Magazines for Youth?

A Comparative Content Analysis of Two New Zealand Juvenile Periodicals

By Anoushka Buckingham

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Contents

	Page number
Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	v
Introduction	1
Research Design	3
• Parameters of This Study	3
• Statement of the Research Problem	3
• Objectives	4
• Sub-objectives	4
Research Questions	5
Definition of Key Terms	6
Theoretical Framework	7
Literature Review	10
Background – The Magazines	13
• Conquest	13
• Junior Digest	15
Methodology	18
Content Analysis	18
Data Collection Process	19
• Population	20
• Selection of sample	20
Type of Data Collected	22
Pilot Studies	23
Data Collection Instrument	24
Explanation of the Recording Process	25
Developing the Categories	26
Results-Analysis and Discussion	29

Identifying the Readers who Actively Engaged with the Magazines	29
• Who Contributed?	29
• What Kinds of Things Did They Contribute?	35
• What Were Their Concerns and/or Interests?	38
• What Might Explain These Differences?	43
Analysing the Content of Each Magazine	45
• What kinds of Features Were Included in the Magazines?	45
• Broad-Types of Features Included in the Magazines	45
• Sub-Types of Features in Each Category	48
• What kinds of themes and interests are evident in the stories and articles?	60
• Are the articles directed at gender neutral “youth” or can the content be clearly defined as “boy” content or “girl” content?	71
Summary of Findings	75
Avenues for Further Research	78
 Appendices	
• Appendix A: Bibliography	
• Appendix B: Population and Sample	
• Appendix C: Data Collection Tool	
• Appendix D: Results	

Abstract

This research project investigated the readership of two New Zealand youth magazines during the period 1945-1947. The magazines, *Conquest: the magazine for youth*, and *Junior Digest: the magazine for girls and boys*, were subjected to a content analysis which attempted to capture details of the readers, and describe the types of articles in each magazine in an attempt to discover what kinds of reading tastes young people of the period had.

The project produced a description of the kinds of content that were present in the two magazines and in what quantities. By combining this content analysis with demographic data of the readers themselves, who contributed to the magazines by sending letters, jokes, competition entries and jokes, this research was able to show who the specific group of readers were and make conclusions about what they liked.

By contrasting the results, it was determined that there were slight differences in the content of the magazines which may have accounted for the failure of *Conquest* to continue after July 1947, but that the data provided by the content analysis alone was insufficient to allow insight into the broader periodical reading tastes of New Zealand youth in the second half of the 1940s.

Keywords: content analysis, children's periodicals, children's magazines, readers and reading.

Word Count: 19,484.

Introduction

This report describes a small-scale research project that aimed to explore, through an intensive content analysis of two New Zealand magazines, the readership of New Zealand youth magazines during the period immediately following the Second World War.

Conquest: the Magazine for Youth, edited by W.P. Carmen and A.H. Reed, and *Junior Digest: the magazine for girls & boys*, edited by Alan Dunford, were chosen for the focus of this study because they both began in 1945, they both explicitly catered for girls and boys, and they shared a similar format: a mixture of factual articles, fiction, games puzzles and competitions. They also expressed the similar aim of providing New Zealand children with quality reading material. However they had different levels of success.

Kirsten Drotner (1988, 4) notes that periodicals “constitute unique objects for studying literary change” as a weekly or monthly magazine with a fine balance between production costs and profit margins has to be sensitive to changes in the readers’ tastes. That *Conquest* folded after only twenty-four issues, while *Junior Digest* continued until 1964, suggests that the publishers of one weren’t as sensitive to their readers’ tastes as the other. This study proceeded under this assumption, and chose to specifically investigate and compare the content of each magazine in order to discover whether describing that content could lead to conclusions about the types of content, that readers of these magazines enjoyed.

By combining this content analysis with descriptive statistics of the readers themselves, who contributed to the magazines by sending letters, jokes, competition entries and jokes, this research was able to show who the specific group of readers were and make conclusions about what they liked.

It was hoped that a comparative analysis of these two magazines might allow some insight into the broader periodical reading tastes of New Zealand youth in the second half of the 1940s. However, due to the narrow focus of the research on just two magazines, only very tentative suggestions can be made at this stage.

Although very small in its focus, this project does contribute valuable data to an area of New Zealand print culture that has thus far been neglected. Periodicals published in New Zealand have not generated a great deal of research and children's periodicals are hardly mentioned at all, even in general surveys such as that conducted by Griffith et al. (1997). This is possibly in part due to the scarcity of New Zealand titles for children compared with those for adults – both published in the first place and preserved, but also reflects the difficulty of studying an area where locating primary resources proves challenging despite the youth of this country's publishing history. Anecdotal evidence gathered from colleagues who remember *Junior Digest* reinforces the perception that magazines for children produced locally were very scarce (Jill Dodson, conversation with author 11 May 2002). *Conquest* and *Junior Digest* seem to be almost unique in terms of their format, subject matter and local production, and were thus felt to be worthy of examination.

Research Design

Parameters of This Study

The interests and concerns were extrapolated from two things: the types of features and topics the editors of both magazines presented for their readers, and secondly, the types of features contributed by the readers. This basic research design was based on Drotner's suggestion that the editors needed to be sensitive to what their audience liked and disliked, because obviously if they disliked what was presented to them, they would spend their pocket money on something else.

This study produced a description of the kinds of content present in the two magazines and in what quantities, and did not aim to judge the literary or educational merit of this content. Thus the kinds of fiction included in each magazine were noted, but the subjects, plots and characters were not analysed in any depth beyond illustrating this description. It also did not undertake a significant comparison of the content of *Conquest* and *Junior Digest* with other magazines of the time, and kept a tight focus on comparing the two due, in part, to a limited timeframe within which to complete the project.

Statement of the Research Problem

The study investigated the audience of monthly magazines aimed at New Zealand youth by analysing and comparing the content of two competitors: *Conquest: the Magazine for Youth*, and *Junior Digest* in order to gain insight into the interests and concerns of young New Zealand readers of these periodicals during the period immediately following the Second World War.

Objectives

The primary goal of this study was to attempt to discover who the readers of each of these magazines were during the period 1945 to 1947, during the period in which the magazines overlapped. The secondary goal was a desire to discover what kinds of content, or features were present in each of the magazines in order to extrapolate what kinds of material the children of the time enjoyed reading.

At the outset of the study it was thought that the comparison of the content would also suggest why *Conquest* did not last for more than two volumes. The length of the print run of *Junior Digest* was a concrete measure of its success: readers enjoyed it enough to support it for nearly twenty years. Conversely, the short print run of *Conquest* was the measure of its failure. A.W. and A.H. Reed had by this time been in operation for almost fifty years and were experienced in the publishing trade. In addition, they already had a strong distribution network that could support the magazine. So why did *Junior Digest* succeed and *Conquest* fail? Did Reed and Carmen perhaps misjudge their audience? Were the exciting adventures not exciting enough, or were they appealing to too wide an audience (by mixing “boy” content with “girl” content) and as a result satisfying no one?

Conquest possibly failed therefore because it failed to sustain readers’ interest, and so not enough young people enjoyed it enough to pay for it each month. The logical conclusion was that it failed to sustain readers’ interest because the content was not quite right.

Sub-objectives

In order to guide the design of the methodology, the research problem and its accompanying objectives were broken down into these sub-objectives:

- A. To identify the readers who actively engaged with the magazines.
- B. To analyze the content of each magazine.
- C. To compare and contrast the two, and draw conclusions based on the relationship between the content and the readers, while taking into consideration possible external factors.

In order to fulfil each of these objectives, specific research questions were developed to aid in reaching the final goal answering the research problem.

Research Questions

The following research questions were developed as a framework for the study. The first three were used to gather data to fulfil the first objective; the next four fulfilled the second objective. The third objective was met by an analysis of the results generated by the first two objectives.

1. Who contributed and what kinds of things did they contribute?
2. What were their concerns and/or interests?
3. Were the readers of *Conquest* interested in different things to the readers of *Junior Digest*? If so, where are the points of difference or of similarity?
4. What kinds of features were included in the issues of *Conquest* and *Junior Digest*? Can generalizations be made about the proportions of, for example, fiction to non-fiction or moral guidance to practical skills?
5. What kinds of themes and interests are evident in the stories and articles?
6. Are the articles directed at gender neutral “youth” or can the content be clearly defined as “boy” content or “girl” content.
7. Did the content change over the course of the period analyzed, and if so, how?

Definition of Key Terms

Youth

Both magazines refer to their audience as the “youth” of New Zealand. For the purpose of this study, youth will be used to mean a young person between the ages of 9 and 16.

Tastes

Although the concept of taste is so subjective and is thus difficult to define, in the context of this study “taste” refers to the concerns and interests of readers.

Features

Feature will mean each separate, distinct item of content in the magazines – whether it be an article, a story or a “page” such as a jokes page or an advice column. Also included in this definition are the advertisements which appear in the magazines.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework which underpins this project's methodology is the life cycle model of the book developed by Darnton (1983), and explained as "a general model for analysing the way books come into being and spread through society" (Darnton 1983, 4). He goes on to assert that

printed books generally pass through roughly the same life cycle ... a communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition.

For this study, of course, substituting periodicals for books, the life cycles of *Conquest* and *Junior Digest* can be simplified to production – distribution – reception. The only difference being that with a periodical, the cycle is repeated each time the magazine is issued.

Considering *Conquest* using this framework, the life cycle of each issue of the magazine can be seen to fit the circuit thus:

Production: the editors assume the role of "author". The editors also happen to be the publisher and the printers.

Distribution: the shipper and the bookseller are also closely allied to the publishing house in this case.

Reception: the readers in this case are "New Zealand youth".

The same may also be applied to *Junior Digest*. Although little information is known about Trio Publications, that the magazine later was published by Dunford Publications suggests a close link between editor and publisher, although without the same links between publisher and distributors.

Viewing the process of publishing a magazine as having a life cycle in this way is most useful because it acknowledges that each phase of the cycle is not independent of the others. This study focused on the reception phase of the life cycle, with the intention of discovering who the readers, that is, "New Zealand youth", were. The links between all the phases are important and relevant to the investigation because each phase impacts on the others. In terms of this study, considering the reception phase in isolation would not consider the influence that the readers had on the Editors' decisions as regards to content.

Darnton applies the model to the phase of booksellers and shows how this phase is related to:

1. other activities that a given person has underway at a given point in the circuit;
2. other persons at the same point in other circuits;
3. other persons at other points in the same circuit; and,
4. other elements in society.

When considering the reception phase of the cycle, including the authors as well as the readers, this framework can be applied to these magazines in the same way in order to generate useful background material, questions, facts, and areas for further consideration.

In the case of *Conquest* and *Junior Digest*, this model generated the following areas for consideration:

1. The editors' role as publisher and the readers' role as purchasers.
2. The authors/editors and readership of other children's magazines of the time.
 - What other periodicals were being published at the time for children and what periodicals had been published and had failed?
 - What other periodicals children were reading-which were most popular?
 - What children in other Commonwealth colonies were reading?
 - The history of magazine publishing and especially children's magazine publishing in New Zealand.

3. The distribution of children's magazines – who was selling them, where, and was the distribution influenced by subscriptions?
4. The bookselling/bookreading climate of the time, and the overall social conditions which may have affected this.
 - Until the Second World War New Zealand booksellers could only obtain books from Britain (Price 1991, 5). Although, Reed was importing religious/Sunday school material from the United States (Rogers and Rogers 1993, 117)
 - The Second World War disrupted this supply of reading material from Britain. Reed (1957, 36) explains that this shortage of material created a gap which they could fill themselves.
 - By 1947 overseas comic books and magazines began to flood into the country, not only from Britain, but from North America as well.
 - The changing nature of childhood and adolescence and consequently, tastes and concerns.

These questions and answers to some of them are discussed in the literature review below, which was undertaken before beginning this study in order to provide a background for a detailed analysis and discussion of the data obtained from the study. Not all of the questions posed by application of Darnton's model to *Conquest* and *Junior Digest* have been answered in the literature review as the small scope of this study and limited timeframe for completion made deeper study impossible. All of the questions posed above however, would merit further investigation, either as part of a fuller study of either of the magazines studied here, or as independent projects.

Literature Review

Due to the scarcity of secondary literature directly relating to New Zealand children's periodicals, this literature review will concentrate on outlining what little material is available, touching on some of the areas raised by Darnton's model above and introducing in more depth the magazines that are the focus of this study.

Surveys of children's fiction in New Zealand tend to concentrate on books and only offer hints about periodicals (Gilderdale 1982, 1998, Atwood 1991, Ringer 1980). Such hints of children's periodical reading habits and tastes include Ringer's mention of short lived, turn of the century periodicals such as the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* and the *Atom Quarterly*. The former, while not being specifically for children did publish children's stories in most issues. The *Atom Quarterly* was primarily an outlet for young, women writers although not a children's magazine as such.

Gilderdale's summaries of children's literature are useful for discovering the broad themes in children's books over the century, but her assessment that the 1940s and early 1950s were "a period of general dearth in children's literature" ignores even the few periodicals which were being published (Gilderdale 1998, 537). This could possibly be because of a bias against children's magazines in favour of 'real' literature (books), or a failure to consider periodicals.

The only New Zealand magazine produced for children which has been studied closely at all appears to be the *New Zealand School Journal*, and then only in terms of the values and attitudes expressed in the *Journal*, and its contribution to the educational policies of the New Zealand government (Malone, 1973, Griffith et. al, 1997). The *School Journal* was not selected for comparison with *Conquest* and *Junior Digest* because it was a government produced and paid for publication and therefore not subject to the same commercial pressures as the two magazines selected for this study.

Commercially produced periodicals available for children between 1919 when Ringer's survey ends and the beginning of *Conquest* and *Junior Digest*, include children's annuals from overseas such as the *British Empire Annuals* (Atwool 1991), and popular British magazines such as the *Boys' Own Paper*, *Champion*, *Magnet*, the *Triumph*, *Oracle*, *Schoolgirls' Weekly*, *Schoolgirls' Own*, *Girls' Own Paper* and the *Girls' Crystal* (Scott 1947).

The evidence of which commercially produced magazines New Zealand youth had access to in the 1940s is W.J Scott's survey of the leisure time occupations of post-primary boys and girls undertaken for the New Zealand Council of Educational research (Scott, 1947). This study investigated the out-of-school reading habits (books and periodicals), radio and film tastes of nearly four thousand secondary school students aged between 13 and 18 years. Scott's study also delivers useful insights into what was popular reading in England at the time.

Although this survey was conducted during 1942-three years before the commencement of either *Conquest* or *Junior Digest*, the publishing conditions referred to by Scott and his comments of the availability of magazines in New Zealand are likely still to be relevant in 1945. For example, at the end of the study of magazines he concludes "accessibility is likely to have played an important part in the pupils' choice of magazines to read" (Scott, 1947, 102). Earlier, he modifies his conclusions about the better tastes of New Zealand youth compared to their English counterparts by stating that:

the reading of books by New Zealand boys and girls was more limited in range as well as less in amount. We cannot claim this as proof that their tastes were superior to those of the English boys and girls, because many of the Juvenile magazines available in Great Britain at the time of Jenkinson's questionnaire (c. 1937) were available here in 1942 only in small numbers or not at all (Scott, 1947, 64)

Although Scott was primarily concerned with analysing the "nature and the quality" of the reading matter, his study is most relevant to this study because he surveyed a group of students which has been assumed to be the intended audience of the

Conquest and *Junior Digest*: boys and girls aged between 12 and 19, at schools across North and South Islands (Scott, 1947, 2).

Dividing his analysis between fiction and non-fiction magazines, Scott discusses in depth the two most popular juvenile fiction magazines in 1942, which were *Champion* (for boys) and *Crystal* (for girls). These two Scott considered were “designed to attract as many juvenile readers as possible, with an age-range of from ten or earlier to sixteen or later” (1947, 81).

Scott goes on to discuss the merits, the quality and literary worth of *Champion* and *Crystal*. This is useful this research because it gives some indication of the types of stories and themes which were being read. *Champion* followed the lead of its competitors—*Hotspur*, *Wizard*, *Adventure*, *Rover*, *Skipper* (which were magazines not available in New Zealand at this time), with the staple ingredients “exciting adventures in the Foreign Legion, the Secret Service, the Northwest Mounted Police, the RAF, the Wild West, the stratosphere, and so on” (Scott, 1947, 68). *Crystal* usually featured tales of adventure and intrigue as well, although told with more emphasis on personal relationships, and stories dealing with the “adventures of young girls of an indeterminate age” (Scott, 1947, 68).

