 5-10 shows the results for the *Ottawa Citizen* over time by geographic categories. The *Citizen* did not give the same emphasis to local news throughout Period One as the *Star*, so its level actually increased from Period One to Two. However, there was a sharp decline in Local stories between Periods Two and Three, to a level below that of Period One. These results are statistically significant, with  $p$  values for the chi square tests of the decline in local stories over all three time

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<sup>105</sup> The very low  $p$  values indicate that the probability of these numbers occurring by chance is virtually nil.

<sup>106</sup> Remember, these are stories from another geographic category that focus on a local person, institution or location. For example, a sports story involving Toronto's National Hockey League team, the Maple Leafs, playing in Los Angeles or Philadelphia.

periods, and between individual periods, well below the .001 level. In the *Citizen*, the same high statistical significance holds for the decline in the category that combines Local and Local Angle stories, with  $p \leq .001$  for all three time periods, and between Periods One-Two and Periods Two-Three.

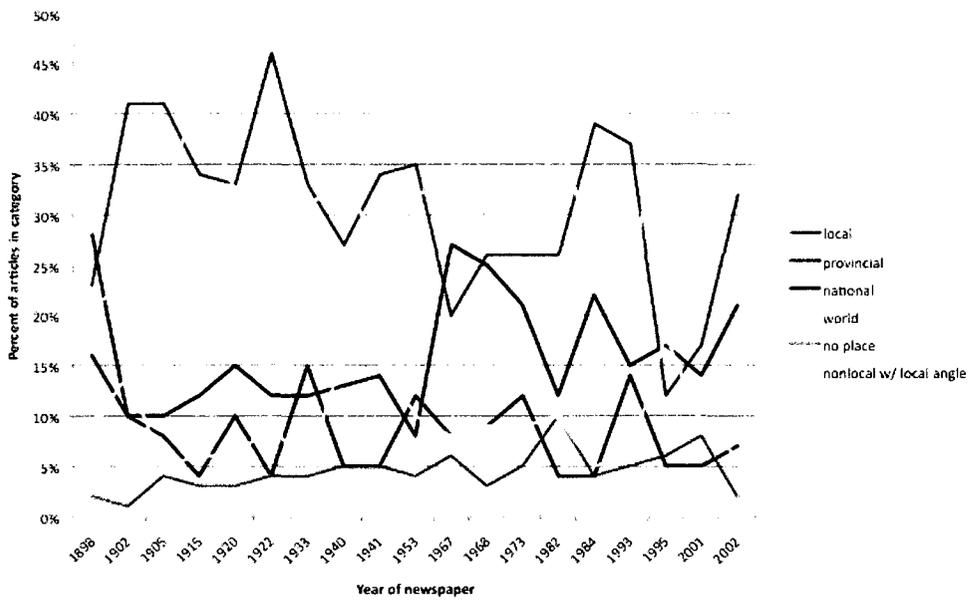
One explanation for the *Citizen's* low level of local news in Period One has to do with methodology. This study defined local as the paper's official circulation area (as recorded with the Audit Bureau of Circulation) for the year in question. The *Citizen's* earliest recorded circulation area is from 1915, so it applies to all three editions prior to that date as well. However, the 1915 circulation for the *Citizen* was unusually small: it only encompassed a 15-mile radius from Ottawa City Hall. In later years it expanded considerably, taking in "an average radius of 67 miles" in 1920, the next year in the Period One sample. Thus the situation is that four of the six papers in the Period One sample (from 1898, 1902, 1905 and 1915) had this exceptionally small circulation area. This meant that stories from Ottawa Valley and Outaouais towns like Perth, Renfrew, Shawville and Wakefield— anything outside what are now the cities of Ottawa and Gatineau—were not included. The *Toronto Star*, meanwhile, had a circulation area in 1915 with an average radius of 53 miles, extending to Cobourg, Barrie, Guelph and Hamilton—much farther from the central metropolitan area. It is unfortunate that this rare blip in the circulation area took in several years and thereby might have affected the Period One results quite

significantly. However, it was also important for the methods and definitions established at the beginning of the study to be followed consistently.

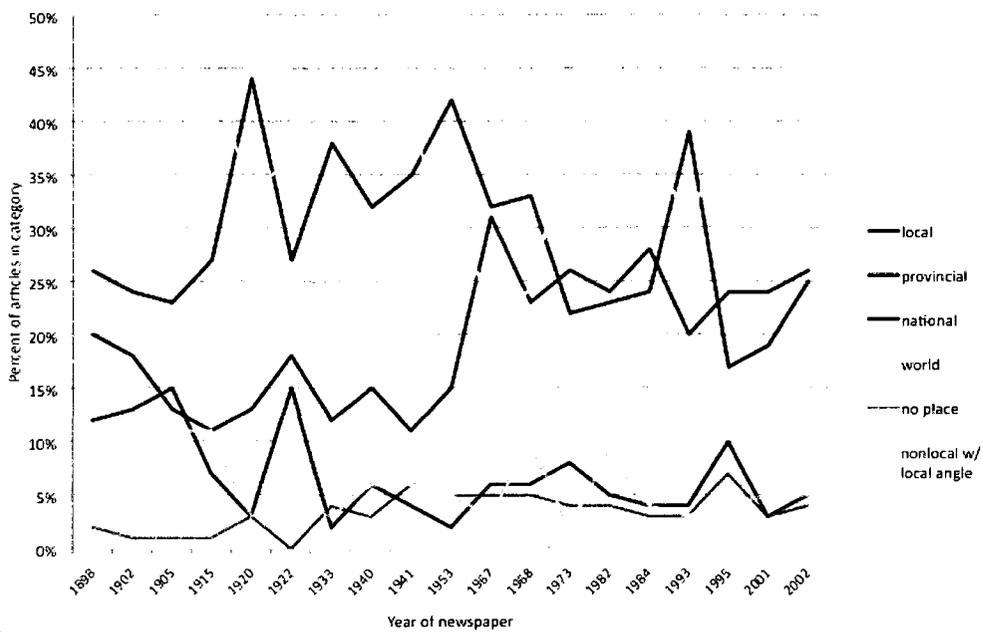
There was one decision made in coding that compensated very slightly. In the first four *Citizens* in the sample, there were a number of stories from outlying areas, not in the circulation area, that adopted a very local tone. It was decided to count such stories—such as social notes from Perth and Renfrew and Shawville—as having a local angle. This applied only to a small number of stories (11, in total of 869 in the *Citizen* in Period One) in these four papers that were clearly written for local readers. For example, a social column from Renfrew in the August 28, 1915 *Citizen* stated, “Mr. Handford is building a new garage.” No first name was given, or mention of where he lived, presumably because local people reading the column would have known who he was and where he lived. It was decided that stories with this kind of “local tone” would be coded as “non-local with a local angle.” Furthermore, a special category was made in the charts of results that combined local and local angle stories, as all constituting local content. However, for the most part results were given separately for the local and local angle categories.

It is also interesting to look at the year-by-year results (Charts 5-11 and 5-12) to see how much variance there was in the percentage of stories in each geographic category. While the trends are unmistakable—toward decreasing local coverage

**Chart 5-11: Star, % articles in geographic categories by year**



**Chart 5-12: Citizen, % articles in geographic categories by year**



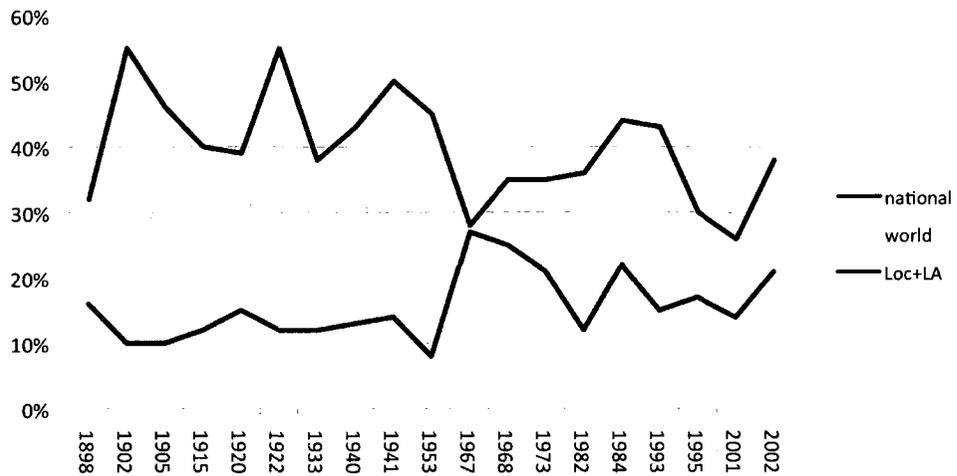
**Charts 5-11, 5-12: Percent Articles in All Geographic Categories by Year**

from year to year—there is significant variation from year to year. Charts 5-11 and 5-12 again use the percentage of stories in each category (this is important because the actual number of stories in the paper varies so much from year to year).

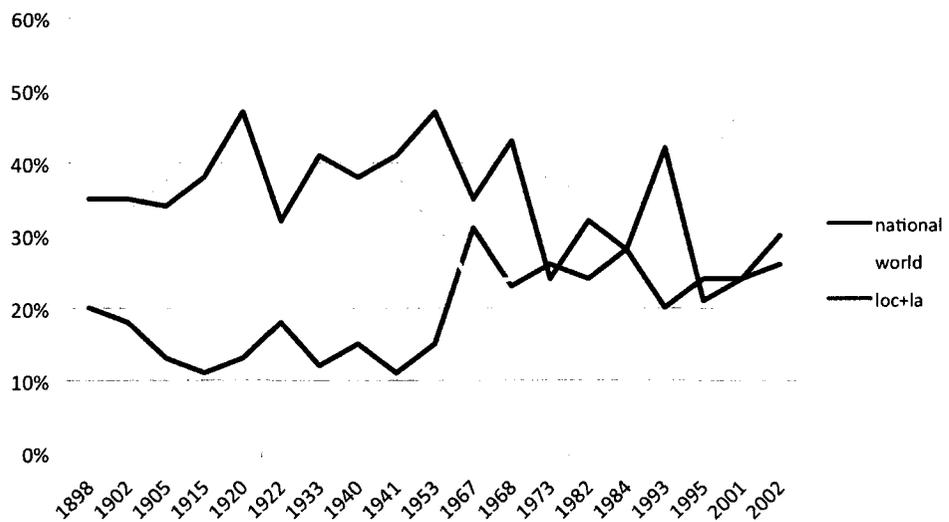
The year-by-year charts clearly show the leap in national stories in 1967, Canada's Centennial year, and their continuation at a higher level thereafter, particularly in the *Citizen*.

Another interesting idea is to combine the local and local angle categories to see how all local content fared over the years, compared to national and world categories, eliminating the smaller categories for the moment. This provides a simple, graphic demonstration of the trends in the two newspapers, in Chart 5-9 and 5-10, which are placed on the same page for comparative purposes. In both papers, the blue line representing the local slopes downward over time, while the red line representing national makes an abrupt jump in 1967 and continues on a new, higher level, which in the *Citizen* is much higher. In both papers, world news was high early in the 20th century and returned to a high level shortly after 2000. But the *Citizen's* level of world news has always been fairly high relative to the *Star's*. It is also interesting that somewhere in mid-century, in both newspapers, the levels of all three categories are about equal, then as time goes by they separate out again, with world and local news each vying for the top spot and national competing with those two in some later years in the *Citizen*.

**Chart 5-13: Star % articles in major geographic categories**



**Chart 5-14: Citizen % articles in major geographic categories**



**Charts 5-13, 5-14: Percent Articles in Major Geographic Categories by Year**

In the *Star*, the local is clearly the priority for the first half of the 20th century, but since 1967 it has been taking turns with world news as the top category. The national, meanwhile, doesn't come close to the other two categories except in 1967, in the *Star*.

In the *Citizen*, local competed with world in the first half of the 20th century, but since 1967 it has been competing as much with national as with world; the three categories are closer together and national crosses over the other two much more than it did prior to 1967. This crossover results from two things: a decline in the percentage of local news (except in 1993) and an increase in the percentage of national news. World has been fairly consistent, and quite high, except during the 1960s papers in the *Citizen*. It is always a very important category in that paper. But so, too, is local news if we take into account local-angle stories as well as purely local ones.

**Hypothesis One A: ... and more non-local stories as a proportion of the total number of stories in the paper over time.**

When the two newspapers turned attention away from the local, where did it go? The most dramatic increases were in the national category. Charts 5-5 through 5-10 show a steady increase over time in the national category in both newspapers. In the *Citizen*, there is a sharp jump in national stories after 1970 (in Period Three) that seems to mirror the sharp drop in local stories after 1970. The National results

are significant ( $p \leq .001$ ), again using a chi square test, in both newspapers, and this statistical significance holds over all three time periods, as well as the changes between Period One-Two and Period Two-Three.

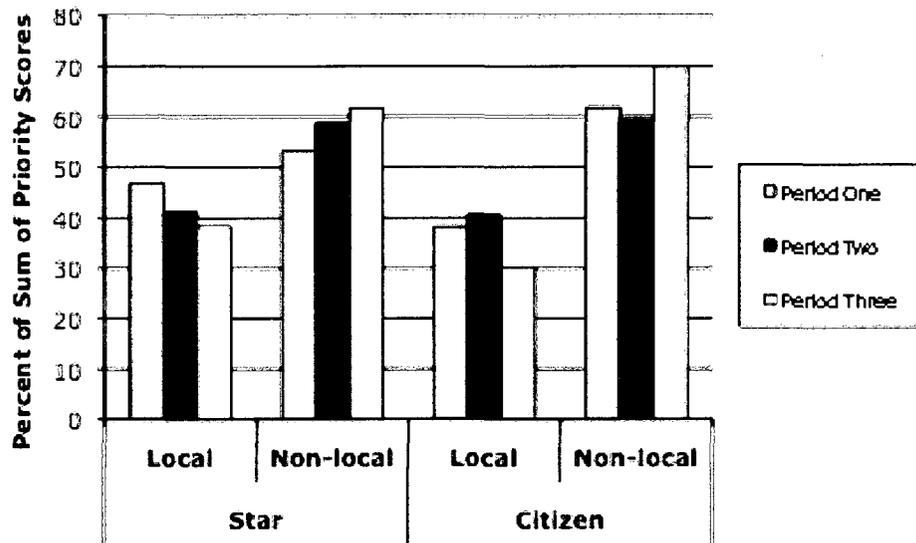
In the *Citizen*, results in the no place category were also significant ( $p \leq .001$ ) for the increase over all three time periods, as well as the increase between Period One and Two. The increase between Period Two and Three was significant at the  $p \leq .05$  level. In the *Star*, none of the No Place changes over time achieve statistical significance.

Results for the declining provincial category were not statistically significant in the *Star* but they were significant ( $p \leq .001$ ) in the *Citizen*, except for the difference between Period Two-Three, which was significant at the  $p \leq .05$  level, but not significant.

Neither the *Star* nor the *Citizen* shows a statistically significant change in the proportion of world stories over time.

In order to assess the hypothesized increase in non-local stories clearly, a new variable was created from the Geographic Categories, dividing stories into only two categories:

1. Local, which included the Local and Local Angle categories; and
2. Non-local, which included Provincial, National, World and No Place.

