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RESEARCH



Newspapers Published by Croats in New South Wales: From Print Environment to Social Networking Sites

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ABSTRACT

First Croatian immigrants came to Australia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and today, they are a significant part of Australian multicultural society. Due to specific information needs, Croats of NSW began publishing newspapers in the Croatian language in the 1920s. The paper presents communication of Croatian immigrants in NSW through serial publications, on the examples of newspapers before WWII, between WWII and 1990 and after 1990. After 1990, in addition to newspapers, communication on social networking sites is analysed. Selected newspapers and presence on social networking sites show publication and editorial models, types of publishers, languages of publication and interactions with readers. The availability of publications in libraries is analysed.

KEYWORDS


Croats; immigrants; libraries;
New South Wales;
newspapers; social
networking sites

Introduction

The history of Croats as immigrants in Australia begins in the nineteenth century. Reasons for migration were different throughout history, depending mainly on political and economic situations in Croatia. At the time of the early settlers, Croatia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Most of the Croatian immigrants to Australia came from Dalmatia, the coastal region of Croatia, under Austrian control, and they were technically (but not ethnically) Austrian citizens. To distance themselves from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, upon their arrival in Australia, they used to identify themselves as Dalmatians or Croats. Croats from Slavonia (continental part of Croatia) were sometimes identified as Slavonians. However, as they were technically citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, they were considered enemies by Australian authorities during WWI and were interned in concentration camps (Stenning, 1995, p. 53).

After WWI, Croatia was part of a new state – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes that changed its name to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. After WWII, until 1990, Croatia was part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and in that period, Croats mainly were identified as Yugoslavs, Yugo-slavs, Jugoslavs, or South Slavs. In 1992 Croatia became an internationally recognized state, and since then, the

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term Croats (or Croatians) has been an official term for all the immigrants from Croatia, although separate census data on Croatia-born people in Australia were not captured before 1996 (Department of Home Affairs, 2016). There is also a significant number of Croats in Australia who were born in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The complex situation throughout history is why it is not easy to investigate the origins of Croats in Australia, their social organisations and publications (Drapac, 2017).

Today, approximately half of Croats or people of Croatian descent (about 4 million people) live outside of Croatia (Winland, 2002), mainly in other European countries, both the Americas, Australia and New Zealand. Šutalo (2004, p. 2) claims that between 150,000 and 250,000 people of Croatian descent live in Australia. In 2006 there were at least 118,000 people of Croatian origin in Australia, and about 34,000 in Sydney (Budak & Lalic, 2008). According to the 2016 census, 43,681 people living in Australia were born in Croatia, and there were 133,264 Australian residents of Croatian descent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). At the same time, there were 45,304 people of Croatian descent in New South Wales; 15,638 were born in Croatia (Multicultural NSW, 2021).

Migration Waves and Croatian Associations in NSW

The first arrivals of Croats in NSW were sporadic. In the censuses of the NSW from 1800 to 1802, there are two Croatian names and six more names recorded before 1823 (Tkalčević, 1992, p. 13). Most of the settlers at the beginning of the nineteenth century were single men upon arrival; they were mostly illiterate, they did not speak English, but they were skilled workers – fishermen, carpenters, farmers, miners, etc. In the 1880s many Croats moved to Broken Hill, NSW, to work in silver-lead mines. By 1890, there were about 850 Croatian immigrants in Australia, and, although this number was not high, they significantly contributed to the development of Australia as workers, entrepreneurs, farmers, etc. (Šutalo, 2004, p. 17).

Intense chain migration began after WWI and slowed during the Great Depression in the 1930s. This is when Croatian immigrants to NSW started moving from Broken Hill to Sydney due to better living conditions. When the term ‘Yugoslavs’ was used, Croats were the dominant national group of South Slavs in Australia, making up about 86% of the Yugoslav-born immigrants. Therefore, the organisations that used the adjective ‘Yugoslav’ in their names were almost exclusively Croatian ones (Drapac, 2017).

Associations are important to communication because they show the need to formalise interaction within the community. Publishing newspapers was the next step in formalisation. The first social gatherings of Croats in NSW were national and business-related, mostly informal, in private houses and churches (most of Croats are Roman Catholics). The first formal social organisation of Croats in Australia was the Croatian Peasant Party, founded in Broken Hill and active until 1922. That is both the time and place where the story of Croatian publications in NSW begins – the Party launched the first Croatian bulletin in Australian territory – *The Peasants’ News (Seljačke Novosti)* but, as far as we know, not a single issue has been preserved. The Workers’ Fighting Movement (Borbeni radnički pokret) was founded in 1928 in Broken Hill and soon grew into the Association of Yugoslav Immigrants of Australia. The association was left-wing and was an umbrella organisation with about 30 branches across Australia. It was opened

to all immigrants from Yugoslavia, but at the 1946 conference, 90% of members were Croats (Marković, 1973, p. 286).

