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The impact of commercialisation of the media on the content of the conglomerate-owned community newspapers in South Africa: study of four community newspapers form the Caxton CTP Publishers stable.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter one of this research report sketches out the contextual background of this study and gives a statement of the problem. Chapter two starts from the premise that theories of market-driven journalism adequately explain the phenomenon and developments unfolding in the conglomerate-owned community newspapers in South Africa. In the literature review, the study maps the growth of conglomerate-owned community newspapers as well as the advertising revenues generated by this medium. This section argues that commercialisation serves advertisers' interests and this is problematic as it impacts negatively on media content. The net result is that substantive news that is of public interest is sacrificed in favour of content that serves commercial interests.

Chapter three is the methodology section, where the researcher discusses the choice of triangulation methods - both quantitative content analysis based on an operationalised typology of McManus' (1999:219) thematic categories and qualitative content analysis to explain and explore newspaper content. Chapter four is the most critical section of the research. Quantitative data was coded and manipulated to generate 13 tables and graphs to illustrate the findings upon which conclusions on the state of conglomerate-owned community media were pegged and drawn. The qualitative content analysis probed advertiser-related stories, homogeneity of content and the quality of writing in the community newspapers. Chapter five summarises the issues raised in the research questions at the beginning of the study and gives suggestions for further research.

1.1 AIM

The aim of this research was to explore the impact of media commercialisation on the content of the conglomerate-owned community newspapers in South Africa.

1.2 RATIONALE

The South African population consists of diverse communities with varying information, education and entertainment requirements. There is therefore, a need to shift from the "one-size-fits-all" format of the mainstream newspapers to a more versatile form that can be tailored to represent and disseminate a selection of community-specific information. According to Howley (2005:38), "grass-roots or locally oriented media access initiatives are predicated on a profound sense of dissatisfaction with mainstream media form and content. He adds that community newspapers can illuminate the differences between such monolithic categories as [Blacks, Asians, Whites, Poor, Urban…] in society. This medium can meet the demands of a pre-defined group and create what Howley calls an "omnibus press", which offers something to everyone within the group.

The bulk of the community newspapers in South Africa are owned by a handful of oligopolistic publishing conglomerates namely: Caxton & CTP Publishers and Printers Limited (Caxton); Johnnic Communications (Johncom); Naspers; and Independent Newspapers. Proliferation of the corporate-owned community newspapers has provided communities that were previously media-deprived with a platform for communication. Caxton for example, is expanding its community newspapers portfolio, and plans to produce at least 12 titles branded *Urban News* series around Gauteng's townships.[1] Hand in hand with this growth in titles has been an exponential growth in advertising revenues. According to an AC Nielsen report[2], advertising revenues in community newspaper market rose from 133.9 million Rand in 1991, to 661.4 million Rand in 2003. Most of the South African community newspapers are freesheets and are funded through advertising revenue.

Some media critics (Baldasty 1992; Howley 2005; Bagdikian 2004) have argued that the effects of this mercantilism and dependency on advertisers can be felt on the newspaper pages. Howley (2005:140) argues that news has become a

[1] http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/90/6156.html
[2] http://www.omdmedia.co.za/samediafacts2004.pdf

commercial product that is "shaped, packaged and marketed with a constant eye on profits... Newspapers are businesses dedicated to presenting information within the parameters of profitability". Because advertisers determine a newspaper's profitability, the medium seems to work within a framework that delivers 'customer-friendly' content that is pleasing to both the advertisers and the readers. This desire to please advertisers means that the newspapers "shun controversial matters, politics and debates for fear of alienating readers. He adds that this aversion is a kind of self-censorship that guarantees that political ideas of public interest do not reach the community and the net result of commercialisation is the production of content that is banal.

In the light of what Gillmor (2004:4) refers to as "corporatisation of journalism", this research examined the four Caxton-owned community newspapers, namely: *Diepkloof Urban News, Alex News, Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* to determine the content they ferried. The findings of this research are intended to shed light on the content and composition of community newspapers in South Africa.

In addition, Howley (2005:4) and Hadland (2003:53) lament a theoretical underdevelopment in the field of community newspapers. They argue that the case studies often fail to situate community media in the context of contemporary culture or within the contours of widely changing communication environments. The gap created by the sparse body of literature and theory on community newspapers limits our understanding of this medium and its full impact on society. This research report adds to the sparse body of knowledge and research in this field. It is the researcher's intention that the data analysis and interpretation will elucidate the out-workings of the market-driven theories on the community newspaper landscape in the South African context.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW:

2.1 Market Theory and Journalism

To conceptualize the effects of commercialisation on the content of community newspapers, this research draws from the market-driven theories, which are an off-shoot of the Political–Economy theories of the media. According to Williams (2003:56) Political economy sees the content, style and form of media products, whether news, journalism, film, advertising, drama or popular music are shaped by structural features such as ownership, advertising and audience spending. This approach views the media as industries and businesses whose production is geared towards the making of profit. Whatever sells the most and realizes the most profits and this is the major determinant of what is produced. The approach emphasises the media as industries and businesses. Their organisation, operation and their production are shaped and determined by economic considerations and their attendant political aspects. Williams (2003:75) has referred to this phenomenon as the "prostitution of the press".

Market-driven journalism theories focus on the economic and market variables at work in the media environment. They deal with how these factors play themselves out in shaping media output. Ross (1997:4) defines commercialisation of the press as the "drifting of ultimate control into the hands of men with business motives". According to McManus (1994:197) commercialisation analyses news as a commodity in which normative journalism ideals take a back seat in subordination to market-driven journalism. He further argues that market-driven values and journalism cannot co-exist – they are, in his opinion, mutually exclusive. Goldings *et al.,* (1997:xiv) view Adam Smith's "hidden hand" of market dynamics as being incapable of producing a perfect fit between the pursuit of economic interests and the promotion of common [public] interest. This raises a question as to how the conglomerate-owned community newspapers can serve

public interest in the light of the widespread media commercialisation in South Africa.

According to McManus (1994:1) media corporations the world over are being publicly traded and listed on Stock Exchanges. The shareholders and investors' primary interest may not necessarily be the production of news or the pursuit of truth through journalism, but the bottom-line. Roberts (2001:2) regards today's thoroughly modern newspaper executive as a New Age guardian of shareholder value whose primary task is to run a profitable corporation and maximize profits. According to Herman and Chomsky (1988:7) the drive for profits has "encouraged the entry of speculators into media ownership and this move has increased the pressure and temptation to focus more intensely on profitability". Roberts (2001:2) sees the dynamics of media commercialisation as being so revolutionizing that they undermine the traditional nature and role of the press.[3]

As McManus (1994:1) observes growing commercialisation of journalism views news as the "product", the readers or viewers as the "customer", while the circulation or signal area as the "market". As business logic permeates the newsroom, journalism is crafted to serve the market. He argues that media are increasingly being run like businesses whose aims are to maximize their streams of revenue. For this reason, newspapers carry content that is advertiser-friendly which can sustain what Bagidikian (2004:242) calls a "buying mood" and at the same time create a "selling atmosphere".

Curran and Seaton (1991:39) argue that increased dependence on advertising has given the advertisers themselves a 'de-facto licensing authority' since, without

[3] Other functions of the press would include: a) Being a public trustee that monitors and provides truthful information (Roberts 2001:17); b) Public enlightenment about consequential current issues and events; c) Setting the frame in which citizens discuss public events and the quality of these debates depends on the information available, (Tuchman 1978: x); d) Arming the public for vigilant citizenship with information and radical thought, (Schudson 2000:194); e) Being the "society's headlights" investigates and explain a community to itself, illuminating on current issues and events which enable the community to understand its options and the consequences of their actions, McManus (1994: xi) ; f) Hadland (2005:13) emphasizes media's roles of watchdog and corruption-buster and nurturing good-will and supporting national unity. g) Platon, *et al*., (2003:338*)* see the media reflecting the community's or mainstream opinions as well as giving a voice to the voiceless.

their support many newspapers would cease to be economically viable. Herman and Chomsky (1994:x) hold a more radical view where they see this over-reliance on advertising as a primary source of income as inevitably leading to business interests (both internal and external) directly controlling media content, with advertising being regarded as a "news filter". Advertisers exert two kinds of pressures on news decisions, according to McManus (1994:34). They affect the selecting and packaging of news that attracts the largest audience likely to buy the products advertised. This may conflict with journalism norms when the desire to please the audience overtakes the desire to inform the readers. The second pressure 'forces' newspaper content to create a favourable environment that is conducive to buying the goods and services advertised. This pressure collides with journalistic standards when news unfavourable to advertisers or their products is censored or when non-newsworthy information that is favourable to an advertiser or product is included.

Bagidikian (2004:247) points out that some newspapers make 80% of their revenues from advertisements and devote about 65% of their space to them. The free-sheets on the other hand, rely more heavily on the advertising revenues. Hadland (2005:13) sees commercialisation as threatening the bounds of editorial independence. This may lead to the suppression of negative news or advertiser-aggravating content, as the old adage goes, "he who pays the piper calls the tune". He further argues that if advertising underwrites a publication's operations and determines its profitability, then media focus and loyalty ceases to be the readers and becomes the advertisers.

The end product of market-driven journalism, according to Roberts (2001:15) is "thinner and blander news reports… newspapers are becoming less distinctive institutions that are less connected to their communities and are more homogenized". He argues that journalistic and community achievements seem secondary. In examining the subordination of news and information to commercial interests, Bagdikian (2000: xv) notes that a handful of the dominant corporations have pursued quick and even higher profits mainly by producing

trivialized and self-serving commercialised news. He observes that there is neglect of serious journalism in favour of trivial and banal content and consequently, there is superficialisation of public discourse that results in the "degradation of news". As business logic begins to permeate the newsroom, McManus (1994:1) sees journalism as being crafted to serve the market.

Underwood and Stamm's survey (1992:307) shows that increased reader and market orientation of newspapers manifests itself in loss of depth in stories and displacement of informative news with "softer" reporting. They argue that the newspapers' core-business has shifted from informing the readers more than to pleasing them and the advertisers. The resulting competition for readers' attention has been influential in shaping content of community newspapers. Newspapers therefore tend to have an entertainment orientation which enjoys a wider appeal and draws more readers. The media also tend to shun from orientation information, which is more issue-oriented news because it is more likely to appeal to only a small segment of the public. As Schudson (1986:126) observes, "… craft skills and craft knowledge atrophy in the expanding commodity environment".

The traditional liberal pluralists argue that the content and the form of media is determined not by the actions and the options of the owners but by the choice of the consumers. "The ultimate arbiter of what media serve up is the consumer and the market guarantee consumers get what they want (Willams 2003:86). According to Negrine (1989:88), "without readers, no newspapers can survive; with sufficient readers and willing advertisers, the chances of survival are greater but the medium still has to prove itself. Unless it does so, it is likely to lose both readers and advertisers. It is this complex environment that decided the fortune of the media".

According to McManus (1994:189) the trend toward market-driven journalism has reduced both the volume of consequential news (as expressed in the role of the media discussed earlier in this chapter). Borgat's (1992:103) research found that large proportions of the newshole were reserved for photographs. This was

particularly the case on newspapers' front-pages where news stood the greatest chance of being read. On the remaining space, he found more entertainment-oriented features and less information-oriented news. His study concluded that newspapers found it cheaper not to engage in cost intensive work of uncovering potentially newsworthy issues or hire adequate staff to infiltrate the community. Howley (2005:24) concurs that market-driven journalism diverts the public's attention, energy and resources away from the society's fundamental needs like public education, health care, the environment, economic justice and gender equality that are essential to the health and well-being of any community.

Curran, *et al.,* (1980:306) illustrated the relationship between economics, market forces and media content. In their view, human interest stories had increasingly replaced public affairs and political coverage in the press. They were of the opinion that human interest stories were not news, in that they did not attempt to explain events in terms of social, political and economic forces. They concluded that for the newspapers to attract the maximum number of readers, they concentrated on these human interest stories, which were popular among the readers. According to McManus (1994:61) newspapers do not compete over the news market, but, for the public attention market, and to capture the attention of the customers, narratives of the current happenings must be made entertaining. There is therefore a need to explore the themes discussed in community newspapers in order to access the impact of commercialisation on media content.

According to Gillmor (2004:24) market-driven journalism delineates the limits and the extent to which the media can be open to dissident voices and encourage genuine debate. In the absence of solid, in-depth information, the community's chain of voices is broken and the readers become a mass of "shallow citizenry who can be turned into a dangerous mob more easily than an informed one". Bagdikian (2004:247) notes that market-driven journalism gathers an audience, "not to inform it, but to sell it to advertisers." This is to the detriment of the public in that they loose an opportunity to engage in constructive dialogue on this public platform.

McChesney (2000:15) observes that the flip side of hyper-commercialisation is the decline, if not the elimination of notion of public service in media culture. He argues that corruption and degradation of journalism renders the profession impotent as a democratic force". Nicholas *et al.,* (2006:80) argue that there is evidence supporting a positive relationship between citizen-focused journalism, and civic participation in elections; increased public deliberations and civic problem solving. Denton and Thorson's (cited in Platon 2003:349) survey found that respondents in Madison said that public journalism made them more knowledgeable about elections and encouraged them to vote as well as gave them useful tools to assess campaign information. However, in a market-driven journalism environment, public interest is subordinated to commercially-favourable content. In the absence of normative journalism, McManus (1994:191) sees society as suffering from more than just a shortage of useful information - "information poverty", but even worse, he sees the community as being misled. Junk journalism, he argues, distorts news as it omits newsworthy information and includes what is non-newsworthy.

However, it is not all doom and gloom in the media commercialisation debate. There are some optimistic voices and media critics like Doyle (2002:13) who see media commercialisation and concentration as a breath of fresh air in the news market. This is because it implies the availability of more resources for innovation and an increased range of output. Media proliferation has been seen as presenting a chance for previously media-deprived communities to receive news. McManus (1994:2) has also argued that market forces can be a mixed blessing which possesses the potential to re-invigorate journalism that was previously "too serious, sanctimonious and often plain boring".

In the light of these market dynamics, the research attempted to un-bundle the question of the impact of market forces on the content of the conglomerate-owned community newspapers in South Africa.

2.2 Community and Community newspapers[4]

According to Stavistsky (1994:20) the concept of community in communication discourse has tended to be a construct of spatial or social parameters or both. In the first case, community refers to a specific geographic territory. The social definition sees community in terms of shared interests, tastes and values and even in demographic and psychographic terms where groups identify themselves with particular social, economic, cultural, political or ideological interests. Globalisation and Information and Communications Technology (ICT), according to Hadland and Thorne (2003:11) have spawned new notions of "community", which have heralded the emergence of trans-national communities, interest groups and social movements. Abercrombie, *et al.,* (1994:75) introduce the concept of community as "one of the more elusive and vague terms in Sociology, and is now largely without specific meaning".

Community newspapers reflect the communities they serve, and this is essentially expressed in the community-flavoured content they carry. Community newspapers focus on events and issues that are likely to be consequential to those interested and present within a prescribed signal area (physical or virtual). Hollander (1975:22) sees community newspapers as facilitating the "diffusion of information about the activities in the community's backyards, which can create a sense of community and collective. This medium has the concept of community pulsating as its central life-force. It brings community together through dialogue and communication, because it gives both access to and dissemination of information". Community newspapers zone their news content and advertising within specific geographical perimeters or their area of interest. Claussen (2003:277) sees local newspapers as a medium that publishes news about the area in which they are published and in which they have a primary circulation base. The local issues in the community are the fodder of community newspapers.

[4] The Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act defines a newspaper as a periodical publication published at intervals not exceeding one month and consisting wholly or for the greater part political or other news; or of articles relating to other current topics, with or without either advertisements or illustrations. It excludes any publication not intended for public sale or public dissemination". (cited in Johnson 1991: 206)

Weaver, *et al.,* (2005:959) in their survey titled "The American Journalist in the 21st Century: Key Findings" found that 51% of the participants on the survey on journalistic practices associated with civic journalism said that offering solutions to community problems was extremely important and 49% said that providing a forum for community views was very important. Cholmondeley (2000:98) sees community media as enterprises that can help to preserve and renew the glue that keeps communities together to become reliable sources of solutions that are shared with their communities and improve the quality of community decisions. These factors are characteristic of alternative media, which Atton (1999:72) has described as interactive and concerned with everyday life and the ordinary needs of the people. Platon and Deuze (2003:338 - 41) have described alternative media as an accessible space where people could express their concerns, show their interests and discuss local and global issues. They advance notions of communitarian journalism, which involve the audience in the [manufacturing of] news. Zelizer (1993:223) observes that the alternative frame of community could arise through informal associations that build up around shared interpretations. This definition extends to professions like journalism, ideological and virtual communities like the Independent Media Centres, 'indymedia'. According to Platon (2003:338), the political background behind setting up indymedia news network was to give activists a space where they could express their concerns, show their interests and discuss their local and global issues. Indymedia newswire operates on the principle of open publishing which is a transparent system of creating news that is highly interactive and encourages people to "become the media" by posting their own articles to the site.[5]

Howley (2005:2) defines community media as grassroots or locally oriented media access initiatives that are predicated on a profound sense of dissatisfaction with the mainstream form and content. They are dedicated to the principles of free expression and participatory democracy and are committed to enhancing

[5] Alternative media has been described as a non-commercialised media that works on the basis of a pre-defined notion of communal well being (Bareiss, 2001; Atton, 1999; Harcup 2003; Tomaselli and Louw, 1991). This context however, is not the framework within which conglomerate-owned community newspapers operate. However, their zone of convergence is their potential to reach and be reached (accessibility) by their targeted readership with greater precision than a regional or national media.

community relations and promoting community solidarity. This suggests dissatisfaction with an insufficiently diverse and established press and an unwillingness or inability on the part of major publications to provide space for the opinions of small minorities. Atton (2002:371) sees the mainstream media as only marginally interested in the affairs of smaller communities, and having a tendency to privilege the powerful. Community media on the other hand, offers what he refers to as "a perspective 'from below' and says the 'unspoken'."

Van Zyl (2003:58) sees community media as reflecting the concerns of the community; highlighting news in the community; acting as a barometer for readers to measure how important issues (such as Budget speech, petrol increases) will affect them. Newspapers can be a springboard for discussion and debate. Hadland and Thorne (2003:2) link sustainable development, empowerment and a diverse independent media as an essential component to healthy democracy. They point out that in a democratic state, the challenge for the media is to effectively address community development (issues and tensions over the delivery of social services) and promote participatory development. They see the principle of participation as a central dimension to community media and a requisite for successful development.

As Jukubowiz (1988:11) points out, participation is the hallmark of a community newspaper. It is the platform upon which a community can be in direct communication and conversation with itself. He further states that every member should freely alternate between the roles of a sender and a receiver of messages "sendceivers". Communication, to Hadland and Thorne (2003:23) is a process of social interaction with predominance of dialogue over monologue. Berger sees the key elements of the community media as being participation and a progressive agenda.[6] He therefore rules out the notion of the "old hypodermic needle" where information flows only one-way - from the media (senders) to the readers (receivers). He argues that community newspapers facilitate the process of horizontal and vertical social interaction and networking among the community

[6] (http://journ.ru.ac.za/staff/guy/index.html) - Guy Berger in an article titled, "*What is Community Media*?

members and the media. As BBC's Mark Thompson puts it, "active audiences don't want to just sit there... they want to take part, debate, create, communicate and share".[7] Community participation initiates dialogue between the readers themselves and the press and this is important in terms of stimulating social debates and resolving social issues.