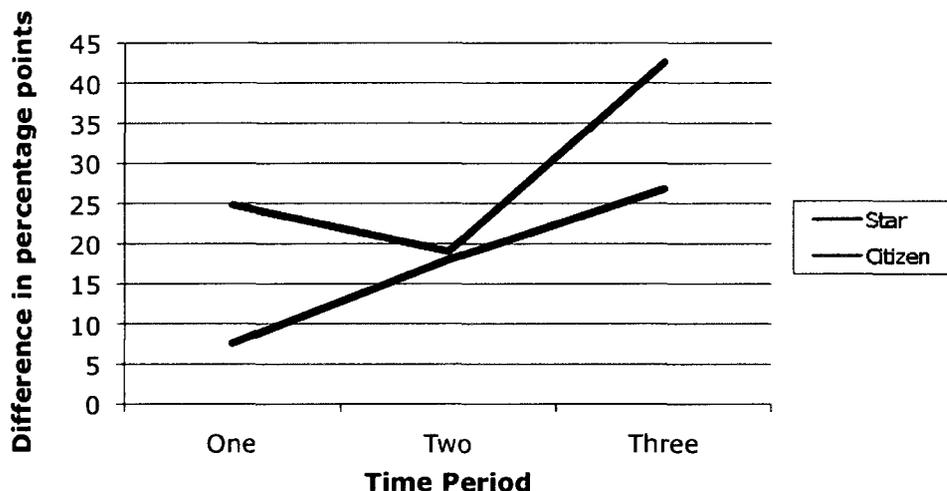


**Chart 5-15: Local-Nonlocal Split in Priority Factor by Time Period**

Chart 5-15 graphs the results. The *Toronto Star* showed a steady decrease over time in local content and a steady increase in non-local content. The *Citizen* showed a rise in local content in the second period combined with a drop in non-local. But by Period Three, the *Citizen's* non-local coverage rose to more than 70% and local coverage dropped to less than 30%. Thus, the results from the *Star* throughout all time periods, and the *Citizen* from Period Two to Period Three, strongly support the hypothesis.

It is also interesting to compare the percentage-point gap between Local and Non-local categories over time, to see which newspaper has the greatest gap, and in

which time period(s). Chart 5-16 graphs these results. In all cases, the Non-local category was the higher of the two. Note that the *Star's* gap rises in a linear fashion from Period One to Period Three, and that in Period Two, the two newspapers are at almost the same level.



**Chart 5-16: Gap in percentage points between local and non-local stories**

**Hypothesis One B: Decreasing priority given to local stories over time:**

While the proportion of stories in any geographic category is an indicator of the newspaper's priorities, the preceding set of results does not indicate anything about how much space was devoted to local news in the two newspapers, nor does it tell us what kind of "play" different geographic categories of stories were given in the two newspapers at different times. This content analysis coded a number of

priority markers, appropriate to each time period, as described in Chapter 4. The resulting scores used a slightly different scale for each time period, reflecting the fact that newspapers discovered new design techniques for indicating priority as time passed. Once the results were tallied, they were standardized to make them comparable by putting all of them on a 13-point scale<sup>107</sup>. The resulting scores were then assigned to three categories: high, medium and low, taking into account the kind of total score a story would need in every time period to be considered “high priority” or “low priority.” For example, in Period Three, placement on the front page or a section front was important enough that a story simply could not qualify for high-priority status without being on those pages, either in full or in a “key” telling readers what page the story was on. In other words, a story needed a score of 10 or higher to be in that top category. However, a score of 10.111 corresponded to a score of 7 in Period One, which would have included many stories that were short, with medium headlines, but happened to be at the top of the page because they filled space above an advertisement. So it was determined that the cutoff point should be 10.2 for “high” priority.

It should be noted that far fewer stories achieved high-priority status in Period Three: only 5% of the Period Three sample achieved a high ranking (and this would

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<sup>107</sup> Period One results were multiplied by 13/9, Period Two results by 13/11.

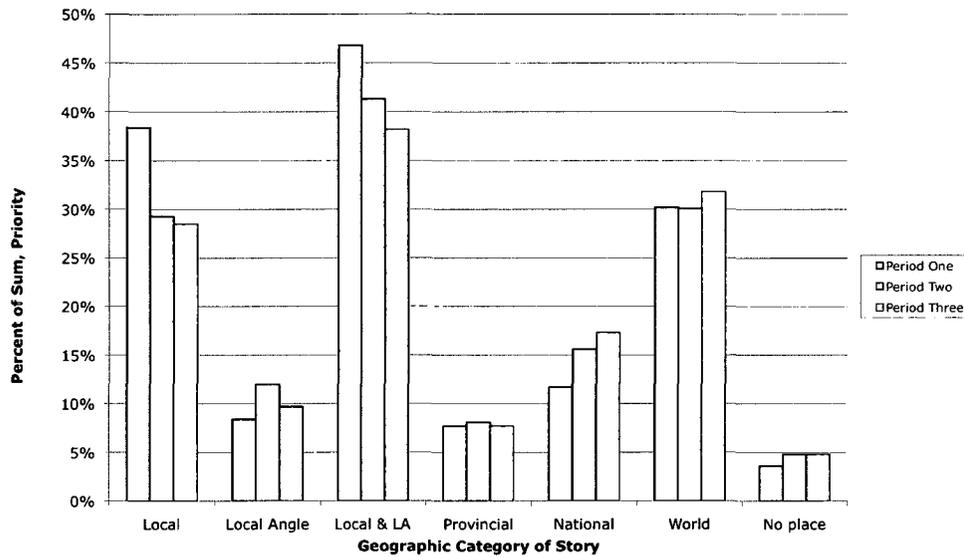
still have been true with a cutoff of 10 for that rank), while 20% of the sample from Period One, and 13% of Period Two stories were included in the “high” category. However, in order to include more of the Period Three sample in the high category, the cutoff would have to go down to 9, and it has already been pointed out why this total should not qualify as high in that time period. This dramatic lowering of the number of high-priority stories in the years since 1970 is something Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) see as part of the Modern trend to dramatically simplify and prioritize the news. They point to the streamlined front page in the late 20th century, which displayed only a handful of stories as the newspaper’s top picks for the day (compared to dozens of stories on a typical front page early in the century) as an example of how modern news design structured the news much more selectively than did Victorian news design in Period One. This new form began with “protomodern” design—their term for the forms that emerged between the two world wars, beginning in Period One and more in evidence in this study’s Period Two—which imposed a “top-down order” (news hierarchy) that showed up as a highly-structured page: story placement, headline size and story length were used to demonstrate the story’s place in the hierarchy, with the most important stories usually the longest, and located at or near the top of the page with largest headlines. By the time the modern movement had achieved full sway, in the 1960s and 1970s,

fewer stories were selected for top billing, radically simplifying the news of the day for readers (Barnhurst & Nerone, pp 185-254).

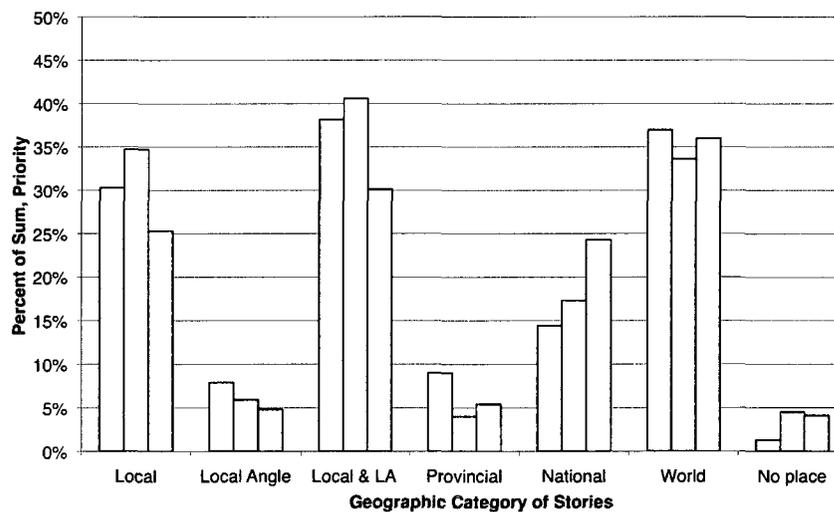
The lower number of high-priority stories and higher number of low-priority stories over time was the reason the mean was discarded as an indicator for the relative priority of each geographic category *over time*. There were sure to be lower mean scores as time went by, simply because each succeeding time period had more low-priority and fewer high-priority stories. However, this is not a problem if we use the “percent-of-sum” scores as the indicators, calculating these percentages *within* each of the three time periods. Percent-of-sum scores are calculated by adding up all the priority scores in each time period, and comparing the total in each category to the sum of all the priority scores for that time period. It’s as if each Time Period had exactly 100 priority points to had out, and the percentages show how they divided those points up, geographically.

Charts 5-17 and 5-18 graph the results of the Priority Factor calculations, showing how the percentage of priority points accorded to each geographic category *changed over time*.

**Chart 5-17: Priority, Percent of Sum, Compare Time Periods, Toronto Star**



**Chart 5-18: Priority, Percent of Sum, Compare Time Periods, Ottawa Citizen**



**Charts 5-17 and 5-18: Priority Factor, Percent of Sum, Compare Time Periods**

In both newspapers the results for the Priority Factor are very similar to those for the simple proportion of stories in each of the geographic categories, shown earlier in the chapter, in Charts 5-9 and 5-10.

The percent-of-sum statistics are useful in that they reaffirm and amplify the finding of statistically significant declines ( $p \leq .001$ ) over time in the emphasis given to Local stories and the combined Local & Local Angle category in both newspapers, with a more pronounced drop in the *Citizen*. The chi-square results are even more significant for the priority-value measurements in geographic categories, in both newspapers, than those found in the calculations for Hypothesis One.

The same is true for the increases observed over time in the National category: these are statistically significant in both newspapers, using the priority-value figures.

The Local Angle category experienced significant changes in both newspapers over all three periods, as well as the change from Period One to Two, but the change from Period Two to Three was significant at the  $p \leq .05$  level in both news papers.

In the *Star*, the priority-value results for Provincial, World and No Place categories were not statistically significant.

In the *Citizen*, the only category that showed no statistically significant difference in priority values over time was World. The chi-square calculations show

significant changes in the priority given to Provincial stories over time, with a significant drop ( $p \leq .001$ ) from Period One to Two and a significant ( $p \leq .05$ ) increase from Period Two to Period Three. The No Place category showed a significant increase in priority from Period One to Two ( $p \leq .001$ ) but dropped significantly ( $p \leq .05$ ) from Period Two to Three.

### **Priority: Comparing means**

Although the absolute values of the means cannot be compared over time, because of changes in design that made priority measures decline over time, the means still have an important contribution to make. Looking at the means *within time periods* in Table 5-2 and 5-3, one can see very different priorities being accorded to stories in different geographic categories at different times. Highlighted in yellow are the categories that have means higher than the value listed as the “total” for that time period, which is the mean for all stories in that time period. The highlighted means would seem to be higher because the stories in the category are getting better than average play in the newspaper, regardless of the number of stories in that category.

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<b>Table 5-2: Priority: Compare Means and % Sum by Newspaper, Time Period, Geographic Category: Toronto Star</b>							
<b>News paper</b>	<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Geographic category</b>	<b>Mean of Priority</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Sum of Priority</b>	<b>% of Total Sum</b>
Toronto Star	1894-1929	local	2.1500	340	.51339	731	38.4
		provincial	2.0704	71	.45744	147	7.7
		national	2.0648	108	.39324	223	11.7
		world	2.1333	270	.40991	576	30.2
		no place	2.3448	29	.61388	68	3.6
		loc angle	2.3000	70	.49196	161	8.4
		Total	2.1464	888	.47123	1906	100.0
	1930-1970	local	1.9364	440	.51008	852	29.3
		provincial	1.8661	127	.60896	237	8.1
		national	2.0088	226	.52486	454	15.6
		world	1.9338	453	.55656	876	30.1
		no place	2.1045	67	.49648	141	4.8
		loc angle	2.1084	166	.53963	350	12.0
	Total	1.9675	1479	.54216	2910	100.0	
	1971-2005	local	1.9261	379	.47679	730	28.5
		provincial	1.9604	101	.42239	198	7.7
		national	1.7935	247	.49579	443	17.3
		world	1.7890	455	.45441	814	31.8
		no place	1.7465	71	.49909	124	4.8
		loc angle	1.9920	125	.51581	249	9.7
		Total	1.8563	1378	.48022	2558	100.0
Total N				3745			

**Table 5-2: Priority: Compare Means and Percent Sum by Newspaper, Time Period, Geographic Category. Toronto Star**

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<b>Table 5-3: Priority: Compare Means and % Sum by Newspaper, Time Period, Geographic Category: Ottawa Citizen</b>							
<b>News paper</b>	<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Geographic category</b>	<b>Mean Priority</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Sum of Priority</b>	<b>% of Total Sum</b>
Ottawa Citizen	1894-1929	local	2.1236	259	.49040	550	30.3
		provincial	1.8851	87	.38656	164	9.0
		national	2.0000	131	.42967	262	14.4
		world	2.1470	313	.49107	672	37.0
		no place	2.0909	11	.53936	23	1.3
		local angle	2.1176	68	.61157	144	7.9
		Total	2.0886	869	.48973	1815	100.0
	1930-1970	local	1.9600	450	.46547	882	34.7
		provincial	1.8214	56	.50837	102	4.0
		national	2.0183	218	.50767	440	17.3
		world	1.9814	431	.56208	854	33.6
		no place	1.9828	58	.43895	115	4.5
		local angle	2.1594	69	.50361	149	5.9
		Total	1.9828	1282	.51186	2542	100.0
	1971-2005	local	1.9632	299	.45831	587	25.3
		provincial	1.7746	71	.53977	126	5.4
		national	1.8642	302	.42914	563	24.3
		world	1.8289	456	.41578	834	36.0
		no place	1.8800	50	.32826	94	4.1
		nonloc w/ local angle	2.0364	55	.33131	112	4.8
		Total	1.8783	1233	.43558	2316	100.0
Total N Citizen				3383			

**Table 5-3: Priority: Compare Means and Percent Sum by Newspaper, Time Period, Geographic Category: Ottawa Citizen**



Table 5-4 summarizes these high-ranked means in descending order of their value (i.e. the top-ranked is first).

<b>Table 5-4: Top-Ranked Means within Time Periods</b>		
<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Top Means</b>
One	Star	1. No Place 2. Local Angle 3. Local
One	Citizen	1. World 2. Local 3. Local Angle 4. No Place
Two	Star	1. Local Angle 2. No Place 3. National
Two	Citizen	1. Local Angle 2. National
Three	Star	1. Local Angle 2. Provincial 3. Local
Three	Citizen	1. Local Angle 2. Local 3. No Place

This means that although Local and Local Angle stories descended in priority overall (as the percent-of-sum figures show) in these newspapers over time, Local and Local Angle stories were getting better play, on average, in the newspaper than stories in other categories. And starting in Period Two, Local Angle stories were getting the very best play, on average. This would indicate that the local was still highly valued, but there simply were not as many stories being written. Also, it would

seem to indicate that a local person, institution or product that performed in an exceptional way *in a non-local context* or the reverse, *a nonlocal person that came into the local context*, was the most important type of story to these two newspapers, starting in mid-20th-century and continuing thereafter.

The highly ranked mean for provincial news in the *Star* in Period Three is something Ontario residents would not be surprised at: in the 1980s, after 42 years of Conservative government, Ontarians started to elect different parties to power, with years of political turmoil resulting from reforms instituted by parties with very different, often incompatible, political agendas. While the *Citizen* data do not reflect increased priority for provincial news in the mean for Period Three, the *Citizen's* priority results overall, shown in Chart 5-14, did rise in Period Three to reflect the very interesting provincial politics that played out during that time.

It is also interesting that the means for no place stories are highly ranked in several instances although they are a relatively small proportion of the stories in the paper overall. This would lend support, albeit limited, to Hypothesis Two.

