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Australian News Data Report

Quarterly issue |
December 2022

Australian News Data Report: December 2022

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Published by the Public Interest Journalism Initiative Limited, Melbourne, Australia.

For the data which informs this report, please visit:

<https://piji.com.au/research-and-inquiries/our-research/anmp/anmp-data/>

For more information about the Australian News Data Project, please visit:

<https://piji.com.au/research-and-inquiries/our-research/anmp/>

ISBN: 978-0-6456290-3-3

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Suggested citation

Dickson G. 2022. *Australian News Data Report: December 2022*. Melbourne: Public Interest Journalism Initiative.

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AUSTRALIAN NEWS DATA REPORT

Quarterly issue | December 2022

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Overview

The **Australian News Data Report** is a monthly collection and analysis of information about news production in Australia.

It contains results from three ongoing projects:

- **Australian News Mapping Project (ANMP)** plots news producers according to their locations, coverage geographies and the characteristics of each business;
- **Australian News Sampling Project (ANSP)** assesses news output by specific geographic location/s to understand the local character and quantity of public interest journalism production and produces each as a case study; and,
- **Australian News Index (ANI)** is the database of newsrooms and changes to news production. The ANI supplies the data for the ANMP visualisations and will also incorporate the ANSP data in due course.

In this issue, we present monthly and quarterly results as at 31 December 2022. No content sampling results are provided in this report as we suspend sampling in December and January to account for reduced output by publications and reduced civic activity over Australia's summer holiday period.

This report is part of PIJI's continued commitment to ensuring an evidence-based approach to building sustainable public interest journalism production in Australia. PIJI's data gathering and monitoring have expanded substantially since our first dynamic project – the Australian Newsroom Mapping Project – launched back in 2020. Our research now consists of multiple related efforts – including but not limited to mapping newsrooms – to build understanding of the news market and inform policy, industry and research.

Every month we also provide an exportable version of the Australian News Index data.

The catalogue of PIJI's previous reports and data remains available [on our website](#).

As always, our research is made more rigorous with contributions from industry and the public. We welcome your feedback. To submit or correct data in this report, please [complete this online form](#).

[Australian News Mapping Project]

Monthly results: December 2022

Quarterly results: 1 October – 31 December 2022

1 Australian News Mapping Project

The [Australian News Mapping Project](#) (ANMP) provides a geographic view of the health of public interest journalism in Australia.

The project was first launched in April 2020 to [track changes](#) in news production during COVID-19. In those first three months, we observed a dramatic contraction in production as newspapers suspended their production, ended their print editions and, in some cases, companies closed entirely. This was followed by a dramatic bounce-back in the following quarter and continuing volatility in the years since.

This mapping has since expanded to include public interest journalism production by distribution format - print, digital, radio and television - and by scale: community, local, metropolitan, state/territory and national levels.

Baseline data is [visualised by local government areas](#).

Further detail about the project, including eligibility, definitions and a methodology for categorising changes, can be found in Section 2: Data eligibility.

ANMP data is publicly available for the community, industry and government to engage with and to form an evidence base for media policy and reform.

We do not presume that this is complete data, but we do believe that this is the most comprehensive record of its kind.

1.1 Monthly results: December 2022

As of 31 December 2022, the Australian News Index lists 1,179 print, digital, radio and television news outlets of community, local, metropolitan, state/territory or national primary coverage. Table 1 provides the breakdown of outlets according to their primary format and scale.

	Community	Local	Metro	State	National	Total
Print	72	469	8	3	8	560
Digital	7	161	3	6	41	218
Radio	96	248	3	0	1	348
Television	0	51	0	0	2	53
Total	175	929	14	9	52	1179

Table 1: Active news outlets, 31 December 2022.

1.1.1 Changes in the database

The following changes were recorded in the database this month following new assessments or information.

#	Outlet		Description of change	Effective date
1	Mildura Weekly	VIC	Masthead or station closure	23/12/2022
2	The Port App	NSW	Masthead or station closure	02/10/2022

Table 2: Changed records, December 2022.

Only two changes were recorded in December. A summary is provided in Table 2.

Mildura Weekly was an independent newspaper in the north west Victorian town which closed on December 23. In a final piece, chairman Martin Scott wrote that the business model had become unsustainable.

“The Weekly was established by like-minded business people to fill a void in the local advertising market, based largely around real estate and motoring. Unfortunately, the wheel has turned to the point that real estate and motoring, in particular, no longer have the appetite for print media that it once did.”¹

The Port App was a digital news outlet covering the Port Macquarie-Hastings area of New South Wales. It closed on 2 October 2022.

Managing Director Simon Mumford wrote that ‘support from the business community has not been what we need to keep going’.² He also wrote that more federal government support is needed for small regional digital publishers, saying that too often support programs favour larger and legacy media companies.³

The Port App was part of the larger NSW Local App Company stable, which continues to operate titles in Orange,⁴ the Hunter Valley⁵ and Lismore.⁶ It was published on the Local Independent Media Application (LIMA) platform, which is developed by the New Zealand-based iApp Network. Other Australian titles not published by the NSW Local App Company but operating on the same platform are the Fleurieu App⁷, Western Plains App⁸ and The Bugle.⁹

¹ Dooley J. 2022. Goodbye Mildura ... and thanks for the memories. *Mildura Weekly*. 22 December. Accessed via the Wayback Machine. <<https://web.archive.org/web/20221222124705/https://www.milduraweekly.com.au/goodbye-mildura-and-thanks-for-the-memories/>>

² Mumford S. 2022. The Port App is closed for good. *The Port App*. 2 October. <<https://portapp.com.au/news-sport/news-sport/the-port-app-is-closed-for-good?id=63366a618711d3002c39f69c>>

³ Ibid.

⁴ The Orange App. <<https://theorangeapp.com.au/news-sport>>

⁵ The Hunter App. <<https://thehunternews.com.au/news-sport/hunter-news>>

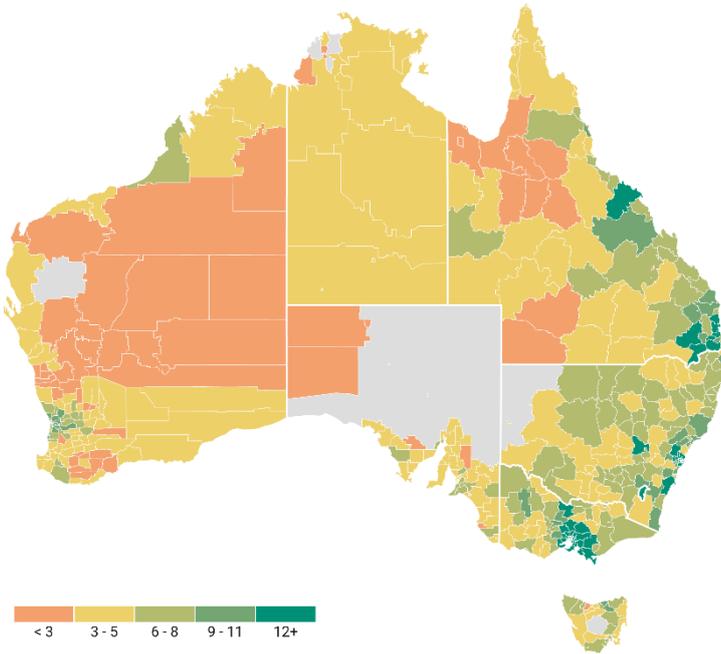
⁶ The Lismore App. <<https://lismoreapp.com.au/news-sport>>

⁷ The Fleurieu App <<https://fleurieunews.com.au/news-sport-lifestyle/news>>

⁸ The Western Plains App. <<https://westernplainsapp.com.au/news/news>>

⁹ The Bugle. <<https://thebuglenewspaper.com.au/news/news>>

1.2 Quarterly results: Australia-wide



▲ Figure 1: Count of local news producers, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 2: Count of local news producers, excluding radio and television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

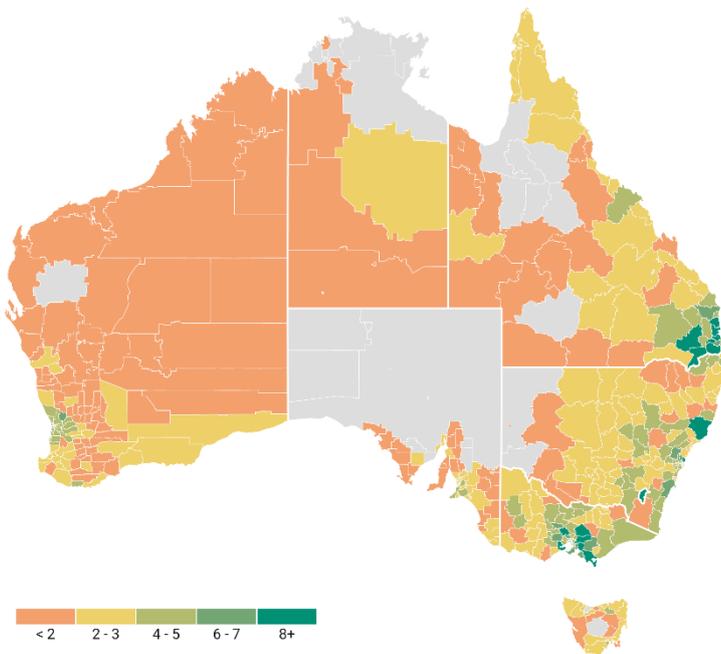


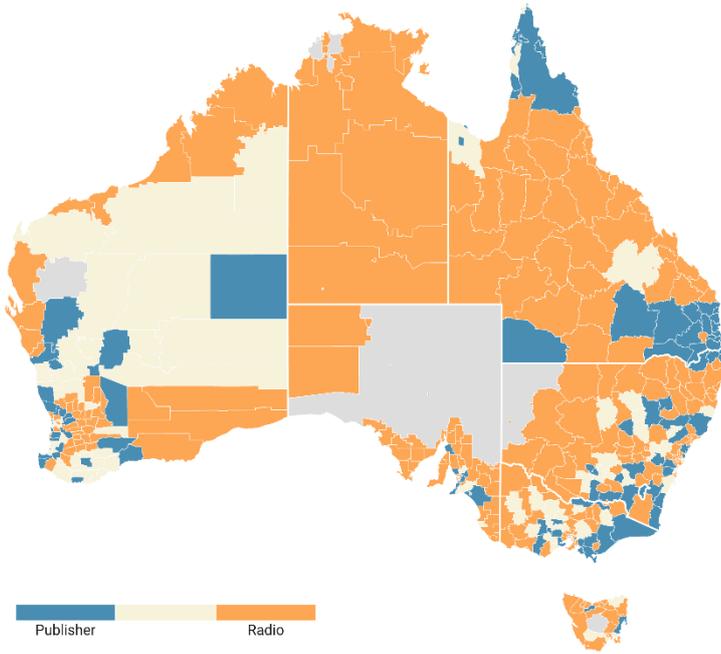
Figure 1 shows the distribution of metropolitan, local, and community-scale news producers by local government area around Australia. It includes publishers (print and digital) and radio broadcasters.