Community participation also constructs a portrait of its own community and culture". As Jay Rosen puts it, the spirit of participation moves people into doing things for themselves, into taking action of some kind, where before they were attentive but inert, or out of it completely and uninvolved.[8] He argues that this passion to participate must find its full expression in the pages of the community newspapers. Atton (2002:115) sees "native reporting" as being at the heart of local, alternative and community media. This element makes both the product and the process quite distinct from mainstream media. The Campaign Study Group survey (cited in Platon 2001:349) among 512 newspapers in the United States of America found that at least seven out of ten newspapers offered the readers one or more avenues for publishing their own ideas (besides the traditional letter to the editor). Platon and Deuze (2003:346) however, argue that there is still a stifling of voices in the corporate news media.

This research explored the extent to the community engaged with and participated in "conversations" within a commercialised media context. Community participation determines the extent to which the communities become what Rodriguez's (2001:x) has termed as "their own story-tellers and regained their own voice." She sees this as an aspect of citizen media which strengthens democratic forces and thus contributing to the "swelling democratic".

2.3 Trends in Conglomerate-owned Community Newspapers in South Africa

[7] Mark Thompson's speech to BBC staff on April 25 titled, BBC Creative Future: delivered on Tuesday April 25, 2006
[8] (http://journalism.nyu.edu/faculty/rosen.html)

According to the Association of Independent Publishers (AIP) 2006 survey of South Africa's community and grassroots print media, about 238 conglomerate-owned community publications were produced in 2005. Caxton and its subsidiary companies owned 160 titles, Media24 published 41; the Independent Group had 14 titles and Johncom 11. Gauteng has 117 titles, which represents the highest density of community newspapers in the country. Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC), in its quarterly figures from January to March 2006, showed that there has been a more than 30% increase in the circulation of community newspapers. In addition, in 2005, there were 28 new titles that were published (report cited in Grobler (2006:26); and Arenstein (2005:50)). The conglomerate-owned publications expansion plan is based on audience fragmentation in different geographical locations or zones of residence. Collins and Murroni (1996:75) and Whale 1980:81) believe that there is positive virtue in a newspaper belonging to a larger commercial group.

Since 2005, Caxton has experienced significant growth in the number of both magazines titles and newspapers it has been producing. In September 2005, the group launched 18 *Get It* community magazines (and these publications are still growing in number), with a total print run of 300,000. In April 2005, the group launched the *Urban News* series of community newspapers that exclusively targets the Soweto township readership. The pioneer in this series was *'Protea Urban News*', whose launch coincided with the opening of Protea's new shopping mall. The bulk of Caxton's community newspapers are distributed free-of-charge to their targeted readers. The frequency of the publication varies from semi-weekly, weekly, fortnightly or monthly.

According to the AIP report, the publishing conglomerates have been aggressively acquiring smaller and independent community newspapers. According to Roberts (2001:3) and Doyle (2002:58) media houses globally have been expanding and consolidating in order to maximize their efficiency and profitability. Croteau and Hoynes (1997:38) note that consolidation of newspaper ownership and vertical integration of the media, where one owner acquires all aspects of production and

distribution of a single type of media product, ensures high profits and does not promote competition. The economies of scale and scope enjoyed by the conglomerates act as barriers to entry for small scale and start-up firms who can ill-afford to compete profitably in a market that has no level playing field. Berger classifies community media into two: "those which make money in order to publish and those that publish in order to make money".[9]

According to the AIP report, the dominance of the conglomerate-owned community newspapers has been geographically-based. Caxton has control in Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal; Johncom are dominant in the Eastern Cape; Media24 and the Independent Newspapers have carved the Western Cape as their turf. Johncom for example, launched an aggressive buying spree snapping up ownership of 10 of Eastern Cape's oldest grassroots titles. The choice of what to read in community newspapers is increasingly being determined by the printing conglomerates. According to Louw, *et al.,* (1991:11) the economic clout that the conglomerates enjoy results in buy-outs and eventually the lack of diversity of voices. The result of competitor newspapers closing down, according to Williams (2003:81) would in the long run limit the diversity and quality of the press, and therefore limit the community's access to diverse perceptions. In effect, diversity in media ownership plays a key role in providing a wide range of voices, viewpoints and information to the community.

The search for audiences has opened up media spaces to communities who had previously no access to the same. This pursuit of markets has resulted in newspapers innovating new "products" to 'catch the attention of their readers. Media24, for example, launched the now defunct *Nova* in 2005.[10] Caxton for example is experimenting with a new concept of provincial titles targeting governments and parastatal advertising, according to the AIP report. As Hartley (1982:131) puts it, news provides a credible excuse for the conglomerates to

[9] Guy Berger, "*What is Community Media*?" a paper delivered at the MISA conference 6 – 11 October 1996. "*What is Community Media*?"

[10] Nova was a Media24 venture that targeted 25-39-year-old professionals, who are well educated, brand conscious and trendy. However, it closed within four and a half months of launching due to poor circulation and low sales figures.

publish; and for the readers to read newspapers and see the advertisements. He argues that competition for readers is influential in mapping the growth of community newspapers.

Hadland and Thorne (2003:64) and Opubor (2000:16) argue that the choice of media is a variable and should be determined by the community whose emphasis is based on the assessment of the needs of the community. Ideally, the community should have the onus to initiate the medium of communication that is rooted in the community to meet its needs. However, conglomerate-owned commercial community newspapers in South Africa are essentially creations of the publishing houses and not the community's own "home-grown" initiative. Existence of the conglomerate-owned community newspapers is pre-determined by exogenous interests and priorities before they are bestowed upon the community. However, Merrit (1995:125) dismisses the ability of artificial journalistic contexts that are created in and driven from places other than the community itself to take part in democratic deliberations. This raises questions about the ability or willingness of conglomerate-owned community newspaper to engage in public debate and be a democratic force ready to serve public and not commercial interest.

As Hadland and Thorne (2003:53) put it, a profit-oriented market driven model of community media has its limitations when it comes to promoting a truly equitable and diverse media landscape. AIP president, Arenstein sees lobbying for the creation of a voluntary industry ombudsman to deal with anti-trust or competition issues as a way to overcome the threat of nationwide conglomerate expansion that undermines the diversity, sustainability, and pluralism of independent publishers. He recommends the creation of a charter that would allow government intervention in the media industry, and an ombudsman to adjudicate on disputes and allow the industry to regulate itself. The general assembly resolved to mobilise members against perceived unfair competition by lobbying regulators

and other stakeholders; by creating new business tools and support networks; and by establishing syndicates of independent publishers.[11]

To address the need for diversity and access to media by all, the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) was set up by an Act of Parliament (Act 14 of 2002). This media venture is funded by both South African government and the major print and broadcasting companies. It aims at developing community and small commercial media in South Africa by enabling historically disadvantaged communities and historically diminished indigenous languages and cultural groups to gain access to the media through ownership, control of and access to communication.[12] However, in the wake of the buy-outs of small media and the media turf-wars among the conglomerates, the irony of the claim that the media conglomerates are funding and promoting independent media [competitors] is not lost on the media observer.

2.4 Advertising in South Africa's community newspapers

Community newspapers earned a whooping R605 million from advertising in 2004. This was a 51% increase from the 2003 earnings. According to an AC Nielsen report, community newspapers revenues have been growing steadily over the past few years. [13] According to (Croteau and Hoynes, 1997; and Wilson and Gutierrez 1995) community newspapers identify and target people with disposable incomes who can buy the products of the advertisers. Schudson (2000:178) observes that advertisers find value in newspapers that attract small concentrated target markets and community newspapers meet this need through a single niched-publication without making the advertisers pay the added expense of reaching thousands of "extraneous readers".

Based on the increasing advertising revenues generated by community newspapers, it would seem that advertisers are finding community newspapers to be a lucrative and effective means of communication. The fast-growing South

[11] http://www.independentpublisher.org/article.php?ssID=14&aID=63
[12] http://www.mdda.org.za/
[13] http://www.biz-community.com/Article.aspx?c=90&l=196&ai=5182.

African community newspapers have spread beyond the conventional affluent markets that the advertisers favour (McManus 1994; Bagdikian 2004). However, according to Hartley (1982:132) commercial newspapers need a few readers with a lot of money, or a lot of readers with little money. Advertisers can therefore make a choice between markets: one for the small "quality" affluent market, and the other wider "quantity" or mass market. Niche markets for the free circulation community newspapers are being carved out in response to the direction of consumers spending. Advertisers are now targeting the 'black' market and the emerging middle class and the readership growth is driven by lower Living Standard Measurements (LSMs). As Deon du Plessis puts it, "…one of the happy spin-offs of 1994 was that it marked the beginning of South Africa's great chance to re-invent itself…. There are many markets in the so called black market… What used to be the impenetrable, often sullen, often violent townships 10 years ago has become the most vibrant market in the country". [14]

Table 2.4.1: Above the line Ad-spend in the South African media

Category	1991	%	2002	%	2003	%
Daily newspapers	410.1	16.8	1,694.7	16.8	1,859.9	15.7
Weekend newspapers	155.0	6.4	795.2	7.9	968.3	8.2
Black/Coloured/Asian	1.8	2.1	Incl. in other categories			
Community newspapers	133.9	5.5	531.0	5.3	661.4	5.6
Consumer magazines	292.8	12.0	1,033.7	10.3	1,123.5	9.5
Trade, technical, financial	81.4	7.4	372.6	3.7	364.8	3.1
Total print	1,225	50.2	4,427.2	43.9	4,977.9	41.9
TV	857.6	35.1	3,591.2	35.6	4,401.9	37.1
Radio	262.4	10.8	1,415.9	14.0	1,716	14.5
Cinema	29.1	1.2	78.1	0.8	87.4	0.7
Outdoor	66.3	2.7	427.6	4.2	518.3	4.4
Knock & drop	-	-	92.4	0.9	117.1	1
Internet	-	-	45.7	0.5	49.4	0.4
Total	**2,440.3**	**100**	**10,078.1**	**100**	**11,867.9**	**100**

South African media Above-the-line Ad-spend (amounts are in millions and are rounded off).

Source: AC Nielsen's Ad Ex[15]

[14] http://www.journalism.co.za. Article in a speech delivered by Deon du Plessis (publisher of the '*Daily Sun' titled* "*Newspapers: it's the Niche, stupid*", at a journalists' forum. This article is dated 25 February, 2005.

[15] http://www.gcis.gov.za/docs/publications/pocketguide04/commun04.PDF

Another factor that has promoted the growth of community newspapers has been the improved literacy levels in South Africa. This has meant increased accessibility of the medium to a greater part of the population, which widens the market for newspapers. According to All Media and Products Survey (AMPS) the illiterate segment of the South African population has declined by 30% and newspaper readership has increased by over 40% for the same population over the last 10 years.[16], There has been a 76% increase in black readership, indicating a massive demand for newspapers among this group. Verified Free Distribution (VFD) statistics show that community newspapers have increased from 2.2 million to 4.3 million copies between 1995 and 2004.[17] On the whole, community newspapers are popular with these readers, as McManus (1994:133) puts it, people have a psychological need to know what is going on in their community and community newspapers give them a picture of the world that has some consonance with the world they see everyday.

2.5 Research Questions

In the light of this discussion, the research questions below were used to guide the research analysis:

1. What are the main themes and issues discussed in the conglomerate-owned community newspapers in South Africa?
2. Does content in the community newspapers conform to market-driven orientation?
3. Does the content carried in the community newspapers serve public interest?
4. Is there evidence of community participation in these community newspapers?

[16] http://www.saarf.co.za/
[17] Cited in www.biz-community .com/Article.aspx?c = 90&1=196&ai=7039

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methods

The researcher engaged in a triangulation method, which was a three-phase content analysis exercise of four Johannesburg-based publications from the Caxton Publishers stable. The first step was a quantitative content analysis, which was followed by a qualitative content analysis; and finally, an interpretation and integration of the data generated. Berelson (1952:18) defines content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic and qualitative description of the manifest content of communication. Krippendorff (2004:20) defines content analysis as a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use. This method entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matter.

According to Deacon *et al*., (1999:117) the quantitative content analysis methods are well suited to deal with the "massness" of mass media because quantification of data makes it possible to reduce very large sets of data into a manageable form. It characterizes the variation in data with summary statistics such as percentages, averages and ranges. Quantitative content analysis produces the big picture - delineating trends and patterns in community newspapers. According to Riffe *et al.,* (1998: 20) quantitative content analysis assigns numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of the relationships involving those values using statistical methods. Van Djik (1988:67) sees quantitative dimensions as being most relevant for the purposes of comparing newspaper content. The researcher therefore quantified the salient and manifest features of the 56 community newspapers, and the findings of this analysis were used to make broader inferences.

According to Creswell (2003: xxiv) quantitative methods involve identifying a sample and population, specifying the strategy of inquiry, collecting and analyzing data interpreting and writing the results of a study. Deacon, *et al.*, (1999:117) criticize quantitative content analysis because it skates over complex

and varied processes of meaning-making within texts. They argue that the method looks at the patent rather than the latent level of meaning that are not always evident. To overcome this limitation, the researcher employed qualitative content analysis to critically analyse and probe the newspaper content. This method formed the second and minor phase of the analysis was the qualitative content analysis. Altheide (1996:33) sees the major purpose of qualitative content analysis as being to capture the meaning, emphasis and the themes of the messages, and to understand the organisation and process of how they are presented. As Stempel III (2003: 209) observes, this method draws its conclusions from the observation of content by exploring the finer details and the composition of the newshole.

A Mixed Methods approach was applied to the research design in order to reach an in-depth understanding of the newspaper content. According to Creswell (2003:100) this integrated approach to document analysis converges (triangulates) both broad numeric trends from quantitative research methods and the details of the qualitative research. The research followed a two-phase sequential exploratory approach, where according to Creswell (2003: 213) the researcher first collects and analyses the quantitative data - the major phase of the research and this is then followed by qualitative data analysis - the minor phase of the research.[18] Bertrand and Hughes (2005:239) define triangulation as the use of two or more research approaches of data gathering or analysis and interpretation to the same question. As Van Dijk (1988: 66) asserts, the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is the only adequate approach to the study of mass media messages.

3.2 Sampling

Lacy, *et al.,* (1995:344) recommend that to study weekly newspaper content, the researcher should either randomly select 14 issues from a year, or pick 12 issues, one from each month. The researcher in this study selected 14 editions of each of

[18] The researcher found this method to be effective because the quantitative analysis delineates the key themes; and the qualitative analysis illuminates this content with greater clarity..

the four community newspapers that were published between January 2006 and July 2006, (see Appendix A).[19] The researcher used this sample to do a comparative analysis of the content within a particular publication and compare this with the findings across the four publications. The researcher systematically chose two newspapers editions per month over the seven-month period. The seven months formed the strata around which the newspapers were chosen. This method generated a stratified random sample, which Altheide (1996:20) has described as the random selection of cases within certain categories or strata.

In cases where two newspaper editions were not available within a specified month, the researcher selected an edition from another month. For example, since there was only one April edition of the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* available at the Caxton's archives, the researcher used three June 2006 editions of the newspaper to make up for the short-fall. However, in the case of *Alex News,* which started out as a monthly and later changed to a bi-monthly newspaper in 2006, the researcher analysed both December 2005 edition as well as an August edition of the newspaper, in order to make the 14 copies required for the analysis (see Appendix A).

The researcher selected two sets of community newspapers, whose main distinction was in the readerships they target. The first set of publications included *Rosebank-Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* which are aimed at readers residing in the more affluent Johannesburg suburbs, circulating 29,104 and 37,335 weekly copies respectively.[20] The second set of newspapers comprised of *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News* which target populations in the lower-end Living Standard Measurements (LSM) or township readership, and have a circulation of 32,243 and 32,243 respectively. The research involved an in-depth content analysis of 14 editions of each of the four newspapers. In total, the researcher analysed the content of 56 newspapers. Content analysis offered

[19] This sample size is a useful guide and is not cast in stone. The researcher found that using 14 editons of each publication was a sufficiently representative and reliable enough sample from which to draw conclusions.
[20] Circulation figures are ABC Certified. These were the Verified Free Distribution (VFD) publications average net distribution figures (April 2006 – June 2006)

insights into the differences and similarities within the two groups of publications as well as comparisons across the four publications.

The Caxton publishers were conveniently selected for the study because they readily granted the researcher access to the newspapers in their archives. Secondly, Caxton and its subsidiaries are the market leaders in the conglomerate-owned community newspapers business, owning nearly 70% of South Africa's community newspapers.[21] Therefore, studying the content of these newspapers gives an indication as to the direction the industry is taking.

3.3 Data Collection and Data Analysis

The newspapers' content was divided into three major clusters: a) "News Articles" included editorial essays, columns, letters to the editors, promotional material disguised as news (advertorials); b) "Photographs", which included pictures and illustrations; and c) "Advertisements". The researcher analysed 810 items from *Rosebank Killarney Gazette;* 1083 items in the *Fourways Review;* 468 items in the *Alex News* and 317 items in the *Diepkloof Urban News.* More articles were analysed in the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* because these publications were relatively bigger (more pages) and therefore had more content than *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News.*

In order to answer the research questions, the researcher operationalised McManus' (1994:199) typology (the elements are outlined on table 3.1.1) as a framework within which to categorise the various genres discussed in the community newspapers. The news articles were organised into what Rossman & Rallis (1998:171) refer to as chunks or categories. The researcher developed 17 "sub-categories" (see table 3.1.2). The purpose of operationalising McManus' (1994:219) model was to make it a suitable tool for analyzing community newspaper content. According to Altheide (1996:28) adaptation of a research tool ensures that the essence or the thrust of the content is adequately captured by the protocol data so that the conceptual data is adequately covered by the categories.

[21] AIP Report cited earlier (Arenstein 2005:50)

Each news article, photograph and advertisement was evaluated, itemized, measured and placed in the appropriate column in one of the pre-defined categories.

To measure and code the pictures and advertisements was quite straight forward compared to dealing with news articles, which required analysis and interpretation prior to coding. The researcher measured the length in millimeters (mm) and the breadth (mm) of the news articles, the photographs and the advertisements in the newspapers and keyed these figures onto the coding sheet. As McManus (1994: 218) stipulates, this exercise determines the area of an article. The researcher measured all the newspaper content and rounded up the units to the nearest 5 millimeter. These dimensions were then multiplied to get the square (mm) or area the items occupy.

The researcher then read the news articles and coded them after identifying, interpreting and classifying the content into one of the 17 sub-categories or frame that best matched the content of the news article. Lampert and Ervin-Tripp (1993:169) argue that the classification and labeling of events into discrete categories is a central part of most research in the social sciences. It allows investigators to identify and group similar instances of a phenomenon together for the systematic study and is essential to any quantitative analysis. The process of classification and labeling is referred to as "coding". They see the coding process as a three-step process that involves: information identification; selection of codes to identify the information; and finally, matching the codes with the research data.

