THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY GRASSROOTS CAMPAIGNS ON PUBLIC LIBRARY CLOSURES

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Abstract

Community grassroots campaigns against proposed public library closures have been locked into conflicts with local authorities across the UK in recent years. No previous research has been specifically aimed at the plight of these local library activists, and so the researcher was keen to explore who they are, what they do, and the impact they have on the overall library closure process.

The aim of this study was to reach as many campaigners from across the country as possible, and having done so, to collate any relevant information that would aid in determining the make-up of local library campaigns, and how the individuals within them perceived their efforts to have been received. In addition to this, the research was also concerned with examining how the regional printed press reported the library closure processes, and the campaigns which surfaced to challenge them.

It was discovered that local library campaigns are made up of passionate, knowledgeable and determined activists, who undertake a broad base of activities and in doing so rouse the support of local communities. In addition to this, they are also widely received in the local printed press. However, it was also found that this support does not always translate to active involvement, and that campaigners are pitted against equally determined local authorities. They also face an overarching political philosophy which undermines the fundamental value of public libraries and other public services.

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1. Introduction

The Institute for Financial Studies has warned that by the end of 2014, only 40% of Conservative Chancellor George Osborne's public spending cuts will have been implemented as part of an on-going bid to revive the UK's economy in face of the current financial crisis (Marszal, 2014). Crucially for public libraries, this signals a continuation of the cull and dislocation of services that has been visited upon them since 2011, the manner and scale of which has been unprecedented. In 2012 alone, more than 200 public libraries were closed in Britain as part of the cost-saving measures (Flood (a), 2012), and in the year to 1st April 2014 a further 493 libraries (over 10% of the overall UK service) were reported as having been either:

- Closed down
- Removed from council control
- Earmarked for closure
- To be passed to volunteers

(Anstice (a), 2014).

The figures cited above are stark; not only do they highlight the critical nature of the situation faced by public libraries in the current economic climate, but they also relay a deeply concerning and indeterminate future. In response to this, the library fraternity has railed against the cuts via the "Speak up for the Libraries" campaign, which is a coalition of volunteer groups and organisations such as "Campaign for the Book", "Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals", "The Library Campaign", "UNISON" and "Voices for the Library", (CILIP (a), 2014). Much of the work of these groups is geared towards a collective goal, which is to support and harness the efforts of local grassroots community projects that have mobilized across the country to oppose cuts to service provision i.e. the front line campaigns that are attempting to keep public libraries in existence. The rhetoric used on the Voices for the Library homepage is unequivocal to this end, wherein their *raison d'etre* is stipulated as the 'defence of the public library service' across the UK by highlighting 'the battles that are being fought' (Voices for the Library (a), 2014).

The 'battles' noted here manifest themselves as struggles between grassroots library campaigns and their respective local authority decision makers, with the latter being in control of public library provision in council regions across the UK. Faced with what the Local Government Association refers to as 'a tipping point in their finances' due to budget pressures filtered down from Central Government (Mason, 2014), many local authorities have taken aim at their public library service in order to resolve economic issues. However, as the National Audit Report notes, various councils

'faced judicial reviews as a result of deciding to close libraries' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2013, p.24).

Enforcing the judicial reviews of local authority decisions to shut libraries has been achieved by hard-working community library campaigners; the most recent review at the time of writing involved Lincolnshire County Council, wherein their 'consultation' of the Lincolnshire public over proposed library closures was deemed 'fundamentally flawed' (Anstice (b), 2014) by the High Court judge. This was a huge result for the "Save Lincolnshire Libraries" campaign group, despite the fact the decision it is only likely to be a temporary reprieve in what is an ongoing conflict with an equally determined council administration.

1.2 Rationale for research

Grassroots community campaigns are diverse and fluid by their very nature. Whilst the Save Lincolnshire Libraries group is likely to share characteristics with many other local library campaigns, there is by no means a one-size-fits-all design; there are innumerable external factors which will influence their make-up, course of action, and the ultimate outcome of their efforts. Thus far there has been little academic research carried out into library campaigns in the UK, and nothing which concentrates solely on the efforts of grassroots campaigns at a regional level. As such, the focus of this study is to generate an insight into the make-up and actions of local library campaigns in the UK, and also the extent and type of coverage they have received in the regional media sphere.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

There are two distinct aims of this research, outlined below, and each has their own corresponding objectives. The purpose of the aims and objectives is to provide an insight into the overarching question of the project: What is the Impact of Community Grassroots Campaigns on Public Library Closures?

Exploration of the impact community grassroots activists believe their campaign has had on the overall process of library closures.

1. To identify who is participating in campaign work and why they got involved.
2. To identify which campaign tactics have been deployed.
3. To ascertain perceived levels of success for library campaigns.

Exploration of how the regional printed press has reported library closure proposals and the corresponding grassroots campaigns set up to preserve them.

1. To ascertain the scale and type of the press coverage at regional level following the announcement of proposed library closures.
2. To identify the key actors portrayed by the regional press as having been involved in the closure proposal process.
3. To gauge the extent to which local library campaigns feature in the regional press, and whether/how public libraries and library professionals are advocated therein.

2. Literature Review and Research Context

2.1 Library Closures: The Economic Landscape

The global recession of 2008 has triggered a spiralling debt in the UK which has doubled in size over the past five years to well over £1 trillion, or £18.5 thousand for every man woman and child in the country (Anderson, 2014). In an important report compiled by Dr Simon Duffy, Director of the Centre for Welfare Reform, the main contributory factors to the market crash were as follows:

- House price bubble

- High levels of personal debt and mortgages

- Excessive lending by banks

- Poor governance by the Bank of England

- Poor governance by the Westminster government

(Duffy, 2014, p.1).

Since coming to power in 2010, and despite stating that the budget would not be resolved 'on the backs of the poorest' (Kuenssberg, 2009, p.1), the Con/Dem Coalition government has set about curbing the deficit by increasing taxes, cutting welfare and making cuts to the provision of public services. According to Duffy (2014), such austerity measures have had the opposite effect of the Chancellor's assertion quoted above, with people living in poverty (20% of the population) bearing 36% of the cuts. Aside from pensions, foreign aid, central government and NHS spending (the latter of which has been ring-fenced), spending across every other area such as education, defence, benefits and local government has been cut. As a result of this policy, it has been predicted that by 2017 the UK will spend the lowest amount on public services of all the major capitalist economies (Taylor-Gooby, 2012). Local government has been particularly affected, having had budgets cut by up to 78.8% (£31 billion) when taking into consideration adjustments for growth and inflation (Duffy, 2014, p.5).

2.2 Library Closures: The Political Landscape

2.2.1 The Onset of Neoliberal Politics

It is important to place the current cuts on public services into the proper political context; similar swingeing cuts can be traced back as far as 1979, when the Conservative Party led by Margaret Thatcher regained power in the UK general election following five years of Labour rule at Westminster. Their subsequent pursuit of a neoliberal agenda was underpinned by the sale of publically owned assets and services; a transition period in UK social history Levitas (2012, p.322)

describes as a time of 'theft by the unjust of the just's umbrella' and the 'progressive destruction of our collective provision against risk'.

2.2.2 Neoliberalism in Action

The concept of neoliberalism is based upon the deregulation of the marketplace, free trade, individual liberty and private property rights, with those in power facilitating these principles by providing a suitable framework within which to practice them (Harvey, 2007). Levitas (2012, p.329-30) notes that this framework is the manifestation of more traditional conservatism – a strong state – which repeals disorder with heavy-handed policing and passes strict legislations such as those designed to mitigate the power of trade unions by halting the right to free assembly. In effect, it allows a small number of wealthy individuals to dictate social life in order to maximise their own profits, and in doing so must undermine the characteristics of an effective, participatory democracy. As described by McChesney (1998, p.11):

> *"A vibrant political culture needs community groups, libraries, public schools, neighbourhood organisations, co-operatives, public meeting spaces, voluntary associations and trade unions to provide ways for citizens to meet, communicate, and interact with their fellow citizens. Neoliberal democracy, with its notion of the market* uber alles, *takes dead aim at this sector. Instead of citizens, it produces consumers. The net result is an atomized society of disengaged individuals who feel demoralized and socially powerless."*

As the above asserts, disengagement of the electorate is key in driving through a liberal market agenda, and the drastic fall in general election turnout rates over the past two decades strongly indicates that this objective is being realised in the UK (UK Political Info, 2014). However, the suggestion that public discourse, community and interaction between citizens has to be stymied in order to support the free market, reinforces the importance of the current grassroots library campaigns as a participatory force resisting such measures, be it consciously or otherwise.

2.2.3 The Liberal Marketplace: A Cross-Party Consensus

Following Tony Blair's general election victory in 1997 and the subsequent inception of 'New Labour', a cross-party consensus regarding the liberation of the marketplace was solidified. It was their harnessing of, and continued obsession with neoliberalism, that paved the way for economic meltdown in the UK. As stated by Jordan (2010, p.1), the financial collapse in this country, along with the US and various small state economies in Europe, 'exposed as illusory the gains achieved' in the boom years between 2001-07 through the 'reliance on their financial sectors and cheap credit, and created mountains of public debt'. Despite pursuit of the "Third Way" political agenda, which is

ostensibly a common ground between traditional Labour and the New Right, and attempts to integrate values of social justice with the market economy, the disparity in wealth between the rich and poor continued to rise throughout Labour's thirteen years in Downing Street (Levitas, 2012). The ultimate failure of centre-left politics in this period has been catastrophic for public services, particularly public libraries, as it has granted the current Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government an excuse to enact a 'neo-liberal shock doctrine' and the 'further appropriation of social resources by the rich (Levitas, 2012, p.322)', under the guise of exercising essential fiscal prudence.

2.2.4 Big Society

The "Big Society" concept was a flagship policy of Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron's 2010 general election bid, and according to the political discourse that surrounded it, was a vehicle for 'empowering communities, redistributing power and promoting a culture of volunteering (Kisby, 2010, p.484)'. It was predicated on the failure of New Labour, and promoted as a remedy for social apathy and the economic mess that would be inherited by the acceding government. Fundamentally, as argued by Levitas (2012, p.322), the Big Society strips public services such as libraries and museums of their professionals, and "offers" them back to the community if they are willing to run them on a voluntary basis. Such community-led libraries are now widespread in England and Wales (Anstice (c), 2014).

2.3 Public Libraries vs. Local Authorities

2.3.1 Local Authority Funding Cuts

The Introduction Chapter (**Section 1.**) touched upon the fact that local authorities in the UK are in control of public library policy, which is a power devolved from Westminster. By way of expansion, the recent report into the financial sustainability of local authorities by the National Audit Office notes several key facts which are relevant to this study:

- Local councillors are elected by, and accountable to, people in their local authority
- Their funding system is fundamentally influenced by central government, who are responsible for the statutory framework within which councils must deliver their service
- Councils must meet the service obligations within their available funding, but are finding it increasingly difficult to absorb funding cuts
- The ring-fencing of council funds has been reduced, granting them more autonomy with regards to areas of spend.

(Department for Communities and Local Government, 2013).

As previously asserted (**Section 2.2.1**), fiscal tightening of local authority budgets is not a phenomenon of the current recession. A study by Proctor and Simmons (2000, p.26) found that as a result of steadily increasing budget cuts local authorities were forced to close 179 libraries in England and Wales between 1986 and 1997. The research revealed that in a large number of cases the decision to close service points was a reluctant one, and had only been taken as a last resort following years of trimming services down to the point where there were no other viable cuts to be made. Due to the unprecedented nature of the recent austerity measures, what is being witnessed now is effectively the same process on much larger scale, and within a shorter timeframe. This is supported by Hastings et al (2013, p.51), who argue that the 'sustainable efficiency programmes' that have been carried out by various local authorities in England and Wales are no longer sufficient to mitigate for the austere times being faced, and that local government is being 'forced to re-consider what services it can provide and for whom'. The difficulty for local authorities is that there are a number of vested interests and factors that must be taken into account in their decision making process, not least their local electorate.

2.3.2 The Legal Case for Public Libraries

Public libraries are, ostensibly, 'a statutory service and are subject to the law' (Anstice (d), 2014). One of the local authority service obligations as noted in **Section 2.3.1** is to provide a public library service which meets the requirements of The Public Libraries and Museums Act 1964; legislation covering both England and Wales. One of the features of the Act is that it 'imposes a duty on local authorities to provide a "comprehensive and efficient" library service for everyone who wants to use it' (Laing QC, 2012, p.1). However, proponents of public libraries have raised questions as to the suitability of the legislation to protect what is now a vastly different service in the 21st century, and have called for it to be reviewed to reflect the changes (McMenemy, 2009; Oppenheim, 2014). Indeed, CILIP has challenged the Secretary of State for Culture to clarify what constitutes a comprehensive and efficient library service in the 21st century given the recent cull in library services and the increased transference of their control to local volunteer groups (CILIP (b), 2012).

The perceived ineffectual nature of The Libraries Act in a contemporary context has been reinforced by the outcome of the Lincolnshire City Council judicial review in July 2014 (as referenced in the Introduction **Section 1.**). The review was predicated upon a number of allegations against the local authority, which were additional to an alleged contravention of The Libraries Act, including:

- An unlawful public consultation on the basis that the County Council had already predetermined their decisions before the consultation took place

- Failure to meet obligations under The Equality Act and The Localism Act
- Failure to give due consideration to the approach of a charitable body (Greenwich Leisure) which had outlined intentions to take over the Library Service and largely preserve the library network.

(Anstice (e), 2014)

Tellingly, the case was upheld due to the failure of the consultation and the failure of the County Council to properly consider the approach of Greenwich Leisure; *not* The Libraries Act. In addition to this, despite it being within the remit of the Culture Secretary to intervene on behalf of public libraries to uphold the legislation, it has only actually happened three times in the past 50 years, with the most recent occasion being in 2009 in the case of Wirral Libraries; indeed, in 2012 the then incumbent Ed Vaizey openly signalled his disinclination to get involved on the behalf of threatened libraries (Flood (b), 2012).

Legal challenges undoubtedly represent a valid course of action for local library campaigns to pursue, and there is a possibility that successful cases will influence the future conduct of local authorities in terms of their approach to proposals and public consultations. However, with limited or no access to legal aid (Anstice (f), 2014) they are a costly enterprise for any community group, and also demand a rich and varied skillset of human resources in order to be credible.

Whilst it could be construed as a positive, the increasing number of judicial reviews also indicates intransigence on behalf of councils across the country, and their apparent determination to drastically reduce their library service in order to meet budgetary demands, regardless of what that may entail. A penchant to shirk statutory responsibility in such a way is indicative of the force local library campaigns are attempting to resist; this is compounded by the reluctance of the Culture Secretary to intervene on behalf of campaigners, and is perhaps a reflection of the modern political landscape cited in **Section 2.2.** As McMenemy (2009, p.558) contends, any form of intervention from the Minister is likely to require 'a great deal of public and professional pressure'.

2.3.3 The Value of Public Libraries

Being at the forefront of the seemingly inexorable austerity measures that have been filtered down from central to local government, public libraries are facing an existential crisis wherein their inherent worth to society has to be justified. However, doing so is a complex undertaking, particularly in light of figures showing falling visitor numbers and stock issues year-on-year in a significant downward trajectory (Burn-Murdoch, 2012), which is intrinsically linked to the increased digitization of resources and the immediacy of the internet contributing to 'lack of appreciation of

(…) lengthy texts' (Steele, 2010, p.90) among younger generations. The rapid changes to the library profession due to the onset of the '"digital age" have also been an issue in this regard. Librarians are no longer considered the keepers of knowledge, as their job increasingly revolves around the guidance of a computer literate generation in the efficient process of search and retrieval (Feather, 2004, p.192). So how are public library services justifiable in such lean financial times?

A very insightful study by Linley & Usherwood (1998, p.84) into the social impact of libraries in Newcastle and Somerset found, among others, the following benefits:

- Improving the life chances/education/job opportunities of individuals
- Sources of information, culture and leisure
- Promotion of social cohesion and community confidence

Generally, they found that libraries are considered to be part of the social makeup of communities, and represent a final bastion of council-funded facilities which are otherwise lacking or have been taken away. Interestingly, this viewpoint was shared even by non-users.

In other research carried out by Proctor et al (1996), the effect of temporary library closures on users was investigated. It was found that no potential alternative to a public library service would be of lasting value to users in the event of closure, and also emphasised the educational and social values they have, particularly to communities which are faced with issues of deprivation. Effectively, the research provided evidence that public libraries were 'too important in people's lives for them, willingly, to transfer to another activity' (Proctor et al, 1996, p.38).

In a more recent article by Silka and Rumery (2013) it is argued that libraries in the digital age are more important than ever, albeit the services and the way they are delivered are changing to a hybrid format, which combines technology with traditional resources. By continually transforming to meet these new demands libraries can offer a lifeline to people, by providing free internet access, training to get back into work and an opportunity for lifelong learning. This is valuable social capital, whilst retaining the benefit of being a public gathering space in a time when they are in short supply. Also, by empowering people through the provision of these services, there is an increased likelihood that they will go on to contribute positively to the ailing economy.

The main problem with conveying the value of public libraries, as demonstrable from the examples presented above, lies in the fact that their worth is often intangible, difficult to quantify, and/or largely realized in the longer term. This issue was addressed directly in a summary report by Walker et al (2011), wherein a workshop of experts and stakeholders in libraries was used to generate

information via discussions which could be used to guide a more effective communication of the inherent value of the public service. Two key areas were identified as problematic; relaying the social worth of libraries to non-users, and the need for library professionals to be advocated by external bodies such as Voices for the Library. The former was deemed important as there was unanimous agreement among the sample that public libraries reach certain social groups who would suffer without access to them, and yet those who spoke for libraries were often people who may never have needed the service in the first place (e.g. councillors justifying closures). As such, a damaging message would be transmitted about the service. The latter was recognised because professionals would potentially have difficulty speaking out against their employers (i.e. the council), and with the threat of The Big Society looming, the need to convey the importance of a professionally run service was greater than ever.

2.4 Library Grassroots Activity in the UK

Addressing the local Labour administration in Newcastle upon Tyne, award winning children's writer Alan Gibbons exemplified the community activists' cause at a meeting of local campaigners protesting proposed library closures in the area:

> *"Working men and women in the North East have fought, generation after generation, for the right to read and grow intellectually, culturally and socially. You are not only about to make philistines of yourselves, but philistines of us all".*

(Flood (c), 2012)

As discussed in the Introduction Chapter (**Section 1.**), campaigns such as that in Newcastle have been replicated throughout the UK in recent years. Also established previously (**Section 2.2.2**), such participatory citizen groups are the natural barrier to rampant neoliberalism, which relies on a largely disengaged electorate. As their bid to garner local support for public libraries and raise awareness of the value of the public service could be critical, it is important to consider what they actually engage in, and as such, potentially key areas will be discussed here.

2.4.1 Non-Violent Protests

As cited by Zunes (1999, p.138), non-violent protest manifests itself in 'strikes, boycotts, sit-ins, occupations, demonstrations, refusal to pay taxes, creation of alternative and parallel institutions, and other forms of civil disobedience'. Their use in library activism in the UK has been demonstrable in a number of forms which draw parallels to some of these quoted above, most prominently at the yearly "National Libraries Day", wherein library campaigners organise read-ins, protests and author

events at locations scattered throughout the country. The events are always peaceful and often creative in their methods for raising awareness: during the 2011 event at a library in Somerset a "book snatcher" descended upon proceedings, stealing books from the hands of children and elderly users, and leaving them instead with placards proclaiming slogans such as "social isolation" and "illiteracy"; in Edinburgh, authors and library users/local residents gathered outside Holyrood parliament to read passages from books and relate personal library stories which emphasised their social worth to the community (Brown, 2011).

Research by Thomas & Louis (2013) into the effect of normative, or non-violent protests within the parameters of a non-corrupt political system, found that those engaging in such methods of activism were more likely to be endorsed and welcomed in public perception, as opposed to those engaging in violent measures. Indeed, results of the experiment conveyed that normative collective action such as peaceful protests or petitions tended to bolster public support for various kinds of future action, including more extreme measures, and were effective in highlighting the perceived illegitimacy of the issue they were railing against. Whilst there is limited further research into the exact impact of strategic non-violence as protest, this evidence indicates that the current library campaigns in the UK have the potential to rally public support in their favour by effectively pursuing this route.

2.4.2 Lobbying Campaigns

The Library Campaign handbook for user groups promotes the use of lobbying council officials as a campaign tactic, stating the need for activists 'to work the system' (The Library Campaign, 2006, p4.i). There are several ways to engage in this, such as phone calls, emails and visits to the relevant persons/public forums. Petitioning is also commonplace; Public Libraries News has recorded petitions from across 17 council areas with a combined total of 270,000 signatories in support of local libraries (Anstice (g), 2014). Research conducted by Bergan (2009) sought to determine the impact of grassroots lobbying on legislative behaviour via means of an experimental email lobbying campaign. The study assessed the credibility of previous research which was cited as being predominantly anecdotal and possibly skewed by inconsistent methodologies wherein certain legislators may have been targeted due to their various predispositions. The existing theory claimed that lobbying could be successful as it alerted government officials to the:

- Salience of an issue
- Cost of action constituents were willing to undergo for the cause
- Ability of the cause to motivate citizens

- Level of information being shared among activists
- Level of focus on their own actions in office

The results of the experiment showed that the lobbying of legislators in a treatment group had a substantial effect, and that 'grassroots lobbying works and can have a large effect on legislative behaviour' (Bergan, 2009, p.343). However, it is noted that without further experimentation, it is difficult to validate the above assertions in previous theory as to why the lobbying worked; despite the fact they are intuitively plausible.

