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HAWKERS AND PUBLIC SPACE

*Free Commuter Newspapers
in Canada*¹

Will Straw

. . . this cancer has spread not just across Canada, but is a global chimera, news across all borders reduced to its component parts and presented without adjectives, invectives, or life.

KEN ALEXANDER²

In his 2004 book *The Vanishing Newspaper: Saving Journalism in the Information Age*, Philip Meyer offers a diagnosis of factors threatening the future of the newspaper as a meaningful and commercially viable cultural form.³ These factors include the reduction of editorial staff due to pressures from stockholders, and a weakened engagement on the part of newspapers with their communities. All of these, in Meyer's analysis, have led to a broad decline in the credibility, readability, and editorial vigorousness of mainstream

newspapers. This decline has weakened newspapers just as they face what may be the most powerful competitor in their history, the Internet. Like many other recent treatments of the contemporary newspaper industry, *The Vanishing Newspaper* defines the battle for that industry's survival as one between the traditional newspaper, which must rediscover its core virtues, and a range of electronic news sources now available online.⁴

While Meyer's book is generally wide-ranging in its coverage of recent trends in the newspaper industry, only once does he acknowledge another development that has been gathering momentum since the late 1990s: the rise on a global scale of the free, commuter-oriented newspaper.⁵ The free newspaper has been, arguably, just as significant a transformative force in the medium's recent history as has the Internet, though the latter has been the object of much more attention. The rushed introduction of new, free commuter newspapers has brought an unaccustomed level of turbulence to urban newspaper markets, which had seemed for many years to have settled into a situation of relative stasis (or slow, steady deterioration). In Germany, for example, in 2005, more newspapers were launched than during any comparable period in the previous 60 years. Indeed, the rate of introduction of new newspapers in Europe has been matched in modern times only by the explosion of new titles that followed the rebuilding of civil society at the end of World War II.⁶ Virtually all of these newspapers are new, free commuter dailies, a form that has, in the words of one analyst, "completely restructured" the low and middle ranges of the European newspaper industry.⁷

Canada, much more than the United States, has become a lively terrain for the introduction of these new newspapers. Four of our major, national newspaper conglomerates (Quebecor, Transcontinental, Torstar, and CanWest) have been involved in the launch of free newspapers, often in cities where they publish long-standing traditional dailies. Montreal now has at least six daily newspapers; Toronto, with only one official language, has just as many. As of February 2008, Edmonton had three more daily newspapers than a half-decade ago.⁸ Quebecor's *24 Hours/24 heures*, the Canadian versions of *Metro* published in joint ventures involving Torstar or Transcontinental, and CanWest's *RushHour* have become widely recognizable features of the media ecologies of Canadian cities.

It is the purpose of this article neither to determine the commercial viability of free commuter newspapers nor to judge whether they offer a means of extending the newspaper's life as a cultural form. Rather, I am concerned here with the new

arrangements of space, people, and practice that have taken shape around the commuter newspaper, and the social conflicts that such arrangements have created or rendered visible. Some of these conflicts, as we shall see, are over public property and the extent of its acceptable privatization by publishers seeking exclusive access to municipal transportation systems. Others have to do with the ecological threat posed by commuter newspapers, whose methods of distribution are often considered wasteful and intrusive. More complex tensions have arisen over the ethical status of newspapers that service low-paid, immigrant populations by offering forms of news widely believed to be insufficient for the effective functioning of democracy and citizenship.