A great variety non-fiction magazines were recorded, and it seems that a large number were available at this time, for juvenile and adult readers. Scott records that “no fewer than 330 different journals were entered” (Scott, 1947, 87). However, most of these seemed to be adult magazines, rather than specifically produced for children. The most popular among both boys and girls include *Pix* (Australian), *Picture Post*, the *Reader's Digest* (American), the *Student's Digest*, and Women's weeklies (Australian, New Zealand and English). “All of these were read by one, or more than one, pupil in every five”, and were widely read across the ages surveyed (Scott, 1947, 88). Popular New Zealand magazines read by pupils surveyed included the *Auckland Weekly News*, the *Free Lance*, and the *Listener*.

Scott then discusses the low quality of some of these magazines in particular and expresses his opinion that these low quality adult periodicals are unsuitable reading for adolescents. Scott suggests that “one aid that is lacking is a boys' and girls'

magazine of the same price as the popular ones but of better quality and wider range which could compete with them on their own ground” (1947, 82). In addition, the way in which this study was conducted seems to suggest that it was easy to divide the magazines-that is, there were few if any, which combined fiction and non-fiction.

These two facts suggest a gap in the market that a local publisher might be able to exploit, and although this study was not published until after *Conquest* and *Junior Digest* began, it's not unreasonable to suggest that the two local publishers had spied this gap.

Background – The Magazines

Conquest

The first issue of *Conquest: the magazine for youth* (vol. 1, no. 1, July 1945) proclaimed it as “the new magazine for boys and girls”. Promising adventure, excitement and entertainment with a New Zealand focus, *Conquest* seemed like it would neatly fill the gap created by the wartime shortages of new reading material.

The first editorial invited readers to contribute jokes to “Sunny Corner” and their own “real life adventures” to the magazine possibly with the aim of fostering a feeling of participation in the magazine. Hopes that the youth of New Zealand would feel as if the magazine belonged to them were expressed in this and subsequent editorials and, in the second year, the introduction of a readers club. In the first few issues articles detailing how the magazine was printed and produced were included to possibly enhance this impression.

Contents included puzzles (some of which offered Reed books as prizes), games, activities, serial adventure stories featuring such characters as Nick Westerman, Detective, camping and bushcraft, and a regular bird watching column. For the girls there was “Penelope’s Page for Girls” which illustrated such useful skills as how to

sew buttonholes and make pinafores for younger sisters. From the third issue a regular, and presumably sponsored, "Hansell's Recipe for Girls" had also been added. In keeping with Reed's background as a publisher of religious material for Sunday Schools, *Conquest* also included Bible stories, educational articles and advice columns sponsoring moral rectitude.

Conquest, judged only from a brief scan of the editorials, seems to have been enormously popular. Soon the editors had enough contributions to "Sunny Corner" to keep them going until the following year and asked readers to instead send more stories and pictures of their own lives in New Zealand. Vol. 1, no. 11 welcomed Australian readers and by this time the magazine had settled into a formula which seemed to be working.

It must have been a shock for readers then when they opened vol. 2, no. 12 to read that "although there are thousands of eager readers, every number of *Conquest* has lost money". Contrasting *Conquest* with *the New Zealand Gardener*, A.H. Reed admits that

other monthly publications which we attempted met with less success. Notable amongst them was *Conquest*, a monthly magazine for young people, of which my old friend Walter (W.P.) Carmen and myself were editors. I still believe that it deserved to succeed, and that our principle mistake was to publish it so cheaply that it failed to build any reserve against a declining circulation when overseas periodicals and comic papers began to flood the country (Reed 1957, 40).

Although this suggests that it was possibly not tastes but production problems which caused its demise, the declining circulation does hint that it was not retaining readers and this links back to the assumption under which this research was carried out. That is, magazines lose readers when they do not remain sensitive to those readers' tastes.

Junior Digest

In their final editorial the editors of *Conquest* generously recommended a rival publication to their readers - *Junior Digest*. This “progressive monthly” (*Conquest* vol. 2, 12, editorial), commenced in September 1945, published by Trio Publications in Christchurch, and survived a further seventeen years after the demise of *Conquest*.

Junior Digest shared the high-minded goals of *Conquest*, especially that of providing a wholesome and improving reading experience. The first issue welcomed readers by declaring:

It is YOUR book, girls and boys. It will appear once a month, full of the things you want to read—the things that thrill you, that you laugh at, and wonder about (vol. 1, no. 1: 1).

The magazine also carried a similar range of features to *Conquest*—a mixture of fiction and non-fiction, games, puzzles, competitions, a joke page contributed to by readers (hosted by “Chief Chuckle”) letters to the editor and later, a problem page where readers would seek advice on a range of adolescent concerns. The non-fiction articles feature a variety of interests, from stamp collecting and nature studies (“You Never Know With Bears!” vol. 14, no. 1, July 1951: 56), to biographies, historical events and the making of things such as gramophone records. Humour was added by the devilish “Inkey Thum”, the office boy whose chief occupation was causing chaos.

Little is known of Trio Publications and the mysterious Mr. Dunford, although some hints are given within the magazine itself. In the first anniversary issue, the Editor mentions that the publishers are three people who all “had something to do with the advertising and publishing business” (vol. 3, no. 1: 16). That Alan Dunford was one of these is suggested by Christmas “messages from behind the scenes” from a number of the regular feature writers, artists in the December 1945 issue. The message from the ‘publisher’ appears to have been signed by Alan Dunford—but it is difficult to be certain from the signature. This lack of knowledge of the publishers does not handicap the study of the content of the magazine, but it does make it difficult to explore the impact that external factors may have had on the life of the magazine.

Junior Digest declared optimistically “We will grow and grow and grow” on the back cover of vol. 1, no. 3, and indeed it did. Beginning with just forty pages, it increased to sixty-four pages in December 1945, and then again to seventy-two pages in May 1947. However, despite being successful for much longer than *Conquest*, *Junior Digest* eventually also appeared to fail to maintain sensitivity to changes in its readers’ tastes. The Editor cited financial problems finally as the reason for shutting down, and indeed had referred to the magazine running on a shoestring in a number of editorials over the years, but editorials over 1963 and 1964 hinted also at a declining circulation and changing interests among readers which may have made the financial concerns more pressing.

A number of new features were added to the magazine in the final year, including Esperanto, a career advice column and a regular marching article for the girls, but circulation continued to fall. Two reasons the Editor put forward for this decline were competition from “the importation of a great deal of reading material for young people” and “the growing popularity of T.V.” Alarmed, the Editor appealed to his readers

to do a little research yourselves and compare the vast field covered by *J.D.* with the limited and specialised offerings of other books and T.V.

Remember that any magazine has to cease publication if it is not supported by those who are most interested, because in the world of business it’s not goodness that counts, it’s whether you can pay your bills. (vol. 38, no. 1: inside front cover)

In August 1964, seemingly at a loss to understand the new interest and excitement surrounding popular music, he asked

Do you want *Junior Digest* to give you information on the stupid, brutal, ignorant behaviour of mankind, or to present to you the real man with his adventurous life in a world he is just beginning to understand?

Do you want me to keep on telling you more and more about this world and your rightful place in it, or do you want me to publish for you just ordinary nonsense and make *Junior Digest* into a money spinner for the publishers? You tell me! (vol. 38, no. 6, August 1964: inside front cover)

Finally the end came for *Junior Digest*:

Sorry...for reasons outside our control, we have been compelled to make this the final issue of *Junior Digest*. Those reasons are to do with money, which does not seem an adequate excuse for withdrawing an exclusive magazine from the lives of such important people as children.

There are powers in society more ruthless than you would expect, which say that money, profit, dividends, and columns of figures are more important than the reality of learning, constructiveness, achievement and ability.

...

So let those who dictate that *J.D.* must stop bear the burden of their guilt and realise what they have done in depriving you of the little goodness to be found in the pages of *Junior Digest* over the last 20 years. (vol. 39, no. 4: inside front cover)

As with *Conquest*, the blame was laid on financial problems, but again it would not seem unlikely that these problems were exacerbated by the readers drifting off into other areas of interest as their tastes shifted.

Methodology

As its foundation, this project employed a case study approach as defined by Gorman and Clayton (1997, 50):

An in-depth investigation of a discrete entity ... on the assumption that it is possible to derive knowledge of the wider phenomenon from intensive investigation of a specific instance or case.

This research had two discrete entities: the magazines *Conquest* and *Junior Digest*. This enabled a comparative analysis, which in turn allowed some speculation on the wider phenomenon of the readership of magazines for youth in New Zealand during the period immediately following the Second World War. The case study approach was chosen for this study because Gorman and Clayton's definition neatly encapsulated the purpose of this project as stated in the introduction and detailed in the research design.

Content Analysis

The method used for gathering and analysing data was content analysis which collected a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. Content analysis, as defined by Stemler, is "a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding" (Stemler, 2001). He goes on to state that content analysis "enables researchers to sift through large volumes of data with relative ease in a systematic fashion". Content analysis is used in a variety of fields including Mass Communication Studies, Psychology and Library and Information studies (Stempel 1981, Krippendorff 1980, Allen and Reser, 1990). One of the reasons that the technique is so flexible is that the categories used in content analysis are not fixed. They can be concrete categories such

as words or phrases, or abstract categories such as themes or ideas depending on the purpose of the study.

Two studies that were useful in developing the methodology outlined below are Reed (1997) and Ferguson (1983). Ferguson studied magazines as “agents of socialisation” and concentrated on the messages transmitted by women’s magazines which construct and promulgate a particular ideal of femininity (Ferguson 1983, 2). Reed’s study on the other hand intended “to outline some generic aspects of the modern magazine and establish a perspective on the changes wrought on those elements between 1880 and 1960” (Reed 1997, 9).

Despite the goals of these studies being slightly different to this study, they were valuable to this project because they demonstrated that content analysis is a viable and practical technique for analysing periodicals. In addition, aspects of Ferguson’s approach were useful for this study, particularly her use of content analysis as a “quantitative base for qualitative analysis” (Ferguson 1983, 212).

One drawback of content analysis is that the content categories into which the texts under scrutiny are compressed are necessarily general. Splitting categories too finely may attempt to preserve the rich detail of a text but actually counteracts the purpose of content analysis which is to reduce a large amount of information to easily quantifiable values. The challenge is therefore to balance the specificity of the categories against the overall scope of the study. Gathering qualitative data which supplies the rich detail which would be otherwise lost can compensate for sacrificing the detail in the quantitative data. The quantitative content analysis used in this study was supplemented by qualitative data for this reason.

Data Collection Process

To collect the data needed to answer the research questions posed above, a process was followed which used the following steps: identification of the population,

selection of a sample and identification of the kinds of data to be collected. An important part of this process was a preliminary and informal scoping study of the two magazines which aimed to develop a 'feel' for the magazine and to flag potential 'key issues' for inclusion in the sample. This scoping study also became important during the development of the data collection instrument.

Population

As this study was conducted as a case study, the "population" in this case was the entire print run of both *Conquest* (24 issues) and *Junior Digest* (232 issues). Both magazines were published monthly, with *Conquest*'s print run beginning in July 1945 and finishing in June 1947. The first two years *Junior Digest* overlapped most of these issues, beginning in September 1945, and continuing past the end of *Conquest* to December 1964. The population was located in more than one institution however, which necessitated travel to Auckland (see Appendix B, Figure 1: Population). The need to plan a research trip was a factor when considering the size of the sample used in this study as was the time available for the study and the limited scope as discussed above.

Selection of sample

The total sample was fifty-six issues selected purposively from the two hundred and fifty-six issues of *Conquest* and *Junior Digest*. A sample size of fifty-six issues was chosen as the sample size because it allowed coverage of the whole run of *Conquest*, the equivalent issues of *Junior Digest* plus a number from the remaining print run of *Junior Digest*, while remaining manageable within the limited timeframe available to the researcher (see Appendix B, Figure 2: Sample).

Conquest:

All twenty-four issues of *Conquest* were included in the sample. This is because there were so few issues overall that it was deemed important to measure the slightest change in content.

Junior Digest:

Sampling from *Junior Digest* was problematic than *Conquest* because there were so many more issues spread over a much greater timeframe. In addition, the difference in size between the two magazines made the construction of a statistically viable sample difficult. The decision was made to forgo this statistical viability in favour of concentrating on the primary focus of the study: the direct comparison of the years 1945-1947.

Additionally, data from the later issues of *Junior Digest* was needed to complement the data from *Conquest*, which although small, encompassed the entire life cycle of the magazine. To do this *Junior Digest* was sampled intensively at one end of the print run, and less intensively at the other.

In order to select issues which would definitely supply the data needed to provide information about the middle and end stages of the *Junior Digest* the sample for analysis was selected purposively – that is, in such a way as to ensure that the issues most likely to provide certain kinds of qualitative data were included. Using a completely random sampling technique may have resulted in clusters of too many issues from one year of the print run while also risking missing certain ‘key issues’.

The ‘key issues’ included the anniversary issues (September of each year) which generally have editorials giving summaries of the previous year’s activities and achievements. During the preliminary scoping study of the magazine, several issues from the final twelve months were also identified as having significant editorial content which helps to explain the sudden cessation of the magazine.

To select the sample, the print run of *Junior Digest* was stratified into three areas for data collection: the first five years which overlap *Conquest*, the following five years

and the final year (vol. 37, no. 1 to vol. 39, no. 4, 1963/1964). The period from January 1956 to August 1963 has been left out of the study entirely because the limited sample size and that the main focus of the research was the period 1945-1955, it was deemed more useful to cluster most of the sample pre-1955.

The final sample from *Junior Digest* included all the issues from the first two years of publication from September 1945 to September 1947, except for vol. 1, no. 2, which was eliminated from the sample after repeated attempts to have a photocopy made by the Hocken Library (the only institution which holds a copy) were unsuccessful. In total, twenty-four issues were selected from the first period stratified and four issues were each taken from the later two.

Type of Data Collected

As discussed above, quantitative data was gathered by devising content categories and assigning each separate feature within each issue of the magazine to one of those content categories. This quantitative data included: the numbers of each type of feature (fiction, non-fiction etc.), the numbers of each type of sub-feature (informative article, competition, etc.), the numbers of each type of theme evident in the articles (sports/outdoor pursuits, literature/language, etc.), the numbers of contributions from the readers and the demographic data of the readers (male/female, location and age or age range). The development of the categories themselves is discussed in more detail below.

Qualitative data was gathered in the form of observations or field notes. The notes aimed to capture details and insights into the magazines' editors and readers in particular, and collected such things as particularly interesting passages from editorials, letters from readers to the editor, terrible jokes, the titles of specific articles which stood out for the researcher, and anything else which seemed to embody the spirit of the magazines. The aim at the end of the research process was to have captured something of the dialogue between editor and reader – something that numerical data alone would not provide.

During the data collection phase it became apparent that another kind of qualitative data existed. The *Junior Digest* in particular aroused memories in relatives, colleagues and the staff of the institutions at which the research was carried out. Almost everyone (over a certain age) could remember not only reading the magazine, but also why they read it. In some instances they could even remember what feature they particularly liked or hated (interestingly, 'Inkey Thum' seemed to feature in both categories).

However, because the scope of this study was confined to the content analysis outlined here, informal remarks about *Junior Digest* were collected if offered but not actively sought. However, for a larger scale project aiming to gather more qualitative data surrounding the readers themselves, a survey could be administered to people who remember reading either of the magazines asking them to recall how they felt about the magazines and why they read them.

Pilot Studies

Before beginning the data collection phase proper of the project, two short pilot studies were conducted. Six issues (three each of *Conquest*-vol. 1, no. 1, vol. 1, no. 2, vol. 1, no. 3, and *Junior Digest*-vol. 38, no. 1, vol. 38, no. 6, vol. 39, no. 4) were selected and used to test the first data collection instrument. A second pilot study using a further two issues of *Junior Digest* (vol. 20, no. 1, vol. 37, no. 1) then tested modifications made to this first instrument. Further alterations were made, and this third data collection instrument was used in this study.

The issues used in the pilot study were re-used for the final study. Because the sample from *Conquest* was so small, the researcher decided against eliminating them from the study. And to be equitable, the issues of *Junior Digest* were used in the final study as well.

Testing and refinement of the instrument was the primary goal of the pilot study, but a secondary consideration also was to enable the researcher to plan the data collection phase more accurately. As most of the early issues (including the first twenty-four issues selected for the sample) of *Junior Digest* were located at the Auckland Dominion Museum Library, the data collection instrument needed not only to have been thoroughly “de-bugged”, but an accurate assessment of the time needed to code those issues was essential for planning travel and accommodation requirements.