**Hypothesis One C: Increasing priority given to non-local stories in the organization and design of the newspaper:**

As was done in the analysis of Hypothesis One A, a categorical variable was created that lumped all local and local-angle stories' Priority Factors together and all non-local stories' Priority Factors into a second category, so it would be clear

whether the priority given to non-local stories had increased over time. The results are in Chart 8, and they clearly support the hypothesis through all three time periods in the *Star*, though for the *Citizen*, the decline in local and rise in non-local news only occurs between Periods Two and Three. As before, the results look quite similar to those for geographic categories alone, but they do take into account the Priority Factor assigned to the stories in each geographic category.

**Hypothesis One D: Increasing *segregation* of local stories as a distinct type of news, more like arts or sports than like national and international news.**

In the Victorian period, newspapers were much smaller than today: the maximum number of pages in this study's Period One sample was 28. The earliest—and shortest—paper in the sample, from 1898, was only four pages in the *Star* and eight in the *Citizen*. Newspapers of this length generally did not divide into physically separate sections, though in the later, 20-plus-page editions there might be two sections that were not evident because the layout and topic for the section front is no different than those for other pages.

The earliest editions, from 1898, did not have topical segregation by page, though they did have an editorial section that shared a page with other stories. The editorials had a standard, distinct layout that distinguished them from articles, typically with smaller headlines and a small masthead at the top giving the name and

address of the newspaper. Victorian newspapers began, around the turn of the 19th-20th century, to offer sports, business and women's news, but not initially as full pages or sections, just special columns devoted to these topics with headings like "The Sporting World" or "The Markets." These shared the page with other articles, including local, national and world news, and the geographic categories were mixed on each page.

By the 1920s things were changing further. An early version of what we now call a "section front" appeared in the December 27, 1922 *Star*, where the Second Section was announced with a new, slightly smaller masthead than the front-page banner announcing the name of the newspaper, again at the top of the page, with the label Second Section in smaller type at both sides of the masthead. Three photographs enlivened the top of the page, a cartoon strip the bottom, and the design of the page was clearly modern, using the definition on page 5 of this chapter, derived from Walkom (1983) as well as Barnhurst and Nerone (2001). The stories on the Second Section front in this edition were largely local, but there were a few provincial, national and world stories mixed in. This big section front for the Second Section became a tradition in the *Star* that endured through the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. The papers during this time seemed to have a maximum of two

sections<sup>108</sup>, and the custom seems to have been to use the Second Section front as a page to highlight important or interesting stories that did not make it onto the front page, but these stories came from all geographic categories. The April 17, 1933 edition had more stories—a total of 43—on this page than there were on the paper's front page.

There were also sections in the late Victorian newspapers for businesspeople and sports fans, though they were not always labelled as such. By 1920, the *Ottawa Evening Citizen* of May 17 (Monday of Period One) featured a well-labelled two-page section on pages 8-9 for the family, the first of which had a banner across the top that read "The Evening Home Page for Mother and the Young Folks" and a second page with banner heading "From the Lighter Side of Life – Our Daily Page of Fun." Since this paper was 18 pages long, these two pages would have been in the centre, on two facing pages, making a nice, removable feature for the family's after-supper entertainment. The back page of this edition was a distinctive-looking, full-fledged editorial page with its own masthead, five editorials and some shorter opinions labelled Comment, plus a full column of opinion from other newspapers, and a

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<sup>108</sup> It's not possible to be certain of where section fronts actually occurred unless the page indicates this in print because this study used copies from microfilm for the *Citizen*, and PDFs from Pages of the Past database, for the *Star*.

column of Letters to the Editor. A couple of very short news stories were used to fill the remaining small corner of the page, under three advertisements. This edition also featured a labelled page of sports, but no business or stock market pages—the *Citizen* in these years had distinct morning and evening editions, with the morning paper aimed at the business readership, the evening edition more populist and family-oriented.

As noted earlier, this sample provides evidence that the front page of the more populist *Ottawa Evening Citizen* was more modern, earlier, than the front page of the *Morning Citizen*. The constructed week for Period One included two *Morning Citizens* (from 1902 and 1905), two *Evening Citizens* (from 1898 and 1920) and two simply labelled *The Citizen* (from 1915 and 1922).

The 1922 edition of the *Star* featured two sequential pages devoted largely to sports, though these pages did have stories from other categories and did not feature any label on the pages, identifying them as sports. These were in the first section. Later, in the second section, there were four pages of family news, the first featuring a column labelled “Woman’s Daily Interests” and other columns covering fashion, social notices, “society” and obituaries. The next few pages offered fiction, including some aimed at children. After this came several pages of business news. So the paper was sectioned, but not geographically; the sections were topical. And in the *Star*, they were not labelled and did not have section fronts in the way we

know them today. But they were clearly sections, and the *Star* did continue to feature these in years to come.

For example, the Friday *Star* in Period Two, which was from 1954, featured the Second Section front with banner on page 25, as well as a Daily Home Page on page 22, with features like Astrology, cooking question-and-answer column, a social advice column (Mary Haworth, rather than Ann Landers, wrote this column). Notably, the Daily Home Page had the highest concentration of No Place stories in the paper, with four of its five stories in that category. The other story was National. There was nothing local on the Daily Home Page. The following pages made up for this, however, with Social and Personal stories that featured many local weddings and news from various social and charity clubs in the city.

Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) point out that sections developed first and fully in Sunday newspapers (in the United States), and that all American newspapers developed daily sections by the 1920s, which began, as we have seen in this sample, with single pages which expanded into several pages. The reason for spending time describing this process is to explain the attitude among journalists that the sections were optional reading, as Barnhurst and Nerone note:

The journalist's ideology of the public mission of the newspaper partitioned the sections into ghettos filled with the concerns of specific subgroups (like women and children) or special interest groups (like

businessmen and baseball fans), *stuff that didn't pretend to general importance for the common public*. As serious journalism came to shun the sections, they became centers for design innovation. (2001, page 248, emphasis added)

By 1933, the *Citizen* featured a Second Section front like the *Star's*, which in this edition featured local news but did not say so explicitly. This page was followed by two well-labelled pages of sports, then comics and other features, such as fiction, on The Home Page, which had become a tradition.

In the 1940 *Citizen*, several well-labelled pages were aimed at women and families, and appeared in the front section of the newspaper, from pages 4-8. A page of hard news followed, then sports pages with banner headlines making clear their content. The Second Section front contained war news in this edition, and the tradition of the Second Section front continued, with varying content, thereafter in the *Citizen*. In contrast to the usual order, the Second Section's inside pages were largely hard news, with local, national and world news intermingled on the pages.

The 1941 edition was the exception to this tradition: it did not feature a labelled Second Section front but it was a Saturday paper, so it was larger, and might have featured three sections that were not as clearly marked. In 1954, the *Citizen* was back to featuring a Second Section front (so one can assume it had continued in weekday editions in the intervening years), and this tradition continues

in the two 1960s papers (from 1967 and 1968) although the term “Second Section” is not used, there is simply a smaller masthead which is no longer at the top, but could be anywhere in the top half of the page. So as of 1968, in the *Citizen*, there was still no local news section, however there were clearly labelled pages for women and families, sports, and news of the markets.

Thus, the idea of segregating local news from national and international did not take shape in the *Citizen* until later in the century. It began earlier in the *Star*, however. The earliest example of a labelled page devoted explicitly to local news in our sample was on April 17, 1933, which was the Monday paper in Period Two. It featured a page with a special banner for Greater Toronto and Surrounding Areas. However, these were local stories from *outside* Toronto but still within the paper’s circulation area. Interestingly, many of these stories featured placelines for places that were within the *Star*’s circulation area at the time, and later became part of the City of Toronto. Thus, local news was not segregated in this paper; there was much of it mixed in on other news pages. However, some of it was. This page of suburban news appears to have been the first step in the geographic segregation process in the *Star*.

The Greater Toronto and Surrounding Areas page continued in the 1940 and 1941 *Star* editions in this sample, with local news still contained on other pages as

well. There was no Greater Toronto and Surrounding Areas page in the sole 1950s paper examined in this study, from 1954.

The big move toward geographic segregation in the *Star* took place in the 1960s—two decades before it began in the *Citizen*. The *Star* began to feature a Metro section front and unlabelled but clearly local news pages following it<sup>109</sup>. The two 1960s-decade *Stars* in our sample feature clear section fronts, with a mini-masthead plus a topical label, for the Money and Markets section, Metro News, World News, and the Women’s Section. Typically, each of these sections features the topic announced at the start for just a few pages, then switches to something else. So in the paper for Wednesday, February 8, 1967, Sports news, which does not have a “front,” comes directly after the Money and Markets section front, which started on page 11 and actually appears to be within the front section of the paper. The Metro section, which starts on page 25 on that day, is labelled Section 2. World was labelled Section 3 and included national news (which did not get a special “front” either) and classifieds. The Women’s section, which started on page 61, was labelled Section 4.

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<sup>109</sup> The *Star* did not label every page in any of its sections, even in Period Three, while the *Citizen* did begin doing this in the 1980s.

By 1968, the *Star* had an Index on the front page which listed things they thought readers would want to find inside. Some topical sections were nestled within other sections, but if that happened, they were listed in the index and given a page that looked like a section front, with a banner somewhere on the page announcing the topic and a well-designed first page largely or completely free of advertising. Metro News, World News and Women's News got their own separate section fronts in the 1968 edition in this sample.

The *Citizen* was two decades later than the *Star* in segregating local news, but it made The Local (as the section was first called, in the 1984 paper we studied) quite separate, eventually (in the 1990s) segregating even the Editorial and Letters pages so there were two of each. In the 1973 edition, the first in Period Three, local news was still mixed with national and world news in the front section and elsewhere in the paper. But starting in the two 1980s papers in our sample (from 1982 and 1984) the *Citizen's* Local section was clearly demarcated. In 1982 it was located in the front section, and in 1984 it was given a separate section with its own front page. The Local section (which was renamed *Citylife* in the early 1990s—a move that brought elements like advice columns and consumer issues from the former Lifestyles section into City pages), like the Metro section in the *Star*, seems usually to have a separate section front, never taking the second half of another section like Sports or Arts or Business do some of the time—except in the Sunday *Citizen* of

2001, when it is in the front section near the end. However, this observation has not been verified by examining a large number of papers.

At the same time the Local section was created, the *Citizen* also began to label Canada and World pages as well. They were usually in the front section of the newspaper, but an occasional Canada or World page crops up elsewhere—in the 1984 paper in the sample, a World page was in the middle of the Local section, following the Classified ads, which occupied several pages in the middle of the Local section. And in 2002 it was noticed that provincial pages were creeping into the Citylife section.

Meanwhile, when the *Citizen* was moving local out of all but the first couple of pages of the front section (which in both papers are always mixed geographically), the *Star* in the 1980s and 1990s moved it back! Toronto news and sometimes Metro (broader news including the suburbs) were in the front section, but a “hyperlocal” supplement was created—we see it in the 1984 and 1993 papers—which in 1984 covered the Eastern Suburbs such as Scarborough and in 1993 featured Brampton. So there is segregated local news in the *Star* but it’s suburban news. It is not until the 2002 *Star* that we see the local section—which at this time was called GTA for Greater Toronto Area—moved to a separate section. But there is also local news, mixed with other categories, in the first four pages of the 2002 *Star*, with the local getting top billing on pages 2 and 4 that day.

These observations and the qualitative ones from the first part of this chapter lend some support but also some refutation to Hypothesis One D, that segregation of local news would increase over time. It is only true in the *Citizen*. And several other things are important to note about the process: While it began in the *Star* in the 1930s, the complete separation of the local probably didn't take place until after 1960<sup>110</sup>, and in the *Citizen*, not until around 1980 (since this sample had no editions between 1973 and 1982, it cannot be said exactly when the change occurred). Also, in the *Star*, the segregation was accomplished in the 60s but *reversed* in later decades (beginning in our 1968 paper, and continuing in 1973, 1982, 1984, 1993, 1995 and 2001), when the *Star* put local news *back* in the front section<sup>111</sup>. Then in 2002, it seems to have reinstated a GTA section for local news but continued to put some local news in the first 4 pages of the paper. Finally, it's important to note that

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<sup>110</sup> Our sample skips from 1954 to 1967 and it was seen for the first time in the latter paper.

<sup>111</sup> It is possible, as noted in the Period Two writeup, that the 1967 paper had a Metro section because it was a Wednesday paper, which was one of the week's largest, containing many ads from grocery stores which expanded the size of the paper. It's possible that the separate section occurred only on Wednesdays for some time, since we see it again in 2002—another Wednesday paper.

the separate local section was something many, if not most, North American newspapers adopted.

**Hypothesis One E: More stories involving *both local and nonlocal* elements in the same story.**

Question 20 on the Articles Page of the coding sheets asked: "Does the story concern someone (-thing) non-local in a local context or the reverse (local in a non-local context)?" Answers to the question were either 1 for Yes or 2 for No, so one could expect the means of these answers, over the three time periods, to go down if the hypothesis was supported. They did go down. The data were not suitable for an Analysis of Variance, because they did not fit a normal distribution (the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, which produced a significant result,  $p \leq .001$ ), nor was the variance homogeneous (Levene's test produced a significant result,  $p \leq .001$ ) so a non-parametric test, the Kruskal-Wallis test, was used. The results were significant ( $p \leq .001$ ). This means the decrease between time periods is unlikely to have occurred by chance.

This question was designed to test Doreen Massey's (1994) concept of increasing disruption of local spaces by non-local influences as a feature of modernity. The coders, at first, found it difficult to get their heads around the concept because, of course, the author could not explain Massey's concept for fear of biasing

the results. Coders found that many of the stories that produced a Yes on this question had one or both of the following features:

1. They mentioned both local and non-local places.
2. They were stories classified as “local angle” in Question 11 on geographic categories, which meant they had a local component but belonged in a non-local geographic category.

These two features were not the only possibilities for a Yes response in Question 20, but they were absolutely certain to be Yes. The idea was simply that the local and non-local were both present in the story. This data supports Hypothesis One E and Massey’s concept that disruption of local spaces increased during the modern era.

Of course, it is in the qualitative results that one really sees this happening, as more stories feature things like prominent international figures, particularly in the arts and entertainment world, coming to the localities these two newspapers served. The *Toronto Star’s* interesting photographs of celebrities around town feature, in the most recent newspapers in the sample, a clear example of this trend. Before Period Three, when air travel became common, it was less common to see so many international figures in the local space. But of course, it was also noted that there were times when the presence of international dignitaries—such as the King and

Queen of Spain in the 1984 *Citizen*—did not get the kind of attention they would have mustered in earlier decades.

**Hypothesis One F: The number of place names mentioned in articles will decrease over time. This will be particularly true for local placenames.**

The main hypothesis was not supported by the data. Table 5-5 shows the mean numbers of placenames per story in each time period, comparing the two newspapers. While both papers' means decline from Period One to Two, in Period Three both newspapers' means rise quite significantly.

The levels of local placenames in stories that were local or had a local angle is demonstrated in Table 5-6, and it is similar to that of for all placenames in all types of stories. The means go down—the *Citizen's* only slightly—in Period Two and rise again in Period Three to levels above that of Period One. The *Citizen's* rise was so dramatic in Period Three that it ended up with a mean higher than the *Star's*, though it had been well below the *Star's* level in other time periods.