After the Second World War, there were three major immigration waves from Croatia – the first one consisting of soldiers and civilians of anti-communist orientation from refugee camps in Austria and Italy in the late 1940s. In 1947 at least 5000 Croats lived in Australia (Budak & Lalich, 2008). Later, from the 1960s (when the Yugoslav government opened the borders due to unemployment) to the 1970s, another wave of economic and political migration occurred involving healthy young people who mainly worked in industry (Biršić, 1988, p. 343).

The latest wave began in the 1990s – it consists of educated young people with families and knowledge of the English language. Today these people are a significant part of Australian multicultural society – they are farmers, entrepreneurs, scientists, cultural workers, politicians, etc.

Before the Second World War, there were about 10 Croatian societies in NSW, and more associations were registered after 1945. *Lexicon of Croatian Emigration and Minorities* (Leksikon hrvatskoga iseljništva i manjina, 2020, pp. 371–373) mentions about 20 organisations from 1961 to 1991. There are 71 associations in NSW incorporated associations register (2021) from 1985 to 2021, of which 24 were active in 2021 (the oldest registered in 1989). In addition to incorporated associations, the Catholic Church has always played a very important role in the Croatian community. According to the Directorate of Pastoral Care for Croats Abroad (2021), in 2021, there will be five active Croatian Catholic centres in NSW. Describing Sydney as a dynamic multicultural city, Lalich (2004) mentions 400 localities of immigrant's communal places, 12 of which are Croatian.

Besides formal organisations, Web 2.0 tools today allow the Croatian community to form informal groups, share information and interact using social networking sites, mainly Facebook. Some of the Facebook pages are administrated by Croatian associations or Catholic Centres, but some are informal groups of people with similar interests, administrated by individuals who have identified specific information needs before starting a particular Facebook group.

The information needs of today's Croats and people of Croatian descent in Australia differ from the information needs of their ancestors – most of them do not work as manual workers, and their overall English proficiency today is better than in the past. The systematic research of the language of Croats in Australia starts in the late 1990s (Zubčić, 2010). As linguistic assimilation is increased in the contemporary globalised world, the English proficiency of the Croatian community in Australia is much higher than in the past – e. g. early immigrants in the first half of the twentieth century usually did not speak English (Tkalčević, 1992, pp. 33–34). Today, the problem is the opposite – the number of Croatian speakers is decreasing, especially in the second and third generations (Škvorc, 2005, p. 44; Hlavač, 2009).

The new immigrants are mostly highly educated young people (Mesarić Žabčić, 2007). Their use of information and communication technologies and their information literacy skills are likely to be on a par with the rest of the Australian population with the same level of education.

Approach and Methodology

Launching newspapers in the Croatian language was very important for the Croatian emigrant community worldwide. Some newspapers were launched in the nineteenth century, e.g. in Buenos Aires, Chicago and Auckland. The New Zealand newspaper *Zora (the Dawn)* was published in Auckland from 1913 to 1916 and its subtitle was (until the beginning of 1916 when the concept was changed) *The only Croatian Newspaper in all Australasia* (Zora, 1913; Hebrang Grgić & Barbarić, 2021, p. 104).

In 2018, the Croatian Emigrant Press project (2021) was launched at the University of Zagreb in Croatia. Publishing activities and their products are an important part of the national cultural heritage, regardless of the place of publication, so the goal of the first phase of the project was to produce bibliographies of Croatian publications in Australia. Producing bibliographies is complex because not all publications are publicly available (e.g. in libraries, archives or museums). Some information about titles can be found in secondary sources (e.g. in library catalogues, in books, newspapers, on websites or on social networking sites) and in private collections. Community archives in Croatian associations and private collections of their members are valuable information sources not only for community members but also for preserving Croatian cultural heritage (Krtalić, 2021). This is why the crowdsourcing method is very important for the research. The method includes formal and informal contacts with the Croatian community in Australia (individuals and organizations) resulting in insight into private and community archive collections.

In this paper, the focus will be on the history of serial publications published in New South Wales and the model of communication through social networking sites. Information needs will not be deeply discussed in this paper because of the limited space, but the historical overview will give the basis for some future research on information needs and behaviour.

The research tries to answer four main questions: which Croatian newspapers were published during the last 100 years in Australia; how they changed editorial policy; are they available in public libraries and which are the main characteristics of communication on social networking sites for the Croatian community in Australia today.

At the beginning of 2021 there were 101 records in the bibliography for the whole of Australia, of which 59 were from NSW. Some publications are available in Australian and Croatian libraries, but none have been digitised, partly due to copyright restrictions.