The influence that the pilot studies had on the development of the data collection instrument (and in particular the recording units/content categories) is discussed further below.

Data Collection Instrument

Both the quantitative and the qualitative data were gathered at the same time using the one tool: a chart or checklist onto which each datum was entered. One chart per issue was used to record the qualities of each feature in tally form as well as observations on the content of each issue (see Appendix C, Figure 3: recording instrument).

Drawing on Stemler’s definitions (2001), the essential parts to content analysis are identified as sampling units, context units and recording units. These three parts were the first considerations when designing the data collection tool and can be laid out thus:

Sampling units: in this study these were the issues of each magazine. One sampling unit was described on each chart.

Context units: in this case were defined as the magazine features -each separate distinct item of content in the magazines whether it be an article, a story or a “page” such as a jokes page or an advice column.

Recording units: are the categories into which the features were classified or coded. In most cases each feature was coded into more than one recording unit

as will be explained further below. These are the “content categories” referred to in the definition of content analysis above (Stemler, 2001).

Explanation of the Recording Process

Each sampling unit (magazine issue) was recorded on one copy of the recording instrument. Each context unit (magazine feature) was first recorded as one of five broad types: fiction, non-fiction, editorial contribution, reader contribution, or advertising. After being recorded in one of the broad types, the feature was recorded as then as one of the sub-types and also as one of the topic/themes. If the feature was recorded as fiction or non-fiction it was additionally recorded as being intended for a male audience, a female audience or both. Because both magazines claimed to be for boys and girls this last category attempted to collect data which might show if this was true or if perhaps the content swung more to girl or boy content, thus alienating half the potential readership.

The topic or theme of a feature was determined by its setting and main characters. Thus if a story was set in a school with either schoolboy or girl protagonists, then the story was recorded as a school story despite perhaps involving a mystery or an adventurous escapade.

Whether a feature was meant for a male or female audience is largely supposition and the main criteria for recording it under one or the other was the gender of the protagonists and the theme. For example, a sport story about a girl's hockey team was probably aimed at girls. A detective story with a male protagonist was probably meant for boys. A story about a mixed group of children (plus dog) who discover a German submarine base and act quickly to foil the Nazis was probably meant for both. This approach has been guided in part by Drotner's survey of children's magazines in Britain to 1945 which showed that boys and girls magazines typically printed stories which modelled conventional gender roles of the time (Drotner 1988).

Reader contributions were further collected by recording the themes and concerns of some features (in particular the letters written to the Editor) on a separate page. Reader information such as gender, age and location, where these were given, were also recorded. This information was specifically collected to fulfil the first research objective of identifying the readers of the magazine.

Developing the Categories

Reed (1997) offers a very good model for basing the development of the content categories on, however using his categories would not have ensured that this study's research questions would be adequately covered. As this is a case study, the content categories were developed from the magazines themselves. This was especially important to ensure the collection of data that would answer the research questions.

For this proposal, emergent coding was used to develop the categories. Emergent coding, as defined by Stemler (2001), is a process where "the categories are established following some preliminary examinations of the data". The preliminary scoping study referred to earlier included all twenty-four issues of *Conquest* and approximately thirty-four issues of *Junior Digest* from 1951, 1954, 1963 and 1964. The selection from *Junior Digest* was constrained by the available holdings of the Alexander Turnbull Library and thus did not include any earlier issues.

A drawback of using emergent coding to develop the categories is that it impossible to anticipate everything one might encounter-especially since in this case the categories were developed without sighting early issues of *Junior Digest*. In this case, there was quite a difference between the content of the magazine issues of the 1940s and those of the 1960s. During the pilot study, the second recording instrument was adjusted in order to compensate for the differences. The changing interests and attitudes of young people in New Zealand over the nineteen-year print run of *Junior Digest* was touched on by this study but is an area which would reward further in-depth investigation.

Stemler (2001) suggests two people review the material and come up with a checklist, but in this study one researcher devised the categories. While this had the drawback of being dependent on one person's interpretation of the content, it did eliminate the factor of inter-coder reliability. Bias and error in the coding, particularly in the area of consistency will have crept in during the data collection process. The process of testing and refining the content categories during the pilot studies, and additionally keeping extensive notes on this process, should have helped to reduce this but this problem will be taken into consideration when discussing the results below.

The first instrument

The problems with the first instrument were of the sort which had been anticipated when planning the study and why a pilot study was included. Despite the fact that the coding units were developed from the preliminary survey of the magazines, some categories were not adequately described, and some were overlooked.

The second instrument

Despite creating additional categories for the second instrument, the second pilot study quickly exposed weaknesses. In this second instrument too many features were being coded as "other", a category which had been included in anticipation of the differences in the earlier issues of *Junior Digest*. This was problematic because the second pilot study was conducted using later issues with features which should have been slotting neatly into the categories already fixed.

In addition, far too many features were coded in the "trivia" category which obscured the topics and distorted the data collected in the other categories. It was difficult to decide where to fit some features, either because they could go under two or more categories (it could be history or war), or because there was no category which it could fit into. Many features containing "people" centred information which didn't seem to belong in either history or biographical profile were coded as trivia, along with little snippets of scientific or geographical facts.

The final problem was that it was still taking far too long to code each issue of *Junior Digest* (even considering the differences in size between *Conquest* and *Junior Digest*). This was an important factor to consider as all the early *Junior Digests* were to be examined within one week during a research trip to Auckland. The Auckland Dominion Museum Library is only open to the public for four hours each week day, and with this making a total time within which to code twenty-four issues of just twenty hours, the time spent coding each issue had to be kept under an hour without sacrificing accuracy or depth. And while the need-for-speed was not a factor in the same way for the issues of *Conquest*, in theory all the concepts should have been clear by this point and the coding should have been straightforward tallying.

The third instrument

For the third instrument structural changes were made in addition to refining the categories. Most importantly the themes and interests of the non-fiction informative articles were restricted to eight headings: Creative-making/doing; Sports/outdoor pursuits; Hobbies/indoor pursuits; Literature/language; History/geography/biography; Jokes/humour; Science/technology; and General knowledge. As discussed earlier, specificity had to be sacrificed for consistency in the coding and this study needed to remain focused on identifying only the broader trends in the themes and interests evident in the content.

On the data collection instrument itself, there are sub-categories under some of these headings. These sub-categories (for example stamp collecting) were used to keep track of qualitative observations on the specific types of features. A full and annotated list of the content categories is included in the appendices (see Appendix C, Figure 4: Explanation of the content categories used in the final data collection tool).

This third instrument was the final data collection tool used for the main data collection phase. A discussion of the results gathered during this phase begins below.

Results-Analysis and Discussion

Returning now to the earlier stated goals of this study, the research process attempted firstly to discover who the readers of each of these magazines were during the period 1945 to 1947, and secondly, to discover what kinds of content, or features were present in each of the magazines. This section has been organised according the structure of these goals. This first part describes the specific groups of readers and their interests and concerns, while the second section discusses the content which was discovered in the magazines.

A direct comparison between the magazines can only be made across the years 1945-1947. Data from the middle and end of *Junior Digest* was collected mainly to gain an idea of how it changed. In the section which discusses the reader data this means that the results for the *Junior Digest* have been divided completely into two sets-the data which overlaps with *Conquest*, and the data from the 1950s and 1960s. In the section which discusses content, the data remains integrated, which must be considered when reading the charts.

Identifying the Readers who Actively Engaged with the Magazines

Who Contributed?

When gathering, and collating and analyzing the data the following decisions were made which affect how the final results should be viewed. Each reader who contributed in a visible way-that is, each reader who had a contribution of some kind published, was counted. The readers listed in the *Junior Digest* Editor's "Agony column". This is because they weren't contributors as such. The column existed to list

things such as “so-and-so who won the essay competition didn’t send an address, please write and claim your prize”. In cases such as this, the reader would have already been counted as a competition winner.

All the reader data is approximate because it was only possible to record a small slice of the readership, and that only the visible readership. Without access to concrete and reliable circulation records for either magazine, the readers who were published may represent a far larger, hidden readership, or it could be assumed equally likely that the editors published everything they received.

The evidence for circulation numbers for both magazines is slight. *Conquest*’s Editors referred to many “many thousands of New Zealand boys and girls who read *Conquest* regularly” (vol 1, no. 11: 320). While the Editor of *Junior Digest* claimed

we are now issuing about thirteen thousand *Junior Digests* each month—which means I suppose, that by the time they are lent, between readers and their friends, there must be a reading circulation of 30 000 or even more! And that’s a whole lot of young people! (15, no. 1: 24).

Other problems concerning the data collected in each category are discussed further below, but in general, there was no attempt to identify and remove repeat correspondents. Some names did appear twice or more during the period 1945-1947, but these few were identified only because the name itself was unusual and stood among the Johns and Michaels, or the writer was from outside New Zealand (for example, Ambika Prasad from Fiji). Because these were only noted by the researcher when half-way through the data collection phase, the collection instrument was not designed with space to record the names. In hindsight, this would have been an effective way of identifying how many regular correspondents there were and if there were just a few readers contributing. However, because only a very few names were noted more than once, it was decided not to worry about this aspect of the data.

In general, the volume of reader data generated by the early issues of *Junior Digest* compared with *Conquest* over just two years is staggering. Four hundred and fifty-five readers were recorded for *Conquest* and two thousand three hundred and eighty-four for the same period in *Junior Digest*. This can be partly explained by the Editor

of *Junior Digest*'s decision to fill in space during the first twelve months by publishing an extensive list of readers who entered competitions and did not win but were considered to be "very highly commended". This only happened for eight issues, from vol 1 no. 4 to vol. 2, no. 4 and probably ceased because printing up to two hundred names in an issue became consumed too much space.

From this data, the readership of both magazines was able to be broadly identified and has been broken down into the following categories-readers by age, readers by gender, and readers by their geographic location.

Ages

The ages of the readers of *Junior Digest* are unfortunately not as apparent as those from *Conquest*, although for both magazines the number of readers who gave their ages is not very high. The percentage of *Junior Digest* readers who gave ages was twenty-five per cent, while that of *Conquest* was forty-eight per cent. In addition, the only feature for which the *Junior Digest* readers submitted any indication of their ages with any regularity, was the pen friends column and the data itself is vague. When advertising for a pen friend in the early issues of *Junior Digest*, the readers usually nominated an age range of the pen friends they would like to write to, rather than

supplying their own age. Sometimes a specific age was supplied, but not very often. In the case of the pen friends, the age entered was the average of the age range given rounded down to the nearest year. For example if the range 14-16 was supplied, then this was entered as 15 14-17 is also entered as 15.

Despite the problems with the data however, the ages supplied show that earlier assumptions about the age of the audience for the magazines to be valid. Most readers fall between the ages of 10 and 16, although *Conquest* reader age drops off sharply after 13.

Genders

The data gathered for gender is also very approximate. Again it is more so with *Junior Digest* than with *Conquest*. This is because the correspondents recorded in *Conquest* usually gave their real name in full, which allowed easy identification of gender. The

Junior Digest contributors recorded as competition winners were usually able to be identified by gender, but the tendency of the contributors to the letters pages to use pseudonyms clouded the data collection in this area. Where a letter writer contributed gender details as part of the letter, for example “I am a 14 year old girl”, this could then be recorded. But unless this was explicit or obvious, then the contributor was recorded as unknown. This does mean that in each case there is a large number of “unknown” genders, but fortunately not enough to prevent a strong indication of trends.

The most interesting result here is that the readers of *Conquest* were over half male, while *Junior Digest* enjoyed a much larger percentage of female readers.

Locations

When this study was being designed it was hoped that the data collected about the locations of readers would enable close analysis of proportions of urban to rural readers, and the numbers of readers in each town.

However, the problem arose (again with the early issues of *Junior Digest*) that readers were less consistent and reliable about recording their location than it was assumed that they would be. A reader might record their location as their suburb, their town, their rural delivery area, their province, or their region. This varying level of detail made it difficult to compare location information. Therefore, when collating this data for analysis, it was decided sort all reader locations by region, as this was the lowest common denominator with which it was convenient to amalgamate the information.

The regions which have been used are based on the 1989's re-organization of local government authorities and as such, is not an entirely accurate means of compiling readers' locations from fifty years ago. However, this method suited this study as the researcher was then able to use a readily available reference source to organize the data-Gil Dymock's *AA Concise Dictionary of New Zealand Place Names*. The main differences in the allocation of regions are that Gisborne was counted as a region rather than a unitary authority, and also the Nelson-Marlborough region, which was eliminated in the 1989 re-organization, was used. This gave fourteen New Zealand regions. The readers from overseas countries were recorded under their countries.

During the process of allocating readers to a region some choices were made when there were two regions a place could be allotted to. This was not a common occurrence, and usually involved a town and locality. For example, Wairoa, *Wairoa District*, Town, and Wairoa, *Western Bay of Plenty District*, Locality. In this case the decision was based on the definitions of Town ("smaller than a city, generally 3000 to 20,000 in population but which is a focal point servicing a surrounding geographical area") and Locality ("a named place of nil to very few population") (Dymock, 1994, 5). In this case, the reader was recorded in the region for the town rather than the locality following the reasoning that if the reader did live at the locality they would have recorded an R.D. address. This is very approximate, and there is really no way to be sure in these cases where a reader was really writing from, but at least this ensured a consistent approach.

For both magazines, the highest percentage of readers were located in the region in which each was published. *Junior Digest*, published in Christchurch, attracted

eighteen per cent of its readers from the Canterbury Region, while *Conquest* found thirteen per cent of its readers close to home in the Wellington Region. Both magazines seemed to find most of their readers in the more heavily populated regions- Auckland, Wellington, and Canterbury, although *Conquest* had a more active following in the far North.

Although this data is approximate, the picture which emerges of the audiences of these two magazines shows that both boys and girls were contributing, that they were mostly aged between ten and sixteen years, and that they were reading the magazines all over New Zealand. As a general indication of the spread of readers across the country, their ages and genders between July 1945 and September 1947, this data is useful. But would be enhanced considerably if further research was able to uncover concrete circulation figures for both magazines, and more information about the distribution networks of both publishers.

What Kinds of Things Did They Contribute?

The readers of both magazines contributed enthusiastically, sending jokes, letters, competitions and puzzles. As was expected, the kinds of things which the readers of *Conquest* contributed were very similar to those sent by the *Junior Digest* readers. In some cases the jokes were even duplicated, with one terrible quip printed in one magazine repeated several months later in the other. There is nothing surprising in this result, firstly because the pages created for reader contributions covered all or most of the possible things that readers could possibly send, and secondly because the audiences of the magazines are so similar, despite the small differences in gender and age.

The graph below compares the total number of reader contributions to each feature type between July 1945 and September 1947. It must be remembered that the readers' contributions were counted twice- firstly with the aim of determining how many features in each issue were reader contributed (which is discussed below during the

analysis of the content), and secondly with the intention of identifying each reader who contributed to the magazine.

What can be seen immediately is that the number of readers contributing to competitions is far higher for the *Junior Digest* than for *Conquest*. This can be explained by two things. Firstly, as will be revisited below in the analysis of the content of each magazine, *Junior Digest* featured more competitions in each issue than *Conquest*, and secondly because of the Editor of *Junior Digest*'s decision to print so many of the "very highly commended" entries.

Similarly, the higher number of jokes contributed by *Conquest* readers does not show that they were of a more jovial nature than their *Junior Digest* counterparts. *Conquest*'s "Sunny Corner" feature began publishing reader contributed jokes from vol. 1, no. 3, while *Junior Digest*'s "Mirthquakes" did not begin accepting readers' jokes until July 1946 (vol 2, no. 5).

Junior Digest Readers in the 1950s and 1960s

As is shown on the charts the *Junior Digest* readers of the 1950s and 1960s were roughly the same ages and genders. The major difference in this data is demonstrated the breakdown of the reader contributions. A huge number of pen friends were

recorded and many of these were from overseas. It was a difficult decision whether to include these overseas advertisers as readers or not. However, it was decided that because the Editor referred to *Junior Digest* clubs existing in such diverse countries as Australia, India and Malaysia and because it was impossible to know for certain where the magazine was being distributed overseas, then they would be counted as readers.

These overseas "pen friend" readers came from a great number of different countries spread across Europe, Africa and the Pacific, and so for clarity, have been amalgamated under just one heading. A full list of these countries is included in the appendices.

What Were Their Concerns and/or Interests?

