

Newspaper Closures in Canada are Not Linked to Municipal Turnout, Mayoral Margin of Victor or the Number of Mayoral Candidates

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The Data

Local News Project



- ▶ Crowd-sourced information on media transitions
- ▶ Active monitoring
- ▶ Partial validation by comparison with News Media Canada

The Data

Table 1: Local media transition types in the Local News Project original dataset

| Transition Type | Closure | No Closure |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| Closed | 44.6% (348) | 0.0% (0) |
| Closed due to merger | 13.1% (102) | 0.0% (0) |
| Daily (free) becomes a community paper | 0.0% (0) | 0.4% (3) |
| Daily becomes a community paper | 0.0% (0) | 1.3% (10) |
| Decrease in service | 0.0% (0) | 12.4% (97) |
| Increase in service | 0.0% (0) | 2.7% (21) |
| New | 0.0% (0) | 18.1% (141) |
| New outlet produced by merger | 0.0% (0) | 4.1% (32) |
| Shifted to online | 0.0% (0) | 3.3% (26) |

The Data

Table 2: Local media closures by type of medium in the original dataset.

| Transition.Type | Broadcast | Newspaper | Online |
|--|-----------|-------------|------------|
| Closed | 5.5% (43) | 36.2% (282) | 2.9% (23) |
| Closed due to merger | 0.0% (0) | 13.1% (102) | 0.0% (0) |
| Daily (free) becomes a community paper | 0.0% (0) | 0.4% (3) | 0.0% (0) |
| Daily becomes a community paper | 0.0% (0) | 1.3% (10) | 0.0% (0) |
| Decrease in service | 5.8% (45) | 6.7% (52) | 0.0% (0) |
| Increase in service | 1.3% (10) | 0.5% (4) | 0.9% (7) |
| New | 3.1% (24) | 4.2% (33) | 10.8% (84) |
| New outlet produced by merger | 0.0% (0) | 4.1% (32) | 0.0% (0) |
| Shifted to online | 0.0% (0) | 3.3% (26) | 0.0% (0) |

The Challenges

1. Are declines in local news supply by newspapers being offset by increases in news supply from digital and broadcast?
2. How do you link a newspaper to a municipality?
3. How do you treat marginal newspapers?

The Solutions

1. Count only explicitly closures of newspapers (dailies and community e.g. weeklies)
2. Find municipal election results for: mayoral margin of victory, turnout, and number of mayoral candidates back to 2001.
3. Supplement with a database of municipal election results that cover roughly the same time period of Canada's 100 largest cities (Breux, Couture, and Koop 2017).
4. Track down missing gaps through provincial databases and contacting municipalities.

The Data

- ▶ 116 unique municipalities

Table 3: Distribution of number of elections and municipalities.

| Elections | Cities |
|-----------|--------|
| 4 | 38 |
| 5 | 66 |
| 6 | 11 |
| 7 | 1 |

The Data

Table 4: Descriptive statistics for key numeric variables.

| | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max | missings |
|--------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|--------|----------|
| Margin | 463 | 30.53 | 36.22 | 0.03 | 596.17 | 92.00 |
| n_candidates | 542 | 4.63 | 4.55 | 1.00 | 45.00 | 13.00 |
| Turnout | 517 | 36.58 | 8.80 | 16.55 | 60.70 | 38.00 |
| Closures | 555 | 0.19 | 0.57 | 0.00 | 6.00 | 0.00 |