An overview of the publications will be given through examples of newspapers; publication patterns will be analysed, and availability in the online catalogues of three libraries will be presented – National Library of Australia (NLA), State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW) and Croatian national library (National and University Library in Zagreb, NULZ). When necessary, some other collections (within public organisations and private collections) were consulted.

Among social networking sites, Facebook was chosen because of its predominance within the Croatian community in Australia – the search for Croatian organisations on three social networks (Facebook, Instagram and Twitter) showed that significant activity and interaction are present only on Facebook.

To date, no detailed review of serial publications of Croats in NSW has been made. A universal and complete bibliography of publications is the first step and a tool for further

analysis. In accordance with international standards, the criterion for inclusion of publications in this comprehensive bibliography is neither the quality nor political, religious nor any other orientation or opinion expressed in the publication, but only the involvement of Croats in publishing (whether as authors, editors or publishers). In this paper, we analyse examples of publications, considering primarily the technical characteristics associated with communication channels of distribution and dissemination of information. We did not analyse the content of publications because it would require much more space and because it does not belong to the field of library and information science but goes into other scientific fields such as history, sociology, political science, literature, etc. The idea of the bibliography on which this analysis is based is to serve researchers from other fields for new research and analysis.

There are two limitations of the research. The first one is we cannot be sure that all publications are in the bibliography because some of them are lost or are still unidentified. Another limitation is that it was not possible to describe all serial publications. Therefore, as examples for this analysis were selected those publications that were edited and/or published by Croats in NSW, and which met either of the following two criteria:

- they had a constant in publishing
- they tried to use various possibilities and media of content distribution (depending on the period in which they were published)

These two criteria enabled the selection of those publications whose editors and editorial boards sought to identify the information needs and habits of the target audience.

Analysis of Selected Newspapers

Chronologically, the 59 publications listed in the bibliography and published by Croats in NSW can be divided into three periods, according to the year of their launch: the period before the Second World War (when Croatia was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/ the Kingdom of Yugoslavia); the period between 1945 and 1990 (when Croatia was part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia); and the period after 1990 (when Croatia becomes internationally recognised independent state – the Republic of Croatia).

Eleven publications were launched in the first period, 25 in the second and 22 in the third period. Some titles overlap, i.e. they have been published during more than one period.

The analysis of online library catalogues shows that 29 publications (50% of all NSW publications) are not available in the three largest libraries of the two countries (NLA, SLNSW and NULZ) and only 18 publications (31%) are available in Croatian national library.

The methods used in the research were structured searches of library catalogues, content analysis of available publications and archive records. In gathering information about some publications, contacts with the Croatian community were important and the help of individuals.

Pre-WWII Period

The most difficult part of the research was finding information about the pre-WWII publications. Most of them are lost – the number of printed copies was usually small, many publications were self-published or published by a small community, and an important reason for the unavailability is censorship (Bowen, 2020), i.e. governmental restrictions against newspapers published in non-English languages and/or restrictions against pro-communist literature.

Production before Second World War was not significant – there are 11 titles in the bibliography, but 6 or 7 of them are variations of the same publication, *Borba (The Fight)*, which changed its titles to avoid censorship. According to Tkalčević (1992, p. 67), the bulletin *Borba* did not receive permission for publication from the authorities. Its publisher was the Workers' Fighting Movement from Broken Hill. The first issue was published on 15 July 1931, in Broken Hill. The initiator and the editor of the bulletin, Ivan Viskich, later wrote: 'It was a small bulletin with many technical, grammatical and political errors. But the small bulletin was the foundation of our press in Australia' (Viskich, 1981; as cited in Tkalčević, 1992, p. 67). Copies of *Borba*, according to its first editor, were made by the Gestetner cyclograph machine (Tkalčević, 1992, p. 44). One copy of *Borba* was found during the research within the Croatian Emigrant Press project – it is in a file kept in the National Archives of Australia (NAA: A7359, 1932, BOX 7/N15300/6). A digitised copy is available on the website of the Croatian Emigrant Press project (Borba, 1932).

Due to problems with the authorities, the bulletin had to change its title. It is, therefore, revealed as *Plamen (The Flame)*, *Iskra (The Spark)*, *Oganj (The Fire)* and *Pravda (The Justice)*. The title and the place of publication were changed. The text was in Croatian. A record from the Attorney-General Department from 1932 proves that the newspaper *Borba* was censored and that the publisher tried to hide all the traces (NAA: A467, 1932). The subject of the file is: 'Communitistic Propaganda – Newspaper *Borba*'. We learn from the file that from July 1932 'up to the present it has not been possible to trace the publishers. Further inquiries in this matter are, however, being made.' In August 1932, according to the same file, it was still impossible to trace the publisher, but a translator who worked for *Borba* was identified in Broken Hill as Stephan Popovich. According to Marković, an active participant in the activities, Popovich's real name was Radomir Petrić (Marković, 1973, p. 92). That indicates the third way of avoiding censorship – in addition to changing the title and place of publication, the people who participated in the publication of *Borba* used fake identities to deceive the authorities and avoid penalties and bans.

