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Digital Migration: A Comparative Study of the Digital Transition of the Print Media in Nigeria and South Africa

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ABSTRACT

The Internet is changing how people in Africa and around the world communicate. It has also greatly impacted the way the media operates. In many countries, people are depending less and less on the traditional media (newspapers, magazines, radio, television) for information and communication. Traditional newspaper organisations as well as journalists in Africa and around the world are learning to adapt and come to terms with the new technological reality. While the Internet revolution in Africa is still evolving, it has created opportunities and challenges that are redefining the way newspapers, journalists and the audience access and disseminate information.

This research examines the impact of the digital transition on newspaper journalists in Africa using Nigeria and South Africa as case studies. It reviews the effect and growing importance of the Internet, online newspapers and social media, in shaping the future of print journalism, the newspaper business and audience interaction in both countries. The research argues that new media is redefining journalism in Nigeria and South Africa. It has not only created new kinds of journalists and audience who are no longer passive receptors of news, it has thrown up new business models for the news industry facing severe glut.

The research concludes that this change has clear and far-reaching implications for journalists as well as newspapers and their audience; that if journalists in Nigeria and South Africa are aware of the importance and disruptions wrought by the new phase in the evolution of the media, there is still missing a coherent formula in dealing with the challenges and that there are a lot of factors—some beyond the purview of journalists—that are shaping their reaction.

INDEX WORDS: Corporate media, Digital media, Digitalization, Internet, Journalists, Journalism, Print newspaper, New media, Nigeria, Online journalism, South Africa.

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Committee Chair:

Committee members:

DEDICATION

Dedicated to Sola, Femi, Mobolaji, Dotun, and Moyosore, my wife and kids. I could not have done this without your love and support.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1:1 Introduction

Journalism is changing because of advances in media technology and newspapers around the world are undergoing transformation. Some people—including journalists—have predicted the demise of the newspaper as we have known it for decades. With the development of the Internet in the late 1980s came a new phase in global communication and a new approach to journalism and the aggregation of news.

The Internet has redefined news gathering and distribution, blurring the boundaries in terms of access by both givers and receivers of news and information. In the beginning of this digital transition, what newspapers needed to do was simply upload their stories online. But all that is changing. With the ease and unrestricted access that the Internet offers and the ever-expanding platforms for sharing news and information, many traditional newspapers have joined the race for visible online presence. Beyond the need for digital presence and the desire to respond to the changing habit of readers, newspapers have also found the digital platform appealing, considering that they do not have to worry about such problems as printing and distribution costs associated with traditional newspapers. But the transition has also come with its challenges.

With "free readers associations"—those who prefer to read newspapers for free or at very minimal cost at newsstands—growing and the cyber space witnessing a glut of free news and information sites, traditional newspapers have seen patronage, and therefore, advertising revenues drop. Newspapers are closing down and those not laying off journalists are asking them to receive pay cuts. The future of the newspaper as well as that of journalism and journalists appears uncertain in the era of "digital first".

Even global and well-established players like the *New York Times*[1] and *The Guardian*[2] are not left out of the turmoil. On July 23, 2018, the owner of the New York *Daily News,* Tronc, Inc., announced that it would be terminating half of its editorial staff. "'To capture the opportunities ahead and address the significant financial challenges we have faced for years, we are fundamentally restructuring the *Daily News*,' read a memo sent to the paper's staff from Tronc (now Tribune Publishing), which also owns the *Chicago Tribune, The Baltimore Sun*, the *Orlando Sentinel,* and other regional newspapers."[3] The 99-year-old *Daily News*, once the largest-circulation daily newspaper in the United States (2.4 million daily, 4.7 million on Sunday), is now claiming around 200,000 daily readers and around 260,000 on Sunday—along with a reasonable crowd of online readers and Twitter followers."[4]

What is the future of newspapers on the African continent in the midst of this "crisis"? While most newspapers in Africa now have online editions, the phenomenon of pure online newspapers is growing thus giving priority to the instantaneous reportage which the digital age requires. The advertising models of newspapers are also changing while ethical and legal issues like libel and plagiarism have arisen over time. There is the concern about declining professionalism and the issue of fairness and balance when running comments online.

Digital media provides rapid access to information especially breaking news. Groups or interests that feel marginalized by the traditional media see online media as a wonderful opportunity. It enhances interaction among different age groups, particularly young people who

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[1]Between 375 and 400 *Times* staffers participated in a walkout on October 8, 2012 over cutbacks to benefits. 'The anger is getting worse' at *New York Times': http://jimromenesko.com/2012/10/08/the-anger-is-getting-worse-at-nyt/, accessed on February 9, 2014.
[2] Between April 2010 and October 2012, *The Guardian* newspaper group cut more than 300 jobs as it battled to stem annual losses of more than £44m. 'Fear of compulsory job losses at struggling Guardian group', https://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/mediatechnologyandtelecoms/9595320/, accessed February 9, 2014.
[3] "Tronc Lays Off Half Of Daily News Editorial Staff" by Christopher Robbins: http://gothamist.com/2018/07/23/tronc_daily_news_layoffs.php, accessed August 18, 2018.
[4] "These Are the Worst of Times for American Journalism" by John Nichols: https://www.thenation.com/article/worst-times-american-journalism/, accessed August 18, 2018

have become the main drivers of online media engagement. The new digital environment is also redefining the role of the media as the Fourth Estate and the purveyors of democracy (Nmodu, pers. comm).[5] How prepared are journalists in Nigeria and South Africa in navigating this labyrinth? Some journalists[6] say digitalization and the development of social media has enhanced the quality of their work. Journalists have had to retrain themselves and institutions that can afford it have organized inhouse training for staff. Even media training programmes and journalism curricula in schools are now taking cognizance of the digital revolution.

The Internet has redefined journalism and journalists need to get used to the "New Media World Order," notes a report from the Tow Center for Digital Journalism at Columbia University. "There is no such thing as the news industry anymore. There used to be one, held together by the usual things that hold an industry together: similarity of methods among a relatively small and coherent group of businesses, and an inability for anyone outside that group to produce a competitive product. Those conditions no longer hold true.[7]

According to the authors of the report:

> If you wanted to sum up the past decade of the news ecosystem in a single phrase, it might be this: Everybody suddenly got a lot more freedom. The newsmakers, the advertisers, the startups, and, especially, the people formerly known as the audience have all been given new freedom to communicate, narrowly and broadly, outside the old strictures of the broadcast and publishing models. The past 15 years have seen an explosion of new tools and techniques, and more importantly, new assumptions and expectations, and these changes have wrecked the old clarity.[8]

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[5] Danlami Nmodu is publisher/editor-in-chief of Newsdiaryonline.com one of the rising online newspapers in Nigeria. This interview was conducted in April 2014.
[6] All the journalists and media professionals interviewed or surveyed for this research agreed that digitalization had improved the quality of their work.
[7] *Post-Industrial Journalism: Adapting to the Present* (2014), a report by Anderson, C.W., Bell, E and Shirky, C., Tow Center for Digital Journalism, Columbia Journalism School, New York.
[8] Ibid. pg 1

This is the reality journalists across Africa have to contend with. Using Nigeria and South Africa as case studies, this research seeks to scrutinize the quality, extent and the impact of the transition to digital media. What are the changes it has brought for journalists, newspapers and news consumers? Are these changes sustainable and how are journalists in both countries responding to the question of the future of the newspaper as we have known it for decades?

1.1 Significance of the Study

The Internet has spawned a new form of journalism— digital or online journalism. While the basics of journalism—good story telling, accuracy, factchecking—remain, the nature of the Internet—immediacy, spread and interactivity—is redefining how journalists are responding to news gathering and dissemination. Though there are general studies about how the Internet is affecting the practice of journalism globally and on the African continent, there is no known study that has explored in depth what all this means for practicing journalists, the newspaper industry and newspaper readers on the continent. The significance of this study, therefore, is to show the extent to which the Internet has altered the practice of journalism and the future of newspaper journalism in African relying on the situation in two of the biggest media markets on the African continent: Nigeria and South Africa.

The study explores how print media journalists in Nigeria and South Africa are responding to the challenges brought about by the Internet Revolution. While this revolution has changed information and communication flow in diverse ways and affected everything that is connected to the newspaper press—including advertising—and how traditional media houses are responding to the shift to online media, the study's main focus is how the transition has affected journalists and journalism.

Of the three areas mentioned above—newspapers, journalists and audience—none has felt the disruption more than journalists and the journalism profession. While newspapers are

adapting quickly to the new platform that the Internet provides, readers are also shifting their preferences and coming to terms with the new paradigm shift in information consumption and dissemination.

Journalists are caught in the middle of this dilemma and are seeking ways to make meaning of the disruptions in the way journalism is practiced and the opportunities and challenges that the Internet and social media provide. To understand all of this, the study will attempt to examine the impact of digitalization on journalists in Nigeria and South Africa.

The choice of these countries is premised on the fact that apart from having the largest concentration of media on the continent and accounting for more than a quarter of the continent's population, both countries are the largest economies on the African continent.[9] This would allow us to make reasonable generalizations that could apply to other countries in Africa or, at the very least, could serve as a model for countries on the continent trying to grapple with impact of technology on journalists and the journalism profession.

Of course, there is no period more auspicious for a study of this nature than now considering the growing importance of digital and social media in an information age where citizens not only have quick and easy access to news and information from mainstream media but can equally generate and distribute their own news and information. This new and quick approach to information gathering and dissemination has clear and far-reaching implications for print journalists.

The research will look at the state of the newspaper industry in the two countries under review and examine how they have been impacted by the digital transition. It will assess the major newspapers in these countries, the extent of their digital migration, its impact, challenges and what the future holds. It will also examine the extent to which citizens have engaged the

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[9] Based on latest population figures for Nigeria and South Africa

process of digitalization and interrogate if there are any socio-economic factors that define the transition.

1.2 Research Questions

To understand the impact of digitalization on journalists, newspapers and the audience, the research will seek to answer the following questions:

1. What is the state of traditional newspapers and new digital news platform (online newspapers) in Nigeria and South Africa considering current technological realities?

2. How is digitalization affecting journalists and journalism in Nigeria and South Africa?

3. How is digitalization affecting citizens' participation and social engagement?

4. How is the audience in Nigeria and South Africa responding to the changing nature of news and information flow?

5. What does the future hold for journalists and the traditional medium for news (newspapers) in Nigeria and South Africa in the age of the Internet and digital technology?

1.3 Methodology

The emergence of digital media has been described as "an unfinished experiment in the evolution of the newspaper industry, one that has caught the imagination and attention of scholars and experts."[10] While some of the predictions are gloomy, the development also offers an opportunity to explore ways to enhance journalism as well as existing practices of news production and consumption taking advantage of the advances in Internet technology.[11]

The objective of this research, therefore, is to explore the current state and future of journalism and the newspaper industry in Africa—in light of new media technologies—using a

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[10] Van Der Wurff, R., Lauf, E., Balcytiene, A., Fortunati, L., Holmberg, S., Paulussen, S., & Salaverria, R. (2008). Online and Print in Europe in 2003. Evolving towards complementarity. *COMMUNICATIONS: THE EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION RESEARCH, 33(4),* 403–430.
[11] Ibid.

comparative analysis of two countries, Nigeria and South Africa. Currently, newspapers on the continent are struggling to survive and some observers predict the complete demise of the newspaper as we have known it. The aim of this research, therefore, is to show what journalists and newspapers are doing and how the audience is responding. In defining the methodology, the focus will be on answering the research questions.

This is a pioneering research that would help define the future of the digital newspaper press in Nigeria and South Africa. In trying the understand the history and trends in the age of new media, the research will look at existing literature on new media and journalism both from the academic and professional point of view. There are not many studies on the digital transition of the newspaper press in Africa. Literature review, therefore, will cover the historical development of the print media in Nigeria and South Africa and developments in other parts of the world, particularly the United States, where the impact of digital revolution on the media has been tremendous.

The research will rely on existing literature on the state of digital media around the world, looking at the history, trends, similarities and differences, including the *New York Times* innovation report, a key document in understanding the impact of new media on newspapers. The report looks at the disruption created by the Internet in one of the world's greatest newsrooms. The review looks at the *Mapping Digital Media* project in Nigeria which shows the opportunities and risks created for the media by the growth of new media platforms as sources of news. It also looks at the developments in South Africa by exploring *State of the Newsroom South Africa: Disruptions and Transitions* (2013) which gives an insight into what South African media is doing to confront the challenge of digital technologies.

The research has three components: the newspaper industry, journalists and journalism, and finally, the audience. It uses different methodologies—both quantitative and qualitative—

from extensive primary data generated through visits to media organizations, interviews with journalists, media managers and members of the public, quantitative survey of journalists and newspaper readers in both Nigeria and South Africa to case study of newspapers and their digitalization process; from participant observation to in-depth first-person interviews and secondary data through content analysis of existing materials. The idea is to get detailed and first-hand information that enables us to make a qualitative comparison between the digitalization trends in Nigeria and South Africa which can provide a baseline for future studies.

To understand how digitalization is affecting the newspaper industry in Nigeria and South Africa, the research adopted the case study approach. Schramm (1971) quoted in Yin (1995: 17) notes that, "The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and what result." The case study is imperative in understanding the uniqueness and complexities of a phenomenon (Stake, 1995). It helps us to draw boundaries and maximize what we can learn about a particular case (Stake, 1995). Smith (1979) quoted in (Stake, 1995) defines the case as "a bounded system"; that is, the case must have clear focus and objectives.

Stakes (1995: 74) notes that, "Two strategic ways researchers reach new meanings about cases are through direct interpretation of the individual instance and through aggregation of instances until something can be said about them as a class." In analyzing and interpreting data collected from the research, the focus was not only to understand how individual newspapers, journalists, and newspaper readers in Nigeria and South Africa are faring under the new digital media environment but also to aggregate and interpret their views and opinions to establish a common pattern.

Since the research is seeking, among others, to find out how digitalization is affecting journalists and journalism in Nigeria and South Africa, how newspaper readers in Nigeria and

South Africa are responding to the changing nature of news and information flow, and how digitalization is affecting citizens' participation and social engagement, the case study approach is apposite in this study.

Yin (2009: p 2) observes that case studies work well when a "how" or "why" question is posed in a research and "the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context." As a research method, the case study helps us understand people, event, and social and political phenomena (Yin, 2009). Though the case study has been described by some researchers as lacking rigour and tilting towards bias and equivocation (Yin, 2009), in this research it offers the path to a clear understanding of what traditional newspapers are doing in dealing with the contemporary phenomenon of the Internet. Another concern about the case study is the question of generalization using a single case. This, of course, can be overcome by using a multi-case design (Yin, 2009) which this research adopts. The idea is to draw a generalization about how similar or different the impact of the Internet has been on newspapers in the two countries under review.

Though the technological determinism theory has its limitations as shown later in the research (under literature review), it will be applied in this research. The theory explains that changes in communication technology produce profound changes in society. "There is a long and still active tradition of searching for links between the dominant communication technology of an age and key features of society," notes McQuail (1994: 85). H.M. Innis, Canadian economic historian, popularized this tradition of linking the mode of communication to the way society functions. Innis (1950, 1951) cited in McQuail (1994: 85), "attributed the characteristic features of successive ancient civilizations to the prevailing and dominant modes of communication, each of which will have its own 'bias' in terms of societal form."

For Innis, new communication technologies challenged old bases of social power (McQuail (1994). McLuhan's (1964) applies this notion to the rise of the print media, noting that, "…the

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typographic extension of man brought in nationalism, industrialism and mass markets and universal literacy and education," (McQuail,1994: p 86). Just as McLuhan (1964) noted concerning the influence of print media, the Internet as a means of communication has thrown up new social order, one that not only encouraged greater interactivity but also, more than any other means of communication before it, placed power and the ability to change social, political, and even economic narratives in the hands of the audience and the public.

According to McQuail (1994), there appears to be greater agreement on the impact of "new technology" on society, "for good or ill." He goes on to note (Ibid.: 87) that, "It is hard to escape from the deterministic element in much current thinking about the 'new media, with societal effects again being attributed to intrinsic features of technology."

1.4   Research Design

The focus of the research is the newspaper press, and the objective is to determine how it has been impacted by digitalization. Questionnaires were distributed that sought to answer such questions as the history of the organization, type of newspaper, audience, circulation, digital transition policy, digital business model, social media presence and policy, as well as recruitment and training of staff in the digital era. The questionnaire was followed by interviews of senior editors and managers of the newspapers concerned.

To achieve the objectives of the research, I conducted structured interviews (for print and digital journalists) as well as in-depth interviews with more than forty people in Nigeria and South Africa comprising print and digital journalists, bloggers, editors, media researchers, publishers, media executives, reporters, journalism students, academics, media managers, etc. I visited more than ten newsrooms in both Nigeria and South Africa to observe journalists and document their activities, including their application of new media tools in their work.

The research examined the following print newspapers in Nigeria: The *Nation*, *Punch*, *Vanguard*, and *Daily Trust*; the following wholly online newspapers were surveyed: *Premium Times* and *The Cable*. The following print newspapers in South Africa were examined: *City Press*, *The Sowetan*, *Daily Sun*, *Sunday Times*, and *Mail & Guardian* which is in transition to becoming a wholly online newspaper. The following wholly online newspaper in South Africa was surveyed: *Daily Maverick*. In choosing the newspapers to survey, the research took into consideration circulation as well as social media presence/impact.

To gauge the impact of digitalization on journalists and the journalism profession in Nigeria and South Africa, I administered questionnaires to 100 journalists in each country. Most of the questionnaires were administered face-to-face which entailed visiting newsrooms in both countries. Some questionnaires were administered online using personal contacts and data bases of journalists from journalists' unions in Nigeria and South Africa. While the focus was on print and digital journalists, in light of convergence journalism in the digital age, the questionnaire also sought the views of bloggers, radio and television journalists, media and mass communication scholars and academics, and student journalists.

The questionnaire covered such issues as educational qualification, beat, and for those who work for traditional newspapers with an online version if they contributed to both platforms, their views about the internet and its impact on their work, the relationship with the audience, their preference between print and online journalism, legal and ethical challenges, dominant social media platforms in reporting and managing sources, their level of preparedness and success in using digital and social media in the coverage of news and developing stories, the effect of digitalization and social media on the quality of news and reporting, their training needs, and of course, the future of print media.

The research used homogenous purposive sampling method to pick members of the sample. The research used this method because of the shared characteristic of the sample group which is newspaper readers. To ensure representativeness, 500 newspaper readers in five major cities across both countries were randomly targeted and sampled. 200 questionnaires were distributed in each city with aim of using 100 responses. Questionnaires were distributed in the following cities in Nigeria: Abuja, Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, and Port-Harcourt; South Africa: Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and Bloemfontein. In some cities, (Abuja and Lagos in Nigeria; Johannesburg and Pretoria in South Africa) there were more than 100 respondents while other cities had fewer than 100 responses. Since the common denominator was people who read newspapers, we created a balance of 500 respondents per country.

The questionnaire considered the background of the respondents, how they receive their news and information from the media (newspaper: print/online; social media: Facebook, Blogs, Twitter, E-mail newsletters, etc.), how often they read newspapers and their preference between print and online newspapers, the kinds of information they are looking for when they read newspapers, how much time they spend reading newspapers, their ability to interact with journalists and other readers and community engagement, if they pay to read newspapers online and their willingness to pay to read newspapers online, challenges of reading papers online and the social media platforms they use or find most convenient in connecting with newspapers online.

Most of the questionnaire were given out directly while some were sent via email. The results of the survey were entered into an online data analysis tool which aggregated the data. This was followed by an analysis of the views of journalists and newspaper readers in both countries. This is essential to understand the factors that are influencing the digital transition. By reviewing select newspapers and journalists in both countries, it allows the

research to do thorough comparative analysis and gain more knowledge and insight into the thinking of these actors and what exactly is their role in the digital transition.

1.5   Outline of Chapters

Chapter one gives an insight into the reasons for this research, the design and significance of the research, the questions raised, and the methodology adopted in dealing with the research questions. It covers the general introduction, which includes the design and purpose of study.

Chapter two is a review of current literature on digitalization of newspapers and how journalists, newspapers and readers are responding to the new phenomenon. It examines the meaning of digital journalism and the trends in Nigeria and South Africa as well as other parts of the world, the impact and challenges of new media on social communication and the notion of participatory democracy. It also provides a theoretical framework for the study, exploring extant materials on the new approaches to the business of journalism and the future of journalism in the digital age.

Chapter three is an overview of the history and development of newspapers in Nigeria and South Africa and their digitalization process. It examines the newspaper landscape in the two countries and explores the digital migration of select newspapers in both countries.

Chapter four focuses on how newspaper readers in both Nigeria and South Africa are responding to the new phenomenon of digital media. It looks at citizens' response and how they provide feedback to the media. It examines the challenges and opportunities for audience participation, the role of citizens in shaping the new information environment and how they are making sense of news and information glut in the era of the Internet.

Chapter five looks at the effect of digitalization on journalists in Nigeria and South Africa. It details the outcome of a survey which examines the issues, challenges and opportunities brought about by digitalization and how they have impacted on journalists and their work.

Chapter six focuses on interpretation of data from the research and provides a comparative analysis of digitalization and audience response in Nigeria and South Africa as well as a comparative analysis of the effect of digitalization on journalists in Nigeria and South Africa.

Chapter seven is a general discussion and analysis of the impact and future of digitalization in Nigeria and South Africa. It gives a summary of the findings of the research as well as conclusion and recommendations.

2.   CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2:1   Introduction

Today, rapid advancement in digital and social media is bringing the world closer to the realization of unhindered flow of information. The cost of publishing and broadcasting is falling, making materials and information affordable and within the reach of a large number of people. Digital media, particularly social media, is changing the way people communicate around the world and changing the traditional mass-media (Fine, 2010).

Anyone armed with a digital camera, a mobile phone, a tablet or laptop computer can send and receive information from any part of the world in a space of a few minutes. Distance is no longer a barrier to free flow of information across national boundaries (Contreras, 2013). This phenomenon has affected the way people communicate and the way the traditional media gives out information. People are depending less and less on the traditional media (newspapers, magazines, television, radio) for information and even communication. They see new media as less cumbersome, cheaper, faster, more effective and more engaging (Bauerlein, 2011).

The trend has given rise to a situation where the business of journalism and news dissemination is no longer limited to professional journalists. Citizen journalists are fast stepping into the role of professional journalists using the tools of the new information age to fulfill this new role of rapid dissemination of information (Banda, 2010). This, of course, has implications for the future of the media and also on the ethics of the profession.

Media organizations in Africa and around the world are learning to adapt and come to terms with this reality. The power of digital communication is that it allows people to organize at unprecedented speed and challenge the orthodoxy of information by the state and big business (Contreras, 2013). Gone are the days when people waited with folded arms to receive information via media institutions controlled by the state or depended on traditional media for news (Ghonim, 2012).

In the last two decades, the traditional media landscape has been transformed by the influence of technology. This transformation has led to the emergence of the term new media. Unlike the traditional media, new media offers quick, easy and borderless access on different devices. It has engendered interactivity and a feedback mechanism between media operators and their audience. Beyond this, it has also expanded the frontiers of citizens' engagement in the social and political process. Citizens are not only able to access news and information at the touch of a button they are also able to create and distribute news and information from anywhere.

Digital media which started with the computerization of newsrooms and news production is redefining journalism and the media business. From using computers in the newsroom, newspapers around the world have taken full advantage of digital technology by providing content online. Some have gone even further as witnessed by the rise of wholly online newspapers. In the last two decades since the emergence of e-newspapers, there have been many studies and scholarly works that have sought to define and understand the trajectory of new media and its impact on journalists, journalism, the media business and the audience.

In these scholarly interventions, a few points have emerged. The first, and perhaps, the most critical question is whether the newspaper as we know it today can survive another decade. The evolution of new media has also witnessed the convergence of technology which has proven to be a game changer in reshaping the media/information landscape. Today, unlike in the past, a single device, a mobile phone, for example, can serve as a phone, a camera, and audio and video recorder, an editing suite and publishing tool. What this means is that today's journalist has to be multi-skilled—a reporter, photographer/cameraman, editor and producer, capable of telling stories using text, audio and video while newsrooms and newspapers have become more sophisticated and tech-driven operations (Iwere, 2015).

Of course, this sophisticated operation comes with its challenges. In the digital age, newspapers that decide to have online presence or decide to operate as digital only business still need to invest heavily on such things as having a well-equipped digital newsroom, the latest digital equipment for reporters, Internet security, training and retraining of reporters and other staff. Then there is the greatest challenge: revenue to keep the business solvent. While infrastructure—printing press, storage facility, the hassles of distribution, etc.—isn't a problem for new media operators, the question of revenue and sustainability has become a recurring issue.

Even before the shift to online publishing, newspapers were already reeling under the effect of dwindling advert revenue and decreasing sales. Now, online newspapers not only have to deal with how to generate revenue through online advertisement, they have to contend with organized and random competitors in an open forum, which is what the Internet is, and a newspaper paper audience that has gotten used to "free" information and news because of the overwhelming influence of social media and the unrestricted flow of information.

Finally, the third leg of the new media tripod—the other two being the media business and journalists—the audience, is not left out in the transformational effect of technology. In many parts of Africa, as well as the global South, the ability of citizens to receive, create and disseminate information is dependent on so many factors. The state and cost of social infrastructure such as electricity, Internet, and mobile telephony pose a challenge as responses from newspaper readers in the countries under review in this study has shown. This research looks at some of the existing materials on digitalization and its impact on the media business, journalists and the audience, the gaps that exist and what needs to be done.

2:1 What is digital journalism?

Not many people expected the Internet to change the face of journalism the way it has done in the last two decades. With the influence of the Internet on journalism has emerged such

monikers as digital journalism, online journalism, cyber journalism, new media journalism, interactive journalism, and multimedia journalism (Kawamoto, 2003).

According to Kawamoto (2003, p. ix):

> Digital journalism was not always a welcome addition to the academic curriculum or the news industry. In the early 1990s, some faculty members and industry professionals believed that the Internet and World Wide Web were nothing more than passing fads and therefore not worthy of close attention by serious journalists and journalism educators. Today, few would disagree that digital media technologies are an important and enduring feature of the global communication landscape and that they will have as significant an impact (if not more of one) on society as books, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television.

As a new phenomenon, digital journalism still has a few conceptual issues and there is no general agreement on what it means because of its scope. For some, it could just mean posting online contents from traditional media (newspapers, radio, television) while others prefer to take a more professional and technical approach which includes designing contents specifically for the web and making use of the jargons associated with the Internet. (Kawamoto, 2003).