If the types of contributions were the same across both magazines, it is in the themes of the contributions and the concerns expressed by contributors where differences between the two magazines are highlighted. The readers of *Conquest* proved to be interested in very different things to the readers of *Junior Digest* (see Appendix D, figures 5a and 5b).

For this section of the study, only the interests and concerns that were expressed in letters to the Editors of both magazines were extracted. It was decided to discount the other contribution types from analysis as the interest or concern of a joke would in case be "humour", and a competition would be "winning" or "entering".

Additionally, interests and concerns displayed in essays or letters for competitions were not recorded. This is because although the letters pages were established by the Editors with guidelines for what kinds of things they wanted readers to send, there was still a great deal of room for the readers to send original thought, that is, to send what they wanted to or felt like sending. The essays and letters for competitions however, usually had a set topic or concern to write about and therefore were considered to be more indicative of the Editors' concerns and interests in each case. A hypothetical example to be absolutely clear: a child writing to the Letters page of the *Junior Digest* discusses her concern about nuclear arms, can be supposed to be expressing a true and spontaneous reflection of her concern. But a letter entered in a competition which sets a task of writing about nuclear arms has the motivation supplied by the Editor.

The data in this area of the study was collected at a very general level, and the letters sent by readers to the Editor of *Junior Digest* in particular, could be a whole study on their own. This proved to be an unexpectedly rich and exciting area of investigation.

The complexity of the readers' discussions in the first two years of *Junior Digest* was not anticipated partly because this complexity was not present in *Conquest*. This again reflects the difficulties with the emergent coding used in this study. When the data collection instrument was being designed, the researcher did not examine a sequential run of issues, and so missed the way in which a topic would be introduced and then debated vigorously among the readers over several issues. Because the issues involved in the preliminary scoping study were sampled at such intervals as to be almost independent of each other, the best way of recording an ongoing discussion thread was not considered at all.

A more thorough study could correct this methodology and could produce a much richer and more detailed analysis. This is the section of this study which proved by far

to be the most interesting, and also the most frustrating, as the scope and intention of this research had already confined discussion of the readers' concerns and interests to a small section.

The letters which *Conquest*'s readers sent to the "Readers' Own Page" tended to cluster easily under a narrow range of themes. It was very easy to do this while coding and a kind of shorthand was substituted rather than a detailed breakdown of the subject of each individual letter. The shorthand "animal story" for example, covered domestic animals, encounters with farm animals, wild animals and whatever the interaction/incident might entail. This could be caring for, being attacked by, or simply seeing the animal. By the second volume, letters describing animals-either in the wild or as pets predominated. Stories about trips around New Zealand ('what we did on the school holidays') and 'finds' while gardening-either of the unusual plant variety, or old coins and artifacts, followed closely in popularity. These letters are fascinating descriptions of what these young people enjoyed doing and what they had done or seen which had an impact on them. The themes evident in these letters seem to suggest a strong interest and affinity with healthy, outdoor pursuits, as well as the gentle pastimes of birdwatching and nature study.

The readers of *Conquest* engaged in a limited way with the editor and each other when compared with the readers of *Junior Digest*. They evidently responded enthusiastically to the invitation to share their experiences, but displayed little interaction with the Editors or each other. A reader might refer to another reader's letter as a means of introducing his or her own experience-particularly with the birdwatching topic, and the 'freak' plant thread, but would remain politely aloof. That is, they tended to refer to another reader only in the form: "in so-and so's letter, printed in the nth issue, I was interested to read of ..., this made me recall the time that I found a ...".

There is nowhere near the same level of debate and disagreement which was discovered in the letters sent to *Junior Digest*. This can be seen in a limited way by comparing figures 5a and 5b in appendix D. Most of the *Conquest* contributions line up in a static way under the first category (Story/something to share), whereas the *Junior Digest* contributions are spread over the four categories.

Popular discussion topics included threads as diverse as cruelty to animals, pleas for young peoples' opinions to be sought on all manner of topics (from politics to radio programs), numerous complaints about the unfairness of being a child ("Why are adults served first in shops even if children are there first?"), complaints about certain articles, and complaints about other readers complaining.

One complaint which sparked an intense response from other readers was that submitted by "Brunette, Dannevirke" (vol. 2, no. 5):

Dear Editor, - I am writing to you on something about which I often think. It is this modern jazz and boogie-woogie.

Personally, I simply cannot see what there is to it except a loud mixture of horrible grunts, squeaks moans, discords, and bad rhythm, but if other readers of the good old "J.D." would write in to "Letters from Readers" and say what they think, whether for or against jazz, I should be very interested.

Yours,-

Unlike the polite references to previously published letters found in *Conquest*, this discussion rapidly became heated and, in some cases, rather personal.

As would be expected from an audience of school age, many concerns stemmed from school. These included the value of learning French in school, too much homework being set-a topic which was vigorously and intelligently debated over several months, the cruelty of strapping, and the composition of school courses. One reader plaintively asked why girls taking secretarial courses still had to take mathematics, while another offered a well-thought out plan for increasing the school day between Monday and Thursday in order to give everyone Friday off.

Some of these issues raised by *Junior Digest* readers are eerily contemporary, particularly those surrounding school. For example, the necessity of school uniforms for effective learning, and the argument for internal assessment instead of exams. One thoughtful reader suggested that

when pupils leave school their work is judged over a period of time—why not at school? Exams judge the pupils' work over a few hours, tests would judge their work over a year (vol.21, no. 1: 17).

In the 1950s and 1960s readers' could also write to "The Man Who Passes By", with more personal problems for which they required guidance. These ranged from requests for career advice and the perennial problems of interacting with the opposite sex, to disturbing descriptions of abuse and exploitation.

An area which emerged from the later issues of *Junior Digest* is the change in interests and concerns which inevitably occurred over the nineteen-year print run. Music opinions and tastes shifted from "this modern jazz and boogie-woogie" to the exciting new sensations of Rock and Pop. A reader from the final issue offered one perspective:

Really! I don't like the Beatles' singing much, let alone the words of the songs. I should like to hear of other readers' views on this subject.

But as this is one instance where the dialogue between readers hasn't been recorded because the sample from the 1950s and 1960s did not include a run of sequential issues, it is unknown when this topic had begun, and how much space it been occupying. As this was in the final issue the only response to this particular letter is the editor's tart observation: "fascinating subject, isn't it! This name! This hair do! What they produce! How we react!—Ed."

This is one example of the level of dialogue between the Editor and readers and of the influence the readers had on the magazine. Even more dialogue however could be traced if the subjects of the feedback to the Editor letters (criticism or praise) had been recorded in full. This is a factor which obviously detracts from the results in this area, because all that is recorded is that the reader was critical, but not of what they were being critical. This direct evidence of what readers did and did not like about the magazine is unfortunately lost in this study, although some *Junior Digest* features which caused the most controversy were noted because of the sheer volume of comment.

What Might Explain These Differences?

What probably had the most influence on the kinds of letters which readers sent and the concerns and topics expressed, and even the style in which these were expressed, was what the Editors initially expressed as their intentions for the reader pages. That is, what they asked for.

The editors of *Conquest* extended a rather formal invitation in the first issue and the editorial of vol. 1, no. 3 announced that

with this number the Readers' Own page begins. Congratulations to those whose work has been accepted. We are going to set a high standard, so if at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again...

When sending contributions for the Readers' Own Page, please try to write something original or personal that has happened in your own experience. Anything copied from other papers or books is probably copyright and may not be used without permission. We are always glad to hear from you. Look out for some interesting competitions soon!"

The Editors in subsequent issues issued the instruction

Write and tell us of any interesting discoveries you have made, or of any topic which you think will be of interest to other young people. These contributions should not exceed 200 words, and a book will be given to every contributor whose article is printed (vol. 2, no. 10).

There is something consciously didactic in these requests for stories and the Editors of *Conquest* seem to be setting up the letters page as an exercise in composition, with the letters being judged on merit and rewarded. It wasn't until after 1951 that *Junior Digest* offered 3/6 for the "best" letter printed each month, and although it is unknown by what criteria the "best" was judged, there was certainly no indication that the letters were to be essays or stories.

In contrast to *Conquest*, the invitation extended to readers of *Junior Digest* is much more effusive. In the first issue a page was headed "This page is reserved for you!", and the following message printed:

You have seen the correspondence columns in newspapers and magazines, haven't you? And haven't you often felt as if you, too, would like to air your views on some subjects? '*Junior Digest*' can help you, because in future issues we intend to publish letters to the editor, written on any subject you care to write about ... politics, schools, books, the things that worry you most, the things that make you wild, questions you want answered. Anything at all. If you want to criticize something, go ahead, because you will feel much better afterwards. Here is your chance to let off a little steam!

You may use a pen name if you wish, but it is essential that your real name and address be sent as well ...

And don't forget: this is your page, so make the best you can of it.

This editorial emphasis on the importance of young peoples' own views and interests is a major difference in the two magazines. *Junior Digest*'s first editorial had stated clearly how the Editor felt about his potential readers:

It is YOUR book, girls and boys...write and tell us what you think of *Junior Digest*, and of any improvements you can suggest (vol. 1, no. 1: inside front cover).

This declaration that the magazine was for the readers, and that those readers were important and valued, was revisited often over the years. In the September 1952 issue, the Editor wrote:

One feature of which there was so much doubt at the beginning was "The Man Who Passes By"—but now I can safely say that this is here to stay for a long time yet. It is indeed, one of the most popular features in the book, and one which you would seldom find in a magazine for young folk. Like our "Letters From Readers" this particular feature gives all young people credit for being as important as grown ups (vol. 15, no. 1: 26).

Analyzing the Content of Each Magazine

What kinds of Features Were Included in the Magazines?

The fourth research question asked whether generalizations could be made about the proportions of, for example, fiction to non-fiction or moral guidance to practical skills in each magazine. The data gathered does indeed support some broad generalizations, and show some changes to the magazines over time. Finer analysis is possible, and is attempted, at the sub-type level of the data, but still the results remain very general.

A major fault with the data lies with the initial definition of “feature”, and the way in which those features were counted. By defining the features as each separate, distinct item of content in the magazines—whether it be an article, a story or a “page” such as a jokes page, a column, or an advertisement, and then by counting them in this way, the proportionality of the feature types is somewhat distorted. This becomes apparent when examining the data represented by the charts below. It must be kept in mind that the proportions represent numbers of features and not the physical space the features occupy in the magazine. For example, although in the final issue of *Conquest* the number of fiction features and the number of advertising features are equal, they do not both occupy the same number of pages.

Broad-Types of Features Included in the Magazines

Junior Digest (as mentioned previously) has been scrutinized from two perspectives—the direct comparison with *Conquest* over the years 1945-1947 and the later areas of the sample: the years 1953 and 1955, and the final two years 1963-1964. Content results from these later years have been included on these charts.

There was a smaller proportion of fiction features published in *Junior Digest* than in *Conquest*. Fiction hovered between ten and twenty per cent during this period but declined in the 1950s and 1960s. In the last two years *Junior Digest* typically only contained between two and four fiction features. *Conquest*'s fiction features usually made up between eighteen and twenty per cent, and did not drop below fourteen per cent of the total features.

The non-fiction features of *Conquest*, however, did not remain so steady. While in the first issue they made up sixty-eight per cent, they fell to thirty-nine per cent by the end of the second volume. This decline is in part explained by the discontinuation of some of the sub-types which make up this category and is explored further below.

While non-fiction features dropped, the level of advertising in *Conquest* increased sharply in the second year. In the last few issues of the magazine advertising made up between twenty-five and thirty percent of the total number of features. In its first year, *Conquest* had kept the number of advertisements to a minimum, and those were mainly for Reed products. This is possibly an indication of falling circulation figures and increasing financial and production pressures

Sub-Types of Features in Each Category

Analyzing the sub-types which make up each broad-type category of feature allowed for more specific identification of the kinds of features included in the magazines.

Fiction

(serialized story, short story, comic strip, poem)

Both magazines contained ongoing serialized stories in roughly similar proportions, varying between about twenty and thirty per cent of the total fiction, and remaining very regular over the period surveyed. *Conquest* changed this proportion slightly though, printing one serialized story in each issue during the first year and increasing this to two per issue in the second.

While both magazines featured short stories, *Junior Digest* printed usually two, but no more than three, while *Conquest* usually featured three or four an issue.

Comic strips featured in a much greater proportion in *Junior Digest* than in *Conquest*. Usually comic strips made up fifty per cent of the fiction total in *Junior Digest*'s 1945-1947 issues. Interestingly, they appear to have vanished completely from the issues examined in the 1960s. This loss probably contributes to the overall decline of fiction content in the 1960s. When the comic strips were sacrificed, and exactly why, is unknown, and is possibly due to external influences which would require further investigation to uncover.

Conquest did not feature any poems at all, and while *Junior Digest* did not make them a regular feature, it did include them, which fits in with the often repeated objective of the magazine: to provide good reading and exposure to a variety of literature forms in particular.

Non-fiction

(informative article, moral guidance/advice, competitions, puzzles/games)

Both magazines featured informative articles as the highest proportion of non-fiction features. In *Junior Digest* this proportion varied between fifty-nine and eighty-nine per cent, while *Conquest*'s proportion usually remained high at between seventy and one hundred per cent.

Junior Digest made a more regular feature of moral guidance/advice than did *Conquest* which featured articles of this sort, but not in every issue.

Competitions were a regular and popular feature in *Conquest* until three issues before the end—suggesting that the Editors had an inkling then that they would not be continuing beyond the end of the 2nd volume. The competitions were also a regular and popular feature of *Junior Digest*, judging by the volume of winners and “very highly commended” notices which were printed in each issue until the Editor ran out of space. A colleague recalled the competitions being why her family bought the magazine, as the children's periodicals produced overseas couldn't accept entries from the other side of the world, and the competitions closed before an entry could reach Great Britain (Jill Dodson, conversation with author 11 May 2002).

The first *Conquest* competition advertised in vol. 1, no. 3 required an entry fee of 1/-, but offered every competitor a copy of “At the Bottom of the Garden, a 1/9 book which tells with amusing pictures, how seeds grow, together with a packet of seeds so you can see how they grow for yourself”. In addition, the first prize was 20/-, and all entries published received 5/-. *Conquest*'s later competitions routinely offered books as prizes rather than cash, but perhaps a possible reason for *Conquest*'s demise is hinted at by a limerick competition runner up:

There once was a “Conquest” for folk,
To send in a riddle or joke.
There were stories to tell,
And pictures as well,
But the prizes made the Editors broke.

(L.H. Wilkin, 13 years, Kilbirnie. Vol. 1, no. 7)

Junior Digest's first competition was an essay competition with the first prize an astonishing £3/3/-, which seems almost like bribery—and surpasses the Reed books offered by *Conquest* as prizes. Perhaps this was even a factor in the continuing success of *Junior Digest*, although the cash prizes more usually were varied between 10/- and £1/1- first prize, with an occasional larger offering. A regular prize structure was 10/- as a first prize, and 3/6 as a second prize.

Junior Digest featured more puzzles and games than *Conquest* which by vol. 2, no. 2, had discontinued them altogether. There seems no explanation for this other than that the editors of *Conquest* wanted to make more room for more informative articles within the overall number of non-fiction features. But this may also be explained by that many of the regular competitions were puzzles or quizzes, and perhaps it decided that these could fulfil both functions.

Reader contribution

(Club notices, jokes/humor, correspondence, competition winners/entries, puzzles)

As mentioned above under the broad types of features, the reader contributions to *Conquest* were fixed early. From vol. 1, no. 3, each month the readers regularly contributed two features, Jokes and Letters, while competition winners also featured regularly.

Junior Digest displays more of a growth pattern. In vol. 1, no. 3, readers' contributed just one feature, "Letters to the Editor", in the following issue they contributed competition entries as well, which remained regular until vol. 2, no. 6 when they began to contribute to the Jokes feature as well. Although there were regular competition entries, the chart shows a greater percentage of these in some months because readers' were contributing winners to more than one competition in an issue. Each separate "competition winners" feature was counted separately.

The clubs and the club notices published each month were a feature unique to *Junior Digest*. The Scrapbook club began in vol. 3, no. 1, when the publishers offered scrapbooks for sale to readers at 2/6 each, while each month a regular feature would be made of "how to" tips and notes for making the scrapbooks attractive. At first the club members were going to write to the publishers requesting pictures for their books, but soon the readers themselves were contributing notices regularly listing the kinds of pictures they wanted to swap with other readers.

