

Australia and changes in Western media

Janet Fulton and Mark Balnaves

University of Newcastle

janet.fulton@newcastle.edu.au

'... mass media are shrinking in size relative to the total economy and the specialized media are becoming increasingly important' (Richard Maisel).

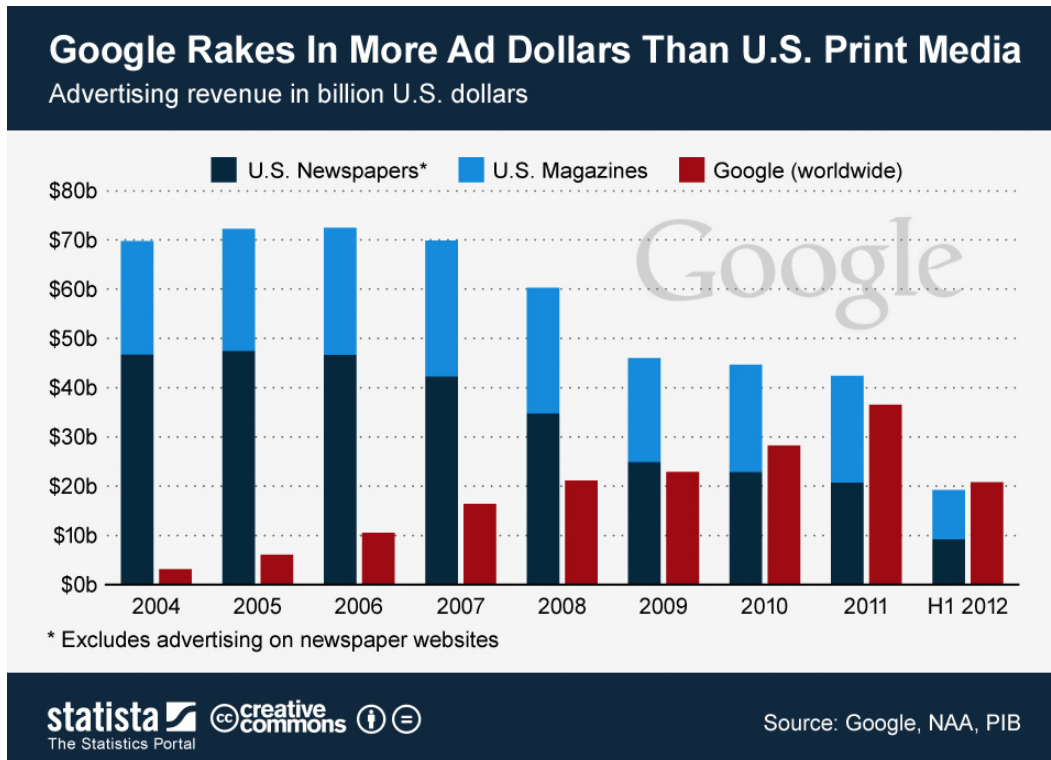
Introduction

Richard Maisel was in 1973 referring to media growth trends from 1950-1970. His point about mass media shrinking was correct then and it is still correct today. However, it is not only specialised media that are changing the nature of modern media but the super aggregators, the hypergiants. The real impact of super aggregators, like Google, is only now starting to be felt. The true consolidation of Internet content contributors started five years ago. In 2007, thousands of ASNs contributed to 50% of network traffic (an Internet Service Provider must have a registered Autonomous System Number (ASN)). Today only 150 ASNs, or fewer, contribute to 50% of the network traffic, with the 30 hyper giants like Comcast accounting for 30% of traffic (Balnaves, 2010).

But there are also other kinds of consolidation. Browsers have become more important for consolidation of functions (e.g., mail, video). New technologies like cloud computing are redefining the notion of network. As Masnick (2011) points out, it is aggregation that is the key to the future of media work. While traditional media workers like journalists might feel offended to have their profession referred to as aggregation, and the role of aggregator as a core function, there can be little doubt that both the business of media and media work are converging in the aggregation space (ibid.).

Over the last twenty years, media workers in the West have been faced with changes in the way content is produced and consumed. Changes in technology, digitisation of content and convergence have each played a part in a transforming media landscape. Skills that are required to work in different jobs in the media have blurred with reporters now expected, in many organisations, to be the reporter/photographer/web content curator while other cultural producers, such as musicians, have the technology and knowhow to produce using personal software and equipment.

Traditional media organisations are competing for advertising dollars with non-media companies such as Google and Facebook, who sell users to advertisers. As an example, in the U.S., advertising on Google has grown steadily since 2004 in comparison to advertising in print media.



Source: <http://www.statista.com/topics/1001/google/chart/709/google-s-ad-revenue-since-2004/>

An increase in requests for user-generated content by mainstream media organisations has also meant media producers are less likely to actively seek out stories, which has led to a change in work practices. Citizen journalists took up the aggregation challenge before traditional journalism. Stuart Allan describes how the role of the professional cameraman, for example, has changed:

Never before has there been a major international story where television news crews have been so emphatically trounced in their coverage by amateurs wielding their own cameras, observed one British newspaper. Producers and professional news cameramen often found themselves being sent not to the scenes of disaster to capture footage of its aftermath, but to the airports where holiday-makers were returning home with footage of the catastrophe as it happened (*The Independent*, January 3, 2005 in Allan, 2009).