The Data

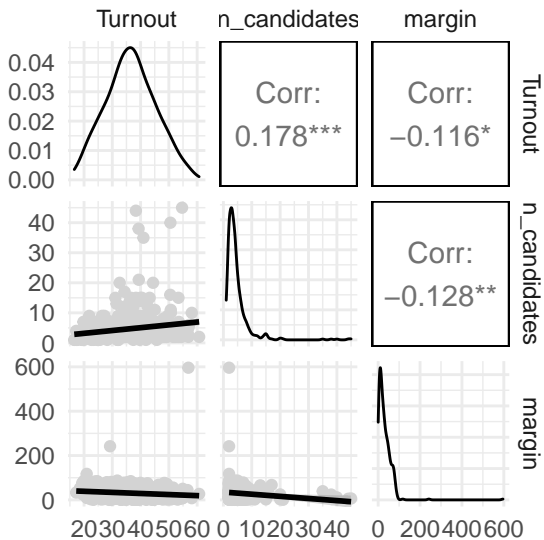


Figure 1: Correlation of dependent variables

The Results

Table 5: First 15 rows of the dataset and key variables

| Year | municipality | Closures | First Post-Closure | All Post-Closure | Turnout | n_candidates | Margin |
|------|--------------|----------|--------------------|------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| 2005 | Abottsford | 0 | 0 | 0 | 34.21 | 5 | 5.060585 |
| 2008 | Abottsford | 0 | 0 | 0 | 34.20 | 5 | 28.849387 |
| 2011 | Abottsford | -1 | 1 | 1 | 39.24 | 5 | 3.432123 |
| 2014 | Abottsford | -2 | 0 | 1 | 37.19 | 2 | 1.788648 |
| 2018 | Abottsford | -2 | 0 | 1 | 35.37 | 6 | 37.891025 |
| 2003 | Ajax | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26.20 | 2 | 41.797784 |
| 2006 | Ajax | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23.20 | 2 | 40.399511 |
| 2010 | Ajax | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25.40 | 2 | 56.313260 |
| 2014 | Ajax | 0 | 0 | 0 | 30.42 | 3 | 72.117621 |
| 2018 | Ajax | 0 | 0 | 0 | 32.90 | 5 | 9.776079 |
| 2003 | Amherstburg | 0 | 0 | 0 | NA | 2 | NA |
| 2006 | Amherstburg | 0 | 0 | 0 | NA | 2 | NA |
| 2010 | Amherstburg | 0 | 0 | 0 | NA | 2 | NA |
| 2014 | Amherstburg | -1 | 1 | 1 | 47.27 | 4 | 26.943072 |
| 2018 | Amherstburg | -1 | 0 | 1 | 42.74 | 2 | 24.989869 |

The Results

Table 6: Average measures of local electoral participation by treatment group. The first two rows define a treated year as only being the first election following a newspaper closure. This table reports averages from the full data-set.

| Treatment Type | Group | Margin Percent | Number of Candidates | Turnout |
|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------------|---------|
| Short-Term | Untreated | 30.5% | 4.6 | 36.3% |
| Short-Term | Treated | 30.8% | 5.0 | 39.1% |
| Long-Term | Untreated | 30.8% | 4.5 | 36.1% |
| Long-Term | Treated | 29.2% | 5.3 | 39.1% |

Two-Way Fixed Effects Model

Table 7: Two-Way fixed effects model of newspaper closures on three measures of local participation (Long-Term).

| | Turnout | log(Candidates) | log(Margin) |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Treatment | 0.52 (0.70) | -0.06 (0.05) | 2.34 (3.45) |
| Num.Obs. | 517 | 542 | 463 |
| R2 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.000 |
| R2 Adj. | -0.336 | -0.321 | -0.391 |

Standard errors are panel-corrected standard errors (Beck and Katz 1995)

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Two-Way Fixed Effects Model

Table 8: Two-Way fixed effects model of newspaper closures on three measures of local participation (Short-Term)

| | Turnout | log(Candidates) | log(Margin) |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Treatment | 0.73 (0.69) | -0.07 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.11) |
| Num.Obs. | 517 | 542 | 463 |
| R2 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.000 |
| R2 Adj. | -0.334 | -0.320 | -0.391 |

Standard errors are panel-corrected standard errors (Beck and Katz 1995).

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Two-Way Fixed Effects Model

Table 9: Two-Way fixed effects model of interaction between newspaper closers, mayoral margin of victory and number of candidates on turnout.

| | Short Term | Long Term |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Treatment | 1.109 (2.654) | -1.091 (2.674) |
| Treatment \times log(Margin) | -0.964+ (0.539) | -0.621 (0.640) |
| Treatment \times log(n_candidates) | 1.483 (1.121) | 2.687* (1.327) |
| Num.Obs. | 462 | 462 |
| R2 | 0.156 | 0.161 |
| R2 Adj. | -0.190 | -0.183 |

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Future Paths

1. Could local news decline be linked to increased role of national level campaign features in vote choice (e.g. leader impressions)
2. Evaluate link with *acclamations*.
3. Reconsider excluding *decreases*.
4. Utilize continuous nature of newspaper closures.
5. Evaluate link with status as news desserts (i.e. communities without newspapers).

Concluding questions

1. How surprised are people at a null finding?
2. What is the normative significance of a null effect in the current climate in Canada?
3. What is the theoretical significance of a true null effect from this case.?

References

Breux, Sandra, Jérôme Couture, and Royce Koop. 2017. "Turnout in Local Elections: Evidence from Canadian Cities, 2004–2014." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 50 (3): 699–722.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S000842391700018X>.