2.4.3 Social Media

Bergan's (2009) study also draws attention to the role of the internet in boosting citizen groups by providing a cheap and effective means of recruiting activists, marketing and co-ordinating their campaign. In this respect, social media can be an invaluable outlet for community campaigners. This is supported by Neumayer & Raffl (2008, p.11) who cite its potential to 'create space for political participation', not only for those of parliamentary and governmental standing, but also for individuals. The article addresses the various contributory factors of social networks to the global success of the anti-FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) protests that took place in 165 cities across the world in 2008, as a show of support for the Colombian people against the alleged terrorist activities of the militant group. The rallies were organised by six ordinary Colombian citizens, and according to media outlets attracted upwards towards 2 million participants worldwide. The Facebook page used to garner attention for the cause was an explosive success with thousands joining the page within 24 hours of its inception, and it is argued that such a feat is made possible by the fluid nature of the online environment and its ability to facilitate the engagement and participation of people from a diverse range of cultures, united by a shared political ideology. Moreover, with the proliferation of email, blogs, wikis, instant messaging, mobile phone apps and a variety of other web-based technologies, the internet can prove an effective central resource outwith the mainstream media for grassroots political activists.

In their article, Neumayer & Raffl (2008) also draw attention to the negative aspects of social networking as a tool for activists, with a general focus on the continued lack of access to technology and lower levels of computer literacy in poorer communities throughout the globe. This is a potential barrier in a country like Colombia, where there is a vast wealth gap between the rich and poor in society. However, it is a reasonable supposition that the negative impact of the digital divide will be alleviated to some extent in more developed countries. It is fair to assume that they could play a pivotal role in UK library campaigning; recent figures from the Office of National Statistics

show that 83% of households in the country have access to the internet, and 53% of adults are connected via their mobile device (Office for National Statistics (a), 2013). Whilst almost 1 in 5 not having access to the internet at home still represents a substantial technological divide, there remains a broad scope for the online community to support more traditional forms of activism, if applied effectively.

2.5 Publicity and the Media

2.5.1 Regional Printed Press

Figures from regional printed press publications show a slow and steady decline in circulation across the UK, as they struggle to compete with online media sources (Jackson, 2013). Despite this, local newspapers are still play a crucial role in communities; research by Rosenstiel et al (2011) relating to American local press found that they were one of the most relied upon resources for information on a variety of subjects, particularly local government activities. Whilst acknowledging their need to evolve to remain competitive, the Department for Culture Media and Sport Committee in the UK also stressed their continued importance to communities, and that their political independence facilitated an objective critique of local authorities (The Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010).

2.5.2 Media Influence

There is much discussion and research into the effects of the media on the reading/viewing public and their attitudes. The three most prominent theories are thus:

> *Reinforcement Theory:* This asserts that the media does not change attitudes, only reinforces existing attitudes in people. The effect is limited on the few who do change their minds.

> *Agenda-setting:* Predominantly concerned with the salience of an issue, or when the media shapes what is perceived as the most important news topics whilst ignoring others.

> *Framing:* A step beyond agenda-setting, this is concerned with the salience of the attributes of the chosen news topic. The story can be shaped by a particular spin, the use of emotive language or quotes taken out of context.

> (McCombs, 2004; Scheufele, 2006)

2.5.3 Media Exposure

Exploratory research into the portrayal of the current library campaigns by the UK media has been undertaken by Fletcher (2011), in a study which represents the only direct literature relating to the current crisis faced by public libraries in the UK. The research focused on two primary areas – the extent of the media coverage at national newspaper level, and the key areas of discourse found within the content of the articles. In terms of coverage, it was found that despite there being a notable disparity between the existence and level of reports between different news outlets the library campaigns were generally well documented. However, the discourse analysis found that the content of the articles is heavily weighted in nostalgia and symbolism, largely due to the focus on celebrity campaigners who are involved, which can have both positive and negative effects on how libraries are being represented. For example, reinforcing the public library as a symbol of proud cultural heritage and a national treasure could be construed as positive in its effect on public perception, and encourage its protection. But equally, by asserting that the library as a concept is a historical British institution, 'it may be regarded as old-fashioned and, as with the nostalgia discourse, stuck in the past' (Fletcher, 2011).

2.5.4 Media Advocacy

The findings noted by Fletcher (2011) are significant. As suggested previously, libraries today have a prominent role in society, and have been engaged in a continual transformation process wherein technology has been adopted to provide important digital resources alongside traditional ones. As a consequence, the library profession has also changed quite dramatically to facilitate a new generation of users. Research by Shaw (2010) highlighted the fact that although the positive value of libraries was being reported in the media at large, this generally took precedent over the expert knowledge and technological nous of the librarians themselves. This apparent lack of professional advocacy reinforces the findings of the Walker et al (2011) study which was discussed in **Section 2.3.3,** and suggests that the strategic use of media advocacy is required to level the playing field.

Jernigan & Wright (1996, p.307) assert that 'media advocacy is principally a tool for policy change', and can 'assist communities to take advantage of the role the media play in influencing public policy'. This is achieved by putting the proper tools in the hands of the community which will then allow them to relay their message via the press to the nation at large. The Library Campaign Handbook actively encourages dialogue between campaigners and local newspapers (The Library Campaign, 2006), whilst a host of resources has been made available which seeks to educate

activists with a vast range of online resources relating to public libraries (Speak up for the Libraries, 2013).

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction to Methodology

The initial research title considered for this study, and the one that was used in the research proposal was: "The Impact of Grassroots Campaigning on Public Library Closures". Having submitted the proposal and conducted the further secondary research required for the final literature review, as presented in the previous chapter, the decision was taken to partially alter the title to: "The Impact of Community Grassroots Campaigns on Public Library Closures". It is a minor alteration, but one which reflected the decision to investigate library campaigns purely at a local level; such campaigns manifest themselves as a struggle between community activists and the proposals of their local authorities, as opposed to the national level grassroots campaign, which largely involves the voluntary work of a network information professionals (i.e. the "Speak up for the Libraries" coalition). The reasoning behind this distinction was simple; public libraries across the country are under extreme duress from the closure proposals, and whilst the national groups provide a strong support network and share useful information, the front-line battle to save libraries comes down to the actions ordinary citizens on the ground challenging the decisions local government officials.

The decision to focus on the local library campaigns was also driven by a distinct lack of knowledge or information about them as groups, or as individuals within the groups. Whilst as a collective the community campaigns have a substantial online presence, a close inspection of its parts reveals a varied and disparate effort, which is understandable given their grassroots nature. For example, the "Save Friern Barnet Library Group" (Save Friern Barnet Library Group, 2013) has a campaign website, Facebook, Flickr, Twitter and YouTube accounts. It is obvious from a cursory glance at each of these that the applications were well maintained and updated regularly during the campaign process, in addition to being stocked with a plethora of useful information. In contrast, the "Friends of Churchtown Library" has a solitary Twitter account (Churchtown Library, 2013), which is visibly very limited in terms of its output. However, a large online presence in itself is not necessarily indicative of performance, and as such it was felt that one of the most effective ways to garner information about the impact of grassroots campaigns was to target the research at the individual activists themselves.

As discussed previously in the Literature Review chapter (**Section 2.5.3**), Fletcher's (2011) study concentrated on how national newspapers reported the process of library closures in the UK. A similar approach has been adopted here with regards regional newspapers, albeit tailored to suit the listed objectives. It was reasoned that by concentrating on news coverage at local level, it would be possible to gauge an accurate reflection of how library closure proposals are received by the

communities at large, or how the local newspapers attempt to portray their effects and the sequence of events associated with them. Also, it would be possible to distinguish the various dynamics that exist between the parties involved in such a process at ground level, and where/how library campaigners and public library advocacy fit into that sequence.

3.2 Secondary Research

3.2.1 Research Context & Literature Review

Given the lack of academic research relevant to the topic area having been carried out, the review of literature was essentially pre-emptive based on factors which are closely linked to the topic, and designed to provide a context to the subject of library closures in the UK. Due to the current affairs nature of the subject, a variety of media resources were consulted from various online news websites, including those directly related to libraries such as Public Libraries News. A variety of online databases were accessed to review relevant literature in the information and library sphere, such as EBSCO and LISA. Online journals relating to economics, journalism and politics were also consulted.

3.3 Primary Research

3.3.1 Research Strategy

3.3.2 Mixed Methods Research

Whilst it must be accepted that there is no consensus among commentators of an existing dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative research strategies (Bryman, 2012, p.35), for the purposes of this research it is helpful to draw a broad distinction between the two. To this end, Berg (2004, p.2-3) outlines a useful narrative, describing quantitative research as being primarily associated with the 'amount', or the 'counts and measures of things', whereas qualitative research 'refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things'.

With the above in mind, the research strategy that has been adopted in this study is one of mixed methods, wherein 'methods associated with both quantitative and qualitative research' (Bryman, 2012, p.37) will be employed. Insofar as the objectives relating to library campaigns was concerned, the reason for such an approach is best conveyed by reinforcing their nature, with particular regard to how they are worded. For example, the first research objective, as stated in the introduction chapter, is concerned with "who" is taking part in library campaigning and "why" they got involved in it. Logic dictates that the former of these queries can be answered in a quantifiable manner i.e.

"who" could be in relation to specific demographics such as the age of the activists, and by a simple count of those involved it could be determined whether the participants were predominantly older, younger, or somewhere in-between. However, the latter query demands a less scientific approach if the answer is to be meaningful; answering "why" you are involved in what is essentially a political campaign against a perceived injustice (if indeed, the participant even views the broader issue in these terms), could involve the articulation of a deep-seated moral philosophy, or it could be as simple as explaining how one of your acquaintances was taking part in a local library group and had asked for your support. Either way, using a predetermined set of quantifiable answers was judged to have been a restrictive strategy approach that would fail to adequately address the research objectives.

Whilst addressing objectives relating to regional press entailed a significant amount of quantitative analysis, qualitative techniques were also incorporated on occasions where clear trends had emerged from the data, but couldn't be explained without further interpretation. As noted by Bryman (2012, p.36) qualitative analysis is often necessary to emphasise 'the ways in which individuals interpret their social world (Bryman, 2012, p.36)'.

Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.17), succinctly underline the 'logic of inquiry' used in mixed methods research that is reflected in this study. It includes:

Induction: The discovery of patterns.

Deduction: The testing of theories and hypotheses.

Abduction: Uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one's results.

This infers an eclectic approach, and was deigned to be particularly relevant to this study given the current lack of research on grassroots library campaigning. Effectively, to answer the overarching research question, it was necessary to address it directly (by using quantitative methods closely linked to deduction), whilst at the same time being open to the possibility of unanticipated findings (via qualitative methods closely linked to induction) (Bryman, 2012, p.642).

3.4 Research Design: Cross Sectional

In order to address the aims that are central to the study, and to facilitate the mixed methods approach as outlined above, two research designs have been utilised – cross sectional design and a comparative case study design. As outlined by Bryman (2012, p.58-59), cross-sectional design is defined as:

More than one case: Essentially, the point of using this design is to have variation. In this study, the variation comes from the people whom are involved i.e. the local library campaigners.

Being at a single point in time: Data on the variables contained within the design are collected simultaneously. In this research, the data collection period happened within the space of 14 days, and the individuals involved often completed their answers in one sitting.

Quantifiable data: Having a systematic method for gauging potential variations, and which serves as a benchmark throughout. Several were used in this study: Age, Gender etc. However, the local authority area of the participants was the most heavily used quantification for detecting variations.

3.4.1 Research Method: Questionnaire

The cross-sectional design took the form of a self-completion questionnaire, comprising a total of 24 questions; 16 of these questions were in a quantitative, multiple choice box-ticking format (Q1-1a, Q2, Q3-Q3b, Q4-Q5, Q6-Q7, Q9a and Q10-Q14) whilst the remaining 8 questions were in a qualitative, free text format (Q1b, Q2a, Q3c, Q5a, Q8-8a, Q9 and Q15). The questionnaire was created via "Qualtrics", which is an industry-leading provider of online survey software; Strathclyde students have access to this via the university's subscription, which was the main driver behind its application in this research. Bryman (2012, p. 671) discusses various advantages of such web based surveys, and notes their professional appearance, the ability to apply filters to guide respondents to relevant questions based on their previous responses, and entire datasets being stored/analysed by the program on the researcher's behalf. For the purposes of this project, the use of a web-based survey created on Qualtrics proffered a cost effective, well-presented and fluid questionnaire that proved to be invaluable as a time-saving tool in the data collection and analysis phase. Please see Appendix A for a Word copy of the self-completion questionnaire used in this research.

3.4.2 Questionnaire Analysis

The analysis of the quantitative data provided by Qualtrics was closely monitored throughout the data collection period, and frequent notes were taken of early trends and general observations that emerged therein. Once all the responses had been received, graphs and tables relaying the results were recreated on Word and Excel, and the cross-tabulation feature was applied to every question in order to determine any possible trends that emerged between the variables. The figures contained on the graphs and tables were then used to facilitate an in-depth discussion of the results.

For the qualitative data generated from open-ended questions, a very manual approach was used for analysis, and was supplemented by the use of an online textual analysis tool (UsingEnglish.com,

2014). The answers provided by participants were fed through the software tool to ascertain word-counts of the most used terms and phrases. Whilst this was useful as a starting point to engage with the data, the decision was taken to work through each answer provided by the participants on an individual and manual basis in order to fully interpret the subtle nature of the responses. The answers were grouped by various themes and trends which had emerged from the data, and then the potential significance of these themes was discussed in relation to the overall dynamics of local library campaign groups.

3.4.3 Questionnaire Sample

The population from which the sample was drawn for this part of the research was made up entirely of library campaigners/activists from across the UK, and in doing so it was necessary to employ a mixture of sampling techniques. The first approach was akin to "stratified random sampling", which Berg (2004, p. 35) notes is employed by the researcher when it is necessary to 'ensure that a certain sample of the population (…) is represented', and is achieved by dividing the population into sub-groups, with independent samples from each being selected. The sub-groups in this research were identified as the various community library campaigns throughout the country which have been battling against closure proposals in their respective areas. These were located via The Library Campaign website which contains a directory of all known campaign groups in the UK broken down by region, and provides links to their individual websites and social media accounts (The Library Campaign, 2014).

Whilst the above approach to creating sub-groups within the population is reasonably structured, providing an independent sample from each sub-group required a more organic process, namely "snowball sampling". Bryman (2012, p.202) describes snowball sampling as a process wherein 'the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others'. This was achieved here by contacting activists from the various campaigns via the email addresses provided on their campaign websites/social media pages, asking them to complete the web-based questionnaire, and then to forward the questionnaire link onto other potential participants whom they felt would be eligible to take part (i.e. other library activists). In addition to this the link was embedded onto the Twitter and Facebook feeds of the various campaigns, as it was anticipated that such increased visibility would potentially engage other eligible participants who may be active on social networks, but had not otherwise been alerted to the existence of the survey.

In all, the online questionnaire link was copied into messages sent to 7 different website contacts (online contact forms), embedded in 11 different Tweets, 26 Facebook messages and 13 different emails to campaign groups/group co-ordinators. Several responses were received from recipients agreeing to share the survey with other campaigners, and the questionnaire was also included in The Library Campaign daily digest on 22nd July (Ash, 2014). In addition to this, it was "retweeted" several times on Twitter. A full list of contacted campaign groups can be found at Appendix B, whilst a copy of the questionnaire covering letter can be found at Appendix C.

3.5 Research Design: Comparative Case Studies

Berg (2004, p.258) defines comparative case studies as 'a set of multiple case studies of multiple research entities for the purposes of cross-unit examination'. The research entities in this study were regional newspaper articles from two local authority regions of the UK.

3.5.1 Case Studies Sample

As contended by Ritchie & Lewis (2005, p.55), two of the main characteristics of qualitative data that must be considered when undertaking case study research is sample selection and episode timing. In terms of sample selection, the decision was taken to review cases in two separate local authority areas in England; this was done to ensure a fair comparison between regions subject to the same laws, particularly the Libraries and Museums Act 1964. Newcastle upon Tyne and Lincolnshire were selected, and there was a variety of factors which contributed to this decision:

Geography: Newcastle (North East) and Lincolnshire (East Midlands) are over 150 miles apart; Newcastle has a population of 286,800 contained within an area of 44 square miles (Nomis (a), 2014), whilst Lincolnshire has a population of 724,500 contained within 2,286 square miles (Nomis (b), 2014). The former is a metropolitan borough, with fewer people but with a much higher concentration of population; Lincolnshire is a non-metropolitan county with a larger and much more dispersed population, in what is essentially a rural and comparatively large district.

Deprivation/Unemployment Levels: Neither region features at the extremities of the social deprivation index; however, whilst the North East contains 10% of the top 5% most deprived areas in England, the East Midlands contains significantly less at 5% of the 10% most deprived areas (Communities and Local Government, 2011, p.7). This is reflected in unemployment statistics; Newcastle has a rate of 10.8% (ONS (a), 2014) unemployment whilst Lincolnshire has 5.8% (Nomis (b), 2014).

Council Make-Up: Newcastle City Council (metropolitan district council) ,which controls library policy in the area, is a Labour controlled local authority, with mainly Liberal Democrats in opposition, and no Conservative councillors (Newcastle City Council, 2014). As such it must be deemed centre-left in political terms. Lincolnshire County Council (non-metropolitan council) has no overall majority, but has a large contingency of Conservative Councillors, followed by Labour, UKIP, Liberal Democrats, Independence from Europe and a variety of other Independent Councillors. As a whole, the council leans further to the right politically (Lincolnshire County Council, 2014). Lincolnshire County also contains seven District Councils (and Parish Councils within these districts), but library policy is reserved to the County Council.

Library Closure Proposals: In November 2012 Newcastle City Council proposed the closure of 10 of the city's 18 libraries or to pass them to volunteer groups/business partnerships, in a bid to cut the library budget by £7m over 3 years; in June 2013 Lincolnshire County Council proposed closing or passing to volunteers 32 of the 45 libraries in the County, in order to cut £2m of the £6m library budget (Anstice (h), 2014).

What can be noted from the above is that the two local authority areas proposed very similar drastic cuts to their library budgets which would have a significant impact on their respective communities. Otherwise, they have distinct differences in terms of geography, social deprivation/unemployment and political/bureaucratic make-up. These factors have not been outlined in an attempt to produce a binary contrast, but instead to provide, as noted by Gee (2007, p.138), 'ideas about what poles of a continuum may look like'. It was reasoned that in doing so, the chances of having a truly representative sample of regional newspaper reports would be increased, and as a result any generalisations made from the analysis would hold more weight.

Insofar as episode timing was concerned, the parameters of each case study were largely dictated by circumstance. The start of the episodes depended upon when the respective authorities announced their library closure proposals, or specifically when the first local newspaper article pertaining to the closures appeared in each region. Initially the intention was to analyse a year of each case from the respective start dates, but due to time demands and the sheer volume of newspaper articles this would have involved, it was considered to be outwith the scope of the project; instead, 6 months was decided upon as a more realistic target.

3.6 Case Studies Methods

3.6.1 Data Collection

The "Lexis Library News" database was used to generate all of the data that was analysed for the case studies. However, to guide the initial searches of the Lexis database, the "Newspapers in the UK" (Newspapers in the UK (a) (b), 2014) website was searched for both Newcastle and Lincolnshire in order to determine which regional newspapers were actually being distributed in the area. Duplicate editions were discounted from the search e.g. "Bourne Local" and the "Stamford Mercury" in Lincolnshire are different editions of the same newspaper and so had identical articles. As such, only the Bourne Local articles were considered. In total there were 3 newspapers regional to Newcastle and 11 to Lincolnshire that were included in the sample. Further details of the newspaper titles etc. will be provided in **Chapter 5.**

Google was used to search for "library closures Newcastle" and "library closures Lincolnshire" to determine via online mainstream media sources when the closure proposals in the respective regions were announced. The information was checked against various sources (BBC News, Guardian Online etc.) to ensure its validity. With dates in mind, a variety of searches were carried out on *Lexis News*. For Newcastle, wherein the library closure proposals were announced in November 2012, a search was carried out "between dates" November 2012 and April 2013, to collect all of the results within the first 6 calendar months of the announcement. For Lincolnshire, the dates searched between were June 2013 and November 2013. "Regional News" was selected to avoid national publications in the results. This search terms used were (* = truncation):

"Librar*" (anywhere) AND "Newcastle" (anywhere)

"Librar*" (anywhere) AND Lincoln* (anywhere)

Both of these searches are very generic, and were designed as such in order to return a high volume of results. This also minimised the risk of articles being missed, as it was reasoned every article about library closures in the respective regions was almost certain to contain these terms. The searches yielded results for all of the 14 newspapers listed on Newspapers in the UK, and the articles contained within each were scoured thoroughly to denote their relevance to the study. Several counter-searches were also carried out within the individual newspaper titles using variations of the search terms, in order to ensure that all of the relevant material had been gathered for the sample.

3.6.2 Article Relevance

Perhaps the most difficult operation at this stage was determining which articles should be used for the research. To do this, each article which referenced library closures in the respective regions was read through to gauge its salience, and those which only alluded to the topic briefly and offered little or no contribution to the overall process were discarded. This was a very time-consuming project, and demanded a high degree of subjectivity. However, it was also deemed the only practicable way to ascertain whether an article should be used, as it was felt that including non-relevant material would skew the validity of the results. In the end, only a very small number of articles were removed from consideration.

In addition to the above, there was also a significant amount of duplicate articles contained within the results, which was invariably due to the National (London) Edition of certain publications being displayed alongside the local edition. If the articles were identical, the National Editions were selected and downloaded for use. In all, 93 articles relevant to the library closure process in Newcastle were selected and downloaded, in addition to 151 articles relevant to the process in Lincolnshire. The articles taken were transferred to Word, organised into the separate regions (Newcastle and Lincolnshire), divided between the newspapers in which they appeared, and also listed in chronological order.