Chart 5-2 (see qualitative results section) is a visual depiction of the proportion of local placenames relative to all placenames, by year. While it does show very high levels in 1993, followed by much lower than usual levels in both newspapers in 1995 (when the *Star* and the *Citizen* are at or close to the same level), and a very low level in the *Citizen* in 2001, the proportion of local placenames rises again in 2002 in both newspapers. Also, in 1993 the levels of local placenames

**Table 5-5: Mean number of placenames per story  
by time period, compare Star and Citizen**

Time Period	Newspaper analyzed	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
1894-1929	<i>Toronto Star</i>	5.08	888	6.393
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	5.17	869	5.814
	Total	5.12	1757	6.112
1930-1970	<i>Toronto Star</i>	5.02	1479	5.944
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	4.77	1282	5.379
	Total	4.90	2761	5.689
1971-2005	<i>Toronto Star</i>	5.32	1378	6.505
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	5.07	1233	5.286
	Total	5.20	2611	5.961
Total	<i>Toronto Star</i>	5.15	3745	6.262
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	4.98	3384	5.462
	Total	5.07	7129	5.896

**Table 5-6: Mean numbers of local placenames  
in local and local angle stories**

Time Period	Newspaper analyzed	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
1894-1929	<i>Toronto Star</i>	4.07	384	4.735
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	3.54	323	4.204
	Total	3.83	707	4.505
1930-1970	<i>Toronto Star</i>	3.62	586	3.634
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	3.53	504	3.835
	Total	3.58	1090	3.727
1971-2005	<i>Toronto Star</i>	4.28	488	5.158
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	4.41	352	5.224
	Total	4.33	840	5.183
Total	<i>Toronto Star</i>	3.96	1458	4.491
	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	3.80	1179	4.405
	Total	3.89	2637	4.453

are higher in the *Citizen* than at any other point in the sample, and in the *Star*, they're at their second-highest level at that time (this is true in both 1984 and 1993, which are equal in the *Star*). Recall that both papers had extra sections in 1993 that focused on local stories (one on Brampton in the *Star* and one on the high-technology sector in the *Citizen*).

So it does not seem that either of these newspapers is giving short shrift to local placenames in recent years, when we look at the overall rise and fall over time. However, given the state of the newspaper industry today, when declining advertising is making it impossible to print the kind of extra supplements that were responsible for the 1993 highs, I would predict that we are unlikely (at least in the foreseeable future) to see those extremely high 1993 levels again.

In conclusion, these results do not support the hypothesis as it relates to local placenames. In fact, when taken with the results of the means concerning priority, these two sets of data indicate that the *Citizen* was trying very hard to give prominence to local stories and mention local places, but it was doing so in a lot fewer actual *stories* that were local or had a local angle. It bears the signs of a newspaper whose local reporting staff has declined in numbers, which is still trying desperately to do a good job of covering the local community.

Unfortunately, the results coded for local placenames are only for those mentioned in stories that are local or have a local angle. Coders only examined the

number of local placenames in these two categories—it would have been a great deal more time-consuming to do this in all geographic categories, since it involved knowing the circulation area for each year in the sample and examining maps to determine whether places were inside or outside that circulation area. So it is not possible, given these restrictions, to calculate the means for mentions of local placenames *in all stories* in the newspapers. However, it is not likely that there were many such mentions in stories outside these two categories because any story that featured local content (making it a focus of the story) but was in another geographic category, was called a “local angle” story, and local angle stories were treated like local stories in that their placenames were counted and classified. The math, if we were able to give a zero score to stories from other categories, would look quite different<sup>112</sup>. But it would not be honest. This study did not measure the numbers of local placenames in all stories.

**Hypothesis Two: Stories will become more “generic,” that is, featuring less context and fewer surroundings, as the disruptive and disembedding aspects of modernity make physical location seem less important.**

**It was predicted that this would result in more articles that mention no place at all.**

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<sup>112</sup> This is known because it was attempted.

No place stories increased dramatically from Period One to Period Two at a level that is significant,  $p \leq .001$ , but they dropped slightly in Period Three (at a statistically significant level,  $p \leq .05$ ) in the *Citizen*. In the *Star* there was a continuing modest increase from Period One right through Period Three that was not statistically significant. No Place stories never exceed 5% in either newspaper. Thus, the data show limited support for the hypothesis, but only for the increase from Period One to Period Two.

As the qualitative results show, these no place stories were found largely in the “features” and “women’s” sections designed to lure entire families to newspaper reading. Features like puzzles, fiction stories, advice columns, bridge columns and so on, as well as stories about fashion and societal trends in general, are often generic as to place because many come from syndicates that sell such things to newspapers all over the country.

This lack of support for the hypothesis is really interesting, since this hypothesis was formulated to measure the extent of “decontextualization” going on in newspapers. These two newspapers are not being decontextualized—a sign that the Five Ws of news reporting (who, what, where, when, why) continue to emphasize the “where”, even in an era characterized by scholars as one of disembedding and disruption (both being theories for which this study found support). This result might seem to undermine Giddens’ theory of disembedding, but I would argue that it does

not. We have still seen substantial evidence of decreasing emphasis on *local* contexts in these two newspapers over time. However, the local context was replaced, primarily, with national context. Not placelessness.

Photographs were a different matter. While there are no quantitative results for photographs, the qualitative results show an interesting rise in the amount of local context shown in photographs during Period Three, up to the mid-1990s in the *Citizen* and 2001 in the *Star* (see pages 106-131), followed by a continuing drop in the *Citizen* beginning in 1995. In the *Star*, it is not clear whether the 2002 result indicates the beginning of a downward trend for contextualized photography or not. And in the *Citizen*, it cannot be known if the small rise in 2002, from the level in 2001, is the start of a resurgence. A more detailed photographic analysis will have to await future research but there are signs here that such research would be worthwhile.

**Hypothesis Three: Newspapers that are part of a national chain will be inclined to favour stories and illustrations that can be shared by the entire chain.**

**It was predicted that this would result in:**

**A. A larger proportion of national stories in the newspaper that belongs to a national chain (the *Citizen*) compared to the independent, and later regional-chain, newspaper (the *Star*).**

**B. A smaller proportion of local and provincial stories in the *Citizen* compared to the *Star*.**

**C. A larger number of placeless stories in the *Citizen* compared to the *Star*.**

There was clear, highly-statistically-significant support for parts A and B of this hypothesis. As shown in Charts 5-5 to 5-10 in the section on Hypothesis One, the *Star* showed a steady increase in national stories over time, and the *Citizen* showed levels similar to the *Star*'s from Period One to Period Two, followed by a much sharper increase from Period Two to Period Three. The *Citizen*'s 24% level in Period Three was significantly higher than the *Star*'s 18% using a chi square test, with  $p \leq .001$ . Similarly, the *Citizen* displayed a marked drop in local stories in Period Three, to a level well below the *Star*'s, again producing a  $p \leq .001$  in the chi square test.

To test whether the two newspapers showed different trends from one another overall, a three-way log linear analysis was done of the two newspapers' article distribution in geographic categories over time. It produced a final model that retained all effects. The likelihood ratio of this model was  $\chi^2(0) = 0$ ,  $p = 1$ . This indicates that the highest-order interaction—that between the newspaper (*Toronto Star* or *Ottawa Citizen*), the time period, and the distribution of articles in geographic categories—was significant  $\chi^2(1) = 55.04$ ,  $p \leq .001$ . This provides strong confirmation of Hypothesis Three, parts A and B because it shows that the

differences between the *Star* and the *Citizen* in geographic categories in all time periods were significant. These results were almost all in the direction predicted by the hypothesis (that National would be higher, Local and Provincial lower, in the *Citizen* than in the *Star*).

However, the number of no place stories in the *Citizen* was lower than that in the *Star*, so part C of this hypothesis was not confirmed.

### **Summary**

We have seen from the quantitative data that the local underwent a decline at the end of the 20th century and start of the 21st in these two newspapers, in both the number of local stories and the priority given to local news. This decline was more pronounced in the newspaper that was part of a national chain: the *Ottawa Citizen*. But it was very clearly demonstrated, as well, in the Canadian metropolitan daily that is generally seen as the most devoted to the local: the *Toronto Star*.

At the same time, we have seen a very clear *increase* in the priority given to the national, in both the numbers of stories and their prominence in these newspapers as a whole. This too has been most evident in the years since 1970, and most pronounced in the newspaper that is part of a national chain, the *Ottawa Citizen*. But it has been clearly demonstrated in the Canadian daily seen as most committed to the local: the *Toronto Star*. So there is something going on here that

concerns more than just chain ownership, something that is likely to be affecting other newspapers as well.

The next chapter will discuss these results, and more of what has been reported in this chapter, in a theoretical context, in an attempt to offer some possible explanations for these dramatic trends.

## Chapter 6: Conclusions

Changing representations of place and the local, displayed in the pages of two Canadian metropolitan daily newspapers—the *Toronto Star* and the *Ottawa Citizen*—over the course of the twentieth century, are revealed in this content analysis of selected editions of the two newspapers from 1896 to 2005.

The changes are consistent with major theoretical approaches that identify a changing relationship between people and place in late modernity. In particular, this content analysis found evidence of the social process called “disembedding,” postulated by sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991), which he described as the lifting of social relationships out of local contexts. Evidence of disembedding in this study included (1) a decline in the proportion of local stories in these newspapers during the final third of the twentieth century, and (2) a lowering of the priority accorded to local news in each newspaper’s hierarchical structure during the final decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>113</sup>. The proportion and priority of local stories showed a marked deterioration in the *Ottawa Citizen* and a much lower, but still significant,

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<sup>113</sup> The term “priority” was defined as a combination of the prominence of the page that a story appeared on, the story’s prominence on the page where it appeared, the story’s headline size, and the amount of space devoted to it.

decline in the *Toronto Star*, in the 35-year period from 1970 to 2005, when compared to earlier time periods.

At the same time, a process of increasing “disruption” of local spaces by non-local phenomena, theorized by geographer Doreen Massey (1994, 1995), was also supported by the data. Much of the evidence for this lies in the qualitative results, which will be discussed further in this chapter. But there is also quantitative evidence of two types.

1. First, there was a significant rise over time in the proportion of stories that mixed local and non-local elements. Stories might do this, for example, by naming both local and non-local places, or by featuring a “local angle” in a story whose geographic domain was larger—for example, describing the work of a Toronto organization in Bangladesh, or profiling an Ottawa resident who wins an Academy Award<sup>114</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> This did not include stories defined as national that occurred within Ottawa’s or Toronto’s local space, involving government or business activities. These were relatively constant over the study period due to the fact that Ottawa is the national capital and Toronto the business capital of Canada. Unless a connection to the local place or local people was mentioned in a story, it was not considered to have a local dimension. See Chapter 4: Methods for more detail on this.

2. The results shown in Table 5-4, which illustrated the geographic categories with the highest mean values when priority scores were combined within time periods. These are the stories receiving the best play in the newspaper, regardless of their actual numbers. (Thus, there might be few of them, but when they do appear they get high priority). In Period Three, both newspapers featured Local Angle stories at the top of this list, which means they were giving highest priority to stories that featured either a local person in a nonlocal context, or a non-local person in a local context.

This study developed a novel approach to gauging the priority accorded to stories, using the basic principles of news form enunciated by leading graphic arts scholars such as Barnhurst (1994), Barnhurst and Nerone (1991, 2001), and Harrower (1998, 2009). It found that local news declined in priority as well as proportion in the two newspapers studied, over time, and to a remarkably similar extent—that is, the results were similar for the proportion of local stories, and for the priority accorded them, relative to other geographic categories. This occurred not only in a newspaper that belonged to a national chain, the *Ottawa Citizen*, which might be assumed to have an economic motivation for emphasizing non-local news (which can be shared with other newspapers in the chain), but also in an independent newspaper, the *Toronto Star*, whose guiding principles and longtime

practices give the highest priority to local news (Toronto Star, 2005). The trend was admittedly much less pronounced in the *Star* than in the *Citizen*, but it was still noticeable and statistically significant.

One surprise finding was that when local news declined, it was replaced almost entirely by national news, in both the proportion of stories in the newspapers and the priority the stories were given. This occurred in both newspapers. Some possible explanations for this will be discussed later in this chapter: They include the rise in national sentiment during and following Canada's Centennial year in 1967, the influence of Quebec's independence movement which achieved increasing political legitimacy during the latter part of the twentieth century and, in part as a consequence of this, the increasing use of national media to promote Canadian culture and national unity from the 1960s onward.

As stated in the introduction, this study's research objective was to seek evidence of change—including but not restricted to disembedding and disruption—over the past century in representations of place by Canadian newspapers, particularly the local place that the newspaper serves. In other words, it asked, *How does the metropolitan Canadian newspaper construct a local sense of place, and has it changed over time?*

After reviewing theoretical approaches to place and representations of place in newspapers and other media, the term "sense of place" was carefully defined for

the purposes of this study, using the basic definition enunciated by Agnew and Duncan (1989, p. 2) who call it “identification with a place engendered by living in it.” Because this type of sense of place had not previously been measured in newspaper stories, the author first investigated studies that had categorized this type of sense of place in other contexts, notably the work of John Eyles (1985) and colleagues (Butz & Eyles, 1997; Eyles & Peace, 1990). However, the categories Eyles developed by interviewing people about their attitudes toward the place where they live were found unsuitable, in repeated attempts, for adaptation to a quantitative content analysis, though they were used in the qualitative analysis with reference to individual stories analyzed in detail (see Chapter 4 for methodological details).

The lack of suitable models in the literature meant that the study had to find a way of examining its hypotheses using new measures. It was decided that both a qualitative and a quantitative analysis would be needed. It was not possible to quantify the entire concept “sense of place” but it was possible to operationalize related concepts such as “disembedding” and “disruption”, both of which have been theorized as increasing over time and thus significantly altering the relationships between people and place over the course of the modern era (Giddens, 1990, 1991; Massey, 1994, 1995). Also quantified was the concept of “priority”—which indicates the *value* placed upon the local place and its *relative importance* in the wider world, to the “communication-community” made up by the newspaper and its readers. The

various operational definitions and measures used are described in detail in Chapter 4 and the results in Chapter 5.

While these measurements and results provided evidence to support or refute the three hypotheses, outlined in the introduction and reported in the previous chapter, they did not really answer the original question: *How does the metropolitan Canadian newspaper construct a local sense of place, and has it changed over time?* The answer to that question lies in a combination of quantitative and qualitative results. The qualitative results were outlined in the previous chapter but no conclusions have yet been drawn from them. We now turn our attention to this question, and how the combination of qualitative and quantitative results can shed light on it.

Chapter 3 described a number of ways that the metropolitan newspaper constructs a sense of place. It involves techniques used in the newspaper as a whole as well as some used within individual stories. Let us examine these techniques in sequence and see what the results reported in the previous chapter can tell us in response to that original question: i.e. how did these things change over time?

### **Constructing place in the two newspapers as a whole**

In the newspaper as a whole, the locality can be made visible and noticeable by placing local stories in prominent positions, such as the front page and section

fronts; giving them lots of space; accompanying them with photographs and graphics; and topping them with large, compelling headlines. These are all signals that tell readers their locality matters in the larger scheme of things. These techniques also increase a story's ability to attract reader interest, thereby increasing the likelihood that it will have an impact on readers.

### Period One

In Period One, we saw the news presented as a sort of jumble of topics and places, all mixed together on almost every page. As Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) note of the Victorian period, it presented a world that was “unmappable” and not fully knowable. “Newspapers placed this undigested, complex barrage on the page in the same bewildering abundance that characterized so much else of the culture of the marketplace in the nineteenth century” (p. 17). In the *Toronto Star*, however, the barrage included a lot of Toronto news, while in the *Ottawa Citizen*, the wider world was much more present. The quantitative results show that *Star* presented local Toronto news as more important than the rest of the world's news, while the *Citizen* presented Ottawa as a worldly city where events from afar were just as important to residents, and often more so, than events close to home, such as the municipal elections (see the discussion of the two front pages from 1922, for example, in Chapter 5).