The transition to online journalism is one of the most momentous events in the history of mass media but it has taken centuries to materialize. Smith (1979) quoted in Boczkowski (2004) notes that the first daily publication was *Einkommende Zeitungen* (*Incoming News*), established by the bookseller, Timotheus Ritzsch. Boczkowski (2004, p. 4) in his study of the transition of daily newspapers in America to online publishing ventures, notes that:

> New media emerge by merging existing social and material infrastructures with novel technical capabilities, a process that also unfolds in relation to broader contextual trends. More specifically, online newspapers have emerged by merging print's unidirectional and text-based traditions with networked computing's interactive and (more recently) multimedia potentials. This has occurred partly as a reaction to major socioeconomic and technological trends, such as changing competitive scenario and developments in computers and telecommunications—trends that, turn, online newspapers have influenced.

Carlson (2003) traces the roots of online journalism to 1970 in Great Britain with the invention of the teletex, "a noninteractive system for transmission of text and graphics for display on a television set. The set must be equipped with a decoder box or built-in chip in order to capture and display the teletext information." According to Carlson (2003: p. 32), "In the three decades since 1970, only two kinds of online journalism systems have emerged: the teletex and videotext. But videotext is a broad category that has changed dramatically over the years and includes four distinct types of online systems: classic videotext, computer bulletin boards, consumer online services, and the World Wide Web."

The first journalism site on the Web was established in November 1993 at the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications, and, the Palo Alto Weekly in California, was the first newspaper in the U.S. to publish regularly on the Web on January 19, 1994, (Carson, 2003). By May 1995, over 150 U.S. dailies were visible online. Carson (2003) attributes the push to the possibilities of online journalism. According to Carson (2003, p. 53), "Online journalism has the potential to take the best things about newspapers, magazines, radio, and television and wrap them up into a single new product with all the strengths of existing media and few, if any, of the weaknesses."

Kawamoto's (2003: p. 4) definition of digital journalism approximates the expression, old wine in a new wineskin. He describes it as, "an old practice in a new context—a synthesis of tradition and innovation…the use of digital technologies to research, produce, and deliver (or make accessible) news and information to an increasingly computer-literate audience." This definition, of course, comes with its own challenges. For example, there are questions whether bloggers, amateur reporters (citizen journalists), Internet-only, and independent journalist can qualify as digital journalists. At the end of the day, the answer lies in who is raising the question and to what end.

One of the highlights of digital journalism is the changing business model. Unlike the traditional media that depends on sales and advertising, the digital media phenomenon has to contend with provision of free content. Different digital platforms, including traditional media organisations that have migrated online, have tried and are still experimenting with different business models such as erecting paywalls and setting up banner ads. "The bottom line," notes Kawamoto (2003: p. 24), "is that the financial outlook for digital media organizations is not rosy." Kawamoto (ibid.) argues that, "digital journalism will not disappear because, ultimately, it is becoming an essential component in the contemporary news environment. In a relatively short period beginning in the mid-1990s, millions of people have adopted the Internet as their primary or secondary source of news and information."

The characteristics of online journalism include "ubiquitous news, global information access, instantaneous reporting, interactivity, multimedia content, and extreme content customization" (Pavlik, 2001: xi). While he notes the challenges associated with traditional journalism: "authenticity of content, source verification, accuracy and truth," Pavlik (ibid) describes online journalism as a "potentially better form of journalism because it can reengage an increasingly distrusting audience." While he agrees that the Internet is key in defining online journalism, he also points to a number of global economic, regulatory and social forces shaping the transformation of journalism.

Pavlik (2001: p. xiii) points to four ways that online journalism has transformed journalism:

> First, the nature of news content is inexorably changing as a result of emerging new media technology. Second, the way journalists do their work is being retooled in the digital age. Third, the structure of the newsroom and news industry is undergoing a fundamental transformation. And fourth, new media are bringing about a realignment of the relationship between and among news organisations, journalists, and their many publics, including audiences, sources, competitors, advertisers and governments.

Though today's journalism has been defined mainly by the Internet and technological advances, Hall (2001: p 1) points to other factors, including "the globalisation of ownership, the widespread deregulation of broadcast news media, entrepreneurial risk economies seeking private money and initiatives, the mobilisation of new power relationships with the fall of the Iron Curtain and a whole spectrum of changes in social and cultural mores from reading habits to new routes to identity and subjectivity." These factors combine to give meaning to the trajectory of online journalism, one that must take many things into consideration: an audience that is at once "local and global," and the interactivity of the medium (Hall, 2001).

While the debate about what online journalism is goes on, there is the other question of the future of journalism in the digital age, whether traditional journalism as we have known will become obsolete, "supplanted by Internet-based information delivery systems." (Hall, 2001: p. 3). We cannot discus online journalism without highlighting the point that technology is taking over many of the role of traditional journalism. According to Hall (2001), traditional journalism is still important in giving meaning to online journalism, "but many traditional journalistic values such as objectivity, impartiality, accountability, balance, fairness, and trustworthiness have, for old media, become ciphers and urgently need to be reviewed in light of a new medium that trails with it all the confusions, opportunity and excitement of film one hundred years ago and printing at the time of Caxton (Hall: Ibid., 3).

Are journalists and citizens enjoying greater "freedom" in the era of online journalism considering the ease with which news and information can be shared, the low cost and the borderless nature of the Internet? In trying to address the issue of freedom for journalists in the era of online journalism, (Jones and Salter: 2011, p 131) argue that, "journalism is not restricted primarily because of the technologies through which it is mediated, but, of course, because of the policy choices made by governments. Whilst there are ever more opportunities

to participate in journalism, and whilst there are fewer obstacles to publish, the state retains its right to legislate over citizens, organisations, practices and technologies."

2.2 Theoretical framework

Theories of the media have usually been shaped by a number of factors, including social, political, economic, and ideological (McQuail,1994). In developing media theories, some scholars focus on the media and its ability to regenerate itself, while others (Golding and Murdock, 1978 cited in McQuail,1994) argue that since media reflects political and economic forces in society, media theories are in part a reflection of broader social theory.

For McQuail (1994: p 4), theory can be defined "not only as a system of law-like propositions, but as any set of ideas which can help make sense of a phenomenon, guide action or predict a consequence." Christians et al (2009: p 19) define theory as "reasoned explanation of why certain actions lead to certain outcomes." They argue that, "The question of the role of journalism in a democratic society is so central that even students and practitioners of communication are used to taking it for granted. Yet, today, both journalism and democracy are challenged by great changes, ranging from information technology to the global economy" (Ibid., p vii). How this challenge plays out is reflected in the views of Siebert et al (1956: pp 1-2) who argue that, "the press takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. Especially, it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted."

This relationship between the media and society forms the bedrock of what has been described as the normative theory of the press. Siebert el al (1956) segmented this theory into four parts (Four Theories of the Press): "The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist." For a long time, this typology "provided a welcome stimulus to

reflection about the media's role in society by suggesting that press systems are linked to different political systems and philosophies" (Christians et al: 2009, pp 3-4).

Because of the global socio-economic changes and developments in international relations as well as the rise of new media technology in the last few decades, the normative theory as expounded by Siebert el al (1956) has come under scrutiny because of its limited framing of history and its analytical inadequacy (Christians et al, 2009). It has been described as "a child of the Cold War era, when the world was deeply divided between the capitalist West, the socialist East, and the underdeveloped South" (Christians et al: 2009, p 4). For McQuail (1994), because of the relative decline of print media and the rise of electronic media, the proliferation in the technical and institutional forms of the media and the volume of content produced and disseminated, it makes it difficult to apply any unitary, holistic or even consistent framework of norms to a particular national "media system."

According to Christians et al (2009, 16):

> *Four Theories* had a great didactic advantage as it introduced a typology of press systems, each type implying a different political system with its own political philosophy. The problem was that it collapsed into one level of consideration at least three levels of analysis: philosophical approaches, political systems, and press systems. Further, it identified each type with a very concrete historical case situated in specific countries.

Their opposing argument is that though the three levels of analysis—philosophical traditions, political systems, and media systems—are related, each has its own logic which is different from the others (Christians et al, 2009). The normative theory of the media throws up a number of complex issues, including "the deep historical and cultural roots of the issues, and the multiplicity of levels at which normative issues have to be confronted" (Christians et al: 2009, p 17).

"From Gutenburg on, technology has always shaped the way that news is gathered and disseminated," notes Hachten (2005: p 51). "In the first half of the 20th century, newspapers

depended on the telegraph, the telephone, the typewriter, hot type (Linotypes), and the rotary press to get out newspapers. But from about 1960, a wide range of innovations, loosely called new technology, came along and markedly affected journalism and especially news from abroad." What this information revolution meant for the print media was acceleration of high-speed transmission and electronic processing, an expansion of the gathering, storing, and transferring of words for newspapers, magazines, and books (Hachten, 2005). "Computerized composition and offset printing techniques have simplified production, leading to desktop publishing. Today, small newspapers exist that are published using a computer, printer, copying machine, and a staff of two or three people," (Ibid.: p 51).

In understanding the impact of technology on journalism, we can apply several media theories to explain the relationship between new technologies and journalism practice. One popular theory is the technological determinism theory which looks at technology as a social force which can change journalistic practice. According to Heinrich (2011: p 15), proponents of "technological determinism, (Ellul, 1964; Negroponte, 1995, Meyrowitz, 1985) see technology as an independent power, which holds the capacity to administrate control over processes of communication." While it is tenable to infer the impact of technological innovations on journalistic practice, that alone cannot explain the transformation that is going on in the era of the Internet.

McLuhan (1962, 1964), was one of the first scholars to look at the relationship between communication technologies and society (Heinrich, 2011). One of the outcomes of the development of media technology, according to McLuhan, was its ability to "'shrink' the world by overcoming distances…leading to the 'vision of a thus far unknown inclusion of entire cultures and societies into a 'global village'" Heinrich (2011: p 16). According to Heinrich (ibid), "McLuhan inspired much of the discussion about a globalized world and drew attention to the

role of communication technologies by stressing that media technologies affected first and foremost societies and not so much the content of the media."

Heinrich (2011), however, argues that the effect of technology on society and journalism should not be interpreted in terms of technological determinism since humans are both the users and inventors of technology. He contends that, "No matter how strong the impact of technology on human lives might be, the most active part of the interplay between technology and people is still the humans behind the machines and not the machines in themselves," (Ibid.: p 15). As far journalism is concerned, technologies are tools that journalists use in order to communicate their information. "Technologies are instruments in the hands of humans and can affect work procedures, but not determine them," (Heinrich: 2011, p 15). For Braman (2004: p 139) cited in Heinrich (2011: p 15), "Although it is true that technologies have structural effects on society as well as on individual cognition, it is also true that it is society that determines just how technologies will be used."

McQuail (1994) expands this relationship between media and society further when he notes that while the mass media has its own distinctive set of norms and practices, the scope of its activities is defined and limited by the wider society; that is, the media is dependent on society and its institutions, both political and economic. He argues further that, "The nature of the relation between media and society depends on circumstances of time and place (Ibid, p 2)

According to McQuail (1994: p 3),

> Media-centric theory sees mass media as a primary mover in social change and often times driven forward by irresistible developments of communication technology. Whether or not society is driven by the media, it is certainly true that mass communication theory itself is so driven, tending to respond to each major shift of media technology and structure.

From this explanation, McQuail (1994) extrapolates four kinds of theory which are relevant to mass communication: social scientific, normative, operational and everyday theory.

Rogers (1986: p 9) cited in McQuail (1994: p 87), a 'soft technological determinist,' views "technology along with other factors, as causes of change." He "identifies three crucial features of the new technology as their interactivity, their individualized, demassified nature and the 'asynchronous nature of the new communication systems,' (they are no longer time-bound)."

Castells (2013: p xix) notes that, "Communication practices include interpersonal communication and mediated communication," and that:

> At the societal scale, it is mediated communication that constitutes the symbolic environment in which people receive, process, and send the signals that produce meaning in their lives. The dynamics and effects of mediated communication depend on the culture, organization, and technology of specific communication systems. Therefore, the transformation of communication by the advent of digital communication, and the associated changes in organization and culture, have deeply modified the ways in which power relationships operate.

2:3   The global perspective

Communication was completely transformed when in 1991, Tim Berners-Lee created the hypertext technology that became the World Wide Web. This led to the development of Hypertext Markup Language, or HTML, which allowed anyone with a modest amount of knowledge to publish documents as web pages that could be easily linked to other pages anywhere in the world (Gillmor, 2004).

The Internet has created a new global media system. According to McChesney (2015: p 78), "By the end of the 1990s, a global turning point was reached in the realm of the media. Whereas media systems had been primarily national before the 1990s, a global commercial media market has emerged full force by the dawn of the twenty-first century."

As McChesney (2015: p 78) notes,

> In the past, to understand any nation media's situation, one first had to understand the local and national media and then determine where the global market—which largely meant imports and exports of films, TV shows, books, and music fit in. Today, one must first grasp the nature and logic of the global commercial system and then determine how local and national

media deviate from the overall system. The rise of a global commercial media system is closely linked to the rise of a significantly more integrated 'neoliberal' global capitalist economic system. To some extent, the rise of a global media market is encouraged by new digital and satellite technologies that make global markets both cost-effect and lucrative.

"The printing press and broadcasting are a one-to-many medium," notes Gillmor (2004: p 13). "The telephone is one-to-one. Now we had a medium that was anything we wanted it to be: one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many. Just about anyone could own a digital printing press, and have worldwide distribution." Writing on the web led to the rise of alternative media and a new kind of news, giving everyday people—citizen journalists—the tools they needed to join the emerging global conversation. According to Gillmor (2004: p 18),

> By the turn of the new century, the key building blocks of emergent, grassroots journalism were in place. The Web was already a place where established news organizations and newcomers were plying an old trade in updated ways, but the tools were making it easier for anyone to participate. We needed a catalyst to show how far we'd come. On September 11, 2001, we got that catalyst in a terrible way. Back in America, members of the then nascent weblog community had discovered the power of their publishing tool. They offered abundant links to articles from large and small news organizations, domestic and foreign. New York City bloggers posted personal views of what they'd seen, with photographs, providing more information and context to what the major media was providing.

The Internet has changed journalism. Now, almost everyone has the ability to create news. In this multidirectional, digital environment, audience can be an integral part of the process—and it's becoming clear that they must be (Gillmor, 2014). According Jeff Jarvis, a prolific blogger cited in Gillmor (2004: p 111),

> More and more, journalism is going to be owned by the audience. That doesn't mean there isn't a place for pro-journalists, who will always be there—who need to be there—to gather the facts, ask questions with some measure of discipline and pull together a larger audience. What I've learned is that the audience, given half a chance, has a lot to say. The Internet is the first medium owned by the audience, the first medium to give the audience a voice.

Gillmor (2004), however, cautions journalists not to see this as a threat but an opportunity for even better journalism.

2:4 Digitalization and the business of journalism

The central issue in the debate about the impact of technology on media and journalists has been the issue of a business model that would make newspapers profitable (Stephens, 2014). Newspapers and media organizations must make money to remain in business. The Internet does not afford the same opportunity that print offers in terms of revenue from advertising. Also, unlike print newspapers, the Internet defies the logic of bundling content for readers by splitting users and their tastes and picking and choosing what they want without having to go through the whole package (Brock, 2014).

"The Internet has taken the economic basis away from commercial journalism, especially newspapers, and left the rotting carcass for all to see," says McChesney (2013: p 172). For a long time, the news media depended on direct advertisement, but all that is changing because of the competition from the Internet. Using America as an example, McChesney (2013: p 172) notes that, "In 2000, daily newspapers received nearly $20 billion from classifieds; in 2011, the figure was $5 billion." More and more readers are moving to the Internet because they can find online for free much of the journalism they want and while more people are depending less on traditional newspapers for their news (McChesney, 2013).

"The digital transformation of advertising has had a devastating effect on journalism. Commercial interests have decided that journalism is no longer a viable investment, and they are jumping ship," says McChesney (2015: p li). Unfortunately, the expectation that the Internet would eventually replace dying old media with digital commercial journalism that would likely be far superior to what it replaced has not been fulfilled (McChesney, 2015).

Three ways the business of news hopes to deal with the challenge of new media is to make readers pay for content online through subscription, erecting paywalls so that non-subscribers would have to pay to read content, and soliciting for donations from individuals and corporate entities. Many online newspapers and traditional newspapers that have e-version or heavy

presence online are resorting to erecting pay walls. This has been greeted with mixed feelings. For many readers accustomed to getting news and information for free from multiple channels, migrating to a site that they would need to pay is not a welcome development.

The paywall debate, it appears, "will continue for many years because no clear business model has emerged from experiments so far" (Brock: 2013, p 151). Each of the survival strategies, of course, has its limitations. First, the inclination of most readers is to move away from platforms that charge for items they can get elsewhere for free. For those willing to subscribe, the disposition to share stories—which online platforms with paywalls discourage—is another turnoff. "The New York Times's first experiment with a paywall around all its output in 2009 was brought to an end by a mutiny among the paper's most famous columnists, who objected to being isolated from their audience and the reactions on which they had come to rely," notes Brock (2013: p 152).

If the paywall idea appears not to be a profitable one, it seems the age-long tradition of advertising remains the way out. But as McChesney (2015: pp li-lii) notes,

> Advertising provided the vast majority of revenue for journalism in the twentieth century and made news media lucrative. Advertisers needed to help pay for journalism to attract readers and viewers to news media who would see their ads. That was the deal. Advertisers supported the news media because they had no other choice if they wished to achieve their commercial goals; they of course had no intrinsic attachment to the idea of a free press. In the era of smart targeted digital advertising, advertisers far less frequently place ads on specific websites and hope to appeal to whoever might visit those sites. Instead, they purchase access to target audiences directly and place ads through Internet ad networks that locate the desired targets wherever they are online. Advertisers don't need to support journalism or content creation at all.

Brock (2013) thinks the way out is for newspapers to learn from their experiments, including the ones that fail, bearing in mind that new discoveries and trends will appear all the time. He notes that, "In a digital world in which information is so quickly shared, failure in business can be a form of public good (but success is better)" (Brock: 2013, p 152).

The gravitation to the Internet has witnessed an era of "free news" or "news crisis". This has challenged print media and traditional business models. According to Cagé (2016), the print media is struggling to deal with the glut of information online, dwindling readership and advertisement patronage. She proposes the nonprofit media organization (NMO), as the future of media, a combination of donor/shareholder approach that puts the power in the hands of small investors.

How will dwindling advertising affect the business fortunes of the media in the digital age? According to McChesney (2015: p lii), "Advertising gave the illusion that journalism is a naturally, even supremely, commercial endeavor. But when advertising disappears, journalism's true nature comes into focus: it is a public good, something society requires but that the market cannot provide in sufficient quality or quantity. Like other public good, if society wants it, it will require public policy and public spending. There is no other way. The marriage of capitalism and journalism is over."

For Cagé (2016), the news media faces an existential "crisis" that has "grown radically worse in recent years." Furthermore, the failure to act, she argues, threatens to undermine our participatory democracy, by letting news become a mere "toy" for "billionaires in search of influence," "a playground for entrepreneurs in search of entertainment" or "a hunting ground for speculators in search of lucrative deals."

2:5   Digitalization and participatory journalism

The Internet as a means of communication has transformed the way people interact more that any communication medium before it. It has not only grown in a way distinctly different from any medium before it (Bowman and Willis, 2003), it has also affected journalism and "news" as a concept more than any other medium. Castells (2012) notes that the Internet has enabled a global network which has played an important role in the current networked social movement

making it possible for socialized communication and the extension of communication media to all social life in a way that is both local and global, generic and customized.

While Bowman and Willis (2003) note that it is difficult to predict how the Internet will change mainstream media and to what magnitude, they see the transition leading to what they describe as "participatory journalism" where audiences are becoming stakeholders in the news process rather than passively accepting news coverage decided upon by a handful of editors. Citizens not only challenge perceived editorial shortcomings on weblogs and in forums, they also support or fund independent editorial enterprises.

Bowman and Willis (2003) define participatory journalism as "The act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information. The intent of this participation is to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires." With participatory journalism, which new media offers, "there is little or no editorial oversight and no formal journalistic input in what is produced. What you find are simultaneous, distributed conversations that take a life of their own positively or negatively on social media. News is increasingly being produced by individuals and organizations outside journalism. For Bowman and Willis (2003: p 7), "The venerable profession of journalism finds itself at a rare moment in history where, for the first time, its hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened by not just new technology and competitors but, potentially, by the audience it serves."

Bowman and Willis (2003), make a distinction between participatory journalism and traditional journalism, the most obvious being the different structure and organization that produce them. They note that traditional media are created by hierarchical organizations that are built for commerce and their business models are broadcast and advertising focused. While traditional journalism value rigorous editorial workflow, profitability and integrity, participatory

journalism on the other hand is created by networked communities that value conversation, collaboration and egalitarianism over profitability.

Journalism is about people, not technology and therefore engagement matters. Batsell (2015) refers to the last half of the twentieth century as an era of "disengaged journalism" or "one-way mass media" in term of audience interaction. He notes that while journalists focused on informing their audience, they maintained an aloofness that bordered on arrogance and advertisers seeking to reach the public had few options in newspapers, television stations, and radio stations. The journalist was in charge and shaped what was the most important news.

Batsell (2015: p 7) defines engaged journalism as "the degree to which a news organization actively considers and interacts with its audience in furtherance of its journalistic and financial mission." Before the advent of new media, journalists could afford to disengage from their audience without any economic implication. But the Internet has created diverse options for news consumers, which means that news organizations must not only earn their audiences' attention, they must build loyalty and deepen trust (Batsell, 2015). An engaged news organization creates value by showing it is relevant to the needs of its audience. Engaged journalism requires a lot of hard work and journalists must find a way to maintain it considering the shifting interest of audiences (Batsell, 2015).

One of the things that new media has spurred is the convergence of media ownership which in itself has heightened the emergence of alternate or independent media, the catalyst of social movements. Wall (2003: p 113) cited in Kawamoto (2003) notes that the new media environment has led to an increasing concentration of mainstream media whereby, "a handful of companies such as AOL Time Warner and Vivendi now own much of the world's media." He goes on to assert that, "The intersection of these changes—a rise in activism, the increasing pervasiveness of the Internet within the activist toolbox, and the rise of giant media

conglomerates that appear to favour the status quo—has prompted an increased emphasis on the production of news by social movement activists," (Ibid.: p 113).

According to Wall (2003: p 113) cited in Kawamoto (2003), "It seems clear that activist journalism has greatly benefitted from the Internet, which has provided advocates a new means of creating and distributing their own versions of events, while combining that information with mobilizing messages intended to prompt immediate response." These digital activist journalists seek to represent their movements and cover issues that are not reported or underreported by mainstream media. They also use their medium to mobilize their constituents for action on issues they care about (Wall: 2003, Ibid.).

2:6   Newspapers and digitalization in Nigeria

In assessing the newspaper press in Nigeria and the challenge of digitalization, Ikiebe (2012) cited in Ikiebe and Obe (2012) questions not just the preparedness but the capacity of the media to respond to the issues that the digital change is generating and the dimensions of the change required. He argues that the print media in Nigeria does not have the answers to the myriad questions thrown up by new media technology. "They just want to survive today: to pay salaries—regularly or not—keep the business afloat and generally make ends meet. For them, tomorrow may or may not come." (Ikiebe and Obe: 2012, p 136).

According to Ikiebe (Ikiebe and Obe: 2012, p 137), leadership—"the ability to manage the complexities of men, materials and money"—is important. He says, "Most media organizations do not have the leaders they need today, but more importantly, they do not have the leaders for the future…'leaders' that men are willing to follow—not men and women manning, and, truth be told, collecting 'tolls' from politicians, phone companies, corporate chieftains, governments and governors, wives and first ladies." (Ikiebe and Obe: 2012, p 136

Clearly, the development of new media has had a great impact on sales of newspapers in Nigeria. But it is not just about technology. Describing the fall in circulation as a result of the

Internet which guarantees quick news for free, Ekeng (2010) cited in Uzochukwu (2014) also highlights the economic downturn which has greatly reduced the purchasing power of most Nigerians, noting that the daily figures of newspapers in Nigeria was less than 300,000.

According to Ekeng (2010) cited in Uzochukwu (2014: p xi):

> *The Punch* is the number one selling national daily and only circulates 34, 264 copies, *The Sun* was ranked third with 25,632-unit sales. *Vanguard* got 25, 241, while *Guardian* and *Thisday* came 5th and 6th respectively, with 25, 222 and 21, 703 daily sales. *Daily Trust*, the most popular newspaper up North has 11, 672 daily unit sales. *Tribune*, the oldest surviving newspaper in Nigeria, was another surprise, managing only 8, 314 daily sales. The above-mentioned dailies constitute what is known as the top 8 in the standing. The others combined, including *Compass, Daily Independent, Leadership, National Life, New Nigerian, Mirror* and *Westerner*, could barely rake up 1,600 daily sales.

Talabi (2008) cited in Uzochukwu (2014) in his study of the influence of online newspaper readership on hard copy sales in Port Harcourt, one the largest cities in south-south Nigeria, observed the negative impact of the Internet on hard copy sales as respondents who patronize the online sites were not favourably disposed to buying the hard copies.

Akoh and Jagun (2012) in their study of the impact of new media on journalism in Nigeria argue that it has placed the burden of responsibility for the entire news production process on journalists, leading to a convergence of roles and functions in the newsroom and an expansion of the scope of their jobs. They also contend that that the Internet has availed Nigerian newspapers a means of perpetuating their existence. Many newspapers that cannot sustain their print version have migrated to online publishing which requires less investment.

The ease with which publishers can take their media business online has led to the proliferation of news websites. In the midst of the news glut, Akoh and Jagun (2012: p 4) highlight the importance of the traditional values of good journalism as well as the "need of citizens for reliable and abundant information, and the importance of such information for a healthy society and a robust democracy."

According to Akoh and Jagun (2012), the opportunities offered by online publishing, include the expansion of investigative journalism leading to the exposure of corruption and abuse of power on an unprecedented scale. Thanks to growth in media technology, digital media tools offer both journalists and ordinary citizens an easy way to document indiscretion by storing video, audio, and pictorial evidence in a discreet way. The resort to digital media has also served to expand the democratic space enabling journalists to undertake a greater public scrutiny of elections through real-time reporting tools such as SMS, photo, audio and video uploads making it difficult for the authorities to control the flow of information. This digital media presence also affords Nigerian citizens in the Diaspora to stay in touch with developments and events in Nigeria.

Of course, the digital migration has come with its challenges. For Akoh and Jagun (2012), the digital journalist in Nigeria is under pressure as roles and functions converge in the newsroom and is therefore prone to such pitfalls as inaccuracies and plagiarism. The digital transmission has also led to greater difficulty in verifying information, as journalists become more reliant on online sources, including User Generated Content (UGC) of various kinds, rather than first-hand reporting and an increasing number of unsubstantiated, unreferenced, and uncontextualized reports.