But it is the reader clubs which developed in the 1950s which demonstrate a surprising level of reader commitment to the magazine. The Editor's "Report to Readers" in the seventh birthday issue (September 1952, which was part of the preliminary scoping study, but not included in the main study) refers to the history of the clubs:

These clubs sprang up by themselves—it was mentioned in one issue that one of our readers had formed a *Junior Digest* club, and from that time on it was over to you! And you certainly rallied to the cause of old *J.D.* because there are hundreds of *Junior Digest* clubs in New Zealand and even some in Australia, and England, India, Malaya—they're only the ones we know about too! In this department also, *Junior Digest* shows no signs of slackening (vol. 15, no. 1: 24).

In the final twelve months another club, M.A.S.K., or Master Aces of Secret Knowledge appeared. This club encouraged participation by printing notices throughout each issue in code which set readers a task which when completed earned them points toward the rank of Number 1 Ace. It's unclear whether this rank had a reward attached beyond the thrill of having your name in print. The code book was of course, only available to members.

Conquest's only equivalent was the "Conquest Badge", the first advertisement for which appeared in July 1946:

Conquest has a host of readers throughout New Zealand and Australia and the Editors would like to have you all wearing the badge just as though you were one big club of boys and girls (vol. 2, no. 1: 2).

However, this was not a club which readers' could participate in by writing to the magazine or each other in the same way as encouraged in *Junior Digest*.

Editor contribution

(Editorial, club notices, correspondence)

Each month *Conquest* began with an editorial on the inside front cover which basically described the features which appeared in that month. While the Editors did also use the space for communicating changes to the content or the distribution area,

such as welcoming Australian readers in vol. 2, no. 1, it was rare for them to offer something beyond a basic “welcome to the issue”. The exceptions are one story about a boy who kept his cool after stabbing himself in the chest with a propelling pencil, and the final editorial explaining the end of *Conquest*.

The first appearance of the regular editorial in *Junior Digest* was in vol. 1, no. 4, but was usually (in the period between 1945 and 1947 at least) also only a brief description of that month’s features. However, if the Editor had something in particular he wanted to share, he wrote an additional editorial “letter” or “report to readers” feature. Later editorials became more communicative and querulous, particularly in the final year when he directly solicited readers’ opinions and feedback on the magazine’s direction.

For example, the popularity of the Beatles and Elvis Presley seemed to baffle the Editor—in a late editorial he asked

have people really gone crazy with this pop and beatnik, these twisting contortions, teddy-boys, mods and Beatles? Do they believe these kinds of things are satisfying, helpful and lead towards happiness? If they do believe it is so, can they show us anything added to human dignity or advancement by their music, antics and behaviour? (vol. 38, no. 6, August 1964: inside front cover)

This is only one example of the level of dialogue between the Editor and readers and indicates that readers probably had some influence on the magazine.

Sometimes, though rarely, the Editor of *Junior Digest* would reply in depth to a correspondent on the “Letters to the Editor” page. One case is his reply to a letter asking why there are no lady-jockeys:

Our sports correspondent thinks that race-riding is a very unsuitable profession for women, although, he says, they have invaded most territory generally regarded as sacred to men. Anyone with even a passing knowledge of race-riding—and this outside of horsemanship—knows that riding in races is far too rough and rugged for even our greatest women riders (vol. 2, no. 1: 28).

Usually though, he inserted a brief comment or relied on the captions given to the letters to express his opinion, for example a sarcastic "Haven't we done well!" above a letter spelling out a long list of complaints.

Editor contributed club notices as well for example, the M.A.S.K. Club notices in the 1960s were all Editor contributions, and were mostly in the form of coded messages. The Editor's club notices also included notices about the reader clubs and were either news about a club's activities he was passing on, a club's establishment or demise, or announcements offering resources for the clubs. Such resources included printed bulletins which explained how to set up clubs, run meetings, and activities for clubs which were available for a modest price.

Advertising

(by publisher, by reader, by external advertiser)

As discussed above, *Conquest's* level of advertising increased in the second year. What also altered in the second year was the type of advertising. Like *Junior Digest*, the publishers own products were prominently featured. This included products connected with the magazines such as back issues, special pennants, club badges and so on, but also other products from the publisher. While Reed advertised other books and magazines frequently, Trio Publications appeared to exist solely for the production of *Junior Digest*. The one exception to this is an advertisement in vol. 1, no. 5 for "Trio children's books."

Advertising by readers was very regular also in both magazines. This type of advertising was another kind of contribution a reader could make and involved for the most part, advertisements for Pen Friends. *Conquest* attempted to promote "buy, sell and exchange", but these did not catch on. *Junior Digest* had more success with this kind of advertising feature in the final years of publication, but it still remained a small percentage of the total advertising features.

The advertisements placed by external advertisers increased in the second year in *Conquest*, and these typically included goods and services which would have appealed directly to the audience of young people. Such items as model airplanes,

stamps, magic tricks, and new and used books featured. An interesting offer of employment also reoccurred, offering:

FUN AND PROFIT FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

Make easy extra pocket money making Art craft and Felt Novelties in spare time at home. A fascinating and colourful hobby. Ready market. Large FREE OUTFIT sent with first lesson. Write now for FREE illustrated booklet, etc, to

ART CRAFT STUDIOS

Box 264, Wanganui.

Junior Digest's advertisements from external advertisers were much more prominent in the early days of the magazine. The types of products advertised were also different from those found in *Conquest*. It is difficult to determine whether the advertisements for Sanitarium breakfast cereals, household cleaners such as Jeyes Fluid and Clever Mary-the enemy of grease, Enzide rubber soles and heels, Boracure, and Para rubber raincoats, were aimed at the reader or their mothers. It is possible that although the publishers loudly proclaimed that *Junior Digest* was for the children, they anticipated it appealing to the whole family. Though there is little doubt who was the intended audience for this advertisement for employment found in vol. 1, no.5:

Here's fun – and pocket money!

Dominion Biological Supplies require hundreds of large green frogs to send to high schools all over New Zealand. For large frogs we will pay 5/6 a dozen and in addition, a prize of £1 will be given to the boy or girl who sends the greatest number of frogs before March 1 1946.

Another type of advertising by an external advertiser which was noted, was the public service advertisement. Both magazines featured at about the same time, advertisements that began: "Share your food with a hungry boy or girl in Britain." These outlined the school parcel scheme where tins and packets of non-perishable food were packed together and sent to Britain. The first issue of *Conquest* in which this appeared also featured a story about the rationing system in Britain at the time, comparing the rations of someone living in Britain, with those of someone living in New Zealand. These kinds of advertisements, however, were very few.

What kinds of themes and interests are evident in the stories and articles?

As was found with the reader contributions, what became most interesting in this study were the kinds of themes and interests uncovered in the stories and articles of the two magazines. Overall, both magazines displayed a wide variety of themes in all their stories and articles

Fiction:

(adventure, animal, detective/mystery, school, war, religious/bible, career, friendship/penpal, moral, humor)

Both magazines featured a high percentage of adventure stories. In *Junior Digest* adventure stories and humour were the most popular, with regular appearances by “Alf ‘n Archie, the tireless tramps”, who were always getting into humorous scrapes and serialised stories such as the controversial “World Patrol” which centered around a body of chosen men and women to patrol the Earth. We present the story of two of them—Mark Steel and Dawn Randal—of whom the President of the World in 1998 said ‘the plucky deeds accomplished by these two agents are typical of those of every person in this gallant band. The world is proud of them!’ (vol. 1, no.1: 20-21).

This first episode of *World Patrol* contains the first attempt to reach the moon.

Conquest doubled its proportion of adventure stories in the second year adding the fantastical “Lost City & the Adventures of Russ Denver” to the stories which featured such adventures as being “Kidnapped on a Holiday Cruise”. An indication of the kind of action is given in the synopsis of vol. 2, no. 11, which reads:

after battling against overwhelming odds Russ Denver [is] overpowered and knocked unconscious by the snake men. They make a litter and carry Russ to their jungle stronghold and before their high priest the evil Kah (336).

Perhaps the Editors were responding to the competition, as the disappearance of religious/Bible stories corresponded with this increase in adventure stories.

Both magazines also contained a regular school story, despite Scott referring to the demise of the school story in his study (1947). Perhaps the kinds of schools depicted in both magazines were different enough from those depicted in the English magazines to remain appealing to readers. The winner of the "What I like best in *Conquest*" essay competition expressed a preference for the school story "The Boys of St. James" because

it has a New Zealand background instead of an English one, where the boys all wear long trousers and Eton collars. In this story they all wear shirts with rolled up sleeves (vol. 1, no. 11: 327).

Junior Digest's school in the first issue was St. Marlow's College, and was co-educational which may have been an enticing point of difference. Later the school was Rockwell, a boys school, but the stories often featured girls.

The main points of difference between the magazines are that *Conquest* featured a regular detective story, whereas *Junior Digest* did not. Nick Westerman, Detective solved a different mystery each month including the "Astonishing Case of the Missing Body" (vol. 2, no. 6), the "Case of the Fake Spiritualist" (vol. 2, no. 10), and the "Horri-fying Spectre of Morgan's Swamp (vol. 2, no.11).

Conquest also featured war stories such as "Desperate Journey" in which Ralph Wilbon is caught in a Japanese air raid while living in Malaya and must flee into the jungle, and religious stories. *Junior Digest* in turn, included stories about animals specifically aimed at younger readers, a theme which did not occur at all in *Conquest*'s stories.

Non-fiction:

Informative articles:

(Creative/making or doing, Sports/outdoor pursuits, Hobbies/indoor pursuits, Literature/language, History/geography/biography, Jokes/humor, Science/technology, General knowledge/interest)

The overall impression generated by studying the themes of the non-fiction articles is that *Conquest* encouraged making/doing more than *Junior Digest*. Each issue contained a feature called "The Busy Little Imps", a cartoon which illustrated how to make something like a toy or a small household item. From vol. 1, no. 12, a semi-regular "Workshop Tips" feature also appeared showing readers how to take care of their tools, handy tips for a more professional finish and small wood-work projects. The girls were catered for by "Penelope's Page for Girls", which demonstrated sewing techniques and by the regular cooking column.

This impression is supported by the data which shows that *Conquest's* creative/making or doing articles regularly made up between ten and twenty per cent of the informative articles, and in addition were featured in every issue.

In addition, creative pursuits were the subject of the first competition, and later the Editors' offered as a special Christmas giveaway of a scale model of a British 'Lancaster' Bomber with the

hope that this Christmas gift from the publishers will give lots of fun in making up, and an interesting job for the first wet day of the holidays vol. 1, no. 5: 130).

Junior Digest on the other hand only featured these kinds of articles irregularly. One example of a *Junior Digest* article was a how to draw column which began in vol. 2, no.3, and appeared sporadically after that.

While *Junior Digest* featured fewer articles about creative pursuits, sports and outdoor articles always featured. Although sometimes making up as little as four per cent of the themes, sports articles such as "Sport gives you character!" (vol. 1, no.5: 24), always featured.

Animal articles were popular in both magazines, although *Junior Digest* did not have the regular birdwatching column that *Conquest* did. These animal articles covered a great deal of the animal kingdom, ranging from insects to large mammals, dangerous snakes to dinosaurs, and usually concentrated on facts and figures.

Like *Conquest*, *Junior Digest* included regular stamp collecting articles, but never more than eight per cent of the total. *Conquest*'s proportion was a little higher, possibly because the stamp collecting articles were published from the very first issues and were very regular, whereas *Junior Digest*'s began later.

Although *Junior Digest* included these more often than *Conquest*, literature/language themed articles made up a small proportion of both. One memorable word play article printed in *Junior Digest* urged:

in promulgating your esoteric cogitations, or articulating your superficial sentimentality, and amicable philosophical or psychological observations, beware of platitudinous ponderosity (vol. 1, no.6: 15).

Both magazines contained a high proportion of articles defined as history/geography/biography. The differences are subtle and only illuminated when the qualitative data is taken into consideration. *Conquest*'s biographical profiles featured personalities from the war just over including Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ernest Rutherford, and General Freyberg. In addition, inventors, explorers and scientists were common. Especially featured on Penelope's Page for Girls was the young Princess Elizabeth.

Junior Digest also included inventors and explorers, but additionally diverse historical personalities such as Napoleon, Tchaikovsky, and William Webb Ellis—the originator of rugby. Events from the war were avoided, the Editor instead providing sensational accounts of disasters such as the sinking of the Titanic, and the destruction of the Hindenburg.

Junior Digest's main humorous feature was a column by the hapless office boy, 'Inkey Thum'. From his first appearance was in vol. 2, no. 1, every month the Editor's barely disguised alter ego described his exploits: causing chaos, feuding with the Editor, making mischief by putting tacks on peoples chairs, and generally getting into trouble. *Conquest* by contrast, contained almost no humorous articles.

Both magazines included many science and technology themed articles covering topics such as medicine and astronomy as well as the workings of things such as the linotype machine on which *Conquest* was printed.

Conquest's "World of To-morrow" column was also categorized as science/technology, but was more complicated than that. Each column began by being about something specific such as a recent technological innovation, but often became opinion more than fact. For example, in vol. 1, no. 5, the column began as a discussion of modern labor saving devices, but quickly became an essay about how these would turn everyone into lazy slobs, unable to walk or even stand unaided. An earlier column had introduced this theme, musing in a slightly pessimistic way that "there will be no need for any muscular effort at all, nor any mental effort either" (vol. 1, no. 1: 11).

Junior Digest also occasionally featured articles which speculated on possible future conveniences, but which remained optimistic about "the fine things that are waiting for us around the corner" (vol. 2, no. 5: 3). These included wonderfully bizarre ideas such as small planes which would replace cars, as well as more familiar appliances such as "automatic washer-uppers" and television.

With further refinement of the recording instrument this category may have been able to be eliminated completely. In this study however, it remained a "catch-all" category useful for coding features that either were too vague to fit into another category, or contained collections of many snippets of information which, if they appeared on their own could have been coded as science or people. For example, "Stranger than fiction, it's a fact!", an informative article from *Junior Digest* which included such diverse facts as a frog weighing the equivalent of only three grains of wheat (and lives in Libya), a packet of tea marked "not to be opened until January 10, 2039", and Napoleon's habit of wiping his pen on his white trousers (vol. 1, no. 3: 25).

Moral guidance/advice:

(Social development, Mental development, Spiritual development)

Conquest tended to offer advice on social development to the girls only via Penelope's Page for Girls, which printed useful advice on writing thank you notes, not wearing make-up too young and generally taking care to improve the personality by being quiet, restrained, helpful and generous. Whereas *Junior Digest* made much more of a regular feature of giving guidance and advice.

The Editor of the *Junior Digest* seemed to feel it as a weighty responsibility to ensure that serious articles were included which urged readers at different times to stand up to bullies, collect knowledge, and value friendship. He introduced these kinds of articles in an editorial:

From time to time you will see in *Junior Digest* a 'serious article'. By that I mean an article that will make you think and perhaps help you on the bumpy road of life. My advice is to read and digest these special articles, for it is good for one to be able to peruse not only light reading, but also deeper and more thoughtful material. And before you know where you are, you'll find yourself really enjoying such articles as the one on page 29 (vol. 1, no. 5:1-2).

This serious article by regular contributor "H.J.D.", gave advice not only on social development, but occasionally mental and career/education as well. Career/education advice did not feature at all in *Conquest*, but did begin to do so in *Junior Digest* from vol. 3, no. 4.

Competitions/puzzles:

(literature/language, art/drawing, logic, trivia.)

As mentioned above, the first competition advertised in *Conquest* required readers to write letters describing things to do on rainy days. This competition set up a pattern for *Conquest* which encouraged written and artistic expression by the readers.

Examples of *Conquest* competitions requiring language skills to complete include essay competitions such as “What I like best in *Conquest*” (vol. 1, no. 9) and “My most unforgettable day in 1946” (vol. 2, No. 5).

Conquest featured many art and drawing competitions as well such as the “fill in the squiggle” competitions where the Editors supplied an outline and judged the best drawing which filled it in. *Junior Digest* on the other hand, contained fewer drawing based competitions, and these tended to ask for “picture puzzles”.

Junior Digest encouraged written expression more so than art and drawing. The first competition advertised was a literature/language based competition which asked readers to “write a short story of approximately 500 words about an Eskimo, a tribe of Eskimos, or anything you like about Eskimos” (vol. 1, no. 1: 19). Short stories, essays and letters on a set topic were also common. Word play competitions were popular as well, including such tasks as writing a 12 word telegram with all the words beginning with the same letter, and making as many words as possible out of one word.