3.6.3 Quantitative Content Analysis (QCA)

Bryman (2012, p.289) notes that QCA of documents and texts is the process of quantifying content in into predetermined categories. Expanding on this, Rourke and Anderson (2004, p.5), alluding to the process as 'quantitative description', outline it as being 'a process that includes segmenting communication content into units, assigning each unit to a category, and providing tallies for each category'.

In order to satisfy the aim of this research relating to regional newspaper reports, it was decided to apply a variation of QCA to each of the three objectives. As the first objective, "To ascertain the scale and type of the press coverage at regional level following the announcement of proposed library closures", was guided largely by Fletcher's (2011) study into national newspaper reports of library closures, similar measures were adopted here. The units used were the number of articles, words per article, prominence of articles (page number it was presented on), and the format of the articles. In the case of the latter, a deal of objectivity was necessary to determine the format (news report, letter etc.).

It was reasoned that by compiling simple counts of the units outlined above, it would be possible to document any potential agenda-setting (See **Section 2.5.2**) that existed in the regional press, be it positive for library campaigns or otherwise; effectively, the process constituted an exercise in deduction (See **Section 3.3.2**). The units and categories used to meet this objective are discussed at length in **Chapter 5.**

Addressing the second objective, "To identify the key actors portrayed by the regional press as having been involved in the closure proposal process," involved a comprehensive QCA of the text contained within the newspaper articles. However, it soon became apparent that to apply this process to all 244 articles would be too time-consuming an exercise given the scope of the project. To circumvent this issue, the decision was taken to stratify the larger sample into a smaller, more manageable one. This was achieved by applying what is known as "purposive sampling", a non-probability method of sampling wherein 'the researcher will want to sample in order to ensure (…) a good deal of variety' (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). In doing so, those articles in "news report" format (See **Section 5.3.1**) and contained within the most prolific newspapers (See **Section 5.1.1 & 5.1.2**) in each region were selected. The resulting sample consisted of 30 articles from the Newcastle-based *Evening Chronicle*, and 26 from the Lincolnshire-based *Lincolnshire Echo.*

Bryman (2012, p.295) asserts that the purpose of recording the significant actors in news reporting is 'to reveal some of the mechanics involved in the production of information for public consumption'. It was felt that by applying this method to the stratified sample, wherein the articles came from a consistent source (two selected newspapers) and had consistent formats (news reports) it would be possible to note any trends or themes emerging from the data, such as evidence of possible framing (See **Section 2.5.2**). Pre-determined categories were used to address the second objective; they were added to two separate Excel tables entitled "Groups of Actors" and "Individual Actors", and categories such as "Group Name" and "Individual Name" (respectively) were set up, alongside a column for "Article Appearances". The 56 stratified documents were then thoroughly and manually analysed on a line-by-line basis, in what transpired to be a very intensive process (for an example of this line-by-line coding see Appendix D). However, instead of using purely pre-determined categories to count units, grounded theory techniques were also adopted to generate 'inductive categories' (Berg, 2004, p.275).

3.6.4 Incorporation of Grounded Theory Techniques

"Grounded theory" techniques were also applied at the analysis stage, to expand on the categories and to highlight developing themes and trends in the text. Bryman (2012, p.568) notes that

grounded theory is largely based around a 'coding' and 'constant comparison' process, wherein 'the researcher's interpretations of data shape his or her emergent codes in grounded theory' and there is a need 'constantly to compare phenomena being coded (…) so that a theoretical elaboration' can emerge. Berg (2004, p.272) echoes this, and cites the need for the researcher to become immersed in the texts during the coding process in order to identify themes. To keep track of the emerging themes, memos were constantly taken during the analysis process, an example of which can be seen from the transcript provided below.

04/08/2014 – Blame Shifting & Political Discourse (Memo Transcript)

Notable lack of "Central Govt" actor in Lincolnshire Echo sample thus far. Discourse of councillors in both regions is in stark contrast in terms of justification of actions. NCC blame current govt 'unfair' cuts, LCC blames previous govt, yet latter only once in passing (keen to keep focus on perceived library failings by citing borrowing stats). NCC seemingly empathetic to public & library plight, but cites hands being tied. LCC keen to point out falling library figures, and displaying quite astounding lack of empathy to public & library plight. Newcastle articles often mention "cuts from above" on budget (presumably a reflection of council justification discourse). Lincolnshire articles mention "making savings" on budget, presumably for same reason.

What can be seen here is the comparison between the data in both newspapers. In this particular instance, the absence of mentions to (the current) "Central Government" in the *Lincolnshire Echo* had been a noted trend whilst tallying the units in the group actor category. As a result, previously analysed articles which mentioned Central Government in the *Evening Chronicle* were then revisited, and a series of notes taken which reflected on the context of its appearance. From this process, the themes noted in the above memo were established and incorporated into the discussion of results. It is also important to highlight that grounded theory techniques guided categories such as the "Stance on Proposals" being utilised. It became clear in the analysis stage that the various actors often had polarised views, and that it was pertinent to record them, and then incorporate them in the results and discussion.

This exercise proffered an intimate knowledge of the data sample. It was also necessary in order to effectively categorise the mass of actors involved, and condense them into umbrella groups for the results. This involved a great deal of subjectivity e.g. some actors who were categorised as members

of the public could have easily been interpreted as campaigners. Ultimately though, it aided the abduction (see **Section 3.3.2**) process; explaining results was not always possible through simple unit counts, and as such they often had to be expanded by highlighting subtle themes which emerged from the text.

3.6.5 Incorporation of Coding Schedule and Manual

The final objective relating to regional newspapers was, "To gauge the extent to which local library campaigns feature in the regional press, and whether/how public libraries and library professionals are advocated therein". Whilst the previous objectives related to the overarching process of library closures being reported in regional news, this was concerned directly with finding out how much the library campaigners' actions were featured, in addition to the image being projected of public libraries/professionals. To identify this, a coding manual (see Appendix E) and coding schedules (Appendix F) were developed, the latter of which defined clear instructions which guided the coding process. Again, a thorough analysis of the 56 news reports was undertaken (see Appendix G), and each time an example of advocacy or a campaign tactic variable was mentioned, it was coded accordingly in the schedule. Data from the schedule could then be used to discuss the comparisons between the two regions, in addition to the overall coverage of campaign efforts and instances of advocacy. Similarly to the process described in **Section 3.6.5**, grounded theory techniques were also incorporated into this process in order to deduce themes that could then be used to provide expand upon certain noted trends, wherever this was deemed necessary. Largely though, this method involved a deductive approach.

3.7 Coding Reliability

The processes outlined in **Section 3.6.4** to **Section 3.6.5** were piloted, and with the assistance of a second coder the validity of interpretations was assessed. The *Bourne Local* (Lincolnshire publication) sample was used for this purpose; as an example of this, the external coder was given a printed copy of the *Bourne Local* documents and asked to fill out a coding schedule using the guidance of the coding manual (process outlined in **Section 3.6.5**). This process was repeated for any element of the coding which was deemed to require a significant level of interpretation on the part of the researcher. As contended by Zhang & Wildemuth (2009, p.4), such inter-coding assessments being carried out early in proceedings helps to ensure a level of consistency is being applied to the analysis and coding process.

3.8 Limitations of Methodology

There are distinct limitations to the methodology outlined above. One of these is the "snowballing" sample method used for the questionnaire, and the fact that the questionnaire was carried out entirely online. Approaching the research in this manner is inherently restrictive, as it excludes potential survey participants who may not be active online, and also relies on the goodwill of respondents to further distribute the questionnaire with eligible campaigners. However, the scale and nature of the project largely dictated that procedures were carried out in such a way; the limited timescale in which the study was to be completed meant it was not feasible to take a more manual approach to survey distribution, and invest more resources in locating potential respondents via supplementary methods. It was, though, anticipated that the active nature of campaigners would help to mitigate the limitations, as they would be keen to get involved in the project and aid distribution.

In terms of the methods adopted in the regional newspaper analysis, the most obvious limitation was the reliance on subjectivity in the coding and categorisation process. As outlined in **Section 3.7**, steps were taken to mitigate for any potential negative impact that this may have caused; however, it must be acknowledged that this test was only applied to a small pilot sample. Again, the timescale and resources available to the researcher meant that substantial assistance at this stage of the analysis was unobtainable.

For recommendations of alternative/future approaches to research in this area, please see **Section 6.4.**

4. Survey Questionnaires

In this section the following objective will be addressed:

- To identify who is participating in campaign work and why they got involved.

As outlined in the Methodology Chapter, meeting this research objective has been achieved through the application of a survey questionnaire. Here, the data collected from the survey will be used to create a profile of the campaigners who participated in the online questionnaire, along with other information which is indicative of their background and motivations for being involved in their local library campaign. It must be stressed that the purpose of the questionnaire was not to develop vigorous quantitative measures, but instead to take an incisive step towards understanding the key trends and themes of an organism wholly unexplored in literature, which could then be used for deeper qualitative analysis.

Overall, 68 library campaigners participated in the survey questionnaire from a broad range of Local Authority areas across the UK: 24% from Lincolnshire, 16% from Herefordshire, 10% from Sheffield, 9% from Devon, 6% from Midlothian, 4% from Gloucestershire, 4% from Manchester, 3% from Dorset, and 24% from Other (1 individual respondent of each from Barnet, Birmingham, Brent, Buckinghamshire, Bury, Cambridgeshire, Camden, Cheshire, Doncaster, Ealing, Hampshire, Haringey, Isle of Wight, Lambeth, Suffolk and Swindon) (Figure 4.1).
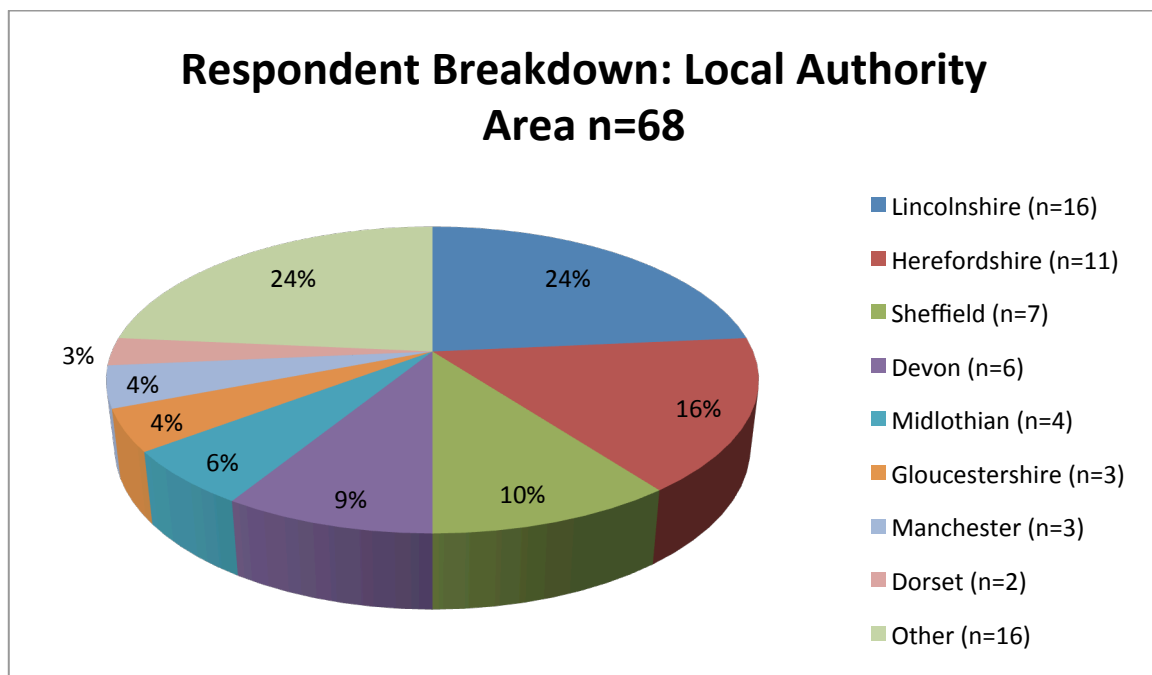
Figure 4.1 - Local Authority Area

4.1 Respondent Profiles

4.1.1 Gender

At 60%, a clear majority of survey respondents were female, compared to 37% male. Additionally, 3% (2 respondents) chose not to answer the question (Figure 4.2).

What Gender are you? (n=68)
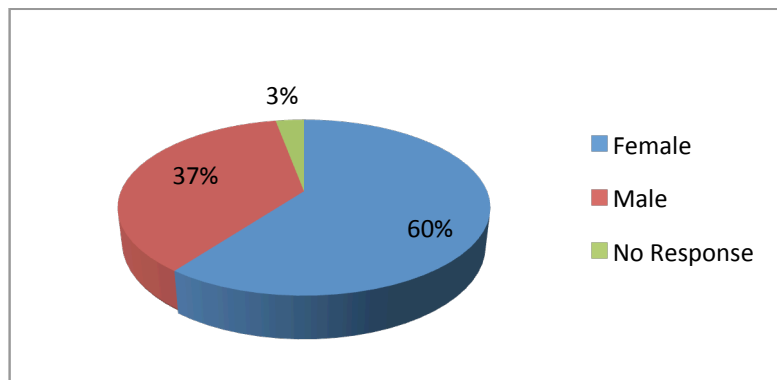
Figure 4.2 – Gender

4.1.2 Age

As the chart below indicates (Figure 4.3), a very significant 44% of the respondents were aged "60 years or over", which was more than double the amount of those in the second most populous age group ("41-50 years" at 21%). Equally as significant, is that only 3% were under were aged under 30 years old, with no respondents at all being included in the "20 years or under" category.

What Age are you? (n=68)
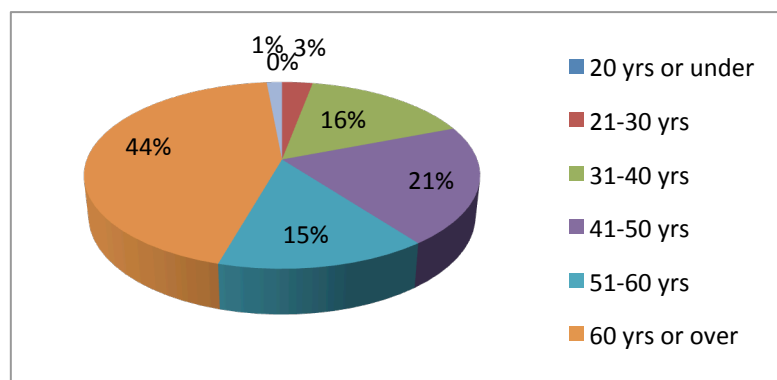
Figure 4.3 – Age

4.1.3 Employment Status

Given the age statistics, it is not surprising that the largest group of respondents in terms of employment status were "Retired", accounting for 32% of those who participated. The second

largest group of respondents were "Employed part-time", who followed closely behind with 26% of the overall response. Interestingly, few of the respondents were "Unemployed" (3%); however, the low response for "Student" (2%) is perhaps less so given the general lack of younger participants in the survey. In the "Other" (16%) category, respondents described their employment status as: "Disabled" (x2) "Self-employed" (x2), "Councillor", "Freelance", "Full-time carer", "House Husband", "Retired and active on projects", "Sabbatical from full-time work" and "Volunteer researcher" (Figure 4.4).

What is your Employment Status? (n=68)
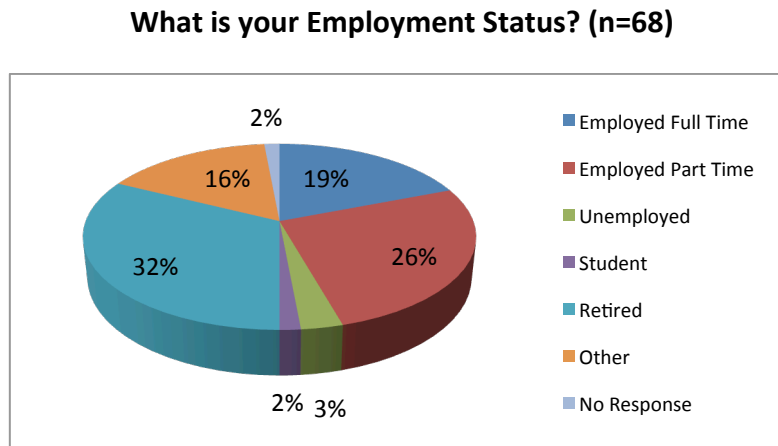
Figure 4.4 – Employment Status

4.1.4 Library Usage

As Figure 4.5 (below) shows, all of the survey respondents considered themselves to be library users to varying degrees. Almost half used their local library service "Weekly" (47%), whilst comfortably over a third used it "Monthly" (38%). The remaining 15% used the service "Less than once a month".

Prior to becoming involved in your local library campaign,

how often did you use your local library service? (n=68)
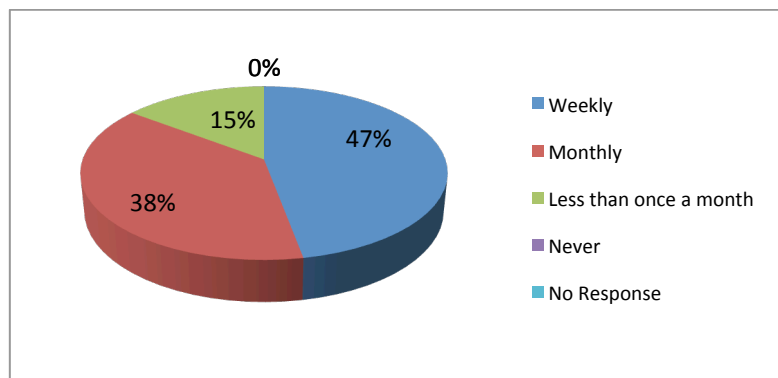
Figure 4.5 – Library Use

4.2 Discussion: Respondent Profiles

The questions outlined above were designed to ascertain a broad profile of local library campaigners, and responses generated from the sample indicate that: female campaigners outnumber males by a ratio approaching 2:1; the vast majority of those involved are over 41 years of age (with almost half above 60), and use their library either monthly or weekly; and, a clear majority are either retired or work part-time. Students, the unemployed, irregular library users and those under the age of 30 are the least likely people to be involved in campaign work.

What is particularly notable about the above trends is that they mirror statistics relayed by a recent poll (Dahlgreen, 2014) on the demographics of regular library users. The poll showed that females and those over the age of 60 were the most likely groups to have visited their local library over the preceding 6 months, and to own a current library card. Based on the evidence provided by the data thus far, it is a fair assertion that the demographics most prevalent among library users are the same as those of the most prominent library campaigners. However, the same poll also shows that 32% of 18-24 year olds and 33% of 25-39 year olds (more so than 40-59 year olds at 30%) claimed to have visited their local library over the preceding 6 months, which raises questions as to their apparent limited involvement in library campaigns.

4.3 Local Library Campaign Involvement

4.3.1 Ongoing Activity of Campaigns

The opening questions of the survey were concerned with the ongoing activity of the campaigns. As the figures in the graph below reveal (Figure 4.6), 69% of the respondents indicated that their local library campaign was still active. A further breakdown of the figures into local authority areas shows that of the 24 local authority areas represented, a minimum of 15 (63%) still had active groups. This figure is by no means definitive; all of the areas represented could have had a range of campaign groups not represented in the sample that were still operational, such is the fluid and disparate nature of community activism. Additionally, the sample doesn't cover all of the affected local authority areas. However, displaying the data like this does help to graphically illustrate the widespread nature of the ongoing campaigns, even at the lowest estimate. Effectively, these figures reflect the reality of the situation as discussed throughout the previous chapters – that in the UK, communities all over the country are in the midst of a struggle to preserve public services.

Is your local library campaign still active? (n=68)
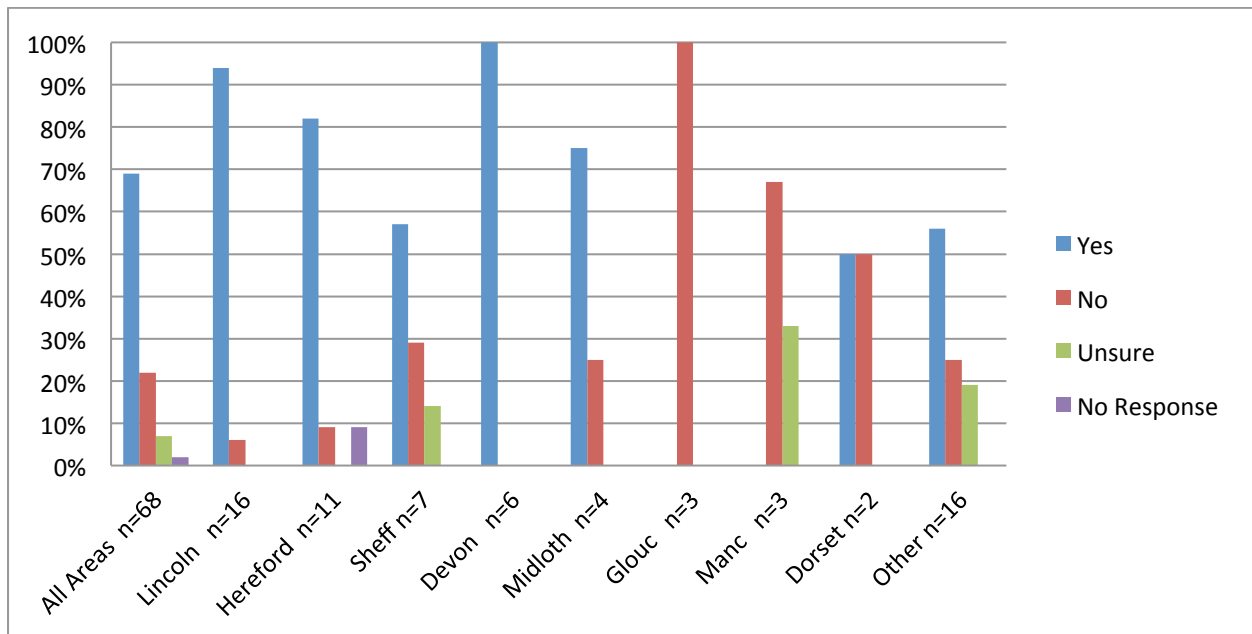
Figure 4.6 – Campaign Still Active?