2.7: Newspapers and digitalization in South Africa

Berger and Masala (2012) examining the impact of digitalization on newspapers and journalists in South Africa argue that while some journalists embrace the possibilities extensively, others report feeling overwhelmed and not being able to cope because of the interactive nature of new media journalism. Many journalists find themselves responding to emails or social media enquiries from readers that is not only time-consuming but of little direct value. The effect is that many comments on reporters' stories online would go without any response from the

journalists who had authored the original pieces. Then there is the issue of increased workload from demanding editors who feel the need to feed several platforms.

Berger and Masala (2012) identify multi-tasking as a growing trend with reporters subjected to having to produce content for both their newspaper and its online/mobile offerings. Apart from juggling the different platforms in the process of news dissemination, journalists also make use of social networking platforms to update their newspaper's audience as very important stories broke. The challenge as identified by Berger and Masala (2012) is the prospect of digital media encouraging lazy journalism. With the pressure on journalists to meet deadlines and volume of stories not many journalists have time for independent research or fact-checking. The tendency is for journalists to repeat quotes without contacting primary sources. Then there is the issue of relying on social media—Facebook, Twitter, blogs, etc.,—posts as sources without adequately verifying the authenticity.

The digital migration in South Africa occurred against a background of slow but steady decrease in daily newspapers sales, as well as dwindling advertising for print. In analyzing the impact of new media on journalism in South Africa, Daniels (2013) notes that with the rise of social networks, particularly Twitter and Facebook, which entailed active engagement with readers as well as the need to satisfy their quest for breaking news on the social networks, South Africa's newspapers decided that print was no longer the main staple but just one in long list of news products offered to readers.

Daniels (2013: p v) describes the newsroom of South Africa as "a ship sailing into extreme headwinds of change—from digital disruption, regulatory change and government hostility to downsized newsrooms, declining circulation and shifting revenue models." Even with this uncertainty, she concludes that South African journalists were optimistic about the move from traditional media to digital first even if they could not envision the end point. More and more newsrooms are practicing the digital first policy, incorporating social media, Twitter in

particular, into everyday work even if the process was "haphazard" and "chaotic" as well as producing news on a diversity of platforms such as tablet and mobile. Journalists struggle with multitasking and publishers have to grapple with business model and how to generate revenue from online journalism. These new developments have changed how South African journalists work. The use of social media has become an important element in building a news organization's brand. Journalists are encouraged to build social media profile. They tweet using their handle while being mindful of their organization's reputation.

The infrastructure crisis in Africa is a key challenge—as shown subsequently in the survey of newspaper readers in Nigeria and South Africa—in the digital transition. Not much has changed from when Berger (2007) highlighted the issue of electricity and broadband Internet (capable of delivering data-demanding video content without problem), as key factors in the development of the media in Africa. Solving that problem is even more urgent today when the media and consumers of information in the digital age require electrical power to continue to function effectively. While the Internet situation has improved in the last decade from when Berger made his observation, the challenge of electricity remains and as Berger (2007, p 167) notes, "Unless media can lead the charge for governments to sort out the ubiquitous problems of this fundamental economic resource, the new media technologies will remain theoretical from the point of view of using them to circulate mass information."

2:7   The future of newspapers and journalism in the digital age

While the digital transition in Africa is still evolving, it appears it is a reality that has come to stay, no matter how we view it, owing to its potential and opportunities (Olorunnisola and Douai, 2013). Digital media, it appears, will thrive because of its spread and ease of accessibility. For Banda (2010), the role of citizens as drivers of this new process is highlighted not only by the expansion of communication technology but by the ever-expanding democratic space in Africa and therefore the deregulation of the media landscape.

To say the media business is reeling under the effect of Internet would be a grave understatement. One major question that comes up when we discuss the impact of technology on media is whether the print media will survive the latest technological transformation and if they are to survive, what must they do? The other issue, of course, is what will happen to professional journalists who have trained and hope to make a living through writing for news outlets.

Journalists around the world, like their organizations, are paying a huge price because of the declining fortunes of traditional media occasioned by the onslaught of new media. For example, the Pew Research Center noted that even though the population of the United States has continued to grow, newspaper circulation in the country has dropped more than 25 percent since 1990 while newspapers employed about 30 percent fewer journalists in 2012 than they did at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Stephens, 2014).

Clearly, online news is gaining traction in Africa as a survey of 1000 newspaper readers in Nigeria and South Africa shows and it has implication for news and for journalists. Are we going to witness the "end" of news as we have known it? Is journalism doomed? Some people have argued that journalism will not die and that it is all about good story telling. But in the era of new media, there is a disconnect between news and information; the lines between news and entertainment or even gossip is blurring every day and it is difficult to answer the question: who is a journalist?

In explaining this phenomenon, Bird (1997) observes that though any communication revolution affects news, none has affected it in a "negative" way than the Internet. McLuhan (1967) cited in Bird (1997) and McChesney (2013) notes that the nature of each communication medium plays an important role in how the audience responds and no matter the message, the device ultimately has more impact on the receiver and sender. The Internet—just like print, radio, and television before it—has given credence to McLuhan's proposition.

If the "medium is the message", it means that news has never been static and that news is "destined to occupy a smaller and smaller part of our cultural map" not only because powerful groups in society—including governments—have learned to manage the news, but new media has taken over some of the functions previously carried out by news organizations (Bird: 1997, p 1). Bird (1997) notes that not only have we witnessed an increase in the amount of available information and accelerated circulation of same, digital media has the ability to alter reality. And because the news has always depended on the advertising industry, the prevailing business ethic—itself a fallout of the advances in media technology—has ensured that news is now embedded in the atmosphere of entertainment. "Information is becoming more important than news to those who have money and power and news is becoming not only less reliable but less relevant," (Bird: 1997, p 1).

What this means is that newspapers are trying to play catch-up, to reinvent themselves to be "as graphic as television, as personal as a phone call, and as visible as anyone else on the Internet" (Bird: 1997, p 5). The future of news looks bleak as the powerful and wealthy seek to make it less effective and irrelevant in a media landscape defined mostly by entertainment and special interests—political, social, and economic (Bird, 1997). According to Bird (1997), in the age of new media, editors have to yield their powerful position to governments, corporations and lobby groups who are collectively undermining the news and its central position in the information industry.

The advancement in digital technology has affected newspapers in Africa as it has newspapers, including the biggest and the best, around the world. In response to the digital challenge, The *New York Times* in 2014 published a report titled *Innovation* which was an internal assessment of the future of the paper in the era of proliferation of news outlets and declining circulation. Even though the report focused on *The Times* and how it could deal with

the competition, the assessment and recommendation could apply to many traditional newspapers trying to remain afloat in the midst of the disruption occasioned by the Internet.

The report notes that producing great journalism remains the most critical and hardest challenge facing a media company in the digital age, adding that newspapers have embarked on aggressive moves to remake themselves in order to remain relevant. The report talks about the need for newspapers in the digital era "to master the art and science of getting our journalism to readers" (p 3). It recommends the creation of newsrooms custom-built for digital first (p 82).

The authors of *Innovation* think the disruptive opportunity that the Internet offers is a huge threat to traditional media. They define disruption as "a predictable pattern across many industries in which fledgling companies use new technology to offer cheaper and inferior alternative to products sold by established players (think Toyota taking on Detroit many year ago)" (p 16). "Today, a pack of news startups are hoping to 'disrupt' our industry by attacking the strongest incumbent—*The New York Times*." Beyond the self-glorification, *Innovation* notes that the world of digital media is getting more crowded, better funded and far more innovate. It offers recommendations that can help other newspapers, one of which is doing an assessment of the print and digital needs. "*The New York Times* needs to accelerate its transition from a newspaper that also produces a rich and impressive report to a digital publication that also produces a rich and impressive newspapers," (p 81) the report notes. Perhaps, it is easy to say. Considering the unpredictability of the Internet, upheavals in technology and the changing habits of readers, what this will mean in the long term is hard to say.

In examining the challenge of online media in Nigeria, Olorunyomi (2017) wonders if newspapers are in the business of news production using technology or they are technology companies in the business of news production? This is a critical question that the traditional

media industry will have to deal with in the months and years ahead. The answer to this question will determine its business model and survival strategies.

Brock (2013) argues that news and journalism are going through an upheaval with a lot of uncertainty which requires that the media and journalists do a rethink of their profession and tools. He notes that "many printed newspapers will never be profitable again or never as profitable as they once were" and most news websites struggle to survive. But it is not all doom and gloom (Brock: 2013, p 3). For Brock (Ibid.), "the fact that journalism has changed and will change further is not the same as its ruin." While he is pessimistic about part of the business that supports it, he believes that journalism will survive in the long run. Arguing that journalism is an idea that will outlive journalism organizations, Brock (2013) cautions well-established newspapers or broadcast channels against identifying journalism as themselves and their organization. For those concerned about the impact of new media, his advice is that, "Instead of asking what will happen to newspapers or broadcasters, we would do better to ask what will happen to the idea and ideals of journalism when they meet new conditions? Or how can we ensure that the best ideas and ideals of journalism are embedded in the new forms that journalism will now take?" (Brock: 2013, p 3-4)

That new form will involve yielding some grounds to the demands of new media. Stephens (2014: pp xvii-xviii) thinks there might be an opportunity for journalism if journalists "surrender the prosaic task of telling everyone what just happened," leaving the speeches and press conferences to TV cable networks and YouTube, and returning to "an older and higher view of their calling, not as reporters of what is going on, but as individuals capable of providing a wise take on what is going on." Hamelink (1994) identifies digitization as one of the four trends in global communication that have impacted people around the world. The others are: consolidation, deregulation, and globalization.

According to Hamelink (1994: p 69), these four trends are inter-related and reinforce each other:

> The fundamental trend of digitization which means that more and more cross-border interactions are based upon electronic formats, reinforces both technological integration and institutional consolidation. The integrated technologies and institutions promote the trend towards deregulated environments and reinforce the trend towards globalization. Also, deregulation and globalization are related. Global operations demand global markets which in turn require deregulation of national markets. Digitization provides the technological basis for globalization as it facilitates the global trading of services, worldwide financial networks, and the spreading of high-technology research and development across the globe.

How does this affect the newspaper business? From Hamelink's postulation, it is evident that it is morning yet in trying to understand the future of online news business. We have seen the rise of technological integration—otherwise known as convergence—which means journalistic tools are not what they used to be and the modern journalists is expected to be a jack of all trade and master of all. We have also seen the trend in institutional convergence, particularly in Europe and North America where big media corporations are consolidating and swallowing up smaller ones. What this means is that ultimately there would not be room for small media players. While media consolidation is still a new trend in much of Africa, considering the peripheral role the continent plays in the global technology equation, it is difficult to see how the media in Africa can survive independently.

This raises the other challenge which goes to the heart of the survival of the newspaper in Africa which is the issue of online advert revenue. Newspapers do not control the internet. Online adverts are controlled by global players like Google and Facebook that pay newspapers a tiny fraction of the advert revenue.

3. CHAPTER THREE: OVERVIEW OF THE NEWSPAPERS IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR DIGITALIZATION PROCESS

3.1 Examining the Nigerian print media landscape

The political space called Nigeria dates back many centuries but the modern political nation evolved about 200 years ago with the advent of slave trade and later British colonial presence. The British conquest lasted many decades culminating in the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 to create a country called Nigeria. Nigeria gained independence on October 1, 1960, and became a republic on October 1, 1963.

The country witnessed its first military coup on January 15, 1966, and the political tensions from that bloody experience led to a thirty-month civil war from 1967 to 1970. Military rule continued for many years after the civil war except for an interregnum between 1979 and 1983. After many coups and eight military regimes, Nigeria returned to civilian rule on May 29, 1999. This is the longest period of civilian rule the country has had since independence.

With a population of about 190 million people (2017 estimates), Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and the seventh most populous in the world.[12] Throughout its evolution, the newspaper press has played a crucial role. There are various interpretations of the history of the evolution of the newspaper press in Nigeria. One thing is certain though—the development of newspapers in Nigeria has a correlation with the historical and political development of the country.

Newspaper development in Nigeria was a result of the activities of European Christian missionaries, the British colonial administration and the "continuation of earlier journalistic activity pioneered by philanthropic interests," (Omu: 1978, p 1). What is generally seen as beginning of the newspaper in Nigeria can be traced back to December 3, 1859, with the

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[12] "Nigeria population": http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/nigeria-population/ accessed January 24, 2018

introduction of an indigenous newspaper published in Southwestern Nigeria, *Iwe Irohin Fun Awon Egba* by Reverend Henry Townsend (Omu, 1978). Since that first newspaper in 1859, the newspaper press has undergone numerous changes. Today, Nigeria boasts of several newspapers and magazines, many of which have gone online to reach their readers.

In this odyssey, it has gone through perhaps four waves (Olorunyomi, 2015: pers. comm.).[13] It is important to make this periodization clear to show that the media has played distinct roles at various times. Lagos, the colonial capital when Nigeria was created in 1914 has, of course, been the bastion of the newspaper press in Nigeria. Although, the first newspaper—*Iwe Irohin*—started in Abeokuta, the capital of present-day Ogun State in southwest of Nigeria, it very rapidly moved to Lagos which was the centre of colonial political and economic activities. The printing press which was serving economic and political purposes also enabled the growth of Lagos for a very long time (Olorunyomi, Ibid.).[14]

According to Olorunyomi, the first wave can be characterized as the nationalist wave, where the media was used to push the agitation for independence. That period also saw newspapers playing very active role in bringing Nigerians together. The second phase was the period immediately after independence to 1966 when the country experienced its first military coup thereby terminating the attempt at building democracy. Immediately after independence, there was what could be described as moral confusion. We saw people who were struggling for independence suddenly being called upon to play nation-building roles. The struggle for power, for who to control the emergent nation led to the fracturing of ranks among people who had been comrades and allies in the past. This tension was reflected in the way the new leaders tried to have control over the media.[15]

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[13] Interview with Dapo Olorunyomi, publisher of *Premium Times*, Nigeria's main online newspaper, December 10, 2015.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Interview with Dapo Olorunyomi, publisher of PremiumTimes.ng, Nigeria's main online newspaper, December 10, 2015.

The third phase of the evolution of newspapers in Nigeria has been described as the military phase. Nigeria fought a 30-month civil war between 1967 and 1970. In 1979, the military retreated to the barracks and by 1983 they returned after the collapse of the Second Republic. Military rule threw up a lot of questions about the role of the media and its limitations. This was the period the media rediscovered itself and the country's legal principles with regard to freedom of expression were most tested. For the very first time we also saw a different newspaper structure; that is, for the first time, the notion of editorial boards became part of the newspaper structure. An editorial board came on board in the old *Daily Times* when Dr. Stanley Macebuh came back from the United States and was drafted to help infuse some intellectual characters into the *Daily Times* during the military leadership of Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-79).[16]

This development frightened the military so much that the newspaper then became a power house of contestation of ideas, like a mini Alexandria library. That notion improved with the setting up of *The Guardian* in 1983 and what could be described as the first true editorial board. After that, every other newspaper tried to copy in one sense or another. Even though it was a very expensive structure, it showed the difference between news as a factual more evidence-based kind of reporting which was what the news room did and editorial board which is a more opinionated and more analytical kind of structure. Of course, one of the cardinal principles in media, especially newspaper, is the division between facts and what is typically called opinion. It used to be said that the duty of a journalist is to deal with the facts. That principle that undergirds the role of the newspaper or the press in the making of democracy

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[16] Interview with Dapo Olorunyomi, publisher of *Premium Times*, Nigeria's main online newspaper, December 10, 2015.

argues that news to the extent that is factual is more important than opinion in the hierarchy of things.[17]

The last phase of the development of newspapers in Nigeria can be described as the post military phase which also coincided with the development of new media technologies and the global telecommunications revolution. This has led to the expansion of access and enabled journalists to make use of new tools to enhance their work. Nigeria was a late entrant into this technological boom because the military was suspicious of the telephony and Internet revolution that had spread to other parts of the continent. By the early 2000s, the situation had changed. With expansion in the telecom sector, every reporter had access to a cell phone to call up sources as well as do interviews and confirm information, and in some cases file stories. It made the work of journalists easier.[18]

There has been growing interest in online journalism in Nigeria as access to the Internet has grown considerably in the last decade though there are still several factors—poor electricity distribution and incessant power outages and cost of digital devices and connectivity—that have served to slow the momentum. Despite these challenges, the major newspapers have an online presence (Ishiekwene: 2016, pers. comm.).[19]

There are hundreds of newspapers and magazines in Nigeria. While many of the newspaper are privately owned, there still exist newspapers owned by the government. Generally, newspapers, at least the ones that have national presence, publish in English though some have local language editions. *Daily Trust*, for example, publishes Hausa-language newspaper, *Aminiya,* while *Leadership* publishes *Leadership A Yau,* also a Hausa-language

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[17] Interview with Dapo Olorunyomi, publisher of *Premium Times*, Nigeria's main online newspaper, December 10, 2015.
[18] Ibid.
[19] At the time of this interview, May 21, 2015, Azubike Ishiekwene was the Group Managing Director of Leadership Group of Newspapers.

paper. The rise of the Internet, dwindling advertising and sales have over the years affected newspaper circulation in Nigeria. For a population of over 180 million people, major newspaper like *The Punch* and *The Nation* have a daily print run of approximately 40, 000 copies while it is difficult to get figures for smaller publications.[20]

While many newspapers refer to themselves as national newspapers, very few of them reach every nook and cranny of the country. They are generally restricted to the big cities, reaching a few rural areas only after a day or two. Factors like illiteracy and poverty also limit access to newspapers, particularly in rural areas. Many readers who are unable to afford the ever-increasing cover prices become members of the ubiquitous "Free Readers Association," a collection of citizens who daily gather around newsstands to look at the headlines and often engage each other in debates on the most important new stories of the day. As sales decline, newspaper vendors are developing innovative ways to attract readers like creating spaces where readers can pay a token to read a section of a particular newspaper or pay a percentage of the total cost of a newspaper and read for a stipulated period.[21]

By the last quarter of 2015, it was estimated that Nigeria had over 148 million GSM and more than two million CDMA users. Though there are no exact figures for Internet connectivity, increasing access among Nigerians to the internet is helping online publications to flourish. These publications have become an easy and cheap alternative source of information for a lot of Nigerians who until a few years ago depending on traditional newspapers for new and information.[22]

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[20] African Media Barometer: Nigeria 2015. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) fesmedia Africa, Windhoek, Namibia. p 26.
[21] Ibid. p. 27.
[22] Ibid. p. 29.

According to Akoh and Jagun (2012: p 44), "The first Nigerian newspaper to go online was the defunct *Post Express*, which began its internet edition in1997." The authors (Ibid.) narrate the enthusiasm that heralded the migration of the *Post Express* online:

> According to Joke Kujenya, formerly of *The Post Express* and now Assistant Editor at *The Nation*, the weeks leading to the launch date were laden with "in house frenzy." She continued: "The General Manager then, Dr. Chidi Amuta, almost made a music album out of it repeating it to the editorial staff that we should go get […] internet knowledge." According to her, because theirs was the only newspaper on the net at that time, they were always too quick to flaunt it before existing and potential advertisers even when they did not understand the implications.

"The Guardian, The Punch, and *The Comet* (now defunct) joined *The Post Express* on the Internet in 1999. The three most visible weekly news magazines at that time, namely *The News, Newswatch,* and *Tell,* mounted only a few of their headlines on the internet. The full contents of print editions were not republished online."[23]

Over the years, the Internet has availed Nigerian newspapers a novel means of perpetuating their existence. Those newspapers that cannot sustain the traditional print media business have found the Internet a ready and easy alternative. *Next* newspaper, perhaps the most influential newspapers in Nigeria after *The Guardian,* had to confront that reality in 2010 when it stopped publishing its paper edition. While the cost of starting an online newspaper is relatively low, surviving and remaining profitable online comes with its challenges.[24] Apart from traditional newspapers publishing online, the last decade has witnessed the emergence of wholly online newspapers, including two of the most prominent, *Premium Times* and *The Cable* which will be explored in detail later.

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[23] Akoh, B. and Jagun, A. (2012). *Mapping Digital Media: Nigeria.* A report by the Open Society Foundations. p. 45.
[24] Ibid.

3.2 Examining the South African print media landscape

South Africa is a multi-ethnic nation and the largest country in Southern Africa with a population of over 55 million people. It has nine provinces and 11 official languages. It is one of the few countries in Africa never to have had a coup d'état.[25] South Africans lived for many decades under a system of segregation and racial oppression called Apartheid. With the end of Apartheid, the country held its first universal elections in 1994 and became a constitutional democracy with a bill of rights that includes the right to free expression and the media as well as access to information (Berger and Masala, 2012).

South Africa has a long tradition of newspaper journalism that dates back to when whites arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in the mid-17 century. But the more recent history of newspaper in the country can be traced to 1800 when the governor of the Cape Colony initiated the publishing of the government-controlled *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*.[26] South Africa's first independent newspaper, the *SA Commercial Advertiser*[27] was published in 1824, with Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn as editors. The first Dutch language newspaper, *De Zuid-Afrikaan,*[28] was published in 1830, the first African language newspaper, *Umshumayeli Wendaba,*[29] in 1837 and the first Afrikaans language newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, in 1876."[30]

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[25] "South Africa: fast facts": http://www.southafrica.info/about/facts.htm, accessed January 24, 2018.

[26] "The *Cape Town Gazette* and *African Advertiser*, a bilingual newspaper and the first to publish news and advertisements, is published for the first time": https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/cape-town-gazette-and-african-advertiser-bilingual-newspaper-and-first-publish-news-and-, accessed January 24, 2018.

[27] "*South African Commercial Advertiser*": https://www.eggsa.org/newspapers/index.php/south-african-commercial-advertiser, accessed January 24, 2018.

[28] "The first edition of the Dutch newspaper *De Zuid-Afrikaan* is published in the Cape Colony": https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/first-edition-dutch-newspaper-de-zuid-afrikaan-published-cape-colony, accessed January 24, 2018.

[29] "*Umshumayeli Wendaba*": http://encore.seals.ac.za/iii/encore_nmmu/record/C__Rb2464494__SXhosa%20newspapers.__P0,1__Orightresult?lang=eng&suite=nmmu, accessed January 24, 2018.

[30] "*Die Patriot* is published in Paarl": http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/die-patriot-published-paarl, accessed January 24, 2018.

South Africa's media history can be divided into two main phases: pre-Apartheid and post-Apartheid. Each phase has shaped the country in a fundamental way. South Africa and Nigeria have been described as the only two African countries with a history of competing newspapers under multiple ownerships.[31]

In part the history of the media in South Africa is the history of the struggle against Apartheid. "The history of media during the apartheid era was somewhat woven into the fabric of the struggle," notes a report on the transformation of print and digital media in South Africa.[32] According to the report:

> There were of course certain publications that were known as darlings of the oppressive regime and they enjoyed patronage from the government of the day and its cohorts. On the other side a number of print titles were officially prohibited from publishing through draconian laws and edicts that the apartheid government would conjure up as and when the media raised the rulers' ire. The print media which, to some extent, had played a commendable part in exposing the atrociousness of the apartheid regime was also expected to make strides towards transformation like all other businesses which had benefited from the exclusive policies of apartheid. The truth was that from the boardroom to the newsroom, the print media was mainly white, and male dominated.[33]

Daniels (2013: p v) notes that,

> The newsroom of South Africa today is a ship sailing into extreme headwinds of change. From digital disruption, regulatory and government hostility to downsized newsrooms, declining circulation and shifting revenue models. In 2012-2013, journalists and newsrooms have navigated major transitions from media ownership, in some cases, and a new press code to the Secrecy Bill being passed in Parliament. There were converging newsrooms negotiating the digital-first trend, the consolidation of newsrooms such as that of B*usiness Day* and *Financial Mai*l and morale dampening retrenchments.

241 newspapers, majority of which are urban based, are registered with Print and Digital

Media South Africa though the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) figures for January to March

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[31] "Press reference: South Africa": http://www.pressreference.com/Sa-Sw/South-Africa.html#ixzz5PCvZuuxi, accessed January 24, 2018.
[32] Report on the Transformation of Print and Digital Media: Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (2013): Print & Digital Media SA. South Africa: Auckland Park, p. 11.
[33] Ibid.

2013 put the number of newspapers at 358: 15 weeklies; 32 weekenders; 219 free newspapers; 58 locals; 28 dailies and six hybrids. The ABC figures did not include *The New Age newspaper*. These newspapers publish mainly in English while Afrikaans and isiZulu also feature prominently (Daniels, 2013).

Like newspapers in other parts of the world, South African newspapers have had to grapple with circulation problems arising in part from the effect of digital media. Newspaper circulation has remained in steady decline with circulation falling by an average of 5.5% annually since 2008, according to ABC South Africa. A 2013 report analyzing the trend between 2008 and 2012 showed that daily English titles were the worst hit, followed by Afrikaans titles. The *Cape Argus*, *The Star*, *Cape Times*, *Pretoria News* and *Sowetan* witnessed the biggest declines (Daniels, 2013).

As the new communication technologies continue to shape the future of the media industry, newspapers in South Africa are daily confronted with what to do to remain relevant and in business. Newspapers have had to grapple with several issues: the digital first strategy; the incorporation of social media, into daily work; and third, experimentation with paywalls (Daniels, 2013). According to Daniels (Ibid.: p 36), "This new direction—the germination of which began a few years ago—entailed moving towards digital offerings (such as online news) taking precedence over traditional news mediums (such as print newspapers), while ensuring that social media was given a prominent place. Together these constituted newsroom transitions and disruptions, changing the way journalists worked."

Most of the daily newspapers in South Africa are owned by four big players: Independent, the Times Media Group (TMG, formerly Avusa), Media24 and Caxton. TMG owns the *Daily Dispatch, Business Day*, the *Sowetan, The Herald, Times* and the *Sunday Times*. Media24 owns *City Press*, *Volksblad*, *Die Burger*, *Kaap Son*, *Daily Sun*, *Beeld* and *Witness*. The Independent Group owns the Cape Times, the Cape Argus, the *Daily Voice*, *The Mercury*, the *Daily News*,

Osolezwe, The Star, Diamond Fields Advertiser and the *Pretoria News. The Star Africa* is a new English edition launched in 2012.[34]

According to the African Media Barometer,

> Caxton, which owns a number of local newspapers, also owns *The Citizen*, a daily national newspaper. The main weekend newspapers are also owned predominantly by these two groups: The Independent (*Sunday Independent, Weekend Argus, Independent on Saturday, Osolezwe ngeSonto, Post, Sunday Tribune, Saturday Star*), and TMG (the biggest selling *Sunday Times, Sunday World* and *Weekend Post*). Media24 is also a major player in the weekend newspaper market and owns *City Press, Rapport, Soccer Laduma*, the relatively new *Sondag, Saturday Sun, Volksblad Saterdag, Die Burger, Son Op Sondag and Naweek Beeld*). Mandla-Matla owns the two Zulu-language weeklies, *Ilanga* and *Ilanga Langesonto*, while M&G Media owns the *Mail & Guardian*.[35]

"Most, if not all, of the newspapers and magazines—especially those owned by TMG, Independent and Media24—have a strong online presence. *The Daily Maverick* is an online-only newspaper launched in 2009, and which has fast become a staple for newshounds."[36] Over the years, newspapers have come up with different measures—some with negative impact on journalist—to deal with the disruption occasioned by digital media and declining circulation.