This baseline map of news availability around Australia suggests very high levels of news availability in the capital cities and the broader east coast, with higher density in central Victoria and Sunraysia, south and Mid-north Coast New South Wales, South East Queensland. Other hubs of news availability include the Whitsundays Region (QLD), Cabonne (NSW), Shoalhaven (NSW) and Campaspe (VIC).

Regional and remote areas, particularly in Queensland, the Northern Territory, Western Australia and South Australia have lower news density.

Figure 2 provides a similar map of the density of news producers by local government areas, but excludes radio so as to only reflect the publishing sector. This exclusion removes 33 per cent of all outlets from the count; and the key has been adjusted down accordingly. Even with this adjustment, news outlet density drops considerably, with large parts of regional Australia shifting into the lowest band. Some areas, particularly in regional Queensland and the Northern Territory, appear to have no print or digital news producers present in them at all.

Metropolitan areas lose some of their density relative to others in Figure 2. This is particularly true in middle-ring suburban local government areas in Melbourne and Sydney.



◀ *Figure 3: Local government areas according to whether they have more publisher outlets, radio outlets, or an equal number, 31 December 2022.*

Figure 3 offers an indication of whether each local government area has a greater number of publisher outlets (blue), radio outlets (orange) or a balance between them (white).

Of 546 local government areas and other regions identified as having at least one news producer, more than half (308, 57 per cent) have a greater number of radio outlets than publishers, almost a quarter more publisher outlets (121, 22 per cent)

and the remaining fifth (110, 20 per cent) a balance between the two. Mapping this indicates that radio dominates particularly in regional and remote areas, and is outnumbered by print in only a few places, and nowhere in the Northern Territory.

It is important to note that these maps only indicate the presence of local news outlets; not whether the local news outlet also provides coverage of that place. It is entirely possible – and would be consistent with other research findings beyond this project – that publisher news outlets are responsible for a greater amount of news production, even in places where they are in the minority.

Television is excluded from these maps as the entire country is contained within at least one broadcast licence area, and, functionally, has access to the three main commercial television networks or their affiliates and the public broadcasters through terrestrial or satellite transmission. Broadcast geographies can be huge – in some instances they include the regional areas of one or multiple states – and as a consequence, television news production tends to be more nationalised than other news distribution platforms. Including television within the density of this map therefore has the effect of uniformly lifting the count of every LGA into the highest bands available on the scale without providing any insight into the actual local news coverage conducted by the relevant station.

1.2.1 Local government areas without local news producers

An ongoing area of interest in PIJI’s data is which local government areas do not appear to have a local news producer and, by implication, which may not be the subject of any consistent news coverage. There is a distinction between these two questions: it is entirely possible that an area may not have a local news producer, but may be covered from outside; conversely, an outlet which appears to be a news producer may not actually be contributing to original news production.

It is very resource intensive to assess and maintain data on the content coverage of news producers. PIJI undertakes this work on a small scale, assessing a select number of local government areas each month through the Australian News Sampling Project.

As noted earlier, television is broadly available across the entire country, either through terrestrial or satellite transmission. As such, it is excluded here.

Without local publisher or radio news outlets

We have not identified any publisher or radio local news producers in the following four local government areas:

- Belyuen Shire, NT
- Central Highlands Council, Tas
- Flinders Council, Tas
- Upper Gascoyne, Shire of, WA

Without local publisher news outlets

Isolating to only print and digital publishers, we have not identified any news outlets in 32 areas:

- Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara, SA
- Barcaldine Regional Council, QLD
- Barcoo Shire, QLD
- Belyuen Shire, NT
- Carpentaria Shire, QLD
- Central Highlands Council, Tas
- Cherbourg Aboriginal Shire, QLD
- Coomalie Shire, NT
- Croydon Shire, QLD
- Diamantina Shire, QLD
- Etheridge Shire, QLD
- Flinders Council, Tas
- Flinders Shire, QLD
- Franklin Harbour, District Council of, SA
- Goyder, District Council of
- Kimba, District Council of, SA
- Maralinga Tjarutja, SA
- McKinlay Shire, QLD
- Mornington Shire, QLD
- Peterborough, District Council of, SA
- Roxby Downs, Municipal Council of, SA
- Palm Island Aboriginal Shire, QLD
- Quilpie Shire, QLD
- Richmond Shire, QLD
- Roper Gulf Region, NT
- Tiwi Islands, NT
- Upper Gascoyne, Shire of, WA
- West Arnhem Region, NT
- West Daly Region, NT
- Winton Shire, QLD
- Woorabinda Aboriginal Shire, QLD
- Yarrabah Aboriginal Shire, QLD

This list is updated on a quarterly basis. Five additions and no removals have been made to this list since it was last reported in September 2022.

The following five local government areas were added:

- Carpentaria Shire, QLD
- Flinders Shire, QLD
- McKinlay Shire, QLD
- Mornington Shire, QLD
- Richmond Shire, QLD

These five local government areas were removed from this list in the September report, following the founding of the North West Weekly in Mount Isa in July 2022. That title closed in October 2022, however, leading to a return to the status quo ante.

We will continue to monitor these local government areas and update the list accordingly. If you have further information about a local print or digital news outlet that is missing and that covers one of these areas, please [let us know](#).

1.2.2 National changes in news production

Data changes recorded against outlets in the database have two attributes: the change type, which describes the nature of the change, and the change category, which list the changes as either expansions or contractions in news production and availability.

Table 3 provides the cumulative total of each change type observed since 1 January 2019. Table 4 groups those records according to their change category.

Please note that beginning with this report we have shifted to comparisons between the previous year quarter and current quarter, whereas in earlier reports we compared consecutive quarters. This change has been made due to an increasing amount of available data.

CHANGE TYPE	Q4/22	Q4/21	VARIANCE
New masthead, station or website	127	110	+17
Newsroom opened	14	4	+10
Increase in service	9	9	0
New print edition	15	15	0
Merger	22	15	+7
End of print edition	101	106	-5
Decrease in service	45	41	+4
Newsroom closure	6	6	0
Masthead or station closure	121	78	+43
TOTAL NUMBER OF RECORDS	460	384	+76

Table 3: Count of records by change type since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2021 and 31 December 2022.

CHANGE CATEGORY	Q4/22	Q4/21	VARIANCE
Expansions	165	138	+27
Contractions	295	246	+49
NET CHANGE	(-130)	(-108)	(-22)

Table 4: Net change by change category since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2021 and 31 December 2022.

PIJJ's data is maintained and updated each month. New data changes are frequently identified as having occurred in past quarters. As such, the data presented in the tables above is our best estimate of the news market at the reported moment in time, but will adjust with any new information.

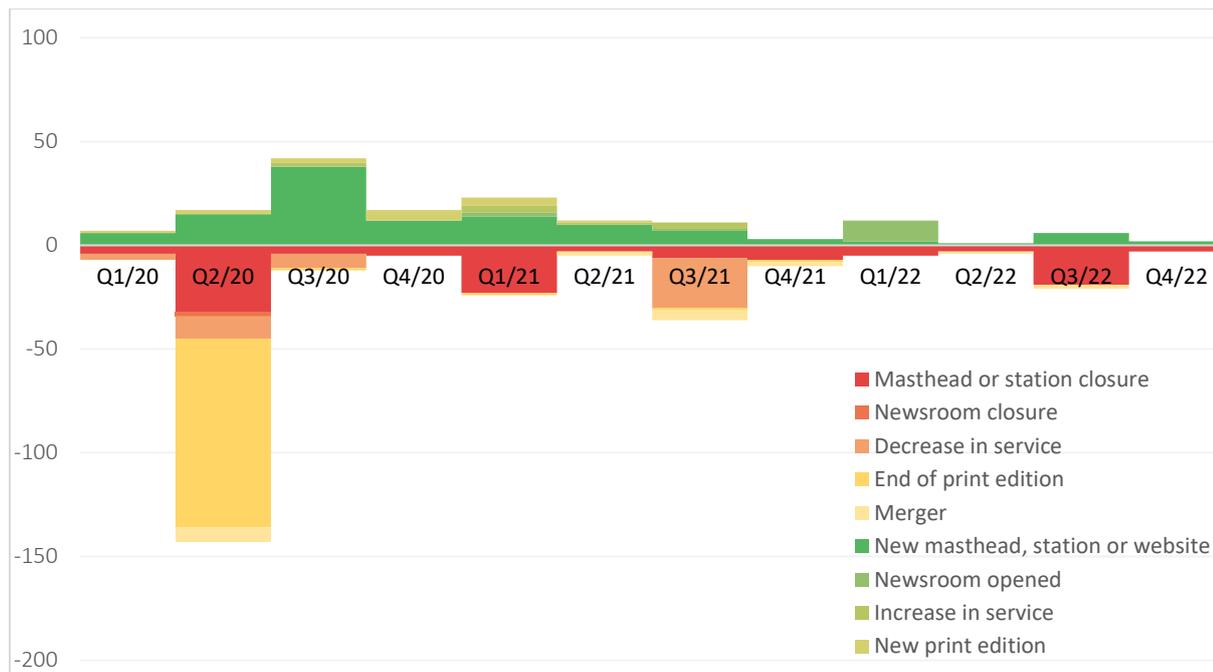


Figure 4: Change types by quarter since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2022.