Puzzles/games:

(literature/language, art/drawing, logic, trivia)

As with the competitions, in both magazines the highest proportions of puzzles and games required literature/language skills. Both magazines had regular crossword puzzles, while *Junior Digest* also featured other word games similar to those set up as competitions. *Conquest* did include puzzles which required logic to solve in the first

few issues, but these were sporadic in the first year and ceased completely after September 1946.

Are the articles directed at gender neutral “youth” or can the content be clearly defined as “boy” content or “girl” content?

Fiction

This bias toward “boy” stories may not have had any effect on the female readers as Scott’s study found that the girls

read the boys’ papers, but the boys did not read theirs. Twenty-five per cent of the girls’ total consisted of readings of boys’ magazines, the comparable figure for the boys’ readings of girls’ magazines being only 2 per cent. The amount of this kind of reading done by the girls in England and those in New Zealand, it is interesting to note, was exactly the same (Scott, 1947: 66).

Later he observes that the

most striking thing about the *Champion* is that its world is peopled entirely by men. In none of the stories in the many issues I have examined is there any woman or girl or any age or condition (Scott, 1947: 74).

Yet in the *Crystal* he discovers

all the stories ... introduce young male characters. They frequently play only subordinate parts and there is hardly ever any suggestion of feelings stronger than purely comradly ones. But the presence of males as companions and audience is apparently necessary to make a story satisfying to girls. Girls would be an unwelcome intrusion in boys’ stories; boys, it would seem, are indispensable in girls’ stories (Scott, 1947: 74).

Although this does support the interpretation that perhaps the gender bias did not inhibit the female readers, the earlier findings during the analysis of the readers’ genders would suggest that the female readers were put off.

Non-fiction

A problem encountered very early on in the pilot study was how to determine the gender bias of non-fiction. Some features were easier to gender (how many girls, for example, would have cared about technical articles on planes), but most were impossible without first undertaking considerably more research in the area of gender roles, ideals and expectations for children in the 1940s. This became very difficult territory and unless there was overt or explicit bias in the non-fiction features, such as shown by 'Penelope's Page for Girls', then features were coded as both.

Overall, the impression given by the qualitative data is that the *Conquest* articles would have appealed more to boys. Although the quantitative results in this area are not solid enough to base any firm conclusions on, the number of articles which were biographies of war heroes, technical articles on planes or trains does suggest a gender bias. Also the way that the "girl" content was so defined and relegated to certain pages is suspicious. This segregation of special "girl pages", even if the girls did read the magazine cover to cover, remains off-putting especially when compared to *Junior Digest*'s lack of this kind of separation.

Just from a brief scan of the reader concerns, shows that some of the features probably definitely appreciated by both-girls wrote in about birds and animals as well as boys-unfortunately when recording the reader concerns data didn't keep the demographic data with the concerns. What would have been useful to see here would be a comparison between the genders and concerns/themes of readers letters, and the gender bias of the features.

However, during an ongoing discussion in the "Letters to the Editor", one *Junior Digest* reader expressed the firm opinion that "the girls' should get their dancing articles, for I think that stamps are more for boys, and dancing for girls" (vol. 2, no. 6: 63). This is another area in which a deeper study of the readers' letters to *Junior Digest* would yield fascinating material on the readers' own perceptions on gender.

Summary of Findings

This research project attempted to study the readers of *Conquest* and *Junior Digest* indirectly by examining what they read. The overall findings of this research are very broad, and while a great deal was discovered about the readers of each magazine and the types of content made available in each magazine, the quantitative analysis of content alone is not enough to base firm conclusions on. Some suggestions based on the qualitative data may be made however, which outline some general conclusions about the two magazines.

Returning to the original assumption underlying this research, *Conquest* can be presumed to have failed because it failed to keep its readers interested. That *Junior Digest* thrived suggests that the content provided to the readers was more appealing, and therefore more indicative of their tastes and interests. A brief summary of the major differences between the content of the competitors may support this conclusion.

There is of course, no evidence whatsoever that readers left *Conquest* for *Junior Digest*. It can only be suggested that as the two competed for the same small market, that *Conquest's* readers did transfer their loyalty elsewhere and the only other local offering probably would have been attractive.

Content type

The largest difference in content type between the two magazines, and which would suggest why one might have been more appealing than the other, is the level of reader contribution to *Junior Digest*.

The Editor's "mission statement" which was stated often and in a variety of ways was to give young people a digest of their own, in which they can express freely their own opinions, in which they can ask for and receive the reading they deserve. The publishers regard young people as REAL people, whose needs and problems MATTER, who should have the best, the most wholesome, and the most worthwhile reading entertainment (vol. 12, no. 5, July 1951: 2).

This repetition of the value of the readers, in addition to the provision of space for them to debate and discuss topics of interest to them, was the largest point of difference between the competitors.

Themes

In the first year of publication, *Conquest* featured war themed stories and articles much more than *Junior Digest*. This is evident in stories such as "Dangerous Journey", articles about war planes, stories about escaping from German P.O.W. camps (Stalag Luft III in vol 1, no. 8), biographical profiles of people prominent in

the war just over (Roosevelt, Mountbatten) and the World of To-day column which returned often to current and just past events.

War stories were in contrast, mostly absent from *Junior Digest*. Some of the few references found to the Second World War in *Junior Digest*, are in the public service advertisements in vol. 4, nos. 4-6, which asked for food to be sent to Britain. This seems an odd omission, and was probably a conscious directive from the publishers to promote a quieter, more positive sense of belonging among readers.

Gender bias in stories and articles

Gender could be a factor. It is probable that a family buying one magazine for the whole family would buy one all the children would read. Although the magazines both stated they were for girls and boys, *Junior Digest* not only managed to attract a higher percentage of female readers than *Conquest* did, but also adopted a more conscious gender inclusive attitude. By being careful not to screen off "boy" content from "girl" content, and also by including small touches like a logo made up of the features of a boy and a girl, *Junior Digest* appears to be the more appealing magazine in this sense.

Production Differences and Similarities

It cannot be ruled out that external factors may actually have been the major reason behind *Conquest*'s demise. The prices of the magazines differed, although while *Junior Digest* was more expensive, it did have more pages than *Conquest*. *Conquest* was 6 d. per copy, postal subscriptions 6/- per year subscription, while *Junior Digest* was (in 1951) 1/- per copy, 12/- per year and 6/- per half-year subscription. A wider study of periodical publication and distribution in New Zealand might provide comparative data which would illuminate this aspect of the magazines.

Avenues for Further Research

This research project has illuminated one area of the world of New Zealand periodicals for children, and has done so on a very small scale. What a project of this size and scope shows is the vast number of potential research projects to be undertaken.

As the literature review discovered, the secondary literature currently available is sparse, and further study, particularly in some of the areas discussed under Darnton's life-cycle model, would be rewarding.

A larger scale study might undertake a more detailed content analysis of either magazine, concentrating on uncovering the biases and attitudes evident in the articles, or might undertake a wider survey of the periodical reading habits of children of the period.

However, in the researcher's opinion, the area with the most potential for further study are the readers of *Junior Digest*. A deeper study may be able to uncover other contemporary magazines or newspapers which solicited similar letters from young people. It would be a great shame to let this rich and intriguing world go unstudied.

Appendices

Appendix A: Bibliography

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Appendix B: Population and Sample

Figure 1: Population
Showing the physical location of the issues

Year	Ja	F	Mr	Ap	My	Je	Ju	Ag	S	Oc	N	D
Junior Digest:												
1945									1(1)	1(2)	1(3)	1(4)
1946	1(5)	1(6)	2(1)	2(2)	2(3)	2(4)	2(5)	2(6)	3(1)	3(2)	3(3)	3(4)
1947	3(5)	3(6)	4(1)	4(2)	4(3)	4(4)	4(5)	4(6)	5(1)	5(2)	5(3)	5(4)
1948	5(5)	5(6)	6(1)	6(2)	6(3)	6(4)	6(5)	6(6)	7(1)	7(2)	7(3)	7(4)
1949	7(5)	7(6)	8(1)	8(2)	8(3)	8(4)	8(5)	8(6)	9(1)	9(2)	9(3)	9(4)
1950	9(5)	9(6)	10(1)	10(2)	10(3)	10(4)	10(5)	10(6)	11(1)	11(2)	11(3)	11(4)
1951	11(5)	11(6)	12(1)	12(2)	12(3)	12(4)	12(5)	12(6)	13(1)	13(2)	13(3)	13(4)
1952	13(5)	13(6)	14(1)	14(2)	14(3)	14(4)	14(5)	14(6)	15(1)	15(2)	15(3)	15(4)
1953	15(5)	15(6)	16(1)	16(2)	16(3)	16(4)	16(5)	16(6)	17(1)	17(2)	17(3)	17(4)
1954	17(5)	17(6)	18(1)	18(2)	18(3)	18(4)	18(5)	18(6)	19(1)	19(2)	19(3)	19(4)
1955	19(5)	19(6)	20(1)	20(2)	20(3)	20(4)	20(5)	20(6)	21(1)	21(2)	21(3)	21(4)
1956	21(5)	21(6)	22(1)	22(2)	22(3)	22(4)	22(5)	22(6)	23(1)	23(2)	23(3)	23(4)
1957	23(5)	23(6)	24(1)	24(2)	24(3)	24(4)	24(5)	24(6)	25(1)	25(2)	25(3)	25(4)
1958	25(5)	25(6)	26(1)	26(2)	26(3)	26(4)	26(5)	26(6)	27(1)	27(2)	27(3)	27(4)
1959	27(5)	27(6)	28(1)	28(2)	28(3)	28(4)	28(5)	28(6)	29(1)	29(2)	29(3)	29(4)
1960	29(5)	29(6)	30(1)	30(2)	30(3)	30(4)	30(5)	30(6)	31(1)	31(2)	31(3)	31(4)
1961	31(5)	31(2)	32(1)	32(2)	32(3)	32(4)	32(5)	32(6)	33(1)	33(2)	33(3)	33(4)
1962	33(5)	33(2)	34(1)	34(2)	34(3)	34(4)	34(5)	34(6)	35(1)	35(2)	35(3)	35(4)
1963	35(5)	35(6)	36(1)	36(2)	36(3)	36(4)	36(5)	36(6)	37(1)	37(2)	37(3)	37(4)
1964	37(5)	37(6)	38(1)	38(2)	38(3)	38(4)	38(5)	38(6)	39(1)	39(2)	39(3)	39(4)
Conquest:												
1945							1(1)	1(2)	1(3)	1(4)	1(5)	1(6)
1946	1(7)	1(8)	1(9)	1(10)	1(11)	1(12)	2(1)	2(2)	2(3)	2(4)	2(5)	2(6)
1947	2(7)	2(8)	2(9)	2(10)	2(11)	2(12)						

Key: Turnbull Hocken Auckland Museum Library Unknown
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Figure 2: Sample

Showing the stratification of the *Junior Digest*, and the sample issues in blue.

Year	Ja	F	Mr	Ap	My	Je	Ju	Ag	S	Oc	N	D
<i>Junior Digest:</i>												
1945									1(1)	1(2)	1(3)	1(4)
1946	1(5)	1(6)	2(1)	2(2)	2(3)	2(4)	2(5)	2(6)	3(1)	3(2)	3(3)	3(4)
1947	3(5)	3(6)	4(1)	4(2)	4(3)	4(4)	4(5)	4(6)	5(1)	5(2)	5(3)	5(4)
1948	5(5)	5(6)	6(1)	6(2)	6(3)	6(4)	6(5)	6(6)	7(1)	7(2)	7(3)	7(4)
1949	7(5)	7(6)	8(1)	8(2)	8(3)	8(4)	8(5)	8(6)	9(1)	9(2)	9(3)	9(4)
1950	9(5)	9(6)	10(1)	10(2)	10(3)	10(4)	10(5)	10(6)	11(1)	11(2)	11(3)	11(4)
1951	11(5)	11(6)	12(1)	12(2)	12(3)	12(4)	12(5)	12(6)	13(1)	13(2)	13(3)	13(4)
1952	13(5)	13(6)	14(1)	14(2)	14(3)	14(4)	14(5)	14(6)	15(1)	15(2)	15(3)	15(4)
1953	15(5)	15(6)	16(1)	16(2)	16(3)	16(4)	16(5)	16(6)	17(1)	17(2)	17(3)	17(4)
1954	17(5)	17(6)	18(1)	18(2)	18(3)	18(4)	18(5)	18(6)	19(1)	19(2)	19(3)	19(4)
1955	19(5)	19(6)	20(1)	20(2)	20(3)	20(4)	20(5)	20(6)	21(1)	21(2)	21(3)	21(4)
1956	21(5)	21(6)	22(1)	22(2)	22(3)	22(4)	22(5)	22(6)	23(1)	23(2)	23(3)	23(4)
1957	23(5)	23(6)	24(1)	24(2)	24(3)	24(4)	24(5)	24(6)	25(1)	25(2)	25(3)	25(4)
1958	25(5)	25(6)	26(1)	26(2)	26(3)	26(4)	26(5)	26(6)	27(1)	27(2)	27(3)	27(4)
1959	27(5)	27(6)	28(1)	28(2)	28(3)	28(4)	28(5)	28(6)	29(1)	29(2)	29(3)	29(4)
1960	29(5)	29(6)	30(1)	30(2)	30(3)	30(4)	30(5)	30(6)	31(1)	31(2)	31(3)	31(4)
1961	31(5)	31(2)	32(1)	32(2)	32(3)	32(4)	32(5)	32(6)	33(1)	33(2)	33(3)	33(4)
1962	33(5)	33(2)	34(1)	34(2)	34(3)	34(4)	34(5)	34(6)	35(1)	35(2)	35(3)	35(4)
1963	35(5)	35(6)	36(1)	36(2)	36(3)	36(4)	36(5)	36(6)	37(1)	37(2)	37(3)	37(4)
1964	37(5)	37(6)	38(1)	38(2)	38(3)	38(4)	38(5)	38(6)	39(1)	39(2)	39(3)	39(4)
<i>Conquest:</i>												
1945							1(1)	1(2)	1(3)	1(4)	1(5)	1(6)
1946	1(7)	1(8)	1(9)	1(10)	1(11)	1(12)	2(1)	2(2)	2(3)	2(4)	2(5)	2(6)
1947	2(7)	2(8)	2(9)	2(10)	2(11)	2(12)						

Appendix C: Data Collection Tool

Figure 3: Recording Instrument

Magazine:		Number of features:	
Vol./issue:		Page(s):	
Date:			
Types of features		Themes/interests	Boy/girl or both?
Broad Type	Sub-Type		
Fiction	Serialised story	Adventure	Boy
	Short story	Detective/mystery story	Girl
	Comic strip	Animals	
	Poem	School	War
	Religious/bible stories	Career	
	Friendship/penpal	Moral	
		Humor	
Non-fiction	Informative article	Creative-making/doing:	Boy
		Handi craft projects	Girl
		Cooking	
		Sewing	
		Handy hints	
		Sports/outdoor pursuits & hobbies:	
		Sport (particular sport)	
		Bushcraft	
		Birdwatching/nature study	
	Animal articles	Both	
Stamp collecting			
Magic			
Literature/language:			
Book reviews			
Esperanto			
Poetry			
History/Geog./Biog.:			
Biographical profile			
Places/people			
Events			
Jokes/humor			
Science/techology:			
General:			
	Moral guidance/advice	Social development	
		Mental development	
		Spritual development	
		Career/education	
	Competitions	Literature/language based	
		Art/drawing based	
		Logic based	
		Trivia/general knowledge	
	Puzzles/games	Literature/language based	
		Art/drawing based	
		Logic based	
		Trivia/general knowledge	

Editorial contribution	Editorial Club notices Lettters		N/A
Reader contribution	Club notices Jokes/humor letters		N/A
Advertising:	By publisher By reader By external advertiser	Own products Penpals Buy/sell/exchange Employment Goods/services Public Service	
The Readers 1:			
Feature type	Male/female/unknown	Location	Age/age range

The Readers 2:	
Feature Type	Theme/concern of Reader Contribution
Story (factual) or just something to share	
Problem	
Feedback-to the editor	
Feedback-to another reader	

Figure 4: Explanation of the Content Categories Used in the Data Collection Tool

The following coding notes were developed during the pilot studies and were referred to during the main data collection phase in order to maintain consistent coding.

The types of features (broad types and sub-types):

Fiction

(Serialised story, short story, comic strip, poems)

Each sub-type was classed according to its form.

Non-fiction

(Informative article, Moral guidance/advice, Competitions, Puzzles & games)

Each sub-type was classed according to the perceived purpose of the feature.