Many newspapers have increased cover prices but that has not provided the needed succour. Newsrooms have witnessed cut in personnel, which means fewer people have to do more work.[37] "As a result of cost cutting, the *Sunday Times* withdrew its Zulu edition, the *Express*, in April 2013. As a means of saving money, some newspaper houses have looked at sharing resources. The Independent Group, for example, began using a national pool of sub-editors for all its publications in 2011. By 2013, this pool had shrunk. *Rapport* and *Beeld* are investigating combining their newsrooms to save on costs."[38]

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[34] *African Media Barometer: South Africa 2013*. Windhoek: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) fesmedia Africa. p 31.
[35] Afric*an Media Barometer: South Africa 2013*. Windhoek: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) fesmedia Africa. p 31.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid. p 32
[38] Ibid.

Later in this chapter, the research looks at, in greater detail, the digitalization process of select newspapers in South Africa and in chapter five, it examines the impact of new media on South African journalists.

3.3 Exploring the digital migration of select newspapers in Nigeria

In this section, the research examines the digital migration of select newspapers in Nigeria. The focus is on four national newspapers (*The Punch, The Nation, Vanguard,* and *Daily Trust*) that have considerable print circulation, web presence and following on social media. It will also examine the two major Internet-based newspapers in the country, *Premium Times* and *The Cable.* The first newspaper in Nigeria to go online was the *Post Express.* Others like *The Guardian* and *The Punch* followed almost immediately.

All the newspapers are grappling with how to balance declining circulation and the needs of readers who want quick and free news online. Some have experimented with paywalls but had to abandon the idea because of the poor response from the audience.

The Punch Newspaper

The Punch newspaper describes itself as "The most widely read newspaper in Nigeria". The company publishes *The Punch* (the daily paper) *The Saturday Punch and The Sunday Punch.* The company was incorporated in 1969 but started operation with a weekly publication in 1971 and went daily in 1973. The company was closed several times by successive military regimes with military dictator, Gen. Ibrahim Bagangida, sealing the paper in 1993 while another maximum ruler, Gen. Sani Abacha, shut the paper for over a year in 1994. The newspaper survived all these challenges and is today one of the leading newspapers in the country, operating from a new head office along the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway, Magboro, Ogun State.[39]

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[39] This is based on information provided by the newspaper in response to a questionnaire on August 11, 2015.

The Punch is an English-language traditional newspaper which is overseen by a Board of Directors, headed by a Chairman. The paper has a staff strength of almost 500 people. While it reports breaking news on its website, www.punchng.com, the site is primarily a reflection of the news and stories in the print edition and accommodates the three papers in the stable. The interactive site was launched in 2005 and has average daily hits of 2.6 million. The paper joined Twitter in March 2009 and as at June 2017, its Twitter handle (@MobilePunch) had over 1.8 million followers.[40] Its Facebook account (*The Punch* Newspapers) has almost 1.4 million followers. Its other social media presence includes Instagram (@punchnewspapers), Google Plus (Punchng1) 1,794, and a YouTube channel with over 2400 subscribers. The paper has an ombudsman that oversees the quality of materials that appear in the paper and receives complaints from the public. It has an online department with a digital policy and digital business model. It has 10 online staff with an online editor.

The paper is also published online as an e-paper. While readers can subscribe online to receive *The Punch* News Alert, access to the website is free. The paper does not have a subscription policy or a paywall because it believes that the web is a free space that everybody has access to, but interested readers are expected to pay to access the full version of the e-paper. The paper's approach is to use its website to create more interest in the print version. Its web version can be accessed on different mobile devices

The paper has a social media policy which allows reporters to use their social media platforms for breaking news but does not have a social media unit and no dedicated social media staff. It sends out about five posts every hour on Twitter and Facebook with an average of 40 comments per post with average daily comments of over 4,000. Comments are moderated,

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[40] The paper had 1.025,000 Twitter followers when the survey was conducted. By the end of June 2017, its Twitter followership had climbed to 1,868,588.

according to the paper, to keep out inciting comments, especially on ethnic and religious issues as well as stop libellous comments.

The paper ensures continuous digital training for its reporters and reporters are given the freedom to engage readers and the paper's audience by tweeting links to their stories or operating a blog that promotes their stories for the paper. Reporters are required to contribute to both print and online versions.

While it is constantly updating its website and reporting breaking news, the paper still maintains its position as a traditional newspaper and is not currently considering a digital first policy. To this end, being multi-media skilled is not an important requirement in the recruitment of staff.

The Nation newspaper

The Nation newspaper, published by Vintage Press, is a private and independent traditional English-language newspaper based in Lagos, Nigeria. It commenced operation in July 2006. The paper has an interactive website: www.thenationonlineng.net, and a staff strength of over 300.[41] According to information on its website, the papers says it stands for freedom, justice and the market economy while its target audience is the business and political elite, the affluent, the educated and the upwardly mobile.[42] The paper describes itself as the "second most read newspaper in Nigeria according to a 2009 survey by ADVAN, AAPN, MIPAN (Major players in the advertising industry in Nigeria)."

It has a daily print run of 70,000 copies and a daily circulation of over 63,000 copies.[43] The paper has an ombudsman that reviews what goes into the paper and responses from the public. It has a digital policy and online business model, an online department with five staff

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[41] Information provided by the newspapers in response to a questionnaire on February 17, 2015.
[42] "About Us." The Nation (http://thenationonlineng.net/about-us/). Accessed, February 10, 2017.
[43] This figure could not be independently confirmed.

and an online editor. Access to the online version of the paper is free and the paper didn't offer any explanation for not maintaining a paywall. The paper can be accessed on various digital devices.

The paper has a strong presence on social media. Its Facebook account opened in July 2006 had close to 1.6 million followers by June 2017.[44] There is an average of over 100 posts and over 1000 comments per day on Facebook. The paper joined Twitter in October 2009 and by June 2017, had close to 500,000 followers. *The Nation* has a social media policy and reporters can use their social media platforms for breaking news. It has a social media department with two staff. The paper moderates comments on its site to guide against abuse and prevent readers to use their comments to promote products and services.

The paper undertakes regular training for staff in online journalism and reporters have the freedom to engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories and operating a blog. Reporters at *The Nation* are required to contribute to both print and online versions of the paper and being multi-media skilled is an important requirement in the recruitment of reporters. The paper has no immediate plans to go digital first.

Vanguard Newspapers

Vanguard (https://www.vanguardngr.com/) newspaper was established in 1984 by Mr. Sam Amuka who was editor of *Sunday Times* and the first Managing Director of *The Punch.* It hit the newsstand on June 3, 1984, with the motto: "Towards a better life for the people." It is an English-language traditional newspaper with an online edition and a staff strength of over 600. The paper does not have any political affiliation and describes itself as a "family-oriented general interest newspaper which also appeals to the upwardly mobile executive and captains of industry".[45]

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[44] When the questionnaire was administered in February 2015 the paper had about 500,000 followers on Facebook.
[45] Information garnered from a questionnaire administered in February 2015.

The paper has on its stable, the *Daily Vanguard*, *Saturday Vanguard* and *Sunday Vanguard.* It also has other titles for specialized interests, including *Financial Vanguard, Allure, Sweet Crude, Hitech, Sports Vanguard and Cyber life.*[46]

The paper has a print run of 130,000 copies and daily circulation of 120,000 copies, distributed as follows: Lagos, Nigeria's business capital, 20,000; Abuja, Nigeria's administrative capital, 12,000 copies, South-West 15,000, South-South 25,000, South-East 15,000, North Central 18,000, North-East 7,500 and North-west 7,500.[47]

The paper does not have an ombudsman, but it has a digital policy and an online department that manages its website. While it has an online editor, it had yet to develop an online business model and does not operate a paywall because "competitors provide similar content free". The paper can be accessed on various mobile applications and appears as an e-paper which is free for readers.

Vanguard has the largest social media presence of all newspapers in Nigeria. As at June 2017, it had 2,763,842 followers on Facebook and 1,573,142 on Twitter. The paper's Facebook page is updated hourly and stories can get as many as 80 comments with comments on all posts averaging about 1000 per day.

The paper sends out tweets about every five minutes. It receives an average 10 comments per tweet and 300 retweets daily. The paper has no social media department and no staff dedicated to social media, but reporters can use their social media platforms for breaking news. Comments are moderated "to avoid libel and hate speech".

The paper undertakes regular training in online journalism for staff and reporters can engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories or operating a blog. Reporters are also required to contribute to both print and online versions of the paper.

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[46] "About Us", http://www.vanguardngr.com/about/ Accessed, February 12, 2017.
[47] These figures are from the organisation and have not been independently verified.

For the paper, being multi-media skilled is an important requirement in the recruitment of staff. The paper has no plans to go digital first.

Daily Trust newspaper

Daily Trust is published by Media Trust Ltd based in Abuja, Nigeria. It has other sister publications including, *Weekly Trust, Sunday Trust, Aminiya* (Hausa language weekly) and pan Africa magazine, *Kilimanjaro*. The company began publishing in March 1998. It's a general interest newspaper, and the highest circulating in the north of Nigeria.[48] It is traditional newspaper with an online edition and is privately owned by about a dozen entrepreneurs/journalists with a staff strength of over 600.

The paper's print run is in the thousands, but no definitive figures are available. *Daily Trust* describes itself as "progressive and developmental in style." It has an ombudsman and an online department with eight staff as well as an online editor. The paper's interactive website http://www.dailytrust.com.ng was launched in 2006 and gets average daily/weekly hits of 50,000/350,000.[49]

The paper has no digital policy but has an online business model. Access to its online edition is free and the paper has no immediate plans to put up a pay wall because "most newspapers in Nigeria offer basically the same content. It's a hard sell to readers to pay to access news which they can get in other sites for free."

The paper can be accessed through different mobile apps. It has an online department with eight staff and an editor as well as a social media unit with two staff. Breaking stories are posted online while the detailed reports appear in the hard copy edition of the paper. Stories average about ten comments per post. Like most newspapers, *Daily Trust* requires readers to verify their emails address before posting.

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[48] Information provided by newspaper in response to a questionnaire in February 2015.
[49] These figures are from 2015.

As at June 2017, the paper had 1,039,284 followers on Facebook. It joined Twitter in August 2009 and by June 2017 had almost 447,000 followers. Updates on social media are done every hour and comments average ten on Facebook and five on Twitter per post. Reporters are not allowed to use their social media platforms for breaking news, rather the paper uses its own to break the news through reporters sending their content to the online editor/team. The paper has a YouTube channel launched in 2009 and it also connects with readers on LinkedIn and Google +.

Daily Trust maintains an E-paper portal. This platform lets its customers buy and read complete PDF copies of the *Daily Trust* titles and *Aminiya*. While the daily paper costs N200 (0.55USD) each past edition costs N100 (0.28USD). The E-paper can only be accessed through paid subscription. It has a weekly, monthly, six-months, and yearly subscription plan ranging from ₦350.00 – ₦16,800.00 (0.96USD – 46.28USD). Readers can also subscribe to receive breaking news, exclusives and alerts through Short Message Service (SMS) and Multimedia Messaging Service (MMS).

Comments are moderated on the paper's website "to avoid inciting/hate and indecent comments that could hurt the society in general." The paper undertakes an average of one digital journalism training every year for staff. Reporters can operate blogs and have the freedom to engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories. While the paper has immediate digital first plan, being multi-media skilled is an important requirement in the recruitment of reporters and they are required to contribute to both print and online versions of the paper.

Premium Times

Premium Times is a private online only English-language newspaper published by Premium Times Services Limited based in Abuja, Nigeria. It was established in December 2011. The paper's focus is on 18-45-year-olds (male and female) "with a vision to help strengthen Nigeria's

democracy, advance the socio-economic wellbeing and rights of the people, promote and enrich their cultural practices, and advocate for best practices, good governance, transparency and human rights, in line with the values expected of a modern democratic state."[50]

The organisation says it plans to publish across all formats beginning with the online paper where it "hopes to appeal to the bulk of our young and middle-class elites with a vision of the future and a belief in social change". According to the paper:

> We are of the view that in terms of its formalistic processes, and its philosophy of content, the new media that will help spur the challenge of educational revolution, cultural rebirth, and economic development in Nigeria must be reflective, thoughtful, analytic and empathetic without a sense of entitlement and insularity. We have come to fill that lacuna in our press, and therefore raise the bar of journalism in our country.[51]

Premium Times has a digital policy as well as a digital business model and almost every staff is engaged in social media for the newspaper. Access to the site is free because it believes "news should be free". Its interactive website www.premiumtimesng.com gets over 120,000 pageviews per day and can be accessed through various digital and mobile applications. The paper has a social media policy that encourages all staff to be involved in the organisation's social media engagement. Reporters are not allowed to use their social media platforms for breaking news but are encouraged to break the news on the organisation's platforms first.

Reporters are frequently trained in-house, and others encouraged to take trainings in institutions abroad. The paper has an ombudsman. While comments on the website are moderated, reporters have the freedom to engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories or operating a blog. In the recruitment of reporters, being multi-media skilled is an important requirement.

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[50] Information provided by the newspaper in response to a February 2015 questionnaire
[51] "About Us", www.premiumtimesng.com Accessed, February 10, 2017.

The paper has a large social media presence. As at June 2017, it had 1,109,914 followers on Facebook compared to 268,000 followers in July 2014. It joined Twitter September 2011 and by July 2017 it had over 584,000 followers. It also has presence on Instagram, Google + and YouTube.

The site is constantly updated as news comes in. Readers can subscribe to receive breaking news through Short Message Service (SMS) and Multimedia Messaging Service (MMS) on "Mobile News Service" and "Easy News" using the platforms of two major telephone companies in Nigeria for N30 (0.083USD) weekly and N120 (0.33USD) a month.

The Cable

Cable Newspaper Ltd, publishers of the *TheCableng*, was established on November 29, 2011 "to deliver knowledge-driven journalism in the pursuit of Nigeria's progress".[52] TheCable.ng (www.thecable.ng) was launched on April 29, 2014, as a wholly private and web-based newspaper with the vision of being "the most respected online newspaper out of Africa".[53] It describes itself as an independent and liberal focused on the political and business elite.

The paper is available for free and can be accessed on different digital and mobile devices. It has a digital/social media policy and a social media department with two staff. Reporters are allowed to use their social media platforms for breaking news. It joined Facebook and Twitter on April 29, 2017, and by June 2017, it had almost 330,000 followers on Facebook and more than 86,000 followers on Twitter. It sends out emails thrice a week to over 120,000 subscribers.

Comments on the paper's website are moderated to "for quality comment and legal reasons". The paper holds regular training in online journalism for staff and they are given the

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[52] "About US" https://www.thecable.ng/ Accessed, February 10, 2017.
[53] Information provided by newspaper in response to an April 2015 questionnaire.

freedom to engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories or operating a blog. In the recruitment of reporters, is being multi-media skilled an important requirement?

3.4 Exploring the digital migration of select newspaper in South Africa

Daily Sun

Daily Sun is a traditional English-language tabloid newspaper located at Media Park in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, South Africa. Its focus is on working-class readership around major urban centres. *Daily Sun* is South Africa's largest newspaper. It is published by Media24, a subsidiary of Naspers. Naspers was established in 1914. Media24 controls the newspaper and magazine activities, as well as the 24.com web portals of Naspers.[54]

Daily Sun was established in 2002 and has a staff strength of around 120. The paper is unaffiliated politically. It has a print run of over 320,000 copies with average daily sale of over 260,000 copies across South Africa with a readership of more than 5,000,000. The paper's interactive website www.dailysun.co.za was launched in 2010 and relaunched in December 2014. It gets about 120,000k hits daily.

The paper has an ombudsman as well as a digital policy and a digital business model. The paper has an online department with six staff and an online editor. It does not have a pay wall because the "market is not ready". It is available on various digital and mobile devices. The paper has a social media policy and reporters can use their social media platforms for breaking news. Comments of the paper's website are moderated for "language and hate speech".

The paper joined Facebook in 2010, Twitter in 2009 and Instagram in 2014. As of June 2017, it had over 1.5million followers on Facebook and over 75,000 followers on Twitter. Comments on the paper's social media platforms average over 6000 on Facebook and over 700

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[54] Information provided by newspaper in response to a questionnaire administered in April 2015.

retweets on Twitter daily. The paper undertakes minimal training in online journalism for staff and reporters can engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories or operating a blog.

Reporters are, however, not required to contribute to both print and online versions of the paper. Being multi-media skilled is, therefore, not an important requirement in the recruitment of reporters though the paper believes it will be an issue with the development in digital media. *Daily Sun* is part of Media24, South Africa's largest digital publishing house which operates the digital first portal 24.com. The paper remains a traditional media outfit and its digital migration is limited to providing contents from its daily paper online.

Mail & Guardian and Mail & Guardian Online

The *Mail & Guardian* is an independent and privately-owned newspaper established in 1985. Its website https://www.mg.co.za/ launched in 1994, is the oldest in Africa, and one of the oldest news sites in the world. It is a traditional "liberal" English-language broadsheet newspaper with a staff strength of 145. It puts its audience at over 500,000 in print and 1.5 million online.[55]

The *Mail & Guardian* was founded by a group of journalists who had been retrenched after the closures of two of South Africa's leading liberal newspapers, the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Express*. The paper was originally known as the *Weekly Mail*. It targets readers whose interests include politics, arts and current affairs and has large numbers of readers among professionals, academics, diplomats, lobbyists, non-governmental groups.[56]

The paper has a weekly print run of 75,000 copies with sales averaging 40,000 copies weekly. It has an ombudsman, an online department with a digital policy and a digital business

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[55] Information supplied by newspaper in response to a questionnaire in April 2015.
[56] "History": https://mg.co.za, accessed February 10, 2017.

model. The paper is pursuing a digital first policy through the *Mail & Guardian Online* described as the "first cousin, once removed, to the *Mail & Guardian*".[57]

The *Mail & Guardian Online,* https://mg.co.za, previously known as the *Electronic Mail & Guardian* or the *Daily Mail & Guardian,* was founded in 1994 by Irwin Manoim and Bruce Cohen. It describes itself as "a pan-African daily online newspaper, published all day, all week, aimed at serious and not-so-serious readers". The paper focuses on local, international and African hard news, sport and business and is also a platform to publish analytical and in-depth reports from its print edition. Originally a separate division of the *Mail & Guardian,* in 1997 a 65% share was sold to internet service provider MWeb, but then bought back in 2008 by M&G Media, the company that publishes the *M&G* newspaper.[58]

The *Mail & Guardian* Online https://mg.co.za/ can be accessed on different digital and mobile devices. The paper says all its staff are "converged", therefore, being multi-media skilled is an important requirement in the recruitment of staff. The paper has a social media policy and reporters are allowed to use their social media platforms for breaking news. It has a social media unit with one reporter. The paper undertakes frequent training in online journalism for reporters and they are expected to engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories or operating a blog.

Comments on the site are moderated "to preserve brand quality, and for ethical reasons". It was contemplating launching a paywall by mid-2015. The paper launched its Facebook account in February 2010 and as of April 2015, it had 300,664 followers, about 25 posts per day, and average of 550 comments per post. It opened a Twitter account in October 2008 and by April 2015, it had 361,224 followers. Tweets average about 45 per day with retweets averaging about 60 per post. It launched an Instagram account on May 19, 2012, and by April

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[57] "A 30-second guide": https://mg.co.za, accessed February 10, 2017.
[58] Ibid

2015 it had 1,134 followers with an average post of 19 and 22 reposts. The paper's other social media platforms include Google plus launched in February 2010 with 124,569 members, YouTube, February 2010, with 3,279 followers.

Sunday Times

Sunday Times is a traditional broadsheet English-language newspaper founded in 1906. The paper has a long history as the biggest weekly newspaper in South Africa and is one of 10 newspapers in the publishing stable of Times Media Group, a long-established newspaper and magazine publishing house which has had various name changes and shareholders over the past 50 years. It was originally known as SA Associated Newspapers then Times Media Limited, Johncom and Avusa Media and now TMG. All shares in TMG since June 2015 are owned by Tiso Blackstar which is listed in Malta. TMG is governed by a Board of Directors.[59]

With its daily paper, *The Times,* (first published 2007) which operates from a newly established integrated newsroom, *Sunday Times* currently has a staff strength of 90. The paper describes itself "non-aligned" politically and its orientation is to uphold "the values of the constitution". The paper has a print run of 400,000 with an average weekly circulation of almost 300,000 copies, according to Q2 figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulation.[60]

The paper has an e-edition which was launched May 2015. Its interactive website (http://www.sundaytimes.co.za) gets over 2,000,000 pageviews per month. The paper has an online department and an online policy as well as online business model. It has an online editor with five full-time staff and several casual workers. The paper is available on different mobile apps. It has a subscription base, but numbers were not available.

The paper does not have a social media department but has a social media policy and reporters can use their social media platforms for breaking news. The paper moderates

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[59] Information supplied by newspaper in response to a questionnaire administered in October 2016.
[60] Figures provided by newspaper in October 2016.

comments "only when problems are reported." The paper organizes regular courses, including data journalism, verification of images and videos, online copyright, press and digital code for staff who can engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories and other stories produced by the paper.

Reporters are required to contribute to both print and online versions and being multi-media skilled is an important requirement in the recruitment of reporters. As at October 2016, the paper's social media presence included 241,000 followers on Twitter, 65,499 followers on Facebook and 8,664 followers on Instagram.

The Sowetan

Founded as a national development and personal liberation, English-language tabloid-size newspaper by and for black South Africans living in Soweto and beyond during apartheid, The Sowetan is one of the 10 newspapers in the publishing stable of Times Media Group. TMG is currently owned by Tiso Blackstar which is listed in Malta. Sowetan was established in 1981. It is a traditional newspaper with a strong online presence. The paper has a staff strength of over 50 people.[61]

The orientation of the paper was originally "black consciousness and anti-apartheid" but now "reflects politics and concerns of the majority and of the people of the townships." Its audience is the black township and suburban residents and workers. It focuses on the four northernmost provinces of South Africa.

Print run figures were not available at the time of the survey. The paper has an average daily circulation of over 88,000 according to Q3 2016 Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) report. Its interactive website (http://www.sowetanlive.co.za) averages almost 15,000,000 pageviews per month.[62] It has and E-paper which was set up in 2014.

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[61] Information supplied by newspaper in response to a November 2016 questionnaire.
[62] The total for October 2016 was 14,720,000 pageviews.

The paper has an ombudsman as well as an online department that is made up of six staff and an online editor. It has a digital policy as well as an online business model. Its online version is available on different mobile applications and has no paywall because the paper sees itself as a "free-to-air mass audience news site."

While it has no social media department, the paper has a social media policy and reporters can use their social media platforms for breaking news. Comments on the site are moderated when cases of abuse are reported. The paper undertakes training in online journalism for staff and in the last two years staff have been trained in online copyright and verification of images.

Reporters at the paper are not required to contribute to both print and online versions and being multi-media skilled is not an important requirement in the recruitment of reporters, except for those in the online department. The paper maintains a distinction between its online staff and those that work in the print version. Its social media presence includes a Facebook account that had 530,000 followers as at June 2017 and a Twitter account with 477,000.

Daily Maverick

Daily Maverick is a privately-owned English-language web only newspaper which started operation in October 2009. Its focus is on original feature-length analysis and opinion. It has a staff strength of 12 people. It has no "political affiliation" and its audience are "affluent, decision makers". Its interactive website (www.dailymaverick.co.za) averages about 30,000 unique visitors daily.[63]

The *Daily Maverick* has an online policy, a social media policy, and an online business model but no pay wall because it wants to "grow audience". It opened a Facebook account in October 2009, and by May 2015 it had over 30,000 followers. Comments average about five per

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[63] Information provided by newspaper in response to a May 2015 questionnaire.

post. The paper opened a Twitter account in October 2009, and by May 2015, it had over 130,000 followers.

Reporters can use their social media platforms for breaking news and all reporters are expected to be involved in the social media engagement of the newspaper. The paper has a policy that covers comments and comments are moderated "if complaints are received and policy transgressed."

By May 2015, the paper had not done any training in online journalism for its staff in the preceding two years. Reporters are given the freedom to engage readers/audience by tweeting links to their stories. They can also operate blogs. Being multi-media skilled is an important requirement in the recruitment of reporters.

City Press

City Press is part of the Media 24 group which celebrated 100 years in 2015. The paper was established in 1982. It is a traditional English-language broadsheet weekly newspaper. It started as a newspaper for the "black" audience during apartheid. As at November 2015, the newspaper had 61 staff members.[64]

The paper reaches close to two million readers. It has a print run of 150,000 and average weekly circulation of 100, 000. The paper has an ombudsman and online department as well as a digital policy and online business model. Its interactive website (http://city-press.news24.com/) launched in 2009 can be accessed through various mobile applications and the paper is also available as an E-paper. It has an online staff of 4 but no online editor

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[64] Information provided by newspaper in response to November 2015 questionnaire.

and no pay wall because it believes that readers "may migrate rather than pay." The site has an average daily hit of 30,000 and 200,000 hits per week.

The paper has a social media policy but no social media unit. Social media activities are handled by a web team. Reporters can use their social media platforms for breaking news. Comments on the paper's website are moderated to "remove hate speech". The paper's presence on social media includes a Facebook account which was launched in early 2010, Twitter (June 2009), Instagram (June 205) and YouTube (September 2010).

4. CHAPTER FOUR: DIGITALIZATION AND AUDIENCE RESPONSE

The Internet has created a mode of information transmission and reception surpassing anything the world has seen. While newspapers and journalists are responding to the disruption occasioned by the new digital environment, newspapers readers and consumers are not left out. There are many factors that affect the way audiences in Nigeria and South Africa are responding to the digitalization process of newspapers in both countries.