Background

In 1995, the Metro International Corporation, based in Stockholm, Sweden, launched the first incarnation of a newspaper it called *Metro*. *Metro* was given free to people as they moved within cities, rather than delivered to their homes or sold from news kiosks. It was supported by advertising rather than subscriptions, and so, while it competed with other newspapers for readers, it did not compete for those readers' money. The strategy of free distribution for newspapers had been used for at least two decades to build readership for the culturally-oriented weeklies that had emerged in most Western cities in the 1980s, many of them (like Vancouver's *Georgia Strait*, the Montreal *Mirror*, and New York City's *Village Voice*) representing mutations of the "underground" or politically activist community newspaper. In Canada, free distribution has also been the means by which commercially oriented, neighbourhood or community weekly newspapers have built their circulation. *Metro* was distinct from these predecessors because of its daily publication, and in its claims to publish news that was both international and local. These characteristics positioned it in direct competition with the traditional metropolitan daily.

Following the success of *Metro* in Sweden, the same company introduced a second edition of *Metro* in 1997, in Prague. By 2008, the Metro International Company, now based in Luxembourg, published 58 editions, in 119 cities of the world, 19 countries, and 15 languages.⁹ Rather than consider all of these as distinct newspapers based on a shared model, the Metro International Company prefers to see them as local editions of a single newspaper. As a result, the *Guinness*

Book of Records has named Metro the world's largest global newspaper, as if its Toronto and London editions were no more distinct than the versions of the *New York Times* produced for that city's different boroughs. The subsequent spread of free commuter newspapers has come with the entry of other new publishers into the field, but it has been propelled most markedly by the decision of long-standing publishers of so-called "paid newspapers" to launch free titles and participate in this new market.

It is difficult to disentangle the rise of the free newspaper from a variety of other phenomena within the world of newspaper publishing and of media more generally. The first of these involves the ongoing commodification of attention, the transformation of attention into what communications scholar Dallas Smyth once famously called the "audience commodity."¹⁰ Media analyst Robert Picard has expressed this in coldly economic terms: the time spent by people on public transport systems, on subways or buses is, from an economic viewpoint, a wasted resource.¹¹ The free daily newspaper was created to give economic value to that time. Newspapers like the global title *Metro* are designed to be read in 20 minutes, the estimated average time of a city dweller's ride on the public transportation system.¹² (Indeed, one of the most successful European free newspapers is called *20 Minutes*.) Like the television screens in doctor's offices that commodify the bored attention of waiting patients, the free commuter newspaper harvests the otherwise uncaptured attention of people travelling to or from their place of work.

The free commuter newspaper participates in another contemporary trend as well: the move on the part of almost all newspapers to become smaller, more portable, and with reduced content. *The Times* of London, the British *Independent*, and the European edition of the *Wall Street Journal* have all been made smaller in recent years through redesign. This large-scale transformation echoes an earlier move, a century or so ago, to produce newspapers that lent themselves to reading in crowded public conveyances. In justifying these recent moves, the British *Independent*, like the publishers of *Metro* and other free dailies, invokes its focus on the youth market, and a perception of that market which has become conventional wisdom within the newspaper industry: one that claims younger people have shorter attention spans and narrower spheres of interest, and therefore must be catered to with short, telegraphic reporting.¹³

Media and Transportation

In a 2003 study of the challenges facing newspaper publishers in France, analyst Vincent Létang noted the steady desertion by middle class workers of trains and buses in their travel to and from work. As white-collar workers and managers relied more and more on their own automobiles for their commutes, their patterns of media consumption during this crucial portion of the workday were transformed. While they had once read newspapers on trains or buses, middle class workers now received most of their news from the radios in their automobiles.¹⁴ Media habits—and, indirectly, forms of civic engagement—have thus been transformed, as patterns of transportation have shifted across social classes. One dimension of these transformations has been the slow displacement of a culture of public reading by the privatized, aural culture of radios, iPods, and cellphones, in automobiles that rarely carry more than one passenger. In her exhaustive analysis of radio listening in Mexico City, Rosalia Winocur writes of the new forms of public speech and civic involvement made possible by the conjoining of cellphones, automobiles, and talk radio programs.¹⁵ Within a new complex of interconnected practices, Mexico City's drivers, stuck in traffic, speak to talk radio hosts via their cellphones, commenting on the practical problems of life in Mexico City in the very moments in which they wrestle with them. The patterns of mobility and circuits of *intermediality* traced here are ones with no obvious place for the metropolitan newspaper.