4.3.2 Individual Involvement of Respondent

The next two questions in the survey were aimed at the 69% (47 respondents) who indicated their local campaign was still ongoing, and was also answered by the solitary participant who declined to provide a response for whether or not their campaign was ongoing. To "Are you still involved in your local library campaign?" 94% (44 respondents) indicated that they were. The 6% (4 respondents) who answered "No" were then prompted to "Please briefly note why you are no longer involved in your local library campaign". Their responses fell into two broad categories (reinforced by excerpts from their rich text response):

Category 1: Domestic Reasons

"Time constraints (…) I became pregnant."

"I have moved house."

Category 2: Disillusionment with Campaign

"The campaign has moved forward after partial 'success' (…). I've distanced myself for (sic) *the local 'saving' group (…) but may still challenge the outcome whereby the libraries have been put in volunteer hands".*

"It was hijacked by the lib dems as a propaganda tool against the labour council."

The responses above suggest that drop-out rates among core library activists are low, which reflects positively on the library campaigns overall. Even among those who did drop out, half of them did so for domestic reasons upon which the campaign groups themselves would have had no bearing. However, the two disillusioned campaigners are the first to infer fundamental difficulties from within the groups. The words of the first respondent convey an implicit distaste, bordering on contempt towards fellow campaigners for viewing the voluntary takeover of public library facilities as a "'*success*'", suggesting an inherent ideological difference as to the intended goals of a library group. In contrast, the latter respondent explicitly highlights the way in which the campaign was infiltrated by opposition councillors in order to gain political capital. As it transpires, these are themes which emerged time and again from the data, and will be revisited in later discussion.

4.3.3 Previous Grassroots Experience

Figure 4.7 (below) illustrates that 34% of all respondents professed to have some level of previous experience as a grassroots activist. Strikingly, it also shows that the experienced campaigners were evenly distributed throughout the local authority areas represented in the survey; the two groups with the most respondents, "Lincolnshire" and "Other", were both represented by 5 (31% of their respective samples) campaigners with some level of grassroots experience. This is particularly remarkable given that the "Other" group was comprised of respondents from 16 different local authority regions.

Prior to becoming involved in your local library campaign, did you have any previous experience as a community/grassroots activist? (n=68)
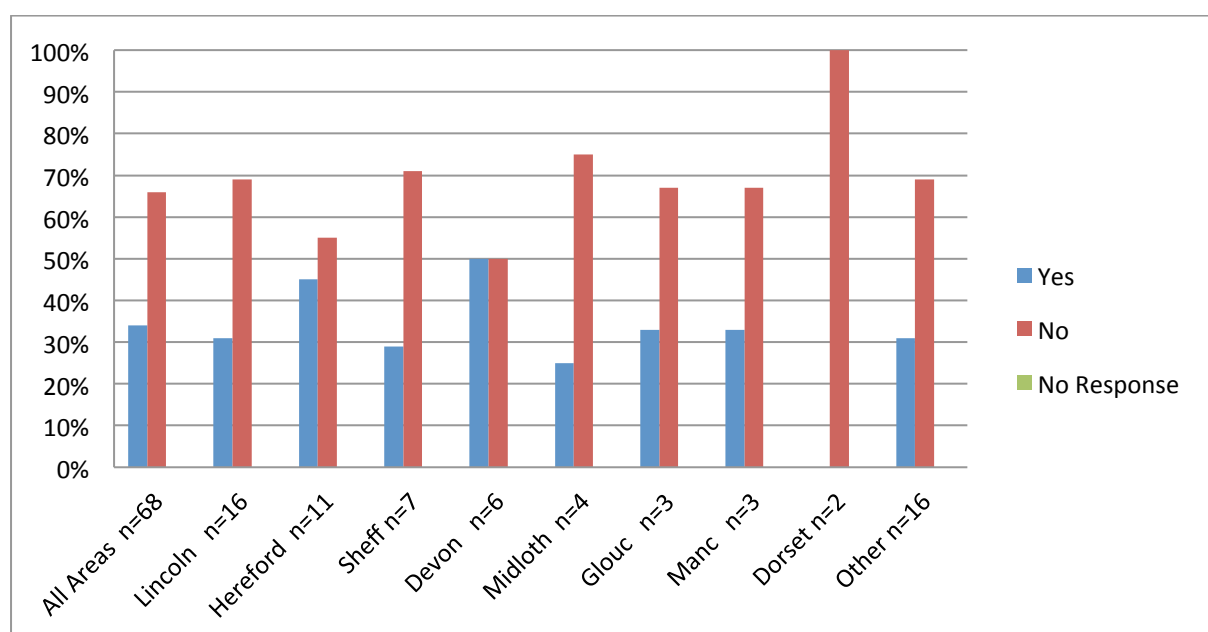
Figure 4.7 – Previous Grassroots Experience

The 34% of respondents who confirmed they had experience as an activist were then asked to elaborate on their response, and each of them did. A broad range of answers were given to the request "Please describe any previous experience you have had as a community/grassroots activist", and some excerpts of the rich text responses are provided here:

"Have helped organise, have advised, have disseminated, have filed Judicial Reviews, have forced Public Inquiries and presented evidence and cross-examined witnesses."

"30 years marching, organising & protesting against everything from Apartheid to the privatisation of public services."

"Campaigning to save children's homes, stop academies, oppose the loss of hours at libraries, saving nursery."

It is also notable that 19 of these responses (83%) pointed to a personal involvement in numerous (more than one) campaigns/actions. Various respondents also identified themselves as holding official positions/memberships in organisations, such as: "Green Party Member", "Labour Party Member", "Trustee of Herefordshire Nature Trust", "local preservation society councillor", "local parish Councillor", "Village Hall Chairman", and membership of a "Residents Association". Such a depth and breadth of experience being distributed so widely could prove to be vital if public libraries are to be saved in the UK.

4.3.4 Campaign Founding Members

As indicated by the chart below (Figure 4.8), there was close to an even split between those respondents who considered themselves to be founders of their local library campaign (53%) and those who did not (43%). The true figure is likely to be closer again, as it is reasonable to suggest that those who answered "Unsure" (4%) probably did not start their group.

Without a thorough quantitative analysis of various campaign groups it is difficult to determine whether these figures are indicative of the overall ratio between founding members and recruited members in library campaigns, or whether this is an anomaly of the sampling method (as discussed in the Methodology Chapter). What is most likely is that the sample is predominantly made up of the "core" or more active campaigners from the groups. The similarities in the profile of respondents to that of regular library users (see **Section 4.2**), coupled with their low drop-out rates (see Section 4.3.2) and levels of previous grassroots experience (see **Section 4.3.3**), tend to support this. The "Lincolnshire" sample bucks the trend quite significantly, with 69% of their respondents considering themselves as recruits to the campaign. This could have been influenced by the high social media

profile of Save Lincolnshire Libraries at the time the online questionnaire fieldwork was being carried out (July/August 2014), as discussed previously in the Introduction **Section 1.**

Are you a founding member of your local library campaign? (n=68)
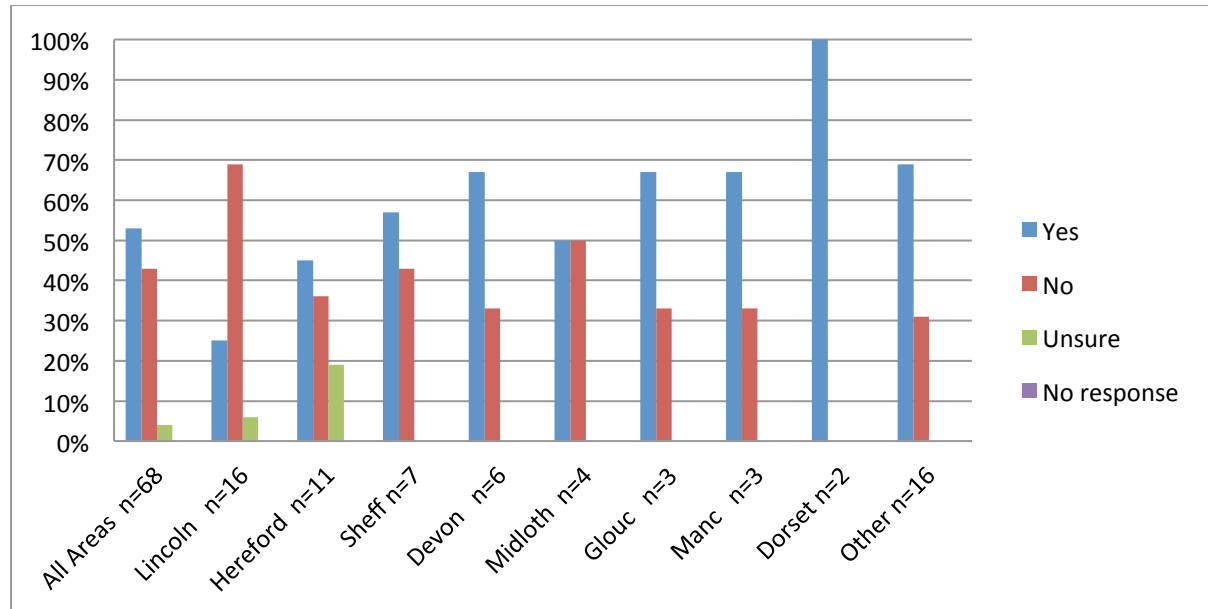
Figure 4.8 – Founding Members/Recruits

4.3.5 Campaign Recruits

The 47% (32 respondents) who answered "No" or "Unsure" to being a founding member were then asked "How did you find out about your local library campaign?" The sample for this question was stratified in such a way based on the logic that those who formed the groups would not have been alerted to them via a third party. The figures illustrated in Figure 4.9 (below) show the breakdown of the answers given; the most common way for people to have been alerted to the campaign was via "Word of mouth (Friend, relative etc.)" with 25% of the response, which was closely followed by "Local library activist" (19%) and "Social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)" (16%). The "Other" (22%) category conveyed an array of responses including attending public/campaign group meetings (x3) and being alerted via a "trade union activist". It is interesting to note from the figures that real life social networks played the most prominent role in this regard.

How did you find out about your local library campaign? (n=32)
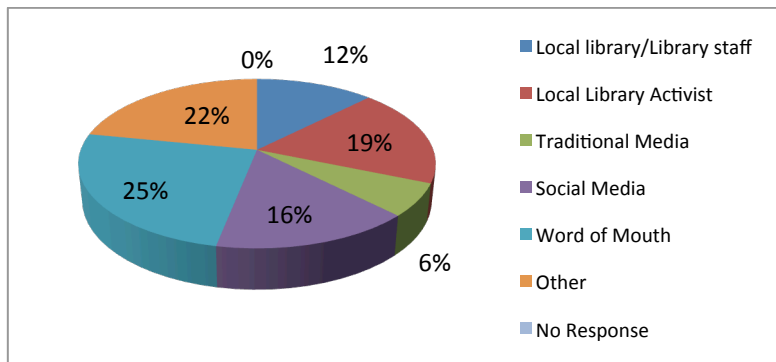
Figure 4.9 – Campaign Recruiting

The sample of 32 recruited members was then asked a further question: "How active are/were you in your local library campaign?" As the chart below shows (Figure 4.10), an incremental amount of respondents indicated that they were "Fairly active" (38%) in their local campaign, more so than "Very active" and "Casually active" (both 31%). These statistics are positive for library campaigns, as they indicate that a significant number of new members have been motivated to become active and share the responsibilities involved in activism. It also gives further weight to the suggestion in **Section 4.3.4** that the sample is largely representative of the "core" campaigners in groups.

How active are/were you in your local library campaign? (n=32)
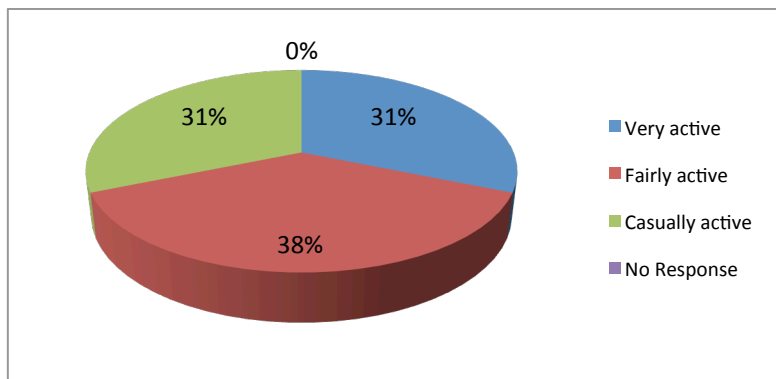
Figure 4.10 – Individual Activity Level

4.4 Reasons for Involvement

The next question was which was posed to all participants of the survey, was "In your own words, please describe why you got involved in your local library campaign?" All 68 respondents provided a free text answer, and the responses generated a striking combined total of 3,362 words. Unsurprisingly, the preservation of the threatened community libraries was the main reason

provided by respondents for their involvement. However, the answers were often elaborated to reveal a wide variety of reasons, from which key themes and trends emerged. The most prevalent theme among the responses was the idea that libraries are one of the few remaining publically funded hubs (often the only one), and are essential to communities; particularly children, the elderly and people from deprived areas. The following rich response excerpts help to convey this:

"I live in an area where there are very few public facilities (e.g. swimming pool, leisure centre etc) and the small outreach library was an important community hub."

"They are heavily used by the most vulnerable in the community."

"It is a community hub, for young mums, job seekers, older people and readers of all ages."

Individual resources and educational benefits are also cited time and again:

"I believe in the power of books and their direct link to education."

"I couldn't have obtained my MBA without the local library."

"(…) those without other access to the internet should have this now vital service."

"(…) students, researchers and teachers, local historians, writers etc all need to access books, data, information (…)"

A feeling of personal responsibility also emerged from the respondents:

"(…) I realised that more people were need (sic) *to fight to keep the library open."*

"I was worried that if I didn't do it, nobody would and I just could not let that happen."

"If I didn't get involved I would have worried that nothing would have happened to stop proposals."

"I couldn't do nothing as it was too important!"

In terms of trends, the use of emotive language was often applied to convey a depth of ill feeling (largely towards local councils):

"I find it appalling that any library should be closed."

"I was outraged at our council's plan (…)."

"Disgusted by plans (…)"

"I was incensed."

"I cannot bear bullies, and (…) their plans smacked of bullying and not listening."

"The attack on libraries is a betrayal of people in the poorest circumstances."

The response elicited from this open ended question serves to highlight the sheer depth of feeling among campaigners. Additionally, the respondents are often measured and knowledgeable in assessing the importance of the public library service, and the veracity of their efforts to save them.

4.5 Local Library Campaign Activity

The purpose of the following sections is to address this objective:

- To identify which campaign tactics have been deployed.

This was achieved by posing a series of questions which related directly to the inner workings of specific campaign groups, and by noting any trend or themes that emerge from the data.

4.5.1 Group Dynamic

Participants were asked to relay the extent to which they agreed with a number of statements in relation to their local library campaign. 99% of the sample (67 respondents) provided a response for each statement, the results for which can be viewed in *Table 1.*

Table 1: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to your local library campaign group? (n=68)

Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No Response
The campaign was well organised	44%	39%	9%	7%	0%	1%
The campaign had clear goals	56%	31%	5%	7%	0%	1%
The campaign had strong leadership	44%	31%	16%	8%	0%	1%
The campaign was highly active	53%	36%	9%	1%	0%	1%
Activists were well co-ordinated at campaign activities/events	27%	51%	17%	4%	0%	1%
Communication was strong between activists in the group	35%	42%	15%	7%	0%	1%
New activists were welcomed by the group	47%	40%	12%	0%	0%	1%
New activists were well informed/trained by the group	22%	34%	37%	4%	2%	1%

It is clear from the figures above that the vast majority of respondents felt that their campaign group dynamic was a positive one. With the exception of "New activists were well informed/trained by the group", for which 38% were non-committal in their answer, over three quarters of respondents indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed with each statement. These figures do reflect well on the library campaign groups; however, as the discussion in **Section 4.3.4** indicates, the sample contains a strong contingent of "founding members", and is also likely to be supplemented by other "core" campaigners, most of whom are likely to display a degree of loyalty to the group. Such internal support is obviously a good thing from a campaign perspective, but the potential for a lack of impartiality is likely to have had a bearing on the results above. Notably, the 7 respondents from the "Sheffield" local authority conveyed the only real ambivalence towards their respective campaign groups, as *Table 2* shows.

Table 2: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to your local library campaign group? (Sheffield Response, n=7)

Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No Response
The campaign was well organised	0%	43%	14%	43%	0%	0%
The campaign had clear goals	14%	43%	0%	43%	0%	0%
The campaign had strong leadership	0%	29%	29%	43%	0%	0%
The campaign was highly active	14%	57%	29%	0%	0%	0%
Activists were well co-ordinated at campaign activities/events	14%	29%	43%	14%	0%	0%
Communication was strong between activists in the group	14%	43%	14%	29%	0%	0%
New activists were welcomed by the group	14%	71%	14%	0%	0%	0%
New activists were well informed/trained by the group	0%	43%	43%	14%	0%	0%

4.5.2 Campaign Tactics

The next question was concerned with gauging the campaign tactics deployed by the local library groups in their efforts, by asking respondents to select either "Yes", "No" or "Unsure" to a list of activities/campaign methods. The results for this are displayed in *Table 3* below.

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Table 3: Did the campaign engage in the following activities? (n=68)

Question	Yes	No	Unsure	No Response
Public meetings	89%	3%	4%	4%
Fundraising events	54%	36%	3%	7%
Social media/online campaign (Twitter, Facebook, Campaign website etc.)	85%	7%	3%	5%
Information stalls (In public areas, at external events etc.)	60%	20%	13%	7%
Petitioning	77%	10%	10%	3%
Door-to-door leafleting	26%	42%	20%	12%
Poster campaigning	59%	18%	10%	13%
Peaceful protest/rallies (read-ins, vigils etc.)	60%	23%	4%	13%
Processions/marches	52%	34%	1%	13%
Lobbying local councillors (via email, letter writing, phonecalls etc.)	94%	4%	1%	1%
Lobbying local MPs (via email, letter writing, phonecalls etc.)	90%	4%	3%	3%

The figures above are striking; they indicate that the campaign groups were willing to adopt a very diverse range of tactics to generate support and raise awareness for their cause. These results are broadly reflected across all local authority areas, with only a few notable exceptions relating to singular activities. The lobbying of councillors (94%) and MPs (90%), public meetings (89%), the use of social media/online campaigning (85%) and petitions (77%) represent the most prolific methods used.

In addition to the above figures, respondents were also given the option to add up to two other campaign methods that were used, but not on the list. A total of 33 additional responses were provided here, such as active media campaigning (8 responses), going to a Judicial Review (3 responses), and direct action (2 responses). The broad range of responses suggests that the activities in *Table 3* only partially reflect the true extent of the campaign tactics deployed by the library groups.

The responses above were then supplemented by a related question, wherein respondents were asked to convey the extent to which the methods noted above (and to which they selected "Yes") helped to raise awareness of their campaign. The results are displayed in *Table 4* below.

Table 4: If 'Yes', to what extent would you agree or disagree that they generated a response/raise awareness of the library campaign cause? (n=68)

Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No Response
Public meetings	35%	38%	7%	1%	0%	19%
Fundraising events	16%	24%	12%	0	0	48%
Social media/online campaign (Twitter, Facebook, Campaign website etc.)	38%	28%	18%	0	0	16%
Information stalls (In public areas, at external events etc.)	12%	32%	21%	0	1%	34%
Petitioning	41%	22%	12%	0	0	25%
Door-to-door leafleting	15%	10%	16%	1%	0	58%
Poster campaigning	22%	20%	15%	0	0	43%
Peaceful protest/rallies (read-ins, vigils etc.)	31%	22%	7%	0	0	40%
Processions/marches	34%	10%	13%	0	0	43%
Lobbying local councillors (via email, letter writing, phonecalls etc.)	34%	25%	9%	7%	4%	22%
Lobbying local MPs (via email, letter writing, phonecalls etc.)	34%	16%	13%	6%	4%	27%

It is clear from the figures that the majority of activities were considered to be effective to some degree. In terms of those wherein "Strongly Agree" was selected as a response, "Petitioning" (41%), "Social media/online campaign (Twitter, Facebook, Campaign website etc.)" (38%) and "Public meetings" (35%) appeared to be the most effective in terms of generating a response or raising awareness.

For a clearer picture, the respondents were then asked, "In your opinion, which two activities were the most effective in generating a response for/raising awareness of your local library campaign?" The top 3 chosen activities were: "Social media/online campaign (Twitter, Facebook, Campaign website etc.)" (Selected x20), "Petitioning" (x17) and "Public meetings" (x13), which reinforces the above figures. It is particularly notable that, despite being among the most popular campaign tactics used by groups represented in the sample, respondents were far less inclined to note lobbying as an effective technique at generating a response/raising awareness.

4.5.3 Application of Social Media

As noted from the figures in the previous section (**Section 4.5.2**), social media has been put to widespread use by local library campaigns, and the majority of those from groups who used it indicated that it helped to raise support/awareness of their cause. To gain a further insight into the usefulness of social media as a support tool for campaigning, respondents were asked: "In your own words, please outline any thoughts you may have on social media as a tool in library grassroots campaigning." The question generated 65 responses (96% of the sample).