From the ease with which readers can access news and information, to the cost of digital devices, to infrastructure like electricity and quality of Internet connectivity, digitalization has come with its challenges. Importantly, digital media has also enabled audiences to participate effectively in the communication process, thereby impacting the democratic environment in both countries. The interactive nature of new media and the way audiences are responding also has an impact on journalists and how they ply their trade.

This chapter examines what audiences in Nigeria and South Africa are doing in the light of digitalization and the factors that underpin their reaction. It shows the outcome of a survey of 1000 newspaper readers in ten cities across both countries.

4.1   Survey of newspapers readers in Nigeria

Q1: Age
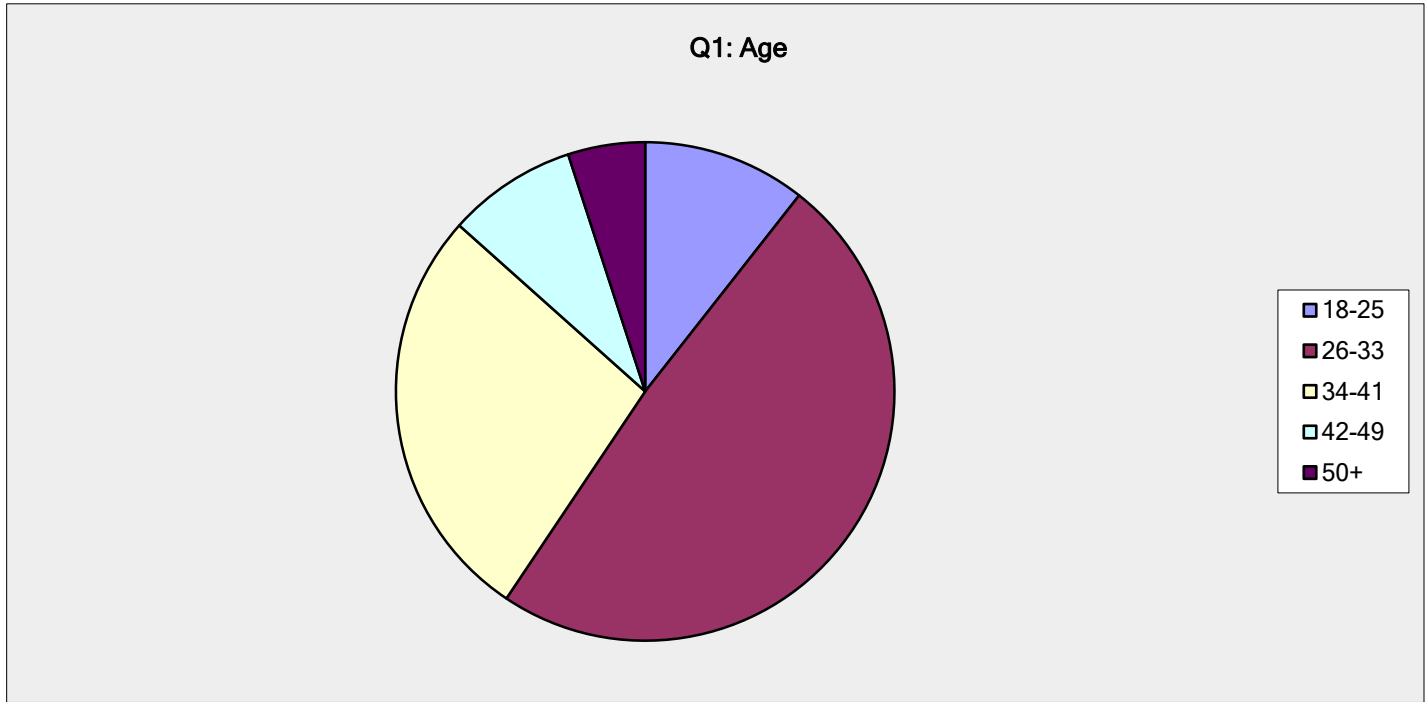
Q1: Age		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
18-25	10.6%	53
26-33	48.8%	244
34-41	27.2%	136
42-49	8.4%	42
50+	5.0%	25
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**
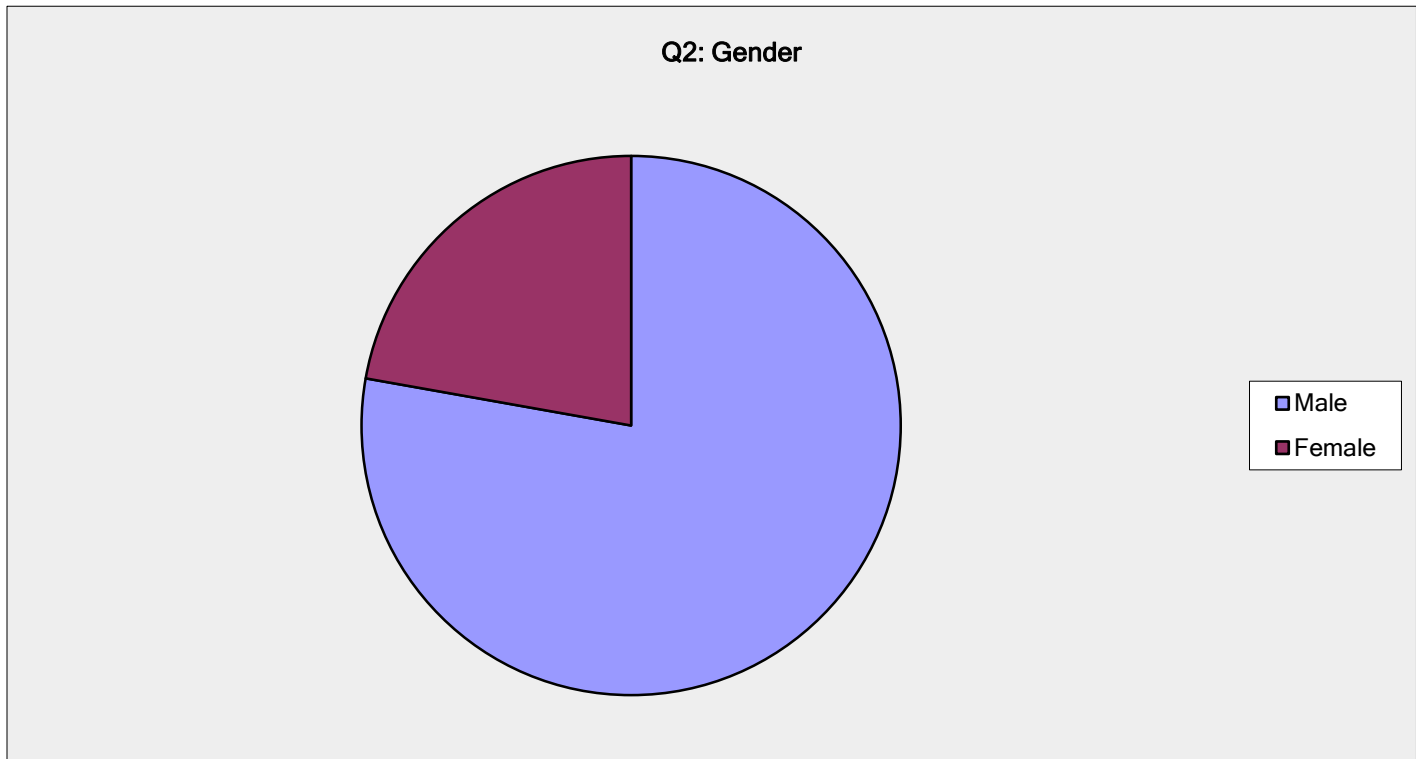
Q2: Gender

Q2: Gender

Q2: Gender		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Male	77.8%	389
Female	22.2%	111
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification)
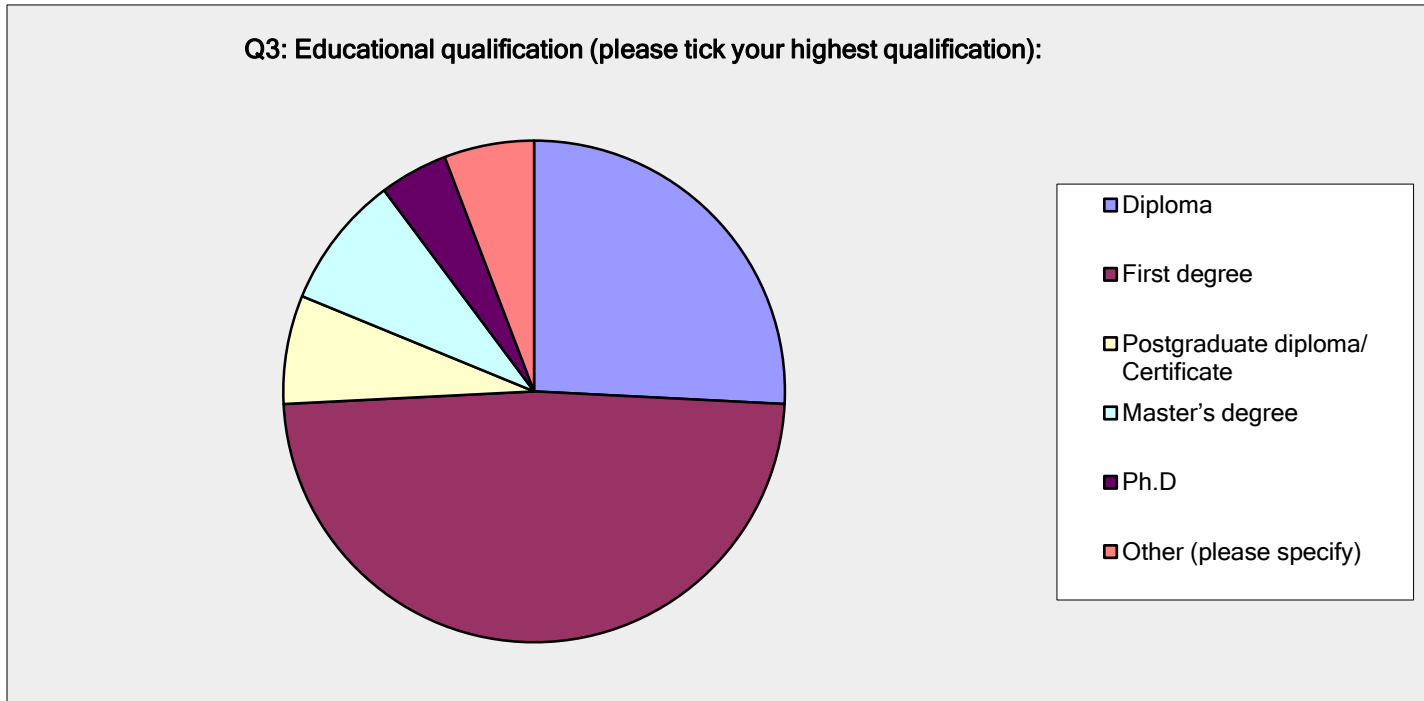
Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification):

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Diploma	25.8%	129
First degree	48.4%	242
Postgraduate diploma/ Certificate	7.0%	35
Master's degree	8.6%	43
Ph.D	4.4%	22
Other (please specify)	5.8%	29
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q4 Occupation

Answer Options	Response Count

	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

Respondents were involved in different occupations, from civil servants to students, to academics and professionals.

Q5 Country: Nigeria

Answer Options	Response Count
	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

All respondents are Nigerians.

Q6 State

Q6: State	
Answer Options	**Response Count**
	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

Respondents were from five (5) states: Abuja, Lagos, Kano, Imo, Rivers.

Q7 City

Q7: City	
Answer Options	**Response Count**
	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

Respondents were from Abuja, Lagos, Kano, Owerri, and Port-Harcourt.

Q8 Do you read newspapers?
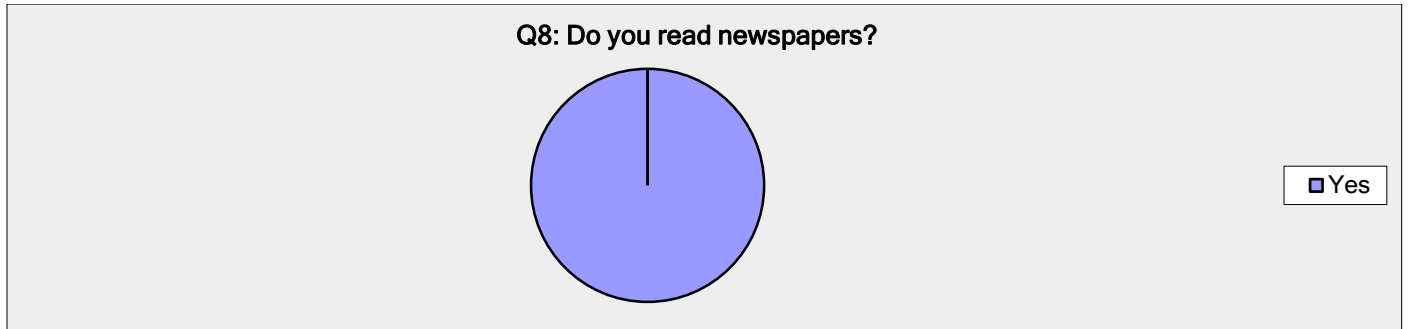
Q8: Do you read newspapers?

Q8: Do you read newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	100.0%	500
No	0.0%	0
answered question		500
skipped question		0

Q9: If yes, how often do you read newspapers?

Q9: If yes, how often do you read newspapers?

■ Every day	
■ Every other day	
□ Occasionally	
□ Other	
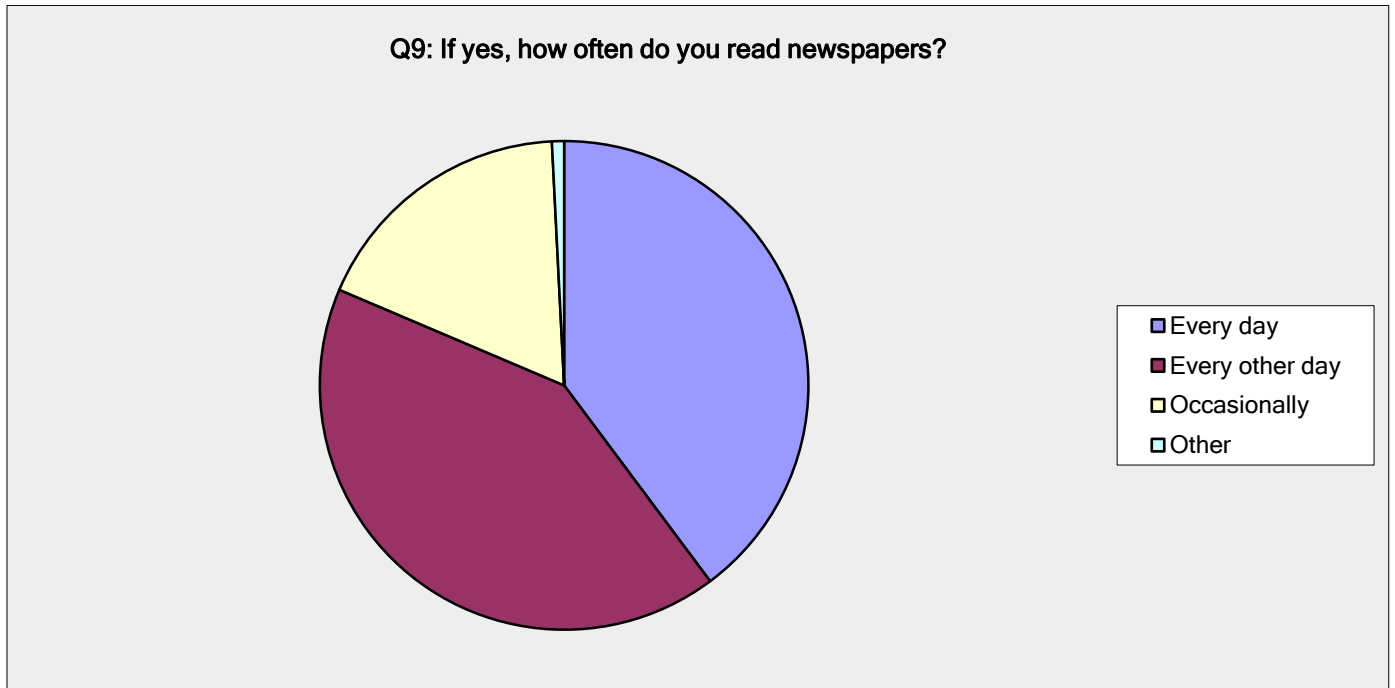
Q9: If yes, how often do you read newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Every day	39.8%	197
Every other day	41.6%	206
Occasionally	17.8%	88
Other	0.8%	4
answered question		**495**
skipped question		**5**

Q10: How many newspapers do you read?

Q10: How many newspapers do you read?

| 1 |
| 2 |
| 3 |
| more |
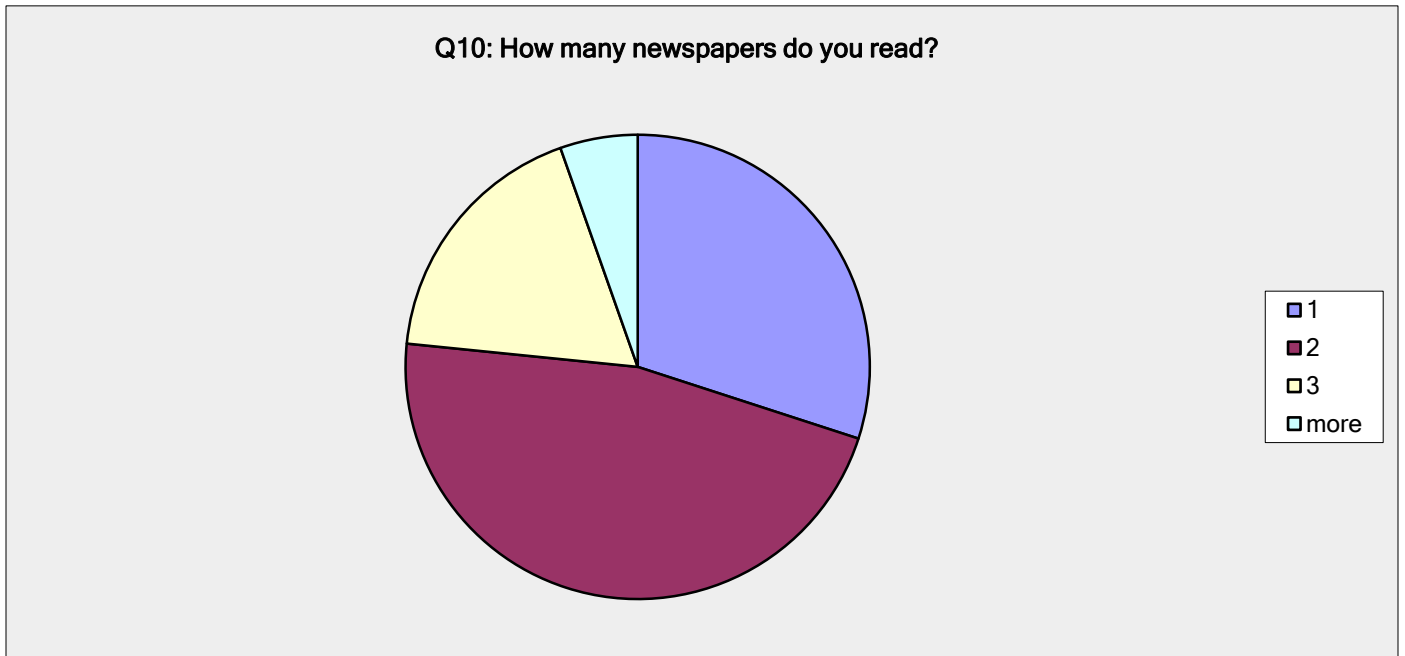
Q10: How many newspapers do you read?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
1	30.0%	150
2	46.6%	233
3	18.0%	90
more	5.4%	27
answered question		500
skipped question		0

Q11: Do you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

Q11: Do you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

☐ Yes
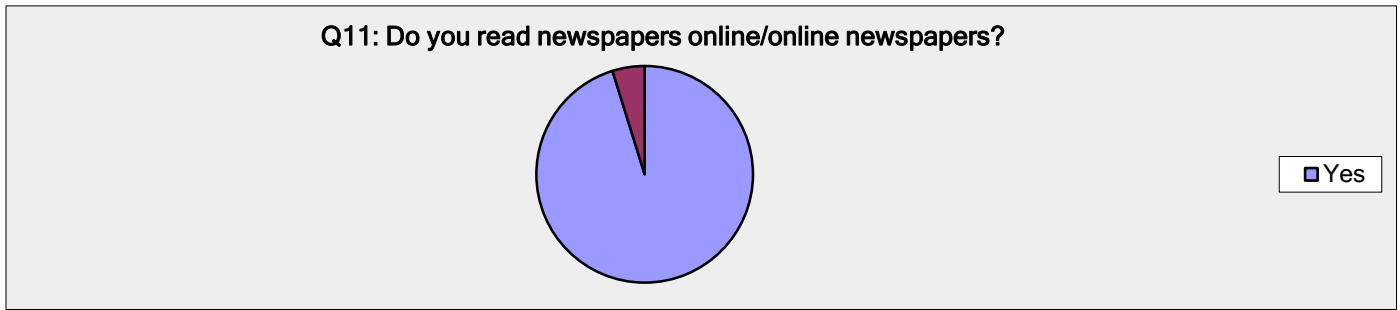
Q11: Do you read newspapers online/online newspapers?		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Yes	95.2%	476
No	4.8%	24
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q12: If yes, how often do you read newspaper online/online newspapers?

Q12: If yes, how often do you read newspaper online/online newspapers?

☐ Everyday
☐ Every other day
☐ Occasionally
☐ Other

87
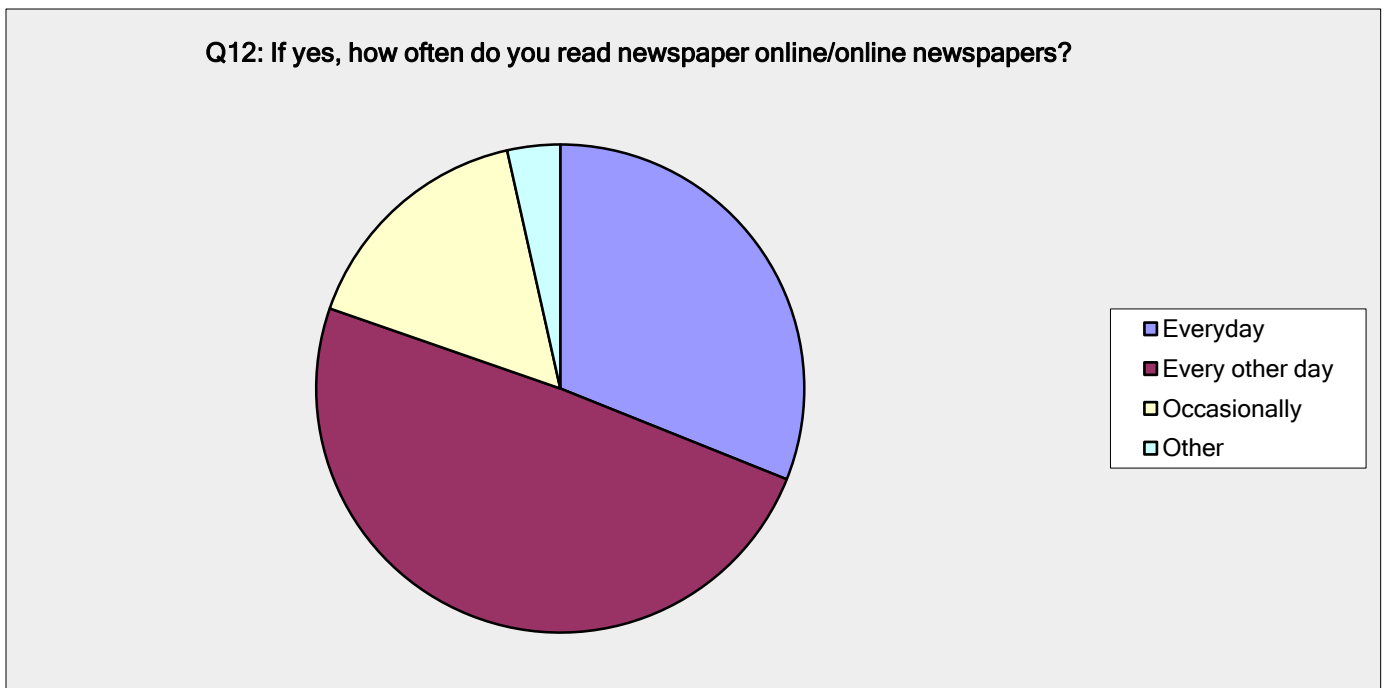
Q12: If yes, how often do you read newspaper online/online newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Everyday	31.1%	152
Every other day	49.3%	241
Occasionally	16.2%	79
Other	3.5%	17
	answered question	**489**
	skipped question	**11**

Q13: How many newspapers online/online newspapers do you read?
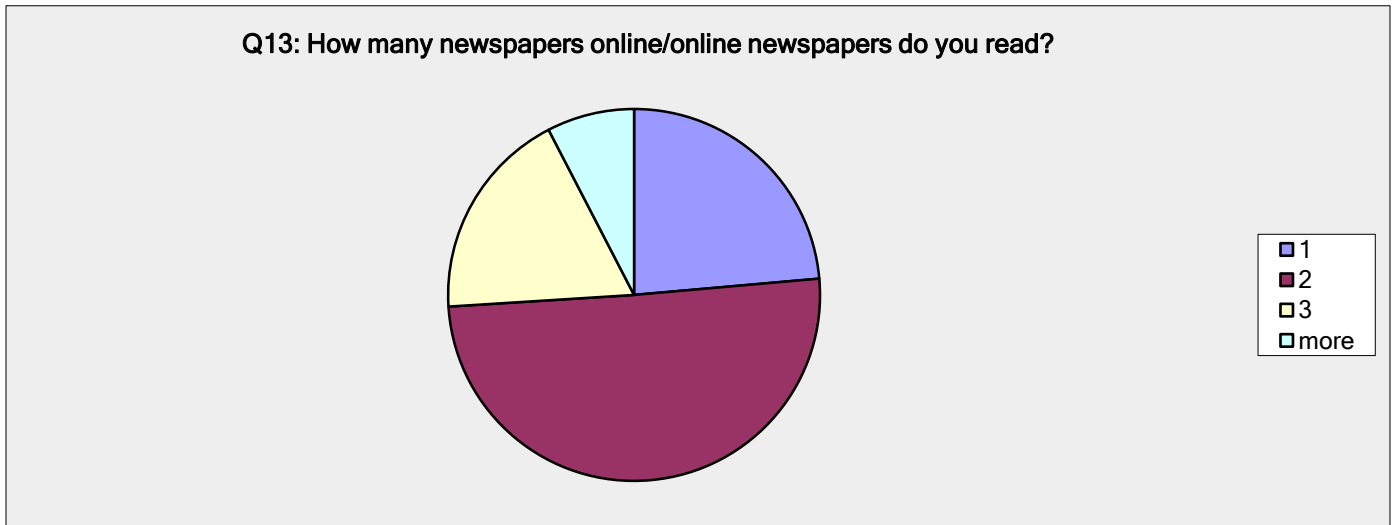
Q13: How many newspapers online/online newspapers do you read?