Allan (2009) notes that the first instances of citizen journalism were user-generated content from the South Asian tsunami in 2004 and since then mainstream media has actively encouraged audience engagement in the news process. The audience is asked for stories, breaking news, images,

and audio and video footage, leading to the argument that news producers are becoming curators rather than generators of the news (Bruno, 2011; Newman, 2010). Journalists regularly scour social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube to discover the latest water-cooler trend.

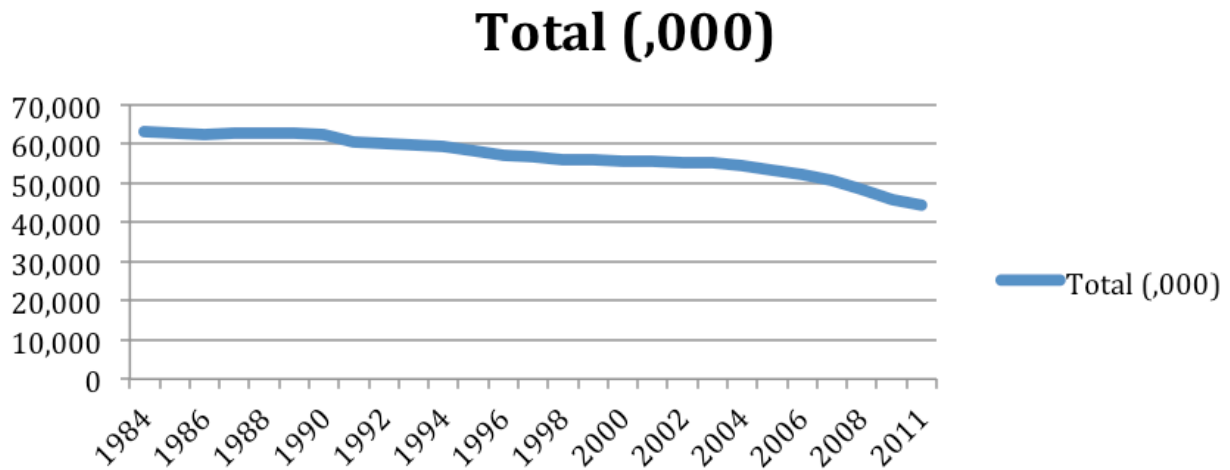
Audiences have a wide amount of choice in the media they consume but they also have the ability to produce their own 'media' with innovative home equipment such as smartphones and their myriad of apps, blogging and photo software, and social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and Tumblr giving ordinary citizens the ability to produce information for consumption. Also, when audiences do engage with mainstream media they expect a high level of interaction, thus news articles and blogs have comment functionality, news organisations produce social media pages, musicians, filmmakers and public relations firms use YouTube as a dissemination tool, photographers use Facebook, and so on.

While employment in other areas of media production, such as filmmaking and music, has always been precarious, digitisation and changes in distribution has meant many jobs in these areas, and other areas of media production, are simply disappearing. On the other hand, there are areas where employment is increasing, and quickly. Jobs in web design, production, social media and public relations are booming in the West with *New York Times* journalist David Barstow declaring: "The muscles of journalism are weakening and the muscles of public relations are bulking up—as if they were on steroids" (in Sullivan, 2011).

This paper looks briefly at the state of media work in the United States (U.S.) and the United Kingdom (U.K.), including different forms of journalism but also other areas of media production, and discusses the Australian media industry within this context.

United States

In September 2012, the Newspaper Association of America released the total daily newspaper circulation figures up to the end of 2011 and these figures showed a continuing downturn in circulation from a high of 63,340,000 in 1984 to current circulation figures of 44,421,000 in 2011 (Newspaper Association of America, 2013), a decline of 30%.



Based on figures from Newspaper Association of America (NAA, 2013)

<http://www.naa.org/Trends-and-Numbers/Circulation/Newspaper-Circulation-Volume.aspx>

However, during the same time the population of the U.S. increased from 236,789,000 (December 1984) to 312,602,730 (December 2011) (United States Census Bureau, 2013), and crunching the numbers shows a truer picture of why newspapers are closing and journalists are losing their jobs: in 1984, the percentage of newspapers sold to population was 26% and in 2011 was 14%. A key finding from the *State of the News Media* report from 2011 was that newspaper circulation fell 4%, although digital audiences of the organisations' digital sites are growing, and advertising revenue decreased by 9%. The recognised challenge for newspapers is how to convert the growing digital audience into dollars. While advertising on digital news sites increased almost 7%, the decrease in newspaper advertising outweighed the increase in digital by ten to one (Mitchell and Rosental, 2012).

The implications for journalists are obvious, with organisations introducing cost-cutting measures including a decrease of reporting and editing staff of more than 25% since 2002 (ASNE, 2013). Interestingly, the U.S. Bureau of Labor has released figures stating that employment in broadcasting in the U.S. will increase by 10% between 2010 and 2020: even though jobs in traditional news organisations will decline, the Bureau predicts that demand for online news and podcasts will offset downsizing at network TV stations (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013a).