Also, the *Star* was—in its design as well as its editorial policies—rather outspoken and showy compared to the greyer, more dowdy *Citizen*, giving the impression of that kind of difference in the characters of their cities as well. The *Star's* front page, for example, from the start of the study period exhibited a modern layout, displaying the news judged most important by the editors on that page and using techniques for enhancing their prominence as soon as those techniques became available. The *Citizen's* evening edition did feature that kind of front page quite early in Period One, however, its morning edition did not, and the *Citizen* overall took longer to use the front page to showcase stories, and was more subtle about it when it did start doing so.

Another example: the *Star* was the first newspaper in Canada to use colour, starting with a three-colour illustration occupying the entire front page of April 14, 1900 (Harkness, 1963, p. 52-53). Starting on June 6 of that year, the *Star* included a red line on the front page and another in the full-page Eaton's department store advertisement that occupied the back page (and continued to occupy that space for decades thereafter). Joseph E. Atkinson, the *Star's* editor at the time, was known for embracing new technology, such as colour printing, to keep one step ahead of the competition (p. 53). He was also known for going all-out on major stories, sending the entire newsroom out to cover different aspects of the story, and filling several pages with the sensationalized results (p. 58-61).

The *Citizen*, in Period One, continued its focus on world affairs, not just on the front page but inside the paper as well, with a volume of world stories that nearly always exceeded the *Star's*, throughout the entire study period. The *Star*, by contrast, was a champion of the local throughout, with its world coverage rising with some predictability during the war years in the sample (1915, 1940 and 1941). There was also a bump in world coverage in 2001 that is not easy to explain, since the date of the sample edition in 2001 was well before September 11, when coverage naturally focused on the United States for an extended period. Interestingly, 2001 is the peak year for world coverage in both the *Star* and the *Citizen*, and it appears to have happened because this was a Sunday paper, a time when local news is scarce because it's the weekend and neither reporters, nor most of the people they cover, are at work. At such times, world news can always be relied upon to be available in abundance—at least, that has been the case since the advent of the wire services, which since soon after the invention of the telegraph, in the mid-19th century, have brought news from around the world<sup>115</sup>.

Returning to Period One, the stories examined from that period in detail, from both newspapers, indicate that in both cities people were expected to be neighbourly

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<sup>115</sup> The source I cite for this information is myself, since I worked often on Sundays on the copy desk of the *Ottawa Citizen* in the mid-1990s.

enough to know something about each other, even to the extent of remembering details of places and persons mentioned in previous stories. In the *Star*, for example, Mr. Maloney's troubles, which are laid out in a series of stories about an inquest into his death by mishap, are illustrated in Chapter 5. It is notable that the newspaper does not repeat the original story of his death in each subsequent story, as most would do today. The reader was simply expected to remember, or perhaps, to still have one's copy of the previous week's newspapers lying around. In the *Citizen*, an example of this type of familiarity during Period One is the misadventure of a young man who left a \$50 bill in Mr. R.C. Cumming's boot store—the latter being a place that everyone is expected to know, since its location is not given. However, in two *Toronto Star* stories—one about some buildings on Adelaide Street, and another about the "Blaze at Dawn"—we see that rather detailed addresses are given. Perhaps because Toronto was at the time (and still is) a much larger city, individual residents were not expected to know where places were the way the Ottawa story expects its readers to know. Or perhaps it's because Mr. Cumming's boot store was on Sparks Street, which people in Ottawa would know because it was in the prime downtown shopping area. It's not possible to explain the reason, since we cannot consult the editors of the day. However, it is a significant difference in discourse between the selected stories from the two newspapers.

Two *Toronto Star* stories—the one about “the Island” and the “Blaze at Dawn” story—are Environmental in the Eyles (1985) scheme of senses of place. This was found by Butz and Eyles (1997) to be a rare category in urban, Western culture. Their research was done in the 1980s and 1990s, however. An Environmental sense of place might have been more common in Period One. It’s interesting that both of these randomly selected stories are focused on the physical environment. In the Toronto Island story, everyone in the story is discussing the place, and one can surmise that the place has a special character and familiarity for other Toronto residents, or else the story would not have been given significant space in the paper—it is quite a long story for that era. Toronto Island was at the time a cottagers’ haven, one that was and remains close to the city’s downtown. So we absorb a sense of place about Toronto that includes a neighbourhood of cottagers, in whom others in the city take an interest. In fact, the entire city of Toronto, in these stories, seems to have a neighbourhood feel to it; people caring about small, fairly inconsequential places and about each other’s business.

In the 1902 edition of the *Citizen*, page 3 offers an interesting example of the local feel of that newspaper: After a front page nearly full of classified advertising and a mixture of stories from different geographic categories on page 2, on page 3 the reader starts to get a more local flavor of Ottawa and its environs. The articles talk about many local issues and places. One story is about Ottawa’s moral tone,

and some neighbourhoods that have been troubled (like Stewarton, which is also called “Stewart’s Bush”), the Ashburnham Hill district (also called “the Hill”), and Lowertown, which are, according to the stories, becoming better behaved. There are several columns of social notes from outlying areas that don’t qualify as “local” because they aren’t within the circulation area of the newspaper. In 1902 that area was only a 15-mile radius outward from Ottawa City Hall, according to the records of the Audit Bureau of Circulation. For dates from 1894 to 1915, we had to use the records from 1915, there being no prior records attesting to the paper’s circulation. However, it is clear from the tone of these social notes that the paper had readers enough in Smith’s Falls, Perth, Arnprior, Cumberland, and other rural areas to warrant such a column. Even Lachute, Que., which doesn’t even make it into the *Citizen’s* post-1915, expanded circulation area, has its own social notes column. All these columns resemble the kind of thing we see today in weekly community papers, with news from particular neighborhoods.

The *Star’s* apparently higher level of local news, compared to the *Citizen’s* in the early years, is in part a function of the anomalous *Citizen* circulation area. It is a limitation that this study had to accept, given that the one objective measure of the paper’s circulation came from the Audit Bureau of Circulation. No other source of this information was available.

It is notable that in 1920 (which is still part of Period One) the *Citizen's* level of local news shoots up, in part because the circulation area is larger. But this level probably also reflects the fact that readers were demanding local news at the time and the *Citizen* was responding to that demand. The *Star* staked out that local territory quite early and made a successful business out of it, from the time Joseph Atkinson started as the *Star's* editor in 1899 (Honderich, 1992; Harkness, 1963). Indeed, the *Star's* level of local news in Period One is its highest for the entire study period, whereas the *Citizen's* highest level is in Period Two. (See Charts 5-5, 5-6, 5-7 and 5-8 in Chapter 5.) It is not certain whether the *Citizen's* local news level in Period One would have been higher than its Period Two level if its circulation area had been as large as the *Star's* in the years up to and including 1915.

The *Citizen* continues the high level of local news established in 1920 throughout Period Two, and is clearly just as much a champion of the local as the *Star* during the entire period ranging from 1920 to 1970. The difference in the *Citizen* is that *world news is always just as important for the Citizen as local news*, whereas for the *Star*, *local is well ahead of world*. Charts 5-9 and 5-10 in Chapter 5 make this point clearly<sup>116</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> These graphs combine all local and local angle stories, counting them both as local content, and eliminate the much smaller categories of provincial and no place,

### Period Two

In Period Two, the qualitative analysis shows the process of gradual segregation that occurred over time, with the paper being divided into sections that at first were entirely topical (Women's, Sports, Entertainment) and usually not labelled. Local news was set off, at times, from national and world news, but until the 1960s it was not placed in a separate section. The *Star* begins this trend in 1954 in our sample, but it does so without labelling local news separately, but simply by moving most local stories further back in the front section of the paper and putting mostly national and world stories in the first 15 pages. By 1967, local news in the *Star* is segregated into its own section, which is called Metro—a new term, for this sample, though it may have started sometime between 1954 and 1967. In 1968, however, the *Star* does not completely segregate local news as it did in 1967, and this appears to be because it's a smaller paper—the 1967 paper was a Wednesday edition and that paper has a great many pages because the grocery store ads used to make Wednesday papers the second-biggest of the week after Saturdays.

Meanwhile, the *Citizen* does not segregate local news at all in the 1950s or 1960s, and throughout Period Two gives more priority to local news than it has in the past. Indeed, in a majority of the papers sampled in Period Two, the *Citizen* gives

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just to make the major three more clearly visible.

higher priority to local news than does the *Star*. This is a very big change from Period One, and as we shall see in Period Three, it does not continue.

So what sense do we get of the two cities in Period Two?

The Toronto we see in the *Star* during this period was, by the 1960s, calling the local area Metro, which is short for metropolitan. The change signalled the fact that the Toronto the paper was “covering” (that is, considering its local territory for news coverage) and embracing in its readership, was not just the city of Toronto but also its suburbs. The *Star* encouraged readers to see Toronto as a larger metropolitan area. Later, in Period Three, we will see examples of a campaign by the *Star* for municipal reform to amalgamate Toronto and its suburbs, an area the *Star* began to call the Greater Toronto Area in subsequent decades. In the latter part of Period Two, however, and during the first decade of Period Three, it was Metro. As journalist Walter Stewart wrote in 1980, the *Star*’s primary concern in any news story, during Stewart’s time working there as a reporter in the 1970s, was, “What does this mean to Metro?” (Stewart, 1980, p. 123)

The *Star*’s photographs in Period Two show a city that has international influences within its own boundaries. It is, to use Doreen Massey’s term, *disrupted*. During World War Two, international influences are very strong in the photographs, which feature very little context in local photos, but a lot of context in photos of places outside Canada. Torontonians are encouraged to identify with and care about

people fighting overseas, local people whose lives and families are disrupted by the war overseas, and people from other countries who are involved in the war effort.

By the 1960s, Toronto is being encouraged by the newspaper to see itself as a major international city. One of the stories examined in the qualitative analysis tells of an internationally acclaimed cellist who comes to Toronto to perform the North American debut of a piece by the composer Shostakovich. Another shows a photo of New York's Times Square on the same page as a Toronto bakery that collapses under the snow. But unlike Ottawa, whose *Citizen* newspaper portrays the local community as a relatively small player coexisting with the Ottawa that is a national and world capital, Toronto is beginning, in Period Two, to see itself as world class.

Ottawa, as depicted by the *Citizen*, is a national as well as international city. Unlike Toronto, it's not a major business capital; but it is a national political capital with an international role. It receives visits from major national and international figures such as heads of state and government; it houses national institutions and hosts national meetings; it also has foreign delegations and embassies, and among them, and the Canadians who serve them, are many readers who care a great deal about international issues. On top of that, the *Citizen's* readership encompasses a "Quebec side" of the Ottawa River, which is also local, and where the language and culture are mostly French.

Like Toronto, Ottawa in Period Two is also disrupted by events from outside its borders that have a local impact. Certainly, the Second World War has a major impact on local events, and local people participate in overseas events, both of which show up in the Citizen's pages. But not just during this war, but throughout Period Two, Ottawa experiences more and more frequent arrivals and departures of people from elsewhere, due to improvements in transportation. Some come to live and work in Ottawa for the federal government or another institution related to governance; some to play a role in federal politics or media; and some to represent foreign governments in the capital city's embassies, or participate in Canada's own foreign service. This national and international activity takes place right in the community's midst. Indeed, parts of Ottawa are not considered local, but national space: Parliament Hill, the national museums, the National Arts Centre. Others are international space: Embassies are not designated as foreign soil, but they are often seen that way, and treated differently than most buildings in Ottawa under international law<sup>117</sup>. A story told often in Ottawa is about how, during the Second World War, the Ottawa hospital room where the baby born to Princess Juliana of the

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<sup>117</sup> I contacted the Department of Foreign Affairs to check on this.

Netherlands was designated foreign territory<sup>118</sup>. So the physical terrain of Ottawa is disrupted by national and international spaces. And the qualitative results show how this is absorbed by readers in the pages of the *Ottawa Citizen*.

### Period Three

In Period Three, we see this trend toward disrupted local spaces continue, along with further development of the two cities' global, as well as local, identities — Toronto is increasingly a major international city from a business perspective, and as time goes by, a cultural one as well. Ottawa continues to see itself, in the pages of the *Citizen*, as the national and international political capital with a somewhat separate local side to it.

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<sup>118</sup>On Jan. 19, 1943, Dutch Princess Juliana gave birth to her daughter Margriet Francisca at the Ottawa Civic Hospital. Crown Princess Juliana and her two small daughters arrived in Canada in June 1940, after fleeing the Netherlands following the German invasion. “The heir to the Dutch throne, Juliana lived in exile in Ottawa for four years and became a fixture in the capital city's social circles,” a story from 1992 in The CBC Digital Archives states. “After learning of Juliana's pregnancy, the Canadian government proclaimed the hospital's maternity suite ‘extraterritorial’ so that the royal baby would have full Dutch citizenship” (Smith, 1992).

Toronto's sense of itself also includes the provincial, because Queen's Park, the seat of the Ontario provincial government and most of its ministries (i.e. government departments), are located in Toronto. There are many stories in the *Star* that focus on this role, from all three time periods, and that look to the province as a whole as part of the territory the *Star* is covering. For example, in Period Three we see how the bank bomb in Kenora and the arrest of a murder suspect in Belleville, as well as the arrest of Turkish suspects in the Ottawa shooting of a diplomat, all get very prominent play in the *Star*, and are treated almost as if they were local stories, with "local angle" coverage. It is true that in the Belleville arrests, the investigating officer is from the Toronto area. The Ontario Provincial Police, who police most smaller municipalities in the province, have their provincial headquarters in Orillia, a city that is just on the edge of the *Star's* circulation area. The *Star's* police reporters are probably in touch with the OPP on a regular basis and, increasingly in Period Three, can travel fairly rapidly and easily to the scene of a major crime anywhere in the province. Whatever the reason, the sense of place the *Star* develops of Toronto includes its role as the provincial capital of Ontario.

Ottawa, of course, has a larger domain as the capital of Canada. Canadians in other parts of the country tend to call the federal government "Ottawa" – and not always in a flattering light. The flip side of this – that Ottawans see themselves as people who run the country and play on an international stage – is an important part

of the way the *Ottawa Citizen* constructs locality. But the *Citizen* does not, in fact, portray *all* Ottawa residents as people who run the country. There is a lot of national coverage, which increases in priority as well as quantity in Period Three. But there is a separate, and in Period Three largely segregated, City section that for the most part does not include national matters. This seems to say that *there are basically two Ottawas*: one national/international city, whose news and interests are catered to at the front of the paper, in the “A” section, and a second, less important city, whose local news does not come first, but is in a separate section, further back in the paper.

In Period Three we also start to see a business side to Ottawa, as its identity as “Silicon Valley North” rises in news stories. The 1984 *Citizen* contains a Hi-Tech section, which covers this community. The *Citizen* began this section in the 1980s as an annual supplement, but by the 1990s it had become a weekly section, and high-tech coverage one of the *Citizen’s* important daily business beats.

Also in Period Three, we increasingly see a bilingual side to Ottawa. The *Citizen* starts to cover its francophone community as a local fact, and one might even say with greater interest, after the Quebec separatist movement starts to make real political gains in the 1970s. There is also increasing national coverage of Quebec issues as the sovereignty movement gets elected to office and holds repeated plebiscites that threaten to dismantle the country.

In 1993 the *Star* shows Toronto as an international city, as a Toronto reporter captures the Soweto riots and files a story filled with first-hand accounts from the scene. Thus, the *Star* is taking the “local angle” approach, used in the 1984 paper on several major provincial stories, onto the global scene, personalizing a story from South Africa. In 1995 this trend to personalize the global continues as the *Star* profiles Frank Stronach, whose life is lived both in Toronto and Austria — the story focuses on Stronach’s two-home lifestyle.