Q13: How many newspapers online/online newspapers do you read?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
1	23.6%	118
2	50.4%	252
3	18.4%	92
more	7.6%	38

Q14: What kinds of stories/information are you looking for when you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

Q14: What kinds of stories/information are you looking for when you read newspapers online/online newspapers?
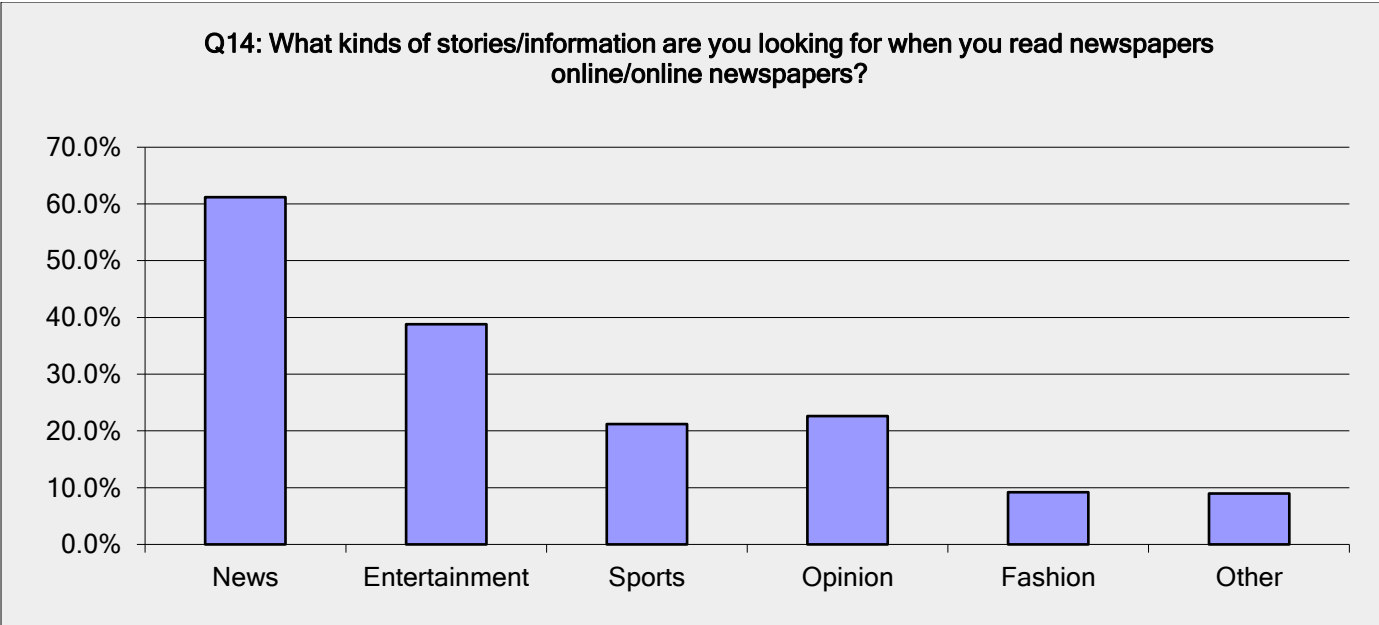
Q14: What kinds of stories/information are you looking for when you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
News	61.2%	306
Entertainment	38.8%	194
Sports	21.2%	106
Opinion	22.6%	113
Fashion	9.2%	46
Other	9.0%	45
	answered question	500
	skipped question	0

Q15: When was the last time you read a newspaper online/online newspaper?
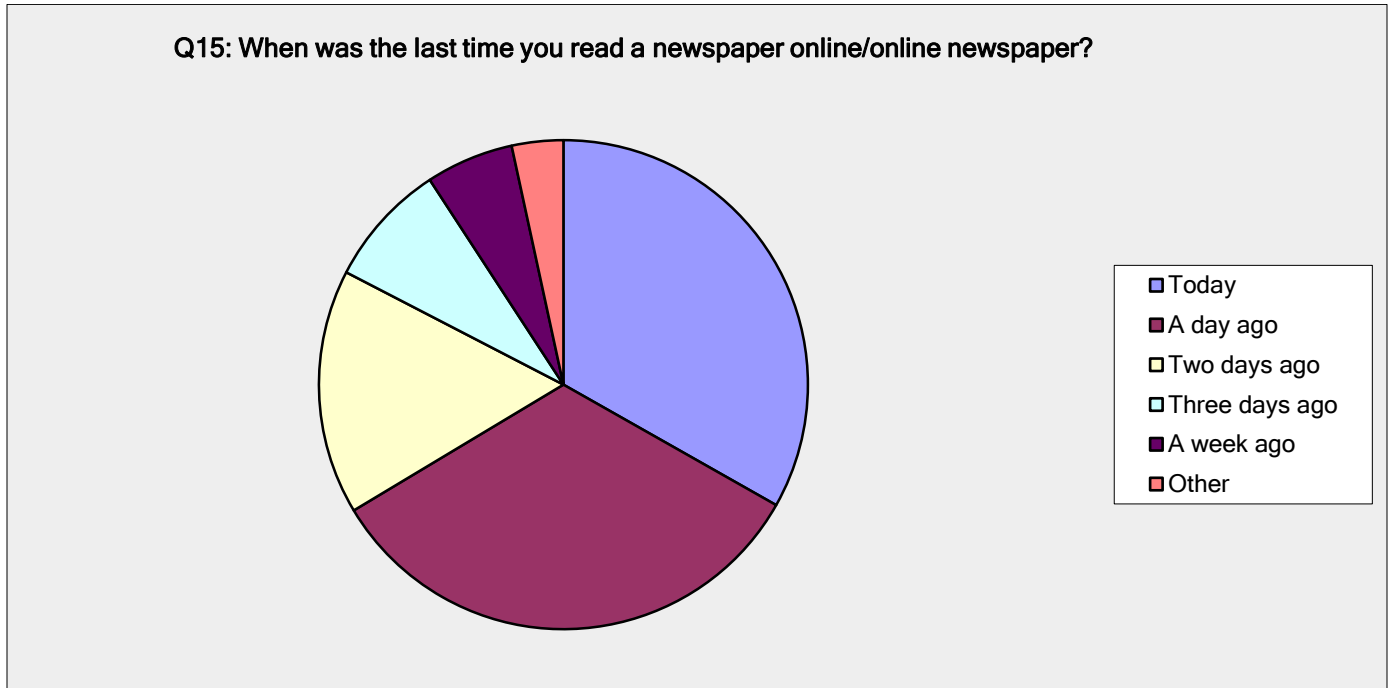
Q15: When was the last time you read a newspaper online/online newspaper?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Today	33.2%	166
A day ago	33.2%	166
Two days ago	16.2%	81
Three days ago	8.2%	41
A week ago	5.8%	29
Other	3.4%	17
	answered question	500
	skipped question	0

Q16: When you go online, how much time do you spend reading newspapers?
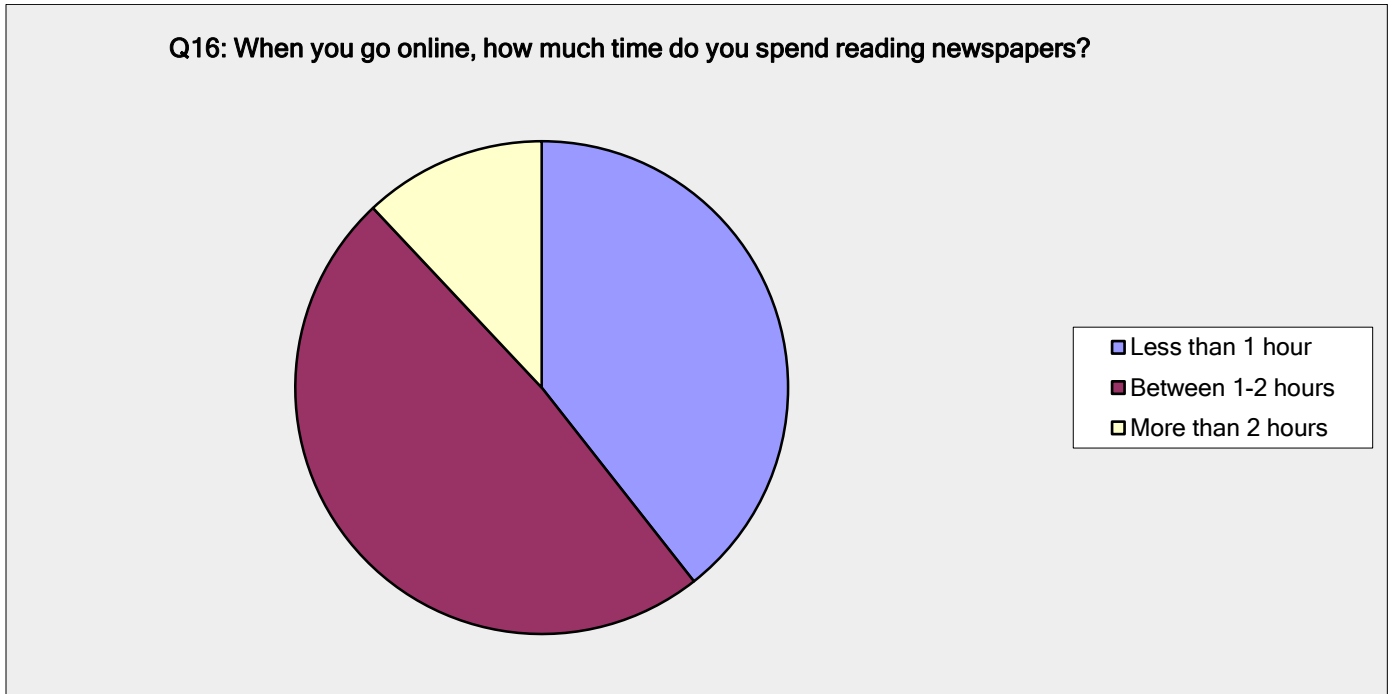
Q16: When you go online, how much time do you spend reading newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Less than 1 hour	39.4%	197
Between 1-2 hours	48.6%	243
More than 2 hours	12.0%	60
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q17: Which of the following papers do you read the printed edition?

Q17: Which of the following papers do you read the printed edition?
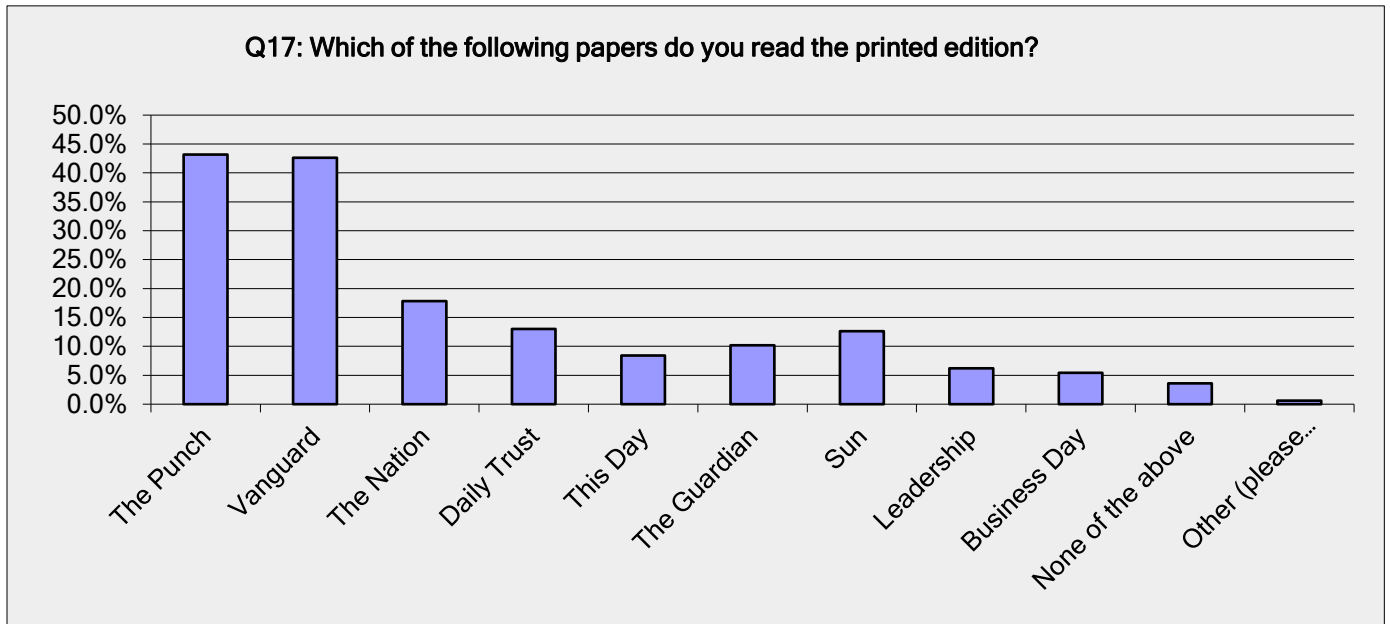
Q17: Which of the following papers do you read the printed edition?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
The Punch	43.2%	216
Vanguard	42.6%	213
The Nation	17.8%	89
Daily Trust	13.0%	65
This Day	8.4%	42
The Guardian	10.2%	51
Sun	12.6%	63
Leadership	6.2%	31
Business Day	5.4%	27
None of the above	3.6%	18
Other (please specify)	0.6%	3
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

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Q18: Which of the following papers do you read online?

Q18: Which of the following papers do you read online?
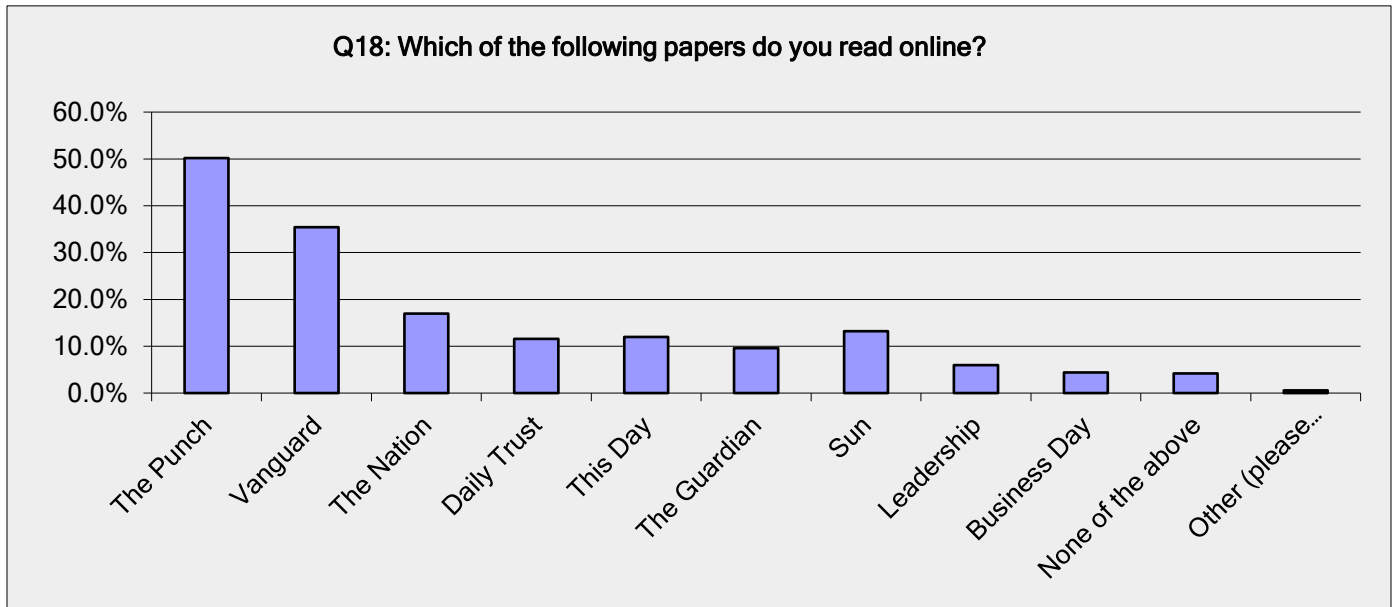
Q18: Which of the following papers do you read online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
The Punch	50.2%	251
Vanguard	35.4%	177
The Nation	17.0%	85
Daily Trust	11.6%	58
This Day	12.0%	60
The Guardian	9.6%	48
Sun	13.2%	66
Leadership	6.0%	30
Business Day	4.4%	22
None of the above	4.2%	21
Other (please specify)	0.6%	3
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q19: Are you aware that there are wholly online newspapers in Nigeria?

Are you aware that there are wholly online newspapers in Nigeria?

Yes
No
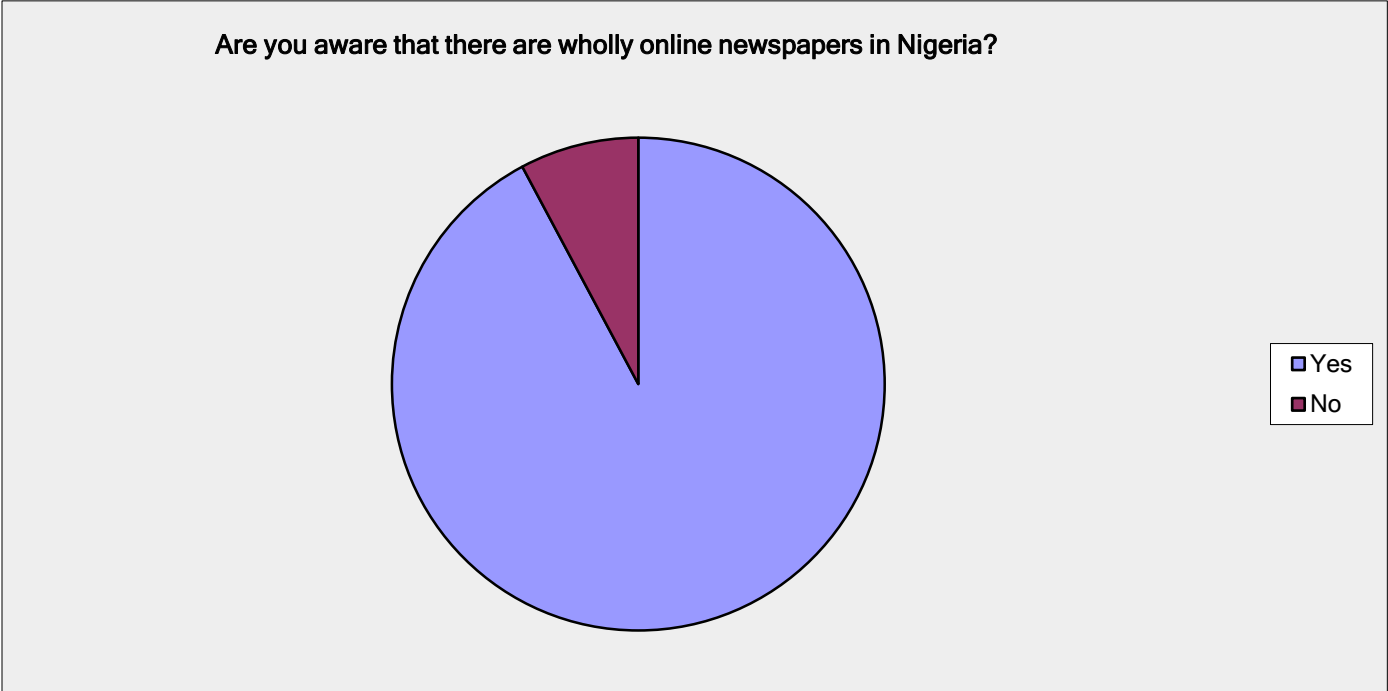
Q19: Are you aware that there are wholly online newspapers in Nigeria?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	92.2%	461
No	7.8%	39
	answered question	500
	skipped question	0

Q20: If yes, which wholly online newspapers do you read?

Q20: If yes, which wholly online newspapers do you read?
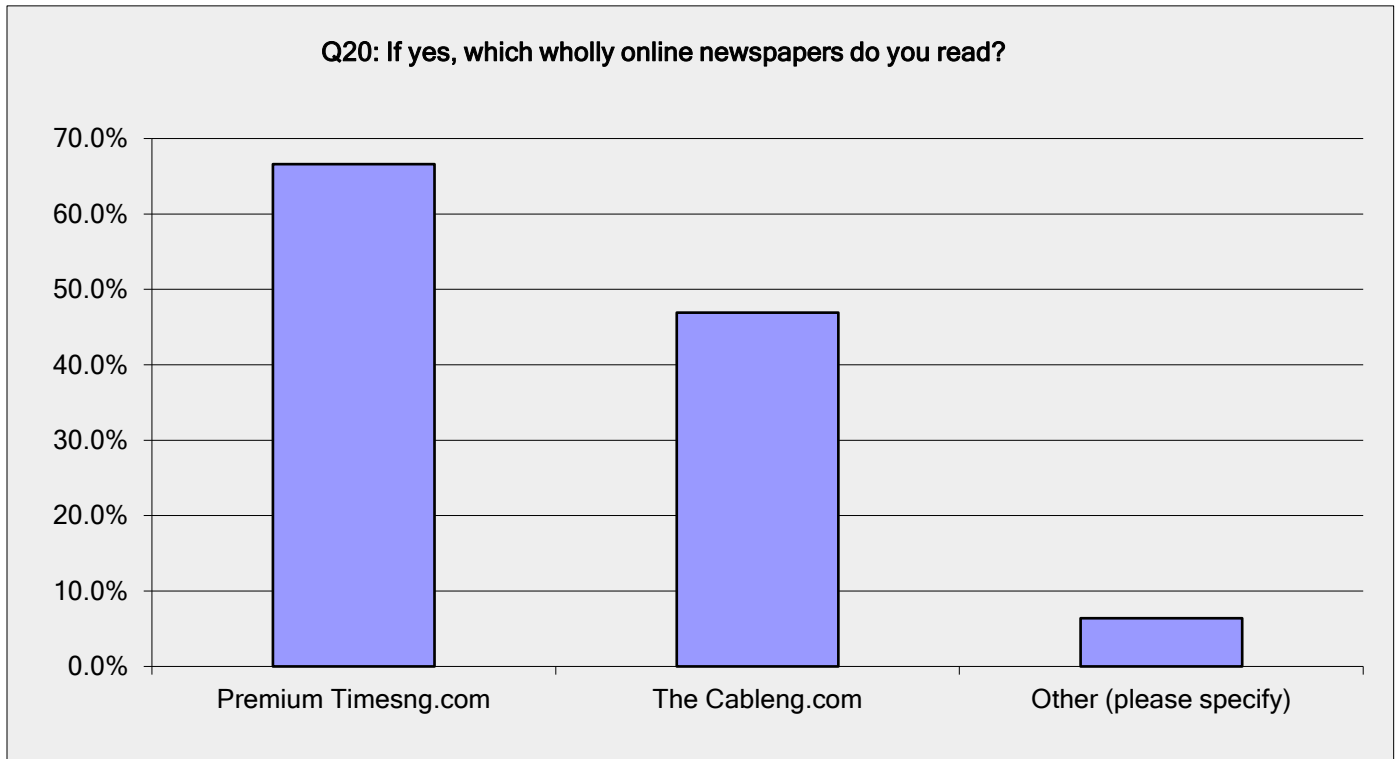
Q20: If yes, which wholly online newspapers do you read?		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Premium Timesng.com	66.6%	311
The Cableng.com	46.9%	219
Other (please specify)	6.4%	30
answered question		**467**
skipped question		**33**

Q21: Do you prefer online edition of newspapers/online newspapers to the printed editions?
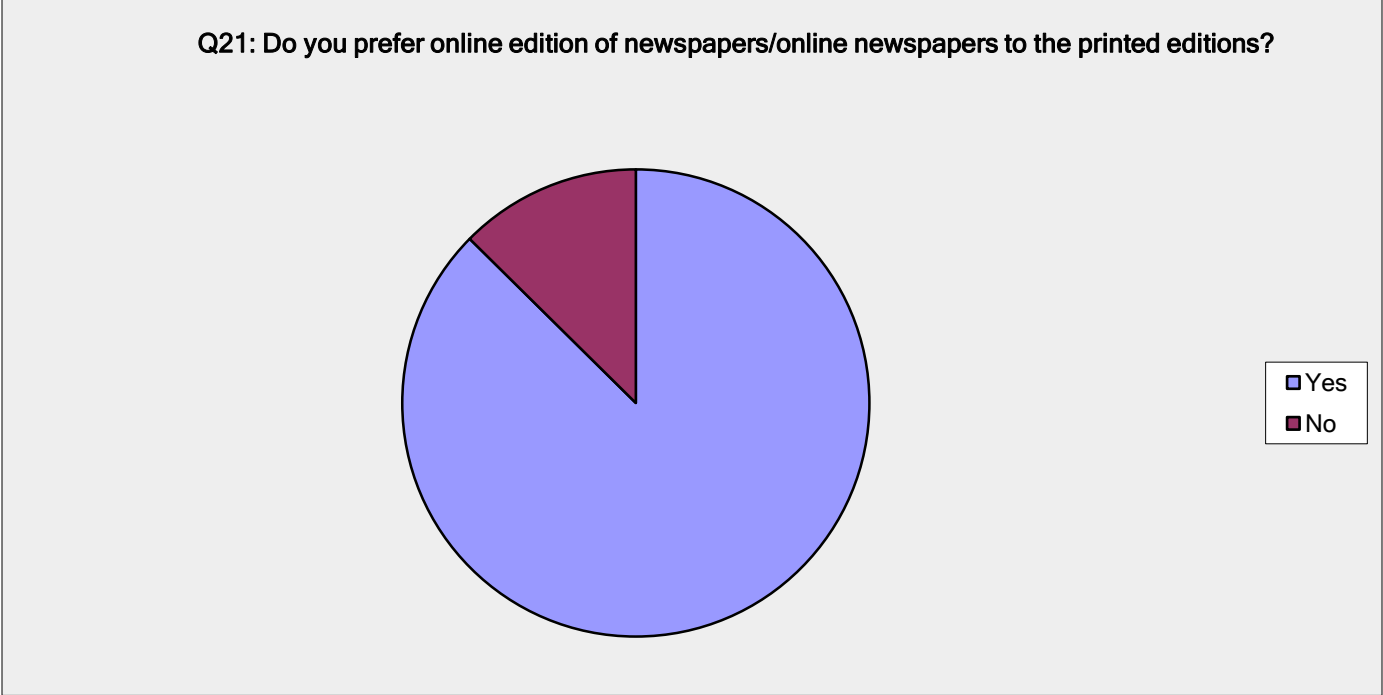
Q21: Do you prefer online edition of newspapers/online newspapers to the printed editions?