Altheide (1996:31) refers to themes and frames as the boundaries or parameters for discussing a particular event by bracketing or marking off something as one thing rather than another. He notes that themes and frames provide much of the rationale for document analysis. Goffman (1974:55) refers to frames as schematics of interpretations that enable people to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences of information. In the event that the themes in a news article overlapped across several categories, the subjective deciding factor on placement

was informed by the issues within the story that the researcher felt were given greater weight or emphasis by the author.

Riffe, *et al*., (1998:22) are of the view that for news article coding to be effective, the process requires an understanding of the stories and applying those rules of classification consistently. The purpose of the coding exercise was to assist in data manipulation in Microsoft Excel, where the researcher applied software tools such as "sorting" and "filtering" as well as other mathematical functions like summation and percentages.

As indicated in Appendix B, the researcher itemised the news articles, photographs and advertisements there emerged 2680 items, each of which was numbered and coded under column 1 to 4 (labeled A). Each publication was assigned a three-digit identification code which occupied column 5 to 7 (labeled B) on the coding sheet. This was identified by column 1 and row 1 of Appendix A. (For example, the 3rd February 2006 edition of *Diepkloof Urban News* was assigned code 403). The newspaper pages were assigned a two-digit code, which occupied column 8 and 9.

The researcher then coded the newspaper articles into various types: items such as snippets, diary, notices and advertorials fell into a broad type called, "Other Items" (type 0); News Articles (type 1); Community voices (type 2); Editorial (type 3); Stand-alone pictures (type 4); Comic strips (type 5); Advertisements (type 6); Sports News (type 7); Vox-pop (type 8); and Police reports (type 9). These issues were listed in column 10 of the coding sheet. On column 11 of the coding sheet, the researcher indicated the authorship of the articles. The by-lines of journalists (code 1); articles by politicians (code 2); community residents (code 3); or there were cases where the authorship was not indicated (code 4); or the article could have been contributed by another news agency (code 5). The sixth group in this segment was a category which had no need for a by-line altogether, as in the case of advertisements, pictures, comic strips and snippets, (code 0).

Items under column C were broadly instrumental in the classification of the voices represented in the community newspapers.

The researcher then coded 17 sub-categories, ranging from 0 to 16, under which the various themes and issues contained in the news articles were coded. These themes are listed under the column labeled "sub-category' (see column C), and were assigned two-digit codes and under column 12 and 13. The newspaper articles were measured and the length was entered under columns 14 to 16 (labeled D) and the breadth under column 17 to 19 (labeled E). The dimensions of the photographs were entered under column 20 to 25 (labeled F and G) and those of advertisements under columns 26 to 31 (labeled H and I). This quantitative analysis resulted in a 31-column matrix which was manipulated in MS-Excel computer package. The results generated by this computer-assisted content analysis were presented in graphs and tables. The researcher used MS-Excel to generate data that was manipulated in MS-Excel to draw tables and generate charts for visual illustrations of the data to derive a wide cross-section of variables (see Appendix C to O).

The researcher then quantified the total area in (mm^2) to determine the space allocation of advertisements, pictures and news articles in the community newspapers by multiplying the lengths and widths of each of these items. The researcher then tallied up the total area covered by each of the categories to determine the newspapers' space allocation and main thrust. As Riffe, *et al*., (1998:x) conclude, a newspaper with high proportions of space given to local news indicates the importance of local coverage to the newspaper and possibly the readers. As Starosta (1984:185) puts it, content analysis' output indicates that the greater the frequency of occurrence of certain symbols, the greater the space they occupy and the greater their meaning and significance. He adds that content analysis translates frequency of occurrences of certain symbols into summary judgments and comparisons of content. The content that takes up the greatest amount of space is the one that is given the greatest meaning and significance.

In chapter four of this study, the results of the quantitative analysis were presented first. The researcher adapted McManus' (1994:222) formulation to determine whether or not a publication was operating within the market-driven journalism sphere or not. He says that when the percentage area covered by substantive news (news articles falling within categories seven to 15) exceeds 70%, then the publication is judged as one operating within the normative journalism realm. However, if news articles within categories 0 – 6 and 16 are dominant, this scenario suggests the dominance of market-driven journalism.

For the second part of the methodology, qualitative content analysis was carried out by the researcher which involved reading through the community newspapers to determine the inherent meaning of the themes in the texts. The researcher carried out an in-depth textual study to identify the community voices for what Downing (1995:241) refers to as "active audiences". This participation was expressed through letters, news articles and contributions of the 'regular folk' to the newspapers. The researcher engaged in a quality analysis of the news copy (both in terms of structure and content).

The final phase of the research involved integrating and interpreting the data generated by both the qualitative and quantitative data analysis. These findings were the basis upon which valid claims and conclusions were drawn on impact of commercialisation on the content of conglomerate-owned community newspapers.

3.4 Limitations of the study:

While analyzing the content of the newspapers, some of the stories overlapped into several categories. The categorisation of the stories required judgment, which, to a large extent was a reflection of the researcher's own biases and subjective interpretation of the material at hand. The researcher's attempt to make consistent and objective coding decisions was informed by the title or headline of the news article as well as the issues that were given the most prominence by the author.

Owing to the fact that the researcher was the only person coding the data, the exercise was labourious and time consuming and this limited the scope of the study to only four newspapers. However, the upside of that was that there was a uniformity of judgment in assigning the codes eliminating the issue of inter-coder reliability.

Secondly, the sample size (56 editions from four publications) was relatively small and was sourced from only one print-media conglomerate, Caxton. This sample may not have been comprehensively representative of the entire universe of South African community newspaper landscape. Furthermore, the study was also limited to only a few months from which we cannot draw trends or patterns regarding the content carried in conglomerate owned community newspapers over a longer duration. However, based on the researcher's preliminary analysis of other conglomerate-owned community newspapers, it is apparent that the content carried across the board falls within the same template as what is shown in chapter four in terms of themes, content, structure and form. Working with a larger sample over a longer duration would serve to reinforce the findings of this research.

Table 3.1.1: McManus' (1994:219) categories used to rate the "nutrition" of newspapers:

Category	Column inches
1. A specific crime or police investigation or court action (any single event is likely to impact on only a few persons; issues and trends have only a wider effect and go in categories 10 or 11).	-
2 .A specific accident, fire, disaster.	-
3. Heart-warming events or experiencing basic human emotions such as sexual desire, love, joy, anger, sorrow, hatred etc. Examples may include missing children or spouses, reunions, demonstrations, intrigues, romances, animal stories, etc.	-
4. What is primarily unusual, unexpected or ironic	-
5. What is primarily amusing or entertaining	-
6. The lives of the rich, famous or notorious	-
7. How schools (K-university) are or ought to be performing, or how they are supported or led, or about teaching or other issues relevant or educational quality	-
8. Business or economic conditions or trends. (News of specific firms goes in category 14, unless the firm is a major local employer or a bellweather company in some respect)	-
9. Health, Fitness, Scientific discovery	-
10. Important social trends such as civil rights, housing, crime, environment etc	-
11. State and local politics or government	-
12. How to do something practical such as plant a garden, search for a job, etc	-
13.Wise purchasing of goods and services	-
14. Other topics	-
Remarks:	

Table 3.1.2: Operationalised sub-categories used to rate "nutrition" of community newspapers:

Sub-categories:

1. A specific crime or police investigation or court action (any single event is likely to impact on only a few persons; issues and trends have only a wider effect and go in categories 10 or 12).
2 .A specific accident, fire, disaster
3.Heart-warming events or experiencing basic human emotions such as sexual desire, love, joy, anger, sorrow, hatred, opinion. Examples may include missing children or spouses, demonstrations, disputes, reunions, intrigues, celebrations, charity events, romances, animal stories, donations, general complaints).
4. What is primarily unusual, unexpected or ironic (clean-up exercises, campaigns...).
5. What is primarily amusing, competitions, arts & crafts, culture, community awards, opening malls or entertaining
6. The lives of the rich and famous or notorious, profiles of known personalities
7. How schools are or ought to be performing, or how they are supported or led, or about teaching or other issues relevant or educational quality
8. Business or economic conditions or trends. Including articles on how to do something practical such as plant a garden, search for a job).
9. Health, Sanitation, Drugs, Fitness Environment or Scientific discovery, Environment, Disaster prevention
10. Important social trends such as civil rights, future of youth and community forum, personal, social or community development, Consumer, Children's rights
11. Housing, evictions, land disputes, land rights, road constructions, Infrastructure development
12. Crime, security issues, crime prevention and corruption matters
13. State and local politics or government
14. Community meeting report, proceedings
15. Community problems (dry taps, electricity problems, rates, traffic congestion, noise, poverty).
16. Advertorials
00. None of the above categories

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Quantitative Content Analysis of Caxton's Community Newspapers

This section of the research discusses the findings of an in-depth content analysis of 14 editions of each of the following four publications: *Rosebank Killarney Gazette; Fourways Review; Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News.*

4.1.1 Analysis of newspaper content:

Table 4.1.1: Summary (%) of the newspaper content

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Newshole	33.6%	31.3%	63.8%	39.6%
Advertisement area	66.4%	68.7%	36.2%	60.4%
Totals Area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.1.1 outlines the allocation of newspaper space to news articles (including photographs) and advertising in the four community publications under review. *Alex News* reported the highest proportion of news articles and photographs, with 63.8% of the newspaper content falling within this category. *Diepkloof Urban News* had the second biggest newshole, which occupied 39.6% of its space. *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review*, representing the upper LSM neighbourhoods had 33.6% and 31.3% of their space devoted to the newshole respectively.

Conversely, there was more advertising in the up-market newspapers; *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* than in the publications serving the

township community. Advertising content in *Fourways Review* (68.7%) and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*, (66.4%) was relatively higher than *Diepkloof Urban News* (60.4%) and *Alex News*, (36.2%). Appendix 4.1.1A**,** quantitatively puts the advertising figures in perspective. *Fourways Review* devoted a total area of 29,793, 050 mm² to advertising while *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* had an area of 18,175,675 under the same. *Diepkloof Urban News* and *Alex News* dedicated 8,848,600 and 3,987, 475 mm² to advertising respectively. The area under advertising in *Fourways Review* was nearly seven times that under *Alex News* advertising lineage and over three times the advertising space in *Diepkloof Urban News*. Between the inserts and above-the-line advertising in 2005, *Fourways Review* commanded R 25,568,949; *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* R 19,219,706 and *Diepkloof Urban News* R 1,354,265.[22] The up-market newspapers are clearly more profitable than the township-bound publications. The findings are in line with Schudson's (1986:28) view that advertising tends to follow affluence. The newspapers in the suburbs tend to attract more advertising than the township ones.

A possible explanation why *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*, *Fourways Review* and *Diepkloof Urban News* had nearly twice as much space taken up by advertising compared to *Alex News* may be attributed to the latter being a relatively newer publication. *Alex News* is in its second year of publication as a bi-monthly newspaper, which makes it relatively 'newer' than *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* for example, which is in its 35th year of publication. *Fourways Review* and *Diepkloof Urban News* are going into their sixth and fifth years of publication

[22] Information on advertising revenues was sourced from (AIS/ADEX) Nielsen Media Research Report. By the time of writing this report, the data on *Alex News* advertising revenues had not yet been published.

respectively. It would appear that the better-established and older publications attract higher percentages of advertising irrespective of the affluence levels of the communities they serve. *Fourways Review* had the highest proportion of advertising and this may be attributed to its circulation base which falls within a region that has been experiencing a huge property boom over the last couple of years.[23] The accompanying population influx into the area may contribute to its appeal to advertisers, who are in constant search for new markets for their commodities. The creation of a wide area (market) for newspaper circulation would appeal to a publication operating within a market-driven journalism because as Bagdikian (2004:247) notes, it gathers an audience, "not to inform it, but to sell it to advertisers." However, as shown in table 4.1.5 and the qualitative analysis, there is evidence that some of these publications ferry entertainment content that may have educational value, edutainment, and this kind of information may be useful or relevant to some of the readers. The entertainment genre is especially popular with the tabloids.[24]

This emphasis on advertising creates a shrunken newshole, which resonates with McManus' (1995:xx) theory that commercialised media will optimise or exploit opportunities to generate revenues from advertising, even at the expense of editorial content. According to Ewen (1977:214) this focus on advertising by the newspapers helps to create a consumer market place and promote commodities

[23] http://www.sahomebuyers.co.za/johannesburg-property.php

[24] http://www.naspers.co.za/Financials/annual2006/review_ops_02.htm According to Naspers annual report 2006, The *Daily Sun* is a South African tabloid that earned its position as the country's largest local daily newspaper. Its circulation has grown to more than 440 000 per day and its readership has increased to 3,2 million, making this publication the widest-read print media product in Africa with audited figures.

and it continually relegates readers to consumption. Because advertisers' money follows the direction in which consumer money is flowing. The recent growth of community newspapers in the South African townships may be indicative of the general rise in the disposable consumer income and access to credit among the previously disadvantaged populations[25]. An in-depth analysis of the advertising content in these community newspapers is discussed in Section 4.1.1.

4.1.2 Analysis of the newshole:

Table 4.1.2: Content Analysis (%) of the Newshole

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Photographs	54.9%	53.1%	47.8%	47.1%
News Articles	45.1%	46.9%	52.2%	52.9%
Newshole size	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.1.2 outlines the space allocated to photographs and news articles across the four publications. *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* have 54.9% and 53.1% of their newsholes respectively allocated to photographs, while the space assigned to news articles (stories) in these publications was 45.1% and 46.9% respectively. *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News*, on the other hand, had more space devoted to news stories than photographs in their newsholes. At least 52.2% of *Alex News*' content was news articles, while 52.9% of *Diepkloof Urban News* was made up of the same. In these township-bound newspapers,

[25] The definition of previously disadvantaged communities and individuals refers to "Blacks", who were subjected most to exclusion and rendered them unable to access resources in the South Africa's apartheid past. Before 1994, apartheid advocated segregation of races in favour of the "White" race. This social system created social imbalances among the different races. (http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001530/index.php)

photographs were assigned 47.8% and 47.1% of the newspaper area respectively.

Rosebank Killarney Gazette and *Fourways Review* were more photograph-heavy compared to *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News*. The township newspapers have not only a relatively bigger newshole (as shown on table 4.1.1), but also a higher proportion of news articles compared to the suburban publications. As Underwood (1995:43) points out, reader-friendly journalism focuses on the design and aesthetics (as opposed to content) of the publication. "… [N]ewspaper content is shaped, moulded and packaged to increase its commercial value to readers. It is important for newspapers to be bright, vivid and interesting…"

4.1.3 An analysis of pictorial elements in the community newspapers:

Table 4.1.3: Page-one content

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
News Articles	20.8%	25.4%	18.6%	27.8%
Photographs	43.0%	39.2%	43.6%	41.1%
Advertisements	36.2%	35.3%	37.8%	31.2%
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The emphasis on photographs is best illustrated in page-one content and stand-alone pictures of the four publications. As illustrated on Table 4.1.3, the community newspapers had an average of about 40% of their page-one content under photographs. While *Alex News* had the highest proportion 43.6% of photographs, *Fourways Review* devoted the least page-one space (39.2%), to photographs. This focus on publishing captivating visuals is intended to grab the

reader's attention and draw them to the newspaper. In line with this thinking, page-one content was packed with photograph-oriented coverage. According to critics of market-driven journalism, like Borgat (1992:103) some of the design devices newspapers used to draw readers into the news pages are splashy designs and picture-laden content. This scenario is in stark contrast to McManus (1994:219) view and recommendation that the front-page should be "the newsiest" page in the newspaper.

Fourways Review's and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette's* page-one photographs mainly depicted people at events held in their respective communities. They carried stand-alone pictures of well-known personalities and celebrities like Nelson Mandela, Graca Machel and Bill Clinton, Lance Armstrong; and local celebrity families. *Alex News*' and *Diepkloof Urban News'* page-one photographs mainly depicted the local residents (mostly children, local leaders and resident artists) taking part in different events hosted in the area. Whereas *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review's* front-page photographs had a more 'universal' appeal, *Diepkloof Urban News* and *Alex News* had a more 'local is lekker' appeal. Most of the page-one and stand-alone photographs in the four publications revolved around community events. This resonates with the views of (Hollander 1975:22) and (Claussen 2003:277) that community newspapers reflect the communities they serve.

4.1.4: Analysis of newspaper content

4.1.4.1 Analysis of stand-alone pictures, comic strip:

Alex News had the highest proportion of stand alone photographs, (7.9%), across the four publications. These photographs had a 'local flavour' as they mainly depicted Alexandra youth, school children and sporting activities in the area.

Table 4.1.4: Distribution (%) of newspaper content

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Snippets, Diary, Happenings, Notices	1.5%	2.3%	1.5%	0.4%
News Articles by Journalists (incl. sport)	18.8%	16.3%	42.2%	24.6%
News Articles from unspecified sources (incl. sport)	4.6%	4.5%	6.7%	5.2%
News Articles from Internet & news agencies (incl. sport)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%
Letters from Community	1.9%	1.6%	1.5%	0.1%
Caxton notices and Editorial	1.3%	1.2%	1.8%	0.1%
Stand-alone photographs	4.1%	4.8%	7.9%	1.7%
Comic strip	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%
Ads	66.4%	68.7%	36.2%	60.4%
Vox pop	0.4%	0.2%	1.3%	0.2%
Police Matters	1.0%	0.4%	1.1%	0.0%
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In line with accentuating entertainment content in the newspaper, some editions of *Alex News* carried full-length page 3 stand-alone photographs of scantily-dressed teenage girls from Alexandra Township. *Diepkloof Urban News* carried the least proportion of stand-alone pictures, (1.7%) and these pictures had a 'national' appeal to them, as they depicted personalities and celebrities like Miss South

Africa and South African athletes, including a double spread photograph of Bafana Bafana. About 4% of this publication's space was taken up by a comic strip that featured "Grannee", an elderly lady who gives advice on various topical issues from corruption to moral values. About 4.1% and 4.8% of *Rosebank Killarney Gazette's* and *Fourways Review* content was reserved for the stand-alone pictures. Some of these photographs were sourced from the readers who sent in pictures of young children, animals and sceneries for publication.

4.1.4.2 Analysis of vox-pop[26]:

All the community newspapers included vox-pop in their content. *Alex News* devoted the biggest percentage of space (1.3%) to this section compared to the other publications. *Alex News* interviewed residents on the future of Alex's youth, the effects of peer pressure on the youth and on housing and eviction issues. *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* dedicated 0.4%, of its space to vox-pop where issues of fuel hikes, Gautrain construction and voting were discussed. *Fourways Review* and *Diepkloof Urban News* used 0.2% of their space to interview their respective community. The latter discussed New Year's resolutions, while the former dealt with issue of bullying in schools. The pictorial elements in the community newspapers add to the entertainment value of the news as well as to the "softness" of the newspaper content. Vox-pop is one way the newspapers engage their readers' participation in the community newspaper. However, Traber (1985:2) argues that the conventions of mass media marginalise the role of the "simple man

[26] Vox-pop is Latin for 'Voice of the people' and refers to man or woman-in-the-street. Hartley (1982:90) argues that vox-pop authenticates the coverage given to particular events by showing the concerns of ordinary people. Vox-pop gives flavour and reactions to issues raised in the news and serves as a potential point of identification for readers who are presumed to share the "widely held opinions".

and woman" fore-grounding instead, the rich, the powerful and the glamorous. The former are regarded as observers or marginal commentators of events, and this is seen in such news items as 'vox pop' interviews, which are not regarded as a serious way of engaging the public.