Thoughts on social media were relatively mixed among participants and fell into two broad categories, which will be relayed here using excerpts from the rich text responses. Firstly, there were those who strongly advocated it as a necessity for effective campaigning:

"It is incredibly useful for getting your message out quickly."

"Social media is a MUST in any campaign."

"It has been a lifeline really for our group."

There were respondents who noted its positives, but then qualified this with a tempering remark, or by highlighting negatives:

"Extremely valuable but cannot beat being out in the community talking face to face with people."

"It works but it leaves the whole campaign open to being tarred with the same brush, politically."

"Great for instant and in depth news sharing but can be hijacked by vocal members. Needs strong leadership to work well."

"Much is retweeted, or 'liked', however this does not translate to activism (…).It can also be a forum for spite and anger."

It is clear from the responses that there are a number of benefits to using social media, such as reaching a lot of people in a short space of time. However, in order to mitigate for possible misuse, it must be managed properly.

4.6 Local Library Campaign Impact

The following objective is addressed in the coming sections:

- To ascertain perceived levels of success for library campaigns.

This was achieved by posing a series of questions were posed to the respondents that sought to gauge their general feelings about the impact of campaigning activities, any thoughts on possible improvements, and how they see the public library service going forward.

4.6.1 Perceived Campaign Effectiveness

The respondents were asked to which extent they agreed with a number of statements with relation to the perceived success of their local library campaign. The results for this are displayed in *Table 5* below.

Table 5: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to the success of your local library campaign? (n=68)

Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
The campaign raised public support	71%	28%	0%	1%	0%	0%
The campaign was good at attracting new members/activists	37%	38%	16%	9%	0%	0%
The campaign promoted the values of the public library service	69%	28%	3%	0%	0%	0%
The campaign promoted the importance of qualified librarians/information professionals	60%	26%	10%	3%	1%	0%
The campaign attracted local media interest	71%	25%	4%	0%	0%	0%
The campaign attracted national media interest	29%	17%	28%	19%	7%	0%

As with the statements regarding group dynamics in **Section 4.5.1**, the results here relay a strong internal support and advocacy for local library campaigns from those involved. Generally, it was indicated that the campaigns had a significant impact and promoted public libraries and library professionals alike. And of particular interest to this study, respondents from across the regions

indicated that their campaigns attracted local media interest. However, and perhaps tellingly, the statement regarding "attracting new members/activists" induced hesitancy among the sample, with only 37% indicating that they "Strongly agree" in comparison to the 71% for "The campaign raised public support". As suggested by one of the respondents quoted in **Section 4.5.3,** in the context of social media campaigning, "likes" on Facebook etc. don't necessarily equate to activism. The same seems to be true here; a show of support from the public doesn't necessarily translate to active members.

4.6.2 Local Authority Responsiveness

The next question dealt directly with the local authorities/councils who were behind the proposals to close public libraries in the various areas represented in the sample. Respondents were asked to report the extent to which they believed a series of statements were true of their local authority/authority officials. Notably, every participant in the sample chose to answer this question. The results are displayed in *Table 6*.

Table 6: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to your council/local authority? (n=68)

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No Response
Council officials took the library campaign seriously	16%	31%	9%	19%	25%	0%
Council officials were aware of the crucial value of the public library service	12%	28%	16%	9%	35%	0%
Council officials were willing to listen to the arguments of the library campaign activists	7%	25%	18%	13%	37%	0%
Council officials were willing to reach a compromise with library campaigners about proposed library closures	9%	24%	22%	3%	43%	0%

The results above indicate that the issue of local authorities and their relations with library campaigns drew quite a divisive response from the participants. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a closer inspection of the data conveys a clear trend of positive and negative responses towards councils depending on the local authority area of the respondents. For example, those campaigning in "Gloucestershire", "Lincolnshire" and "Manchester" responded in a resoundingly negative manner, with the majority selecting "Disagree" or "Strongly Disagree" for each statement; in contrast those respondents from "Devon", "Herefordshire" and "Midlothian" were more inclined to select "Agree" or "Strongly Agree". Statistics from the Lincolnshire and Herefordshire areas have been provided in *Table 7* and *Table 8* below to illustrate this point.

Table 7: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to your council/local authority? (Lincolnshire Response, n=16)

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No Response
Council officials took the library campaign seriously	0%	0%	6%	38%	56%	0%
Council officials were aware of the crucial value of the public library service	6%	6%	13%	6%	69%	0%
Council officials were willing to listen to the arguments of the library campaign activists	0%	0%	0%	6%	94%	0%
Council officials were willing to reach a compromise with library campaigners about proposed library closures	0%	0%	6%	0%	94%	0%

The differing views of local authorities between campaign groups could be determined by a myriad of factors, such as the way the decision makers within the council bodies conduct themselves, or the subjective consensus among the respective campaign groups as to the veracity of the proposals they

face and the reasons being given for them. Additionally, these factors themselves could be complicated variety of external factors which are unique to the various regions (e.g. extent of local authority budget cuts). However, the results do strongly indicate that the dynamic between councils and campaigners differs significantly between the local authority areas, which could potentially have a bearing on the outcomes of the various campaigns.

Table 8: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to your council/local authority? (Herefordshire Response, n=11)

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No Response
Council officials took the library campaign seriously	18%	64%	9%	9%	0%	0%
Council officials were aware of the crucial value of the public library service	9%	55%	18%	0%	18%	0%
Council officials were willing to listen to the arguments of the library campaign activists	9%	36%	36%	19%	0%	0%
Council officials were willing to reach a compromise with library campaigners about proposed library closures	10%	45%	45%	0%	0%	0%

4.7 Improvements/Barriers to Campaigns

The respondents were asked two open ended questions wherein they could relate any significant improvements that could have been made to their local library campaign, or note any barriers to its progress. The first of these was simply; "In your own words, please note any improvements that could have been made to your local library campaign." It was answered by 85% of the sample.

Again, the open-text responses revealed a broad and diverse mix of thoughts and opinions from the participants. A significant 17% of those who responded simply stated that they didn't think their

campaign could have been improved. More and improved events/activities were often suggested, whilst others cited the need for more active support to share responsibilities, or a more broad based membership including young people and people from across political divides:

"There are simply [not] *enough volunteers in one area to staff all the groups needed."*

"Lots of people (…) were keen to get involved at a very superficial level, but ultimately the running of the campaign (…) fell to a few committed individuals, who suffered 'burn out'…"

"The campaign might have done well to stress early on how broad was our church, politically."

"More effort could have been made to attract younger members."

A cohesive effort between groups locally and nationwide was another recurring theme. This seemed to be particularly true in larger counties:

"The groups scattered throughout the county could have worked together in a more constructive way."

Many of the responses revealed a sense of frustration at their inability to derail intransigent councillors, and the lack of clear objectives in doing so:

"(…) a lot of people didn't realise that the whole point of direct action and protest was to challenge the received wisdom of the council (…). That is part of a wider problem in society (…) people accept the deterministic arguments of the 'political class' and MSM (mainstream media) *bias."*

"More cohesive and intelligent challenge of council lies."

" (…) something was needed to make it have more sway among the councillors."

"(…) need to be made to listen and understand the importance of libraries in the community."

In terms of potential barriers to the success of their campaign, the respondents were asked to relay any possible views they had: "In your own words, please note the main barriers (if any) to the success of your local library campaign." 94% of the sample provided an answer, and the answers relayed various practical difficulties, such as a lack of time and resources, or the dispersed nature of large counties making it difficult to co-ordinate an active response to proposed library closures. A lack of genuine public interest, apathy, or a tendency for the public only to get involved at a superficial level was also a recurring theme. However, local authorities and councillors were referenced heavily by the participants; a text analysis of the open text responses reinforced this by revealing that "council" was comfortably the most featured word contained in the text (37

mentions; "library" second at 25 mentions). The struggle against the council was often portrayed as futile, with the closure of libraries seemingly a forgone conclusion:

"Our local council refused point blank to even discuss the matter"

"Pig ignorant councillors who are not acting [for] *their local communities."*

"The council were simply unwilling to listen to or engage with library users in any way, and were rude and dismissive of our concerns."

It was also notable that this question elicited a more philosophical response from respondents, who often cited the bigger picture and the political will at central government level and the overarching difficulties:

"Fighting an ideological agenda".

"(…) too many people believing that 'austerity' is a 'necessary evil', not challenging the narrative and just accepting what's thrown at them."

"The widespread public acceptance that cuts are the only answer to reduced budgets from central government."

4.8 Perceptions of a Voluntary Library Service

Respondents were asked, "In your own words, please outline any thoughts you may have on public libraries being run entirely by volunteers", to which 66 participants provided an open-text answer (97% of the sample). Whilst there was almost unanimous agreement among the respondents that the pervasive use of volunteers in community libraries was not a good thing, and did not constitute a professionally-run service, two distinct trends emerged from the responses in terms of the language used to relay this. First, there was highly charged, emotive language that displayed a strong opposition to the idea, and wherein the idea was often floated that volunteers weren't actually acting in a voluntary manner, having had their hand forced by authorities:

"No, just NO!"

"It is NOT fair that a group of people should have to take the PUBLIC libraries on and financially support them."

"It's totally wrong."

"Wrong on so many levels."

"Pathetic."

"Appalling."

"Not volunteering, exploitation."

However, a significant amount of respondents, whilst not advocating the use of volunteers, were more submissive to the idea:

"Its better than having them closed altogether."

"Far from ideal, but a volunteer run library is better than no library."

"Perhaps if it was a choice between no libraries and volunteer lead libraries then....yes it would have to be so."

What the above excerpts shows is the ideological/attitudinal differences between campaigners, which has been a recurring theme throughout the open-text responses. It also raises questions as to the overall objective of campaigning; is it a stance of principle that must be upheld to all ends, or is campaigning effectively a precursor for a volunteer takeover of services?

Answers to the next question, "Would you be willing to work as a volunteer to keep your local public library open?" exemplify the divisive nature of the volunteer question among campaigners. As can be seen from Figure 4.11 below, there was almost an even split between those who would be willing to volunteer (41% of respondents) and those who wouldn't (48%). These numbers only varied slightly when taking into consideration the employment status of the respondents.

Would you be willing to work as a volunteer to keep your local public library open? (n=68)
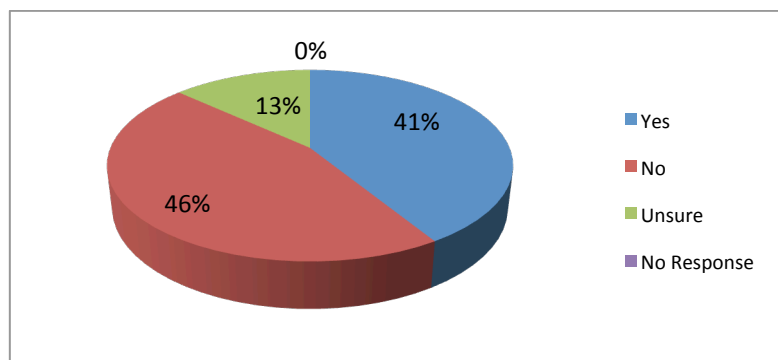
Figure 4.11 – Openness to volunteering

4.9 The Future of Public Libraries

Lastly, respondents were asked to note whether they felt their public library service would be safe in the future (Figure 4.12). 60% of the sample indicated that they didn't feel their service would be safe, whilst another 27% were "Unsure". Again, this uncertainty transcended any potential trend; participants from all regions and of all profiles expressed similar concerns, which could be indicative of low morale among campaigners. It could also signify that campaigners are under no illusions as to the unrelenting nature of the situation they face, despite their huge effort and commitment to the cause.

Do you feel optimistic that your remaining local public library service will be safe in the future? (n=68)
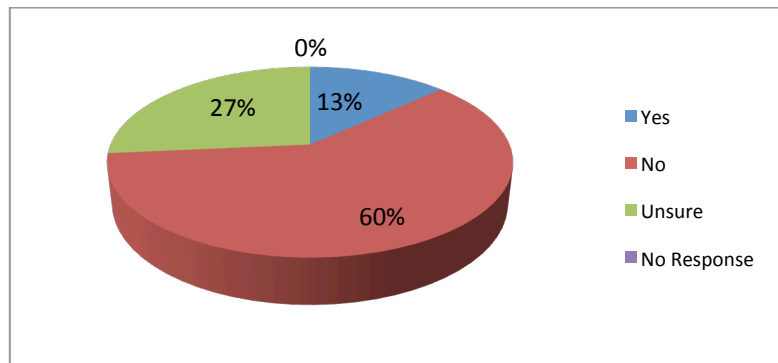
Figure 4.12 – Optimistic about libraries future?

5. Comparative Case Studies: Regional Newspapers

In the subsequent sections, the following research objective will be addressed:

- To ascertain the scale and format of the press coverage at regional level following the announcement of proposed library closures

As discussed in the Methodology Chapter, the above objective has been achieved by conducting a quantitative content analysis of the printed regional press, within the parameters of a comparative case study between Newcastle upon Tyne (Metropolitan Borough) and Lincolnshire (County Council). All of the articles analysed were downloaded from the *Lexis Library News* database, which returned results for 3 newspapers local to Newcastle, and 11 for Lincolnshire. In the case of the former, two of the publications (*Evening Chronicle* and *The Journal)* are daily newspapers which are produced from Monday-Saturday, with the third (*Sunday Sun)* being produced on a weekly basis. For the latter, all 11 newspapers are produced weekly on a Wednesday (*Boston Standard, Horncastle News, Louth Leader, Market Rasen Mail, Skegness Standard, Sleaford Standard*), Thursday (*Gainsborough Standard*, *Lincolnshire Echo, Spalding Guardian*) and Friday (*Bourne Local, Grantham Journal*).

The period of analysis for Newcastle covered from 10th November 2012 (date of the first printed article on the proposed library closures) to 30th April 2013, within which time the daily newspapers were issued 147 times, with the weekly paper being issued on 25 occasions. For Lincolnshire, the period of analysis ran from 20th June 2013 (date of the first printed article on the proposed library closures) to 30th November 2013, with those on a Wednesday being issued 23 times, and those on a Thursday and Friday issued 24 times. During the period of analysis for both regions, the 11 newspapers covered in the content analysis produced a combined total of 577 issues. The findings of the content analysis will be produced in this section.

Please Note: Throughout **Chapter 5** there will be references to specific regional newspaper articles, for which a numbered bibliography list has been provided (See Appendix H). Where appropriate, a news article referenced in the text will have the corresponding number in brackets next to it, which can then be traced to source. Also, many of the publications cited in this research are no longer audited for circulation figures (Ponsford, 2014). However, the latest available figures show a range from 2,575 (*Sleaford Standard*) to 36,540 (*Evening Chronicle*) (ABC, 2014).

5.1 Scope of Regional Coverage

5.1.1 Newcastle upon Tyne

The various searches carried out on the *Lexis Library News* database returned 93 relevant articles for the Newcastle region. As *Table 9* shows, at 53 articles the *Evening Chronicle* featured the most pieces relating to library closures, accounting for 57% of the total regional coverage in the printed press for the period. In terms of weekly figures, this is the equivalent of 2.16 articles per week. The *Journal* and *Sunday Sun* featured 32 (34% of regional coverage) and 8 (9% of regional coverage) articles respectively, or in terms of weekly figures, the equivalent of 1.31 and 0.32 articles per week.

Table 9: Monthly no. of articles, per publication (Newcastle upon Tyne)

NEWSPAPER	Nov-12	Dec-12	Jan-13	Feb-13	Mar-13	Apr-13	TOTAL
Evening Chronicle	23	6	11	11	2	-	**53**
Sunday Sun	2	1	2	3	-	-	**8**
The Journal	10	2	7	10	3	-	**32**
TOTAL	**35**	**9**	**20**	**24**	**5**	**-**	**93**

Table 10 below shows the total number of words collated in all of the relevant articles per regional newspaper, and the average length of each article. As the latter stats show, despite containing the most words overall, the *Evening Chronicle* (476 words) is surpassed by *The Journal (*627 words) and the *Sunday Sun* (522 words) in terms of average article length.

Table 10: Total number of words/average article length, per publication (Newcastle upon Tyne)

NEWSPAPER	TOTAL WORDS	AVERAGE
Evening Chronicle	25,215	476
Sunday Sun	4,177	522
The Journal	20,062	627
TOTAL	**49,454**	**N/A**

5.1.2 Lincolnshire

As can be noted from *Table 11* (below), the *Lincolnshire Echo* published the largest amount of articles relating to the library closure process in the county, with 58 in total, or 45% of the total regional coverage. This also equates to 2.42 articles per week, making it the most prolific publisher of topic-relevant content in regional press, even taking into account those analysed in Newcastle upon Tyne. Perhaps the most notable observation within Lincolnshire regarding the number of articles covered is the disparity between the *Lincolnshire Echo* and the other newspapers within the county; *Bourne Local* was the second most prolific with 19 articles in total (15 % of the overall

regional coverage), and averaged 0.79 articles per week. The lowest was the *Boston Standard* and the *Gainsborough Standard,* which both produced 4 articles, averaging 0.17 articles per week, making them the least prolific across the two regions.

Table 11: Monthly no. of articles, per publication (Lincolnshire)

NEWSPAPER	Jun-13	Jul-13	Aug-13	Sep-13	Oct-13	Nov-13	TOTAL
Boston Standard	-	1	1	1	1	-	**4**
Bourne Local	2	8	2	2	2	3	**19**
Gainsborough Std	-	1	2	-	-	1	**4**
Grantham Journal	1	1	-	3	1	-	**6**
Horncastle News	-	4	1	5	3	4	**17**
Lincolnshire Echo	6	13	19	10	4	6	**58**
Louth Leader	-	1	3	2	1	-	**7**
Market Rasen Mail	1	4	2	2	1	3	**13**
Skegness Standard	-	2	2	1	1	1	**7**
Sleaford Standard	1	1	2	-	1	2	**7**
Spalding Guardian	-	3	2	3	-	1	**9**
TOTAL	**11**	**39**	**36**	**29**	**15**	**21**	**151**

Table 12 below shows the total number of words relating to the library closure process as printed in the Lincolnshire regional press, and the average article length per publication. It is notable that the total of 52,903 words is very similar to the Newcastle total of 49,454. Another observation is the continued disparity between the *Lincolnshire Echo* and the remaining publications both in terms of total and average words.

Table 12: Total number of words/average article length, per publication (Lincolnshire)

NEWSPAPER	TOTAL WORDS	AVERAGE
Boston Standard	1,289	322
Bourne Local	6,431	338
Gainsborough Std	1,561	390
Grantham Journal	1,922	320
Horncastle News	5,989	352
Lincolnshire Echo	24,095	415
Louth Leader	2,187	312
Market Rasen Mail	3,700	285
Skegness Standard	2,567	367
Sleaford Standard	1,967	281
Spalding Guardian	1,195	133
TOTAL	**52,903**	**N/A**

5.2 Discussion: Scope of Regional Coverage

Perhaps the starkest finding from the data displayed above, was the uneven coverage between the newspapers in the Lincolnshire County. Whereas the 3 newspapers in Newcastle are "sister" publications, and operate in a much smaller geographical area, coverage in Lincolnshire is distinctly less co-ordinted. Whilst the dominance of the *Lincolnshire Echo* is perhaps understandable, given that 14 of the 30 "Tier 3" libraries at risk of closure (*Birchwood, Boultham, Bracebridge, Bracebridge Heath, Branston, Cherry Willingham, Ermine, Metheringham, Nettleham, North Hykeham, Skellingthorpe, Washingborough, Welton* and *Wragby*) were contained within the catchment area of the city, the lack of coverage from newspapers such as the *Skegness Standard* and the *Spalding Guardian* is more difficult to explain. These newspapers are distributed in an area including 4 threatened libraries in terms of the former (*Burgh Le Marsh, Spilsby, Sutton on Sea* and *Wainfleet*), and 5 with the latter (*Crowland, Deepings, Donington, Holbeach* and *Pinchbeck*). The average article length from the *Spalding Guardian* is a particular concern; at 122 words, the subject is unlikely to have received any real depth of coverage beyond "hard news" into what Aldridge (2003, p.500) describes as 'active editorial advocacy'. The data certainly indicates that there was scope in less centralised areas of the County for campaigners to lobby local journalists and gain more coverage.

Despite the uneven coverage Lincolnshire, the coverage of the process across the two regions was generally very significant. The 244 articles which related to the library closure processes in both Newcastle and Lincolnshire were contained within 170 of the total 577 issues (some contained more than one article e.g. the *Evening Chronicle* on 13th November 2012 had three: (17) (37) (40)). As such, just under a third of all issues (29%) published in this time featured at least one story on the closure proposals, which is a striking figure. The same could also be said of article length; 102,357 words between 14 publications over combined a period of 11 months works out at comfortably over 7,000 words on average per publication, and 9,000 words per month. In terms of agenda-setting (McCombs 2004; Scheufele, 2006), this data clearly demonstrates that the library closure process in both regions was considered to be an issue worthy of substantial coverage.

5.3 Type of Regional Coverage

5.3.1 Newcastle upon Tyne

Table 13 relays the prominence of the articles featured in the Newcastle regional newspapers. For analysis of both regions, prominence concerns the page number upon which the articles appear in the paper, and is categorised as following:

        FRONT   Article appears on front page
        2-10   Article appears between pages 2 and 10

11-20	Article appears between pages 11 and 20	
>21	Article appears after page 21	
N/A	Page details not provided on *Lexis Library News*	

A total of 38 articles across the Newcastle newspapers appeared on either the front page or within the first 10 pages of their corresponding issue, accounting for 41% of the articles across the region. *The Journal* articles were the most prominent, showcasing the only 2 front page stories and featuring 47% of its entire topic-related content within the first 10 pages.