Q21: Do you prefer online edition of newspapers/online newspapers to the printed editions?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	87.4%	437
No	12.6%	63
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

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Q22: If yes, why?
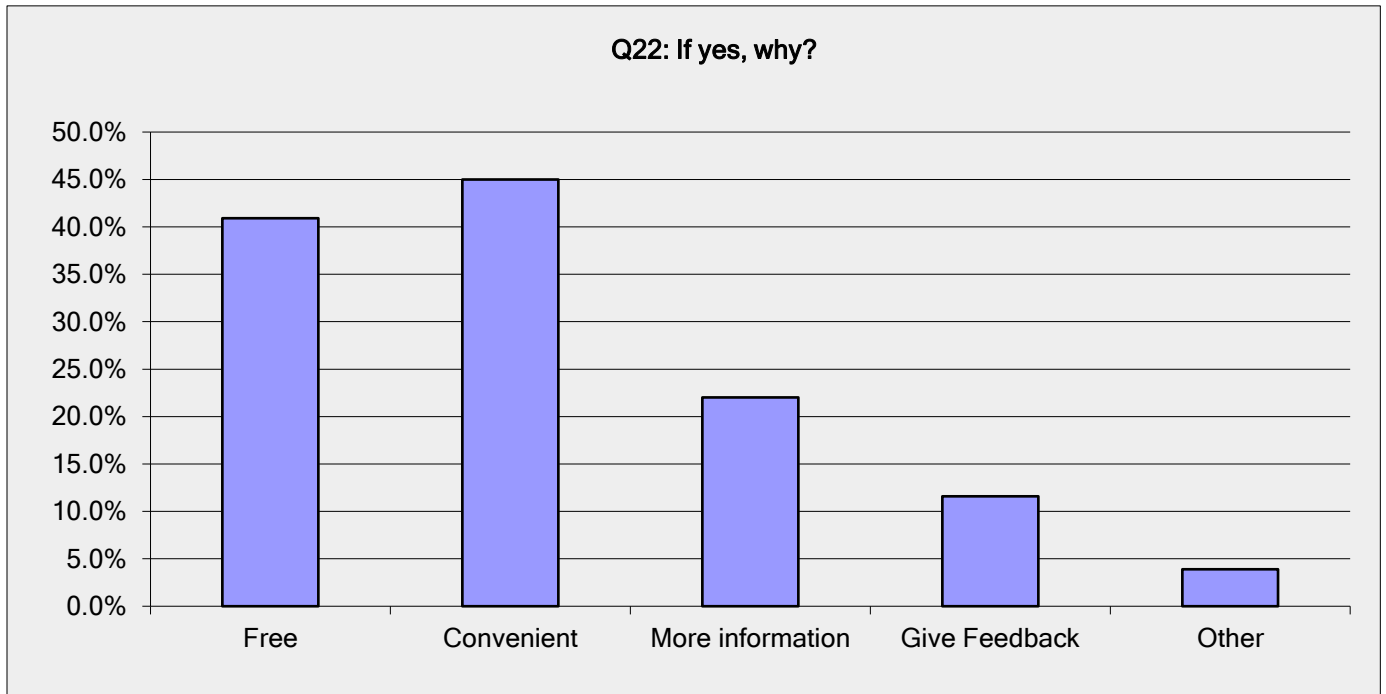
Q22: If yes, why?

Q22: If yes, why?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Free	40.9%	180
Convenient	45.0%	198
More information	22.0%	97
Give Feedback	11.6%	51
Other	3.9%	17
	answered question	**440**
	skipped question	**60**

Q23: Do you think online edition of newspapers/online newspapers provide you the opportunity to be involved in sharing information?

Q23: Do you think online edition of newspapers/online newspapers provide you the opportunity to be involved in sharing information?
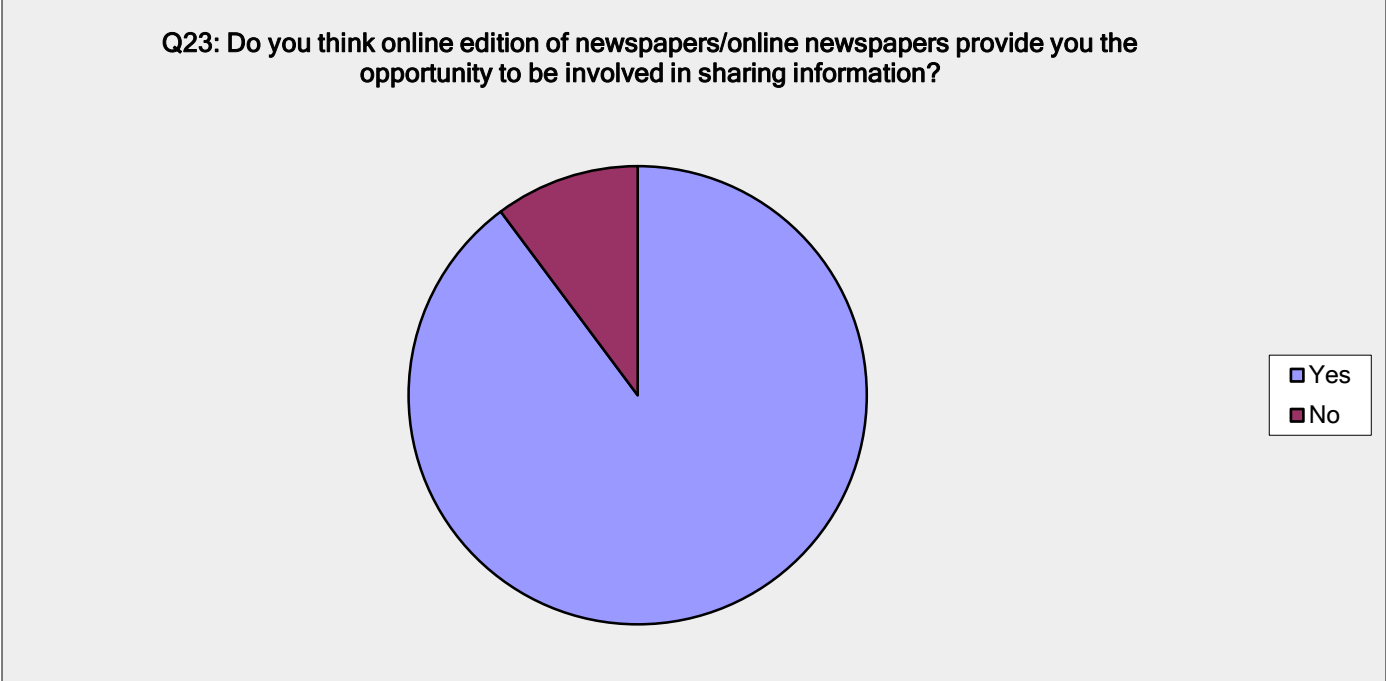
Q23: Do you think online edition of newspapers/online newspapers provide you the opportunity to be involved in sharing information?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	89.8%	449
No	10.2%	51
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q24: Do online edition of newspapers/online newspapers help you connect effectively with stories/reports and your community?

Q24: Do online edition of newspapers/online newspapers help you connect effectively with stories/reports and your community?
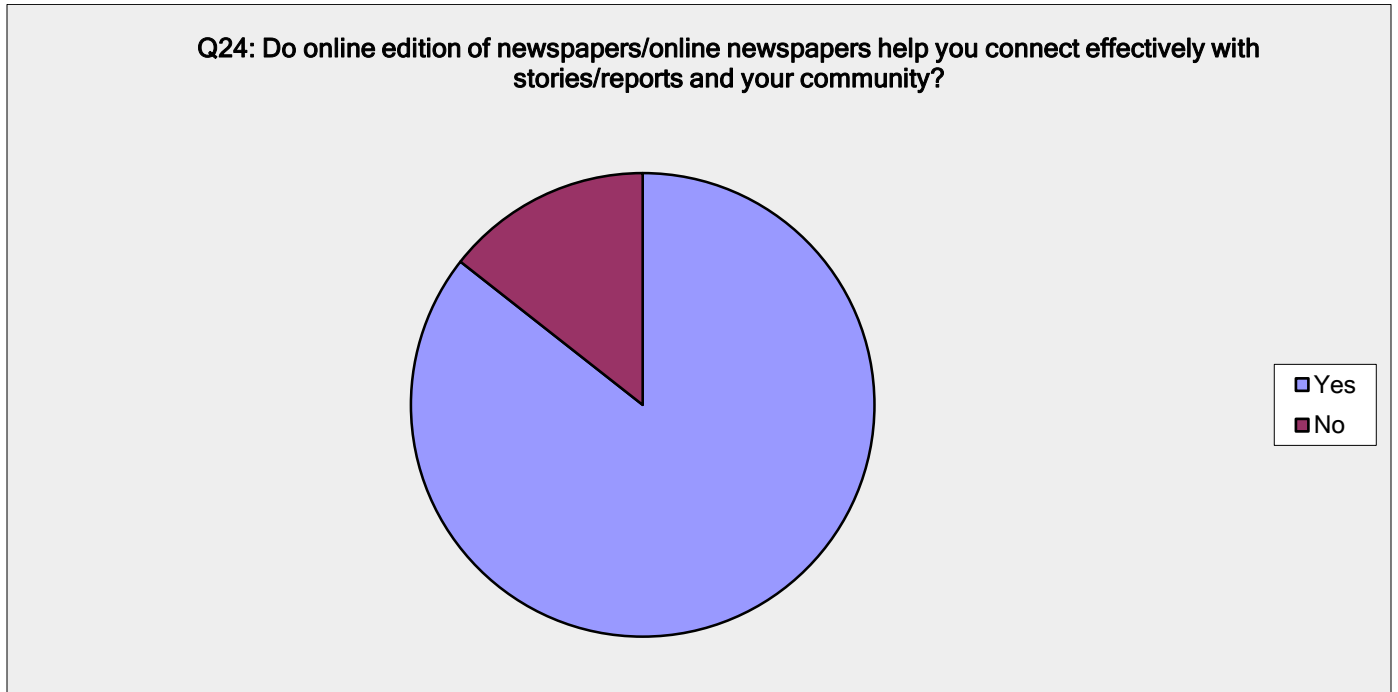
Q24: Do online edition of newspapers/online newspapers help you connect effectively with stories/reports and your community?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	85.6%	428
No	14.4%	72
answered question		500
skipped question		0

Q25: Do you add comments to stories you read online?

Q25: Do you add comments to stories you read online?

Yes
No
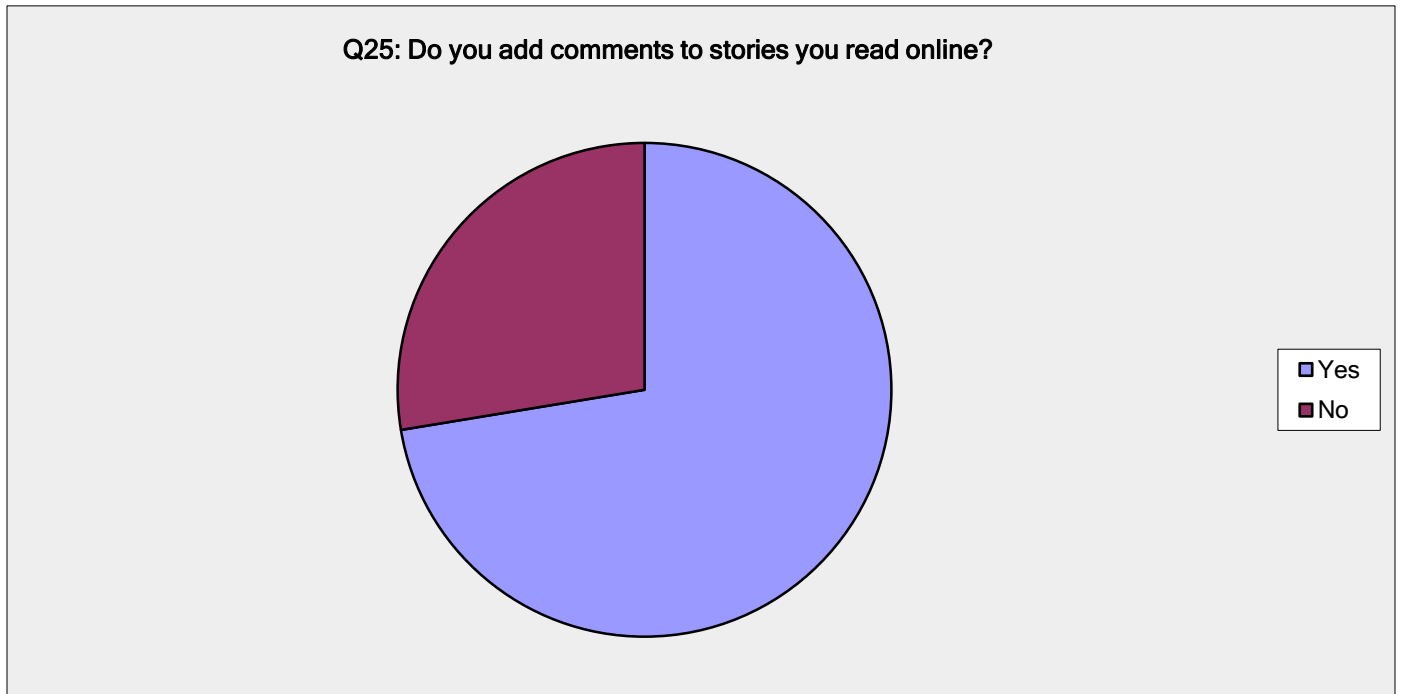
Q25: Do you add comments to stories you read online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	72.4%	362
No	27.6%	138
	answered question	500
	skipped question	0

Q26: If yes, when was the last time you commented on an online newspaper story?

Q26: If yes, when was the last time you commented on an online newspaper story?

- Today
- A day ago
- Two days ago
- Three days ago
- Other
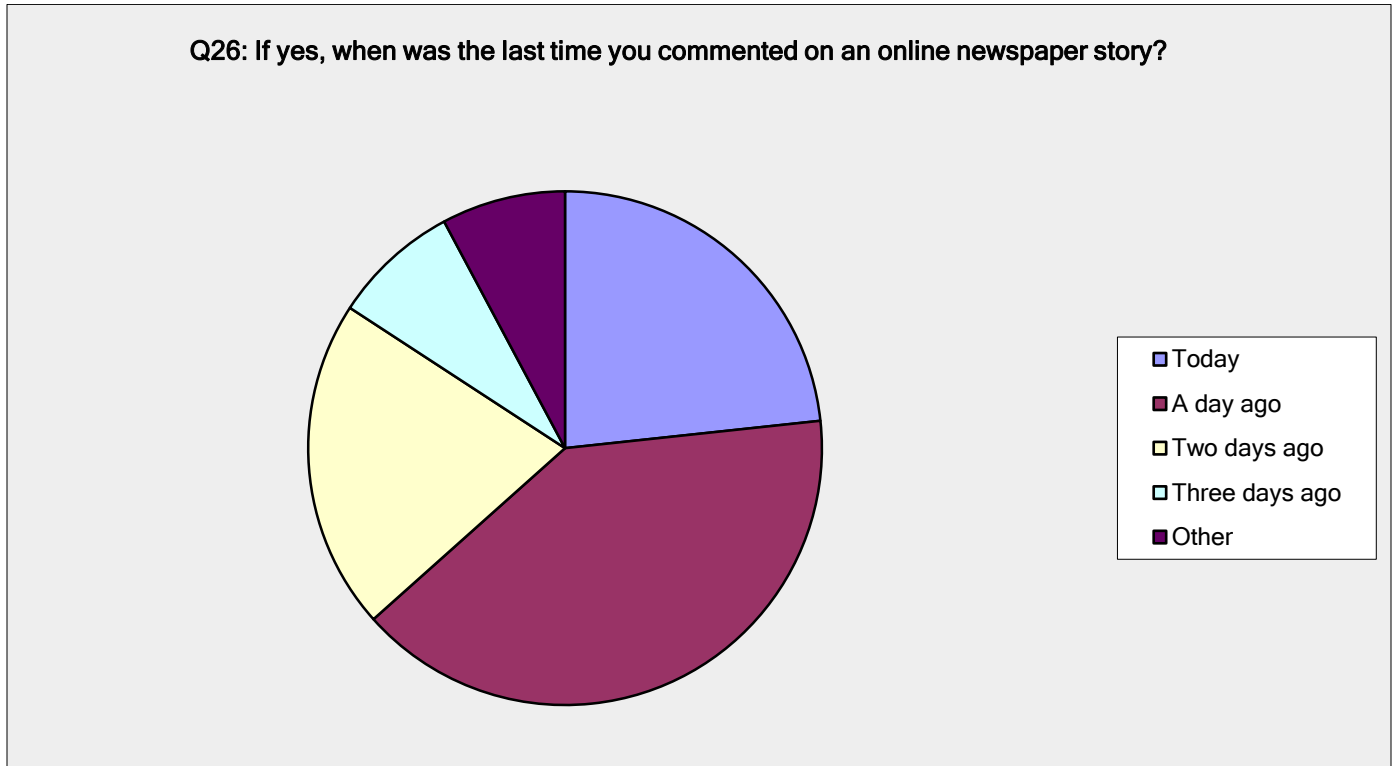
Q26: If yes, when was the last time you commented on an online newspaper story?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Today	23.3%	93
A day ago	40.1%	160
Two days ago	20.8%	83
Three days ago	8.0%	32
Other	7.8%	31
	answered question	**399**
	skipped question	**101**

Q27: If No, why don't you add comments to online newspaper stories?
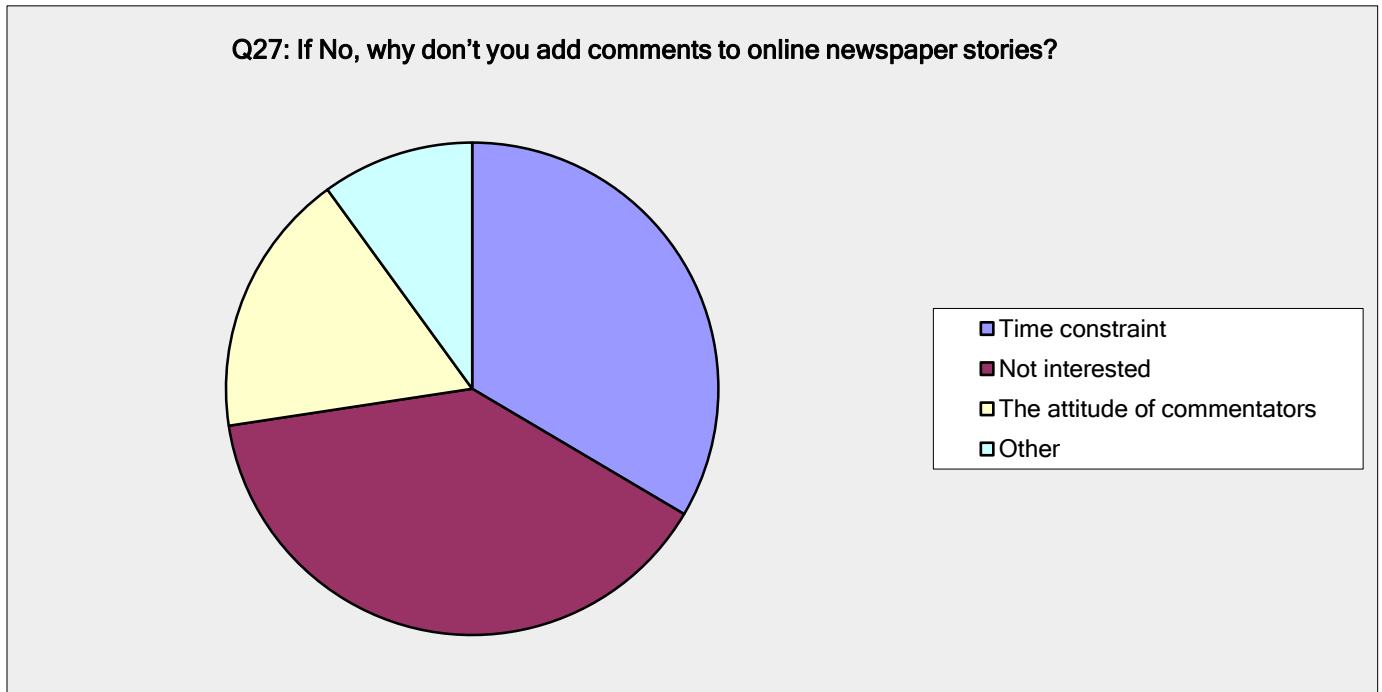
Q27: If No, why don't you add comments to online newspaper stories?

- Time constraint
- Not interested
- The attitude of commentators
- Other

Q27: If No, why don't you add comments to online newspaper stories?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Time constraint	33.5%	77
Not interested	39.1%	90
The attitude of commentators	17.4%	40
Other	10.0%	23
answered question		230
skipped question		270

Q28: Are you willing to pay to read newspapers (in Nigeria) online/blogs so long as what is offered is of value?

Q28: Are you willing to pay to read newspapers (in Nigeria) online/blogs so long as what is offered is of value?
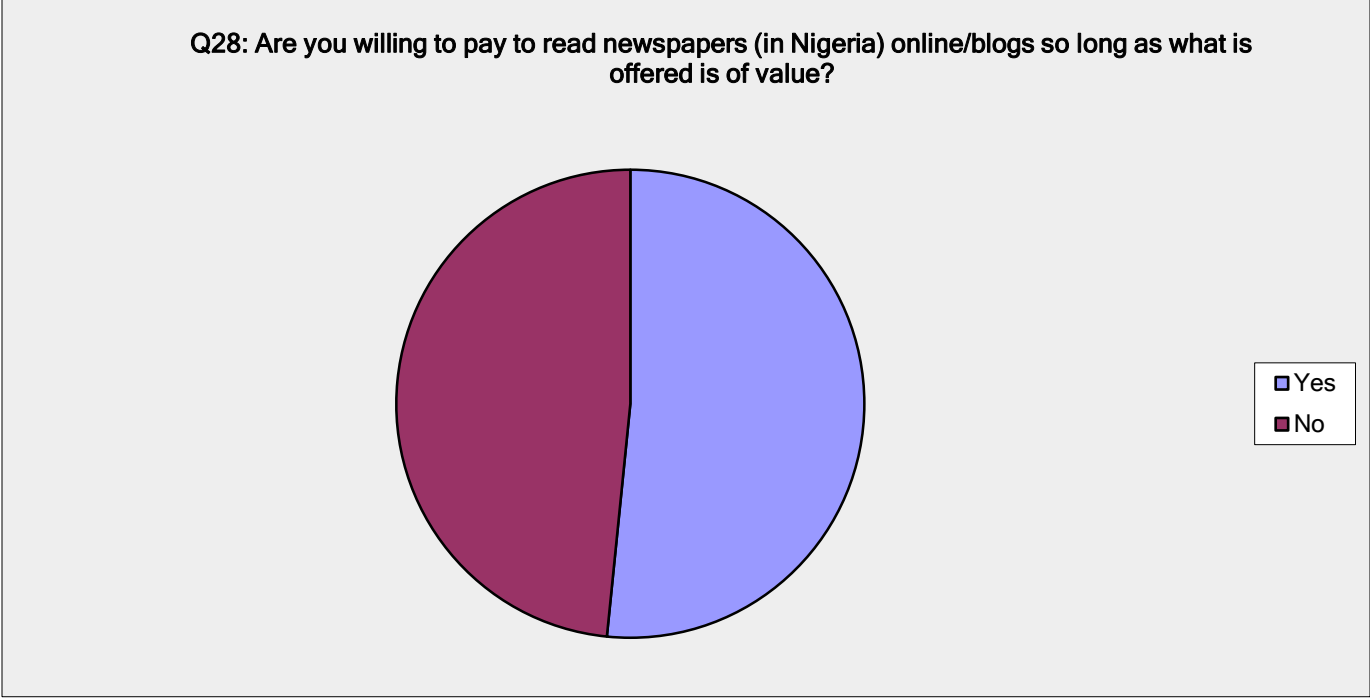
Q28: Are you willing to pay to read newspapers (in Nigeria) online/blogs so long as what is offered is of value?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	51.6%	258
No	48.4%	242
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**
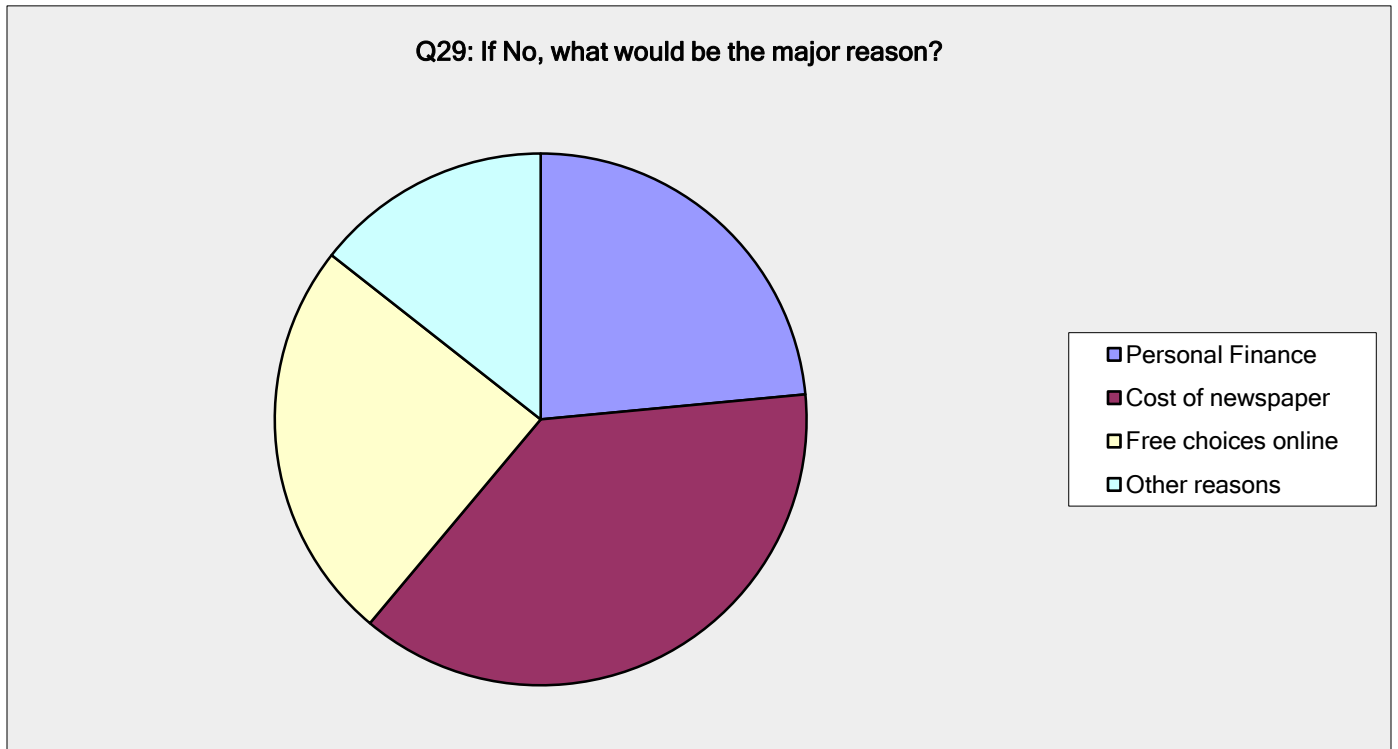
Q29: If No, what would be the major reason?