4.1.4.3 Analysis of sources of news articles:

The bulk of the news articles in the four newspapers were sourced from the Caxton journalists. *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News* had the lion's share of news articles from journalists, which was 42.2% and 24.6% respectively. These township-bound newspapers also carried a larger quota of news articles from unspecified sources (news articles without by-lines) which was 6.7% and 5.2% respectively. On the other hand, Caxton journalists contributed 18.8% and 16.3% of the content in *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* respectively. News articles from unspecified sources amounted to 4.6% and 4.5% of their respective content. Community newspapers aimed at the high-end LSM communities have relatively less proportion of news content than the township publications. Having the aforementioned proportions of news articles being sought from unidentified sources or penned anonymously may bring up the issue of credibility and ownership of the information in the community newspapers into question. An in-depth thematic study of the specific thematic content penned by journalists and unspecified sources is the subject of the discussion in Section 4.1.5 and 4.1.6 of this chapter.

Rosebank Killarney Gazette and *Fourways Review* had a higher percentage of

contributions by the readers, which was 1.9% and 1.6% of the newspaper content respectively. *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News* carried 1.5% and 0.1% of its content sourced from readers respectively. The publications show a relatively low level of community participation and the readers do not appear to actively engage each other or deliberate on matters affecting their community using this platform. The township readership appears to be more disengaged in terms of contributing to the newspaper than the suburb dwellers. (Community participation is discussed in greater detail in section 4.1.7). Information sourced from the internet formed 3.4% of *Diepkloof Urban News'* space. The other three publications did not utilise (or acknowledge) the use of internet in their copies. The nitty-gritty of this subject is discussed in Section 4.1.8 of this chapter.

4.1.4.4 Analysis of news articles related to police matters:

Alex News had the highest proportion of stories belonging to the category, 'Police Matters'. About 1.1% of the newspaper space was dedicated to these reports and updates from the local police stations on the crime situation, criminal activities and incidents in the area. *Alex News* reports are framed in a manner that suggests that there was on-going police presence and surveillance in the area. *Diepkloof Urban News* however, was silent on crime and police reports. According to table 4.1.4, police reports took up 1% of *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*'s newspaper space, while *Fourways Review* reserved 0.4% of its space to outline police and security activities in the area.

4.1.5 Analysis of themes/news categories discussed by journalists:

Table 4.1.5 gives details of the specific themes discussed by the community newspapers' journalists. On average, the most popular category across the board was the heart warming stories, of which *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* carried 23.3% apiece. *Diepkloof Urban News* and *Alex News* had 16.8% and 15.3% of these stories respectively. Journalists' second most popular category was entertainment. *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* had 21.5% and 15.5% of these stories respectively while *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News* carried 16.4% and 12% respectively. The third most popular category was sport news, with *Diepkloof Urban News* having the highest proportion, 28% followed by *Alex News,* which carried 22%. *Fourways Review* carried 13.4% sporting news and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* about 10%. As Hartland (1982:131) puts it, competition for readers' attention has been influential in shaping the content ferried in newspapers. The newshole tends to have an entertainment orientation as this content enjoys a wider appeal and draws more readers than orientation information.

The data on themes or the categories featured in each of the publications is pertinent because it gives an indication as to what the publications consider newsworthy and this section deserves further scrutiny. This section analyses the specific themes emerging from the various news articles, and makes reference to those categories that occupy the largest areas in each publication. Journalists' contribution in *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* included heart-warming stories that dealt with fund-raising events, lost pets being re-united with their owners, and at least 13 news articles in the 14 editions narrated events happening around the

Zoo-lake.

Table 4.1.5: Distribution (%) of themes or news categories discussed by journalists

Articles from journalists	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Specific crime or police investigation	1.8%	3.7%	1.1%	0.0%
Specific accident, fire or disaster	0.4%	2.5%	3.7%	0.2%
Heart warming events	23.3%	23.3%	15.3%	16.8%
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	3.5%	5.1%	2.9%	0.2%
Primarily Entertainment news	21.5%	15.5%	11.9%	16.4%
Lives of the rich and famous	0.4%	3.5%	3.9%	4.2%
School events and Education quality	0.5%	3.4%	8.0%	6.3%
Business or Economic conditions	4.1%	5.2%	6.3%	8.3%
Health and Environment	2.9%	4.2%	5.7%	10.7%
Social trends, Human Rights	1.5%	0.9%	3.3%	3.1%
Housing, Evictions	7.6%	4.3%	7.7%	1.3%
Crime Security	2.7%	3.7%	2.6%	0.3%
Politics and Government issues	5.1%	5.6%	4.1%	0.9%
Community meetings, reports	2.9%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Community problems	11.5%	5.2%	1.4%	1.0%
Advertorials	0.5%	0.1%	0.0%	1.8%
Sports by journalists	9.8%	13.4%	22.0%	28.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The "primarily amusing and entertaining" theme mainly discussed arts and crafts, culture, and community awards and opening of malls. News articles discussing community problems made 11.5% of the news articles by *Rosebank Killarney Gazette's* journalists mainly dealt with dumping of litter in the area. Another hot issue was the construction of the Gautrain route which seemed to be a bone of contention in the community. The issue of pot-holes on the roads and frequent power outages that the residents were experiencing featured in the journalists' stories.

The dominating genre (23.3%) of *Fourways Review's* news stories penned by journalists was the heart warming category. The articles mainly dealt with charitable activities, like the articles titled: "Running to raise funds"; "Harley owners have hearts"; and "Learners roar to life" as well as stories that dealt with school feeding programmes. Entertainment stories occupied (15.5%) of journalists' stories and they dealt with art, artists and award ceremonies. Sporting stories ranked third at 13.4%, with more than half the stories reporting sporting activities in schools in the Fourways area.

Sports news occupied 28% of the space allocated to news articles by *Alex News* journalists. Sports news mainly featured locally hosted competitions and tournaments or games at which Alex residents participated. Heart-warming stories occupied 15.3% of the area. The stories were mainly about donations to senior citizens and orphans, Hare Krishna's assistance in the community and men taking a stand against violence. Entertaining news category was ranked third at 11.9%, featuring residents engaging in fun-filled activities. School events and the quality of education category occupied 8% of the news articles by journalists. The stories discussed various schools or science projects, and the stories reiterated the benefits of youth pursuing education. Stories on Housing problems and evictions were the fifth most popular category taking up 7.7% of the area. The articles included stories on residents' defying eviction notices; homelessness; and plans to re-vamp Alex, under the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) as well as housing and land ownership issues.

About 73.9% of *Diepkloof Urban News*' newshole was the handiwork of the Caxton journalists. Sporting stories dominated this category (38.9%) of the news articles' space. Each week, the newspapers carried photographs and profiles of teenage athletes in Diepkloof. Heart-warming events covered 23.3% of the news articles, where the journalists discussed issues like child-support grants, or donations being received by organisations in need. Entertainment stories ranked third at 22.7%, discussing theatre, Miss South Africa finalists' tour, and the opening of shops and a mall in the area. Issues of Health, Sanitation and the environment category covered 14.9%, and their main focus was on sanitation and HIV awareness issues. Every second story in this section was linked to the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital. Business and economics category discussed residents' efforts to break out of the poverty cycle and dire economic conditions, and this category occupied 11.5% of the area under journalists' stories. There are stories on how the NGO sector is working with the Government to assist the residents economically.

Journalists in the four publications placed greater emphasis on news articles dealing with heart-warming; entertainment and sports news. The high-end LSM publications also paid more attention to community problems, specific crimes and police investigations. Newspapers targeting the lower-end LSMs had relatively more content that emphasized on environment and health-related issues. Eliasoph (1988:313-4) has argued that news routines operate in such a way that as long as news is made in a news organisation, it will be under the sway of unspoken conventions. Some of the factors that determine news content include economic

and organisational constraints on the commercial news content; corporate ownership; advertisers' interests; journalists' class positions and social myopia which blur the vision of issues; as well as the journalists' career interests, which may compel them to comply with their superior's interests, thereby preventing them from being too outspoken or going out on a limb.[27]

4.1.6 Analysis of news articles from unspecified sources

Table 4.1.6: Distribution (%) of the news articles from unspecified sources

Articles from unspecified sources	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Specific crime or police investigation	4.3%	3.3%	2.0%	0.0%
Specific accident, fire or disaster	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%
Heart warming events	14.7%	22.0%	22.5%	25.9%
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	0.6%	0.4%	2.7%	0.0%
Primarily Entertainment news	7.3%	16.4%	1.4%	1.1%
Lives of the rich and famous	2.5%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%
School events and Education quality	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%
School events and Education quality	1.3%	0.5%	2.9%	2.0%
Health and Environment	0.0%	5.9%	8.2%	3.3%
Business or Economic conditions	4.9%	3.3%	4.4%	3.2%
Social trends, Human Rights	4.1%	0.9%	1.4%	0.0%
Crime Security	1.9%	1.4%	5.8%	0.9%
Politics and Government issues	21.9%	11.8%	25.5%	0.0%
Community meetings, reports	0.3%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%
Community problems	5.9%	0.9%	3.8%	0.0%
Advertorials	14.4%	4.2%	6.2%	61.5%
Sport snippets	0.0%	10.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Sports from unspecified authors	15.9%	17.8%	6.8%	2.1%

[27] Research into the area of how news routines and gate-keeping operateions would shed light on the factors that determine the content that makes it to the news pages. However, that study is beyond the scope of this research.

Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.1.6 outlines the proportions of themes discussed in the news articles without by-lines (unspecified sources). Some of the most popular categories under discussion across the four publications were the heart-warming stories of which *Diepkloof Urban News* and *Alex News* had 25.9% and 22.5% respectively. *Fourways Review* and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* carried 22% and 14.7% of these stories. Political issues featured prominently in the *Alex News*, *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* newspapers covering 25.5%; 21.9% and 11.8% respectively of the news load from the unspecified sources. The articles introduce the readers to the local residents. These articles are titled 'Meet your candidates' are shared between *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*, *Fourways Review* and *Alex News* (this issue is discussed in the Politics and Government section 4.1.10). *Diepkloof Urban News* did not carry any of the politics-related stories. *Fourways Review* and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* had a higher proportion of Sporting news, 17.8% and 15.9% respectively while *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News* quota of sport news was 6.8% and 2.1% from unspecified sources respectively.

About 21.9% of the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* stories without by-lines discussed political issues and this section of the newspaper introduces the readers to the candidates vying for the electoral seats. These stories were followed by sporting news which occupied 15.9% of this space. Heart warming events dealing mostly with fund-raising drives by charitable organisations occupied 14.2% of the area. Promotional materials or advertorials, which were for the most part, notices

by clubs, schools and organisations of their meetings took up 14.4% of the area. Entertainment news took up 7.3% of the allocated area.

About 27.4% of these articles with unidentified authors in *Fourways Review* news articles discussed heart-warming events. The issues ranged from the opening of a shelter for destitute children; midwifery in Sunninghill to gay marriages and the road menace that is goats on the highways. Sporting news took up 22.2% of the area, and the stories were mainly promotional news which informed readers about the timings and location of sporting events in the area. Schools in the community posted many of their sporting activities and scheduled events in the newspaper. Entertainment news occupied 22.2% of this news area and the articles discussed youth talent shows; art and artists; and various competitions. Health, Sanitation and Drug-related category occupied the fourth largest area (7.3%) in *Fourways Review* with about half the news articles without by-lines discussing health and drug abuse. Some of the stories included: “Embracing intellectual disability”, “Dangers of counterfeit medicine”, as well as an analysis of a report on the drug-abuse statistics. Reports on Politics and Government took the fifth position, occupying 7.2% of the area.

Heart warming category took up 22.5% of the news articles from unspecified sources in *Alex News*. The stories included animal stories, missing 'granny' and advice columns. Health, Sanitation and Drugs-related stories took up 8.2% of the space, and discussed Gauteng's statistics on drug-abuse and disease prevention. Sports news and promotional material (advertorials) occupied 6.8% and 6.2% of

the area respectively.

In the *Diepkloof Urban News*, 61.5% of the content from unspecified sources was primarily promotional or advertorial content. Heart warming events occupied 26.5% of the space with half the stories featuring charitable organisations making donations in the community. Health-related stories discussed preventable child-mortality; and reports on Social trends and consumer rights tied in the third position occupying 3.3% of the area. Sports news covered 2.2% of this publication's news articles without by-lines.

Heider, *et al.,* (2005:961) carried out research on the public's expectation of local news and found that readers expected the media to play the role of "good neighbour", which included attributes of public journalism, caring about the community; highlighting interesting people and groups in the community; understanding local community and offering solutions to local problems. The role of local media being a watch dog came in at a distant second. Media requirements and expectations by the United States' media consumers are similar to the content published in South African conglomerate-owned community newspapers, where both the journalists and the unspecified authors in the four publications mainly discussed heart-warming events, entertainment news and sport news. Newspapers, it would appear, are tailoring their content to suit their perceived readers' (read market's) expectations.

4.1.7: Analysis of community participation in the community newspapers:

According to Schultz (2000:205) newspapers facilitate the flow of information

between news-producers and news-users and it is done mainly through letters to the editor. These letters are the third source of news stories in the four community newspapers. Table 4.1.7 points out that the bulk of the news articles in this category belonged to the heart-warming category. About 44.1% of *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and 42.3% of *Fourways Review* community letters discussing this genre. *Alex News* devoted about 15.6% of its area to these heart-warmers

Table 4.1.7: Distribution (%) of the news articles from community newspaper readers

	Rosebank K Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof News*
Crime or police investigation story	0.6%	4.1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Heart warming events	44.1%	42.3%	15.6%	0.0%
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	1.5%	0.0%	5.2%	0.0%
Primarily Entertainment news	1.8%	2.1%	28.1%	0.0%
Lives of the rich and famous	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
School events and *Education* quality	0.0%	2.3%	6.5%	0.0%
Business or Economic conditions	0.0%	4.1%	4.1%	0.0%
Health & Sanitation - Resident	9.8%	7.7%	10.5%	0.0%
Housing, Evictions	10.7%	6.7%	5.3%	0.0%
Crime and Security	4.1%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Political and Governance issues	3.4%	8.4%	24.2%	100.0%
Community problems	21.4%	17.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Advertorials	2.8%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%

while *Diepkloof Urban News* did not publish any of these stories. To promote community participation in the weeklies, the editors of *Fourways Review* and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* regularly invited their readers to send in their "most stunning, unusual and amazing photographs" to be published in the 'Pic of the

Week' section of the newspaper.

Rosebank Killarney Gazette's heart-warming news stories range from a letter in praise of security guards, to complaints about 'insulting' billboards and yet another commending the spirit of 'Ubuntu'. This category of stories was followed by discussions on Community problems, which occupied 21.4% of the area under letters. Here, one in every four stories touched on taxis or taxi drivers. There were readers' letters reminiscing about the clean and efficient 'Johannesburg-of-old'.

The focus on heart-warming and entertainment stories has serious implications because the newspapers seem to be taking their cue from the readers, who seem to have a taste for heart-warming events. The media, it would appear, respond by "giving the readers what they want". As van Dijk (1988:99) puts it, newspaper readers, "read the popular rather than the quality newspapers." This response to the readers' demands drives market-driven journalism. According to McManus (1995:169) the media fall short of the journalistic standards because "they do not want to preach to an empty church... [T]he public won't sit still for serious news". For this reason, the newspapers give the readers "soft news" and entertainment news. This means that the community newspapers do not perform their prescribed or normative functions (discussed in detail in the literature review).

Matters of Housing, infrastructure and constructions were the third most frequent stories, occupying 10.7% of the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* area. Here, 3 out of 4 stories were about the Gautrain construction through the Rosebank neighbourhood. The fourth most prevalent issue in this category in *Rosebank*

Killarney Gazette was the health and environment, which occupied 9.8% of the space. Here readers commented about the environment with reference to the generally clean state of the Killarney area, while another reader complained about the environmental pollution caused by the dumping of paper waste in the area. Taking up 4 % of the area, were comments on crime, corruption and security. The research noted that most of the letters from both the politicians and the residents touched on corruption.

The researcher found that one in every four letters in *Alex News*' originated from one source, David Mabitsi. He wrote on various subjects ranging from praising Alexandra; to discussing why Bafana Bafana was not scoring goals; and yet another letter discussing education and safe sex. Ideally, there should be a large cross-section of readers presenting a myriad of views and opinions on a range of issues that affect the community or the publication's readers. However, a U.S survey on public expectation of local news by Heider, *et al*., (2005:961) concluded that providing a wide range of news and being inclusive of different points of view did not load high in the public's perception. They noted that there was a general sense of detachment and lack of engagement by readers with regard to the quality of news. This is illustrated in *Diepkloof Urban News'* which had only one story written by a local politician who had written to complain about the partisan affiliation the national broadcasting corporation, SABC, had taken owing to its alliance with the African National Congress.

There was an apparent lower level of community participation and a lack of diversity of voices and opinions in both *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News* compared to the newspapers targeting the more affluent readers. Kwame Karikari views community media as creating conditions for marginalized communities to have their own voices and enhance the opportunity for wider enjoyment of freedom of expression.[28] Based on the findings of this research, these ideals have not found a place to roost in the conglomerate-owned community newspapers. This scenario raises questions as to whether the low level of "native reporting" in the community newspapers was the result of editorial censorship and gate-keeping policies that ensure that critical or substantial debates from the public or the readers are silenced or if it is a question of general detachment (self-silencing) by the target audience. Because every citizen needs to engage in active deliberations in social, political and economic matters affecting their community, this engagement was glaringly absent in these newspapers. The readers have not become what Rodriguez's (2001:x) has termed as "their own story tellers". Hadland and Thorne (2003:16) see the principle of participation as a central dimension to community media and a requisite for successful development.

About 4.1% and 0.6% of the correspondence from readers in *Fourways Review* and the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* discussed crime and security matters respectively. The readers of these publications also wrote on the problems experienced by the community members, and this content took up 1.4% and 17.1% of their area respectively. *Alex News* and *Diepkloof Urban News* were

[28] http://www.unesco.org/webworldpublications/community_media/pdf/chapter2.pdf

mute on these matters. However, it seems unlikely that the folks in the townships are not experiencing any crime, insecurity or other community problems. In fact, the township readers would appear disinterested in reporting the same in the newspapers because there was evidence in Section 4.1.4.4 of this chapter that suggests that there are criminal activities in the township.