These newer platforms, however, mean that media workers in the broadcast industry face increasing audience fragmentation. Cable TV and other alternatives have meant major networks such as NBC, ABC and CBS only have 50% of the audience share (McPhail, 2010: 226) and this is likely to erode further with the advent of online channels such as those offered by YouTube. A

reduction in advertising revenue has meant cost cutting in such areas as foreign news bureaus. As an example, in the 1980s, CBS had 28 bureaus and by 2008 this number had reduced to four (Russo, 2010).

In the radio industry, surveys show that nine out of ten Americans own an AM/FM radio but 40% also listen to online radio service Pandora, a figure expected to double by 2015 (Mitchell and Rosenthal, 2012). Straubhaar, LaRose and Davenport (2013) note that changes in the U.S. radio industry, such as syndication, centralisation of sales and management positions, and changes in audience expectations, has meant local DJ positions have decreased. In addition to this, Straubhaar et al. point out that podcasting and Internet streaming, which many radio stations are doing, creates difficulties because audiences “who tune in from outside the station's local broadcast market do not support the prevailing broadcast radio business model that depends on local ad sales” (Straubhaar, et al., 2013: 166), thus creating problems for ongoing revenue. It should be pointed out, however, that newer forms of radio, including internet and satellite radio technology, and digital radio, are creating new jobs (ibid.: 177). Services such as Pandora and Spotify are also integrating with social media platforms such as Facebook to compete with radio (ibid. p. 181).

Closely related to the radio industry, employment in some sectors of the music industry in the U.S. decreased dramatically. In 2008, there were 186,400 musicians and singers in the U.S. with 50% of those classed as self-employed (Straubhaar, et al. 2013: 148) and in 2010, 176,200 held jobs as musicians and singers with 43% self-employed (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012, n.p.). However, many of these workers are part-time with long bouts of unemployment and few can support themselves as full-time musicians. While the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) recently released figures that showed global revenue in the music industry increased by 0.3% in 2012 (2013, n.p.), newer music subscription services, which saw an increase in subscribers in 2012 of 40%, are not producer-friendly. In a timely essay, musician Damon Krukowski breaks down the figures that musicians earn from services such as Pandora and Spotify. In the first quarter of 2012, one of his band's songs was played on Pandora 7,800 times and the band received 21 cents; another song was played 5,690 times on Spotify and the band received \$1.05. Krukowski (2012, n.p.) wrote: “To put this into perspective: Since we own our own recordings, by my calculation it would take songwriting royalties for roughly 312,000 plays on Pandora to earn us the profit of one – *one* – LP sale. (On Spotify, one LP is equivalent to 47,680 plays.)”.

The Public Relations industry in the U.S. has followed the trend with employment increasing 30% from 1997 to 2007 in the independent sector (Sullivan, 2011). According to figures and data from

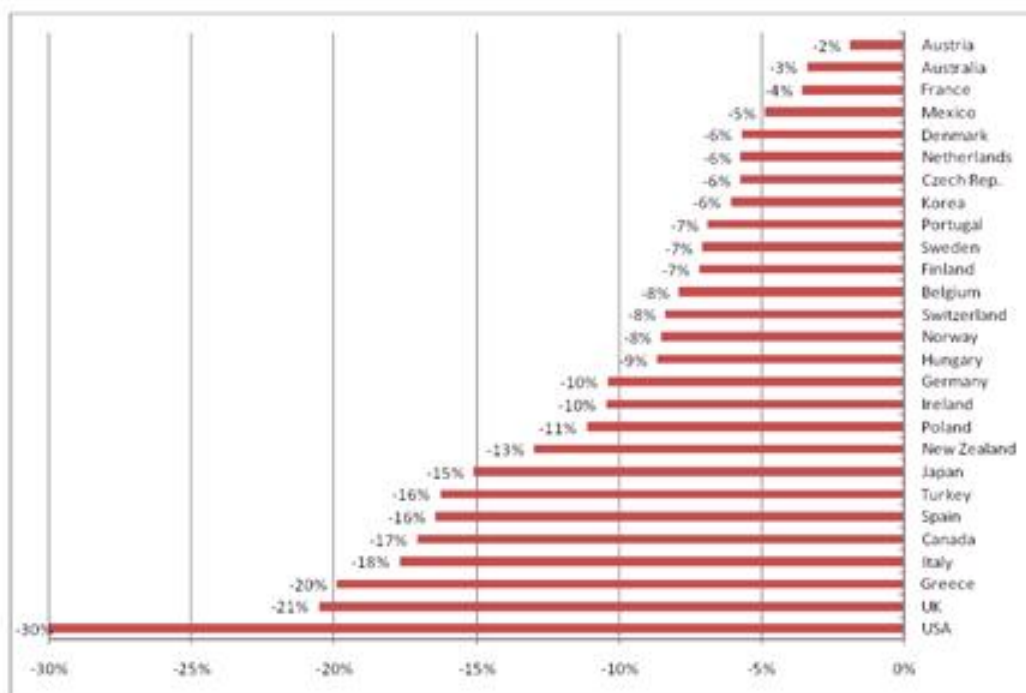
the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013b), the public relations industry in the U.S. is expected to increase by 23 percent by 2020. In 2010, 270,000 people worked in the PR industry compared to 58,500 who worked as reporters, correspondents and broadcast news analysts (2013a).