Borba and other titles (*Iskra*, *Oganj*, etc.) are mentioned in several sources, but none explains where and whether the issues have been preserved. Also, none of the sources provide an insight into the content of the issues (except that they were left-oriented). The publisher, printer and technical characteristics have not been described and the opinion was that the issues were lost. However, in the National Archives of Australia, we discovered two valuable issues – one issue of *Iskra* from February 1933 and one issue of *Oganj* from April 1933 (NAA: A432, 1933). The newly discovered issues and some additional documents show that the publisher, editors and authors were probably the same for both publications. The graphic design is identical, and the political slogan on

the top margin on the title pages is the same as in *Borba* (*Proleterii svih zemalja, ujedinite se!* – *Proletarians of all countries, unite!*). Both publications are published on 4 pages. The memorandum for the Attorney-General's Department about the 'Jugo-Slav publication *Iskra*' shows the interest of the authorities – in the document, all titles from *Iskra* are translated into English and the place of printing and the printer are analysed ('It bears indication of place of printing as 15, Dixon Street, Sydney, which is the Communist Party's print').

Also, a conclusion is drawn about the names of the printers – the names listed in *Iskra* are Wright and Baker, instead of Gray and Frew (false names of printers were also used to avoid censorship). According to the last page of *Iskra*, the paper is the Organ of the Revolutionary Yugoslav Workers of Australia and New Zealand (*Iskra*, 1933). *Oganj* was published two months later; and it gives no information about the printers or the publisher, presumably to hide traces and make it more difficult for the authorities to control the publication (*Oganj*, 1933). The two newly discovered issues are available on the Croatian Emigrant Press project website (Croatian Emigrant Press, 2021).

According to some sources, even the newspaper *Napredak*, published between 1935 (or 1936) and 1957, was the successor of *Borba* (Tkalčević, 1992, pp. 67–68). The subtitle of *Napredak* was *The only Yugoslav-Australian Newspaper*. It was published as a weekly newspaper but, from 1952 it was issued fortnightly due to financial problems. Its publisher was the Federation of Yugoslav Workers' Educational Clubs which emerged from the Workers' Fighting Movement in Broken Hill. The first application for publishing *Napredak* was rejected by the Attorney-General Department in 1935 on suspicion that the initiator was a communist organisation. According to Gilson and Zubrzycki (1967, p. 23), the official licence was launched in November 1936, but according to some Australian newspapers, the registration was granted in November 1937: 'The Federal Attorney General granted registration to the Yugoslav newspaper *Napredak* which is printed in the Croatian language and published by the Yugoslav Workers' Educational Committee, Sydney' (The Daily Telegraph, 1937). '... after it has been appearing for 12 months ... the winning of the right to publish this paper represents a splendid victory for the whole of the Australian democracy' (The Worker's Star, 1937). In the text in the November 1942 issue of *Napredak*, December 1935 is mentioned as the month when the first issue was published (*Napredak*, 1942). But again, the jubilee issue on the 10th anniversary of *Napredak* was published in December 1946, not 1945 (*Napredak*, 1946).

The publication was suspended in June 1940 and reappeared in 1941: 'The secretary of the Progressive Federation of Yugoslav Immigrants in Australia ... announced that the Minister for Information ... has given permission for the republication of the newspaper *Napredak*' (Barrier Miner, 1941). However, the first issue was not published before October 1942. The publisher was the Progressive Federation of Yugoslav Immigrants in Australia. In the year 1942, enumeration of issues begins with vol. 1, no. 1, but a note *New Series* was added in parentheses showing the publisher's intent to emphasise continuity and connection to previous issues. *Napredak* was published bi-weekly.

The pre-WWII *Napredak* and the newer version published during the war were edited by the same editor – Ivan Kosović, or John Kosovich, who was the editor for nine years (*Napredak*, 1946). Until September 1944, the newspaper was published in a large format (60 × 45 cm), and afterwards in a smaller one (45 × 25 cm). Large format was published

on 4 pages. The smaller format was initially published on 8 pages, and from March 1943 mainly on 12 pages. Since 1942, the subtitle of the newspaper has been *List Iseljenika iz Jugoslavije u Australiji i New Zealand (Newspaper of Emigrants from Yugoslavia to Australia and New Zealand)*. The English version of the subtitle was *The only Yugoslav-Australian Newspaper*. After 1946, the subtitle was *List Jugoslavenkih iseljenika Australije i Nove Zelandije (Newspaper of Yugoslav Immigrants of Australia and New Zealand)*.