Table 13: Prominence of articles, per publication (Newcastle upon Tyne)

NEWSPAPER	FRONT	2-10	11-20	>21	N/A*	TOTAL
Evening Chronicle	-	21	14	18	-	**53**
Sunday Sun	-	2	2	4	-	**8**
The Journal	2	13	9	8	-	**32**
TOTAL	**2**	**36**	**25**	**30**	**-**	**93**

The articles were also put into categories reflecting their format, as shown in *Table 14* below. The categories used in both regions were as follows:

NEWS:	News report
COMMENT:	Reader/Member of the public comment piece
FEATURES:	Feature article
LETTER:	Letter to the paper
OTHER:	Article which can't be assigned to either of the above

In Newcastle, news reports were the most frequent form of article relating to the library closure process, with 56 in total, or a 60% share of all article formats across the region. Comment pieces only featured in the *Evening Chronicle* (9 articles), which also published the most letters (11 articles). However, it is interesting to note that *The Journal* published the most feature articles with a total of 5, or 71% of all feature articles across the three publications. The 5 'Other' articles include 2 editorial pieces (17, 89), an opinion piece by a local writer/poet (36), an article documenting the campaign against cuts to public services (61) and a guest article by the local council leader addressing the readership/electorate (31).

Table 14: Format of articles, per publication (Newcastle upon Tyne)

NEWSPAPER	NEWS	COMMENT	FEATURES	LETTERS	OTHER	TOTAL
Evening Chronicle	30	9	1	11	2	**53**
Sunday Sun	7	-	1	-	-	**8**
The Journal	19	-	5	5	3	**32**
TOTAL	**56**	**9**	**7**	**16**	**5**	**93**

5.3.2 Lincolnshire

Table 15 below relays article prominence in the Lincolnshire regional newspapers; however, as can be noted, the *Lexis Library News* database only provided page details for the *Lincolnshire Echo.* The library closure process featured once on the front page of the *Lincolnshire Echo* within the period of analysis, and 26% of its articles were contained within the first 10 pages.

Table 15: Prominence of articles, per publication (Lincolnshire)

NEWSPAPER	FRONT	2-10	11-20	>21	N/A*	TOTAL
Boston Standard	-	-	-	-	4	4
Bourne Local	-	-	-	-	19	19
Gainsborough Std	-	-	-	-	4	4
Grantham Journal	-	-	-	-	6	6
Horncastle News	-	-	-	-	17	17
Lincolnshire Echo	1	14	8	35	-	58
Louth Leader	-	-	-	-	7	7
Market Rasen Mail	-	-	-	-	13	13
Skegness Standard	-	-	-	-	7	7
Sleaford Standard	-	-	-	-	7	7
Spalding Guardian	-	-	-	-	9	9
TOTAL	1	14	8	35	93	151

As can be noted from *Table* 16, and similarly to Newcastle, the majority of articles relating to library closures in Lincolnshire were news reports, with 91 in total (71% of articles in all formats). For four newspapers (*Boston Standard, Louth Leader, Skegness Standard* and *Sleaford Standard)* news reports made up 100% of their output on the subject. The *Lincolnshire Echo* produced the most diverse range of articles, including 26 "Letters" (84% of all letters in Lincolnshire), and its 2 feature articles constituted the only features printed by any of the publications. The 6 "Other" articles included three editorials regarding library closures/cuts (160, 167, 168), and an guest piece with opposing viewpoints on funding cuts for libraries, written by a county councillor and a member of the "Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition" (244).

Table 16: Format of articles, per publication (Lincolnshire)

NEWSPAPER	NEWS	COMMENT	FEATURES	LETTERS	OTHER	TOTAL
Boston Standard	4	-	-	-	-	4
Bourne Local	18	-	-	1	-	19
Gainsborough Std	4	-	-	-	-	4
Grantham Journal	4	-	-	-	2	6
Horncastle News	16	-	-	1	-	17
Lincolnshire Echo	26	-	2	26	4	58
Louth Leader	7	-	-	-	-	7
Market Rasen Mail	12	-	-	1	-	13
Skegness Standard	7	-	-	-	-	7
Sleaford Standard	7	-	-	-	-	7
Spalding Guardian	6	-	-	3	-	9
TOTAL	**111**	**-**	**2**	**32**	**6**	**151**

5.4 Discussion: Type of Regional Coverage

The data displayed above shows a continued trend of uneven coverage in the Lincolnshire area, with figures concerning article format clearly conveying a lack of diversity in the provincial publications. Their tendency to only produce relatively short news pieces indicates that their reporting of the library closure process appears to be 'responsive rather than proactive' (Pickering, quoted in Aldridge, 2003, p.500). The lack of letters or other reader-based content also reinforces the notion that campaigners in the dispersed areas missed the opportunity to lobby their local newspaper.

Again, despite the inconsistency of coverage in Lincolnshire, the general diversity of the article formats and prominence of the topic-related articles across the two areas is significant. This is particularly true of the *Evening Chronicle, The Journal* and the *Lincolnshire Echo,* which all display signs of active editorial advocacy in terms of scope and type of coverage*.* Indeed, the *Evening Chronicle* sets out its stall early as being a supporter the Newcastle "Save the Libraries" campaign (17) (27). This is reflected in their use of user comments pieces, which actively seek out public opinion on the library issue.

5.5 Regional Press: Key Actors

The subsequent sections will be used to address the following objective:

- To identify the key actors portrayed by the regional press as having been involved in the closure proposal process, and how they have been represented.

As noted in the Methodology Chapter, this was achieved by conducting a deeper content analysis of stratified samples from Newcastle and Lincolnshire newspapers. All of the "news reports" from the *Evening Chronicle* (30 articles) and *Lincolnshire Echo* (26 articles) were chosen for this purpose.

Please Note: In the following sections groups and individuals have been allocated a 'stance' on proposals. This stance is based purely on how the corresponding article portrays their views. If their views weren't expressed or obvious in the context of the news articles, they were marked as NEUTRAL. Also, the data displayed in each table has often been condensed from much larger Excel tables. More detailed analysis can be found at Appendix I.

5.5.1 Actor Groups

5.5.2 Evening Chronicle

Various groups and bodies of actors were cited in the *Evening Chronicle* news report sample, figures for which have been provided in *Table 17* below. "Newcastle City Council" featured the most, being mentioned in 27 of the 30 articles (90% of the sample), of which 26 were substantial mentions. They were the only body which were presented as a proponent of the library closure proposals. "Campaign Groups" followed with 23 article mentions (77% of the sample), albeit with only 13 of these being substantial. The term "Campaign Groups" is an umbrella term for the following bodies which were cited separately in the newspaper articles: "Campaign for the Book" (1 article), "Friends of Heaton Library" (1 article), "Newcastle Coalition of Resistance" (2 articles), "Save Newcastle Libraries" (6 articles), "Save Our Libraries" (8 articles), "Save Our Services" (3 articles) and "Walker Action Group" (2 articles).

The two other notable groups referenced in the reports were "Central Government" with 12 article appearances (40% of the sample), the majority of which (11 articles) were passing mentions, and "Volunteer Groups" with 9 (30% of the sample).

Table 17: Groups of actors cited in Evening Chronicle news reports

ACTOR GROUPS/BODIES	ARTICLE APPEARANCES	PASSING MENTION	SUBSTANTIAL MENTION	STANCE ON PROPOSALS
Campaign Groups	23	10	13	AGAINST
Celebrity Groups	4	1	3	AGAINST
Central Government	12	11	1	NEUTRAL
Library User Groups	1	-	1	AGAINST
Newcastle City Council	27	1	26	FOR
Newcastle Families	5	3	2	AGAINST
Private Firms	8	4	3	NEUTRAL
Trade Unions	4	4	0	AGAINST
Volunteer Groups	9	5	4	NEUTRAL

5.5.3 Lincolnshire Echo

"Lincolnshire County Council" was the most featured of the groups in the *Lincolnshire Echo* news reports, appearing in 24 of the 26 articles (92% of the sample). "Volunteer Groups" followed with 13 different article mentions (50% of the sample), which was marginally more than "Campaign Groups" with 12 appearances (46% of the sample). However, the latter had more substantial mentions (9 articles compared to 7).

The term "Campaign Groups" accounts for the following groups and bodies: "Campaigners" (1 article), "Save Lincolnshire Libraries" (10 articles) and "Wragby Community Group" (1 article). It is interesting to note that "Library Workers" as a group were only mentioned in one article (94). This was the only article to address them as a group entity across both regional samples. Mentions of 'Central Government' are also notable by their absence, particularly considering that they featured in 40% of the *Evening Chronicle* sample.

Table 18: Groups of actors cited in Lincolnshire Echo news reports

ACTOR GROUPS/BODIES	ARTICLE APPEARANCES	PASSING MENTION	SUBSTANTIAL MENTION	STANCE ON PROPOSALS
Campaign Groups	12	3	9	AGAINST
Council Bodies (A)*	2	0	2	FOR
Council Bodies (B)**	4	1	3	AGAINST
District Councils	2	1	1	AGAINST
Library User Groups	1	1	0	AGAINST
Library Workers Group	2	1	1	AGAINST
Lincolnshire Cty Council	24	1	23	FOR
Lincolnshire Residents	2	0	2	AGAINST
Parish Councils	1	1	0	NEUTRAL
Political Bodies ***	8	1	7	MIXED
Private Firms	5	1	4	NEUTRAL
Trade Unions	2	0	2	AGAINST
Volunteer Groups	13	6	7	NEUTRAL

*Council Executive Committee
** Community Scrutiny Committee
*** Various political groups within council e.g. Liberal Democrats (Political Bodies are noted as mixed stance due to inseparable inter-party and cross-party differences of opinion)

5.6 Discussion: Actor Groups

The governing bodies ("Newcastle City Council" and "Lincolnshire County Council") in control library policy in both regions feature heavily in the coverage, which is understandable given they are the driving force behind the closure proposals. They are also portrayed as being, effectively, the only groups in favour of the decision across the two samples (the other groups presented as FOR in the *Lincolnshire Echo* are bodies within the council who heavily influenced the decisions e.g. the council Executive Committee). In contrast, there is a greater diversity among groups presented as being AGAINST the library closure proposals. As such, it becomes clear that in both samples the debate is being framed as the local authority vs. everybody else (including dissenting voices within the council), exemplifying the apparent unpopularity of their position.

Another parallel between the two samples is the references to the various campaign groups, which also feature heavily. In Newcastle, where council plans were due to affect a variety of public services in addition, support for threatened libraries came from a coalition of grassroots projects. Those groups dedicated to saving libraries were named in 17 separate articles out of 30 in the *Evening Chronicle* sample, often alongside other groups rallying against austerity measures (5, 24). In the *Lincolnshire Echo,* the "Save Lincolnshire Libraries" group was directly referenced in 10 out of 26 articles, in addition to other grassroots library groups. Both the "Save Lincolnshire Libraries" (119)

and "Save Newcastle Libraries" (22) were named in articles within a week of the closure proposals being reported in the respective newspapers. This is indicative of a swift response from grassroots campaigners and also a broad measure of their success in gaining media exposure at regional level. This also gives credibility to the findings displayed in Chapter 4 (**Section 4.6.1**), wherein 96% of questionnaire respondents either "Agreed" or "Strongly Agreed" that their local library campaign attracted regional media interest.

The main difference between the two samples here lies with the portrayal of celebrity groups and the role of Central Government. Whilst celebrities appear as individuals in the *Lincolnshire Echo,* they aren't forged into groups as they are in the *Evening Chronicle,* where "acclaimed writers" or "award-winning authors" are presented as a distinct entity (27) backing the cause. This trend to utilise celebrity endorsement is mirrored in Fletcher's (2011) study of the national newspaper reporting of library closures, and appears to be a contrived tactic of the *Evening Chronicle* in their open support of the campaign to save libraries (17, 27).

Regarding Central Government, the difference in coverage between the newspapers suggests that its role has been recognised as important in the closure process in Newcastle, whilst being largely ignored in Lincolnshire. This could be explained by the council make-up in the two areas; as mentioned in the **Section 3.5.1**, Newcastle City Council is led by a Labour majority, whereas Lincolnshire County Council, whilst not having a recognised overall majority, is largely made up of Conservative councillors and councillors representing centre-right parties. As the driving force behind the proposals in both areas, it is reasonable to suggest that the discourse used by both of these administrations to justify their actions is likely to have influenced the focus of the news reports. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest this in both samples:

"You can't help but conclude that the current Government has an expressed objective of destroying the public services people have told us they want to save." Nick Forbes, Labour Leader for Newcastle upon Tyne, *Evening Chronicle* (8).

"The reason we have to make cuts is because of the national deficit Labour left us in." Conservative Councillor Nick Worth, Lincolnshire County Council, *Lincolnshire Echo* (238).

Whilst both administrations were essentially trying to meet the same objective, the disparate references to Central Government between the newspaper samples indicate that there was an attempt to justify it in separate ways, and also to make a political statement in doing so.

5.7 Individual Actors

5.7.1 Evening Chronicle

As can be noted by the figures in *Table 19*, further analysis of the *Evening Chronicle* sample revealed that in terms of individual actors, "Celebrities" featured the most by some distance, with 75 appearances in the 30 articles. Closest behind were "Campaigners", with 15 appearances. The disproportionate nature of individual celebrity appearances can be explained in part by a news report (27) containing the names of 32 authors relaying their support for the library campaign; however, the total word count of the quotes attributed to the various celebrities (1,925 words) is still comfortably more than that of "Campaigners", whom were the second most quoted individuals (863 words). Another observation that can be noted here, is that those individuals FOR the library closure proposals featured 14 times (11 substantial) with a total of 740 words attributed to their names, whilst those AGAINST appeared 109 times (60 substantial) with a total of 3,617 words attributed to theirs.

Table 19: Individual actors cited in Evening Chronicle news reports

IND. ACTORS	ARTICLE APPEARANCES	PASSING MENTION	SUBSTANTIAL MENTION	TOTAL QUOTE LENGTH *	STANCE ON PROPOSALS
Campaigners	15	1	14	863	AGAINST
Celebrities	75	45	30	1,925	AGAINST
Company Reps	1	0	1	95	NEUTRAL
Council Rep	7	0	7	475	FOR
Councillors (A)	7	3	4	265	FOR
Councillors (B)	6	0	6	441	AGAINST
Councillors (C)	1	0	1	27	NEUTRAL
General Public	2	1	1	58	AGAINST
Library Users	7	0	7	267	AGAINST
MP's	1	0	1	0	NEUTRAL
Union Reps	4	2	2	63	AGAINST

* Quote length in words

5.7.2 Lincolnshire Echo

Figures from the analysis of individual actors for the *Lincolnshire Echo* sample can be found in *Table 20* below. Therein it is revealed that similarly to the *Evening Chronicle* sample*,* those individual actors speaking FOR library proposals featured significantly less (19 articles; 13 substantial) than those AGAINST them (73 articles; 57 substantial). In terms of total number of words attributed in quotes, this translates to 835 for the former and 2,957 for the latter. Individual "Campaigners" featured the most with 24 appearances, albeit only marginally more than "County Councillors (B)"

(i.e. county councillors AGAINST closure proposals) with 23 appearances. County Councillors (B) also had the most words attributed to them in quotes, with 998 in total. Notably, individual "Celebrities" feature far less in the *Lincolnshire Echo* sample than they do in the *Evening Chronicle* sample. It is also worth highlighting that similarly to group mentions for "Library Workers Groups", individual "Librarians" are barely mentioned or quoted.

Table 20: Individual actors cited in Lincolnshire Echo news reports

IND. ACTORS	ARTICLE APPEARANCES	PASSING MENTION	SUBSTANTIAL MENTION	TOTAL QUOTE LENGTH *	STANCE ON PROPOSALS
Campaigners	24	11	13	574	AGAINST
Celebrities	9	3	6	464	AGAINST
Central Gov Rep	2	2	0	0	NEUTRAL
Company Reps	3	0	3	151	NEUTRAL
Cty Council Rep (A)	4	2	2	71	FOR
Cty Council Rep (B)	2	1	1	83	NEUTRAL
County Cllrs (A)	15	4	11	764	FOR
County Cllrs (B)	23	2	21	998	AGAINST
District Cllrs	5	0	5	138	AGAINST
Election Candidates	3	0	3	100	AGAINST
General Public	4	0	4	186	AGAINST
Head of State	1	1	0	0	NEUTRAL
Librarians	1	0	1	276	AGAINST
MPs	1	0	1	86	AGAINST
Union Reps	3	0	3	135	AGAINST

* Quote length in words

5.8 Discussion: Individual Actors

As noted in **Section 2.5**, Scheufele (2006) contends that framing exists in a news story when it can be shaped by a particular spin. Whilst discussion of the group actors in the respective samples (**Section 5.6**) indicated that the news reports were focusing more on parties opposed to library closures, content analysis of individual actors involved puts this beyond doubt. In terms of article appearances and combined quote length, the vast majority of the coverage is given to individuals outspoken AGAINST the decisions of the local authorities in both regions. Again, celebrity input aside, the parallels between the actors portrayed in the two publications is very distinguished – "Campaigners" and councillors under their various guises feature heavily, whilst "Library Users" and the "General Public" feature less frequently in both samples. Perhaps tellingly, councillors from across the political divide are presented in the samples as being outspoken AGAINST the decision makers in their respective administrations, whilst their counterparts elsewhere share a different position. For example, Labour Councillors were vociferous AGAINST the proposals in Lincolnshire; in contrast, the

Labour-led council in Newcastle were the architects of the proposals. This gives credence to the assertions of the respondents in the survey questionnaire, who cite opposition councillors in their local authority areas as using library closures to gain political capital (**Section 4.3.2)**.

There is a distinct lack of library workers present in the respective samples, which is presumably due to the fact that they are often 'prohibited (…) from campaigning' (Voices for the Library, 2014) by their councils. As such, the only article featuring the views of a library worker (94) conceals their identity. It is also notable that volunteer/community group representatives do not feature in the individual analysis, given their frequent mention as group entities across the samples. This is because they are not yet existential in most of the articles, and are often an abstract idea floated by the respective local authority:

'The authority hopes community groups will come forward to run the facilities' (120).

'…sites will close down unless community groups step in' (8).

5.9 Regional Press: The Role of Library Campaigns and Library Advocacy

The purpose of the following sections is to address the objective:

- To gauge the extent to which local library campaigns are represented in the regional press, and also how public libraries/library professionals are advocated for therein.

As noted in the Methodology Chapter, this was achieved via a content/textual analysis of the stratified *Evening Chronicle* and *Lincolnshire Echo* news reports.

5.9.1 Campaign Activities

Please Note: activities were often reported in both newspaper samples as having happened, being ongoing, as planned to happen, or as being suggested (the latter usually by an advocate of the campaigns). The results are displayed accordingly by denoting the cited activities as HAPPENED, ONGOING, SCHEDULED or SUGGESTED.

5.9.2 Evening Chronicle

Campaign protests (rallies, vigils etc.) appeared throughout the 30 news reports in the sample, and were presented as SCHEDULED (2 articles), HAPPENED (10 articles) and SUGGESTED (2 articles). Petitions were reported as being ONGOING (8 articles), and having HAPPENED (4 articles). Public meetings were SCHEDULED (5 articles), had HAPPENED (2 articles) and were SUGGESTED (2 articles). The lobbying of councillors and/or MPs was reported as SCHEDULED (1 article), ONGOING (3

articles), HAPPENED (2 articles) and SUGGESTED (2 articles). In terms of other activities, poster campaigns (1 article) and social media campaigns (1 article) were ONGOING; the storming of a council meeting (1 article) HAPPENED; library building occupations (1 article) and the taking out of library memberships (2 articles) were SUGGESTED.

Overall, campaign activities were mentioned in 77% of all articles in the sample, with SCHEDULED or ONGOING (21 articles) activities appearing in 70%, HAPPENED (19 articles) in 63%, and SUGGESTED (10 articles) in 33%. In terms of density, a total of 58 separate activities were mentioned throughout the 30 news reports, which is an average of 1.93 mentions per article. HAPPENED protests were the most covered with 10 appearances (33% of the sample), followed by ONGOING petitions with 8 (27%) and SCHEDULED public meetings with 5 (17%).

5.9.3 Lincolnshire Echo

Of the 26 news reports in the sample, campaign protests (rallies, vigils etc.) were presented as SCHEDULED (2 articles), HAPPENED (3 articles), and SUGGESTED (1 article) at the time of print. Petitions were reported as being ONGOING (2 articles) or having HAPPENED (9 articles). Public meetings were SCHEDULED (1 article), had HAPPENED (3 articles) or were SUGGESTED (1 article). The lobbying of councillors and MPs was presented as being ONGOING (1 article), or having HAPPENED (4 articles), whilst the other campaign activity reported in the sample was the ONGOING joining of libraries by new users (1 article).

In total, campaign activities were mentioned in 62% of all the articles in the sample, with SCHEDULED or ONGOING (7 articles) activities appearing in 27%, HAPPENED (19 articles) in 73%, and SUGGESTED (2 articles) in 8%. In terms of density, a total of 38 separate activities were mentioned throughout the 26 news reports, which is an average of 1.46 mentions per article. HAPPENED petitions were the most covered having appeared in 10 articles (38% of the sample), followed by the HAPPENED lobbying of councillors/MPs with 4 (15%), HAPPENED protests with 3 (12%), and HAPPENED public meetings with 3 (12%).

5.10 Discussion: Campaign Activities

The data for both samples reveals the diversity of action taken by library campaign groups, and also how integral the activities of grassroots campaigns were to the news reports. When taking into consideration possible agenda-setting (McCombs, 2004; Scheufele, 2006), the actions of campaigners were clearly deemed as being newsworthy topics which appear to have been the driving force behind a lot of the printed material. Such efficient publicity would have undoubtedly raised the profile of the campaigners' plight within the readership of the respective newspapers.