Furthermore, Sullivan (2011, n.p.) uses anecdotal evidence to demonstrate how organisations are using the Internet to reach their publics: “The Internet makes it easy for public relations people to reach out directly to the audience and bypass the press, via websites and blogs, social media and videos on YouTube, and targeted e-mail”, and provides examples such as university research website Futurity, which publishes research in a polished form in a similar way to Australia’s *The Conversation*.

United Kingdom

Each of the above demonstrates how U.S. media practitioners’ work practices and environment have changed in the digital era. Similar evidence can be found in the U.K. McQuail’s (2011) brief history and summary of the media in Europe provides an excellent analysis of how online technology and social media has transformed the media landscape in the U.K. and Europe and affected some parts of traditional mass media, particularly the ‘weakened and vulnerable’ newspaper industry (McQuail, 2011: 16). McQuail rightly pointed out that by the end of the twentieth century, European media had transformed. There has been an increase in choice for consumers brought about by a relaxation in national regulatory regimes and the availability of global content via technologies such as satellite. Media convergence, with old and new media competing for the same audience and, therefore, the same advertising dollars, has played a part in changes in work practices. The twenty-first century has accelerated these trends with McQuail claiming that, “[w]hat is left of an older media is now surrounded by rising waters and buffeted by stormier weather” (McQuail, 2011: 17).

Between 2007 and 2012, newspaper circulation in Western Europe fell by 17% (Kilman, 2012). A study by the OECD in 2010 shows a breakdown by country and Europe’s figures clearly show the drop in circulation including a drop in the U.K. of 21%.



Newspaper publishing 2007-2009 (OECD, 2010)

Despite this, print is still seen as an important part of the European media landscape (Trappel, et al., 2011: 48). However, the newspaper industry in Europe, including the U.K., is struggling against new players such as Google who are taking advertising away, both standard ads and classified ads. In 2012, Google captured 41.6% of digital advertising in the U.K. and this figure is expected to climb.

In 2011, the BBC in the U.K. announced that they would be cutting 20% of their staff with 2000 jobs to go over five years (BBC, 2011: 11). A 2010 study conducted in the United Kingdom by journalism.co.uk and Francois Nel (2010) from the University of Central Lancashire estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 journalists had lost their jobs since 2001. While Nel stated that it is difficult to give an accurate figure because it is difficult to find correct job figures for journalists, his research showed that jobs in mainstream journalism had decreased by about a third in the decade up to 2010. James Curran, in a keynote address, said the following:

Journalists are a beleaguered group. Between 2001 and 2010, the 'mainstream journalism corps' in Britain is estimated to have shrunk by between 27 per cent and 33 per cent. The press industry is becoming increasingly casualised; freelance payments are falling; and permanent staff are under increasing pressure to produce more (Curran, 2013: 8-9).

A discussion about journalism in the U.K. must include the fallout from the *News of the World* hacking scandal. In late 2011, Tom Mockridge, Chief Executive of News International, sent a memo

(The Guardian, 2011) to staff regarding redundancies from *News of the World* as well as from the company as a whole. In all, 210 jobs became redundant from News International in 2011/2012.

In April 2013, the British Phonographic Industry (BPI) reported that the 1 billionth digital single had been downloaded, nine years after digital downloads became available in the U.K. (BPI, 2013, n.p.), with 239 million tracks downloaded legally between January and June 2012. Further to this, one in four Britons use legal music services to purchase or stream music. In spite of this, figures show that 345 million tracks were downloaded in Britain using BitTorrent and this has impacted on musicians in Britain. In June 2012, 29,000 people classified themselves as musicians (ONS, 2013) compared to 32,000 in June 2008 (ONS, 2008). In a logical progression, if U.S. musicians such as Damon Krukowski claim their royalties from streaming sites is low, musicians in the U.K. would also be paid less in the digital era.

Piracy is also of high concern for media workers in the television production industry. Television series *Game of Thrones*, shot throughout the Middle East and Europe including the U.K., is a multi-million dollar production that employs hundreds of workers but in 2012 it was the most downloaded show on BitTorrent with, on average, over 3 million downloads per episode (TorrentFreak, 2012). *Game of Thrones* director David Petrarca claims that pirated downloads of a show creates 'cultural buzz' (TorrentFreak, 2013) but one could ask how a show that costs millions of dollars is sustainable when the show is viewed by millions for nothing.