4.1.8 Analysis of news articles from News Agencies and the internet

Table 4.1.8: Content from internet sources in *Diepkloof Urban News*

Themes	Percentage
Heart Warming story - by Resident	7.2%
Primarily Entertainment news	4.8%
School events and Education quality	5.8%
Business or Economic conditions	5.7%
Health & Sanitation - Resident	3.6%
Business or Economic conditions	3.7%
Crime Security	4.5%
Advertorials	23.9%
Sport news	40.7%
Totals	100.0%

Diepkloof Urban News sourced news articles from various news agencies and the internet. These sources included: BuaNews[29] and www.joburg.co.za. [30] Data on table 4.1.8 shows that about 40.7% of content from these sources was primarily in the sports section. Advertorials or promotional information formed the second largest chunk, 23.9% of this content. The third largest category fell in the heart-

[29] http://www.buanews.gov.za – Government Communications (GCIS) established this South African news service to provides quick and easy access to articles and stories aimed at keeping the public informed about the implementation of government's mandate. BuaNews is a public service initiative that enables community radio stations, newspapers and other media to have easy and fast access to fresh government information, news and current affairs.

[30] This website that carries information: entertainment, out-doors, accommodation, health and beauty events happening in Johannesburg.

warming section, which took up 7.2% of the space. It would appear that the out-sourced content was inclined or heavily slanted towards market-driven journalism.

Diepkloof Urban News was the only publication that cited internet sources in their copies. According to Underwood (1995:79) a newspaper operating within the corporate-journalism frame of reference would find it cheaper to be the "re-packager" of information rather than the producer of original enterprise journalism. Reliance on service providers and "shovelling" content from government on-line resources, for example, is the kind of desk-bound journalism that does not promote originality of content and is unlikely to produce public journalism that can challenge the status-quo.

4.1.9: Analysis of community problems

Table 4.1.9: Summary (%) of the discussions on Community problems

Community problems	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Community problems - Journalists	75.5%	40.8%	70.8%	100.0%
Community problems – Unspecified sources	10.3%	46.5%	29.2%	0.0%
Community problems - Politicians	2.2%	12.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Community problems - Readers	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Content related to community problems in *Diepkloof Urban News* came from the journalists as did over 70% of the articles in both *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Alex News*. In *Fourways Review*, both the journalists and non-specified sources contributed about 40% apiece. Although the regular readers did not contribute any of these stories in the *Fourways Review*, politicians had their say and

contributed 12.7% of the discussions on community problems. On the other hand, 12% of these issues in the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* were discussed by the readers. About three in every four news articles discussing community problems in *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* were penned by journalists. The issues ranged from illegal dumping to the problem of ill-treatment of squatters and power outages. Stories from unspecified sources made up 10.3% of this content and some of the issues included discussions on the plight of the homeless in Rosebank, and complaints about a cell-phone booster and mast to be situated in the area. The readers' quota was 12%; and the politicians in the community had their say in 2.2% of the area was devoted to complaints where a resident and the local councillor discussed the dirt in the area.

Community problems from the *Fourways Review* journalists comprised of 40.8% of these news articles. The discussions ranged from complaints about increasing land rates, to shack insurance, to talk of a hospital that is annoying the residents and Diepkloof residents' demands for better services. News articles from undisclosed sources made up 46.7% of the content and the discussion were around looming rate hikes, the upgrading of water and electricity services. The readers' quota had stories on how to resolve traffic problems; and complaints about what residents considered a notoriously irritating school bell. There was correspondence on the state of the roads, traffic congestion in the area, which took up over half the area under community problems.

Journalists contributed about 71% of *Alex News'* stories dealing with community

problems. Undisclosed sources made up 29.2% of these stories; the readers' letters and opinion pieces did not touch on this matter at all. The only source of community problems in *Diepkloof Urban News* was the journalists, who penned a story on theft in the community which, according to a local politician, was hampering development in the area.

The findings in this section differ from those of Heider, *et al.,* (2005:962), who found that the popularity of using the media to discuss and resolve community problems was most evident among the traditionally disenfranchised from the power sources of the government and business: African Americans, Hispanics, adults with less income and education and women. The researchers speculated that these marginalized groups looked to the media as a source of help. This research however, found that the more affluent readers were more keen to present their community problems than the township readers. This disengagement by the readers may be attributed to Kohut's observation that the public considers the press to be too uncaring about the people and the public. The readers see contemporary media as unprofessional, biased and not meticulous with the facts.[31]

4.1.10: Analysis of Political and Governance issues in the newspapers

Eliasoph (1988:331) argues that news is the dominant form of distributing political information in society. The community newspapers carried some political content and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* journalists penned 45.5% of the political stories, while the letters and opinion pieces from the readers made up

[31] http://State of the media.org/> an article titled "*The State of the News Media 2004: An Annual Report on American Journalism*" by director of the Pew Research Centre for the People and the Press, Andrew Kohut.

2.3% of the politics and government-related stories (see table 4.1.10). A third of the *Fourways Review* political stories came from undisclosed sources, while Caxton journalists contributed 58.4% of the stories, while the letters and opinion pieces from the readers made up 8.2% of the politics and Government-related stories that filled the *Fourways Review* news article area.

Table 4.1.10: Distribution (%) of Political and Governance issues in the newspapers

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Politics and Government – by journalists	45.5%	58.4%	46.3%	100.0%
Politics and Government issues – from unspecified sources	52.2%	33.4%	44.2%	0.0%
Politics and Government issues – by readers	2.3%	8.2%	9.6%	0.0%
Total area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

About 44.2% of *Alex News'* political news content came from undisclosed sources, while Caxton journalists contributed 46.3% of the stories. Letters and opinion pieces from the readers made up 9.6% of the political newshole. The bulk of the politics-related content (without by-lines) emerged from two major political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Alliance (D.A) who outlined their views and plans for the first 100 days in office as well as their future plans for Johannesburg. The other political parties did not voice their views or state their agenda in the newspapers. This scanty political coverage is not good for developing healthy democracy. Schudson (2003:198) points out that the press is an important instrument of democracy.

Fourways Review, *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Alex News* shared the same copy of election updates, which was packaged in the same format and written by the same journalist Nie Cele. His stories, namely: 'Countdown to elections', and 'Shilowa's promises to Gauteng' were published in the 24th February editions of the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and the *Fourways Review* and *Alex News.* The bulk of the space (90%) covering the political stories was taken up by news articles titled 'Meet your local candidates', which carried head-and-shoulder pictures of the ward candidates and the Political party under whose ticket they were vying for seats in the 2006 Local Government elections held in March. The candidates stated where they lived and what they considered to be the main problems facing the community. In addition, candidates outlined their intentions and plans (campaign promises) to resolve these community issues. The rest of the space, (10%) was taken up by information on the polling stations and "on surface" reporting why the residents should vote. The political content carried in the weeklies was mainly introduced candidates to the electorate, and not serious debates on issues affecting the community. The news articles did not touch on party policies and future strategies and project implementation; nor communicate information that could help a citizen vote wisely; nor bring the political elite to account.

In their research cited earlier (Section 4.1.6), Heider, et al (2005:963) attributed the public's expectation of the press' major role as a "good neighbour" and not a watch-dog, to the declining trust in the news media and the declining attention to news. They saw a clear disconnect between the press' professional responsibility

as a watch dog and the public's expectation. However, there have been studies (Nicholas, et al 2006; Denton and Thorson in Platon, 2003) advocating and linking journalism with positive public deliberations and participation in the elections. The media have a responsibility to publish the information that the society needs inspite of its expectations.

Sharing news content across publications breeds homogeneity in community newspapers which results in the publications loosing their individuality. This run-off-the-mill generic information that is passed on to readers on the eve of the Local Government elections does not adequately inform or engage the citizens in matters of civic importance and public interest. Croteau and Hoynes (2001:153) insist that homogenisation of content can be the outcome of media minimising risks and maximising profits, which results in very little innovation and a great deal of imitation. This kind of newspapering is characteristic of market-driven journalism which denies the citizen the opportunity to be exposed to a wide range of ideas and perspectives. The lack of diversity prevalent in these newspapers results in the readers not being able to truly understand their society and consequently make informed decisions. These media critics conclude that despite the potential for quick profits, this kind of media is not likely to serve public interest because media's role in facilitating democracy and encouraging citizenship has always been in tension with its status as a profit-making industry.

There were only two stories discussing political matters in the 14 editions of *Diepkloof Urban News*. One of the stories was penned by a Caxton journalist and

it revolved around a local councillor's engagement in a clean up campaign and discussion on civic matters. The second story was a letter written by a Democratic Alliance (D.A) politician, complaining about the leverage the opposing political party (ANC) had over the others owing to the fact that it had influence (and therefore dominance) in the national T.V station, SABC. On the other hand, both the news articles from the unspecified sources and BuaNews Agency were silent on matters of politics. According to Croteau and Hoynes (2001:6) the media, as the watch dogs of freedom, have a special task of providing independent information to citizens. Their role is to inform the citizens about the current events, debates and about the potential abuse of power, if they are to be said to be serving public interest. All the community newspapers under review were conspicuously lacking in terms of democracy-fostering content, which monitors and ensures the political well-being of society. This kind of information is indispensable in the post-repressive South African society.

4.1.11 Analysis of major newspaper advertisers

Classified Advertisements made nearly a quarter of the advertisement bulk in both the *Fourways Review* and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*. *Diepkloof Urban News* carried about 14.4% of the same, while *Alex News* had none. The only advertiser who advertised across the board was the 'City of Joburg'. The findings of this research indicate that advertisers are very market-specific and therefore those offering commodities tailored for the township dwellers do not advertise in the publications aimed at the affluent readers and vice versa. This is congruent with Schudson's (2000:178) view that community newspapers have the ability to reach

the targeted niche markets with greater precision than say a regional or a national newspaper.

Table 4.1.11: Distribution (%) of the major advertisers

Advertisements	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Full Page Ad – Pick'n Pay	2.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Full Page Ads – Classifieds	21.3%	26.5%	0.0%	14.4%
Full Page Ad – Health Talk	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Full Page Ads – Spar	3.4%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Full Page Ads – Telkom	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Full Page Ad - Rosebank mall	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Ads (Joburg)	2.2%	0.4%	17.2%	2.0%
Full Page Ad (Motoring feature)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.8%
Full Page Ad (Shoprite)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.8%
Full page Ad (United Legal Services)	0.0%	0.0%	12.8%	0.0%
Ads (Checkers)	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Healthy Times – Planet Fitness promotion	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Full Page Ads – Fourways value mart	0.0%	5.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Total Advertisements in newspaper	40.1%	37.6%	30.0%	51.0%

The up-scale community newspapers appear to have a more diverse range of advertisers, who contribute less than 6% apiece to the advertising space. These up-market publications do not appear to rely too heavily on any particular advertiser. Advertisers in both *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* include chain stores, Health clubs and malls. On the other hand, one fifth of the advertising content in *Diepkloof Urban News* came from a motoring company and 13.8% came from Shoprite. About 17.2% of *Alex News*' advertising came from 'The City of Joburg' and about 13% from United Legal Services. Overall, about one third of *Diepkloof Urban News*' and *Alex News*' advertising content came

from about three sources. The township-bound publications have a relatively heavier dependence on individual advertisers compared to publications targeting affluent readers.

Croteau and Hoynes (2001:7) see commercialisation of the media as resulting in policies that may discourage critical examination of corporate business practices. This conflict of interest may arise because most of these conglomerate-owned community newspapers are distributed free-of-charge and they operate on advertising-based revenue model. The conglomerate may not want to jeopardise this symbiotic relationship with the advertisers. For example, what are the odds that *Diepkloof Urban News* would engage in an in-depth investigation into the corporate wrong-doings of Shoprite stores when this advertiser buys about 14% of their advertising lineage? What are the chances that *Alex News* would willingly take the initiative to probe rumours of fraudulent activities at City Hall when the 'City of Joburg' was the publication's biggest advertiser, taking up about 17% of the Ad-space? This dependence on advertiser's revenue renders the possibility of the media delving into investigative journalism to expose the financial transgressions or corrupt dealings improbable.

On the other hand, Bagdikian (1983:61) argues that news organs are often beholden to advertisers, who may be potential subjects of critical stories. He adds that advertisers have a powerful hold on the newspapers in that they can launch campaigns against journalists whom they particularly resent for unfavourable coverage. The researcher found that advertiser-related news articles lacked an

investigative edge. (This is discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.1). Underwood (1995:133) attributes this scenario to the fact that the media have tended to treat advertisers as sacred cows. Media's dependence on advertiser revenue makes it difficult to imagine these newspapers "rocking their boat" by publishing news article that may be of public interest but with the potential to antagonise an advertiser and the publication's potential future revenue. In McManus' (1995:114) view, market-selection logic advocates that to maximise returns to investors, the stories selected should advance or at least minimise harm to the interests of advertisers and investors. It is therefore not surprising that Schudson (1986:239) sees advertising as not supporting the media in a way that fosters a healthy democracy.

4.1.12: An analysis of the categories or themes in news articles

Table 4.1.12 compares the overall orientation of content of the community newspapers and there is a major area of convergence in the four publications, irrespective of the targeted readership. In all the cases under review, what constituted 'news' revolved mainly around issues of entertainment, sport, human interest and heart-warming events. These categories occupy more than half the space in the community newspapers examined in this research. There was very little hard or substantive news, and certainly no traces of investigative journalism were detected across the board. A likely explanation for this would be what McChesney's (2000:xv) observes that in a market-driven environment; investigative journalism of any form is generally shunned and frowned upon as

too expensive and bad for profits.

Table 4.1.12: Summary of categories or themes in news articles from all sources

Summary of various issues discussed	Category code	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Specific crime or police investigation & Police report	1	5.7%	4.1.9%	3.5%	0.0%
Specific accident, fire or disaster	2	0.3%	1.6%	3.4%	0.1%
Heart warming events	3	15.6%	21.8%	17.0%	15.2%
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	4	2.5%	3.4%	0.5%	0.1%
Entertainment, Sport news, Snippets	0 & 5	35.2%	36.0%	31.7%	45.2%
Lives of the rich and famous	6	0.7%	2.2%	2.8%	3.1%
School events and education quality	7	0.3%	2.3%	7.5%	4.1.6%
Business or economic conditions	8	3.0%	3.6%	6.1%	6.2%
Health and environment	9	2.6%	4.1.3%	6.4%	7.8%
Social trends, Human rights	10	1.9%	1.3%	3.5%	2.8%
Housing, evictions	11	6.4%	3.3%	7.1%	0.9%
Crime and Security	12	2.5%	2.9%	3.1%	0.7%
Politics and Government issues	13	8.1%	6.3%	4.1.5%	0.7%
Community meetings, reports, proceedings	14	2.0%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%
Community problems	15	10.2%	4.1.6%	1.8%	0.7%
Advertorials	16	3.1%	1.1%	0.8%	11.9%
Totals		100%	100%	100%	100%

4.1.13: A summary of the thematic content in the news articles

Table 4.1.13 summarises the content of the newshole to determine whether the news articles in the publications have a bias toward market-driven orientation or whether they are journalism-driven. *Fourways Review* and *Diepkloof Urban News* took the lead in carrying market-driven content, tying at 76.8%. Only

23.2% of their content had journalistic value, with about 29% of *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*'s content falling in the same category. The rest of *Rosebank*

Table 4.1.13: Summary of distribution (%) of the thematic content

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
News Articles in market-driven category[32]	71.0%	76.8%	67.0%	76.8%
News Articles in categories[33]	29.0%	23.2%	33.0%	23.2%
Total Area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Killarney Gazette's content, 71%, was classified as market-driven. *Alex News'* ferried the highest proportion of substantive news with one third of its news articles falling within the journalism-driven category. The publications' news articles are all heavily slanted in favour of customer-friendly journalism. The findings indicated that none of the four newspapers had 70% of their news articles falling within the substantive news categories, which is the minimum threshold for a publication to be classified as operating within the journalism-driven environment (McManus 1994:222).

Croteau and Hoynes (2001:8) see bottom-line pressures as steering media content away from serious substance and offering people light entertainment that is familiar and comforting. These media critics view newspaper content as a kind of bait which is intended to lure the readers and maintain that the result of commercialisation can be the "feel-good, watered-down and sensationalised news that may attract the readers but has little substance. Underwood (1995:xx) is of

[32] News articles falling in categories 0,1,2,3,4,5,6, &16 fall in the market-driven journalism category (see table 4.13 for illustration).
[33] News articles falling in categories 7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14 and 15 fall in the market-driven journalism category.

the view that newspapers engaging in the profit-driven journalism are in danger of losing the true spirit of the journalistic mission - the commitment to community service, the passion for probing injustice, the love of good writing and the devotion to enterprise reporting.

According to McManus (1995:117-8) news should orient people to their environment thus helping them make informed decisions. Orienting news is more likely to be about issues, with reasoned arguments, complexity and details. Orientation content has more journalistic than commercial value compared to entertainment reporting. However, orientation news tends to cost more to produce than the event-based entertainment reporting and a newspaper following a market-driven model of operation may shun this kind of journalism. Furthermore, the complexity of orientation-focused issues may bore and drive away the marginal 'news consumer' who would rather be entertained. Media operating in the commercialised set-up therefore tends to steer clear of the orientation information. As the former Sunday Times Reporter, John Whale (19980:85) put it, "… the broad shape and nature of the press is ultimately determined by no one but its readers". This research found that the content in the South Africa's conglomerate-owned community newspapers seems to be guided by readers' preferences and that it conforms to the profit-driven mould.

4.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

Van Dijk (1988:66) asserts that the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is the only adequate approach to the study of mass media messages. This section of the research qualitatively assesses three main aspects of the community newspapers, namely: advertiser-related stories; homogenisation of news content; and the quality of news editing.

4.2.1 Advertiser-related stories

Rosebank Killarney Gazette editions carried two-page colourful advertisement titled 'Deedee's diary'. It narrated details of Deedee's (a young, urban, affluent woman) shopping spree at the Rosebank mall, where the newspaper circulates. The advertisements have locations and telephone numbers of shops where the goods and services are offered as well as laudatory remarks about advertisers. This style of advertising has an aspirational appeal to it that targets the younger, upwardly mobile woman. This non-traditional advertising technique employs a creative style where advertising content is weaved into a narrative. This technique makes it difficult to identify the voice behind the advertisement and it could very well be disguised as part of editorial.

Fourways Review devoted its entire front and cover-pages to Planet Fitness advertising. This four-page supplement was carried on the 27th January *Fourways Review* edition. The advertisement appears below the newspaper's masthead, and is indistinguishable from the news content. Whereas readers may discount an

advertisement, the placement and format of presentation gives the advertisement legitimacy, as the readers treat it as news. As a front-page item, the advertisement is conspicuously visible.

Page two of the 12th April edition of *Diepkloof Urban News* carried stories about Fons Luminis School. These promotional stories are riddled with grammatical and syntactical errors, and even though they bear by-lines, these unedited articles were probably sourced from the students and/or staff of the school. This full-page advertisement is disguised as news. Another advertisement that is presented as a news article is the headline story of the March 24th edition of *Diepkloof Urban News* on the opening of a new store at the Bara Mall titled 'Shoprite grand opening', written by a Caxton journalist. The laudatory article carried half-page photograph of Shoprite's brand-manager with a laudatory caption that read, "... [R]eady to give customers a pleasant and hassle-free shopping experience". This promotional news is also accompanied by a full page advert on page five.