The notion of commuting and communication as inextricably bound up with each other is hardly foreign to Canadian traditions of thinking about media. Nevertheless, the case of the free commuter newspaper urges us to see these things as interdependent in the most concrete of ways (and not just conceptually, as a function of their shared etymologies). The distribution of free newspapers is made possible by the regulation of human mobility that comes with the organization of public transit systems around points of access and switching nodes. These points and nodes typically channel people past points at which their attention may be seized or solicited. Cities with relatively low rates of usage of public transit systems, like Vancouver or Calgary, are sometimes seen as weak markets for commuter newspapers. Ottawa, on the other hand, possesses a highly rationalized public transit system that exports workers outwards, at day's end, from a centralized cluster of workplaces. That city has become, as a result, a closely monitored testing ground for free newspapers and the distribution strategies that

will determine their acceptance. In November 2006, CanWest (owner of the *Ottawa Citizen*) introduced *RushHour*, the first evening newspaper produced in Ottawa since the end of the 1970s (when the *Ottawa Journal* was closed). *RushHour* was available in hard copy at 120 distribution points, which reached commuters at those points where they boarded public transit vehicles for the ride home from work. Commuters were also invited to subscribe to email delivery of PDF versions of the paper, which they might download and print themselves for reading during their commutes.¹⁶ In the smoothly integrated assemblage of people and technologies imagined for *RushHour*, workers concentrated in downtown government office buildings would use their workplace computer/printer systems to produce the reading material that would occupy their attention during their post-work travelling time.

The Newshawker and the Kiosk

The most common ways in which free newspapers reach their readers' hands have little to do, however, with office workers covertly stealing time and toner from their office printers. In the late 1990s, men and women with bags of newspapers began appearing at the entrances to subways and at bus exchange points throughout the Western world, seeking, through shouts and physical gesture, to make travellers take their newspapers. With the rise of the commuter newspaper, we have seen the reappearance of a social figure that had disappeared, for the most part, from the streets of Western cities. This figure was the newshawker, fabled within media histories, sentimental novels of social advancement, and progressivist studies of nineteenth century child labour.¹⁷ A decade before the rise of the free commuter newspaper, Western cities had witnessed the spread of the "street newspaper," the weekly or monthly publication sold by the homeless or unemployed, but the hawking of these publications was usually less vocal or bureaucratically organized than the distribution of free commuter dailies.¹⁸

In 2005, the *Vancouver Sun* interviewed city residents who saw these distributors of free commuter newspapers as irritants within a broader landscape of solicitation. "With all the people out there asking for money and all the charities that have people with clipboards, it just gets to be a little too much," one commented.¹⁹ In other cities, the aggressiveness of those distributing free commuter newspapers has been the focus of commentary veering between angry complaint

and amusement at the return of so antiquated a figure as the newshawker.²⁰ A whole body of social-psychological thought has taken shape around this activity of newshawking. The publishers of *CityAM*, a free daily in London, England, train their staff to stand at some distance from the exits to subways, to give otherwise uninterested commuters time to convince themselves that they should take a copy of the paper. To reach young executives who might be embarrassed to be seen taking a free paper from newshawkers, they have installed distribution racks in office buildings.²¹

By the early decades of the twentieth century, the original newshawker had lost its pre-eminence to two more genteel institutions for the distribution of newspapers. One of these was the neighbourhood-based “newspaper boy,” with his home delivery routes and grounding in middle-class ideas of thrift and character building.²² The “newspaper boy” persists, but in recent years has been gradually displaced by an immigrant labour force (dominated by adults), which, in cities like Montreal, uses automobiles to deliver papers across geographical areas much larger than the mid-century “paper route.” The other institution leading to the demise of the newshawker in the early twentieth century was the newsstand, the street-corner kiosk from which foot travellers could purchase newspapers alongside chewing gum, cigarettes, and other amenities of urban life.