The contrast between the two papers, and their evolution over time, could not be more stark than in 2001, when the *Star*’s front page features several local stories and the *Citizen*’s features not a single one. This Citizen shutout of local news on page one, and its quantitative results showing a steep decline in local news in the paper as a whole, may actually be showing that it recognizes the “two Ottawas” and really only wants to appeal to one of them: the *national* one of civil servants, politicians and others connected with the side of Ottawa that is a capital city. However, what these qualitative results have led us to understand is, *this Ottawa may be national but it is still local.*

To clarify this, and explain why this study’s quantitative methodology did not pick up the local stories among the national in many cases, one must consider that

often, the location of a national story is not apparent<sup>119</sup>. For example, the “line story” in the 2001 *Citizen* is a story about a federal government survey showing that urban Canadians fail to sympathize with farmers whose crops are ruined by flood and drought. Unless one really knows these institutions, one would not realize that the department that commissioned the survey (Agriculture Canada) and the polling firm that conducted it (Ekos) are both located largely in Ottawa. There is nothing in the story itself to indicate the location of any of the players: the story quotes individuals from Agriculture Canada, Ekos and the National Farmers’ Union but never says where each is situated. Any story that did mention Ottawa locations was classified as national with a local angle, in this study — except those that mentioned federal buildings, which were considered national for the purposes of categorizing stories.

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<sup>119</sup> This harks back to Edward Jay Epstein’s brilliant analysis in the book *News from Nowhere* (Epstein, 1973) of how national television networks invented the technique of making stories appear “national” when in fact they came from a handful of cities that happened to be linked to the network’s trunk lines, so the footage could be transmitted quickly and cheaply. As part of a national newspaper chain, the *Citizen* naturally wanted its national stories to be usable throughout the chain, in the same way as those national television networks.

This is a very traditional way of categorizing news stories – that is, by institution (for examples, see Tuchman, 1978).

The very fact that this issue is confusing and methodologically challenging is a symptom of what Massey (1994) is talking about when she discusses the concept of disruption, and the fact that “ ‘places’ have for centuries been more complex locations where numerous different, and frequently conflicting, communities intersected” (p. 163-4). As mentioned in Chapter 2, Massey (1994) cautions those who desire a more stable sense of place that this can be a “reactionary” impulse (p. 152), intent on keeping those “inside” and “outside” separated. Anyone who has lived in either Toronto or Ottawa during Period Three is aware of the tensions brought about by large numbers of immigrants and refugees, and Canada’s rather postmodern approach to national identity, one which embraces multiculturalism. These two places are clearly disrupted now as never before.

Perhaps as a result of this process, the two newspapers in our sample have been doing less to create and shape a purely *local* sense of place since 1970, than they did in the period from 1930 to 1970 and, in the case of the *Toronto Star*, before that, from 1894 to 1929. In the case of the *Star*, the decline from Period Two to Period Three was not steep, but in the *Citizen*, local news fell sharply after Period Two, in both the number of local stories and the priority they got in the paper. For the most part, the lost quantity of local stories was replaced, in both newspapers, by

national stories—again, when one looks at the sheer number of stories but also when one looks at the priority (i.e. the amount of space and the degree of prominence) those stories are given. Thus, it seems that the two newspapers were working harder—and the *Citizen* was working *much* harder—to construct a *national* sense of place in Period Three. We will now discuss the possible reasons for that phenomenon.

### **An increasingly national sense of place**

The increase in national stories seen in the two newspapers in our sample appears to indicate that, since 1970, there has been an enlargement of the space with which readers are encouraged, or assumed, to identify. Whereas that space was once the locality (at least in North American newspapers), it has increasingly become—in the *Citizen* and to a lesser extent the *Star*—the nation.

The results of this study would seem to be consistent both with Benedict Anderson's (1983/1991) thesis that print naturally supports the rise of nation-states, and with Harold Innis's (1951/1991) idea that the combination of mechanized printing and broadcasting as the dominant media of the late 20th century made society increasingly space biased, to the detriment of time—and hence the local (Babe, 2000, pp. 76, 79).

The foregoing does not intend to say that the national has *eclipsed* the local—it is a long way from doing that in the *Star*; however in the *Citizen* the two levels

(local and national) are nearly identical in Period Three<sup>120</sup>. These two newspapers, particularly the *Citizen*, do appear to be shifting from a local to a more national sense of place, however, the *Citizen* has often given priority and the largest amount of space to *international* stories. So although national stories have increased, they have not yet eclipsed world stories, which are now higher than either local or national in the *Citizen*.

It is also important to note that the world (international) category *did not increase significantly over time* in the *Citizen* or the *Star*. It eclipsed the local in the *Citizen* simply by remaining at the same level as always. It is *the local* that has declined, and in the *Citizen*, quite dramatically. And it is *the national* that has increased.

The mirror-image results for national news—that is, an increase of almost equal and opposite size to the declines in local coverage in both newspapers—were unexpected, and raise a number of very interesting theoretical questions. Why, at a time when the nation-state is widely thought to be in decline (Appadurai, 1996, 2001;

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<sup>120</sup>This is true if one returns to Chart 5-10 and compares the column at the far left—that is, stories that are strictly local, not including stories with a “local angle”—in Period Three with the national column for Period Three in the *Citizen*. In the *Star*, (Chart 5-9) note that the two levels are still quite far apart.

Hobsbawm, 1990/1992) with its political powers hemmed in on all sides by the forces of globalization, does the national presence in two of Canada's most widely read newspapers appear to be on the rise, while other categories remain steady and the local is in decline? Three possible explanations come to mind, and I propose that all three contribute to the results:

1. The first possible explanation—and it is not generalizable because the sample is only two newspapers—is political economic. It was the basis for Hypothesis Three: that newspapers that are part of a national chain (in this case, the *Citizen*, which is—until further notice!—part of the Canwest chain) would be inclined to favour stories and illustrations that can be shared by the entire chain. This could explain the much larger proportion of national stories in the *Citizen* in Period Three, and the fact that the national category increased much more significantly during the Corporate period, after 1970, when corporate influences on news values are postulated to be much greater than in Period One or Two (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001; McKercher, 2002; Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24, 2004). The results do lend support to those theories.
2. During the years from 1970 to 2005, Canada, as a nation-state, was fighting for its life as the Quebec sovereignty movement asserted itself. This could account

for the increase in national news found in the *Toronto Star* in Period Three, and a comparable portion of the increase in the *Citizen* since 1970.

3. The foregoing do not, however, account for the gradual increase in national news and decline in local news over the *longue durée*—that is, not just in Period Three but starting with Period One<sup>121</sup>. This is evidence of a process that political economists call *spatialization*, a term given the rather vague definition “the process of overcoming the constraints of space and time in social life” by its originator, French social theorist Henri Lefebvre (quoted in Mosco, 1996, p. 173). Mosco points to Harold Innis, whose ideas have been discussed earlier, as a leader among political economists who have developed this theme, establishing “connections among forms of media, time and space, and structures of power” (p.

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<sup>121</sup> And here it is important to take account of the anomalous, tiny circulation area of the *Citizen* in Period One (a radius of 15 miles, compared to areas of 60 miles or more in later years) which made the level of local news in that time period much lower than it would have been, had the circulation area reported to the Audit Bureau of Circulations been similar in its geographic radius to later years, and similar to the *Star's* circulation area in Period One. In other words, for the purposes of this analysis, we should consider the level of local news in the *Citizen* in Period One to be higher than actually found in the content analysis.

173). Doreen Massey's theories offer another approach to spatialization: the process we now call globalization has been going on since time immemorial, she says, in that local places have rarely been totally isolated from outside influences, however, they have speeded up greatly in the current era.

If we apply the concept of spatialization to the results of this study, putting it succinctly, we have seen evidence in two major Canadian newspapers that supports the idea that the local is undergoing a transformation under conditions of global disembedding and disruption. Canada's increasingly space-biased society appears to have spread out, such that the national appears, increasingly over time, to be supplanting the local as a place with which people are expected to identify. The spatial frame of reference, in other words, is growing larger. Naturally, it will take a lot more study of a lot more newspapers to know this for sure, or to know whether the trend has continued in the years since 2002, the final year included in this sample.

The remainder of the chapter will examine these three proposed explanations in turn.

### **1. Corporate influences on news values**

The results of this study provide some support for the conclusions by Barnhurst and Nerone (2001, 2003a, 2003b) and McKercher (2002) that the years from 1970 onward showed a significant increase in corporate control of the

newsroom. The years from 1980 onward were marked by staff cuts and hiring freezes at newspapers throughout Canada, particularly when newspapers changed ownership, as the *Citizen* did twice during Period Three ("Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications, Nov. 24," 2004). As the Senate Committee on Transport and Communications learned at its hearings, those staff cuts resulted in what the committee called "centralization" of news coverage (Canada, 2006a). The results of this study are consistent with the idea that the loss of reporters and local beats at the *Citizen* (and many other papers), combined with increased control of story selection by corporate management, might have resulted in a significant reduction in local news. Whether this explanation accounts for all of the reduction in the *Citizen* that exceeds the reduction in the *Star*, however, is far from certain.

Interestingly, there were many in Canada who assumed that the Southam chain, which owned the *Citizen* until 1996, was not guilty of corporate interference in editorial decisions. It had, after all, a longstanding policy of allowing its newspapers editorial independence (Bruce, 1968; Rutherford, 1978). However, a year-by-year analysis of the percentages of local and local-angle stories in the *Citizen* during period three shows that 1995 was the lowest, and 1973 comparable to 2001, in the percentage of stories in these two categories. The editions sampled in both these years occurred before the *Citizen* was sold to the allegedly more meddlesome

Hollinger and, later, Canwest chains. Since 1995 was the year of the second referendum on Quebec sovereignty (the first was in 1980, and that year was not represented in the sample) one might assume that the second explanation (Canada's national unity crisis) would account for the lower level of local stories, and increased level of national stories, in that year. However, there was not an exceptionally high level of national stories that year—the big increases were in provincial and world news—there were very interesting provincial politics occurring that year, with the election, for the first time, of Mike Harris's reformist Conservative government. The low level of local and local-angle stories in 2001 is actually counterbalanced by an exceptionally high level of world stories in that year, the cause of which is unclear since the editions sampled in 2001 were well before the September 11 attacks in the United States. In any case, if corporate interference is responsible for any part of the rise in national stories during Period Three, the management of Southam Inc. is as guilty as that of Hollinger or Canwest in that regard. This also points to a common reason for this decline: for example, it might have been staff cuts, which were going on at the *Citizen* under Southam management, well before the chain was taken over by Hollinger or Canwest. Of course, since the sample only involved one chain newspaper, and one independent, no generalized conclusions can be drawn.

## 2. Canada's national unity crisis

It would be no exaggeration to say that Canada was struggling to survive as a nation-state in the years from 1970 to 2005. Period Three opened with the October Crisis of 1970, in which the Front de Libération du Québec, a radical independence movement in Quebec, kidnapped and killed one of the province's cabinet ministers and held the British trade commissioner hostage for eight weeks, until his kidnappers were granted safe passage into exile. While Quebecers did not approve of these terrorist tactics, many had substantial sympathy with the goal of Quebec independence (Gagnon, 2000). Quebec's *indépendentistes* had already established democratic alternatives: the sovereigntist Parti Québécois had, six months earlier, elected its first seven members of Quebec's National Assembly. By 1976, Quebecers had democratically elected a provincial government committed to establishing "sovereignty-association" with the rest of Canada. This election victory for the PQ was followed by others, and the sovereignty movement thrived in Quebec. Two referenda on Quebec sovereignty were held during Period Three, both within Quebec, in 1980 and 1995. The second came within less than one percentage point of a Yes vote that would have led Quebec to ask Canada to negotiate Quebec's sovereignty and fragment an apparently unprepared Canada. But the No vote prevailed. And in 1990, the federal Parliament was confronted by a new, separatist party, the Bloc Québécois, not only gaining elected seats in the House of

Commons but in 1993, forming the official Opposition, which in Canada requires that it win the second-highest number of seats.

This extended national unity crisis<sup>122</sup> was clearly responsible for at least some of the increase in national news during Period Three: I would suggest that it may account for the 3 percent increase that occurred in the *Star* and a similar amount of the *Citizen's* 7.5 percent increase (thus, about half) or perhaps more. In the two newspapers in this study's sample, all stories related to the issue would have been coded as national stories because even Quebec-based stories, being from another province, were considered "national" in these Ontario-based newspapers<sup>123</sup>. Contrast this situation, in Period Three, with the top ongoing news stories of Period One and Period Two, which tended to be international: the First and Second World Wars, the Great Depression, the Cold War—though there were many national and local-angle stories related to both, probably the majority were world stories (this study did not keep track of the topics of stories).

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<sup>122</sup> While most Canadians are well aware of the foregoing historical account, I include it for those who might not be familiar with it.

<sup>123</sup> That is, provided they were outside the paper's circulation area, which in the case of the *Citizen*, includes territory in the province of Quebec.

This chapter will not review the many debates, studies and academic papers generated about Canada's struggle with the Quebec sovereignty movement, particularly since 1970. However, I would add that English Canadians may not be aware of the extent to which *Canadian* nationalism has been affected by Quebec's. A great deal of federal government energy was spent, particularly during the two campaigns prior to the 1980 and 1995 referendums on Quebec sovereignty, on attempts to amend the Constitution, and on promoting and celebrating Canada's virtues, customs and heritage. This was not entirely new, of course. The federal government in Canada had for decades prior to this promoted Canada's national culture by a number of means: its national broadcaster, the CBC (McNulty, 1988; Attallah & Foster, 2002); the Canada Council, which has provided funding for the arts since 1957; even Canadian sports have been beneficiaries of the federal government's attention and largesse, given their potential for symbolic national pride.

Lord Durham said in 1839 that Canada included two nations "warring in the bosom of a single state" (D. Mills, 2008). These "imagined communities" are supported, even nurtured, by communications media, including newspapers. And Canada's two founding nations have, since 1970, been struggling for their very existence. This helps to explain the increase in national news seen in both the *Star* and the *Citizen* in Period Three, and perhaps the excess seen in the *Citizen*, which is, after all, the national capital, located right on the border between Quebec and

Ontario. Of all Canada's cities, Ottawa had perhaps the most to lose from Quebec sovereignty.

### **3. Spatialization and the new local**

It is important to note that the sample in this study was limited to only two newspapers, both in Ontario. Clearly, not all North American newspapers are going the route of increased national news; many have discovered that their readers want local, or even "hyperlocal" news—the latter being about their neighbourhoods or suburbs. In the United States, where the Gannett chain—the nation's largest—is setting trends by re-emphasizing local news in its 85 daily newspapers, things would appear to be quite different (Gannett Co., 2008; Plopper, 1991). Even in Canada, the Osprey chain in Ontario (now owned by Quebecor) is following the Gannett lead and emphasizing local news (Osprey Media, 2008), something it has continued to do since the chain was taken over by Quebecor in 2007.

However, the news in the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Toronto Star*, in the time period under study, did become increasingly nationalized. And this calls to mind the theories of Harold Innis. James Carey, in an essay devoted to Innis's communication theories (1988b), describes how the printing press, when it was first introduced, "created new forms of cultural association best expressed as *the introduction of a horizontal dimension* into modern states and into international relations as well as an alteration in the meaning and relations of social classes" (p. 161, emphasis added).