These advertisements blur the line between advertisements and editorial content and suggest the possibility of an existing cozy and symbiotic relationship between the advertiser and the newspaper. On the other hand, the business-related stories carried in the newspapers are what Dreier (in Underwood 1995:130) has termed as "simply boosterism" - glowing stories of new investment plans and fawning profiles of corporate executives. A good example of the advertiser-friendly journalism stories include news articles carried in *Diepkloof Urban News* on the opening of malls, which also pay glowing tributes to the owners and outline the

benefits of such ventures in the community. In a hyper-commercialised setting, the line between journalism and advertising would appear to be quite blurred, further complicating the dynamics of media relationship with advertisers.

4.2.2 Homogenisation of content

The researcher noted that there was homogenised content across the Caxton publications. This included:

- *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* shared 12 out of the 14 of their back-page stories which were penned by a Caxton journalist, Nie Cele.
- Both the 24th February editions of *Fourways Review* and *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* carried a story titled, "AIDS scourge scours business" by Nie Cele
- The 10th February *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and the 24th February *Fourways Review* ran the story on 'Zoo goes for owl eyes' by Kennedy Mudzuli
- The election and political news coverage in the February 24th editions of *Fourways Review*, *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Alex News* had identical content and by-line.
- On page 2 of the 13th July edition of *Alex News* and on page 2 of the 21st July edition of *Fourways Review* carried the same story titled 'No Bribes for Police".

The researcher found cases of duplication of copy within particular editions of the conglomerate-owned community newspapers. A case in point would be the content in *Alex News:*-

- The 15th June (page 4); 26th January (page 7) and 8th December (page 3)

had the same story but under different titles – "Women love lovely nails" and "Graduates look to the future" and "Unemployed women turn beautician", respectively.

- Page 2 and page 7 of the 9th June edition repeated the same story titled, "Socialite dies" verbatim.
- On page 5 and page 3 of the 3rd February edition of this publication ran the news article titled 'Boost for business'.

Diepkloof Urban News carried a story titled "Oglivy brighten the day for Bara kids" on both page 2 and page 9 of the 17th March edition. Although the copy was the same, each page carried a different photograph.

Duplication of news articles within and across the publications does not promote creativity or originality of content. This uniformity of mass production begs the question: "Is this journalism practice the result of sloppy editing or is it the result of insufficient copy?" Worse still, the quality of journalism brings to the fore the question of the caliber or competence of the journalists and editors working for the community newspapers.

The researcher took random editions of the community newspapers to quantitatively assess journalists' contributions to the publications:

- *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* (February 24th edition):- There were 10 journalists who contributed 20 articles (5% a piece): an operating average of two stories per journalist.
- *Fourways Review* (March 31st edition): Four journalists contributed 16 of the news stories: each journalist contributed 25% of the news articles.
- *Alex News* (July 25th edition): one journalist contributed 12 out of the 17 news

articles (71%) in the newspaper.

- *Diepkloof Urban News* (June 9th edition): one journalist contributed 80% of the articles.

One of the factors that may contribute to shaping newspaper content may be newsroom staffing. The up-scale newspapers have more journalists, and fewer (and more detailed) news articles as compared to publications that target the township readerships. This apparent "skeleton" staffing in both *Diepkloof Urban News* and *Alex News* means that there were only a few reporters chasing too many stories in the township. This scenario may in part explain the lower quality of journalism that is self evident in the township newspapers which registered relatively more homogeneity within their copies. The staffing ratios may mean that there is relatively less diversity in the voices and perceptions in both *Diepkloof Urban News* and *Alex News* as compared to *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review*. Further to this, the lack of diversity in the content and voices does not paint an entirely authentic picture of the respective communities these community newspapers serve. The resulting homogeneity translates to newspapers losing their individuality. This newspapering style is typical of market-driven journalism, which seeks to maximise profits by employing only a few journalists. As McManus (1994:156) states, in a market-driven environment, standardised chain content is used in several publications because the practice results in significant savings. The media incur relatively lower costs to gather and report the news, which are then shared across the various publications (or within the same edition) of the conglomerate-owned

newspapers. [34]

4.2.3 Maintaining journalism standards:

This section examines some basic elements of news writing and reporting. It specifically examines the extent to which individual newspapers pay attention to their audiences through their editing and attention to detail.[35]

Except for the occasional spelling error, like "***Driviving*** the message home" on page 4 of the 27th January edition of the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*, most of the newspaper copies were edited effectively.

Alex News' grammatical and spelling mistakes included:

- June 15th, page 2: – In the article titled "Friends expose face of abuse story", there is a sentence that reads, "… the same fate **in at** the hands…"
- June 29th, page 1: – The caption reads ***"see story on page 28"*** in an eight-page newspaper.
- July 13th, page 1: – Rats wreck havoc story***: "they are white, black, grey and white, black and white in colour***." (paragraph 5)

Diepkloof Urban News' errors included:

- January 13th, page 8: – Sport: "The game following a ***thunderous short form***…"
- February 3rd, page 3: – Internet story: "Most people living in the community have to travel ***as far as going people***…"
    - Page 3: - Tsotsi story: Ngqobe plays ***butcher owner*** in the

31. Newsroom staffing (McManus 1995:226) and cost-cutting in the media to maximise profits (Borgart 1992:103) are factors that play a role and have a negative impact on the quality of journalism that is produced. However, that discussion is beyond the scope of this research.

[35] While an analysis of language and syntax could be a major research initiative, this report treats them as preliminary pointers to how seriously media organisations take their role. A substantive review of these issues, while interesting, is considered outside the scope of this study.

movie

- April 14th, page 2: – Lesedi clinic to provide free ***conseling***
- May 12th, page 4: – Spelt 'crowd' as ***'crowed'***.
- May 26th, page 16: – "Our Sport star… aiming ***hihg*** "
- June 9th, page 2: – Article on surf winners titled thank you. The caption reads, "… ***congradulated***…"
- June 23rd, page-one: – "… I have a ***physical challenged*** child…"
- July 7th, page 8: – "The goal in it ***lighted*** the necessary spark…"
- July 14th, page 4: – "… an opportunity of ***interacting to*** her clients…"
    - Page 13: – Miss Soweto story: The search to find the ***hottest beautiful*** lady…
    - Page 13: – Caxton ***throw its*** weight ***behing*** Baby Competition
    - Page 9: – "Social Development Minister, Dr. Zola Skweyiya ***lead*** the celebrations…"
- 28th July, page 1: – Most people have to ***travel as far as going to*** town…

The sloppy journalism raises questions in the researcher's mind as to whether, especially in the case of *Diepkloof Urban News*, substantive news or quality journalism can emerge from a publication that would appear to undermine intelligent journalism. Comparing the community newspapers, it would appear that there was relatively more editing done in the newspapers reaching the more affluent readers (who are possibly perceived as the more discriminating consumers) than those read in the townships. The editorial quality of the newspapers may be a reflection of the low esteem or the total disregard of the reader's intelligence.

4.3 Conclusion

The conclusions drawn in this chapter were based on both the qualitative and

quantitative content analysis. The focus of the analysis was primarily on the results of the quantitative content analysis. The quantitative content analysis suggests that *Diepkloof Urban News, Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* and *Alex News* engaged in market-driven journalism. According to Croteau and Hoynes (2001:156) this kind of content is tailored to usher an atmosphere that is conducive to creating a relaxed 'buying mood' for the reader as they flip the newspaper pages. Over half the news articles sourced from the readers, unidentified sources and the journalists in all the four publications discussed events revolving around entertainment and heart-warming issues. The content in all the four newspapers was characterised by vast photographic coverage. The newspapers, it would appear, have an entertainment-orientation, and they primarily inform the readers about the social events happening in their respective communities at the expense of debating issues of public interest or engaging in-depth investigative journalism. This means that these publications did not carry enough substantive content, which is a pre-requisite to serving public interest adequately.

Issues of politics and governance are not substantive either, with *Alex News* reporting the highest proportion (less than 10%). The content lacked elements of serious investigative journalism and did not contribute to increasing the citizens' knowledge of their political issues and environment. The political content in the newspapers was generic and duplicated in *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review,* whose quality is not likely to stimulate civic debate and participation or be of public interest.

The researcher noted that there was a low level of community participation across all the newspapers. However, this was even lower in the township-bound publications. This lack of diversity was not just limited to the few contributors, but it extended to the scope of issues the readers discussed, which revolved around the market-driven genres of entertainment and heart-warming events.

With the exception of *Alex News*, over 60% of *Diepkloof Urban News, Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* content was devoted to advertising. This focus on advertising left behind a shrunken newshole for the news content had to fit. Further to this, the researcher noted that newspapers targeting the lower – LSM readers had relatively less advertising, and heavier dependence on a handful of advertisers as compared to *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* who have a more diverse selection of advertisers. The dynamics of media relationship with the advertisers are captured in the qualitative analysis.

The findings of this research could have been greatly enhanced if the researcher had included other research methods such as ethnography, focus groups and personal interviews with the readers, the journalists and editors of the newspapers. This would have shed light on what determines the newspaper content and preference. This exercise would have given some of the conclusions drawn in this research more 'validity'. However, owing to finance, time and the requirements of the M.A Research report, the researcher decided to exclude both interviews and ethnography research methods in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 CONCLUSION

The findings of this research indicate that the content in the conglomerate-owned community newspapers has a market-driven orientation. The newspapers have allocated huge percentages of their space to advertising and in the remaining newshole, the volume of consequential news was relatively low. This is in line with Howley's (2005:140) view that news has become a commercial product that is "shaped, packaged and marketed with a constant eye on profits. The findings of this research are in congruence with Howley's (2005:24) views that market-driven journalism diverts public's attention, energy and resources away from society's fundamental needs like public education, health care, economic justice and gender equality that are essential to the health and well-being of any community.

5.2 Implication and significance of findings:

The research showed that over two-thirds of the content in *Diepkloof Urban News, Alex News, Rosebank Killarney Gazette* and *Fourways Review* falls within the market-driven ambit. These proportions of commercially-driven content are evidence that commercial interests have penetrated into the community newspapers landscape. The three most dominant themes discussed by the journalists, community newspaper readers as well news articles from unspecified sources in all the 56 community newspapers dealt with entertainment, heart-warming issues and sports. Curran, *et al.,* (1980:306) argue that newspapers concentrate on human interest stories to attract the maximum number if readers.

The media carried content that had a distinct thematic leaning towards "soft news" (Underwood and Stamm 1992:307), which is characteristic of "reader- and advertiser-friendly" journalism that does not serve public interest. As McChesney puts it, commercialisation leads to the elimination of the notion of public service and this degradation of journalism has rendered the profession impotent as a democratic force.

Because most conglomerate-owned community newspapers are distributed free of charge, this medium depends on advertising revenue to generate profits. This means that the advertisers and the newspapers enter into a symbiotic relationship which may play a role in determining the content ferried in the newspapers. In a bid to stay in the advertiser's good books, newspapers have steered clear of investigative journalism which probes financial mismanagements, corrupt dealings and corporate wrong-doings which may result in antagonizing media's relationship with prospective advertisers. McChesney's (2000:xv) observes that in a market-driven environment; investigative journalism of any form is generally shunned and frowned upon as too expensive and bad for profits.

The qualitative content analysis showed that the newspapers were not only sharing chain-content across the publications, but there was homogenized content even within particular editions of newspapers. This syndication of content does not make for innovative journalism. The research also noted that the quality of journalism in these publications was poor and this was expressed in the poor

editing and attention to details in the newspapers, and this was most evident in the publications serving the township readers.

The findings also point to a gap between media, democracy and public interest. The politics-related news articles received little coverage (quantitatively) received across the board, the content was mostly soft-news and non-investigative and highly homogenised chain-content (qualitatively). These community newspapers do not play their role as political watch-dogs or bring leaders to account. McManus (1995:214) concludes that the primary purpose of the news is to explain how the environment is working so that the citizen can make good decisions, especially civic ones. Political debates and civic engagements are a pre-requisite for the development of a healthy democracy. These findings cast doubts as to whether the lack of substantive content in the conglomerate-owned community newspapers could serve South Africa's young post-repressive democracy.

The low level of community participation in these publications shows that there was a lack of diversity and under-representation of voices in the community newspapers. The township-bound publications exhibited very little reader-newspaper dialogue and interaction. The little communication there was, is banal and fell within the market-driven journalism category. This raises the question as to whether the voices from the community are "muted" by the newspapers by refusing to publish the letters containing substantial or controversial news, or whether the public's "silence" is a lack of engagement with and detachment from the media (self-censorship). The findings of this research suggest that these

community newspapers are not being effectively utilised as a forum where citizens could discuss and resolve their problems, which is an important element in fostering community development.

The researcher hopes that the findings of this research will raise a red flag about the impact of hyper-commercialisation on the conglomerate-owned community in South Africa. These findings of this research add credence to the voices calling for a re-evaluation of this medium. The research findings cast doubt as to whether a exogenous community medium that is not home-grown or deeply rooted in the community can indeed "speak for the people" or even "speak to the people in 'their own language'", in the face of commercial interests which seem to undermine public interest and trivialize the role of the media in society. As (Hadland and Thorne, 2003; Opubor, 2000) observe, commercial media is incapable of grappling with or to effectively portraying local issues and debates.

Debate on the commercialisation of the media is not without its contradictions. This development has opened up new media spaces for South Africa's least serviced communities (non-traditional media markets) that were previously excluded from access to resources. However, the quality of the content (pre-dominantly soft news) and the low level of community participation indicate that the proliferation of community newspapers does not necessarily mean that the media is fulfilling its role of keeping the readers informed, or being a public platform where the citizens can deliberate on issues affecting their community and be empowered to make critical civic decisions or understand their environment.

The central argument of market-driven journalism is that there are negative effects associated with what Gillmor (2004:4) refers to as "corporatisation of journalism". There is evidence in the four newspapers that the effects of this mercantilism and dependency on advertiser revenue can be felt on the news pages (Baldasty 1992; Howley 2005; Bagdikian 2004). Evans' remarks on the state of the American media encapsulate the crux of this debate on commercialisation of South Africa's conglomerate-owned community newspapers: "The challenge of the media is not to stay in business: it is to stay in journalism..." (cited in Bagikian 1983:139). [36]

5.3 Suggestions for further Research:

The results of this study are substantive, and the findings in this research would be more conclusively validated if there was a comparative study of the content of community newspapers in the Johncom; Independent Group; Media24 stables. This could also be extent to community broadcast media. These studies would provide a wider scope of analysis, and paint a more specific picture of the actual state of affairs in the conglomerate-owned community media. A comparative content analysis of non-conglomerate-owned community media could shed light on the contemporary trends and the emphasis of this medium, as well as give an indication of the impact of commercialisation on the content in the media.

[36] Harold Evans was the former editor (1967 - 1981) of the *London Sunday Times*.

Another interesting area of research would be an organisational study of the conglomerate-owned print media newsroom staffing. This would shed light on the actual decision-making and gate-keeping processes that determine what is newsworthy and what is not. The use of additional methodologies like staff interviews and ethnographical studies would give deeper insights into the actual impact of commercialisation on the content ferried by this medium.

On a broader scale, this research could be extended to more African countries and applied to different media to determine the continental or regional trends in the wake of the sweeping global commercialisation of the media.

Newspapers editions that were analysed in the research: APPENDIX A

No.	Newspaper	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14
1.	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	20 Jan	27 Jan	10 Feb	24 Feb	10 Mar	17 Mar	21 Apr	19 May	26 May	2 Jun	16 Jun	30 Jun	14 Jul	21 Jul
2.	*Fourways Review*	20 Jan	27 Jan	10 Feb	24 Feb	10 Mar	31 Mar	7 Apr	19 May	26 May	2 June	16 Jun	30 Jun	14 Jul	21 Jul
3.	*Alex News*	8 Dec -8 Jan	26 Jan – 7 Feb	9 Feb – 23 Feb	23 Feb – 7 Mar	16 Mar – 30 Mar	13 Apr – 27 Apr	27 Apr – 11 May	11 May – 25 May	25 May – 8 Jun	15 Jun – 27 Jun	29 Jun – 11 Jul	13 Jul – 25 Jul	27 Jul – 8 Aug	10 Aug – 22 Aug
4.	*Diepkloof Urban News*	13 Jan	20 Jan	3 Feb	17 Mar	24 Mar	14 Apr	12 May	26 May	9 Jun	16 Jun	23 Jun	7 Jul	14 Jul	28 Jul

An operationalised tabulation of McManus' (1994:219). typology of categories analysing newspaper content

	News paper code (5-7). Page No. (8-9).	CATEGORY (10). 1. News story 2. Community Voices / Letters to the editor 3. Editorial 4. Stand-alone pictures 5. Comic strips, cartoons 6. Advertisements & Classifieds 7. Sports News 8. Vox-pop 9. Police Report 0. Other Items: Snippets, Diary, Interviews, Happenings, Notice boards. Advertorials ISSUE VOICED BY (11). 1. Journalist 2. Politician 3 Readers 4. Items without by line (unspecified sources). 5. Other News Agencies 0. Items falling mostly under Type "4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 0" above.	SUB-CATEGORY (12–13). 1. A specific crime or police investigation or court action (any single event is likely to impact on only a few persons; issues and trends have only a wider effect and go in categories 10 or 12). 2 .A specific accident, fire, disaster 3.Heart-warming events or experiencing basic human emotions such as sexual desire, love, joy, anger, sorrow, hatred, opinion. Examples may include missing children or spouses, demonstrations, disputes, reunions, intrigues, celebrations, charity events, romances, animal stories, donations, general complaints). 4. What is primarily unusual, unexpected or ironic (clean-up exercises, campaigns...). 5. What is primarily amusing, competitions, arts & crafts, culture, community awards, opening malls or entertaining 6. The lives of the rich and famous or notorious, profiles of known personalities 7. How schools are or ought to be performing, or how they are supported or led, or about teaching or other issues relevant or educational quality 8. Business or economic conditions or trends. Including articles on how to do something practical such as plant a garden, search for a job). 9. Health, Sanitation, Drugs, Fitness Environment or Scientific discovery, Environment, Disaster prevention 10. Important social trends such as civil rights, future of youth and community forum, personal, social or community development, Consumer, Children's rights 11. Housing, evictions, land disputes, land rights, road constructions, Infrastructure development 12. Crime, security issues, crime prevention and corruption matters 13. State and local politics or government 14. Community meeting report, proceedings 15. Community problems (dry taps, electricity problems, rates, traffic congestion, noise, poverty). 16. Advertorials 00. None of the above categories		PHOTOGRAPHS (Pictures, Illustrations, Cartoons).		ADVERTISEMENT	
Item (1-4)	Codes (5 -9)	Type, Voiced by and Category (10 -13)	News Article length (14 - 16)	News Article width (17-19)	Photo length (20 -22)	Photo width (23 - 25)	Ads length (26 - 28)	Ads width (29 -31)
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I