In the 1920s, the German theorist Siegfried Kracauer wrote that the newspaper kiosk offered an image of the city’s capacity to hold different views of the world in harmony. That harmony was made concrete in the capacity of newsstands to hold newspapers and periodicals of very different, even opposed political opinions in comfortable proximity:

Out of the hubbub rise the newspaper kiosks, tiny temples in which the publications of the entire world get together for a rendezvous. Foes in real life, they lie here in printed form side by side; the harmony could not be greater. Wherever Yiddish papers supported by Arabic texts come into contact with large headlines in Polish, peace is assured. But, alas, these newspapers do not know one another. Each copy is folded in on itself, and is content to read its own columns. Regardless of the close physical relations that the papers cultivate, their news is so completely lacking in any contact that they are uninformed about one another.²³

Writing many years later, but of roughly the same period, Adrian Rifkin would see the news kiosk's array of offerings "ordered by their price and appearance [as] itself a version of the social space of the city, of its day-to-day circulations and crossing tracks of physical proximity and social distance."²⁴

Recognizing the political divisions endemic to the periods described here (Berlin in the 1920s for Kracauer, Paris in the 1930s for Rifkin), we might see the newsstand as an agent of mystification, hiding conflict within the comfortable juxtaposition that it makes possible. Alternately, in the spirit Kracauer offers, we may see it as an emblem of the city's tolerance, of its reduction of political conflict to the silent proximity of multiple voices. In our age, in any case, we are witnessing the death of the newsstand. In Canadian cities, its disappearance began in the 1950s and 60s, with the move towards suburban living and the home delivery of newspapers. The decline in the number of urban newspapers from mid-century onwards has been a further cause of the newsstands' decline, as has the rise of the supermarket as an outlet for periodicals (and the related rise of the supermarket tabloid, in the early 1960s). In Montreal, outdoor newsstands, like other forms of street commerce, have long been outlawed by the city government, which has capitulated to the pressures of storeowners who resent their competition. News kiosks persist, in some Canadian cities, typically located well inside subway stations, but their role in the circulation of newspapers and other periodicals is much diminished.

The reintroduction of the newshawker has come to seem, in many Canadian cities, like an unwelcome challenge to metropolitan gentility. This has been the case, in particular, in the Vancouver region, where free dailies struggle for attention at particularly strategic nodes of urban circulation, like the ferry docks. The proliferation of newshawkers and newspaper boxes was described, in one tense moment in Vancouver, as another sign of the Torontoization of Vancouver, its subjection to an exhausting barrage of competitive voices and signs.²⁵ Indeed, the effects of the free daily newspaper on the broader ecologies of urban life have been the focus of intense debate in several Canadian cities. For example, the huge numbers of newspapers discarded by commuters have been blamed for fires on the Toronto subway.²⁶

"Project Free Sheet" is a U.K.-based activist group devoted to reducing the amount of paper waste produced by the aggressive distribution of free newspapers by newshawkers, as its website announces:

An end to street vendors handing out free newspapers. We want to see all free newspapers distributed via “dumb” vendors, or bins, so that the free papers are taken only by people who actually want them. This will limit circulation numbers to more realistic levels, so that our recycling infrastructure is able to divert as many papers from landfill as possible.²⁷

While the newspaper box, with its passive relationship to street traffic, is embraced here as an antidote to the insistent newshawker, the spreading of such boxes is elsewhere viewed as a greater problem. Since the early 1990s, North American cities have sought ways of stopping the proliferation on city streets of boxes holding alternative, commercial, or community newspapers. In 1998, in a move observed and copied by other cities, Chicago experimented with so-called multi-title news boxes, which gathered many titles in a single box.²⁸ Those who complained most about these devices were the publishers of alternative, cultural weeklies and non-dominant language community newspapers. With their papers now hidden amidst dozens of others, reduced to a kind of equivalent abundance and wastefulness, these papers had no way of signalling their distinctive historical rootedness in tradition or community.²⁹ In 2006, the Vancouver city council called for the introduction of similar multi-newspaper boxes, after the number of newspaper boxes in the city doubled between 2004 and 2005, following the introduction of free dailies.³⁰