Editorial contribution

(Editorial, Club notices, Letters/correspondence)

Strictly speaking, every item of content could have been coded here as its presence in the magazine was determined by the Editor, but for this category an Editorial contribution was defined as a direct communication with the readers.

Reader contribution

(Club notices, Jokes/humor, Letters, Competition winners/participants)

A feature was coded a reader contribution if it existed to provide a space for readers' own views, creative output or versions of jokes.

Advertising

(By publisher-own products; By reader-Pen Friends, Buy/sell/exchange; By external advertiser-Employment, Goods/Services, Public service)

The Pen Friends and the Buy/sell/exchange advertisements were coded here rather than as reader contribution because they were not contributions in the sense they were not sharing an opinion or an interest.

Themes/interests of each of the subtypes:

Fiction themes/interests:

(Adventure, animals, Detective/mystery, School, War, Religious/Bible stories, Career, Friendship/Pen friend, Moral, Humour)

All judgements on the themes/interests of fiction were based on a combination of setting and protagonists. For example, a story involving a group of school-boys solving a mystery at their school was classed as a school story, not a detective story. The category of adventure included both highly adventurous events such as shipwreck and moon landings, and also more domestic tales of boys and girls “getting into scrapes”.

Informative articles:

Creative-making/doing:

Included handi-craft, cooking, sewing, woodwork, painting and drawing. There is some conceptual overlap in the category with the Hobbies/indoor pursuits category—most of the creative-making/doing things are in fact indoor pursuits. What was used to differentiate the two categories was the amount of creative input required by the child. Thus, while an article on painting could be classed as a hobby, it was coded here because something was produced.

Sports/outdoor pursuits:

Included sport (general articles on sports fitness, as well as specific sports like marching or cricket), bushcraft, birdwatching and general articles on animals-included here because of the ‘outdoor’ connotations of nature study. It did not matter whether the animal was common or rare, extinct or mythological.

Hobbies:

Included things like stamp-collecting, magic tricks (which include tricks of the hat and glass of water variety-fill a glass of water and place it on the table with a hat over it. Declare to your audience that you can drink the glass of water without touching the hat. Put your head down by the hat and make drinking noises. Say that it’s done, and

when someone from your audience picks up the hat to check, you can pick up the glass and drink the water. There were many of these kind of “magic tricks”)

Literature/language:

Book reviews, etymology and grammar, and articles on learning other languages (e.g. Esperanto)

History/Geography/Biography:

Included biographical profiles of individuals, general articles about people and/or places, for example “Eskimos”, or a group of people identified by occupation such as “light-house keepers” or “dare-devils”. Also included descriptive articles about events, that is, things which had happened, no matter how far in the past or how recent.

Jokes/humour

Humorous articles, including jokes not contributed by readers. “Inkey Thum” was coded here.

Science/technology:

Very broad category as no distinction was made between the pure sciences such as mathematics and biology, and the applied sciences. Included any article which discussed how something was made or worked, general scientific themes such as astronomy or medicine and also technical articles on the process of archaeology.

General knowledge:

A “catch-all” category useful for coding features that either were too vague to fit into another category, or contained collections of many snippets of information which, if they appeared on their own could have been coded as something else.

Moral guidance advice:

Social development:

Any article which promoted “good conduct”, conformity or moral decision-making in line with social mores. Included articles which instructed readers how to write proper

thank-you notes, and how to behave in social situations and also more general articles which encouraged personal growth.

Mental development:

Articles which promoted the use/exercise of mental functions such as developing logic skills.

Spiritual development:

Articles which promoted religious thought and growth.

Career/education:

Articles, which either gave advice about how to get a job or behave in the workplace generally, as well as articles highlighting specific career options. Also included articles which discussed and promoted the benefits of education and formal schooling.

Competitions and puzzles/games

Both competitions and puzzles were classified according to what set of skills the task required for completion.

Literature/language based:

Required a written component (in competitions) or vocabulary skills to complete.

Crossword puzzles were generally coded here as those printed in both magazines were of a straightforward word-skill type, rather than a cryptic or requiring a large general knowledge.

Art/Drawing based:

Creative drawing or painting skills.

Logic based:

Mathematical or logic thought.

Trivia based:

General or non-specific knowledge.

Appendix D: Results

Figure 1: Readers sorted by age

Age	Conquest		Junior Digest 1940s		Junior Digest 1950s and 1960s	
6	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%
7	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%
8	1	0%	13	2%	5	1%
9	8	4%	22	4%	6	1%
10	11	5%	45	8%	19	4%
11	29	13%	90	15%	41	9%
12	54	25%	111	19%	62	13%
13	56	25%	112	19%	73	16%
14	36	16%	79	13%	78	17%
15	17	8%	74	12%	69	15%
16	7	3%	29	5%	39	8%
17	0	0%	7	1%	35	8%
18	1	0%	4	1%	22	5%
Over 18	0	0%	6	1%	11	2%
Total readers who gave ages	220		595		460	
Total readers	455		2384		980	
Percentage of total readers who gave ages	25%		48%		47%	

Figure 2: Readers sorted by gender

Junior Digest Genders 1940s		
Female	1140	48%
Male	812	34%
Not stated	432	18%
Total	2384	52%
Conquest Genders		
Female	158	35%
Male	237	52%
Not stated	60	13%
Total	455	100%
JD Genders 1950s & 60s		
Female	458	47%
Male	353	36%
Not stated	169	17%
Total	522	100%

Figure 3: Readers Sorted by Regions

Regions	Conquest Total		Junior Digest 1940s		Junior Digest 1950s & 60s		Junior Digest Total
Northland	44	10%	36	2%	20	2%	56
Auckland	49	11%	340	14%	101	10%	441
Waikato	52	11%	172	7%	61	6%	233
Bay of Plenty	17	4%	39	2%	22	2%	61
Gisborne	7	2%	18	1%	7	1%	25
Taranaki	26	6%	156	7%	36	4%	192
Manawatu-Wanaganui	41	9%	177	7%	44	4%	221
Hawke's Bay	18	4%	104	4%	35	4%	139
Wellington	59	13%	370	16%	67	7%	437
Nelson-Marlborough	16	4%	72	3%	31	3%	103
West Coast	7	2%	41	2%	15	2%	56
Canterbury	56	12%	425	18%	114	12%	539
Otago	21	5%	145	6%	54	6%	199
Southland	19	4%	177	7%	25	3%	202
Australia	9	2%	13	1%	49	5%	62
Great Britain	5	1%	26	1%	12	1%	38
Fiji	2	0%	4	0%	63	6%	67
United States	0	0%	3	0%	6	1%	9
Canada	0	0%	1	0%	9	1%	10
Malaya	0	0%	0	0%	9	1%	9
Ceylon	0	0%	0	0%	11	1%	11
India	0	0%	0	0%	17	2%	17
Pakistan	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	2
Borneo	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Indonesia	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	2
British Guinea	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
New Guinea	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Western Samoa	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Nauru	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Cook Islands	0	0%	0	0%	4	0%	4
Friendly Islands	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Japan	0	0%	0	0%	9	1%	9
South Africa	0	0%	0	0%	23	2%	23
Rhodesia	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	2
Nigeria	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	2
Nadi	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Ghana	0	0%	0	0%	41	4%	41
Mauritius	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Seychelles	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
West Indies	0	0%	0	0%	3	0%	3
Finland	0	0%	0	0%	7	1%	7
Sweden	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	2
Germany	0	0%	0	0%	7	1%	7
Czechoslovakia	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1
Not stated	7	2%	65	3%	58	6%	123
Total:	455	100%	2384	100%	980	100%	3364

Figure 4: Readers by their contributions

Contribution type	Conquest		Junior Digest 1940s		Junior Digest 1950s and 1960s	
Letters	69	15%	1069	45%	154	16%
Jokes	100	22%	294	12%	130	13%
Pen Friends	229	50%	356	15%	154	16%
Club Notices	57	13%	634	27%	508	52%
Puzzles	0	0%	31	1%	34	3%
Total	455	100%	2384	100%	980	100%

Figure 5a: Conquest reader concerns/interests as expressed in their letters

Issues/ years	Story/something to share (start of a thread)	Response to reader (reply to thread)	Problem (to agony page)	Feedback to Editor
1 (1) 1945				
1 (2)				
1 (3)	Finding buried coins			
	Caving trip			
	Birdwatching			
	Geographical facts			
	Humorous incident			
1 (4)	Camping trip			
	finding musket balls			
	a poem			
1 (5)	Birdwatching			
	Birdwatching (2)			
	Chinese school in Auckland			
	Animal story (2)			
	Finding treasure in the garden			
	Things to do on a rainy day (7)			
1 (6)				
1 (7) 1946	Animal story (6)			
	Birdwatching			
1 (8)	Animal story (4)			
	Birdwatching			
	Life in Fiji			
1 (9)				
1 (10)	Birdwatching (4)			
	Animal story			
	Gardening (a mutant cabbage)			
1 (11)	Animal story			
	Penicillin			
1 (12)	Craft			
	Birdwatching			
	Animal story (3)			
2 (1)				
2 (2)	Birdwatching			
	Animal story (4)			
2 (3)	A game to play			
	Animal story (2)			
	Birdwatching (2)			
2 (4)	Golf			
	Gardening			
	Animal story (3)			
	Big flood			
	Trip to see "Tane Mahuta"			
2 (5)	Fishing			
	Craft project			
	Animal story			

	Gardening (a freak marigold)			
2 (6)	Animal story (3)			
	Surviving a storm at sea (Fiji)			
2 (7) 1947	Animal story (2)			
	Gardening (freak plants)			
	Birdwatchng			
	Caving trip			
2 (8)	Animal story (3)			
	Digging for toheroa (shellfish)			
2 (9)	Animal story (3)			
	Pu Pu Springs			
	Launch trip around the B of Is.			
2 (10)	Animal Stories (4)			
	Bird watching			
	Gardening (freak roses)			
	Meeting AH Reed at Auaura Bay			
2 (11)	Animal story (2)			
	An overnight hike			
	Eeling			
2 (12)	Animal story (2)			
	Hunting (2)			
	Fishing (2)			

Figure 5b: Junior Digest reader concerns/interests as expressed in their letters

Issues/ years	Story/something to share (start of a thread)	Response to reader (reply to thread)	Problem (to agony page)	Feedback to Editor
1 (1) 1945				
1 (2) 1 (3)	Half price fares for children Native bush being felled for pine plantations Travel through NZ to broaden mind Otahuhu Int. School football team			Comment on article
1 (4)	Lack of radio programmes for young people Learning French in school-waste Should be no school on Fridays Children's views on politics should be sought			Praise for magazine (2) Comment on article
1 (5) 1946	Films for young people Otahuhu junior schoolboys' league team wins championship			Praise for magazine Comment on article (6-World patrol)
1 (6)	NZ stamps are boring	Learning French in school Should be no school on Fridays		Comment on article (8-World patrol)
2 (1)	Celebrating a Southern Hemisphere Christmas 4 day working week Why not lady jockeys? Should be plays for children Rugby	Learning French in school Should be no school on Fridays		Comment on article (2-World patrol)
2 (2)		NZ stamps are boring (4) Learning French in school		Suggestion for content (Dancing articles) Praise for magazine

				Comment on article
				Comment on article (27-World Patrol)
2 (3)	<p>Description of Muriwai</p> <p>Milk in schools (should be sent to help relieve poverty in other countries)</p> <p>Glad science is compulsory in schools</p> <p>Dogs shouldn't be confined in suburban yards</p> <p>Everyone should learn to swim</p> <p>Should be films for children on Sat. afternoons</p> <p>Should make a motion picture on daily life in NZ for the future</p>	<p>NZ stamps are boring (2)</p> <p>Learning French in school (4)</p>		Praise for magazine (3)
2 (4)	<p>"All the beautiful things which exist around us"</p> <p>We get too much homework (2)</p>	<p>Children's views on politics should be sought</p> <p>Should be no school on Fridays (2)</p> <p>Celebrating a Southern Hemisphere Christmas</p> <p>Should be dancing articles (4)</p> <p>Learning French in school (2)</p> <p>NZ stamps are boring (1)</p>		<p>Criticism of content (2)</p> <p>Suggestion for content (2)</p> <p>Praise for magazine</p>
2 (5)	<p>Karori school sporting successes</p> <p>What do other readers think of Jazz</p>	<p>NZ stamps are boring (2)</p> <p>Learning French in schools (2)</p> <p>Should be films for children on Sat. afternoons</p> <p>Milk in schools (2)</p>		<p>Suggestion for content (2)</p> <p>Praise for magazine</p>

2 (6)	<p>Description of Cathedral of Milan in France</p> <p>Too many ads on the radio & there should be a children's radio station</p> <p>Why do people hate basketball</p>	<p>Should be no school on Fridays</p> <p>Should be films for children on Sat. afternoons</p> <p>Children's views on politics should be sought (2)</p> <p>Should be plays for children (2)</p>		<p>Suggestion for content (2) Girls should get dancing articles</p> <p>Criticism of content (stop dictionary) (4)</p>
3 (1)	<p>Help choosing a fancy dress costume</p> <p>Stamps</p> <p>Use of pen names should be discontinued</p>	<p>What do other readers think of Jazz (4)</p> <p>We get too much homework (3)</p> <p>Should be films for children on Sat. afternoons</p> <p>Criticism of content (stop dictionary) (3)</p>		<p>Criticism of content (Stamp pages)</p>
3 (2)	<p>Against strapping</p>	<p>We get too much homework (2)</p> <p>Why do people hate basketball</p> <p>What do other readers think of Jazz (2)</p> <p>Too many ads on the radio & there should be a children's radio station (2)</p> <p>Criticism of content (stop dictionary)</p> <p>Criticism of content (stamp pages)</p>		<p>Praise for magazine</p> <p>Comment on article</p> <p>Suggestion for content</p>
3 (3)	<p>Should hear NZ anthem at pictures</p> <p>Sending filled scrapbooks to children's hospitals</p> <p>Photos of JD staff please</p>	<p>Complaints about magazine (3)</p> <p>Suggestion for content (ballet articles for girls)</p> <p>Help choosing a fancy dress costume</p>		<p>Suggestion for content (2)</p> <p>Comment on article</p>

		<p>Too many ads on the radio & there should be a children's radio station</p> <p>We get too much homework (4)</p> <p>What do other readers think of Jazz (3)</p>		
3 (4)	<p>Prices of school books too high</p> <p>Cast of film should be shown at end</p> <p>Could you please print a JD annual</p>	<p>Too many ads on the radio & there should be a children's radio station</p> <p>What do other readers think of Jazz (4)</p> <p>Children's views on politics should be sought</p> <p>Milk in schools</p> <p>Help choosing a fancy dress costume (2)</p>		<p>Comment on article (3)</p> <p>Praise for magazine (3)</p>
3 (5) 1947	<p>School uniforms should not be compulsory</p>	<p>Against strapping</p> <p>What do other readers think of Jazz (4)</p> <p>Should hear NZ anthem at pictures (2)</p> <p>Too many ads on the radio & there should be a children's radio station (3)</p>		<p>Suggestion for content (2)</p> <p>Comment on article (2)</p>
3 (6)	<p>We shouldn't have to give up our seats for adults on the bus</p> <p>Complaining about other readers complaining</p> <p>Was Ben Franklin 1st president of the USA?</p>	<p>Too many ads on the radio & there should be a children's radio station</p> <p>Should hear NZ anthem at pictures</p> <p>Suggestion for content (ballet articles for girls-boys dancing in general)</p>		<p>Suggestion for content (2)</p> <p>Praise for magazine (and suggestion for how to sell it)</p>

	Why do some exercise books have arithmetic tables on their back covers? It's wrong to kill animals for sport	Against strapping (2)		
4 (1)		It's wrong to kill animals for sport Children's views on politics should be sought Should hear NZ anthem at pictures School uniforms should not be compulsory		Praise for magazine (2) Suggestion for content Comment on article
4 (2)	If the following men were drowning, which would you save? Bernard Shaw, Alexander Fleming, Napoleon, Winston Churchill & Shakespeare. Huge jelly fish off NZ Coast	It's wrong to kill animals for sport (2) School uniforms should not be compulsory (3) We shouldn't have to give up our seats for adults on the bus (2)		Comment on article (2)
4 (3)	Wearing a milage gauge to tell you how far you've walked each day	Prices of school books too high We shouldn't have to give up our seats for adults on the bus (3) School uniforms should not be compulsory It's wrong to kill animals for sport (2) Milk in schools Suggestion for content (ballet articles for girls-boys dancing in general)		