Table 4.1.1A: Summary of area (mm²) occupied by newspaper content

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Newshole	9,181,500	13,587,725	7,034,875	5,809,000
Advertisement hole	18,175,675	29,793,050	3,987,475	8,848,600
Totals Area	**27,357,175**	**43,380,775**	**11,022,350**	**14,657,600**

Graph 4.1.1A: Summary of area (%) occupied by newspaper content

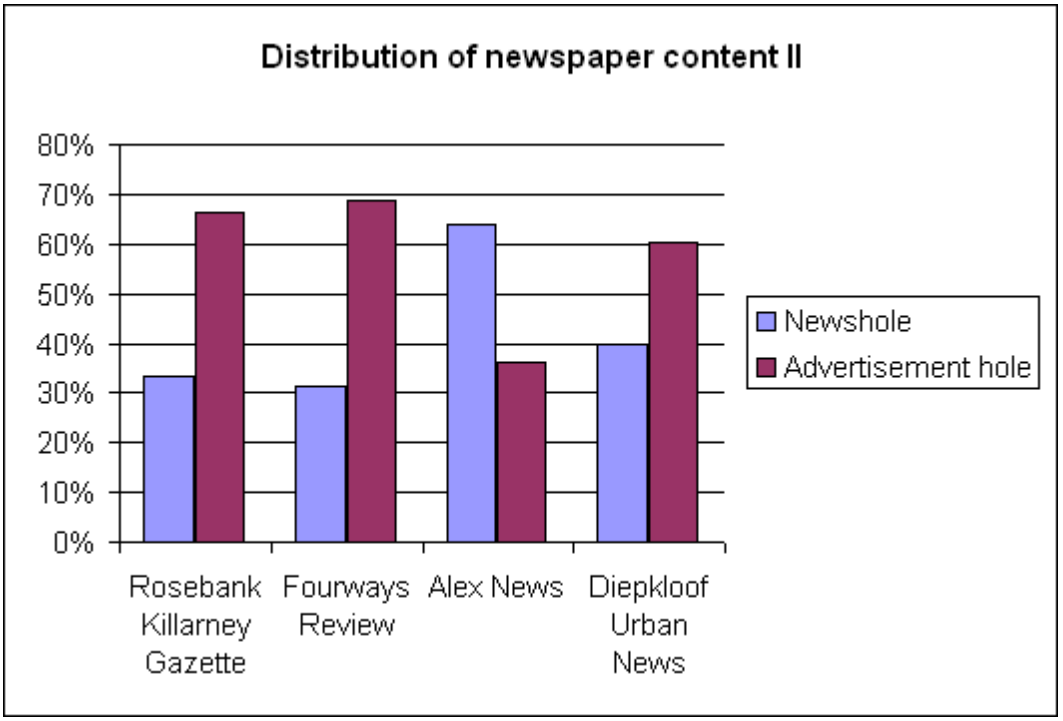


Table 4.1.2A: Summary of area (mm²) occupied by newshole

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Photographs	5,044,550	7,211,875	3,359,600	2,734,725
News Articles	4,136,950	6,375,850	3,675,275	3,074,275
Newshole size	**9,181,500**	**13,587,725**	**7,034,875**	**5,809,000**

Graph 4.1.2A: Summary of area (%) occupied by newshole

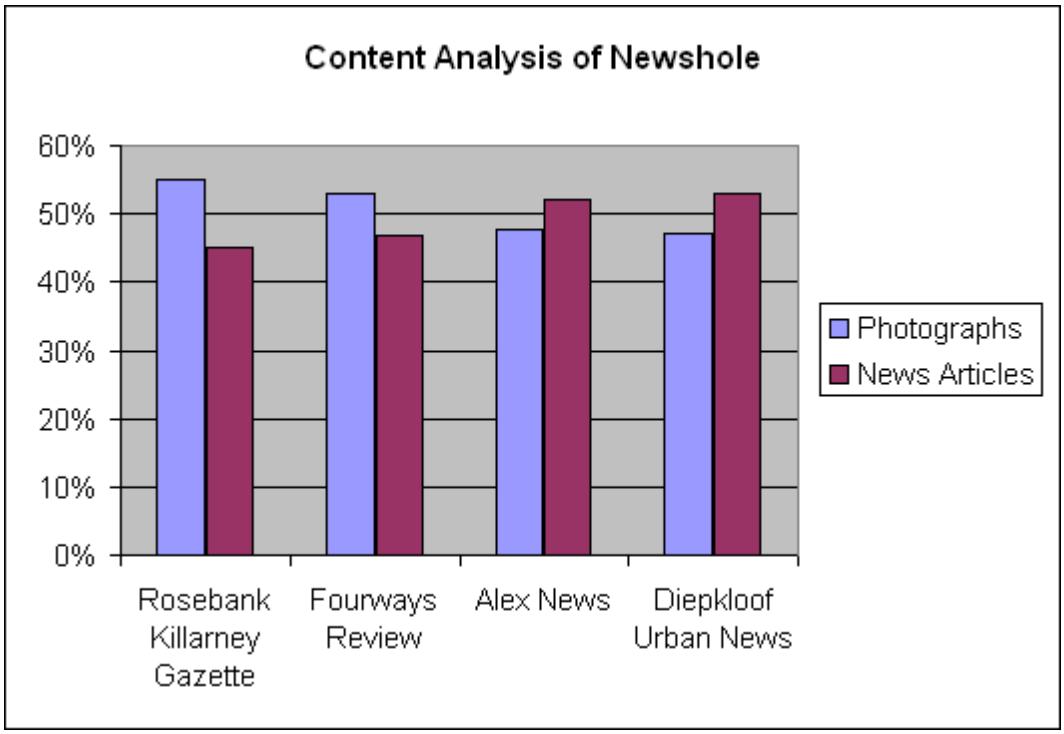


Table 4.1.3A: Summary of area (mm²) occupied by page-one content

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
News Articles	236,525	323,275	227,075	313,150
Photos	488,375	498,425	531,875	463,425
Advertisements	410,750	449,175	462,125	351,600
Totals	**1,135,650**	**1,270,875**	**1,221,075**	**1,128,175**

Table 4.1.3A: Summary of area (%) occupied by Page-one content

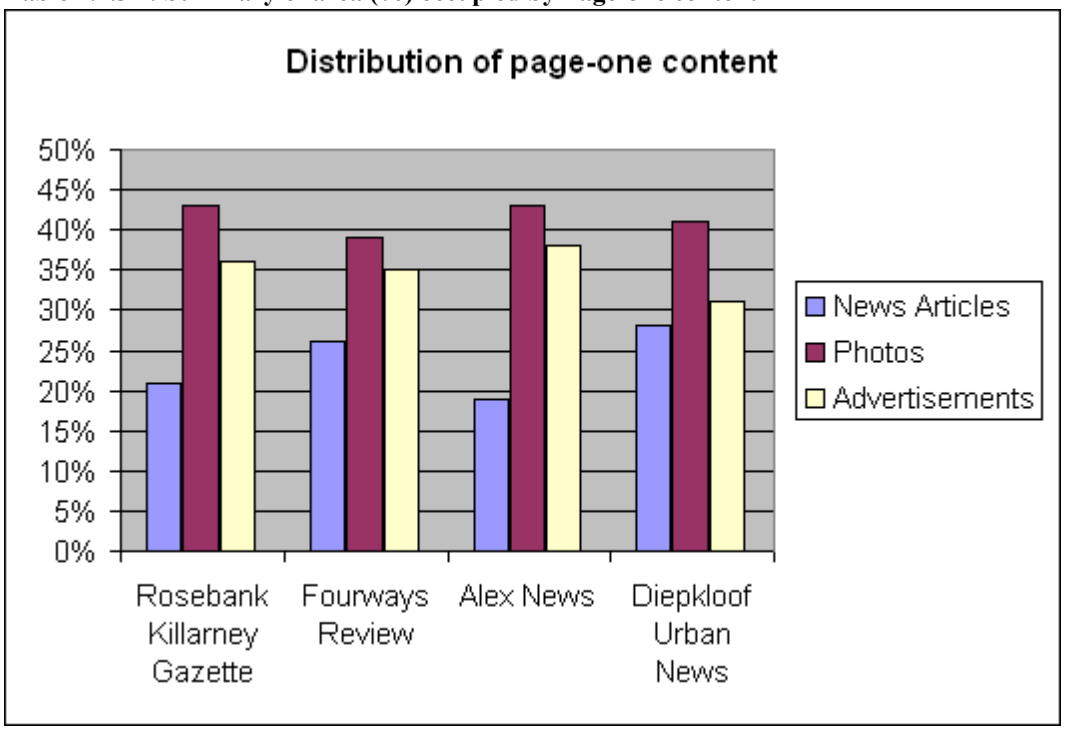


Table 4.1.4A: Summary of area (mm²) occupied by newspaper content

Total Newspaper Area	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Snippets, Diary, Happenings, Notices	397,425	989,700	160,825	52,075
News Articles by Journalists	4,337,650	6,133,550	3,631,375	2,589,275
News Articles from unspecified sources	1,073,350	1,404,525	678,775	750,875
News Articles from BuaNews articles	0	0	0	296,150
Letters from Community	529,875	696,700	161,575	7,350
Caxton notices and Editorial	361,850	512,975	201,750	18,450
Pictures	1,113,850	2,076,650	865,925	246,875
Comic strip	0	0	0	588,850
Ads	18,175,675	29,793,050	3,987,475	8,848,600
Sports by journalists	791,775	951,100	1,022,225	1,008,475
Sports from unspecified authors	203,500	554,250	49,725	16,150
Sports from BuaNews	0	0	0	203,025
Vox pop	109,900	87,450	144,175	31,450
Police Matters	262,325	180,825	118,525	0
Totals	**27,357,175**	**43,380,775**	**11,022,350**	**14,657,600**

Graph 4.1.4A: Summary of area (%) occupied by newspaper content

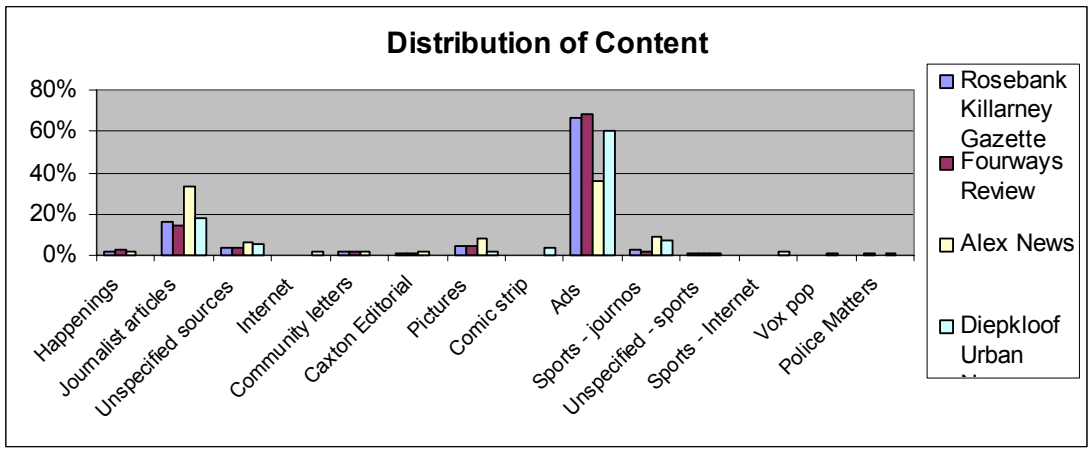


Table 4.1.5A: Summary of the area (mm²) occupied by news articles from journalists:

Summary of Newspaper Articles	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Advertorials	22,200	3,575	0	64,775
Business or Economic conditions	197,225	365,075	293,850	298,450
Community meetings, reports	140,925	35,550	0	0
Community problems	551,075	365,400	66,725	37,125
Crime Security	127,875	260,625	121,825	9,000
Health and Environment	140,125	296,225	262,950	385,925
Heart warming events	1,121,650	1,651,050	713,425	603,800
Housing, Evictions	362,825	302,675	358,250	48,350
Lives of the rich and famous	19,800	245,000	179,425	171,175
Politics and Government issues	244,725	398,600	194,825	32,625
Primarily Entertainment news	1,035,425	1,097,125	552,975	588,275
School events and Education quality	23,750	239,875	372,575	225,125
Social trends, Human Rights	73,700	65,825	153,250	112,575
Specific accident, fire or disaster	18,550	179,025	172,300	6,000
Specific crime or police investigation	86,825	263,525	51,725	0
Sports by journalists	471,625	951,100	1,022,225	1,008,475
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	166,775	364,400	137,275	6,075
Articles from journalists	**4,805,075**	**7,084,651**	**4,653,600**	**3,597,750**

Graph 4.1.5A: Summary of the area (%) occupied by news articles from journalists:

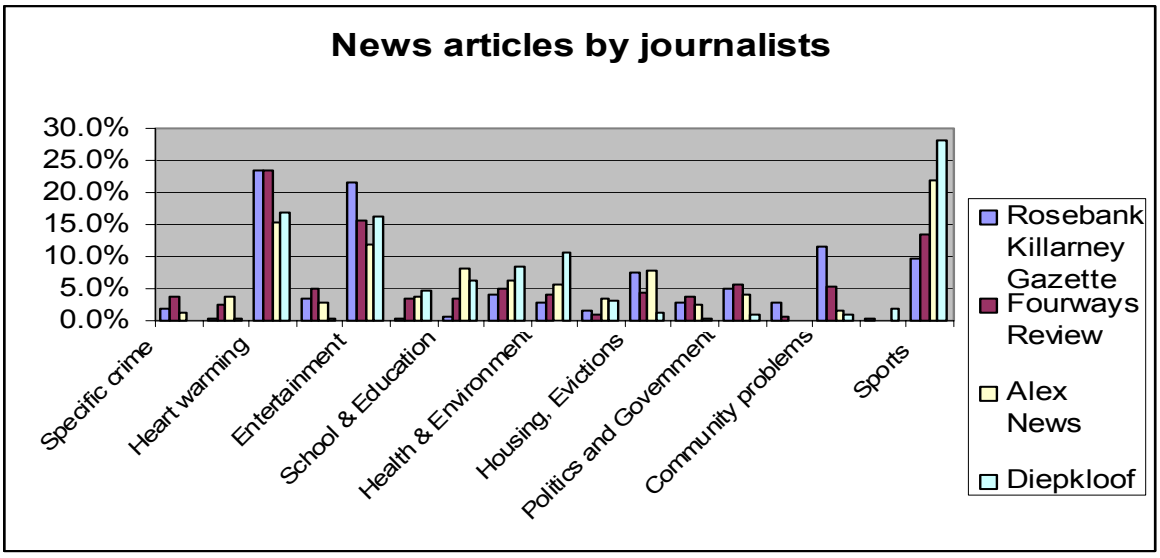


Table 4.1.6A: Summary of the area (mm²) occupied by news articles from unspecified sources

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Advertorials	55,475	64,250	14,850	0
Business or Economic conditions	0	0	6,500	0
Community meetings, reports	188,475	430,700	164,275	199,025
Community problems	7,800	8,550	20,025	0
Crime Security	93,350	321,225	10,400	8,325
Health and Environment	31,500	0	4,725	0
Heart warming events	16,450	9,350	33,175	15,050
Lives of the rich and famous	0	116,425	60,075	24,975
Politics and Government issues	62,775	65,300	32,000	24,725
Primarily Entertainment news	52,050	17,150	9,975	0
School events and Education quality	23,825	27,900	42,600	7,000
Social trends, Human Rights	281,100	231,925	186,050	0
Specific accident, fire or disaster	4,375	0	21,725	0
Specific crime or police investigation	75,375	17,950	27,500	0
Sports from unspecified authors	185,000	93,800	44,900	471,775
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	203,500	554,250	49,725	16,150
Articles from unspecified sources	**1,281,050**	**1,958,776**	**728,500**	**767,025**

Graph 4.1.6A: Summary of the area (%) occupied by news articles from unspecified sources

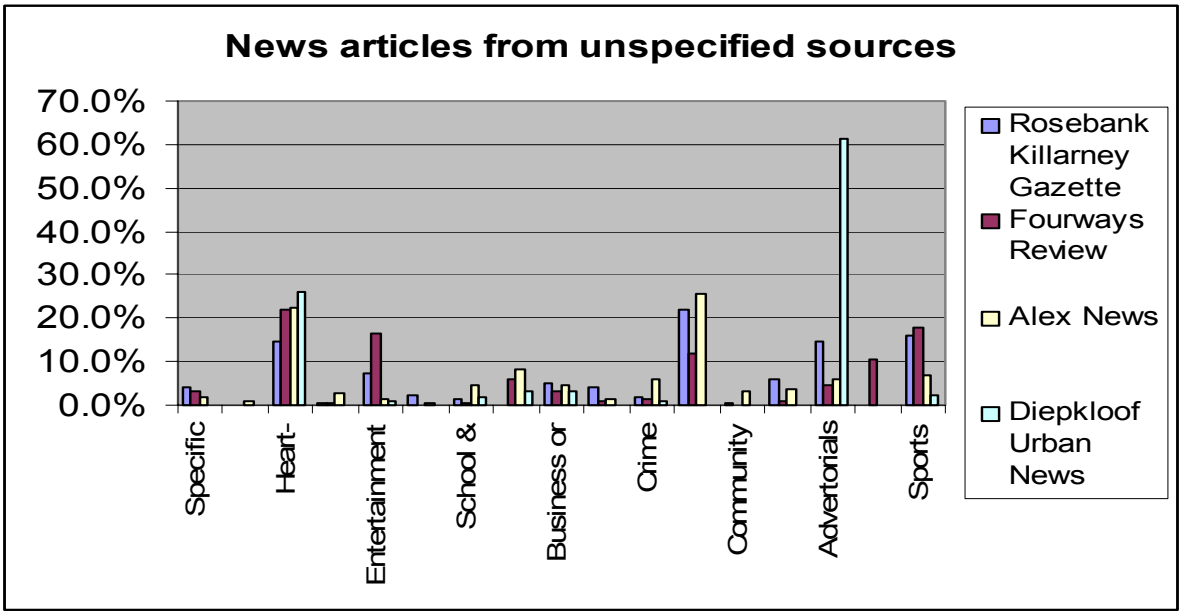


Table 4.1.7A: Summary of the area (mm²) occupied by community letters

Issue raised in the Community Letters	***Rosebank Killarney Gazette***	***Fourways Review***	***Alex News***	***Diepkloof Urban News***
Advertorials	13,100	22,100	0	0
Business or Economic conditions	0	26,650	6,500	0
Community problems	103,400	113,300	0	0
Crime or police investigation story	3,000	29,400	0	0
Crime Security	26,000	30,400	0	0
Health & Sanitation - Resident	47,050	51,175	16,900	0
Heart Warming story	212,800	280,100	25,125	0
Housing, Evictions	45,025	24,600	8,500	0
Politics and Government issues	16,175	55,950	40,225	7,350
Primarily Entertainment news	8,500	0	45,375	0
School events and Education quality	0	15,200	10,500	0
Specific accident, fire or disaster	0	13,850	0	0
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	7,125	0	8,450	0
Totals - Letters from community	**482,175**	**662,725**	**161,575**	**7,350**