Plotting changes types by quarter immediately highlights the impact of the onset of COVID-19 (Figure 4). We mark 25 March 2020 as the beginning of the economic impact of COVID-19, being the date that non-essential businesses were first ordered closed across the country. This project does not systematically collect information about the causal factors that lead to changes, but in the immediate aftermath of that order we observed significant decreases in news production and availability before the sector stabilised and began to rebound in June 2020, and more strongly in the following quarter (Q3/20).

There are some key events that group together other volume changes.

- In Q2/20, News Corp Australia significantly accelerated its shift to digital-only publishing by ending its print newspapers for 96 community and regional news titles across Victoria, New South Wales and particularly in Queensland, where it also closed more than a dozen papers.
- Also in Q2/20, Australian Community Media announced that it would temporarily suspend the majority of its regional non-daily newspapers. Many of those papers only partially returned; some without a print edition and many that no longer conduct original, local news production. Those titles are reflected in the 'Decrease in service' changes.
- Some Australian Community Media papers did not return from suspension at all, remaining online but relying on syndicated material for coverage. These closures have grown in the years since. In Q1/21 we observed that ACM seemed to retire nearly two dozen of its mastheads, closing their individual websites and social media presences.¹⁰
- Regional and metropolitan television reaffiliation came into effect in Q3/21, which resulted in the closure of a large number of WIN and Nine local news bulletins in Queensland and

¹⁰ Dickson G. 2021. Australian Newsroom Mapping Project Report: April 2021. Melbourne: Public Interest Journalism Initiative. <<https://piji.com.au/research-and-inquiries/our-research/anmp/anmp-data/>>. pp. 2-3.

Victoria. A small expansion of news bulletins also occurred in New South Wales. These records are tagged as ‘Decrease in service’ and ‘Increase in service’ respectively.¹¹

- Also in Q3/21, we listed further Australian Community Media newspapers as ‘Decrease in service’ following reductions to the publishing schedule.¹²
- In Q1/22 the large growth in ‘Newsroom opened’ changes is a result of the ABC’s significant expansion in regional areas, adding 55 new jobs, 10 new bureaux and 9 expanded bureaux.¹³
- An increase in the cost of newsprint in July 2022, reportedly up to 80 per cent for some publishers, seems to account for the large number of closures by the end of the quarter: of 16 closed mastheads in this period, at least 11 were explicitly or implicitly due to this price increase.

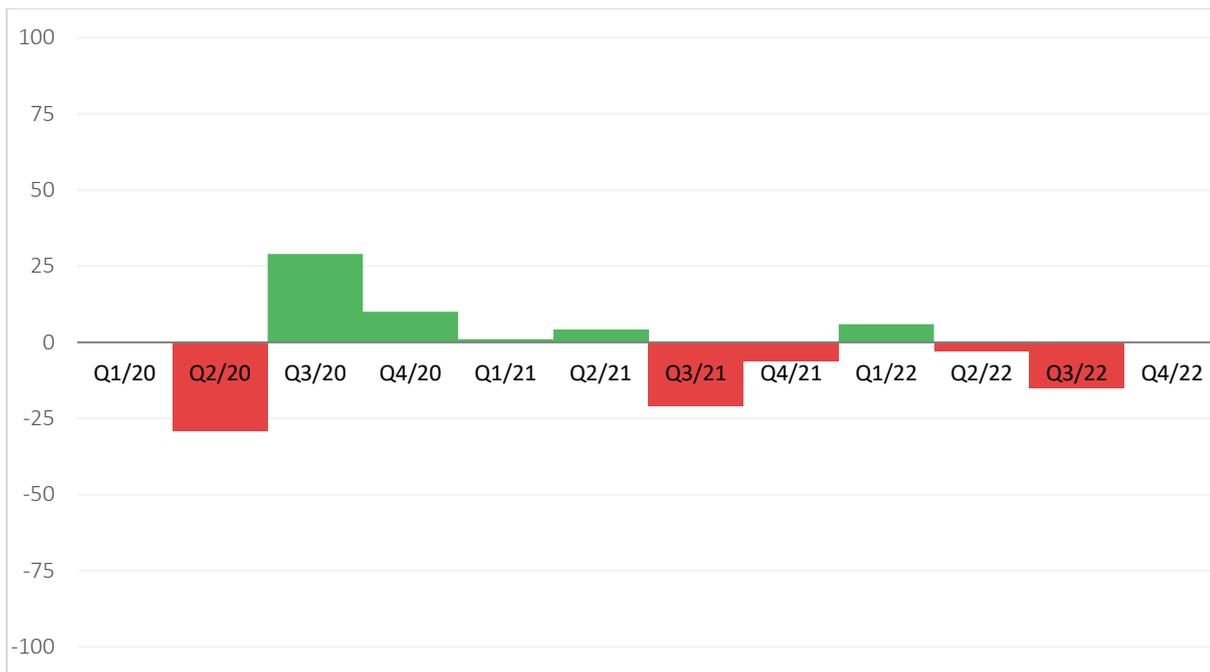


Figure 5: Net changes in news production by quarter since 1 January 2019, 30 December 2022.

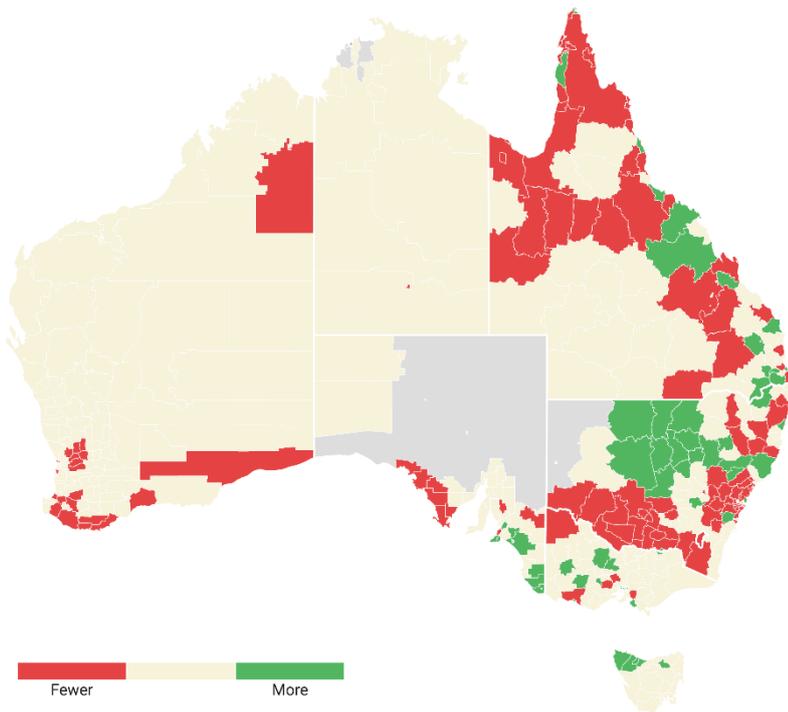
More than half of the changes from Q2/20 are the ‘End of print edition’ change type. While this change is recorded as a contraction event, it could reasonably be argued that the transition from physical to online news distribution is a sign of positive change for an industry still in the process of digital transformation.

Acknowledging that ambiguity, Figure 5 removes both the ‘End of print edition’ and ‘New print edition’ change types so as to assess only those records that reflect changes in news production. This data subset suggests more stable news media market over the life of the project, with 145 expansions compared to 164 contractions since January 2019, a negative variance of -19.

¹¹ Dickson G. 2021. Australian Newsroom Mapping Project Report: July 2021. Melbourne: Public Interest Journalism Initiative. <<https://piji.com.au/research-and-inquiries/our-research/anmp/anmp-data/>>. p. 4.

¹² Dickson G. 2021. Australian Newsroom Mapping Project Report: September 2021. Melbourne: Public Interest Journalism Initiative. <<https://piji.com.au/research-and-inquiries/our-research/anmp/anmp-data/>>. p. 3.

¹³ ABC 2022. Australia benefits from major expansion of regional and rural coverage. ABC. 10 March. <<https://about.abc.net.au/press-releases/australia-benefits-from-major-expansion-of-regional-and-rural-coverage/>>



◀ *Figure 6: Net loss and gain of news outlets since 1 January 2019 by local government area, 31 December 2022*

Isolating the data further to only the outlets that have opened or closed over the period shows a positive variance of +9.

According to PIJ’s data, of 546 areas with at least one news producer, almost a quarter (131, 24 per cent) have fewer outlets now than at the beginning of 2019. Only 85 (15 per cent) have more producers over the same period. The remainder (330, 61 per cent) have the same number, though the active producers may have changed

over time. Figure 6 provides insight into the geographic spread of news outlets opening and closing across the country, where local government areas coloured green have more news producers now than at 1 January 2019, those coloured in red have fewer, and those in white have the same amount.

A limitation of these findings is that this research does not take into account the productive capacity of news outlets that are gained and lost; only the fact of their opening or closing. A newspaper with deep community ties, strong editorial structures and half a dozen full-time journalists that closed would look identical in this data to a replacement website employing one volunteer. As close observers of the industry since 2019 we believe that more news productive capacity has been lost than gained but this data does not speak to that.