4 (4)	<p>Penfriends not replying</p> <p>Military drill in school</p> <p>Enjoying speedway racing-not silly and dangerous</p> <p>Why are adults served first in shops even if children there first?</p>	<p>School uniforms should not be compulsory (2)</p> <p>We shouldn't have to give up our seats for adults on the bus (2)</p> <p>It's wrong to kill animals for sport (2)</p> <p>Against strapping</p>		
4 (5)	<p>Why do girls have to take maths if they are doing secretarial course?</p> <p>Tough cat chased by birds</p> <p>Keeping goldfish is a good hobby</p> <p>Ideas wanted for party games</p>	<p>If the following men were drowning...why did this reader choose men who are not contemporaries?</p> <p>We shouldn't have to give up our seats for adults on the bus (3)</p>		Comment on content (2)
4 (6)	<p>My dog chases cats and I can't stop him</p> <p>Dislike "half-rate" actors in films</p> <p>What would happen if the world suddenly changed back to medieval times?</p> <p>NZ schools are like prisons</p>	<p>Wearing a milage gauge... (one affixed to the shoe of Carmen Miranda clocked up 13.5 miles in one night of dancing)</p> <p>We shouldn't have to give up our seats for adults on the bus</p>		<p>Comment on content (4)</p> <p>Praise for magazine</p>
5 (1)	<p>Bicycles should be licensed</p> <p>A funny incident</p>	<p>Why are adults served first in shops even if children there first?(2)</p>		Suggestion for content

	Physical training should be compulsory Creative problem solving Animals should not be in zoos Help my English pen pal publish a magazine			
16(1)1953	People should be taught to swim Compulsory military training Blasphemy Penfriends not replying	Gardening on Sundays Teasing/being marked out as different Too much homework	Opposite sex (Boys) (2) Problems with mother (too hard on me)	Suggestion for content Comment on content (4-too many flying saucer articles) Comment on article Praise for magazine
20(1)1955	Houdini Shakespeare Violence in films and radio Hints for writing to overseas penpals Coping at boarding school Dog's accident Racial segregation in NZ	Bullfighting cruelty Opinions of Nzers	How to overcome a phobia Trouble at school Abusive mother Opposite sex (Girls) Career/school advice wanted	Praise for magazine (4) Suggestion for content (2) Comment on article
21(1)	Acting is a good thing to do Animal cruelty Shock at the 13 & 14 yr old girls who write to the Man Who Passes By claiming to be in love Origin of the rhyme "Mary had a little lamb" Nurses do wonderful work Exams vs Internal assessment Book recommendation	A stamp question answered	People who write to MWPB stupid How do I become a secondary teacher? losing temper-how to control Superfluous hair (girl)	Comment on content (2) Comment on article
21(4)	Stamp exchanges	Putting a French page in the magazine		Praise for magazine (3)

	<p>Flying saucers/possibility of life on other planets People should not leave broken glass about More people should ride bikes-to see the scenery, exercise etc.</p> <p>Ed Hillary's Antarctic Expedition- would be better to spend the money on handicapped children</p>	<p>Increasing Inkey's page</p> <p>Condemnation of MWPB</p>		Criticism of content
37(1)	<p>Sunday films</p> <p>Television reception in rural areas</p>	<p>Capital punishment (3)</p> <p>Girls going to pictures with boys (3)</p> <p>"Aramoana" accident</p>		<p>Comment on article</p> <p>Criticism of content</p>
38(1)	<p>Electrical safety</p> <p>Town vs. country</p>	<p>World affairs (nuclear testing/arms) (3)</p> <p>Music (5)</p> <p>American race relations (0.5)</p> <p>Sport</p>		<p>Suggestion for content (2.5)</p> <p>Praise for magazine</p> <p>Criticism of content</p>
38(6)	<p>Animal cruelty</p> <p>Racial segregation in NZ</p> <p>Pop music</p> <p>Learning French</p>	<p>New money (0.5)</p> <p>Education (0.5)</p> <p>Chemical composition of pyrites (2)</p> <p>Animals as pets</p> <p>Foreign relations with U.S.A.</p> <p>Length of letters</p>	<p>Being unfashionable</p> <p>Friends at school</p> <p>Being overdeveloped for age (how to deflect the unwanted attention from older boys)</p>	<p>Praise for magazine (2)</p> <p>Suggestion for content (2)</p>
39(4)	<p>Co-ed schools</p> <p>TV-content</p> <p>TV-advertising</p>	<p>Pop music (Beatles) (3)</p> <p>Fashions (2)</p> <p>Animals as pets</p> <p>Alcoholism</p>	<p>Friends at school</p> <p>Liking opposite sex (2)</p> <p>Unwanted sexual attention</p> <p>Siblings</p>	<p>Response to De Gualle campaign</p> <p>Criticism of content</p>

Figure 6a: Conquest features broken down by broad type

Issues	Fiction	Non fiction	Editor contribution	Reader contribution	Advertising	Total features per issue	Number of pages in issue
1 (1) 1945	6	19	2	0	1	28	31
1 (2)	5	21	1	0	1	28	31
1 (3)	5	20	1	2	2	30	31
1 (4)	4	16	1	2	6	29	31
1 (5)	5	23	1	2	4	35	31
1 (6)	7	14	1	2	3	27	31
1 (7) 1946	7	16	1	3	4	31	31
1 (8)	7	19	1	2	3	32	31
1 (9)	7	12	1	2	6	28	31
1 (10)	7	19	1	2	3	32	31
1 (11)	6	16	1	3	4	30	31
1 (12)	6	19	1	2	5	33	31
2 (1)	6	23	1	2	6	38	31
2 (2)	7	19	1	2	8	37	31
2 (3)	7	13	1	3	8	32	31
2 (4)	6	13	1	2	5	27	31
2 (5)	6	16	1	3	1	27	31
2 (6)	6	16	1	2	8	33	31
2 (7) 1947	6	13	1	3	10	33	31
2 (8)	7	8	1	2	10	28	31
2 (9)	8	9	1	3	9	30	31
2 (10)	7	10	1	2	10	30	31
2 (11)	5	12	1	3	10	31	31
2 (12)	7	11	1	2	7	28	31

Figure 6b: Junior Digest features broken down by broad type

Issues	Fiction	Non fiction	Editor contribution	Reader contribution	Advertising	Total features per issue	Number of pages in issue
1 (1) 1945	6	25	1	0	5	37	40
1 (2)							
1 (3)	5	19	1	1	4	30	40
1 (4)	6	48	1	2	5	62	64
1 (5) 1946	5	43	3	2	8	61	64
1 (6)	7	37	1	2	2	49	64
2 (1)	10	30	1	3	2	46	64
2 (2)	7	55	1	4	0	67	64
2 (3)	5	36	1	3	2	47	64
2 (4)	7	26	2	2	2	39	64
2 (5)	7	25	2	3	4	41	64
2 (6)	8	28	1	5	4	46	64
3 (1)	8	22	4	4	3	41	64
3 (2)	7	25	2	4	5	43	64
3 (3)	7	28	5	6	4	50	64
3 (4)	8	24	4	6	3	45	64
3 (5) 1947	6	31	2	3	5	47	64
3 (6)	7	23	3	7	4	44	64
4 (1)	6	27	2	7	4	46	64
4 (2)	6	25	2	6	5	44	64
4 (3)	6	25	2	6	7	46	72
4 (4)	6	23	4	7	5	45	72
4 (5)	6	23	2	4	7	42	72
4 (6)	7	30	1	6	5	49	72
5 (1)	7	23	2	4	5	41	72
16(1)1953	4	17	3	6	4	34	72
20(1)1955	2	27	4	9	4	46	72
21(1)	6	32	2	6	6	52	72
21(4)	2	21	3	4	5	35	72
37(1)	2	22	5	6	9	44	72
38(1)	2	18	4	7	11	42	72
38(6)	4	22	5	5	8	44	72
39(4)	2	19	6	6	6	39	72

Figure 7: Conquest & Junior Diges Fiction broken down by subtype and themes/concerns; also showing gender features were aimed at

Issue	Fiction Total		Sub type								Themes/interests									
			Serialised story		Short story		Comic strip		Poem		Adventure		Animal		Sport		Detective/ mystery		School	
Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	
1 (1) 1945		6		1		4		1		0		2		0		0		1		0
1 (2)		5		1		3		1		0		2		0		0		1		0
1 (3) 1 (1) 1945		5	6	1	1	3	2	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1 (4) 1 (2)		4	0	1		3				0		1		0		0		1		0
1 (5) 1 (3)		5	5	1	1	3	1	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1 (6) 1 (4)		7	6	1	2	4	1	2	3	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1 (7) 1946 1 (5) 1946		7	5	1	2	4	0	2	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1 (8) 1 (6)		7	7	1	2	4	1	2	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1 (9) 2 (1)		7	10	1	2	4	3	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
1 (10) 2 (2)		7	7	1	2	4	2	2	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1 (11) 2 (3)		6	5	1	2	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
1 (12) 2 (4)		6	7	1	2	4	2	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1
2 (1) 2 (5)		6	7	2	2	3	2	1	3	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	1
2 (2) 2 (6)		7	8	2	2	3	3	2	3	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
2 (3) 3 (1)		7	8	2	2	4	2	1	4	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	1
2 (4) 3 (2)		6	7	2	2	3	2	1	3	0	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
2 (5) 3 (3)		6	7	2	2	3	2	1	3	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
2 (6) 3 (4)		6	8	2	2	3	3	1	3	0	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
2 (7) 1947 3 (5) 1947		6	6	2	3	3	0	1	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
2 (8) 3 (6)		7	7	2	3	4	1	1	3	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
2 (9) 4 (1)		8	6	2	2	5	1	1	3	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
2 (10) 4 (2)		7	6	2	2	4	1	1	3	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
2 (11) 4 (3)		5	6	2	2	2	1	1	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
2 (12) 4 (4)		7	6	2	3	4	0	1	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
4 (5)		6			2		1		3		0		2		0		0		0	
4 (6)		7			2		3		3		0		2		1		0		0	
5 (1)		7			2		2		3		0		2		1		0		0	
16(1)1953		4			0		1		2		1		1		0		0		0	
20(1)1955		2			1		1		0		0		2		0		0		0	
21(1)		6			1		2		2		1		1		0		0		0	
21(4)		2			1		1		0		0		1		0		0		0	
37(1)1963		2			1		1		0		0		2		0		0		0	
38(1)1964		2			1		1		0		0		1		0		0		0	
38(6)		4			1		2		0		1		1		0		0		0	
39(4)		2			0		2		0		0		1		0		0		1	

Figure 8: Conquest & Junior Diges non-fiction broken down by subtype and themes/concerns; also showing gender features were aimed at

Issues		Non-fiction total		Subtype								Themes/interests of informative articles														Soc develo			
				Informative article		Moral guidance/ advice		Competi- tions		Puzzles/ games		Creative/ making or doing		Sports/ outdoor pursuits		Hobbies/ indoor pursuits		Literature/ language		History/ Geography/ Biography		Jokes/ humour		Science/ technology			General knowledge/ interest		
Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	
1 (1) 1945		19		15.75		0.25		0		3		2.75		1		0		2		4		1		4		1		0.25	
1 (2)		21		17.5		0.5		0		3		2.5		1		0		1		6		2		3		2		0.5	
1 (3) 1 (1) 1945		20	25	15.75	21	0.25	0	1	1	3	3	4.75	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	4	11	1	3	1	0	1	1	3	0.25
1 (4) 1 (2)		16		11.5		1.5		1		2		2.5		2		0		0		4		1		2		0		0	
1 (5) 1 (3)		23	19	19.75	13	0.25	0	2	4	1	2	3.75	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	5	3	0	1	8	2	0	4	0.25	
1 (6) 1 (4)		14	48	9.75	40	0.25	1	2	4	2	3	1.75	3	2	5	0	1	0	0	5	8	0	2	1	4	0	16	0.25	
1 (7) 1946 1 (5) 1946		16	43	11.5	36	0.5	1	2	3	2	3	1.5	4	3	4	2	2	0	3	2	11	1	2	2	4	0	6	0.5	
1 (8) 1 (6)		19	37	16.5	32	0.5	1	1	2	1	2	3.5	1	3	5	2	2	2	5	2	11	0	2	5	1	0	5	0	
1 (9) 2 (1)		12	30	9	21	0	1	2	2	3	6	1	0	1	6	1	2	0	1	3	6	1	4	2	0	0	2	0	
1 (10) 2 (2)		19	55	16	49	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	2	11	1	1	1	3	5	17	0	2	3	3	2	11	1	
1 (11) 2 (3)		16	36	12	30	1	1	3	3	0	2	2.5	1	3	12	1	2	0	0	4.5	5	0	3	1	2	0	5	1	
1 (12) 2 (4)		19	26	16	20	2	3	1	1	0	2	4	0	2	4	1	2	0	1	3	8	1	3	3	1	2	1	0	
2 (1) 2 (5)		23	25	19	18	1	1	2	3	1	3	2	0	5	4	1	2	1	0	3	6	1	3	6	3	0	0	1	
2 (2) 2 (6)		19	28	16	19	1	3	1	3	1	3	4	0	3	3	1	1	1	0	3	4	0	2	4	5	0	4	0.5	
2 (3) 3 (1)		13	22	11	14	0	2	2	2	0	4	3	1	3	1	2	1	1	0	2	4	0	3	0	1	0	3	0	
2 (4) 3 (2)		13	25	12	20	0	1	1	2	0	2	3	1	1	5	1	1	0	1	2	8	0	2	5	2	0	0	0	
2 (5) 3 (3)		16	28	14	22	0	1	2	3	0	2	2	1	1	6	1	1	0	1	7	6	0	2	3	3	0	2	0	
2 (6) 3 (4)		16	24	15	16	1	3	0	3	0	2	3	0	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	5	0	2	4	2	3	1	1	
2 (7) 1947 3 (5) 1947		13	31	12	25	0	2	1	2	0	2	2	1	0	8	1	1	0	2	5	6	0	1	3	1	1	5	0	
2 (8) 3 (6)		8	23	7	16	1	2	0	3	0	2	2	0	0	4	1	1	0	1	3	3	0	1	1	5	0	1	0	
2 (9) 4 (1)		9	27	8	16	0	1	1	3	0	7	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	3	5	0	1	0	4	2	2	0	
2 (10) 4 (2)		10	25	9	18	1	1	0	2	0	4	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	3	1	6	0	1	4	2	1	3	0	
2 (11) 4 (3)		12	25	12	12	0	1	0	3	0	4	3	0	2	5	1	1	0	0	2	7	0	0	4	1	0	3	0	
2 (12) 4 (4)		11	23	11	15	0	2	0	1	0	5	2	0	2	4	1	1	0	0	4	4	0	1	1	3	1	2	0	
4 (5)		23		16		3		1		3		0		4		1		1		6		1		2		1			
4 (6)		30		25		1		1		3		0		5		1		0		7		3		2		7			
5 (1)		23		15		5		1		2		0		5		0		0		2		2		6		0			
16(1)1953		17		14		0		2		1		0		1		1		0		5		1		5		1			
20(1)1955		27		24		0		2		1		0		1		0		0		14		1		3		5			
21(1)		32		26		0		3		3		1		2		12		1		7		1		1		1			
21(4)		21		16		0		4		1		2		1		0		0		6		1		5		1			
37(1)		22		18		2		2		0		0		7		1		0		5		1		4		0			
38(1)		18		12		3		2		1		1		1		2		2		3		1		2		0			
38(6)		22		15		2		2		3		0		3		1		3		3		1		3		0			
39(4)		19		15		2		0		2		2		2		2		0		5		1		2		1			

Themes/interests of Moral guidance...							Themes/interests of competitions								Themes/interests of puzzles/games								Genders						
cial pment	Mental development		Spiritual development		Career/ education		Literature		Art		Logic		Trivia		Literature		Art		Logic		Trivia		Boy		Girl		Both		
JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	Con	JD	
	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		1		0		1		1		3		1		15		
	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		1		1		0		1		1		1		19		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	19	25	
	0		1.5		0		0		0		0		1		1		0		1		0		2		2		12		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	21	19	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	12	48	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	14	43		
1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	16	37	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	10	30	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	17	55	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	13	36	
3	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	15	26	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	21	25	
2	0	1	0.5	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	3	0	16	28	
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	10	22	
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	10	25
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	14	28
2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	0	13	24	
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	8	31	
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	5	23	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	2	0	2	0	5	27	
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	3	0	5	25	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	2	0	8	25	
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	8	23	
1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	23		
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	30		
3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	23		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21		
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22		
0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	17		
0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	22		
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	17			