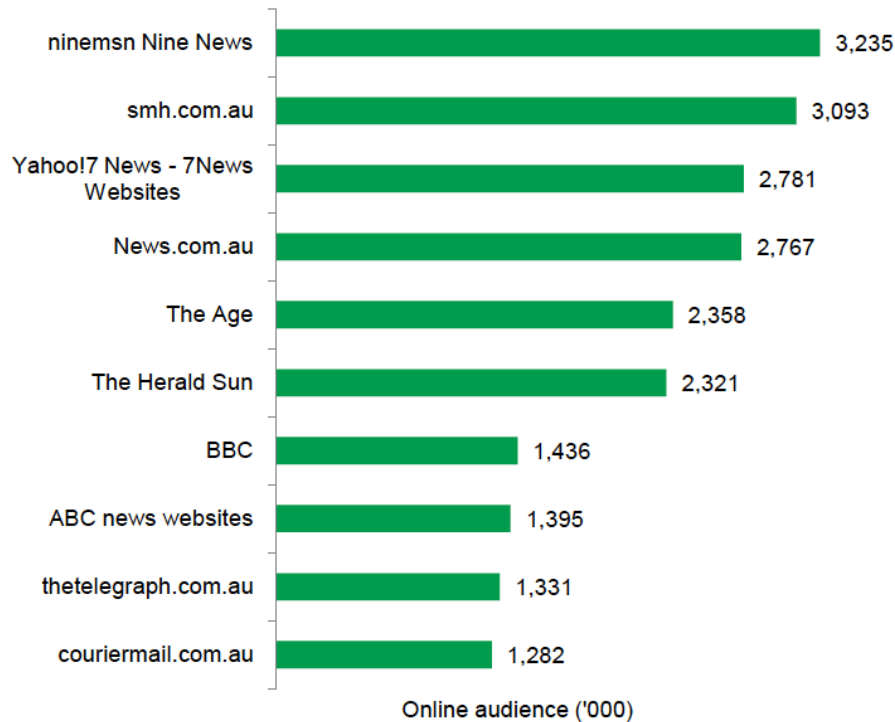
Australia

In Australia, 2012 proved to be a devastating year for mainstream journalism. In the broadcast media, free-to-air TV station Channel 10 cut 100 news journalists in 2012 and Channel 9 announced cost-cutting measures and the need to "toughen up and find ways to save costs and operate more efficiently" (Gyngell, 2013), a comment translated by some to mean fewer jobs at Channel 9. In June, two of the largest employers of journalists in Australia announced a major restructuring of their news operations: News Limited announced redundancies for an unknown number of editorial staff and Fairfax Media announced it would be cutting 1,900 jobs, including 400 editorial jobs. Many of Fairfax's senior editorial staff accepted redundancy. Fairfax Metro Media group editorial director Garry Linnell unveiled a new operating model that includes a national, 24-7 hub for editorial and production and a 'digital first' ethos. Linnell (2012: 2) called the proposed changes "the most significant editorial transformation in Fairfax history". Further changes at Fairfax have included outsourcing subediting to Pagemasters (part of Australian Associated Press)

and New Zealand's Fairfax Editorial Services, and the closure of its printing presses in Melbourne and Sydney. At this time, Fairfax stated that more cuts and changes could follow if sales and advertising continue to drop, including moving mastheads such as *The Age* to an online-only publication. In April 2013, Fairfax announced further changes although this was in the structure of the organisation, with the company now having five divisions, and its "executive leadership team" (Fairfax Media, 2013a).

The reason for these changes in the print industry is circulation continues to decline in Australia with an overall decrease of 6.1% across the print editions of national, metro and regional papers (Jarrett, 2012). Advertising revenue has dropped and is expected to drop further. According to PWC Outlook (2011), advertising revenue is expected to drop by 5.1% from 2012-2016 and circulation by 7.6%. Fairfax papers' famous 'rivers of gold', or classified advertising, has also declined. Tiffen's content analysis of Australian newspapers from 1956 to 2006 showed that Melbourne's *The Age*, for example, had half the amount of space dedicated to classifieds in 2006 than it did in 1986 (Tiffen, 2010). In 1964, Marshall McLuhan predicted the decline of newspapers when these rivers of gold dried up: "The classified ads (and stock-market quotations) are the bedrock of the press. Should an alternative source of easy access to such diverse daily information be found, the press will fold" (McLuhan, 1964: 207). That alternative is, of course, the Internet. Broadcast news has also seen cuts and while advertising is expected to increase slightly in this sector (a 1.8% increase from 2012 to 2016), Pay TV is expected to increase its advertising revenue by 6.9% during the same period.

However, the Australian Communications and Media Authority's *Communications Report 2011-2012 series* has shown that Australians are engaging with online news sites. In June 2012, ninemsn and smh.com.au each had more than three million visitors and more than twelve million Australians accessed online news sites in June 2012.



Top 10 online news site accessed in Australia, June 2012 (ACMA, 2012: 33).

These figures, however, have not translated into dollars for Australian news organisations. As an example, Fairfax Media's advertising revenue fell 23.8% in their metro print division and only rose 4.8% in digital (Fairfax Media, 2013b: 11). Furthermore, while Fairfax Media's *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age* news app for tablets has been downloaded more than a million times, again, Fairfax have yet to resolve the problem of declining advertising revenue. While the Australian Internet advertising market grew by 18% in 2012 (IAB, 2013), traditional media are competing, as in other countries, with the rise of new players in the market such as Google, Facebook and mobile advertising.

According to research by Economic and Market Development Advisors (EMDA), media jobs increased in 2012 but this was due to online positions (Jackson, 2013). The report noted a decrease in traditional employment but an increase in online publications such as online magazines. Meanwhile, the purchase of magazine publisher Australian Consolidated Press (ACP) by German media company Bauer has already meant closure of five Australian magazines, *Grazia*, *Burke's Backyard*, *BBC Good Food*, *UFC Magazine* and *Madison*, with more expected to be announced.

The 2011 census showed a mixed bag for employment of media workers in Australia. While the numbers of print and radio journalists decreased, those of broadcast journalists increased, as did those who classified themselves as media producers. Online jobs such as web designers and

developers, and multimedia designers, all increased and traditional media occupations including camera operators, photographers, production assistants, directors, film and video editors, and TV presenters, rose as well.