Most issues published from 1942 until 1957 are available in the Croatian national library. According to online library catalogues, some issues of *Napredak* are available in the National Library of Australia and some in the State Library New South Wales. None of the pre-WWII issues were found in these libraries, but they probably still exist somewhere because some secondary sources use them as references (e. g. Tkalčević and Marković). Continuing its publication after the Second World War, *Napredak* was a link between the pre- and post-WWII phases of serial publishing of Croatian newspapers in NSW (Gilson & Zubrzycki, 1967, p. 147).

Examples of Newspapers Established Between 1945 and 1990

After the Second World War many Croats arrived in Australia, mostly for economic and political reasons, many of whom were fleeing the Yugoslav Communist regime. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were about 75% of Croats born in Croatia, who had come to Australia before 1981 (Šutalo, 2004, p. 212).

According to the bibliography, 25 titles were published between 1945 and 1990 (Croatian Emigrant Press, 2021). Including *Napredak*, the number is 26. They were mostly published by Croatian organisations (e.g. Australian Croatian Association, Croatian Club, Croatian Catholic Centre). Two examples of newspapers will be analysed for this period – the only two that will ‘survive’ the second period.

The first example is *Spremnost (Readiness)*, the longest-running Croatian newspaper with the same title (1957–2007). The first issue was published on December 15, 1957, it was handwritten and typed and copies were made by hectograph. The first printed issue was published on April 1, 1958. Initially, *Spremnost* was published bi-monthly, then monthly and from 1978 weekly. The title remains the same over the years, but the subtitle changed: *Organ of Croats in Australia* (1958), *First Croatian Newspaper in Australia* (1978) and *First and Best Selling Croatian Newspaper in Australia* (from 1979 to the last issue published in 2007). There were also versions of subtitles in the Croatian language that changed frequently. The text was mostly in Croatian, but sometimes in the English (e.g. editorials and some news from Australian newspapers). The publisher was the Australian Croatian Association, and the newspaper was edited by the working committee of the association (Spremnost, 1978). The editor-in-chief was Fabijan Lovoković, and the editorial process depended mostly on his efforts – there was a short break in publishing new issues in 1997 due to the editor’s departure to Croatia (Škvorc, 1998), and publishing was terminated when the editor was busy writing his book about Croatian communities in Australia (Spremnost, 2007).

Almost all issues are available in NULZ; some are available in NLA and SLNSW. Some issues are also available at the Croatian Archives of Australia in Sydney. The first issue (the one from 1957 that was made by hectograph) has not been found in public libraries

so far, but there is a possibility of finding it in private collections because the photo of its first page is in Lovoković's book (Lovoković, 2010, p. 603).

Another example of a long-running newspaper is a publication that changed its title four times, according to the catalogues of Australian and Croatian national libraries, or three times according to other sources, but there is also a publication that can be considered its successor that is still being published. The first title was *Yugoslav-Australian Journal* (launched in 1960), then in 1971, it was changed to *Novo doba* (*New age*) and then again in 1993 to *Novo vrijeme* (*New time*) and *Nova Hrvatska* (*New Croatia*). The life of the newspaper after 1990 will be explained in the next chapter. The numbering of volumes and issues is continuous for the first three titles. If we look back at the *Yugoslav-Australian Journal*, the frequency of publication was irregular. The texts were in Croatian and English. The first issue was published in May 1960, and the last issue on November 25, 1970.

According to the catalogues, *Yugoslav-Australian Journal* is not available in NULZ, but all issues are available in the NLA and in SLNSW. Since 1971, the newspaper's title is *Novo doba*, the numbering of volumes continues from the numbering of *Yugoslav-Australian Journal* (as volume 11 in 1971). The parallel title of *Novo doba* in English is *New Times*, and the subtitle *An independent Australian ethnic weekly in the Croatian language*. The enumeration of volumes is continuous after the second change of title – *Novo vrijeme* begins in 1993 with volume 34. The parallel title of *Novo vrijeme* is *New Times*, and the subtitle is *An independent Australian-Croatian weekly: established 1960*. Here we can see that the publisher wanted to emphasise the continuity of the newspaper – the enumeration of the volumes is continuous and the year 1960 (when the first issue of *Yugoslav-Australian Journal* was published) is mentioned in the subtitle. Another problem with the titles is that the second and the third titles (*Novo doba* and *Novo vrijeme*) had the same parallel title in English – both were translated as *New Times*. In the Croatian language there is a little difference in the meaning of the words *vrijeme* and *doba* (while *vrijeme* is *time*, *doba* could be translated as *age* or *era*). So, regarding the English versions of the titles, there were no changes.