5.11 Contact and Event Details

5.11.1 Evening Chronicle

Web details (social media links, website addresses, petition links etc.) of library campaign groups were featured in 1 news report out of the 30 sample; scheduled campaign event details (date/time place) appeared in 7 articles; and, a paper-based petition was contained on the page of 1 article. In total, contact details relating to library campaigns and events appeared in 23% of the news reports in the sample (7 separate articles).

5.11.2 Lincolnshire Echo

Web details (social media links, website addresses, petition links etc.) of library campaigns/campaign groups featured in 1 news article out of the sample of 26, whilst scheduled library campaign event details (date, time, place) appeared in 4. Overall, contact and event details relating to library campaigns/campaign groups featured in 19% of articles in the sample (5 separate articles).

5.12 Discussion: Contact and Event Details

The data presented above reveals that promotion of library campaign events and the provision of campaign contact details were quite sparse in both samples, particularly given the strong coverage of campaign activities noted earlier in **Section 5.10**. Whilst the general awareness of campaign groups and their efforts will undoubtedly have been raised by the level of exposure in the newspapers, supplying contact and event details could reasonably be regarded as an opportunity to engage potential campaigners that wasn't maximised. As noted by the Library Campaign (Library Campaign Handbook, 2013, p.2ii), informing the media of events is an important strategy in library campaigning. Given the partisan nature of the local press toward the library cause as displayed by the findings thus far, there appears to have been scope to push this further.

5.13 Community Library Advocacy

5.13.1 Evening Chronicle

As the data in Appendix F suggests, a broad range of community library advocacy appeared throughout the *Evening Chronicle* sample. The three most cited forms of this were: the benefits of public libraries to marginalised groups (children, the elderly, unemployed etc.) which appeared in 16 articles (53% of the sample); educational benefits (access to books, research materials/facilities, study space etc.) which featured in 13 articles (43%); and, social/community benefits cited in 9 articles (30%). Overall, examples of library advocacy appeared in 73% of the 30 news reports in the

sample. With 70 separate mentions, libraries were advocated on an average of 2.33 times per article.

5.13.2 Lincolnshire Echo

There was also a range of community library advocacy examples cited in the *Lincolnshire Echo* sample. The three most referenced examples were: social/community benefits with 11 article appearances (42% of the sample); benefit to vulnerable groups (children, the elderly, unemployed etc.) with 10 (38%); and, educational benefits (access to books, research materials/facilities, study space etc.) with 8 (31%). In total, library advocacy appeared in 69% of the 26 news reports in the sample. With 41 separate mentions, libraries were advocated on an average of 1.58 times per article.

5.14 Discussion: Community Library Advocacy

As the figures above shown, public libraries are unquestionably advocated by both newspapers in a diverse and prolific manner. Interestingly, whereas Fletcher's (2011) study into the reporting of library closures in the national press revealed a tendency of the featured commenters (largely celebrities) to advocate for libraries via a discourse of nostalgia and symbolism, the evidence provided in the figures above suggests a more direct and contemporarily relevant usage in the regional press samples. The following rich text responses gleaned in the textual analysis reinforce this theory:

"Over the years, libraries have changed. Most are far brighter and more welcoming. They give more space to computers. Many have coffee bars. Librarians now run reading groups and offer story times. But there's one constant. They are free". Anne Fine, Author (27).

"Libraries and the resources in them are very important, especially for children. Kids can have a decent day out at a library and learn so much." Nigel Fisher, Lincolnshire Resident (216).

5.15 Library Professional Advocacy

5.15.1 Evening Chronicle

Analysis of the *Evening Chronicle* reports revealed that library professionals were advocated for in terms of their information literacy/research skills in 1 article (3% of the sample), and their organisation of group activities in 1 article (3%). Overall, professional advocacy featured in 7% of all the articles in the sample (2 separate articles), or with 2 individual mentions an average of 0.07 times per article.

5.15.2 Lincolnshire Echo

Library professionals were advocated for in the *Lincolnshire Echo* news reports via: mention of their professional expertise and knowledge in 3 articles (12% of the sample); information literacy/research skills in 3 articles (12%); service to the community/work with marginalised groups in 2 articles (8%); and, the organisation of group activities in 3 articles (12%). Overall, professional advocacy featured in 23% of all the articles in the sample (6 separate articles), or with 11 individual mentions, an average of 0.42 times per article.

5.16 Discussion: Library Professional Advocacy

The under representation of library workers and groups in the news samples has been noted previously (**Section 5.8**). Generally, what the results above show, is a continuation of the trend cited by Shaw (2010) wherein library advocacy overshadows the advocacy of library professionals in the media. This has to be a concern for the profession, particularly with the looming threat of Big Society. However, given the partisan support of libraries and library campaigns displayed by regional newspapers in this chapter, this is something that can surely be remedied.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

Due to the sample sizes used in this research, the findings relayed in **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5** have to be considered indicative rather than able to facilitate extensive generalisations on the subject of grassroots community campaigns and their impact on public library closures in the UK. However, a number of notable trends and themes have emerged from the data which are certainly worthy of additional study or a deeper qualitative approach to the topic in future.

6.1 The Library Campaigner: An Insight

As acknowledged in **Section 4.3.4**, the data gathered from the cross sectional research suggested the survey participants were "core" members of their local library campaigns. Taking this to be the case, the profiles of the most active library campaigners bear a remarkable resemblance to the most regular library users (Dahlgreen, 2014), in that females and those over the age of 60 are the most prominent. However, with the exception of under 30s, students and the unemployed, the make-up of library groups is a reasonably broad church. The lack of younger members is stark though; in the current climate wherein naysayers, including those who perhaps benefit from the service (Flood, 2013), are questioning the relevance of a public library in a contemporary environment, it would certainly boost the plight of the campaigners if they could encourage a more youthful element to take a central role.

6.1.1 The Library Campaigner: An Indomitable Spirit?

The questionnaire results strongly suggested that generally speaking, the core members of local library campaigns are very loyal to the cause and to the group they represent. The respondents were remarkably articulate and passionate about their reason for involvement in saving their public libraries; their advocating of the service was essentially a *tour-de-force* in promoting its diverse value and contemporary benefit, and very much reflected the views put forth in the literature (**Section 2.3.3**). The groups were also well represented by seasoned grassroots campaigners with a broad range of grassroots experience, whom made up a significant minority of the respondents. They also dropped-out of groups in very low numbers, and were inclined to present a very positive picture of their respective groups and their undertakings, relaying an extensive approach to campaigning in terms of activities.

6.1.2 Local Library Campaigns: A Myriad of Difficulties

It is perhaps ironic that the determination and spirit of campaigners reflected in the findings was most notable from the various problems they faced. One of the main issues was a seeming lack of

shared vision among campaigners, particularly with regard to volunteer-run libraries; almost all were opposed, but whilst some were hostile and railed vehemently against, others seemed inclined to accept their inevitability. The other main difficulty intimated by respondents was that local authorities were often unmoveable in their desire to railroad closure proposals; it was very apparent that whilst at best the participants displayed ambivalence towards their local representatives, it often veered into disgust at their actions. Such a disregard for constituents strongly indicates that the ideology of neoliberalism, as discussed at length in **Chapter 2**, has filtered down to local authority level. Also, its pervasive influence appears to have had a desensitising effect on the public at large; campaigners indicated that whilst sections of the public showed support for their actions, this did not necessarily translate to active involvement. Indeed, it was noted via the responses that the burden of responsibility often fell to too few activists.

6.2 Regional Press: A Force for Good

It was asserted in the Literature Review (**Section 2.5.1**) that local newspapers were still culturally relevant, and of particular importance to communities due to their political independence. The findings in **Chapter 5** were stark in their support of this theory; they showed that local newspapers often put the closures of their community libraries at the forefront of their agenda, and in doing so were willing to frame the debate overwhelmingly against local authority decision makers; a theme that transcended the regional divide. The coverage was generally very prolific and strongly advocated for the service; perhaps the only real concern in this regard was the distinct lack of advocacy for library professionals, and the comparatively low coverage in "provincial" newspapers.

The comparative nature of case studies also revealed some stark findings; effectively, the reporting of the closure processes followed the same trend. However, whilst the political discourse was different in both areas in terms of pushing and justifying closure proposals, ultimately both local authorities were presented as being determined to rid themselves of a large portion of their public library provision, regardless of the universal opposition to their actions.

6.3 The Impact of Community Grassroots Campaigns

Grassroots campaigns against public library closures have been shown by the research to have had a great deal of local newspaper exposure, and to have been made up of highly active, articulate and determined proponents of the library service, who are most likely to have made waves across the UK with their efforts. Their positive message about libraries is being relayed (**Section 5.14**), if not so much their keen awareness of the importance of professionals. However, the evidence provided here shows that in order to capitalise on the successes such as the recent Save Lincolnshire Libraries

High Court review, a clearer vision has to be set out as to the aims of the groups: are they all (a full professional service at all costs) or not quite so much (volunteers in waiting)? Of course the reality is never black and white, but a shared determination may be the only answer to unrelenting councillors of all political stripes, and the best way to reach a more suitable compromise, if not quite an ideal one.

6.4 Recommendations for future research

There are many options for further research in this subject area. However, based on this study, the following are recommended by the researcher:

- A thorough case study of a "successful" campaign group.

  To select a campaign group, such as Save Lincolnshire Libraries, that has managed to maximise its gains against a very obstinate council body. This could be approached by carrying out extensive interviews with prominent campaign members and casual members alike, in order to determine the factors which have contributed to their achievements.

- Critical discourse analysis of council documents/quotes in newspaper articles/announcements etc.

  There is a fascinating, if alarming, approach to political discourse with regards to public library closure processes. Judicial reviews having been brought about by failure to follow protocol strongly suggests that there is scope to critically analyse what the voices behind these decisions are actually saying.

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APPENDIX A – Sample Questionnaire

Appendix A: Sample Questionnaire

What is the Impact of Community Grassroots Campaigns on Public Library Closures in the UK?

The purpose of this survey is to investigate the impact of community grassroots campaigns on public library closures in the UK, by asking a series of questions of community activists who are/were involved in a library grassroots campaign. Due to the rapid nature of the cuts and closures currently being imposed on public libraries, there has been a distinct lack of research carried out in this area. It is hoped that the information pooled in this study will aid and motivate future activists in their efforts, whilst providing a benchmark for future research.

In the survey participants will be asked questions about themselves, how they came to be involved in grassroots library campaigning, their opinion on campaign activities and various other factors closely related to community grassroots movements. Some of the questions in the survey are in multiple choice formats, whilst others are in free text format. The survey should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete.

The data collected here will be analysed and interpreted by an MSc student at the University of Strathclyde, for use in a dissertation project.
All aspects of the research are entirely voluntary and participants are under no obligation to answer any questions they do not feel comfortable with. Participants can also choose to withdraw or have their data withdrawn from the research at any time without having to provide a reason for doing so. All data will be treated confidentially. All personally identifiable information will be removed from the final dissertation. All data will be stored on password protected computers and, where possible, in encrypted and password protected files. All file names shall be anonymous.

All data will be destroyed within two months of receiving the project results, unless the decision to publish is taken by the researcher. If this decision is taken, then all data will destroyed within a month of any such article being published. Ethics approval has been obtained for this research project. If participants have any queries or concerns regarding the ethics of this study or any

questions they feel they would like to ask about the study in general, they can contact the researcher at: john.mowbray.2013@uni.strath.ac.uk.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT: I confirm that I have read the above information and understand what participation in this study involves. I understand that all aspects of the study are voluntary and that I am free to withdraw myself or my data from the research at any time without having to provide a reason for doing so. I understand that all information provided will remain confidential and no personally identifiable information will be made publicly accessible. I consent to participating in the study. By clicking the "I agree" option below, I confirm that I have read and understood the above statements, and consent to participating in the research.

❍   I agree

Q1 Is your local library campaign still active?

❍   Yes
❍   No
❍   Unsure

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Prior to becoming involved in your lo...If Unsure Is Selected, Then Skip To Prior to becoming involved in your lo...

Q1a Are you still involved in your local library campaign?

❍   Yes
❍   No
❍   Unsure

If Yes Is Selected, Then Skip To Prior to becoming involved in your lo...If Unsure Is Selected, Then Skip To Prior to becoming involved in your lo...

Q1b Please briefly note why you are no longer involved in your local library campaign.

Q2 Prior to becoming involved in your local library campaign, did you have any previous experience as a community/grassroots activist?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Unsure

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Are you a founding member of your loc...If Unsure Is Selected, Then Skip To Are you a founding member of your loc...

Q2a Please describe any previous experience you have had as a community/grassroots activist.

Q3 Are you a founding member of your local library campaign?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Unsure

If Yes Is Selected, Then Skip To In your own words, please describe wh...

Q3a How did you find out about your local library campaign?

- ○ Local library/library staff
- ○ Local library activist
- ○ Media (Newspaper, news online, radio etc.)
- ○ Social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)
- ○ Word of mouth (Friend, relative etc.)
- ○ Other (Please state below)

_____

Q3b How active are/were you in your local library campaign?

- ○ Very active
- ○ Fairly active
- ○ Casually active
- ○ Unsure

Q3c In your own words, please describe why you got involved in your local library campaign.

Q4 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to your local library campaign group?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The campaign was well organised	○	○	○	○	○
The campaign had clear goals	○	○	○	○	○
The campaign had strong leadership	○	○	○	○	○
The campaign was highly active	○	○	○	○	○
Activists were well co-ordinated at campaign activities/events	○	○	○	○	○
Communication was strong between activists in the group	○	○	○	○	○
New activists were welcomed by the group	○	○	○	○	○
New activists were well informed/trained by the group	○	○	○	○	○

Q5 Please answer the following questions regarding the activities of your local library campaign to the best of your knowledge.

	Did the campaign engage in the following activities?			If 'Yes', to what extent would you agree or disagree that they generated a response/raised awareness of the library campaign cause?					Which two activities were the most effective in generating a response for/raising awareness
	Yes	No	Unsure	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Please select 2
Public meetings	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Fundraising events	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Social media/online campaign	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Information stalls	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Petitioning	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Door-to-door leafleting	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Poster campaigning	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Protest/rallies (read-ins, vigils etc.)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Processions/marches	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Lobbying local councillors	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Lobbying local MPs	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Other 1: please state below	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑
Other 2: please state below	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❑

Q5a Many of the UK local library campaign groups make use of social media accounts (Twitter, Facebook etc.). In your own words, please outline any thoughts you may have on social media as a tool in library grassroots campaigning.

Q6 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to the success of your local library campaign?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The campaign raised public support	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The campaign was good at attracting new members/activists	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The campaign promoted the values of the public library service	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The campaign promoted the importance of qualified librarians/information professionals	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The campaign attracted local media interest	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The campaign attracted national media interest	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q7 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements in relation to your council/local authority?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Council officials took the library campaign seriously	○	○	○	○	○
Council officials were aware of the crucial value of the public library service	○	○	○	○	○
Council officials were willing to listen to the arguments of the library campaign activists	○	○	○	○	○
Council officials were willing to reach a compromise with library campaigners about proposed library closures	○	○	○	○	○

Q8 In your own words, please note any improvements that could have been made to your local library campaign.

Q8a In your own words, please note the main barriers (if any) to the success of your local library campaign.

Q9 Some public libraries in the UK are now being run entirely by volunteers in order to avoid being closed by their local council. In your own words, please outline any thoughts you may have on public libraries being run entirely by volunteers.

Q9a Would you be willing to work as a volunteer to keep your local public library open?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Unsure

Q10 Do you feel optimistic that your remaining local public library service will be safe in the future?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Unsure

Q11 What gender are you?

○ Male
○ Female

Q12 What age are you?

○ 20 years or under
○ 21-30 years
○ 31-40 years
○ 41-50 years
○ 51-60 years
○ 60 years or over

Q13 What is your employment status?

○ Employed Full time
○ Employed Part time
○ Unemployed
○ Student
○ Retired
○ Other (Please state below)

_____

Q14   Prior to becoming involved in your local library campaign, how often did you use your local library service?

○ Weekly
○ Monthly
○ Less than once a month
○ Never

Q15 Please state the local authority area your local library campaign group operated in (e.g. Gloucestershire, Newcastle)

APPENDIX B – CAMPAIGN GROUPS CONTACTED

LIST OF CAMPAIGN GROUPS SENT ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

CONTACTED VIA EMAIL (PROVIDED ON GROUP WEBSITE)

- Barnet Alliance for Public Services
- Charmouth Central
- East Finchley Library Users Group
- Friends of Colyton Library
- Friends of Gloucestershire Libraries
- Friends of Highgate Library
- Friends of Ryton Library
- Friends of West Hampstead Library
- Friends of Zest (Upperthorpe Library)
- Save Somerset's libraries
- Save Southport Libraries
- Save Totley Library
- Save Wolverhampton Libraries

CONTACTED VIA GROUP FACEBOOK

- Broomhill Library Action Group
- Friends of Chagford Library
- Friends of Irby library
- Friends of the Library of Birmingham
- Gorebridge cares
- Hands Off Sunderland Libraries
- Keep our library local Newtongrange
- Libraries of Luton Arise
- Rhydyfelin Library Support Group
- Save Bolton Libraries
- Save Burghead Library
- Save Bury Library
- Save Debenham Library
- Save Ealing's Libraries Campaign
- Save Friern Barnet Library Group
- Save Mayfield Library
- Save Northenden Library
- Save Stony Stratford Library
- Save the Deepings Library
- Save Whiston Library
- Save Upper Norwood Library From Closure
- Sheffield Communities Against Library Privatisation
- SOS Leigh Library
- Stand Up For Southend Libraries
- Support for Axminster Library
- Support Kent Elms Library

CONTACTED VIA GROUP TWITTER

- Hands off Old Trafford Library
- Save Burnage Library
- Save Burngreave Library
- Save Croydon Libraries Campaign
- Save Herefordshire Libraries
- Save Kensal Rise Library
- Save Levenshulme Baths and Library
- Save Lincolnshire LIbraries
- Save Our Libraries (Moray)
- Save Walkley Library
- Save Wychwood Library on Twitter

CONTACTED VIA GROUP WEBSITE

- Communities Against the Cuts (Birmingham Area)
- Hereford Library Users Group
- Libraries for Life for Londoners
- Long Live Honley Library
- Save Newcastle Libraries Coalition
- Save Our Libraries on the Isle of Wight
- Save Wimbledon Library

APPENDIX C – QUESTIONNAIRE COVER LETTER

Cover Letter to potential Questionnaire respondents

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am an MSc student of Information and Library Studies at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow. Currently, I am conducting research into the impact of community grassroots campaigns on public library closures in the UK, and am seeking participants for my survey questionnaire, a link to which can be found below. I require the response of people who have, to varying degrees, been actively involved in a grassroots movement as a campaigner against the proposed closure of local library facilities.

I aim to distribute the survey as widely as possible across the UK, and would greatly appreciate it if you could forward the link to all whom you think would be eligible to take part. Please don't hesitate to contact me with any queries you may have at john.mowbray.2013@uni.strath.ac.uk. More information is contained within the link.

https://stratheng.eu.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_9o8UZL1oL7HjxrL

Kind Regards,
John Mowbray

APPENDIX D – LINE-BY-LINE CODING (ACTORS)

Line-by-line coding (Group & Individual Actors)

Old **Library** Buildings To Be Sold Off

HISTORIC **library** buildings could be sold off or demolished under sweeping budget cuts.

Newcastle City Council is proposing to close seven **libraries** and relocate a further two this summer before axing another three facilities in 2015.

It says it wants community groups or businesses to take on the running of the services. But the buildings, some of major historical importance, could be sold or even demolished if volunteers do not come forward.

Tony Durcan OBE, director of culture, **libraries** and lifelong learning at **Newcastle** City Council, said: "We have not drawn up detailed plans on what would happen to **library** buildings if these proposals go through and we would consider each **library** building on its own merits.

"Our first priority would be to make sure any empty **library** buildings are handed over to local people for either use as **libraries** or as community buildings.
"If that could not happen we would then investigate selling the building, as we believe several of them would be attractive to private buyers.

"We will do whatever we can to avoid demolition."

Group Actor: NCC.

Volunteer Groups (Passing – not existential, NEUTRAL proposals).

Group Actor: Private Firms (Passing – not existential, NEUTRAL on proposals)

Theme: Allegations of public assets being sold.

Theme: Evidence of Big Society entering discourse.