	2006	2011
	Persons	Persons
Persons employed in cultural occupations, 2006 and 2011		
Newspaper or Periodical Editor	4,844	5,059
Print Journalist	6,306	5,510
Radio Journalist	671	603
Television Journalist	1,059	1,123
Journalists and Other Writers, nec	1,279	1,705
Journalists and Other Writers, nfd	1,414	2,125
Musician (Instrumental)	5,903	6,033
Singer	1,005	941
Music Professionals, nec	44	60
Music Professionals, nfd	284	257
Radio Presenter	2,064	1,964
Television Presenter	351	400
Art Director (Film, Television or Stage)	139	164
Director (Film, Television, Radio or Stage)	1,714	1,821
Director of Photography	244	301
Film and Video Editor	1,788	2,211
Program Director (Television or Radio)	1,024	1,088
Video Producer	721	961
Film, Television, Radio and Stage Directors, nec	456	623
Film, Television, Radio and Stage Directors, nfd	112	167
Artistic Director	193	236
Media Producer (excluding Video)	5,595	6,922
Production Assistant (Film, Television, Radio or Stage)	1,056	1,127
Photographer	7,542	9,549
Multimedia Designer	1,709	2,427
Web Designer	3,486	5,015
Graphic and Web Designers, and Illustrators, nfd	334	398
Multimedia Specialist	627	688
Web Developer	4,481	7,118
Multimedia Specialists and Web Developers, nfd	137	44
Broadcast Transmitter Operator	278	338
Camera Operator (Film, Television or Video)	1,385	1,596
Light Technician	716	902
Sound Technician	3,741	2,875
Television Equipment Operator	270	199
Performing Arts Technicians, nec	832	1,477

Motion Picture Projectionist	902	889
Arts and Media Professionals, nfd	437	510
Media Professionals, nfd	1,527	2,089
Artistic Directors, and Media Producers and Presenters, nfd	154	240

(Figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS): <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/6273.0>)

The radio figures are particularly telling with reductions across the board; the number of radio presenters and journalists decreased. Criticos's (2010; 2012) work examining the effect of networking on regional radio in Australia has discovered that the deregulation of the Australian radio industry has meant regional areas are not only losing local content but also local voices; that is, there are fewer jobs in regional radio for announcers, producers and journalists. Regional radio has long been the training ground for early career radio workers, and respondents in Criticos's ethnographic research commented how the changes in radio regulation have led to fewer employment opportunities:

The medium should be around and should be blossoming and I don't know that it is. I don't know that we're uncovering the level of new talent . . . and I wouldn't like the next radio talent to be a former athlete or former polly [politician]. It should be someone who's done the hard yards in radio, you know, that's got the skills (A2, 2009, in Criticos, 2010: 9).

Media production workers in the broadcasting sector, such as directors, cameramen, producers, cinematographers, scriptwriters, and technical crew, are also facing a more uncertain future because of government legislation. In March 2013, the Australian Government attempted to pass a package of media reforms that could have long-term implications for workers in the media sector. One of these bills, the *Broadcasting Legislation Amendment (Convergence Review and Other Measures) Bill 2013*, addressed the amount of local content on Australian TV in a multi-channel environment. The implication for media workers in the television industry is that less Australian content could mean less work in the sector. Meanwhile, U.S. corporation Disney is negotiating with the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA) and the Australian government to film *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* in Australia. Part of the deal could be that the Australian production crew on the film will need to accept a lower rate of pay (French, 2013) to be able to work in an already precarious environment.

One sector of media work that is enjoying an increase is the public relations profession in Australia, which is echoing the industry in other parts of the West. In November 2011, there were 25,700

workers in the sector, more than double the number from 2001, and the industry is expected to grow strongly in the next 10 years (Australian Government, 2011). The EMDA report also noted an increase in public relations jobs, with long-term numbers showing the PR industry has grown 113% in the last 15 years (Jackson, 2013).

Conclusion

While the above facts and figures may seem to create a grim picture in some sectors of the media, it is worth noting what Hartley et al. (2013: 64) say:

Jobs are lost and created as industries change, adjust or disappear, owing to profound transformations associated with technological change and the associated changes of consumer preferences and production processes, as can clearly be observed at the moment in the newspaper industry.

Furthermore, as Hanitzsch (2013: 208) points out, when talking about journalism, the trends in Western media are not necessarily the same in other countries:

Communication researchers are often obsessed with developments occurring in the United States and Great Britain; and there is a tendency to extrapolate this experience to other parts of the world. As comparative research can impressively demonstrate, journalism has taken slightly but meaningfully different routes in different societies, generating some considerable variance in values, practices and relationships with the public.

The authors, however, are not so sure that it is the professions themselves that are changing or indeed need to change. The field of data journalism, for example, is expanding, as a Journalist's Resource (2013) overview shows. Big Data is here as part of the future knowledge economy and, indeed, Big Data is what the knowledge economy, not surprisingly, is about (The Economist, 2010). The *Wall Street Journal's* (2012) claim that Big Data is the 'new boss' sounds fanciful, but in many ways it will be true and Big Data needs long-form, independent journalists: journalists as aggregators. The value of data will be enhanced by independent critique and presentation to the public. Much of the future data will be about the nature of our universe and the nature of our society and how to make decisions in it, and non-critical surfacing of value from Big Data will be meaningless. Long-form digital journalism, the journalist as aggregator, is the future of journalism writ big.