Some of the other 25 newspapers from 1945 and 1990 were bulletins published by Croatian associations. For example, *Društveni viestnik* (*Society's Herald*) was established by the Australian Croatian Society in 1951 and changed its title to *Viestnik Australsko hrvatskog društva* (*Australian Croatian Society Herald*) in 1956. Another example of the association's newspaper is *Kralj Tomislav* (*King Tomislav*), published by the Croatian club King Tomislav in 1987. Copies of *Društveni viestnik* and *Kralj Tomislav* are not available in public libraries.

An example of a religious publisher is Croatian Pastoral Care in Australia, the publisher of *Dom* (*Home*) which was a monthly publication for the religious and cultural life of Croats in Australia and Oceania. It was published from 1958 until 1962 and is available in the Croatian national library.

While most of the publications from the first phase were published for less than a year (some probably only in one issue), in the second phase we can see that the total number of publications increased and the publication periods were longer. State control of the press eased after Second World War, so editors and publishers could publish their newspapers. However, they were not professional publishers and journalists, they did the job in their free time, and publishing depended on their enthusiasm. As members of the

Croatian community, they understand its information needs, which is an important prerequisite for a long-lasting newspaper.

Newspapers After the Year 1990

After 1990, there were 22 new newspaper titles. Some of the publishers were incorporated societies, some were publishing companies and there were several serial publications published by Catholic Church and a University. Examples of serial publications in the third period are *Klokán*, *Domovina* and *Croatian Studies Review*, selected to show the diversity of publishers and editorial concepts.

Klokán: magazine for young Australian Croatians (later *Klokán Magazine*) was first published by the Federation of Croatian Students and Youth of Australia in 1990 and later (from 1995 to 1997 when the last issue was published) by the Australian Croatian Project Inc. The editors were Šime Dušević and Petar Perić, and they were responsible for all the unsigned articles (Klokán, 1990). The intention was to involve young Australian Croats in the production of *Klokán* – readers were encouraged to submit their contributions. Although the title was in Croatian (*klokán* means *kangaroo*), all texts were in English, and *Klokán* was also available on the Internet (Lovoković, 2010, pp. 610–611). This points to the editors' awareness of the importance of the Internet as a communication channel, even in its early days, and especially for young readers, who were the target audience of *Klokán*. The online version is not available today. The usage of the English and availability on the Internet suggest the intention to make the magazine accessible and readable outside the Croatian community in Australia. *Klokán* was initially published as a monthly magazine (probably until 1993), and later quarterly. Only three issues are available in NULZ, seven issues are available in ANL and seven in SLNSW. There are 28 issues available in the library of Croatian Studies at the Macquarie University in Sydney (at least 9 issues are missing from the library, but that is the complete collection of *Klokán* so far).

Croatian Studies Review is the only Croatian scholarly journal published in New South Wales (also the only one in Australia and one of the few ever published abroad). The first issue was published in 1997 by Croatian Studies Centre at the Macquarie University in Sydney, and 15 issues have been published so far. The journal was published irregularly in the 1990s, then biannually and finally annually (the last issue available online, no. 14/15, covers the years 2018 and 2019). The editor-in-chief is Luka Budak, and there are three co-editors, all of them Croatian academics living in Australia. The journal publishes scientific papers in social sciences and humanities. In the earlier years, the publication language was English or Croatian, but in the last six issues, all scientific papers available online are in English. The editorial board and advisory board are international, with members from Croatia, Australia, Canada, Norway, Germany, etc. Fourteen out of 15 issues are available in Open Access on the *Hrčak* platform (Portal of Croatian scientific and professional journals) and this brief overview is based on those versions (Croatian Studies Review, 2022). However, the insight into some printed issues shows that, in addition to scientific papers, literary texts in the Croatian language (e.g. short stories and poems) were also published in printed versions. This shows the intention of the editorial board to popularise Croatian literature outside Croatia. The journal is included in the Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL) and is indexed in the

Ulrichsweb Global Serials Directory. International editorial board, inclusion in international databases, publishing in English, and acceptance of Open Access policy proves the publisher's intention to increase the visibility and impact of the journal.