Graph 4.1.7A: Summary of the area (%) occupied by news articles from newspaper readers

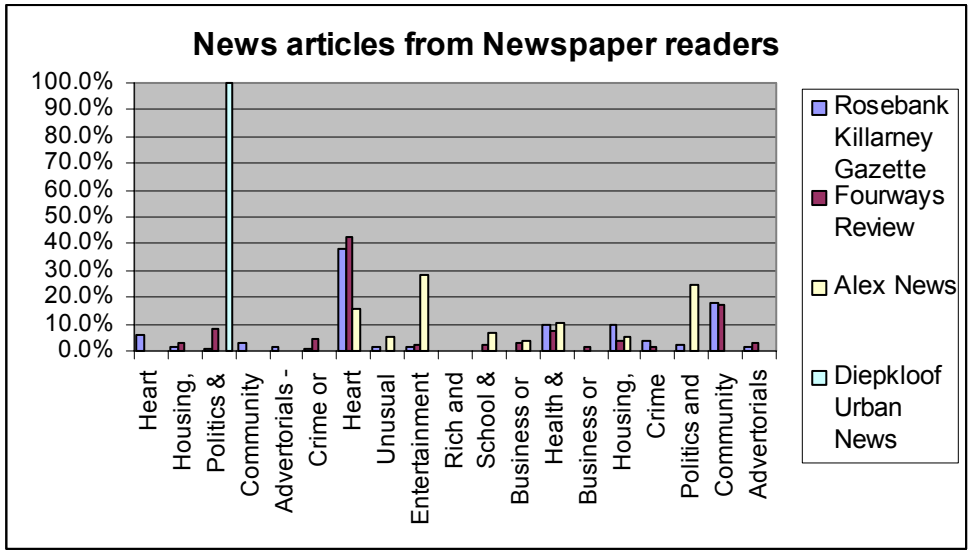


Table 4.1.8A: Summary of area (mm²) occupied by articles from news agencies & internet

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Heart Warming story - by Resident	0	0	0	36,175
Primarily Entertainment news	0	0	0	24,000
School events and Education quality	0	0	0	29,000
Business or Economic conditions	0	0	0	28,500
Health & Sanitation - Resident	0	0	0	18,200
Business or Economic conditions	0	0	0	18,500
Crime Security	0	0	0	22,525
Advertorials	0	0	0	119,250
Sport news	0	0	0	203,025
Totals - Letters from Bua News	0	0	0	**499,175**

Graph 4.1.8A: Summary of the area (%) occupied by articles from news agencies & internet

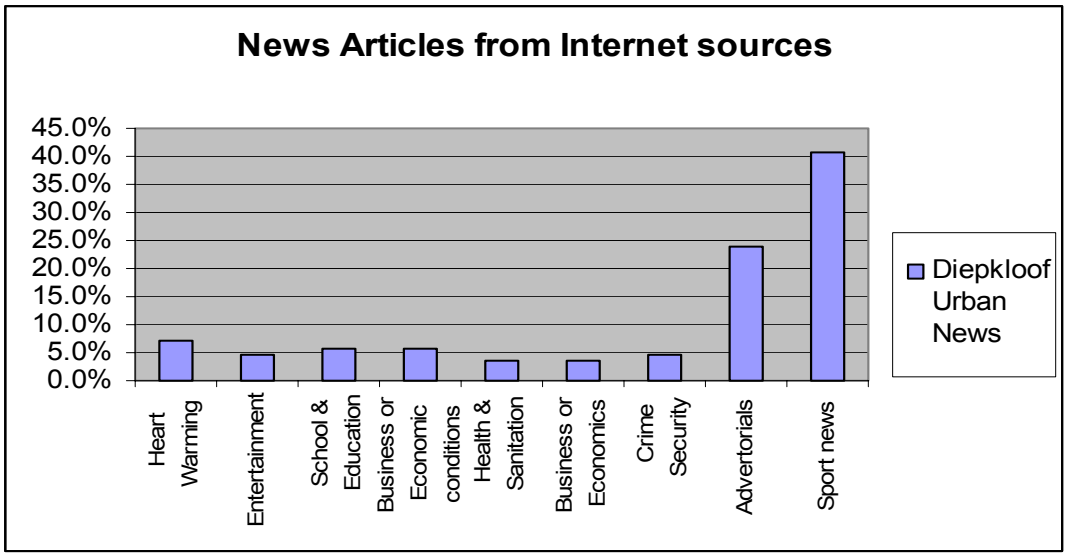


Table 4.1.9A: Summary of area (mm²) under news articles discussing community problems

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Articles by Journalists	551,075	365,400	66,725	37,125
Unspecified sources	75,375	416,550	27,500	0
Politicians	16,000	113,300	0	0
Readers	87,400	0	0	0
Totals	**729,850**	**895,250**	**94,225**	**37,125**

Graph 4.1.9A: Summary of area (%) under news articles discussing community problems

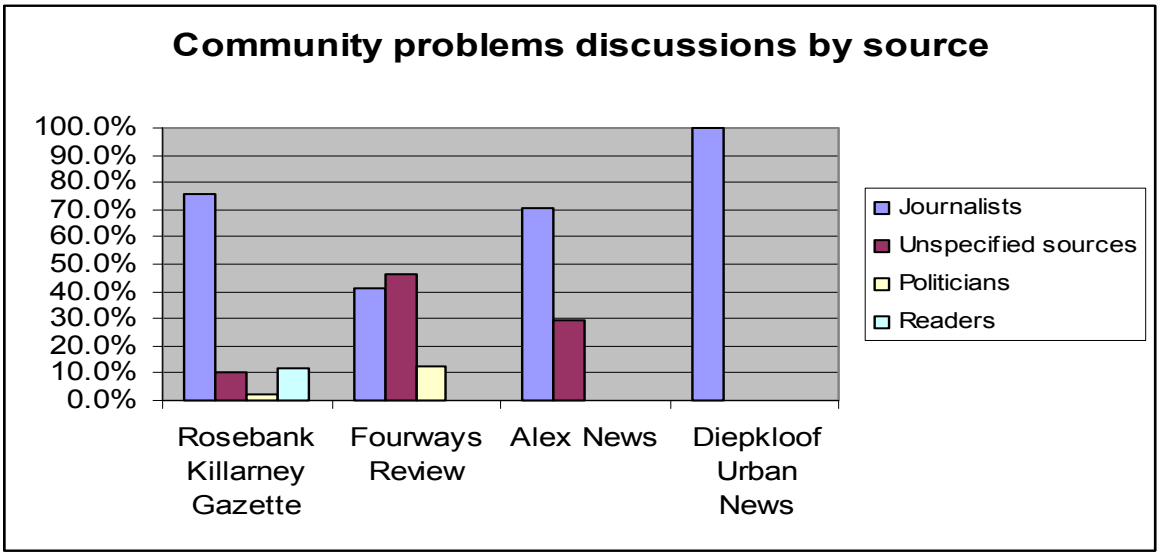


Table 4.1.10A: Summary of area (mm²) occupied by news articles on Political and Government

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Articles from journalists	244,725	398,600	194,825	7,350
Articles from unspecified sources	281,100	228,025	186,050	0
Readers' letters	12,375	55,950	40,225	0
Total Area	**538,200**	**682,575**	**421,100**	**7,350**

Graph 4.1.10A: Summary of the area (%) occupied by Political and Government issues

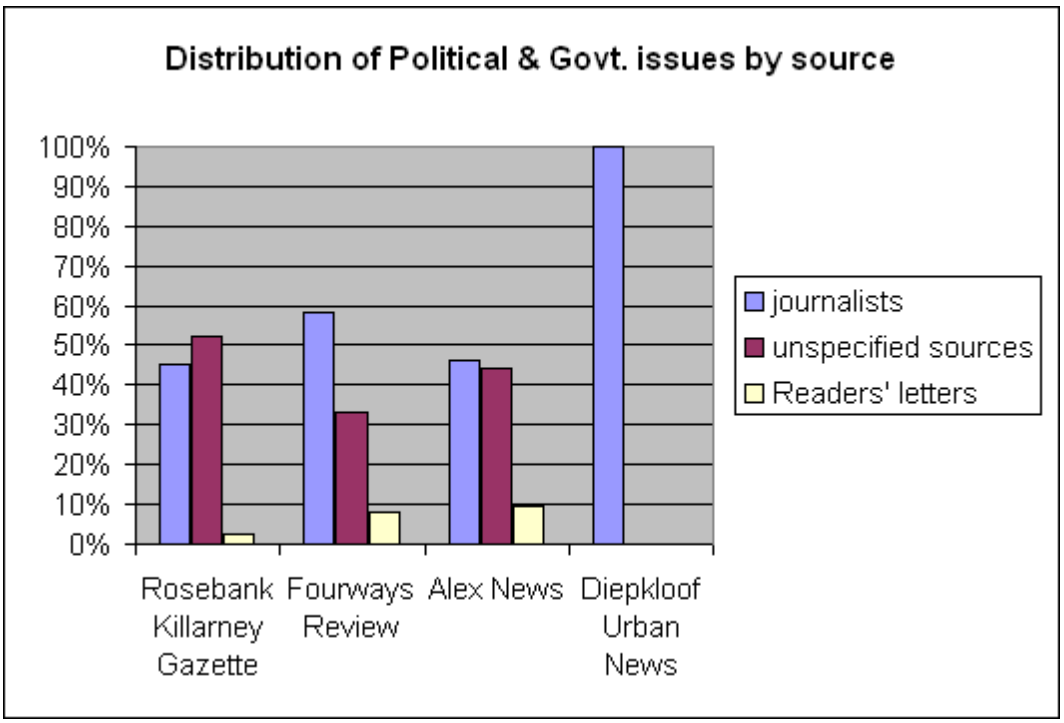


Table 4.1.11A: Summary of area (mm²) occupied by news articles from each source

Sources of News Articles	*Rosebank Killarney Gazette*	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Articles from journalists	4,805,075	10,783,501	4,653,600	3,597,750
Articles from unspecified sources	1,281,050	1,958,775	728,500	767,025
Articles from BUA news agency and internet	0	0	0	499,175
Letters from community	482,175	651,325	161,575	7,350
Totals	**6,568,300**	**13,393,601**	**5,543,675**	**4,871,300**

Graph 4.1.11A: Summary of area (%) occupied by news articles from various sources

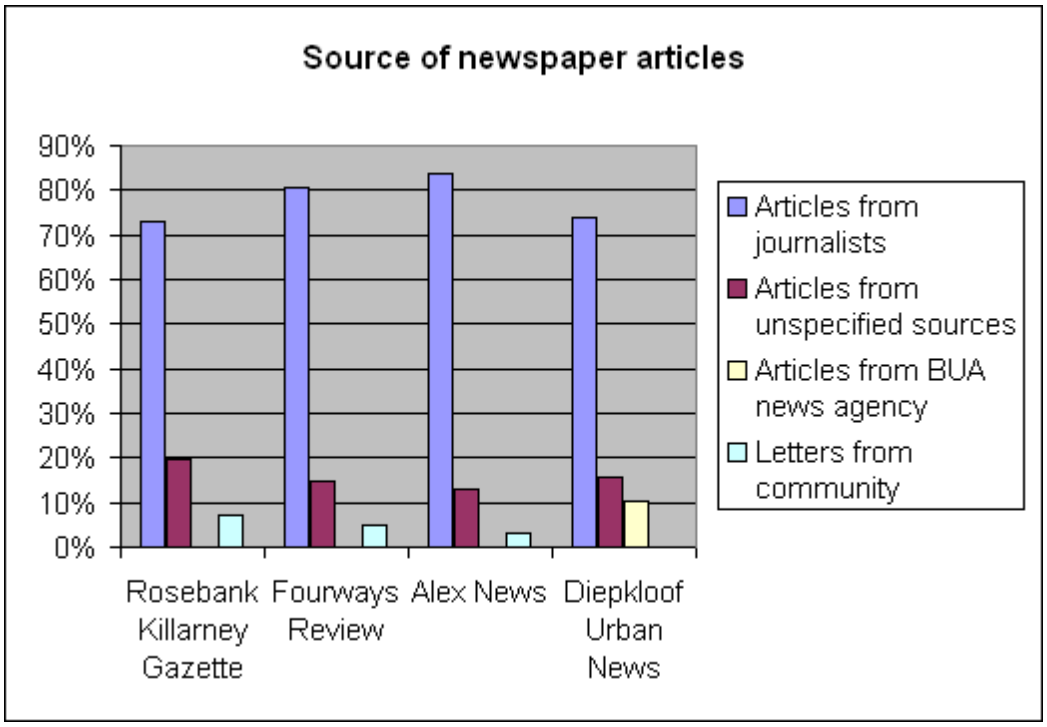


Table 4.1.12A: Summary of the area (mm²) occupied by each of the categories

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban*
Specific crime or police investigation & Police report	407,625	538,000	185,100	0
Specific accident, fire or disaster	18,550	179,025	178,800	6,000
Heart warming events	1,121,650	2,377,450	902,825	839,000
Unusual, unexpected or ironic event	181,700	372,950	28,475	6,075
Entertainment, Sport news, Snippets	2,529,975	3,927,250	1,680,700	2,489,175
Lives of the rich and famous	51,300	245,000	150,900	171,175
School events and education quality	23,750	255,075	395,450	254,125
Business or economic conditions	213,675	393,275	321,150	342,000
Health and environment	187,175	463,825	339,925	429,100
Social trends, Human rights	136,475	138,925	185,250	155,800
Housing, evictions	459,900	362,800	376,725	48,350
Crime and Security	177,700	318,925	164,425	38,525
Politics and Government issues	585,900	686,475	236,875	39,975
Community meetings, reports, proceedings	145,300	35,550	21,725	0
Community problems	733,650	496,650	94,225	37,125
Advertorials	220,300	119,475	44,900	655,800
Totals	**7,194,625**	**10,910,650**	**5,307,450**	**5,512,225**

Graph 4.1.12A: Summary of the themes and categories from all sources

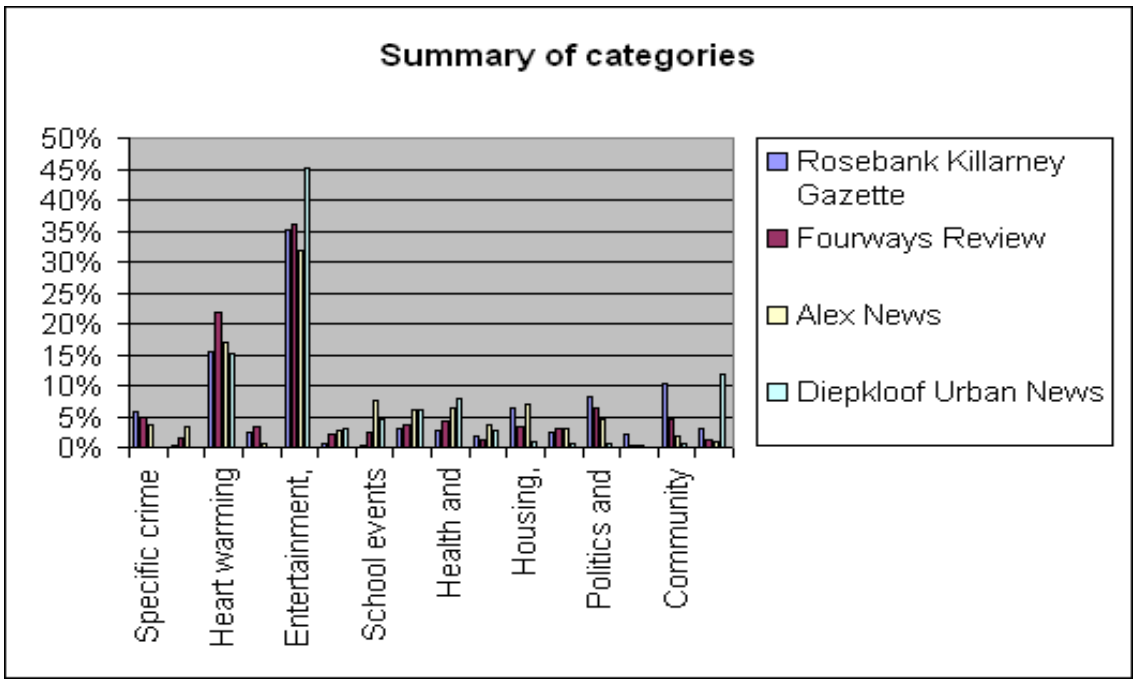
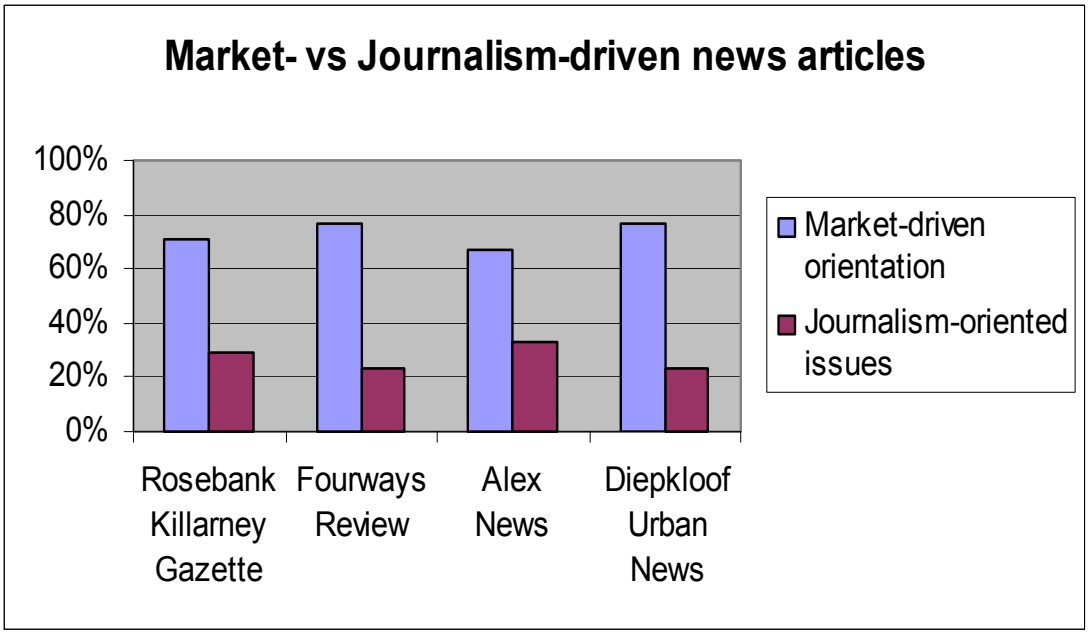


Table 4.1.13A: Summary of the area (mm²) occupied by the market or journalism oriented news

	Rosebank Killarney Gazette	*Fourways Review*	*Alex News*	*Diepkloof Urban News*
Market-driven orientation	6,517,975	10,436,225	4,714,900	4,464,000
Journalism-oriented issues	2,663,525	3,151,500	2,319,975	1,345,000
Total Area	**9,181,500**	**13,587,725**	**7,034,875**	**5,809,000**

Graph 4.1.13A: Summary of area (%) occupied by the market- vs. journalism-oriented news



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