Finally, in the background is aggregation with super aggregators such as Google increasing their power in the media space. The public relations profession has been successful in using social media sites for aggregation purposes while other professions, such as journalism, have not yet made that leap. Aggregation is a key transformation in contemporary media work that is increasingly becoming a core function in the media worker's job description.

Bibliography

Allan, S., 2009, 'Histories of citizen journalism', in S. Allan and E. Thorsen (eds), *Citizen journalism: global perspectives*, Peter Lang Publishing, New York.

ASNE, 2013, *Table A - minority employment in daily newspapers*, Australian Society of News Editors, <http://asne.org/content.asp?pl=140&sl=129&contentid=129>

ACMA, 2012, Report 2 - *Australia's progress in the digital economy*, Australian Communications and Media Authority, http://www.acma.gov.au/webwr/_assets/main/lib310665/australia%27s%20progress%20in%20the%20digital%20economy.pdf

Australian Government, 2012, *Public Relations Professionals*, Job Outlook: An Australian Government initiative, <http://joboutlook.gov.au/pages/occupation.aspx?search=goodprospects&tab=prospects&cluster=&code=2253>

Balnaves, M., 2010, *Internet aggregators: the impact of the classifiers on open communication*. Communication Policy Research Forum, Sydney, Network Insight.

BBC, 2011, *Delivering quality first*, http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/review_report_research/dqf/dqf.pdf

BPI, 2013a, *Digital music nation 2013: the UK's digital music landscape*, https://www.bpi.co.uk/assets/files/BPI_Digital_Music_Nation_2013.PDF

BPI, 2013b, *One billionth singles download sold in the UK*, <http://www.bpi.co.uk/home/one-billionth-singles-download-sold-in-the-uk.aspx>

Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 2012, *Occupational Outlook Handbook, 2012-13 Edition, Musicians and Singers*, <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/entertainment-and-sports/musicians-and-singers.htm>.

Bruno, N., 2011, *Tweet First, Verify Later: How Real-Time Information is Changing the Coverage of Worldwide Crisis Events*, paper for the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford, Oxford, http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/fellows_papers/2010-2011/TWEET_FIRST_VERIFY_LATER.pdf

Criticos, H., 2010, *Centralisation in regional radio: networking and localism in the super radio network*. Paper presented at the Media, Democracy & Change: Refereed Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Communications Association Annual Conference, Old Parliament House, Canberra.

Criticos, H., 2012, 'The Centralisation of Regional Radio: City Versus Country in the Super Radio Network', in Mollgaard, M. (ed), *Radio and Society: New Thinking for an Old Medium*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle Upon Tyne, pp. 99-114.

Curran, J., 2013, *Defending media studies: Professor James Curran's keynote address to the MeCCSA conference in Derry 2013*, Centre for Media Research, University of Ulster, Belfast, Ireland. <http://cmr.ulster.ac.uk/defending-media-studies/>

eMarketer, 2013, *Google tops Facebook in UK digital ad revenues*, <http://www.emarketer.com/Article/Google-Tops-Facebook-UK-Digital-Ad-Revenues/1009797>

Fairfax Media, 2013a, *Changes to organisational structure and executive leadership team*, <http://www.asx.com.au/asxpdf/20130404/pdf/42f11fw5rzspsw.pdf>

Fairfax Media, 2013b, *Half year results*, <http://fairfaxmedia.com.au/shareholders/FAIRFAXHalfYearResults.pdf>

French, Lachlan, 2013, *Australian crew to take 15 per cent pay cut to secure 20,000 Leagues*, Mumbrella, http://mumbrella.com.au/crew-take-a-cut-to-secure-20000-leagues-149103?utm_source=DailyNewsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Daily-04-04-2013&utm_content=ContinueReading

Goldsmith, Ben, 2013, *Why news media reforms are bad news for Australian content*, The Conversation, <http://theconversation.com/why-new-media-reforms-are-bad-news-for-australian-content-12953>

Gyngell, David, 2013, *Statement to Nine Entertainment Co staff from CEO David Gyngell*, on ABC News website, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-01-30/channel-nines-statement-to-staff/4491712>

Hanitzsch, T., 2013, 'Journalism, participative media and trust in a comparative context', in Peters, C. and Broersma, M., (eds), *Rethinking Journalism: trust and participation in a transformed news landscape*, Routledge, London, pp. 200-209.

Hartley, J., Potts, J., Cunningham, S., Flew, T., Keane, M. and Bank, J., 2013, *Key Concepts in Creative Industries*, Sage Publications, London.

IAB Australia, 2013, *IAB Online Advertising Expenditure Report: Executive Summary*, <http://www.iabaustralia.com.au/-/media/IAB/Files/OAER%20exe%20summary/IAB%20Online%20Advertising%20Expenditure%20Report%20-%20Dec%202012%20Exe%20Summary.ashx>

IFPI, 2013, *IFPI publishes Digital Music Report 2013*, http://www.ifpi.org/content/section_resources/dmr2013.html

Jackson, S., 2013, 'Job numbers rise despite big cuts at newspapers', *The Australian* (Media Section), January 28, 2013, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/media/job-numbers-rise-despite-big-cuts-at-newspapers/story-e6frg996-1226563047933>

Jarrett, E., 2012, *Latest Audit Bureau of Circulations figures show promising digital take-up*, The Newspaper Works, <http://panpa.org.au/2012/11/09/latest-audit-bureau-of-circulations-figures-show-promising-digital-take-up/>

Journalist's Resource, 2013, *Understanding data journalism: overview of resources, tools and topics*, Harvard Kennedy School, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, <http://journalistsresource.org/reference/reporting/understanding-data-journalism-overview-tools-topics/#>).