1.2.3 Metropolitan, regional and remote areas

The following figures provide a total and quarterly breakdown of changes according to whether the affected outlet is located in metropolitan, regional or remote Australia. It uses the Australian Bureau of Statistics Remoteness Structure¹⁴ to make this determination, which allocates local government areas to one of five categories¹⁵ based on their relative access to services.

	Metro	Regional				Total
Remoteness area	Major Cities	Inner	Outer	Remote	Very Remote	
Designated LGAs, n	133	133	144	58	78	546
Designated LGAs, %	24.4	24.4	26.4	10.6	14.3	100
Population (2021), n	18,571,710	4,608,023	2,066,689	290,931	200,789	25,738,142
Population (2021), %	72	18	8	1	1	100

Table 5: Local government area designations and population of remoteness areas.

There is a near even allocation of LGAs between the first three categories, but the populations of each are significantly different: almost three quarters of Australians live in Major Cities, and almost a fifth in Inner Regional Areas. Though more than a quarter of all LGAs are Outer Regional, fewer than 10 per cent of Australians live in them.

The Major Cities category does not line up with the state and territory capitals. Hobart is classified as Inner Regional area and Darwin as Outer Regional, while regional cities like Geelong (VIC), and Wollongong (NSW) and regional areas Tweed (NSW) and the entire Australian Capital Territory are Major Cities.

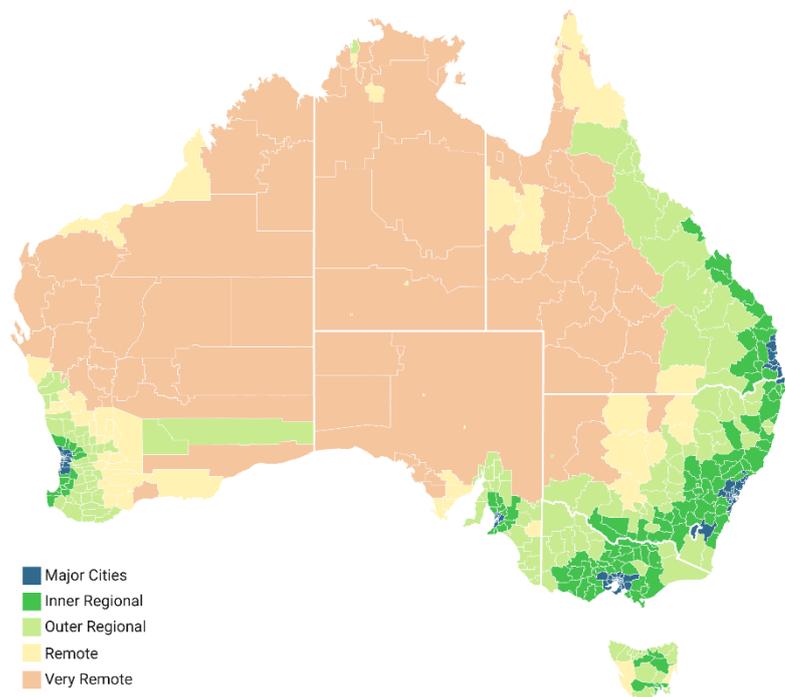


Figure 6: Distribution of remoteness areas by local government area.

¹⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2016. Remoteness Structure. 1270.0.55.005. Australian Statistical Geography Standard: Volume 5. <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/standards/australian-statistical-geography-standard-asgs-edition-3/jul2021-jun2026/remoteness-structure>>

¹⁵ Major Cities, Inner Regional, Outer Regional, Remote, Very Remote.

1.2.3.1 Changes in metropolitan, regional and remote Australia

		Metro	Regional				Total
Remoteness area		Major Cities	Inner	Outer	Remote	Very Remote	
Expansions		59	69	25	5	7	165
		59	106				165
Contractions		120	100	58	12	5	295
		120	175				295
Total change		179	169	83	17	12	460
		179	281				460
Net change		(-61)	(-31)	(-33)	(-7)	2	(-130)
		(-61)	(-69)				(-130)

Table 7: Net change by remoteness and region since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2022.

Table 7 shows that regional and remote Australia has experienced the greatest change since 1 January 2019. 61 per cent of changes recorded have been in regional and remote Australia, and 39 per cent in Major Cities – a ratio very disproportionate to their relative populations, where 72 per cent of Australians live in metropolitan areas and 28 per cent outside of them. Of these overall changes, 59 per cent of all contractions and 64 per cent of expansions have occurred in regional Australia.

Most outlets that have either closed (67 per cent) or decreased their service (91 per cent) are in regional areas (Table 8, Figure 7). On the other hand, two thirds of the new outlets that have opened anywhere in Australia are in regional Australia (83, 65 per cent); and a slightly higher number of openings to closures (83 to 81).

The nature of changes experienced in by metropolitan and regional areas are also different. 57 per cent (69) of contractions in Major Cities are of the end of print edition type as local suburban newspapers, particularly those owned by News Corp, have shifted to digital-only delivery. Another third is closed titles (33 per cent). In regional areas, more substantial changes to news provision occur as outlets close (46 per cent of regional contractions) or decrease their level of service by cutting frequencies or output (23 per cent). Cuts to print editions are only 18 per cent of changes in the regions.

		Metro	Regional				Total
Remoteness area		Major Cities	Inner	Outer	Remote	Very Remote	
	New masthead, station or website	44	55	20	5	3	127
	Newsroom opened	2	6	4	0	2	14
	Increase in service	1	5	1	0	2	9
	New print edition	12	3	0	0	0	15
	Merger	5	6	9	1	1	22
	End of print edition	69	18	10	2	2	101
	Decrease in service	4	24	16	1	0	45
	Newsroom closure	2	4	0	0	0	6
	Masthead or station closure	40	48	23	8	2	121
Total number of records		179	169	83	17	12	460

Table 8: Count of records by change types and remoteness since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2022.



Figure 7: Change types by remoteness and region since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2022.

Figure 8 isolates the data to changes in news production over the period (that is, all change categories except the ‘End of print edition’, ‘New print edition’ and ‘Merger’ types). It suggests that despite slight increases in the overall number of outlets in regional areas identified above, the impact of other changes – decreases in service and newsroom closures – may negate that growth overall. On this measurement, metropolitan areas have a +2 variance in outlets and service, while regional areas end the current quarter with a -28 variance since 1 January 2019.

As previously discussed, PIJl does not collect detailed information on the ongoing productive capacity of news outlets, including staffing levels, which may further affect these findings.

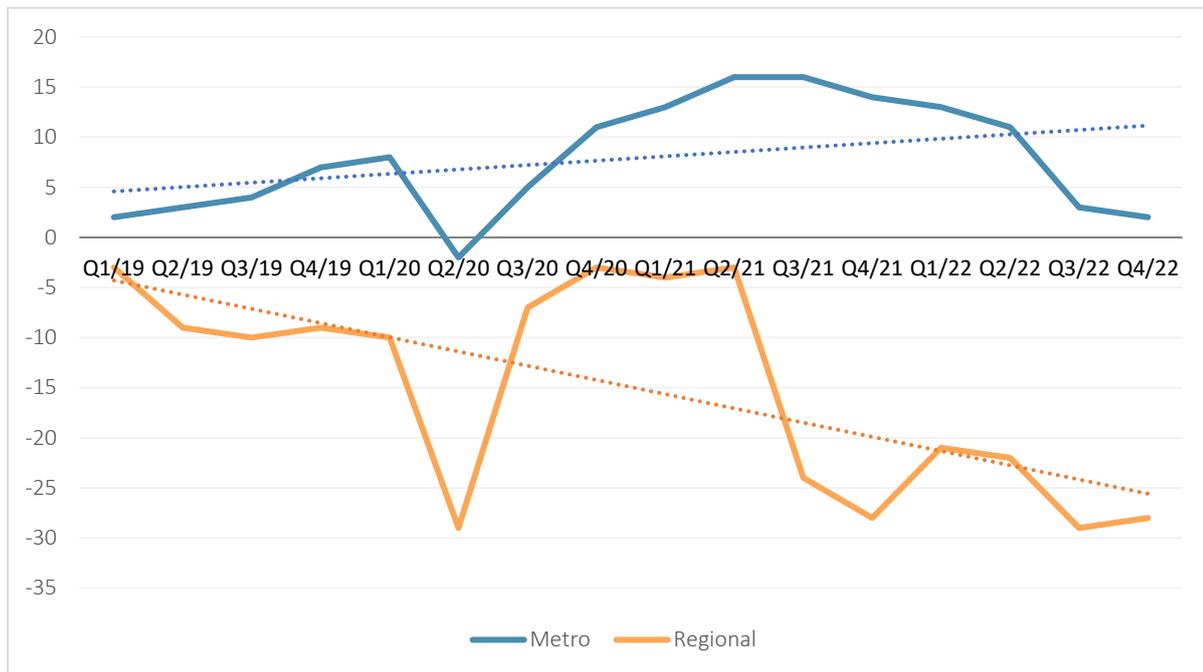


Figure 8: Net change in news production by region since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2022.

1.3 Quarterly results: States and territories

The following figures provide a total number of outlets in each state and territory at the end of the quarter and a breakdown of changes observed, both of the change types observed and of the overall change categories and net position, since 1 January 2019.

In volume terms, the data shows the market volatility of the past three years has been most marked down the eastern seaboard (Queensland, NSW and Victoria).

	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA	Total
Community	2	39	5	18	13	7	66	25	175
Local	12	318	15	185	66	41	196	96	929
Metropolitan	0	3	0	2	1	0	5	3	14
State/territory	0	2	0	2	1	2	2	0	9
Total	14	362	20	207	81	50	296	124	1127

Table 9: Count of outlets by coverage scale and state/territory, 31 December 2022. 52 national scale outlets are excluded as their coverage geography is larger than a state/territory.

Change category	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA	Total
Expansions	1	52	2	43	14	5	42	6	165
Contractions	1	116	2	91	19	0	55	11	295
Total change	2	168	4	134	33	5	97	17	460
Net change	0	(-64)	0	(-48)	(-5)	5	(-13)	(-5)	(-130)

Table 10: Net change by change category and state/territory since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2022.

