

where groups have common interests in both radio and TV stations, and another 14 communities where "independents" enjoy the same multiple interest.

There are also 11 communities where groups or independents have a common interest in the local newspaper *and* one or more of the broadcasting stations. In eight of these places, the people who own a newspaper also have a financial interest in the TV station. In four of these communities, the newspaper owners have an interest not only in the TV station, but in one or more of the local radio stations as well.

Table 2 gives a province-by-province breakdown of the situation.

## NEWSPAPER NOSE-COUNT

When we consider ownership concentration as it applies to daily newspapers, the problem assumes a finer focus. If you accept the notion that "diverse and antagonistic" sources of information promote a healthy democracy, you would have to regard a city with at least two newspapers under separate ownership as being luckier than a city with only one. Well, how many Canadian cities are there where that situation exists? There are ten – or nine if you don't count Vancouver, where the two main dailies are published by a single corporation that is jointly owned by two newspaper groups. You might also discount Moncton and Sherbrooke as competing newspaper towns, since their two dailies are published in different languages. That leaves seven cities; and in most of them, groups control at least one of the competing newspapers.

In fact, there are only *three* Canadian cities – Montreal, Quebec City, and St. John's – where there is major competition involving at least one independent daily. (Toronto and Montreal don't count for the purposes of this study because we're labelling the Montreal *Star*, the Toronto *Star*, and the Toronto *Telegram* as "groups" because of their interests in weekend supplements and suburban weeklies).

On the face of it, this situation represents a significant decline in the number of "diverse and antagonistic" voices available to newspaper readers. According to Professor Wilfred Kesterton, around 1900 there were 66 dailies published in 18 communities with two or more newspapers. By 1958, there were only four communities in this position; between them, they published only 14 dailies. Today there are 23 dailies being published in five cities with two or more newspapers: six in Montreal, six in Vancouver (if you include the four suburban dailies of the Columbian group), four in Toronto (one published in Italian), four in Quebec, and three in Ottawa-Hull.

Putting it another way: just before the First World War, there were 138 daily newspapers in Canada – and there were 138 publishers. In 1953, Canada had the fewest newspapers (89) and the fewest publishers (57) since the first presses rolled out the Halifax *Gazette* in 1752. By 1966 there were 110 newspapers and 63 publishers. Today, 12 publishing groups produce more than two thirds of the country's 116 dailies.