Kilman, L., 2012, *World press trends: newspaper audience rise, digital revenues yet to follow*, World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, <http://www.wan-ifra.org/press-releases/2012/09/03/world-press-trends-newspaper-audience-rise-digital-revenues-yet-to-follow>

Krukowski, Damon, 2012, *Making cents*, Pitchfork, <http://pitchfork.com/features/articles/8993-the-cloud/>

Linnell, G., 2012, *Editorial newsroom review: staff information pack*, Fairfax.

Masnick, M., 2011, Journalists are aggregators too (and that's a good thing). *Techdirt*, April 8. <http://www.techdirt.com/articles/20110408/14381713831/journalists-are-aggregators-too-thats-good-thing.shtml>

McLuhan, Marshall, 1964, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

McPhail, T., 2010, *Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders and Trends* (3rd ed.), Wiley Blackwell, Oxford.

McQuail, D., 2011, 'The media in Europe today: an introduction' in Trappel, J., Meier, W.A., D'Haenens, L., Steemres, J. and Thomass, B. (eds.), *Media in Europe today*, Intellect, Bristol.

Maisel, R., 1973, 'The decline of mass media', in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 37(2): pp. 159-170.

Mitchell, A. and Rosetial, T., 2012, 'Key Findings' in *The State of the News Media 2012: An annual report on American journalism*, The Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism, <http://stateofthemediamedia.org/2012/overview-4/key-findings/>

Nel, Francois and Journalism.co.uk, 2010, *Laid off: What do UK journalists do next?*, uclan (University of Central Lancashire), <http://www.journalism.co.uk/uploads/laidoffreport.pdf>

Newman, N., 2010, *Journalism and Technology Predictions 2011*, The Media Briefing, <http://www.themediabriefing.com/resource/media-marketjournalism-and-technology-predictions-2011-by-nic-newman>

Newspaper Association of America (NAA), 2013, *Newspaper circulation volume*, <http://www.naa.org/Trends-and-Numbers/Circulation-Volume/Newspaper-Circulation-Volume.aspx>

Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2008, *Labour force survey: Employment status by occupation and sex, April - June 2008*, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour-force-survey-employment-status-by-occupation/labour-force-survey--employment-status-by-occupation-and-sex--april---june-2008/occupation-and-sex-april-june-2008.xls>

Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2013, *EMP16: Employment by occupation*, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour-market-statistics/january-2013/table-emp16.xls>

OECD, 2010, *OECD examines the future of the news and the Internet*, <http://www.oecd.org/sti/oecdexaminesfutureofnewsandtheinternet.htm>

PWC Outlook, 2011, *Newspapers*, https://pwcoutlook.ezimerchant.com/category35_1.htm

Russo, D.S., 2010, *Is the foreign news bureau part of the past?*, Global Journalist, <http://www.globaljournalist.org/stories/2010/01/30/is-the-foreign-news-bureau-part-of-the-past/>.

Simons, M., 2007, *The content makers: understanding the media in Australia*, Penguin, Sydney.

Straubhaar, J., Larose, R. and Davenport, L., 2013, *Media Now: Understanding Media, Culture and Technology* (8th ed.), Thomson Wadsworth, Belmont CA.

Sullivan, J., 2011, 'True enough: the second age of PR', *Columbia Journalism Review*,
http://www.cjr.org/feature/true_enough.php?page=all.

The Economist, 2010, *Data, data everywhere*, <http://www.economist.com/node/15557443>

The Guardian, 2011, *News International job cuts memo*,
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/interactive/2011/sep/06/news-international-job-cuts-memo?INTCMP=SRCH>

Tiffen, Rodney, 2010, 'Changes in Australian newspapers 1956-2006', *Journalism Practice*, 4 (3), pp. 345-359.

TorrentFreak, 2012, *Piracy doesn't hurt Game of Thrones, director says*,
<http://torrentfreak.com/game-of-thrones-most-pirated-tv-show-of-2012-121223/>

TorrentFreak, 2012, *Game of Thrones most pirated TV-show of 2012*,
<http://torrentfreak.com/piracy-doesnt-hurt-game-of-thrones-director-says-130227/>

United States Census Bureau, 2013, *Vintage 2011: National tables*,
http://www.census.gov/popest/data/historical/2010s/vintage_2011/index.html

United States Department of Labor, 2013a, *Occupational outlook handbook: Reporters, correspondents, and broadcast news analysts*, <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/media-and-communication/reporters-correspondents-and-broadcast-news-analysts.htm>

United States Department of Labor, 2013b, *Occupational outlook handbook: Public relations managers and specialists*, <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/management/public-relations-managers-and-specialists.htm>

Walker, Joseph, 2012, 'Meet the new boss: Big Data', *The Wall Street Journal*,
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390443890304578006252019616768.html>