Carey cites Charles Beard, writing in 1914, who selected 1896 as the “pivotal year in modern American history,” when those horizontal forms of association, which were national and international, arose to challenge local and regional communities, which had more vertical stratification. Carey attributes the change at this time (which is also very close to the start of our sample) to the rise of a national communication system, introduced by news services (also called wire services) and national magazines, combined with rural free delivery and the advent of mail-order houses. In addition to his observations on horizontal stratification, Beard introduced a theoretical system based on the relation between time and space, and between long- and short-distance communication which, Carey says, “Innis later exploited” to develop his own communication theory (p. 162). Carey explains Beard’s theory as follows:

If communication is physically effective over short distances and weak and attenuated over long ones, we would expect that the units of culture, politics and the common concern that would emerge would be grounded in place, in region, in local communities. ... Larger units of social organization that emerged would be not national but federal: amalgamations of local structures into more comprehensive communities. However, as long-distance communication improves, both local and federal relations evaporate into a stratified national

community. Large numbers of people physically and culturally separated become effective national communities of culture and politics. (p. 162)

This seems to be consistent with what we saw happening in our two sample newspapers. We can theorize that Canadian society as a whole became more nationally oriented over the course of the 20th century, as communication over distances continually improved. This influenced the entire “network of represented relationships” (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2003a) that make up the newspaper, from editors and advertisers to readers, and led to what Schudson (1995) describes as a “nationalization of news”. Over the same time span, the term “local” became increasingly confusing, as localities were disrupted in the sense that Massey describes, in her essay “A Global Sense of Place”:

For what is happening is that the geography of social relations is changing. In many cases such relations are increasingly stretched out over space. Economic, political and cultural social relations, each full of power and with internal structures of domination and subordination, stretched out over the planet at every different level, from the household to the local area to the international. It is from that perspective that it is possible to envisage an alternative interpretation of place.... Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries

around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent. (Massey, 1994, p. 154)

There are other terms for this rather new, rather postmodern sense of place, each with a slightly different meaning: *time-space distancing* (Giddens 1990, 1991) and *time-space compression* (Harvey, 1989) are both terms that refer, essentially, to the stretching out of social relations across space, and the consequent feeling of compression of distance. These terms also incorporate the considerable influence of capital in defining spaces, which Innis describes as the “penetration of the price system” and political economists today refer to as commodification (Mosco, 1996, p. 140-172). Commodification of news, as discussed in Chapter 3, began during the Victorian period (Sotiron, 1997; Walkom, 1983) and continued throughout the 20th century, but has risen steadily throughout the study period, as ownership consolidation (which Innis called “monopolies of knowledge”), corporate convergence, and the sophistication of advertising and public relations increased.

Massey (1994), while acknowledging the importance of capital, has a continuing focus on locality. She specifies three conditions for the “global sense of

place” defined in her 1994 essay: first, places are “absolutely not static”—they are constantly changing; second, places have no boundaries—those are usually artificial things imposed by us; and third, places have multiple identities and are full of internal conflicts over those identities.

It is important, in redefining the local sense of place, to take account of this, and of the increasing evidence that the nation-state is a purely modern invention that may or may not survive the full impact of globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1990/1992; Smith, 2001). By its very nature—and perhaps a better word is naturalness—the local will always be with us. Increasingly, discussions of globalization are phrased as a “dialectic of the local and global” (Giddens, 1991, p. 22), which at times bypasses the nation-state<sup>124</sup>. But whether its opposite number is the national or the global, everything points to the increasing importance of the local in the era of globalization.

### **Contributions to knowledge**

This dissertation claims to make the following contributions to academic knowledge:

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<sup>124</sup> Although Giddens, in a 2007 lecture in New Delhi, makes it quite clear he does not foresee the imminent demise of the nation-state (Giddens, 2007).

1. Support for Hypothesis One, sub-hypotheses (a) through (e), provides evidence from two Canadian newspapers of the applicability of Anthony Giddens' (1990, 1991) concept of *disembedding* and Doreen Massey's (1994, 1995) concept of the increasing *disruption* of local places in the late modern era.
2. Support for the first four sub-hypotheses of Hypothesis One in these two newspapers contributes to the evidence of changing social and political *priority* for the local and the national in late modernity, as represented in the priorities of two daily newspapers.
3. This study makes methodological contributions to the field of content analysis in the following respects:
  - a. It has developed a qualitative analysis of the "sense of place" in newspapers that included a definition of the term sense of place as it applies to newspapers, the elaboration of categories arising from that definition, and a set of observations using those categories that produced interesting and illuminating results.
  - b. It defined the geographic categories of newspaper stories and developed ways to quantify them as variables in a content analysis.
  - c. It developed a quantitative method for analyzing the priority accorded to individual newspaper stories in the newspaper's overall design.

While previous studies have associated the related concept of *prominence* with newspaper stories (using story length and sometimes headline size as the measures), this is, to our knowledge the first attempt at a *comprehensive* estimation of the priority markers used by newspapers, to more precisely quantify the priority accorded each story in the newspaper's hierarchical design.

4. This was a first attempt to identify and quantify the number of placeless, or generic, stories in newspapers and how often they were used over time.
5. Finally, this research provides support for a number of key ideas put forward by Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) about:
  - a. the importance of examining the *form* of news, not just the content, for a fuller understanding of its communicative role;
  - b. the periodization of newspaper history during the late Victorian era and entire Modern era (as they define the terms), and
  - c. the declining numbers of articles on newspaper pages throughout the 20th century and the significance of that change. (Their data were confined to the front pages of newspapers.)

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## Appendix A: Operational Definitions

*This set of definitions was given to the coders to help them make consistent and reliable decisions. Some definitions were revised in response to the coders' excellent questions, when unforeseen situations required a decision from the primary investigator. (These are the revised versions.)*

**Article:** To be considered an article, something must include a headline and full sentences of text. (Shorter pieces and those written in note form may be keys or fact boxes, which are defined below.)

- An article that is just one paragraph long is still an article if it has its own headline (not to be confused with a subhead<sup>125</sup> used to break up text); today these one-paragraph stories are known as Briefs. In older newspapers, this length was common.
- In a column of short articles with several included, some of which have headlines and others have subheads, go with the majority and code them all the same.
- A box containing a roundup of one-sentence or very short reports, perhaps from a faraway place or perhaps from the local courts or city hall, will be considered one article or column. This was common in Victorian newspapers as a way of reporting news, either local or from other cities, regions or countries. If these short reports have individual headlines, however, they are individual articles. When asked what type of article, in Question 10, these roundups of related briefs, if on the same topic with a headline that pulls them together, can be classified as a column: e.g. Association Football or News from Exhibition Park.
- The **weather** is not usually considered an article because it usually doesn't have sentences and paragraphs. It's in note form so it's a fact box or sometimes a chart. However, a weather **story** is not the same thing as a weather **report**. A weather story (which should be counted as an article) uses full sentences for all or most of the article, and usually focuses on a particular

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<sup>125</sup> A headline is structured like a sentence with a subject and verb, though it might leave out some words. Anything less is a subhead -- a few words, usually without a verb.

storm or weather event—a snowstorm, heat wave, or hurricane, for example. Only place names that are in the text portion (not any chart or map that accompanies it) should be counted. For the purposes of measuring length, however, include the chart portions if the story is being counted as an article.

- Fiction stories will be considered articles. Under story type, in Question 10, put Other.
- An article should be counted only on the page where it originates; not on the turn page if it is continued. You will measure the length of the turn, and count places named on the turn page, in separate lines on the article page. But the article will be coded entirely on the page where it starts.

**Box:** Question 18A asks if there is a box around the story or other feature that makes it stand out on the page. This will not include anything that's only around the headline, nor will it include a boxed photograph or graphic that goes with the story, unless the story and illustration are boxed together. So it's only something that makes the whole story stand out. This will usually be a line (box) or decorative border of some sort, but it might be a shading that makes the entire story a different colour than the others. If in doubt, consult me. Also, if more than one story is enclosed within the same box, they usually will not qualify—sometimes there are two stories on the same topic in a box and it's as if they were one story—this we can count as a box. It has to be something that makes one story different. (However, if a page has two stories with boxes around them, separate from one another, each can be considered to have a box.)

**Column:** There are three types of stories that get classified as columns.

- One is a regular (daily, weekly, whatever as long as it's recurring) opinion piece by a writer, who usually gets his/her name and picture on the column.
- Another type of column is not opinion but could be a roundup of short news briefs about a particular topic, with a heading that applies to all of them. (However, we will not consider something called World News Digest or National Briefs, if it's just a collection of disparate briefs on different topics, to be a column—each one will be a new story, coded separately.) This type of column also applies to “mini-reviews” of theatre productions or shows that occur in an arts and entertainment section. In these cases, if there are other listings, just measure the length of the mini-reviews and count these as a column but don't include the other listings.

- Third, a question-and-answer column like Dear Abby is also a column. However, fiction cannot be a column. It is always Other.

**Dateline:** The name of a city (or other geographic location), date and sometimes time, at the start of an article before the actual story begins.

**Placeline:** The name of a city (or other geographic location) at the start of an article before the actual story begins.

**Editorial:** An editorial is an article that expresses the position of the newspaper, without a byline or writer's name attached. Editorials usually appear on a special page, grouped with other editorials and letters from readers. Editorials excerpted from other newspapers will not be considered editorials in Question 10. Classify these as Other or, if they are grouped together in what appears to be a regular feature, they might be a Column. (An editorial from the *Star* or *Citizen* might quote from another paper's opinion and add its own views. This is still an Editorial: it must contain at least some of the paper's own viewpoint to be considered an Editorial.)

**Fact Box or Chart:** Box or distinctly separated short blurb with information, usually in point or list form. Sports charts, the weather box and business stock tables go in this category. (Note: a Fact Box or Chart is not an article. A Brief is an article—the article uses full sentences and paragraph form, while the fact box/chart does not.) An article with a small amount of text followed by a lot of chart material will be classified as a chart and not coded (e.g. many stock market reports are like this).

**Announcements and notices:** Wedding announcements, births and death notices that are clearly paid advertisements will not be coded as stories. If it is clear that they are not paid-for, do code them as articles.

### **Geographic Categories (Questions 9, 11):**

- **Local:** A story featuring a person, event or issue arising *within the primary market area* of the newspaper as defined by the Audit Bureau of Circulation report for that year. NOTE: For years prior to 1915, use the earliest ABC report, which was in 1915. We will assume that the circulation area prior to that date was the same.

#### **Procedure for determining what is a local story:**

- Non-local stories usually have a dateline or placeline, so the first thing to look for is that notation at the very beginning of the story, after the headline. It will

name a place (that's a placeline) and in the oldest newspapers, also a date and time (that's a dateline).

- If a story *has a dateline or placeline*, it is not usually local—unless the place is within the primary market area of the newspaper, as defined by the ABC audit report for that year.
- The *absence of a dateline or placeline* will *usually* be an indicator of a local story, except in the following instances:
  - If the story deals with international, federal, provincial or inter-municipal politics and is not focused on an issue or person of exclusively local concern. The *Citizen*, for example, does not put placelines on Ottawa-based stories about federal politics. Yet these are clearly national. So you must look at the content to determine whether these stories are local or national.
  - If the story deals with national or international business, and is not focused on an issue or person of exclusively local concern. This would be more common in the *Toronto Star*, just as national politics would be common in the *Citizen*. Again, the content will determine this judgment.
  - If the story mentions no place at all.
  - An advertisement will be deemed to be local if it contains a local address.
  - A letter to the editor will be deemed local only if it deals with a local topic, despite the fact the letter-writer might be identified as local at the end of the letter. If it deals with world issues, or national ones, it's not local. But it can be classified as "local in a non-local context" if a place name is mentioned (see below). Likewise, if a letter meets the qualifications of a No Place story, the placename after the signoff doesn't disqualify it, even though it counts as a placename in the coding.
- **Provincial:** A story whose domain and area of reference is the province of Ontario (if it's another province, consider it national).
- **National:** A story whose domain and area of reference is Canada or federal politics. This category includes stories about Canadian people, cities or provinces that are not in the newspaper's local or provincial domain (e.g. a story about someone from Cape Breton who has become a popular musician). Note: A story

situated in Ottawa that focuses on federal politics will be considered a national story. If the story *focuses* on local Ottawa issues, people, or local places not used for national politics, it can *also* be considered a national story with a local angle. Consider whether this option applies.

- **International or World:** Stories that are situated in the international arena, including Canada's role in that domain. The story must mention a place or government of a place, or an institution name which includes a place name. Borderline situations arise for mentions of non-Canadian institutions, such as universities or the Vatican. The category in these cases will depend on the angle the story takes—it might be a local story that simply mentions a professor from a certain out-of-town university or a position taken by the Vatican, but is essentially local—this is not an international story.
- **No Place:** The story does not mention any place. If an institution is mentioned, it is not placed. E.g. William and Mary College without the additional information that it is in Williamsburg, Virginia. Note: If a sports team's name includes its city, this will be considered a place. This will also be true for neighbourhood groups if the story is about the neighbourhood or its role as a place in the city or some larger place.
- **Mixed:** In deciding which geographical category to select for a story in Question 9 (on the Overall Page), if the domain is mixed and includes some national, some world, etc., choose the largest domain. You may find that a mixed story has a local angle in it somewhere, in which case you should check box 6 in Question 11 (Articles Page) and code all the place names.
- **Local angle:** A story whose domain is larger than the locality but which focuses on a person, group or issue that is local or from the local area. These stories are often written by staff reporters (working for the paper) and may not have placelines, but their domain is provincial, national or international. Examples: a story about a local musician who is going on a world tour, or an Olympic athlete performing overseas who comes from the local area. Note: Use category 6. in Question 11 on the Articles page for a non-local story with a local angle. You should also check the other box (category) which applies to the story, which will help you to complete Question 9 on the preceding page, and will help me if I need to change the totals on that page.

**Headlines:** When measuring headlines to find the largest or smallest on the page, first consider the size of the type. Then take into account the spacing. A headline

that takes up more space (it's three lines rather than two, perhaps, or has more space between the lines, or even has a subhead, is in bolder [darker, thicker] type) will be considered larger for this purpose. If there is any ambiguity, i.e. one headline is not clearly larger than the others, it is just fine to say that two or more are either the largest or the smallest on the page. However, a two-line head is larger than a one-line head, and so on. We are looking for the **priority or prominence** that is being given to the story.

### **Illustration:**

The following types of illustrations are to be counted as photographs in this study:

- **Photograph:** A picture taken with a camera, no matter what size, with the exception of head shots (see below).
- **Photo illustration:** A photo with a graph, chart, map or writing superimposed on it.
- **Photo montage:** An illustration that includes several photographs.
- **Photo-Key:** First, the term key means something on one page that points to a story on another page<sup>126</sup>. For the purposes of this category, we are only going to count keys that contain a picture.
- **Head shot:** A photo of a person's head and shoulders only, sized one column wide or less. (A larger head shot is a photo.)

**Local in a non-local context (or reverse):** What I am looking for here is the intermingling of the local with the non-local. This can include a letter to the editor with a local place name after the writer's name, which mentions a non-local place, or a national or world issue. Or a story involving a non-local person/place/thing in a local context. Or a local person, identified as such, doing something in another place. Note: Any story that has nonlocal as well as local place names in it should get a Yes in this category. So be sure to go back after coding all the place names and be sure this question is answered appropriately.

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<sup>126</sup> These usually appear on the front page or a section front, and they can range from elaborate banner art at the top of a page to a "tag" at end of a story saying, "See page 5 for related story".

**Place:** A location that is named in the story. A place can range from a house or other building to a street, a city, a province, a country or region such as Atlantic Canada or the Middle East.