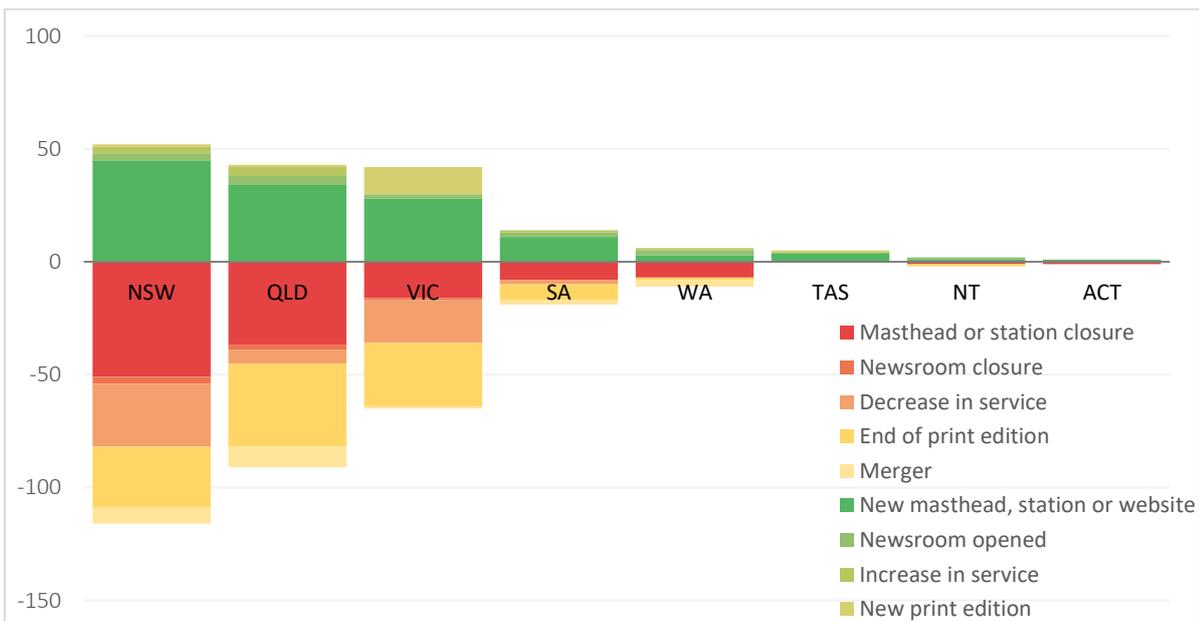


Figure 9: Change types by state or territory since 1 January 2019, 31 December 2022.

1.3.1 Australian Capital Territory

	Community	Local	Metro	Territory	Total
Print	0	3	0	0	3
Digital	0	4	0	0	4
Radio	2	4	0	0	6
Television	0	3	0	0	3
Total	2	14	0	0	16

◀ Table 11: Count of local news producers in the Australian Capital Territory, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 10: Count of local news producers in the Australian Capital Territory, excluding television, 31 December 2022.

News producers in the capital range from the large media companies (Canberra Star, News Corp; Canberra Times, Australian Community Media) to small-medium news businesses focussed on the capital region like RiotACT. Independents include the Canberra City News and the Canberra Weekly. The Queanbeyan Age sits outside of the ACT in New South Wales but provide some coverage of the territory.

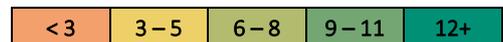
Few changes in news production have been observed in the ACT since 2019: News Corp’s launch of the Canberra Star in June 2019 and Australian Community Media’s decision to merge the Canberra Chronicle into the Queanbeyan Age in early 2020.

Outside the Territory but affecting it, in July 2022 the District Bulletin was suspended. The Bulletin was a digital news publication based in Bungendore, NSW, but which provided broadcaster coverage of the ACT, Capital Region and Monaro.

The ACT also has a dense radio environment. Southern Cross Austereo operates hit104.7 (2ROC) and Australian Radio Network operates Mixx 106.3 (1CBB). Capital Radio Network is a smaller radio company based in the capital and operating a local station (2CC Talking Canberra (2CC)), and others within the broader Capital and Monaro regions. ABC Canberra (2CN) is the public broadcaster’s local radio newsroom.

The territory does not have its own commercial television licence area and sits entirely within Southern New South Wales TV1. It is covered by 10 Southern NSW & ACT (CTC), 7 News Southern NSW and ACT (CBN) and Nine Southern NSW & ACT (WIN).

Assessing coverage of the ACT is complicated by the presence of the federal government. Most news outlets across the country will contain at least occasional coverage of federal government activities, however, for the purpose of this research we have only included news producers covering other issues of relevance for residents of the capital. This may include the legislative assembly, local crime and court reporting, planning and development, business and community issues.



1.3.2 New South Wales

	Community	Local	Metro	State	Total
Print	3	163	2	1	169
Digital	1	65	0	1	67
Radio	35	78	1	0	114
Television	0	12	0	0	12
Total	39	318	3	2	362

◀ Table 12: News producers in New South Wales, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 11: Count of local news producers in New South Wales, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

News production in New South Wales is heavily centred in coastal areas, particularly from Bega Valley on the Victorian border north through the Illawarra, Sydney and Central Coast to Port Macquarie-Hastings and the Hunter Valley. Smaller hubs of production exist particularly in Young and Lismore and around Dubbo. Cabonne Shire in the Central West is listed with a high density of outlets due to its proximity to Orange, Forbes and Parkes, which border and overlap in the Shire.

While the number of outlets in these areas has grown since 2019, while there has been a shift away from the Murray, Riverina and Monaro in the south, the Mid-Coast and the Northern Rivers areas, and in greater Sydney.

Changes in New South Wales have been heavily impacted by Australian Community Media’s consolidation of its presence in the state. Since 2020, PIJL has recorded the closure of at least 22 ACM newspapers in regional New South Wales, with a further 25 reducing their service in some way: either by a reduced publication frequency, or, in some cases, largely existing as digital shells that rerun network content produced at other papers without any original local production. Within suburban Sydney, ACM has also closed seven titles.

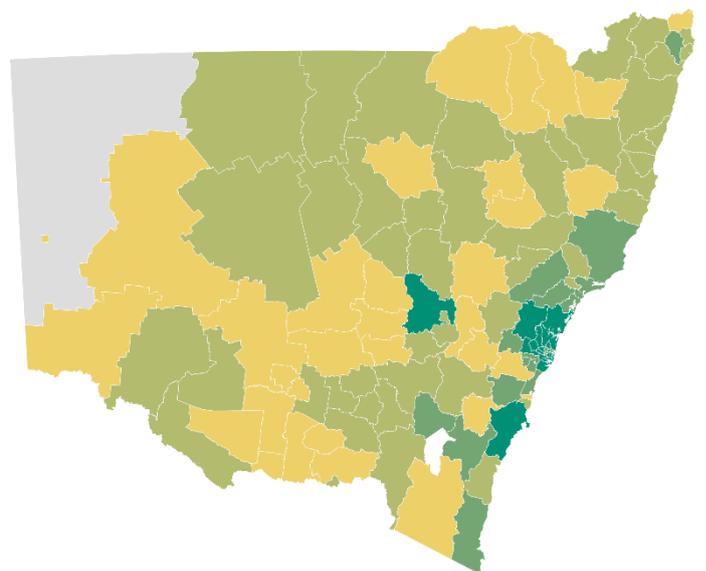
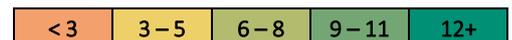
News Corp also closed papers in the north of the state in early 2020.

Both companies have also opened outlets in regional New South Wales. ACM opened two papers in the Northern Rivers area, one of which has since closed, while News Corp has launched digital hyperlocal verticals in Lismore, Bowral, Wagga Wagga, and Wollongong, among other places.

There has also been growth among independent news producers, particularly in the Hilltops Council and other regions following larger company closures and mergers.

Most parts of the state have a heavy density of radio stations, including local newsrooms for major nationwide brands Triple M, hit and Mixx FM as well as local and community radio.

The state is covered by four television licence areas: Sydney TV1, Northern New South Wales TV1, Southern New South Wales TV1 and Remote Central and Eastern Australia TV1/TV2.



1.3.3 Northern Territory

	Community	Local	Metro	Territory	Total
Print	0	4	0	0	4
Digital	0	1	0	0	1
Radio	5	5	0	0	10
Television	0	5	0	0	5
Total	5	15	0	0	20

◀ Table 13: News producers in the Northern Territory, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 12: Count of local news producers in the Northern Territory, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

There are few digital/print news producers in the Northern Territory. News is produced out of Darwin, Alice Springs, Katherine and Tennant Creek by News Corp, Australian Community Media and independents the Tennant & District Times and NT Independent.

Remote parts of the territory are reached by two main radio sources. The ABC’s Alice Springs and Darwin bureaux are retransmitted in Jabiru, Tennant Creek, Katherine, Mataranka, Borroloola and others. FlowFM (8SAT) is a commercial radio station which broadcasts into remote areas across the country, including Jabiru and Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory.