Individual Actor: Tony Durcan, Director of Culture (FOR Proposals)

Quote Length: 90 words (Durcan)

APPENDIX E – CODING MANUAL

CODING MANUAL:
Campaign Tactics &
Media Advocacy

Campaign Tactics/Activities

0 Not mentioned	4a Lobbying Councillor; Lobbying MP SCHEDULED
1a Protest; March; Vigil; Sit-In SCHEDULED	4b Lobbying Councillor; Lobbying MP ONGOING
1b Protest; March; Vigil; Sit-In HAPPENED	4c Lobbying Councillor; Lobbying MP HAPPENED
1c Protest; March; Vigil; Sit-In SUGGESTED	4d Lobbying Councillor; Lobbying MP SUGGESTED
2a Petition SCHEDULED	5a Other Activity SCHEDULED
2b Petition ONGOING	5b Other Activity ONGOING
2c Petition HAPPENED	5c Other Activity HAPPENED
2d Petition SUGGESTED	5d Other Activity SUGGESTED
3a Public Meeting SCHEDULED	
3b Public Meeting HAPPENED	
3c Public Meeting SUGGESTED	

Contact Details/Event Details

0 Not mentioned

1 Web details (Social Media Page; Campaign Website; Online Petition Link)

2 Council contact details; Council events

3 Council consultation details

4 Scheduled library campaign event details (Date; Time; Place)

5 Other contact details; Event details

Instances of Library Advocacy

0 Not mentioned

1. Social benefits; Community benefits

2. Free access to all; Inclusiveness

3. Benefits to marginalised groups (Children; Elderly; Low income families; Unemployed)

4. Access to the internet; Access to technology

5. Educational benefits (Books; Reading; Research, Studying)

6. Variety of classes; Groups; Clubs

7. Provision of local information; local history material; family history material

8. Proxy benefits to economy

9. Importance to culture; Heritage

10. National Institutions; Important Buildings

11. Other form of advocacy

Instances of Librarian/Professional Advocacy

0 Not mentioned

1 Professional expertise; knowledge; experience

2 Information literacy training; research skills

3 Service to the community; Work with marginalised groups; Personal service

4 Organise groups; Activities

5 Provision of good materials; Collections

6 Other form of advocacy

APPENDIX F – CODING SCHEDULES

Coding Schedule: Evening Chronicle News Report Sample

Article No.	Date	Campaign Tactics	Contact/Event Details	Library Advocacy Used	Library Professional Advocacy
12	10/11/2012	0	0	2, 3, 4, 5	0
27	12/11/2012	2b, 5d	0	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11	2
40	13/11/2012	0	0	0	0
22	15/11/2012	2b, 3a	4	1, 3, 5, 7, 9	0
21	16/11/2012	3a	4	1, 4, 5	0
85	17/11/2012	2b, 5b	0	2, 3, 5, 6	0
15	21/11/2012	0	0	0	0
81	21/11/2012	3b	0	2, 3, 5, 9	0
86	22/11/2012	2b, 4c	0	1, 2, 3, 9	4
83	23/11/2012	2b	0	2, 3, 5	0
82	27/11/2012	1c, 2d, 3c, 4d	0	11	0
35	17/12/2012	1b, 4b	2	3, 5, 9	0
41	27/12/2012	1a	4	9	0
5	02/01/2013	1a, 1b, 2b, 3a	4, 5	0	0
24	07/01/2013	1c, 2b, 3a, 3b, 3c, 5b, 5d	1, 4	2, 3, 8, 9	0
55	07/01/2013	1b	0	1, 3, 5, 6	0
23	08/01/2013	2b, 3a	4	0	0
49	11/01/2013	4b	0	3	0
62	14/01/2013	1b, 4d	0	9	0
18	16/01/2013	0	0	9	0
16	16/01/2013	0	0	10	0
66	02/02/2013	1b, 2c, 5c	0	0	0
52	07/02/2013	1b, 2c, 4a, 4c	4	0	0
63	11/02/2013	1b	0	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	0
8	16/02/2013	1b, 2c, 4b	0	1, 3, 5	0
46	16/02/2013	0	0	0	0
80	16/02/2013	1b, 2c	0	1, 3, 5	0
51	18/02/2013	1b	0	1, 3	0
26	20/02/2013	0	0	3, 4, 5, 6	0
1	14/03/2013	5d	0	0	0

Coding Schedule: Lincolnshire Echo News Report Sample

Article No.	Date	Campaign Tactics	Contact/Event Details	Library Advocacy Used	Library Professional Advocacy
216	20/06/2013	0	3	3, 5	0
119	27/06/2013	0	2	1, 3	0
214	04/07/2013	2c	1	0	0
173	18/07/2013	0	0	1, 5	3
153	18/07/2013	2b	3	0	0
120	25/07/2013	3c, 4c	0	2, 3, 5	1, 2
149	01/08/2013	3b, 4b	3	2	0
160	08/08/2013	3a	4	4, 5	0
217	08/08/2013	1a, 2c, 3b	4	3, 4, 5	0
209	15/08/2013	0	3	0	4
218	15/08/2013	0	0	1	0
212	15/08/2013	1a, 2b	4, 5	1	0
155	22/08/2013	0	0	1, 9	4
94	22/08/2013	0	0	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7	1, 2, 3, 4
156	05/09/2013	2c	0	1	0
151	05/09/2013	2c	3	0	0
213	12/09/2013	2c, 3b	5	1, 3	0
215	19/09/2013	1b, 2c, 4c	4	0	0
126	26/09/2013	1b	0	1, 3, 4, 5	0
154	26/09/2013	0	0	3, 10	0
219	03/10/2013	1b, 2c, 4c, 5b	0	3, 4, 5, 10	0
220	31/10/2013	1c, 4c	0	1	0
210	21/11/2013	2c	0	0	1, 2
148	28/11/2013	0	0	0	0
159	28/11/2013	0	0	0	0
121	28/11/2013	2c	0	1, 3	0

APPENDIX G – LINE-BY-LINE CODING

(CAMPAIGN TACTICS & ADVOCACY)

Evening Chronicle (**Newcastle**, UK)

January 16, 2013 Wednesday

Old **Library** Buildings To Be Sold Off

SECTION: A; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 177 words

HISTORIC **library buildings** could be sold off or
demolished under sweeping budget cuts.

Library advocacy (9. Suggestion of importance to culture & heritage).

Newcastle City Council is proposing to close seven **libraries**
and relocate a further two this summer before axing another
three facilities in 2015.

It says it wants community groups or businesses to take on
the running of the services. But the buildings, some of major
historical importance, could be sold or even demolished if
volunteers do not come forward.

Tony Durcan OBE, director of culture, **libraries** and lifelong
 learning at **Newcastle** City Council, said: "We have not drawn
up detailed plans on what would happen to **library** buildings if
these proposals go through and we would consider each **library**
building on its own merits.

"Our first priority would be to make sure any empty
library buildings are handed over to local people for either use
as **libraries** or as community buildings.
"If that could not happen we would then investigate selling the
building, as we believe several of them would be attractive to
private buyers.

"We will do whatever we can to avoid demolition."

LOAD-DATE: January 16, 2013

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

APPENDIX H – NEWSPAPER ARTICLE REFERENCES

Newcastle Regional Newspaper Articles

1	Brown, M. (2013), "Library Group in Call for Occupation", *Evening Chronicle*, 14 March, 14.
2	Butcher, J. (2012). "Mothers Concerned By Loss Of Valued Facilities", *The Journal*, 14 November, 7.
3	Collins, S. (2013), " ANN CLEEVES at Cruddas Park Library (edited extract)", *The Journal*, 9 January, 2013, 24.
4	Collins, S. (2012), "Libraries to Close as £90m Cuts Bite", *The Journal*, 10 November, 1.
5	Collins, G. (2013) "Protesters will take to streets over cuts; Opposition mounts to council's controversial plans". *Evening Chronicle*: *National Edition*, 2 January, 12.
6	Connell, T. (2012) "Government is not to blame for these cuts" *Evening Chronicle*: *National Edition*, 26 November, 22.
7	Cook, FPM (2012), "Cuts are worse than the 30s", *Evening Chronicle*, 17 December, 20-21.
8	Davies, K. Pearson, A. (2013), "Council reveals where axe falls", *Evening Chronicle*: *National Edition*, 16 February, 4-5.
9	Dowling, T. (2012) "Alternatives to Library Closures", *Evening Chronicle*: *National Edition*, 14 November, 28.
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APPENDIX I – EXTENDED TABLES

EVENING CHRONICLE NEWS REPORTS - GROUP ACTORS (EXTENDED TABLE)

GROUP NAME	ARTICLE APPS	PASS	SUBST	QUOTE	QUOTE LENGTH	STANCE ON PROPOSALS	UMBRELLA GROUP
NEWCASTLE CITY COUNCIL	27	1	26	3	70	FOR	NEWCASTLE CITY COUNCIL
CHILDRENS AUTHORS	1	1	0	0	0	AGAINST	CELEBRITIES
NEWCASTLE FAMILIES	5	3	2	0	0	AGAINST	NEWCASTLE FAMILIES
CAMPAIGNERS	1	0	1	0	0	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS
SAVE OUR LIBRARIES	8	4	4	1	48	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS
UNISON	3	3	0	0	0	AGAINST	TRADE UNIONS
FRIENDS OF HEATON LIBRARY	1	1	0	0	0	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS
NEWCASTLE COLLEGE	2	1	1	0	0	NEUTRAL	PRIVATE FIRMS
WESTMINSTER GOVERNMENT	12	11	1	0	0	NEUTRAL	CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
LIBRARY USERS	1	0	1	0	0	AGAINST	LIBRARY USERS
ACCLAIMED AUTHORS *	3	0	3	2	185	AGAINST	CELEBRITIES
SAVE NEWCASTLE LIBRARIES	6	1	5	0	0	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS
NEWCASTLE COALITION OF RESISTANCE	2	1	1	0	0	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS
WALKER ACTION GROUP	2	1	1	0	0	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS
SAVE OUR SERVICES	3	1	2	0	0	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS
COMMUNITY GROUPS	9	5	4	0	0	NEUTRAL	VOLUNTEER GROUPS
PRIVATE FIRMS	6	4	2	0	0	NEUTRAL	PRIVATE FIRMS
CAMPAIGN FOR THE BOOK	1	1	0	0	0	AGAINST	CAMPAIGNERS

**EVENING CHRONICLE NEWS REPORTS -
INDIVIDUAL ACTORS (EXTENDED TABLE)**

IND NAME	ROLE	ASSOC BODY	ARTICLE APPS	PASS	SUBST	QUOTE	QUOTE LENGTH	F/A PROP
Tony Durcan	Director of Culture	Newcastle CC	7	0	7	7	475	F
David Faulkner	Lib Dem Cllr	Newcastle CC	2	0	2	2	137	A
David Almond	Celeb	n/a	7	2	5	4	380	A
Kevin McHugh	Union Rep	PACSU	1	0	1	1	39	A
Charlie Hadwick	Celeb	n/a	2	0	2	2	68	A
Lee Hall	Celeb	n/a	6	1	5	3	340	A
Tony Dowling	Campaigner	Save Our Libraries	4	0	4	4	232	A
Alex Snowdon	Campaigner	Save Our Libraries	1	0	1	0	150	A
Caroline Stringer	Campaigner	Save Our Libraries	1	0	1	1	32	A
Joe Keith	Campaigner	Save Our Libraries	1	1	0	0	0	A
Greg Stone	Lib Dem Cllr	Newcastle CC	2	0	2	2	116	A
Carole Kitching	Interim Principle	Newcastle College	1	0	1	1	95	N
Mark Johnson	Library User	n/a	1	0	1	1	23	A
Luis Bachini	Library User	n/a	1	0	1	1	9	A
Ashleigh Black	Library User	n/a	1	0	1	1	24	A
Liam Jones	Library User	n/a	1	0	1	1	37	A
Thomas Caruthers	Library User	n/a	1	0	1	1	21	A
Martin Thomson	Library User	n/a	1	0	1	1	26	A
Tom Woodwark	Lib Dem Cllr	Newcastle CC	1	0	1	1	104	A
Ann Cleeves	Celeb	n/a	5	1	4	3	223	A
Anne Fine	Celeb	n/a	4	1	3	3	233	A
"Greenbottle"	Public	n/a	1	0	1	1	30	A
Philip Pulman	Celeb	n/a	2	1	1	0	0	A
Alan Gibbons	Celeb	n/a	7	2	5	4	250	A
Steve Skidmore	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Steve Barlow	Celeb	n/a	3	1	2	2	219	A
Paul Gilroy	Union Rep	Unison	3	2	1	1	24	A
Julia Donaldson	Celeb	n/a	2	2	0	0	0	A
Michelle Simmonite	Library User	n/a	1	0	1	1	127	A
Nick Forbes	Lab Cllr	Newcastle CC	5	3	2	2	166	F
Mark Tyers	Campaigner	Save Newcastle Libraries	2	0	2	2	102	A
Brandon Lewis	Con MP	Conservative Party	1	0	1	0	0	N
D Huddart	Lib Dem Cllr	Newcastle CC	1	0	1	1	84	A
V Dunn	Lab Cllr	Newcastle CC	2	0	2	2	99	F
D McDonald	Campaigner	Save Our Services	1	0	1	1	54	A
J Manley	Campaigner	Save Our Services	1	0	1	1	39	A

C Manley	Campaigner	Save Our Services	1	0	1	1	73	A
S Robertson	Campaigner	Save Our Services	1	0	1	1	47	A
L Hunter	Campaigner	Newcastle Families	2	0	2	2	134	A
Fiona Evans	Celeb	n/a	2	1	1	1	49	A
Jackie Slesenger	Cllr	Newcastle CC	1	0	1	1	27	N
Val McDermid	Celeb	n/a	1	0	1	1	103	A
Chelsea Halfpenny	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Laura Norton	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Zoe Lambert	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Karin Young	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Katie Larby	Public	n/a	1	1	0	1	28	A
Val Bierman	Celeb	n/a	1	0	1	1	60	A
Tommy Donbavand	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Beverley Naidoo	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Theresa Breslin	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Bali Rai	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Katherine Langrish	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Tim Bowler	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Cathy Cassidy	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Mary Hoffman	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Steve Cole	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Paul Hudson	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Penny Dolan	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Ann Turnbull	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Lucy Coats	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Dave Cryer	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
John Dougherty	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Angela Topping	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Janine Amos	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Margaret Storr	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Danuta Reah	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Sally Prue	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Duncan Pile	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Lori Fotheringham	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Keren David	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Ian Bland	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Barry Hutchinson	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Jim O'Neill	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Tim Collins	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A
Dugaldheelder Ferguson	Celeb	n/a	1	1	0	0	0	A

**LINCOLNSHIRE ECHO NEWS
REPORTS – GROUP ACTORS
(EXTENDED TABLE)**

ACTORS - GROUPS	ARTICLE APPS	PASSING	SUBSTANTIAL	STANCE ON PROPOSALS	UMBRELLA GROUP
LINCOLNSHIRE CITY COUNCIL	24	1	23	FOR	LINCOLNSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL
COMMUNITY GROUPS	12	6	6	NEUTRAL	VOLUNTEER GROUPS
FRIENDS OF SAXILBY VOLUNTEERS	1	0	1	NEUTRAL	VOLUNTEER GROUPS
SAXILBY PARISH COUNCIL	1	1	0	NEUTRAL	PARISH COUNCILS
COMMUNITY SCRUTINY COMMITTEE	4	1	3	AGAINST	COUNCIL BODIES
SAVE LINCOLNSHIRE LIBRARIES	10	3	7	AGAINST	CAMPAIGN GROUPS
LINCOLNSHIRE RESIDENTS	2	0	2	AGAINST	LINCOLNSHIRE RESIDENTS
LIBRARIANS	1	0	1	AGAINST	LIBRARY WORKERS
LIBRARY USERS	1	1	0	AGAINST	LIBRARY USERS
WRAGBY COMMUNITY GROUP	1	0	1	AGAINST	CAMPAIGN GROUPS
LINCOLNSHIRE CO-OPERATIVE	2	1	1	NEUTRAL	PRIVATE FIRMS
NORTH KESTEVEN DISTRICT COUNCIL	1	1	0	NEUTRAL	DISTRICT COUNCILS
UNISON	2	0	2	AGAINST	TRADE UNIONS
CAMPAIGNERS	1	0	1	AGAINST	CAMPAIGN GROUPS
CONSERVATIVE COUNCILLORS	1	0	1	MIXED	POLITICAL BODIES
LIBERAL DEMOCRAT COUNCILLORS	1	0	1	FOR	POLITICAL BODIES
INDEPENDENT COUNCILLORS	3	1	2	FOR	POLITICAL BODIES
COUNCIL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE	2	0	2	FOR	COUNCIL BODIES
LABOUR COUNCILLORS	2	0	2	AGAINST	POLITICAL BODIES
AGE UK	1	0	1	NEUTRAL	PRIVATE FIRMS
WEST LINDSEY DISTRICT COUNCIL	1	0	1	AGAINST	DISTRICT COUNCILS
SHEFFIELD HALLAM UNIVERSITY	2	0	2	NEUTRAL	PRIVATE FIRMS
UKIP COUNCILLORS	1	0	1	AGAINST	POLITICAL BODIES

**LINCOLNSHIRE ECHO NEWS
REPORTS –INDIVIDUAL
ACTORS (EXTENDED TABLE)**

NAME	ROLE	ASSOCIATED BODY	ARTICLE APPS	PASSING	SUBST	QUOTE	QUOTE LENGTH	F/A PROP
Nick Worth	Cty Cllr (Con)	Lincolnshire CC	10	1	9	9	736	F
Nigel Fisher	Public	n/a	1	0	1	1	49	A
Phil Dilks	Cty Cllr (Lab)	Lincolnshire CC	4	0	4	3	119	A
Kev Clarke	Cty Cllr (Lab)	Lincolnshire CC	2	0	2	1	39	A
Peter Robinson	Cty Cllr (Con)	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	1	19	A
Marianne Overton	Cty Cllr (Ind)	Lincolnshire CC	2	0	2	2	61	A
Jasmin Poxon	Campaigner	Save Licolnshire Libraries	2	2	0	0	0	A
Chris Pain	Cty Cllr (UKIP)	Lincolnshire CC	2	0	2	2	78	A
Michael Morpurgo	Celeb	n/a	1	0	1	1	279	A
The Queen	Head of State	British State	1	1	0	0	0	N
David Cameron	Prime Minister (Con)	Westminster Government	1	1	0	0	0	N
Eric Pickles	Secretary of State Local Gov	Westminster Government	1	1	0	0	0	N
Jenny Gammon	Assistant director for economy and culture	Lincolnshire CC	2	1	1	1	42	F
Paul Stainthorp	Campaigner/Librarian	Save Licolnshire Libraries	2	0	2	2	90	A
Jonathan Platt	Head of Libraries and Heritage	Lincolnshire CC	2	1	1	1	29	F
Emily Dickson	Lincolnshire Residents	n/a	1	0	1	1	51	A
Tomas Dickson	Lincolnshire Residents	n/a	1	0	1	1	14	A
Gillian Dickson	Lincolnshire Residents	n/a	1	0	1	1	72	A
William Hussey	Celeb	n/a	2	1	1	1	25	A
Ursuala Lidbetter	CEO	Lincolnshire Co-operative	1	0	1	1	52	N
Leah Warriner-Wood	Campaigner	Save Licolnshire Libraries	2	0	2	2	161	A
Sir Edward Leigh	MP Gainsborough (Con)	Westminster Government	1	0	1	1	86	A
Gavin Graham	Assist Branch Secretary	Unison	1	0	1	1	63	A
Anonymous	Librarian	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	1	276	A
Katie Vause	Council Election Candidate	Labour Party	1	0	1	1	21	A
Elaine Warde	Council Election Candidate	UKIP	1	0	1	1	66	A
Karen Williams	Council Election Candidate	Trade Union & Socialists	1	0	1	1	13	A
Marion Brighton	District Council Leader (Con)	North Kesteven DC	1	0	1	1	46	A
Ric	District Council	City of Lincoln DC	1	0	1	1	13	A

Name	Role	Organisation						
Metcalfe	Leader (Lab)							
Giles McNeil	District Cllr (Con)	West Lindsey DC	2	0	2	2	46	A
Minnie Driver	Celeb	n/a	3	2	1	0	0	A
Mary Beard	Celeb	n/a	2	0	2	1	74	A
Martin Hill	Council Leader (Con)	Lincolnshire CC	4	3	1	0	0	F
Rosie Kirk	Cty Cllr (Lab)	Lincolnshire CC	2	1	1	1	71	A
Mary Gillen	Campaigner	Campaigners	1	1	0	0	0	A
Judy Renshaw	Campaigner	Campaigners	1	0	1	1	87	A
Geoff Ellis	Cty Cllr (Lab)	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	0	0	A
Chris Bowell	Campaigner	Campaigners	1	1	0	0	0	A
Andrew Bowell	Campaigner	Campaigners	1	1	0	0	0	A
Helen Stokes	Branch Secretary	Unison	1	0	1	1	44	A
Mick Bell	Support Worker	Unison	1	0	1	1	28	A
Chloe Horgan	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	0	1	1	23	A
Ian Patterson	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	0	1	1	41	A
Ashley Patterson	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	0	1	1	23	A
William Dziadkievicz	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	0	1	1	27	A
Emma Dziadkievicz	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	1	0	0	0	A
Tim Dziadkievicz	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	1	0	0	0	A
Alice Dziadkievicz	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	1	0	0	0	A
Matthew Mitchell	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	0	1	1	34	A
Peter Mitchell	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	1	0	0	0	A
Lydia Mitchell	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	1	0	0	0	A
Abbie Hudson	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	0	1	1	21	A
Dorinda Hudson	Campaigner	Lincolnshire Families	1	1	0	0	0	A
David Cotton	District Council Cllr (Lib Dem)	West Lindsey DC	1	0	1	1	33	A
Samantha Hotson	Volunteer Co-ordinator	Age UK	1	0	1	1	45	N
Melvyn Bragg	Celeb	n/a	1	0	1	1	86	A
Maxine Gregory	Researcher	Sheffield Hallam University	1	0	1	1	54	N
Stephen Palmer	Cty Cllr (Ind)	Lincolnshire CC	4	0	4	4	252	A
Charmaine Morgan	Cty Cllr (Lab)	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	1	52	A
Julie Harrison	Campaigner	Save Licolnshire Libraries	1	0	1	1	20	A
Nigel West	Head of Democratic Services	Lincolnshire CC	1	1	0	0	0	N

Victoria Ayling	Cty Cllr (UKIP)	Lincolnshire CC	2	1	1	1	125	A
David O'Connor	Director of Performance & Governance	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	1	83	N
John Hough	Cty Cllr (Lab)	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	1	73	A
Jacqueline Brockway	Cty Cllr (Con)	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	1	28	F
Wendy Wainwright	Campaigner	Save Licolnshire Libraries	1	0	1	1	47	A
Rob Parker	Cty Cllr (Lab)	Lincolnshire CC	1	0	1	1	109	A