- Please count each place name once in a story, even if it is repeated several times.
- However, *different* names for the *same* place should be counted separately: for example, a reference to “the city” and the word Toronto or Ottawa count as separate place names for the tally on page 2. When you fill out the place page, please enter these duplicate names for the same place on a single sheet together and code them as such. If a duplicate name involves only a different adjective, not a different noun (name) for the place, it will not count as a separate place name (e.g. “the suburban dance hall” and “the dance hall” are not separate place names).
- A generic or fictional reference to “a house” or “the street” that is not associated with a specific, named place is not to be coded as a place. This is also the rule for references to “my house” in an anonymous letter to an advice column. However, a reference to “the streets of Toronto” or “the houses that were flooded” in a story where an actual flooded area is mentioned will be considered specific enough to code as places.
- In a fiction story, a real place that is named does count as a place.
- The adjectival form (e.g. British or Japanese, etc.) of a place name will not count as a place reference, preferring the noun (Britain, Japan, etc.) because often, the adjective isn’t meant to refer to the place. However, if a story refers to “the Toronto man” the usage is intended to say he is from the place Toronto, so that should count as a place. In borderline situations use your judgment or consult me if it’s unclear: We are looking for references to actual places.
- If in making reference to a place several nearby places are named (for example, the Torbolton Hotel at the corner of Bank and Sparks streets), count this as ONE place, because it’s really referring only to the hotel.
- A *proposed* building or structure is not a place until it exists. However, the site where it is to be situated is a place. If it is replacing an existing building, then that existing building is a place. If it is partially built and becomes a

construction site, it is a place. It can be a defunct building, condemned or derelict, and still be a place if it was functional at some point.

- A named spot within a building, as in the Speaker's Chair in the House of Commons or someone's front steps as opposed to their back porch, is NOT a separate place **unless** it is a separate organization's office or person's dwelling. Thus, the barrister's office in the Monument Building is a separate place from the drugstore in the same building. And one person's apartment is a separate place from another person's in the same building.
- A vehicle is not considered a place because it moves around. However, a vehicle that is permanently established in one place and serves, for example, as a home or permanent building, can be considered a place.
- Regarding institutions, there will always be two distinct possibilities for coding these: as a place or as an institution. This depends on how it is used in the story. "The city" is not a place if it's referring to the city as an institution, doing something ("the city will levy taxes" for example) rather than a place where something happened ("snow fell in the city" for example). The same rule applies to courts or schools—if the court is mentioned as a location of some action or event, count it as a place. If the story is about a court ruling with no mention of the court as a scene of action, the court is not a place, it's an institution. The House of Commons follows the same rule: we don't see it as a place if they say "the House" did or discussed such-and-such today. But if things are reported as happening IN "the house" or, for example, "on the floor of the house" then it's a place.
- The rule about institutions also applies to countries: if Britain and France are negotiating a treaty, such as the GATT, they are operating as institutions, not as places. However, if something in the story takes place in Britain or France, those references will be coded as places. There will be some borderline situations (no pun intended)—for example, treaties in which land is in question, for example, after a war. Use your best judgment and if really stuck, consult with me and we'll decide together.
- A university should be treated like any other institution, as above, even if its name includes a place name (e.g. the University of Minnesota). Thus, if the university is the location of some particular action or event, it is a place. If it is doing something as an institution, it is not a place.

- The same rule applies to names of companies: a place in the company name is not considered a place name. E.g. the Central Pacific Railway does not mean Pacific is a place.
- If a sports team's name includes a geographic name (usually a city but sometimes a neighbourhood), that geographic name should be considered a place for the purpose of place mentions on page 2. This is a major exception to the rule about institutions, but is meant to take account of the fact that sports teams represent their cities in ways that most institutions do not.
- The names of neighbourhood groups can also, in the context of a story, be meant to refer to the neighbourhood as a place. If this seems to you to be clearly the case, you should count it as a place name. If in doubt, consult with me and we will rule on it together. This is also an exception to the rule about institutions.
- We are looking for things that geographers would call "specific place." Places that are generic—say, a term like "the community" -- and do not specify a location, really should not be counted. But what exactly does this mean? A **named** place, in the geographic sense, is clearly specific: Toronto, Spadina Street, even "the Pontiac" or "the Kawarthas" are all named in that sense, and would count. But we can also count a second reference to such a place in a form like "the city" that sounds generic except that it refers back to a named place. I also would include any term that can be **visualized** as a specific place, such as "the streets of Toronto" even though that isn't a specified street. If we remember that the city as a whole does count as a place, its streets can also be conceived as a place, even if a specific street isn't named. It could be the site of the transit system, or some action taking place in the story, or other association, which also helps to cement its classification as a place. But a term like "on the streets" or "in the community", which doesn't refer to a specific city or town, is generic, and would not count as a place.

**Placement of story on page:** Question 18 asks where the story is located on the page. Note that it cannot be at the bottom if an advertisement is below it, or at the top if an ad is above it. If a banner (e.g. masthead, section banner) is above a story it will still be considered to be at the top, even if the banner has a small ad embedded in it.

**Section:** A portion of the newspaper devoted to a certain topic, with most or all stories dealing with that topic. Section names listed on the coding sheet may not be

exactly the same (for example, Lifestyles/Living often has a different name, the National section might be called Canada, the World section International). If the name is close or related to the one on the sheet, choose that box and write in the name, or somehow indicate the name on the sheet. If it is not close to any of the given names, pick Other and write the name given to the section in that box. Note: The Front Page is not considered a section or section front for the purposes of this study.

**Story length:** Story length will be the number of columns occupied by the story, rounded off to the nearest tenth of a column. (A story that occupies less than one-tenth will be called 0.1) In a separate question, you will state the total number of columns on the page *where the story is*—in the most recent newspapers, some pages will have a portion that’s five columns and another portion that’s, perhaps, four columns. Also, any illustration or chart that “goes with”<sup>127</sup> the story will be **included** in the measurement. If an illustration goes with more than one story, apportion the length of it among the stories roughly equally, by including the portions adjacent to those stories when measuring. We are not trying to be precise here, but rather, to judge roughly what amount of space is given to particular stories.

**Note:** If a full-sized photograph appears alone on a separate page but goes with the story, count its length as part of the story and consider it a “turn”—even if the photograph precedes the story (e.g. on a section front). There’s a distinction between this and a “key”, which might feature a mini-photo. Keys do not count as part of the story.

**Turns:** An article that “turns” (is continued) onto another page should be coded all together on one Articles Page, to be included with the documents for the page where it begins. There are lines on the Articles Page for the length of the turn and the number of placenames in the turn (in question 19, the first line is for the placenames in the main article on the first page, the second line, question 19A, is for placenames in the turn. Do **not** total these in the first line.) There is no need to fill out a second

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<sup>127</sup> If the picture is on the same topic and is beside or on top of the story, it can be considered to go with that story. If an entire page is devoted to one topic, however, the picture may go with all the stories equally. Thus, you can either measure and include any part of the picture that is adjacent to the story in question, or if some stories are not beside it, be as fair as possible, by dividing up the space the picture takes and apportioning it among the stories that go with that picture. Do whichever of these techniques seems most fair, in terms of the intent – i.e. does that picture “go with” that story.

Articles sheet or Placenames sheet for the portion of the article that is on the turn page<sup>128</sup>.

**However, If there is a photograph with the turn:**

- Please include it in Question 8 (the total number of photographs on the **page**) on the turn page only. DO NOT include it in Question 8 on the page where the story begins.
- Please DO include it in Question 16, when asked how many photographs go with the **story**, and do list it in 16A. However, put a note beside its name on the list saying it's on the turn page.

**Year:** Each year in the sample, from 1894 to 2005, is assigned a number from 1 to 112. See the chart I distributed for the numbers. These are to be entered on page one of the coding sheets for each newspaper page.

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<sup>128</sup> Definition: a turn page is the page where the continuation of the story appears.

## Appendix B: Content Analysis Form

Please circle the number beside the response that applies. For those with boxes, there may be occasions when a number or word is entered in the box.

### Overall Page

Please answer questions 1-9 for each whole page:

1. Name of newspaper: 1. Toronto Star      2. Ottawa Citizen

Publication date:

2. Day of week (Monday = 1 to Sunday = 7) \_\_\_\_\_

3. Day of month (1-31) \_\_\_\_\_

4. Month (1-12) \_\_\_\_\_

5. Year (years from 1-112) \_\_\_\_\_

6. Page number (this may include section, e.g. A1, B6) \_\_\_\_\_

7. Does the page have a banner with a topic or section name? 1. Yes 2. No

7B. If so, what section name most closely describes the label on the page (use Other if the choice is not obvious)? (please circle number):

1. City	2. National	3. World	4. Sports	5. Arts/ Entertainment	6. Business
7. Women/ Family	8. Lifestyles/ Living	9. Homes	10. Wheels/ Automotive	11. Comics/ Puzzles	12. Other

### 8. Types of items

Total number of articles on page	
Total number of photographs on page (including photos in advertisements)	
Does this page contain "turns" of articles from other pages? If so, how many?	

9. Geographic category: Number of articles that are primarily (enter numbers in boxes):

1. Local	2. Provincial	3. National	4. World	5. No Place
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For each article, please answer the questions on page 2 and, if applicable, page 3.

**Articles Page****For each article:**

Headline, first word(s), to identify story: \_\_\_\_\_

**10. Type of article** (circle number, for Other please write type)

1. News/feature story	2. Editorial	3. Letter to editor	4. Column	5. Other
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**11. Geographic category** (circle one number from 1-5, PLUS 6 if appropriate):

1. Local	2. Provincial	3. National	4. World	5. No Place	6. Non-local w/ local angle
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**12. Length** of article on this page (including headline and any related photo) in columns, to the nearest 0.1 (tenth) of a column. \_\_\_\_\_**13. Total # columns on page where story is** \_\_\_\_\_**14. Is the story continued on another page?** 1. No 2. Yes

If Yes, what page is the turn on? \_\_\_\_\_

**14A. If the story turns, what is its length on the turn page?** \_\_\_\_\_**14B. Number of columns on turn page where story is?** \_\_\_\_\_**15. Does the story have a dateline or placeline?** 1. Yes 2. No**16. Number of photographs with the story** \_\_\_\_\_**16A. Word(s) to identify photo(s)** \_\_\_\_\_**17. Headline size** (circle one number):

0. None	1. Smallest on page	2. Medium	3. Largest on page
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**18. Placement:** Where does the story appear on the page? (circle one number)

6.	1. At the bottom	2. In the middle	3. At the top
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**18A. Does the story have a box around it or other feature (see Coding Rule Book) to make it stand out on the page?** 0. No 1. Yes**19. How many place names appear in the article**<sup>129</sup>? \_\_\_\_\_**19A. If the story turns, how many place names are in the turn?** \_\_\_\_\_**20. Does the story concern someone (-thing) non-local in a local context or the reverse (local in a non-local context)?** 1. Yes 2. No

<sup>129</sup> If the article is continued, count the number on this page only for #19, and use #19A for the turn.



## Appendix C: Intercoder Reliability Test Samples

(Note: Due to availability challenges with the *Ottawa Citizen*, all pages used in these tests were drawn from the *Toronto Star*, which is available in PDF format)

<p><b>IRT#1</b>  Monday, April 2, 1973, p. 57  Tuesday, April 18, 1950 p. 8  Wednesday, Oct. 4, 1916, p. 3  Thursday, Jan. 26, 1933, p. 3  Friday, March 3, 1950, p. 28  Saturday, July 22, 1967, p. 9</p>	<p><b>IRT#4</b><sup>130</sup>  Monday, August 15, 1921, p. 18  Monday, Sept. 20, 1897, p. 3  Tuesday, July 4, 1972, p. 5  Tuesday, July 9, 2002, p. C2  Wednesday, June 22, 1938, p. 19  Wednesday, March 3, 1999, p. C2  Thursday, Nov. 8, 1956, p. 32  Thursday, Feb. 15, 1940, p. 16  Friday, May 4, 1962, p. 13  Friday, Feb. 11, 1927, p. 20  Saturday, May 1, 1965, p. 37  Saturday, Oct. 17, 1903, p. 6</p>
<p><b>IRT#2</b>  Monday, Sept. 21, 1896, p. 3  Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1921, p. 19  Wednesday, April 19, 1972, p. 8  Thursday, April 29, 1937, p. 2  Friday, Dec. 1, 1972, p. 7  Saturday, June 1, 1901, p. 14</p>	
<p><b>IRT#3</b>  Monday, April 17, 1905, p. 10  Tuesday, Feb. 12, 1918, p. 7  Wednesday, Nov. 25, 1936, p. 17  Thursday, March 22, 1923, p. 27  Friday, June 28, 1974, p. 2  Saturday, March 16, 1940, p. 9</p>	

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<sup>130</sup> The first IRT4 sample was very small because a number of the pages contained only one or two stories. It meant the results were being thrown off by a single difference between the three coders. So a second randomly selected week was tested and the results merged.

## Appendix D: Intercoder Reliability Test (IRT) Results

*This chart reports the final pre-coding scores from IRT3, the third in a series of preliminary IRT tests (the two earlier tests functioned as a training exercise), and IRT4, which was done during the coding of Period Two. Please note that Krippendorf's alpha is a more rigorous test than the Holsti, or simple percentage agreement. Because it corrects for agreements that could occur by chance, scores are lower, and considered acceptable at the .7000 level (Hayes & Krippendorf, 2007). The average score is listed at the bottom of each column, but please note that no question scored below 0.7799, which is very close to the .80 cutoff used for Holsti calculations. Questions that were dropped from the study were not included in the chart or the averaging. Column at left lists which questions were scored; the remaining questions from the Content Analysis Form showed no variation, or were dropped from the analysis.*

<b>Question on content analysis form</b>	<b>Krippendorf's alpha for IRT3</b>	<b>Krippendorf's alpha for IRT4</b>
8A. Number of articles on page	0.9828	0.9596
8B. Number of photos on page	1.0000	0.9987
11. Geographic category of story	0.9473	0.7799
12. Length of story	0.9679	0.9739
15. Does story have dateline/placeline	1.0000	1.0000
17. Headline size	0.8331	0.8347
19. Placement of story on page	0.8544	0.9383
20. Local in nonlocal context or reverse	0.8523	0.8150
22. Number of local placenames	0.8821	0.8013
<b>AVERAGE Krippendorf's alpha</b>	<b>0.9284</b>	<b>0.8970</b>

## Appendix E: The Study Sample

The sample included the following randomly selected dates; entire editions of both newspapers were coded. \*Note: A mistake was made that was not discovered until after the coding process was complete: The date of the Friday paper in Period Two is Jan. 22 1954 for the *Star*, and June 5, 1953 for the *Citizen*. N = number of articles in edition:

### Period One: 1894-1929

Date of newspaper	N for Toronto Star	N for Ottawa Citizen
Monday, May 17, 1920	205	203
Tues, March 21, 1905	158	132
Wed. Dec. 27, 1922	215	172
Thurs. Oct. 23, 1902	128	129
Fri. Aug. 5, 1898	43	87
Sat. Aug. 28, 1915	139	146
Total N	888	869

### Period Two: 1930-1970

Date of newspaper	N for Toronto Star	N for Ottawa Citizen
Mon Apr 17, 1933	290	196
Tues Nov 5, 1968	159	157
Wed Feb 8 1967	183	183
Thurs Oct 24, 1940	336	253
Fri June 5, 1953*		209
Fri Jan 22, 1954*	185	
Sat Nov 29, 1941	326	284
Total N	1479	1282

### Period Three: 1971-2005

Date of newspaper	N for Toronto Star	N for Ottawa Citizen
Mon Nov 22, 1982	148	152
Tues March 13, 1984	276	194
Wed Dec. 4, 2002	163	190
Thu April 15, 1993	202	189
Fri May 11, 1973	218	171
Sat Feb 11, 1995	231	231
Sun July 29, 2001	140	106
Total N	1378	1233

Total N entire sample: 7129	Total N, <i>Toronto Star</i> : 3745	Total N, <i>Ottawa Citizen</i> : 3384
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