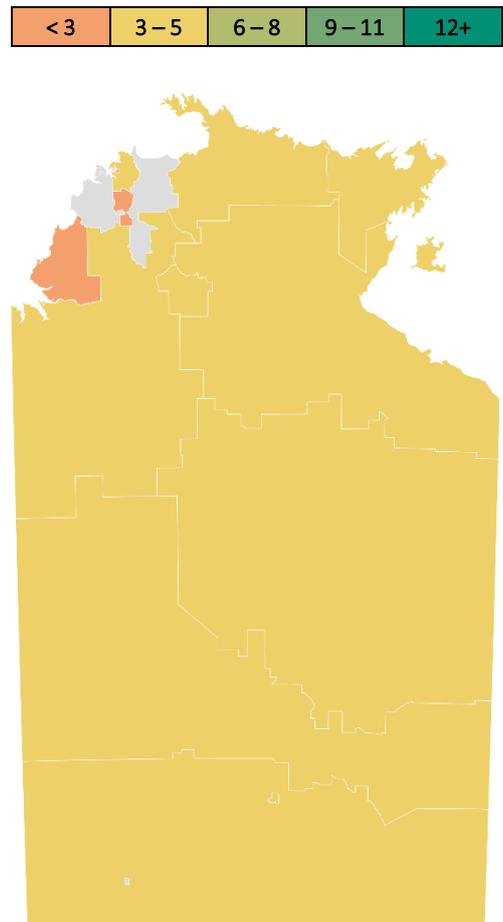
Two outlets, both based in Alice Springs, have closed over the past year. Beginning in 2020 News Corp merged the Centralian Advocate into its territory-wide paper the NT News, first by suspending its print edition, then by redirecting traffic to the News website, and finally by removing any *Advocate* branding from coverage of Alice Springs. The NT News does still cover Alice, but the local brand has been closed.

Separately, independent news website the Alice Springs News closed in November 2021 due to a declining financial position.

One news outlet has opened in territory since January 2019: the NT Independent is a Darwin-based news website which covers politics and business.

The geographically large local government areas give the impression that most of the territory receives broad coverage. This is not the case: coverage is overwhelmingly concentrated in those few population centres named above, with very little in the much smaller and more remote communities.

Due to a technical limitation this map does not display the Tiwi Islands. We have no record of print publications on the Islands, but they do fall within ABC Darwin’s broadcast area.



1.3.4 Queensland

	Community	Local	Metro	State	Total
Print	3	74	1	1	79
Digital	1	48	1	1	51
Radio	14	57	0	0	71
Television	0	6	0	0	6
Total	18	185	2	2	207

◀ Table 14: News producers in Queensland, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 13: Count of local news producers in Queensland, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

There are many digital/print news producers in Queensland, spread across the state but with a particular concentration in the south-east and Whitsunday Region, with smaller news production hubs around Cairns, Hervey Bay and Dalby.

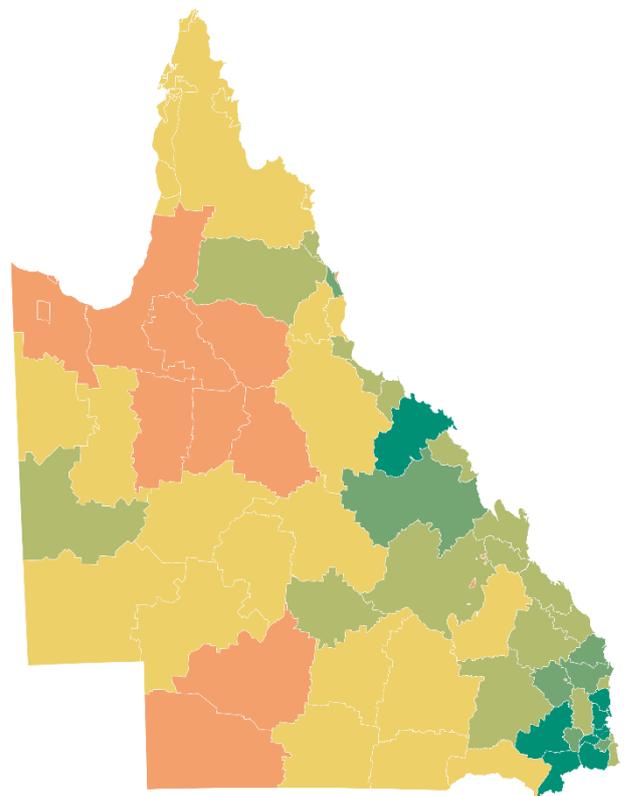
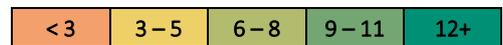
Queensland has experienced significant changes since 2019. News Corp closed 15 papers in the state in May 2020 and merged another four into larger regional papers. 24 of their papers shifted to digital-only publishing in the same year.

Independent outlets in Queensland have seen mixed success. In many regions where News Corp retreated, multiple independent papers simultaneously opened to fill the void. This was particularly true in places like Dalby, Chinchilla, Cairns and Burnett. Over time, many of these start-ups have closed, leaving only one remaining in many markets.

Queensland has also been the site of sustained growth by the Today brand of newspapers. Prior to COVID-19 it was a single digital-only news outlet in Noosa, and in the period since has launched 11 titles across different regions and taken over the Longreach Leader.

Three television licence areas cover the state: Brisbane TV1 in the capital and surrounds, Regional Queensland TV1 runs along the coast from Cairns to Sunshine Coast and inland to capture Toowoomba, Warwick and Emerald. Remote Central and Eastern Australia TV1/TV2 covers the remainder of the state, including Far North Queensland and the interior.

Due to a technical limitation this map does not display the Wellesley or Torres Strait Islands. Torres Shire and Torres Strait Island Regional Council are covered by the Cape York Weekly but we have no record of a news outlet covering Mornington Shire since the North West Weekly closed. Indigenous Australian publications The Koori Mail and Torres News also cover Far North Queensland, and the National Indigenous Radio Service (4ACR) transmits in the Torres Strait.



1.3.5 South Australia

	Community	Local	Metro	State	Total
Print	1	27	1	0	29
Digital	0	15	0	1	16
Radio	12	15	0	0	27
Television	0	9	0	0	9
Total	13	66	1	1	81

◀ Table 15: News producers in South Australia, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 14: Count of local news producers in South Australia, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

News production in South Australia is centred around Adelaide, the Fleurieu Peninsula, Murray Valley and Mount Gambier. News production in the south-east part of the state up to the capital appears to have improved since 2019, though with some fluctuations across that period.

The south-east of the state was hit hard by news closures in early COVID. Australian Community Media temporarily closed the Naracoorte Herald, Murray Valley Standard, Flinders News and others; while long-standing independents were forced to either merge multiple papers together (such as the River News and Loxton News into the Murray Pioneer) or close completely (The Border Watch, South-Eastern Times and Penola Pennant). These latter three papers have since been revived under new ownership.

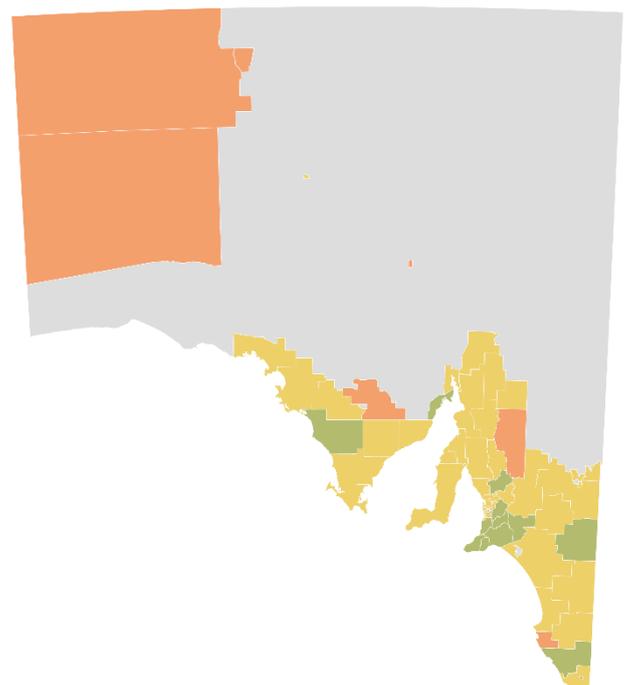
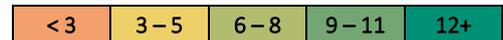
New independent papers emerged in Naracoorte, Murray Bridge and Mount Gambier to fill those temporary gaps and have remained in service even as the closed papers have been slowly revived.

News Corp has expanded in the state, adding digital hyperlocal titles in the Barossa and Clare Valleys and Upper Spencer Gulf.

Along the Eyre Peninsula, however, there has been a reduction in the number of local news outlets. This is largely due to the retreat of ACM from the region: both the West Coast Sentinel and Eyre Peninsula Tribune were closed in 2020, leaving the Port Lincoln Times and new independent the Eyre Peninsula Advocate to cover the area.

The Roxby Downs Chronicle was a brief expansion paper produced by ACM in 2019 which has subsequently closed, leaving that LGA without any print or digital news outlets.

Due to a technical limitation this map does not display Kangaroo Island, which is covered by Australian Community Media’s The Islander and remote radio service Flow FM (8SAT).



1.3.6 Tasmania

	Community	Local	Metro	State	Total
Print	3	22	0	0	25
Digital	0	4	0	2	6
Radio	4	12	0	0	16
Television	0	3	0	0	3
Total	7	41	0	2	50

◀ Table 16: News producers in Tasmania, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 15: Count of local news producers in Tasmania, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

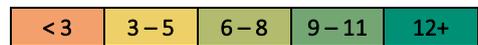
Tasmania has a higher proportion of independent news producers to large media companies compared to other states and territories, with News Corp and Australian Community Media present in Hobart, Launceston and Burnie, and the island otherwise covered by small-medium companies.

A growing presence in Tasmanian news media is Font Publishing, which has purchased multiple local outlets over the past few years, including Tasmanian Country, Derwent Valley Gazette, Sorrell Times and others.

Yeates Media is a Victoria-based news company with local newspapers in Kingston, Huonville and Circular Head. Independent outlets include the Valley and East Coast Voice, North-Eastern Advertiser and BridREport.

Most of Tasmania, including the capital, are within the Tasmania TV1 licence area, which includes Seven Tasmania (TNT), WIN Tasmania (TVT) and 10 Tasmania (TDT). Parts of the West Coast, Huon Valley, Waratah-Wynyard and Central Highlands local governments are within the Remote Central and Eastern Australia TV1/TV2 broadcast area.