Free Newspaper and the Commodification of Public Space

This profusion of newspaper boxes in public space seems relatively benign compared to the commercialization of public transit systems by the publishers of free dailies. Since the early 2000s, the publishers of free daily newspapers have sought agreements with city transit authorities that would guarantee them exclusivity over strategically important spaces. It is important to note that, in Canada, all versions of *Metro* are co-ventures with strong Canadian partners. Foreign ownership of newspapers in Canada is not illegal, but tax regulations make it highly unprofitable for foreign companies to buy them; as a result, all mainstream Canadian newspapers are predominantly owned by Canadian firms. The free dailies are testing the limits of foreign investment in the Canadian press through the participation of Metro International in the launch of *Metro* in cities across Canada. In 2005, the

Torstar and CanWest entered a joint venture with Metro International to launch free daily newspapers in English Canadian cities.³¹ (Each partner owned one-third of the resulting partnership.) In May 2007, shortly after launches of its own *Rush - Hour* paper in Canadian cities, CanWest sold its share in the Metro partnership to the two remaining partners, Torstar and Metro International. Each of these now retain approximately 50 percent ownership of the resulting venture.³²

Montreal's version of the global title *Métro* launched in 2001, as a co-venture between Transcontinental, Canada's largest printing company, which has been, like its rival Quebecor, moving into media ownership, and the Luxembourg-based Metro International. At the time of its launch, the publishers of the Montreal *Métro* signed a deal with the Montreal Urban Community Transit Commission, giving the paper the exclusive right to distribute its newspaper within metro stations; this deal, in its first three years, brought the Commission almost a million dollars in revenues.³³ Quebecor, publishers of the *Journal de Montréal*, quickly launched its own competitor to *Métro*, the free daily newspaper *24 heures*. Quebecor then initiated a lawsuit to force the Montreal Urban Community Transit Commission to allow its own newspapers to be distributed upon Transit Commission property. This suit was turned down, but that decision, in turn, was appealed. In 2005, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the transit commission could maintain its exclusive agreement with the publishers of Montreal *Metro*. Those who managed the subway, in other words, were under no obligation to make that space open to competing voices.³⁴ The case was a complicated one, nonetheless. If *24 heures* was denied access to the city's transportation system, it nevertheless enjoyed exclusive distribution in Videotron video stores, Archambault music and bookstores, and innumerable outlets within the vast Quebecor corporate family. If *Métro* had exclusive rights to public space, *24 Heures* benefited from its attachment to the notoriously synergistic Quebecor Corporation, a major player within every facet of Quebec media and entertainment.

Contracts guaranteeing exclusivity to newspapers for distribution within transit systems have become commonplace around the world. In Toronto, in a more indirect arrangement, the Metro chain signed an exclusive agreement with the Gateway Newsstand Corporation, which operates 149 franchise stories within stations of the Toronto Transit Commission and GO train system. Covering these developments, journalist Michael McCullough noted that Boston had banned the distribution of free newspapers within transit systems, while the owners of paid-

circulation newspapers in Philadelphia sued that city's transit system for entering into an exclusive deal with the Metro chain for use of its stations.³⁵ The free daily newspaper has made explicit the competition between newspapers for readers, a competition that had become invisible within the civic life of Western cities over the past several decades. A century ago, that competition had often organized itself around different political perspectives, as in the battles between reform-minded and political-machine-owned newspapers in New York City. Now, that competition is embodied in the struggle for those public spaces in which the newshawker stands.