Before explaining the concept of *Domovina*, the story about its predecessors has to be continued from the previous section. It was explained earlier that the newspaper *Yugoslav-Australian Journal* changed the title to *Novo doba* (*New age*). In 1993 the newspaper was bought by Ivan Jeličić (Lovoković, 2010, p. 611), and the title was changed to *Novo vrijeme* (*New time*). Since then, the newspaper has been privately owned. In November of the same year, Franjo Harmat bought the newspaper, and the title was once again changed – to *Nova Hrvatska* (*New Croatia*) with the subtitle *Jedini australsko-hrvatski nezavisni tjednik* (*One and only independent Australian-croatian weekly*). According to the Australian National Library catalogue, the newspaper *Nova Hrvatska* (*New Croatia*) is the successor of *Novo vrijeme*, but the editor of *Nova Hrvatska*, Franjo Harmat, claimed that *Nova Hrvatska* was not the successor of *Novo doba*, but an entirely new newspaper (Lovoković, 2010, p. 611). For *Nova Hrvatska* the numbering of issues and volumes starts from the beginning. Therefore, *Nova Hrvatska* could be considered a new newspaper. In 2012 *Nova Hrvatska* was sold to Marko Franović and substituted by *Boka cropress: Croatian weekly newspaper*, with additional subtitles in Croatian and English: *Jedini australsko-hrvatski neovisni tjednik: the only independent australian-croatian weekly*. The enumeration of the issues starts with vol. 1 no. 1 in September 2012. The new newspaper was edited by Petar Mamić and, according to the Croatian national library, has changed its title several times: it became *Za dom press: croatian-australian weekly* in 2015, then *Za dom spremni* (*Ready for home*, the title was a salute used during the Second World War by the Independent State of Croatia that was on the side of the Axis Powers) from 2015 to 2016 and finally *Domovina* (*Homeland*) since 2016. Enumeration of volumes has been continuous since 2012 and the editor has been the same, regardless of all changes of the newspaper title.

In 2022 *Domovina* has three manifestations. It is published weekly as a print newspaper and distributed in Australia. There is also an online version of the newspaper – the portal *Domovina* (Domovina, 2022). In January 2022, nineteen web snapshots of the portal (from May 2017 to November 2021) were available as archived versions at the National Library of Australia (Trove, 2022). The website is not harvested by the Croatian web archive (HAW) in the Croatian national library because the archive automatically harvests the Croatian.hr domain (publishers can apply for archiving content from other domains if it meets the selection criteria – Croatian author, Croatian language and/or Croatian publisher). The website of *Domovina* is available in Croatian and English and readers can create content by adding texts, photos, videos, links, memes or audio files (although the content is mostly created by administrators).

Another presence of *Domovina* is on Facebook, where the Facebook Page *Domovina* is available, categorised as media/news company (Domovina: Facebook, 2022). The About section provides a link to the website and information about the publisher and editors. In January 2022 there were 3735 followers of the Facebook Page *Domovina*. The content on Facebook is primarily related to the content of the printed version and the portal, but there are some posts that are linked to other sources (e.g. other Croatian portals). The editor-in-chief of *Domovina* is Petar Mamić and the publisher is Boka Press. *Domovina* is an example of a newspaper that uses three important ways to make its content available

to the public – printed version, web portal and Facebook – allowing its readers to interact and share their own information and opinions.

In the third phase (after 1990), we can see various manifestations of Croatian serial publications in New South Wales. In the late twentieth century, the Internet became an important communication channel and some publishers and editors recognized its new possibilities.

Communication on Facebook

As a Web 2.0 tool, Facebook is the most popular social networking site, with 2.8 billion active users per month in the last three months of 2020 (Statista, 2020). Social networking sites are services based on Web 2.0 technology that allows creating profiles for individuals and organisations to establish connections and interactions with other users (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). In addition to connecting real-life acquaintances and friends, social networking sites help connect individuals who would otherwise never meet (Haythornthwaite, 2005). Facebook was launched as a web platform for communication among Harvard University students in 2004, and the rapid expansion of the network resulted in its opening to the public in September 2006. Initially, most Facebook users were young adults (under the age of 25), but today, the group of users older than 55 is the smallest but fastest-growing age group on Facebook (Vogels, 2019).

Posting on social networking sites can be compared to previously analysed newspaper publishing. Both media have the same goal – to reach the widest possible public interested in the published content. Posting on Facebook is much easier, cheaper and less time-consuming, but it also requires certain skills – administrators must know the information needs of the target audience, understand the rules of communication through social networking sites, and must have a high level of computer and information literacy.

Facebook is popular in the Croatian community in NSW – organisations use it to connect and interact with their members. In March 2021, there were 18 active Facebook pages of Croatian NSW organisations. For a more detailed analysis, six pages were selected – those with more than 2,000 followers. Four of them are Facebook pages of Croatian clubs, and two are Facebook pages of Croatian Catholic centres. They have an average of 3457 followers, and their Facebook presence is 9.6 years on average. We analysed all publicly available data for the first two months of 2021. The goal was to find out how they communicate and interact – what is the content and type of posts, what language is used, and how they interact (number of likes, comments and shares was analysed).

Table 1 shows the results of the Facebook analysis. Social clubs are presented as Soc1, Soc2, Soc3 and Soc4, and the Catholic centres as Cat1 and Cat2.