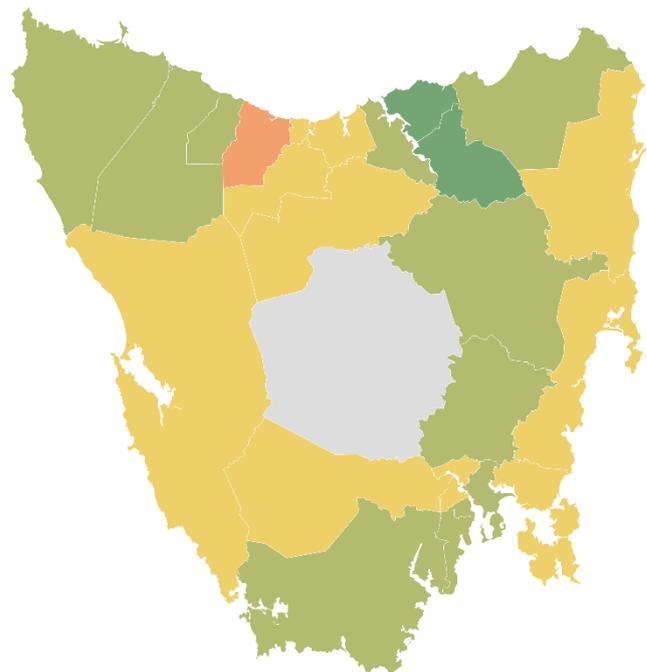
Due to a technical limitation this map does not display some islands.



King Island is covered by the King Island Courier, ABC Northern Tasmania and Tasmania TV1 networks.

Flinders Island is also missing, and PIJI has no record of print, digital or radio news producers here, though it is included the Tasmania TV1 licence area and ABC Gippsland in Victoria has suggested to PIJI it occasionally covers the island.

Bruny Island is also not present on this map, though the mainland part of Kingborough Council is. Bruny News operates on the island, while the Kingston Classifieds, The Mercury and Kingborough Chronicle cover other parts of the local government area.



1.3.7 Victoria

	Community	Local	Metro	State	Total
Print	44	122	3	1	170
Digital	4	21	0	1	26
Radio	18	44	2	0	64
Television	0	9	0	0	9
Total	66	196	5	2	269

◀ Table 17: News producers in Victoria, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 16: Count of local news producers in Victoria, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

Victoria has a dense and diverse media landscape, with a high number of independent local news outlets, small-medium news businesses, as well as large media companies, covering every part of the state but particularly the north, central and Gippsland. The Age, Herald Sun and others cover metropolitan Melbourne, with the latter’s local coverage supported by a network of Leader community newspapers and digital hyperlocals around the state.

Star News Group publishes 18 papers in Melbourne’s suburbs and surrounds, and two in Geelong. The Local Paper also exists across the city, though with a smaller reporting footprint. Hyperlocal News publishes five titles within the City of Melbourne.

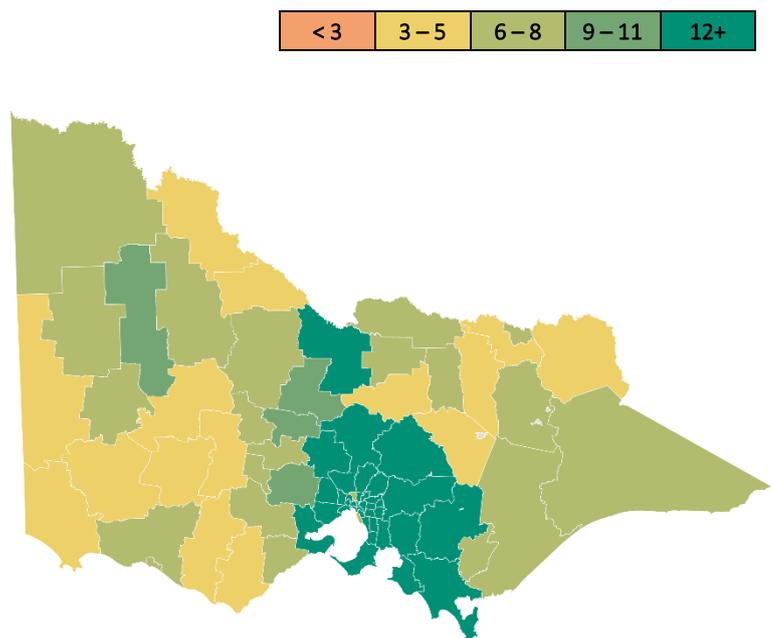
Australian Community Media is present in larger regional cities in Victoria, with papers in Bendigo, Ballarat, Shepparton, Warrnambool and others. In 2022, the company also published the Inner East Review in East Melbourne and Richmond, since closed. In the regions, small-medium news businesses include North East Media, McPherson Media, Yeates Media and Elliott Newspaper Group.

Independent newspapers exist in almost every local government area across the state. Victoria also has a large number of community newspapers, particularly in Melbourne’s suburbs and in north/central local government areas like Macedon Ranges, Mount Alexander, Bendigo and Loddon.

Regional Victoria TV1 and Melbourne TV1 are the two main television licence areas. Mildura and the Sunraysia have a separate television region.

Despite multiple lockdowns, including in regional areas, Victoria lost fewer news outlets during COVID-19 than New South Wales or Queensland. Papers that did close include independent papers the Kyneton Free Press, Yarram Standard and Great Southern Star, Yeates Media’s East Gippsland News, ACM’s Moyne Gazette and Hepburn Advocate, and News Corp’s Bellarine and Surf Coast Echo.

This map does not display Phillip Island, though the remainder of Bass Coast Shire is present. The island is covered by the Phillip Island and San Remo Advertiser.



1.3.8 Western Australia

	Community	Local	Metro	State	Total
Print	18	54	1	0	73
Digital	1	3	2	0	6
Radio	6	33	0	0	39
Television	0	6	0	0	6
Total	25	96	3	0	124

◀ Table 18: News producers in Western Australia, 31 December 2022.

▼ Figure 17: Count of local news producers in Western Australia, excluding television, by local government area, 31 December 2022.

Western Australia’s media landscape is dominated by Seven West Media. Almost every local government area in the state is covered by one of 19 regional newspapers, including very remote areas. In Perth, the West Australian and PerthNow cover the whole metro and a network of PerthNow print papers exist across the suburbs.

The only local government area not included in SWM’s coverage is the Shire of Upper Gascoyne. PIJJ could not identify regular coverage of Gascoyne Junction in a 2021 audit, though it is likely that the region does fall into the footprint of at least one paper if a major event were to occur.

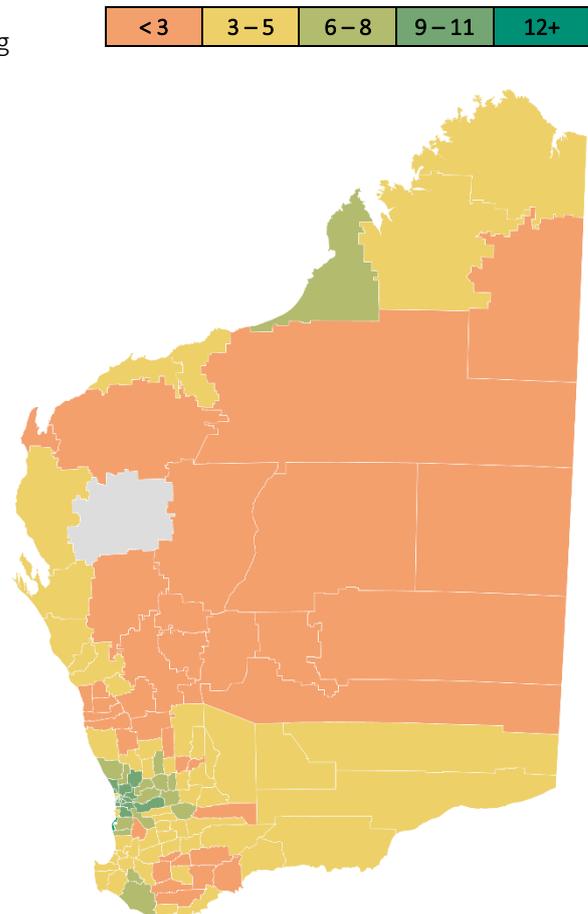
Within Perth there are two other small news companies: the Herald Publishing Company, which has papers in Fremantle, Cockburn, Melville and Perth; and Examiner Newspapers, which operates in Armadale, Canning, Gosnells and Serpentine Jarrahdale.

The other major feature of WA’s media landscape is a strong presence of community newspapers. WA has a network of community resource centres spread particularly across shires in the South West, Great Southern and Wheatbelt regions, and it is common for them to produce regular newspapers focussed on the social and business lives of their communities. Examples include The Windmill (Shire of Corrigin), Pingelly Times (Shire of Pingelly) and Crosswords (Shire of Yilgarn).

Australian Community Media has reduced its presence in the state since 2019. It has closed four newspapers - the Avon Valley Advocate, Donnybrook-Bridgetown-Manjimup Mail, Collie Mail and Esperance Express.

As in other states, where ACM has retreated other local papers have emerged, including the Esperance Weekender, Bridgetown Star and Collie River Valley Bulletin.

The ABC operates out of its Perth station and eight local stations around the state: Esperance, Goldfields, Great Southern, Kimberley, Midwest & Wheatbelt, Pilbara and South West.



2 Data eligibility

The *Australian News Data Report* is an ongoing effort to collect, generate and provide information on the Australian news media landscape. Data is actively maintained and reported on a monthly basis.

Eligibility criteria

For inclusion in these projects, a news outlet should primarily and regularly produce: (i) original public interest journalism for (ii) a local, metropolitan, state or national (iii) public audience, and (iv) adhere to identifiable professional and ethical standards. Each of these expectations are discussed below.

i. Public interest journalism

The definition of public interest journalism which we have adopted for these projects is:

original content that records, reports or investigates issues of public significance for Australians; issues relevant to engaging Australians in public debate and in informing democratic decision making, or content which relates to community and local events.