Conclusion

To those who publish free daily newspapers, the crucial battles for readership have to do with age and with the future of the newspaper in its competition with the Internet. A widely circulated statistic notes that the readership of newspapers among those aged 18–24 dropped 55 percent over the past 20 years in the United States.³⁶ The publishers of mainstream daily newspapers set up free cultural weeklies in the 1990s as a way of holding onto youth markets for their advertisers. (*Hour* and *Ici*, in Montreal, both owned by Quebecor, are the result of such moves.) The more recent move of traditional newspaper publishers into the free daily field is usually justified as an attempt to hold onto youthful readers—to train them, as industry hopes express it, in the practice of newspaper reading, so that, as they age they will move towards the traditional dailies for which they will pay or subscribe.³⁷ These claims are faulty and distorting in two ways, I would suggest. One is that few really believe anymore that people will graduate from free to subscription newspapers as they grow older, forsaking the Internet for the traditional pleasures of the mainstream newspaper. More importantly, I think, the publishers of free newspapers talk about age because they do not want to talk about ethnicity, immigration, and class. These demographic variables, I would argue, are much more determining of the free newspapers' current and future readership.

The most awkward questions surrounding the free daily newspaper, then, have to do with newspaper literacy and its relationship to both social class and ethnicity. In 1833, Benjamin Day inaugurated one revolution in newspapers with his introduction of the daily newspaper, the *New York Sun*. The *New York Sun* was distinctive in three ways. First, it was sold for three cents a copy, rendering it

much cheaper than the existing newspapers in New York. Second, it was sold on street corners, to be bought on impulse by those travelling to work, rather than being delivered to the homes of the city's middle class populations. In this, the *Sun* became intimately interconnected with the broader circulation of populations within urban life. And, finally, the *New York Sun* differed from existing newspapers in that it was not explicitly partisan in a political sense. Indeed, it aimed at a readership it presumed was marginal to political processes and to the reasoned exchange of political ideas. With time, of course, the popular tabloid newspaper became a powerful force for political reform, in ways that both reinforced and undermined the power of established political interests.

The *New York Sun*, and its successors, helped to democratize the reading of newspapers. In doing so, these newspapers helped to integrate immigrant populations within the target audiences of advertisers and into the embryonic industries of media-based sensation. The new free daily commuter newspapers seek in similar fashion to extend newspaper access and habits of reading, but they are also engaged in something more insidious. Arguably, they are looking to extract value from those populations who, for a few years at least, will lack the time, money, or skills required for access to online sources of information, at least during their commuting time. (Others will, more and more, use their iPhones, Blackberries, and other devices for the information and Sudoku puzzles that will hold their attention on their commutes to and from work.) The commuting worker with the low paid job, for whom English or French may well be a second or third language, has long been abandoned by other advertising-based media. As classified advertisements move to Craig's List, movie listings and stock market data to the Internet, and journalistic opinion to blogs or the online versions of established newspapers, the free commuter newspaper is left with a readership for which only certain kinds of news and advertising seem appropriate. Despite widely disseminated rhetoric about free newspapers training people to read traditional newspapers, to which, it is assumed, they will one day graduate, free newspapers—in North America, at least—appear interested principally in milking the last available revenues from what many consider a dying cultural form.

The broader cultural shifts of which the free commuter newspaper is a symptom are many. Free newspapers sit within a series of cultural phenomena that includes graffiti, mega-concerts, illegal dance music parties, urban festivals, and giant electronic display screens. All of these are concrete, situated expressions of

contemporary culture whose blatant and often contested occupation of urban space has grown in an era dominated by talk of virtualization and intangibility. We may see, in the free commuter newspaper, the fundamental cultural tension of our time: that between the highly individualized consumption of electronic media, on the one hand, and the collective claims on a physical, urban environment that grows ever denser in material and semiotic terms. The free daily newspaper is interesting because the political and cultural collisions that surround it have little to do with the civic role of journalism or with the traditional problems that are the focus of press studies. They are much more about the ownership and occupation of public space, about the degrees to which that space may be commercialized, and about the right of diverse voices to register that presence within public space.