The analysis shows that social clubs publish fewer posts than Catholic centres. Social clubs have more followers (an average of 4169) but less interaction. Catholic centres have a fewer followers (2034 on average), but use more social networking possibilities, frequent posting and encouraging interaction, mostly in Croatian. The content of posts shows that the information needs are mostly related to events and members. Seventy-two posts talk about events (e.g. social gatherings, holly masses), 19 posts are technical notices (e.g. business hours or notices related to COVID-19) and 6 posts are about individual community members (e.g. birthdays of older members). Posts about individuals are very

Table 1. Results of Facebook analysis – number of posts and interactions in January and February 2021.

FB page	No. of posts		No. of comments		No. of reactions to posts	No. of post shares
	Total	In Croatian	Total	In Croatian		
Soc1	14	2	39	11	304	14
Soc2	14	0	0	1	67	16
Soc3	4	0	16	0	147	16
Soc4	7	0	12	6	47	6
Cat1	37	29	131	116	1571	81
Cat2	26	18	27	19	591	23
Total	102	47	225	153	2727	159

popular and encourage interaction – there are only 6 such posts (5.8% of all posts), but they get 369 likes (13.5% of all likes) and 110 comments (48.8% of all comments).

Croats in NSW are fluent in English, but Croatian is an important part of their cultural heritage. Catholic centres use mostly Croatian language in their posts – almost all posts are in Croatian or in Croatian and English. Comments on the posts of Catholic centres are almost all in Croatian.

All analysed Facebook pages show that social networking sites are an important communication channel among the Croatian community in NSW because they have active followers. If we try to compare communication on FB with communication in printed newspapers, there are many differences and some similarities. The differences are related to the media and new information and communication technologies that enable organisations and their members and followers to create content quickly and easily. The organisations that administer the analysed pages are similar to the publishers in the printed environment – social clubs and Catholic centres. The content of posts published on Facebook pages is similar to the content of printed newspapers – it is mostly about events in the community and individuals. Before the wider use of the Internet, printed newspapers were the fastest way of information dissemination. Web portals have a similar role today, but social networking sites are an important extension of these portals because they enable and facilitate the creation and publication of user-generated content.

Conclusion

Communication patterns of Croats in NSW change over time. Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, the main media of communication were printed newspapers. Even today, when the Croatian community in NSW can use all the advantages of information and communication technologies, printed newspapers in the Croatian language are still being published.

Early Croatian newspapers, those published before the end of WWII, had problems with state censorship – some were banned (*Borba*, *Napredak*) or under consideration for banning (*Iskra*, *Oganj*). They developed several ways to avoid censorship – changes of titles, place of publication, concealing names of printers and publishers, use of false names, etc. In today's democratic and multicultural Australian society, publishers of Croatian newspapers had other problems, for example, those caused by the lack of professional staff and finances. Newspapers in the post-WWII period are long-lasting (e.g. *Spremnost* had been published for 50 years). Editors in the third analysed period recognise new

possibilities of the electronic environment and the Internet; they seek to communicate with their readers and encourage interaction. They also recognise the importance of visibility and availability of their publications (e.g. through the Open Access model for a scientific journal). Communication through social networks is a relatively new way of communication in the community. Social clubs and Catholic centres encourage communication via Facebook by posting various contents. The analysis of presented newspapers and communication through web sites and Facebook shows the changes in communication media and the constant need for communication and interaction.

Most of the analysed newspapers were (and some still are) published in the Croatian language. However, some texts were sometimes published in English. Only two of 59 serial publications published by Croats in NSW have titles entirely in English, and only one had published all the texts in English. On Facebook, Catholic centres encourage communication in Croatian, while Social clubs communicate mostly in English. A comparison of the language used in the early newspapers (Croatian) and the language used for communication on Facebook (mostly English) shows the changing profile of the Croatian community that could be the topic of new research.

Not all the issues of printed newspapers included in this analysis are available in public libraries. Further research should be conducted to find the lost issues. The proof that it is possible are the three issues considered lost but were found during the research for the project Croatian Emigrant Press.

Communication patterns of Croats in NSW move from print to the online environment. In the same way that the need for printed newspapers was recognised one hundred years ago, today, the need for communication via websites and social networking sites is recognised. Communication of Croats in NSW has changed – the language is no longer a problem; the news is available online, but still, there is a need for information about the Croatian community in NSW and Australia. Publishers (social clubs, Catholic Centres and other organisations) are aware of the information needs and are involved in making the information available in print and online. The wider community is also involved in the communication process through social networking sites – they have the opportunity to interact and create their own content.

Content on social networking sites and in all the analysed publications (including the lost ones, and regardless of the quality of the editorial process and/or language) are an important part of Croatian and Australian cultural heritage. They could be sourced for researchers in various fields. Besides producing a bibliography of Croatian publications in NSW and Australia and discovering lost issues, further steps could be taken towards digitisation of the newspapers, at least those that are out of copyright.

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