These criteria align closely to earlier definitions of public interest journalism, such as that developed by the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission in the [Digital Platforms Inquiry](#). It reflects the importance of community news as reflected in the definition of core news legislated through the [News Media Bargaining Code](#).

ii. Local, metropolitan, state or national

News outlets provide coverage for geographic areas of different sizes. Every news outlet in this project is assigned one of the below 'primary coverage scales':

- Local: primarily cover a small geographic area, from a single town or local government area up to a sub-state region.
- Metropolitan: have a coverage area which includes an entire capital city. News outlets in this category tend to cover news over a large geographic area and provide irregular attention to any single place, unlike local news outlets. Some companies have outlets in both this category and related outlets at the local scale, reflecting both the city-wide and dedicated local coverage produced by the relationship of these outlets to each other.
- State/territory: primarily cover news from across an entire state or territory. Any local news tends to be reactive or illustrative of a larger issue facing the state or territory.
- National: tend to focus on news which affects the entire country, such as federal politics or the economy.

Some outlets are recorded as having a community primary coverage scale. See below for more detail on the eligibility criteria of community news.

iii. A public audience

To be eligible, news content should be published to a public audience, meaning that it is readily available to any person who wishes to access it. This does not preclude a company from charging a fee for access to the content, but it should not otherwise be limited through, for example, requiring a person to be a member of an association or industry.

iv. Professional and ethical standards

Journalism is a process of finding out information, verifying it and applying editorial judgment. It is characterised by professional values including independence and fairness. News outlets must adhere to identifiable professional and ethical standards.

An outlet will satisfy this test if it is subject to the rules of the is subject to the rules of one of:

- The [Australian Press Council](#) or the [Independent Media Council](#)
- The [Commercial Television Industry Code of Practice](#)
- The [Commercial Radio Code of Practice](#)
- The [Subscription Broadcast Television Codes of Practice](#) or,
- Is publicly committed to substantially equivalent editorial standards relating to the provision of quality journalism.

An important ethical standard is that news outlets have editorial independence from the subjects of their news coverage. This means that they are not owned or controlled by a political advocacy organisation (such as a political party, lobby group or union); and not owned or controlled by a party that has a commercial interest in the coverage being produced (for example, a publication that covers a sport that is owned or controlled by the sport's governing body).

This does not include the inherent commercial interests a news company may have in the production of content. It describes where such coverage may give rise to a conflict of interest which disadvantages or misleads the public audience.

Community news organisations

Some outlets are tagged as community scale news producers, rather than local. These outlets have different characteristics to other news producers, but nevertheless can fill an important role in a local news ecosystem.

These outlets tend to be non-commercial and produced by volunteers, sometimes without journalistic training, and covering hyperlocal issues such as social events, profiles of individuals in town, and local history. They are often produced by a local institution such as community centre or civic organisation.

The community scale option is intended to reflect these outlets, which do not provide the depth, consistency or professionalism of local news outlets, but which are important parts of community news provision. We do not apply the requirement to adhere to professional and ethical standards to these outlets, though we do require that they be independent of local government or other interests like chambers of commerce or tourism boards.

Local coverage geographies

News outlet geographies are determined differently depending on the type of outlet.

Print and digital outlets are represented according to the local government areas that they report on. Upon adding each outlet, PIJI undertakes a basic assessment of the content output in order to determine this.

Radio and television outlets are represented according to the local government areas where they are licensed to broadcast. ACMA publishes a public registry of callsigns, their operators, and the broadcast licence areas in which they transmit, including maps of these areas. Using this information, PIJI has added each radio and television station to those local government areas that overlap with their broadcast licence areas.

Each approach has its strengths and weaknesses.

For publishers, assessing content output is a resource-intensive process, as is maintaining this data. Errors in coverage geographies may be introduced where the initial assessment is not representative of longer-term production, or where changes occur in the output over time.

A strength of the approach to mapping broadcasters is that the geographies are likely to remain comparatively stable. On the other hand, broadcast licence areas and local government areas rarely align, leading to situations where an LGA may have two or more overlapping broadcast areas within it. This would cause that LGA to be misrepresented as having a very high news density. This approach also creates a false equivalency between a news station being licensed to broadcast in an area, and actually transmitting in that area. Transmitting in a place also does not inherently suggest that local news is produced about that place.

The research reason for this distinction in how we map publishers and broadcasters is that we are not able to independently verify news production for the latter group. While we can remotely audit print and digital news content relatively easily, it is much more difficult for us to reliably access radio or television news programming from outside of their broadcast areas. In almost all cases that we have found, there are no public digital archives of news content available, meaning that assessments must also be done on live streams. This is a significant barrier to independent scrutiny, and not one that PIJI is resourced to overcome.

Determining local geographies by the content produced by an outlet is a strongly preferred approach, despite the challenges. The founding purpose of PIJI is to support public interest journalism in part by identifying where there may be undersupply. Content assessments are stronger evidence of this than availability.

Data collection and maintenance

News outlet and business data is assembled by the Public Interest Journalism Initiative from public sources. Analysis of news outlets for compliance with eligibility standards for inclusion in the project is undertaken independently and relies on public access to relevant policies and content.

Data for the Australian News Mapping Project is actively maintained. It is updated monthly with new assessments and to reflect incoming information about changes to news outlets and their operations. However, due to the volume and complexity of the data being maintained, it is not possible to reverify every record every month. Therefore, there may be inconsistencies and errors in the data, particularly where things change over time.

Tracking changes

Part of the project is to monitor a broader set of changes in the Australian news market beyond just the opening and closing of individual outlets. These changes are categorised as different 'change types'.

The change types that we collect, listed in terms of the hierarchy, are:

- i. Masthead or station opening / closing; meaning an entire news outlet opening or closing.
- ii. Newsroom closure / opening; meaning a news company removing or adding a base from which to conduct news production, that having an impact on its coverage area. This change type only captures instances where there is an assumed change to the amount of localised news production (such as AAP opening a new bureau in Darwin); it does not include an outlet moving into new premises without a probable reduction in content (for example, when The Age's Melbourne CBD newsroom moved into Nine Entertainment's Melbourne CBD studios).

- iii. Decrease / increase in service; meaning changes in the amount of content that is produced, or, rarely, the availability of that content. Most often this category has captured observable changes in public interest journalism output, but it can also include the launch of a new access point for existing content. It can include changes to print publication frequency, but does not include print distribution area changes.
- iv. End / start of print edition; meaning changes in availability without a corresponding change in production. A newspaper that transitions to digital-only publication without reducing its coverage is an example.
- v. Merger / demerger, meaning the coverage and/or content area of one news outlet being absorbed into another without a corresponding change in production. This change type is treated as a contraction but is the lowest level of concern.

Some further caveats around this project are necessary to avoid misinterpretation of the data.

The first caveat is to acknowledge that the changes captured are broader than ‘closures’ and ‘openings’ of news outlets. ‘Contractions’ is not a synonym for ‘closures’; it is a broader category of negative changes to news production and availability. This report is updated regularly in order to demonstrate the difference.

The data is likely to be an undercount of the changes that have occurred. It is actively maintained by PIJI and contributions are received from news organisations, from civil society and academia, and from the public. Even then, we do not have visibility into all news production and availability around Australia, and we do not presume to have a complete log of all changes that have occurred over since 1 January 2019.

The way that data is recorded in the database also leads to undercounts in two subtly different ways: in changes that occur over time, and in multiple changes that occur simultaneously as part of one event. Each news publication is entered in the database only once, and only the most recent and most serious change type is represented. Where an event involves multiple change types it is logged as the highest ranked category to which it fits. This means that:

- If a news website was founded in January 2019; launched a print edition in April; closed that print edition in September and closed entirely by December, only the most serious (and, secondly, most recent) change – the ‘Masthead or station closure’ in December – would be recorded, despite the multiple other positive and negative changes to production and availability across the period.
- If the closure of a print news outlet was logged, the event would have necessarily involved the end of a print edition; a decrease in service and the closure of a newsroom, but it would be only logged as a ‘Masthead or station closure’, as that change type ranks highest on the hierarchy.

The data also flattens the complexity of what is being gained and lost by not having any assessment of the output, institutional characteristics or content of the news companies: the closure of a newspaper with ten working journalists would be presented as equivalent to the opening of a website of one. Clearly these two events would have very different impacts on the production and availability of news, but it is beyond this project’s scope to make this assessment for every change that occurs.

For these reasons caution must be taken in drawing conclusions about the general health of the news media ecosystem from this data alone.

Two further hypotheticals provide reasons for caution:

1. A news media ecosystem in which many news entrepreneurs had the confidence and the capital to establish organisations and outlets, the majority of which might fail, could be a healthy environment of public interest journalism production and competition but might appear in our data like a failing system due to the high number of closures.
2. A news media ecosystem in which all journalism was produced by a single company could be an uncompetitive environment or be failing to meet community need for diverse and locally relevant content, but would look healthy in our data if that one company was stable or growing.

Due to limited resources and the significant methodological difficulty in ensuring rigour, these projects do not record any information about journalism job gains and losses.

Despite these caveats we do believe that the *Australian News Data Report* offers information that, in combination with other research, can provide insight into the changing nature of journalism production and availability in Australia.

3 About the Public Interest Journalism Initiative

The [Public Interest Journalism Initiative](#) (PIJI) is a specialist think tank advancing a sustainable future for public interest journalism in Australia.

Through our original research and advocacy work, we seek to stimulate public discussion and establish optimal market pre-conditions in investment and regulation that will sustain media diversity and plurality in the long term.

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This project has been made possible thanks to the generous support of [PIJI's funders](#), including the Susan McKinnon Foundation, Jibb Foundation, Ruffin Falkiner Foundation, H&L Hecht Trust and Mannifera.

[Public Interest Journalism Initiative]

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