Notes

1. This article represents an updating and substantial revision of an earlier article, "Global Metro: The Rise of the Free Commuter Newspaper" published in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Canadienses* 13 (Spring 2007): 45–53. I am grateful to Graciela Martinez-Zalce for the opportunity to engage with this topic and for advice and encouragement. "Newspaper Innovation," a blog maintained by Dr. Piet Bakker of the Netherlands, at www.newspaperinnovation.com, is an invaluable source of regularly updated information and commentary on the free commuter newspaper phenomena. A similarly titled site, "Innovations in Newspapers," at <http://www.innovationsinnewspapers.com>, offers daily snapshots of newspapers from the world, tracking changes in design and format during this turbulent period in the medium's history. Both these sites are necessary visits for anyone interested in the phenomena dealt with in this article.
2. Ken Alexander, "The Shrinking News," *Walrus*, June 2006, <http://www.walrus-magazine.com/articles/2006.06-sightings-ken-alexander-newspaper-editorials/> (accessed 15 June 2008).
3. Philip Meyer, *The Vanishing Newspaper: Saving Journalism in the Information Age* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2004).
4. For a more recent and pessimistic analysis, see Bernard Poulet, *La fin des journaux et l'avenir de l'information* (Paris: Gallimard, 2009).
5. That single mention comes when Meyer refers to "[d]irect mail, free distribution, and Web products" as new ways by which newspapers are reaching out to what he calls niche markets (Meyer 2004, 218). In his defence, we may note that free newspapers have been less of a force in United States (the focus of Meyer's book) than in the

- markets of Europe and Canada. As well, their impact throughout the world was just becoming visible in the early 2000s, when Meyer conducted much of his research.
6. Jason Deign, "Campaign," *Teddington*, 9 September 2005, 34.
 7. "Newspaper Design: Small is Beautiful." *Design Week*, London, 10 November 2005, 18.
 8. There are two "national" dailies in Canada, both based in Toronto, the *Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, which are available throughout the country. Montreal has long-standing dailies—*The Gazette*, *le Devoir*, *la Presse*, and *le Journal de Montréal*—plus *24 Heures* and *Métro*, free commuter newspapers; Toronto has the *Toronto Star*, *Toronto Sun*, *Metro*, and *24 Hours*; Edmonton had, as of 28 February 2009—in addition to the *Edmonton Journal* and *Edmonton Sun*—*24 Hours*, *Metro*, and *RushHour*.
 9. The 2008 Annual Report of Metro International S.A., which marshals a wide variety of statistics to demonstrate the ongoing spread of the Metro "phenomenon," is available online at <http://www.metro.lu/files/ANNUAL%20REPORT%202008.pdf> (accessed 14 June 2009). These statistics represent declines from 2007, though the extent to which such declines represent new trends or the effects of the global economic crisis is unclear.
 10. Dallas Smyth, *Dependency Road* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, 1981).
 11. Robert G. Picard, "Strategic Responses to Free Distribution Daily Newspapers," *International Journal on Media Management* 2:3 (2001): 167–172.
 12. Jo Bowman, "A Free Shot in the Arm," *Media*, 8 September 2006: A12.
 13. "Newspaper Design" 2005, 18.
 14. "Les tendances et les perspectives," in *Les Comptes du Groupe* (Paris: Le Monde, 2004): 2.
 15. Rosalia Winocur, *Ciudadanos Mediáticos: La construcción de lo público en la radio* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 2002).
 16. Torstar's *Star PM* pursued a similar strategy of joint hardcopy and PDF/email distribution in the Toronto market, before folding in 2007, after one year. *RushHour* Ottawa appears to have folded, with no announcement, in April 2008.
 17. Jon Bekken, "Crumbs from the Publishers' Golden Tables: The Plight of the Chicago Newsboy," *Media History* 6:1, 1 June 2000: 45–57. Todd Alexander Postol, "Creating the American Newspaper Boy: Middle-Class Route Service and Juvenile Salesmanship in the Great Depression," *Journal of Social History* 31:2 (Winter 1997): 327–345. Joe Sharkey, "Word for Word/Newsboy Nostalgia," *New York Times*, 17 September 2000: WK9.
 18. Kevin Howley, "A Poverty of Voices: Street Papers as Communicative Democracy," *Journalism* 4 (2003): 273–292.
 19. "Hawkers Handing Out Free Newspapers Annoy Pedestrians," *Vancouver Sun*, 25 August 2005: B3.
 20. See, for example, "Starts and Stops: Extra! Extra! Inconvenience on the T," *Boston Globe*, 13 May 2007, http://www.boston.com/news/local/articles/2007/05/13/extra_extra_inconvenience_on_the_t/ (accessed 1 June 2008).

21. "City AM Signs New Distribution Deals in Circulation Campaign," *Marketing Week*, 3 November 2005: 16.
22. Postol 1997.
23. Siegfried Kracauer, "Analysis of a City Map," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, translated, edited, and with an introduction by Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995): 43.
24. Adrian Rifkin, *Street Noises: Parisian Pleasure 1900–40* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995): 109.
25. Beth Seaton, "Paper Boxes another Step on Way to 'Torontoization,'" *Vancouver Courier*, 6 April 2005: 11.
26. Richard Blackwell, "Free Tabloid Hits Vancouver News Scene," *Globe and Mail*, 15 March 2005: B2; Bruce DeMara, "Papers may Pay for TTC Trash Woes: Free Dailies could Face Annual Fees," *Toronto Star*, 12 September 2002: B4.
27. "Project Freesheet—Our Mission Statement," <http://www.projectfreesheet.org/mission.php> (accessed 2 June 2008).
28. Mark Fitzgerald, "Chicago Papers in City News Rack Compromise," *Editor & Publisher* 131:23 (6 June 1993): 11.
29. See, for example, John Bermingham, "City Limits Newspapers to 700 Boxes." *The Province*, 30 June 2006: A20; "Boxes, Boxes Everywhere," *The Review* (Richmond, B.C.), 9 April 2005: 3; "Sliding Fees Mullied for SkyTrain Papers," *The Leader* (Surrey, B.C.), 27 May 2005: 13; "Hawkers Handing Out" 2005, B3; Naoibh O'Connor, "City Not Ready for Free Newspaper War," *Vancouver Courier*, 3 April 2005: 12.
30. Bermingham 2006, A20.
31. "Torstar, CanWest and Metro Form Joint Venture and Launch Metro Vancouver," Metro press release 2005, <http://www.metro.lu/node/76/story/92> (accessed 2 June 2008).
32. "TorStar/Metro Buys Out CanWest Share of Freebies," Canadian Journalism Project, j.source-ca, 31 May 2007, http://www.j-source.ca/english_new/blogs.php?id=1553 (accessed 3 June 2008).
33. "Quebecor to Ask for Metro Rights," *The Gazette*, 8 May 2001: A4.
34. See, among many accounts of these battles, François Shalom, "Transcontinental Wins Subway Battle," *The Gazette*, 18 February 2005: B3.
35. Michael McCullough, "Transit on Track for Free Newspapers: Swedish Company, CanWest have Shown Interest in Project Before Call for Proposals," *Vancouver Sun*, 10 February 2001: C1.
36. Lauren Gard, "Free Press Gets a Whole New Meaning," *Business Week*, 31 January 2005: 74.
37. See, for a range of such claims, Nicola Clark, "Free Papers Bruise Rival Media," *Marketing* (London), 18 October 2006: 19.