Q29: If No, what would be the major reason?

Q29: If No, what would be the major reason?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Personal Finance	23.5%	75
Cost of newspaper	37.6%	120
Free choices online	24.5%	78
Other reasons	14.4%	46
	answered question	319
	skipped question	181

Q30: Which of the following poses a challenge for you in reading newspapers online?
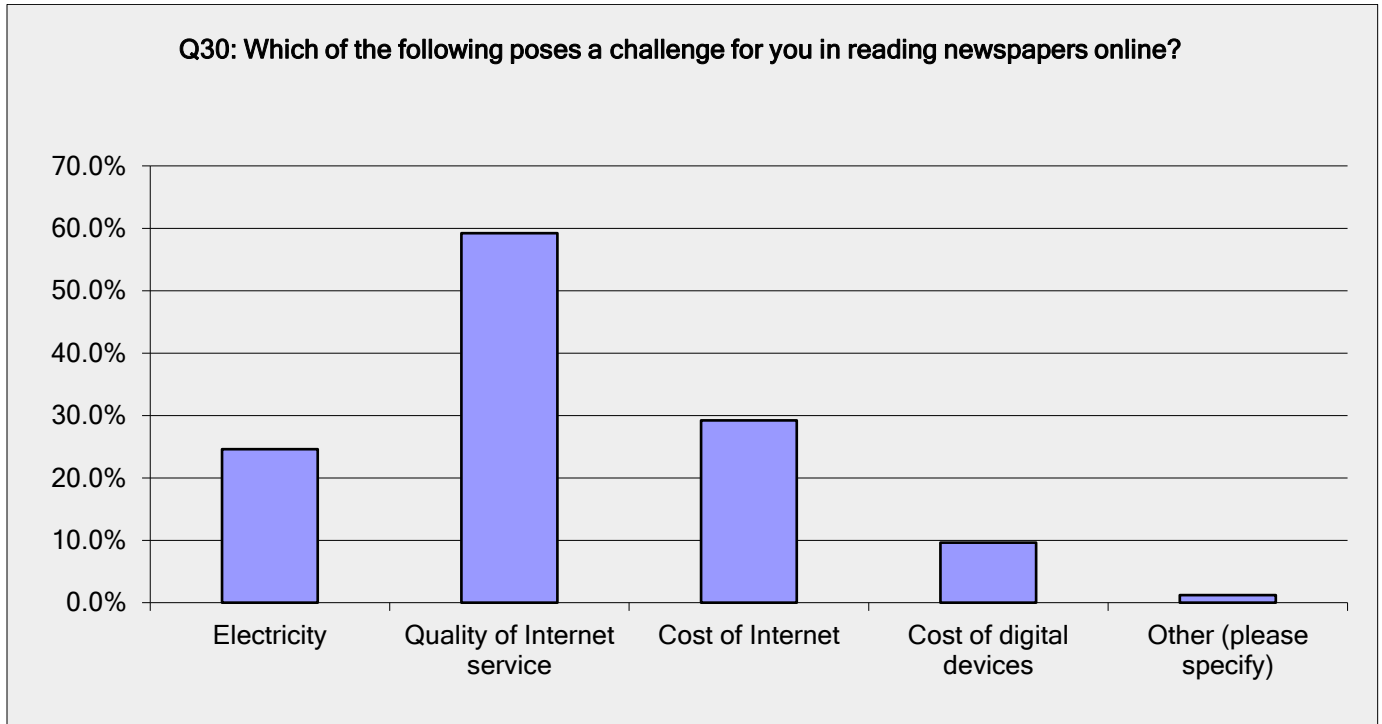
Q30: Which of the following poses a challenge for you in reading newspapers online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Electricity	24.6%	123
Quality of Internet service	59.2%	296
Cost of Internet	29.2%	146
Cost of digital devices	9.6%	48
Other (please specify)	1.2%	6
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q31: Which of these social media sites do you use in connecting to newspaper websites/online newspapers?

Q31: Which of these social media sites do you use in connecting to newspaper websites/online newspapers?
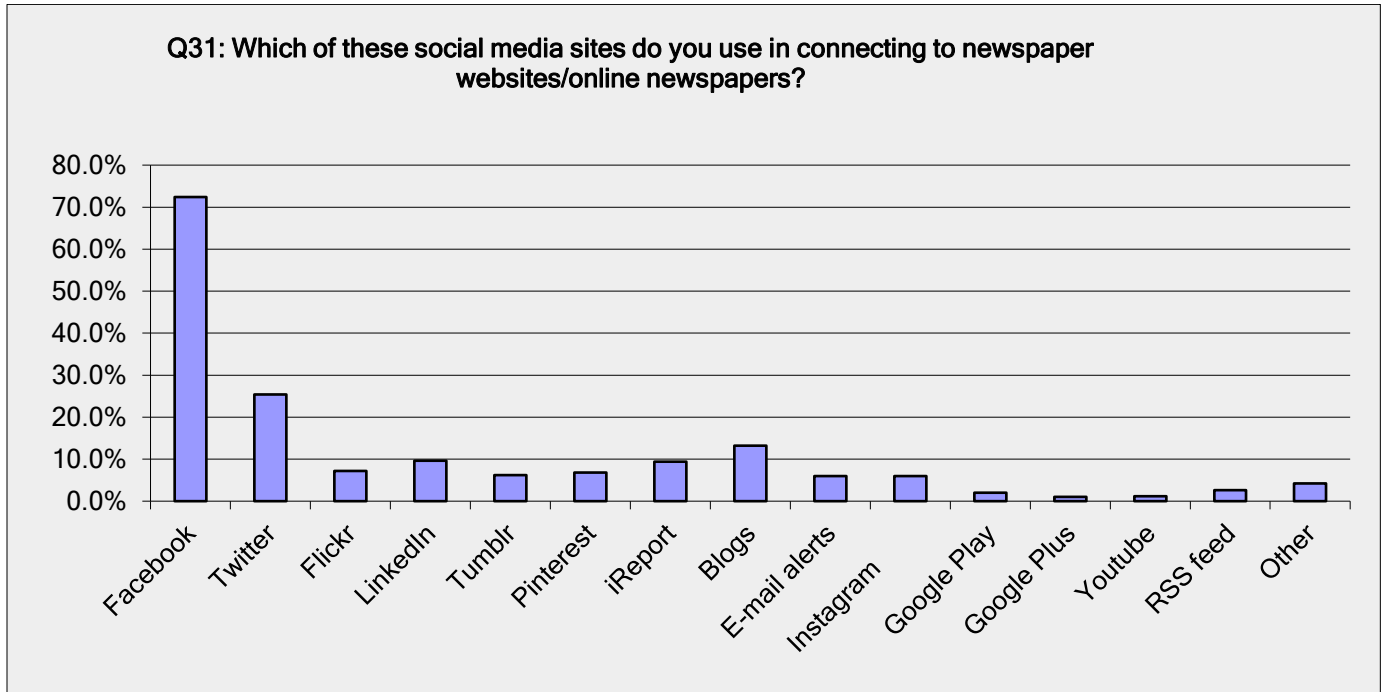
Q31: Which of these social media sites do you use in connecting to newspaper websites/online newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Facebook	72.4%	362
Twitter	25.4%	127
Flickr	7.2%	36
LinkedIn	9.6%	48
Tumblr	6.2%	31
Pinterest	6.8%	34
iReport	9.4%	47
Blogs	13.2%	66
E-mail alerts	6.0%	30
Instagram	6.0%	30

Google Play	2.0%	10
Google Plus	1.0%	5
YouTube	1.2%	6
RSS feed	2.6%	13
Other	4.2%	21
answered question		500
skipped question		0

Q32: Which of these social media sites do you find most convenient in connecting with newspapers online?

Q32: Which of these social media sites do you find most convenient in connecting with newspapers online?
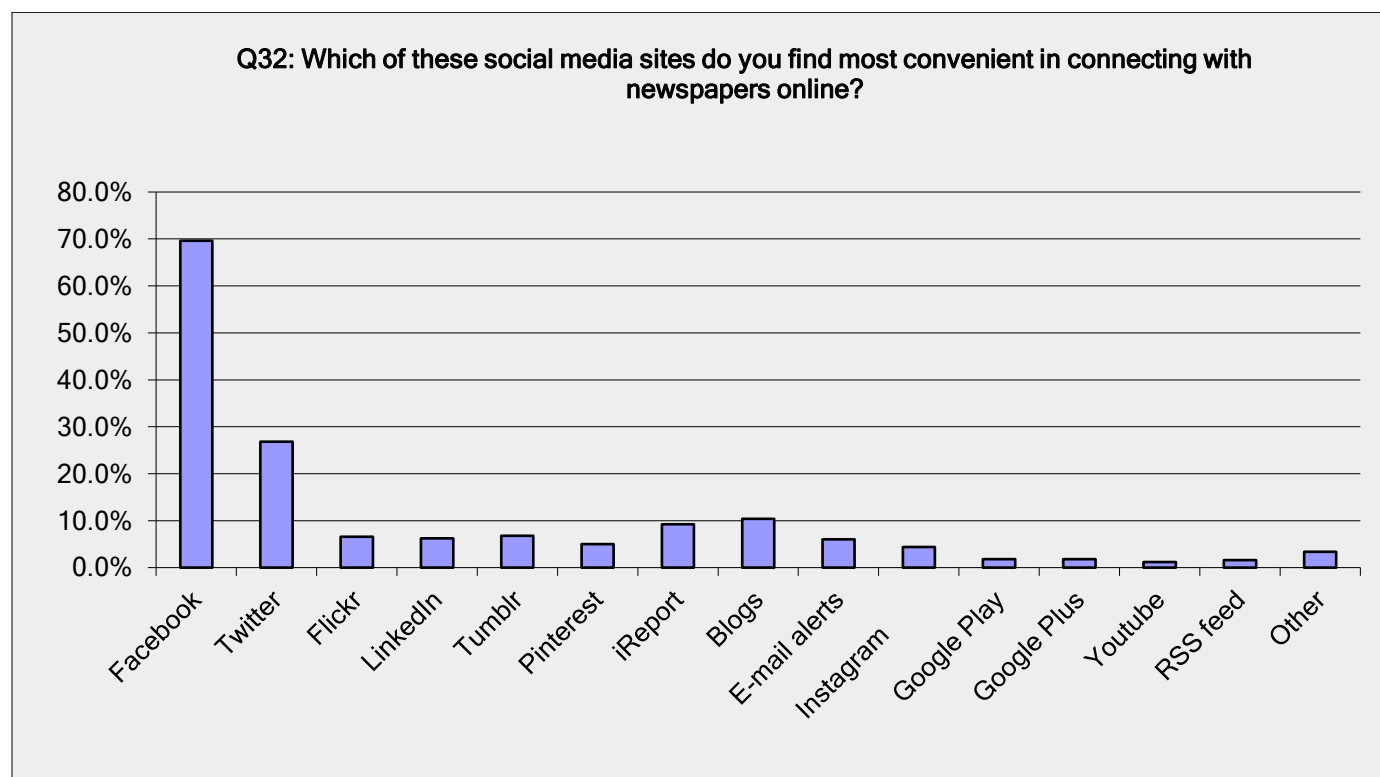
Q32: Which of these social media sites do you find most convenient in connecting with newspapers online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Facebook	69.6%	348
Twitter	26.8%	134

Flickr	6.6%	33
LinkedIn	6.2%	31
Tumblr	6.8%	34
Pinterest	5.0%	25
iReport	9.2%	46
Blogs	10.4%	52
E-mail alerts	6.0%	30
Instagram	4.4%	22
Google Play	1.8%	9
Google Plus	1.8%	9
YouTube	1.2%	6
RSS feed	1.6%	8
Other	3.4%	17
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q33: What device do you use mostly to read newspapers online?

Q33: What device do you use mostly to read newspapers online?

Legend:
- Desktop
- Laptop
- iPad
- Mobile phone
- Other
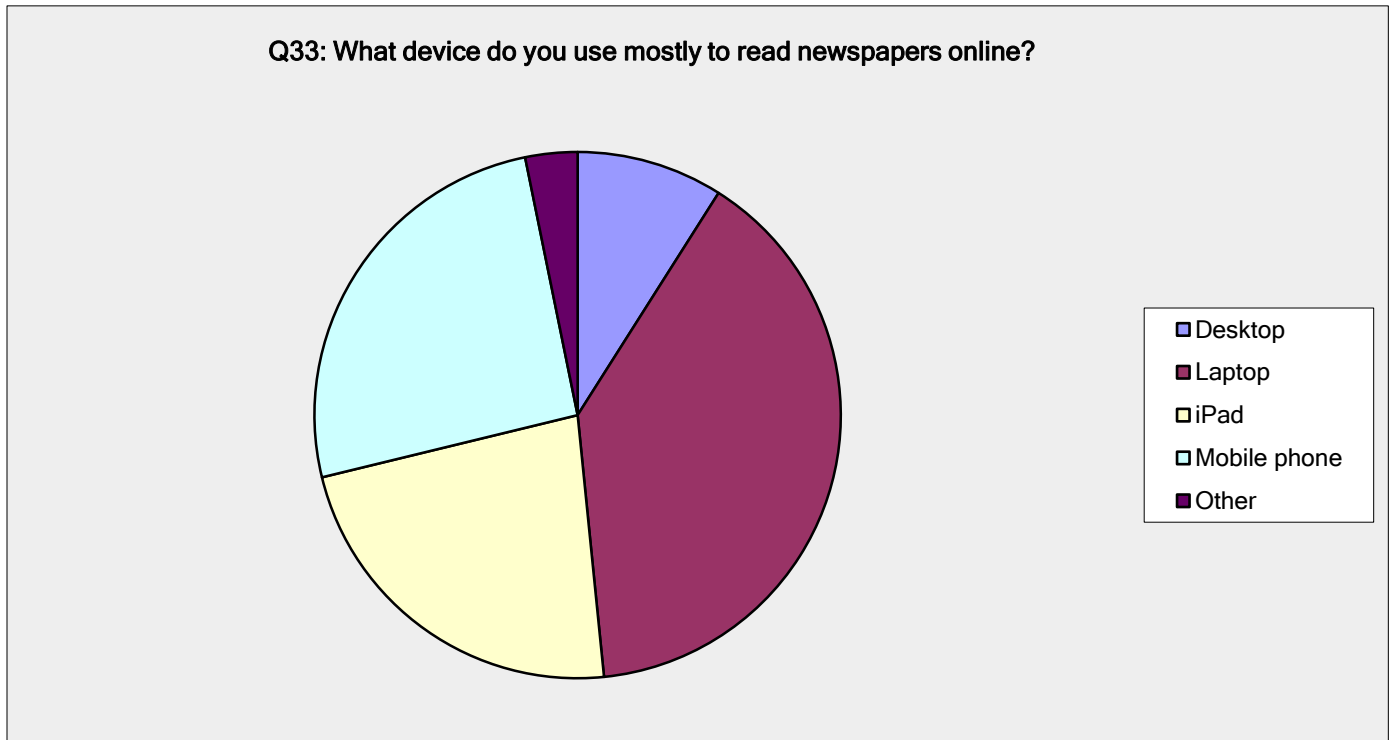
Q33: What device do you use mostly to read newspapers online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Desktop	9.0%	45
Laptop	39.4%	197
iPad	22.8%	114
Mobile phone	25.6%	128
Other	3.2%	16
answered question		500
skipped question		0

Q34: Specifically, which mobile apps do you use? Tick as applicable.

Q34: Specifically, which mobile apps do you use? Tick as applicable.
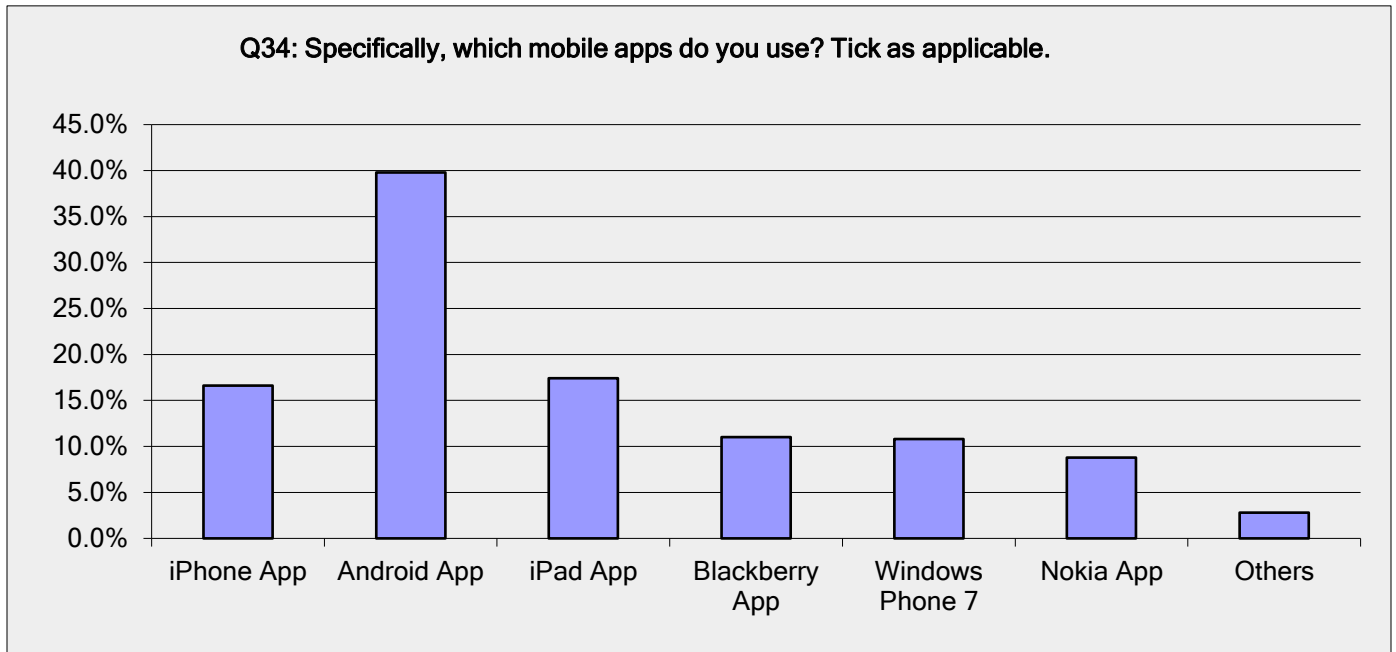
Q34: Specifically, which mobile apps do you use? Tick as applicable.

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
iPhone App	16.6%	83
Android App	39.8%	199
iPad App	17.4%	87
Blackberry App	11.0%	55
Windows Phone 7	10.8%	54
Nokia App	8.8%	44
Others	2.8%	14
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

4.2 Survey of newspaper readers in South Africa
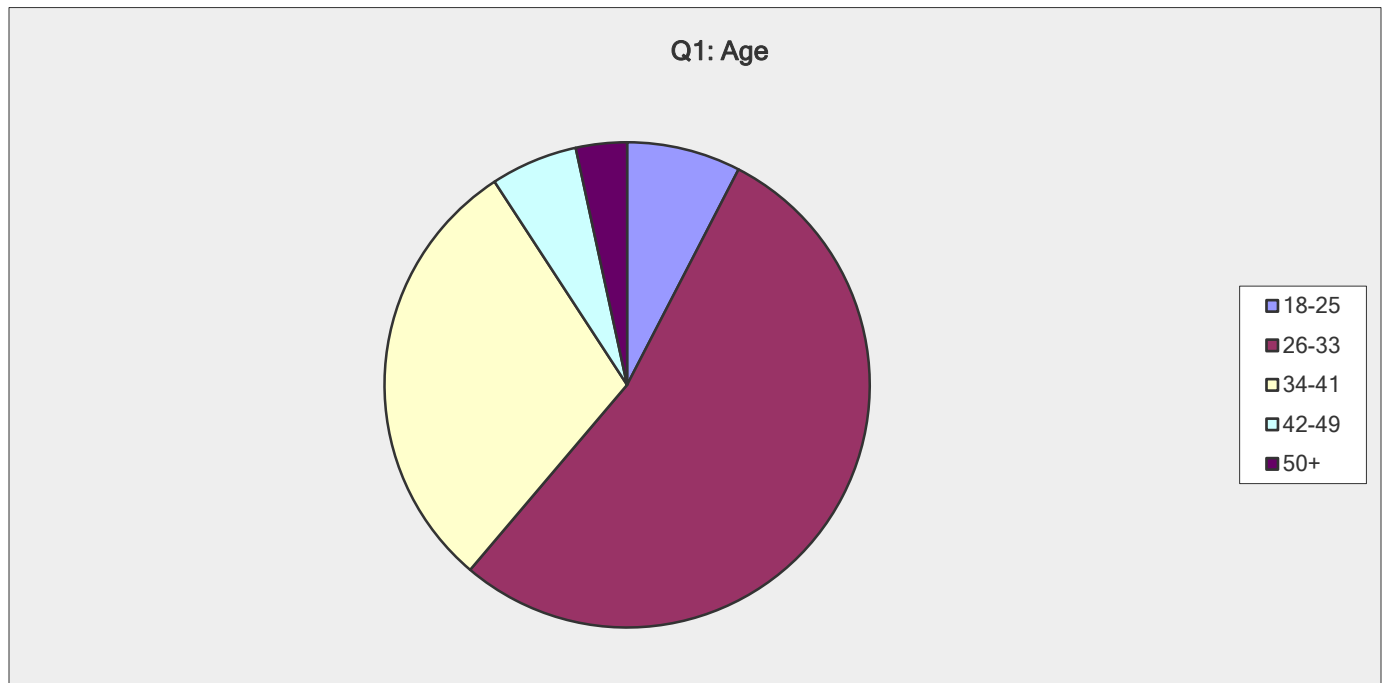
Q1: Age

Q1: Age		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
18-25	7.6%	38
26-33	53.6%	268
34-41	29.6%	148
42-49	5.8%	29
50+	3.4%	17
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q2: Gender

Q2: Gender

| Male | Female |
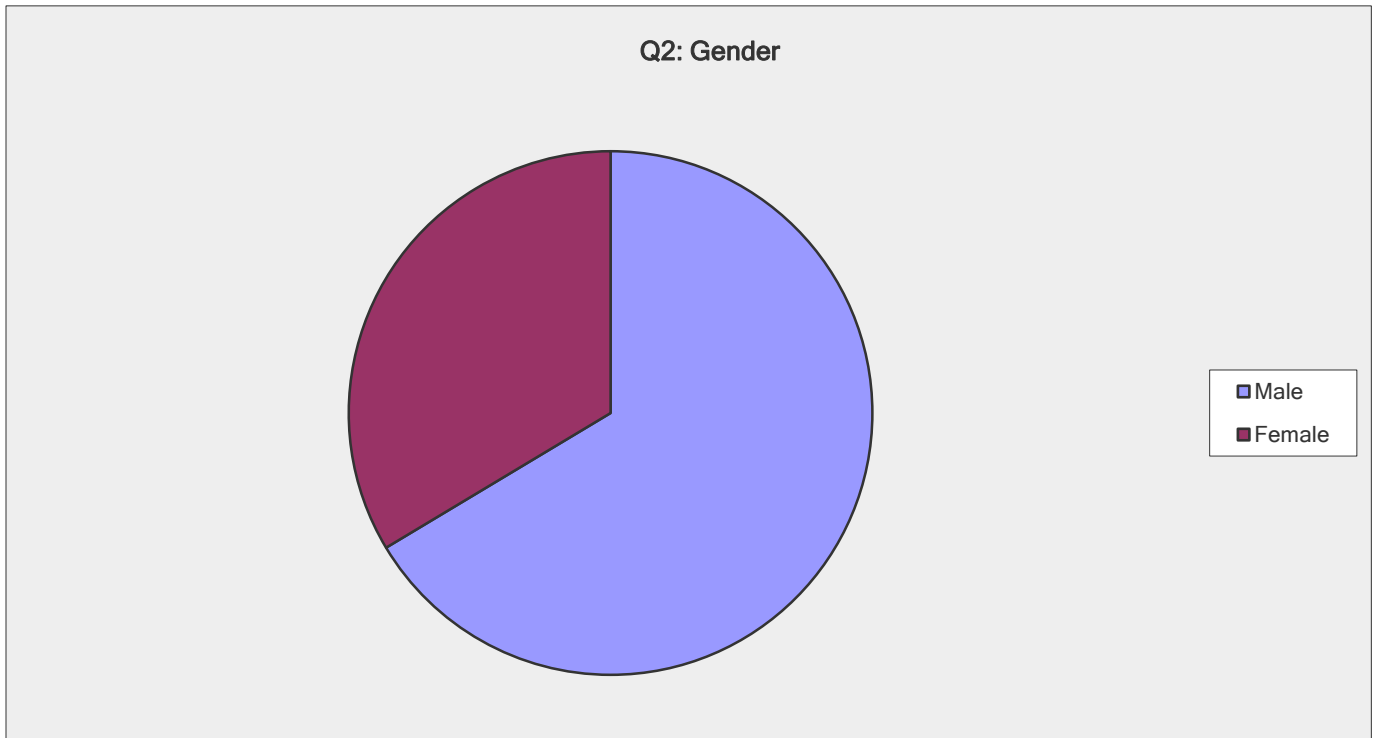
Q2: Gender		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Male	66.4%	332
Female	33.6%	168
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification)

Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification):
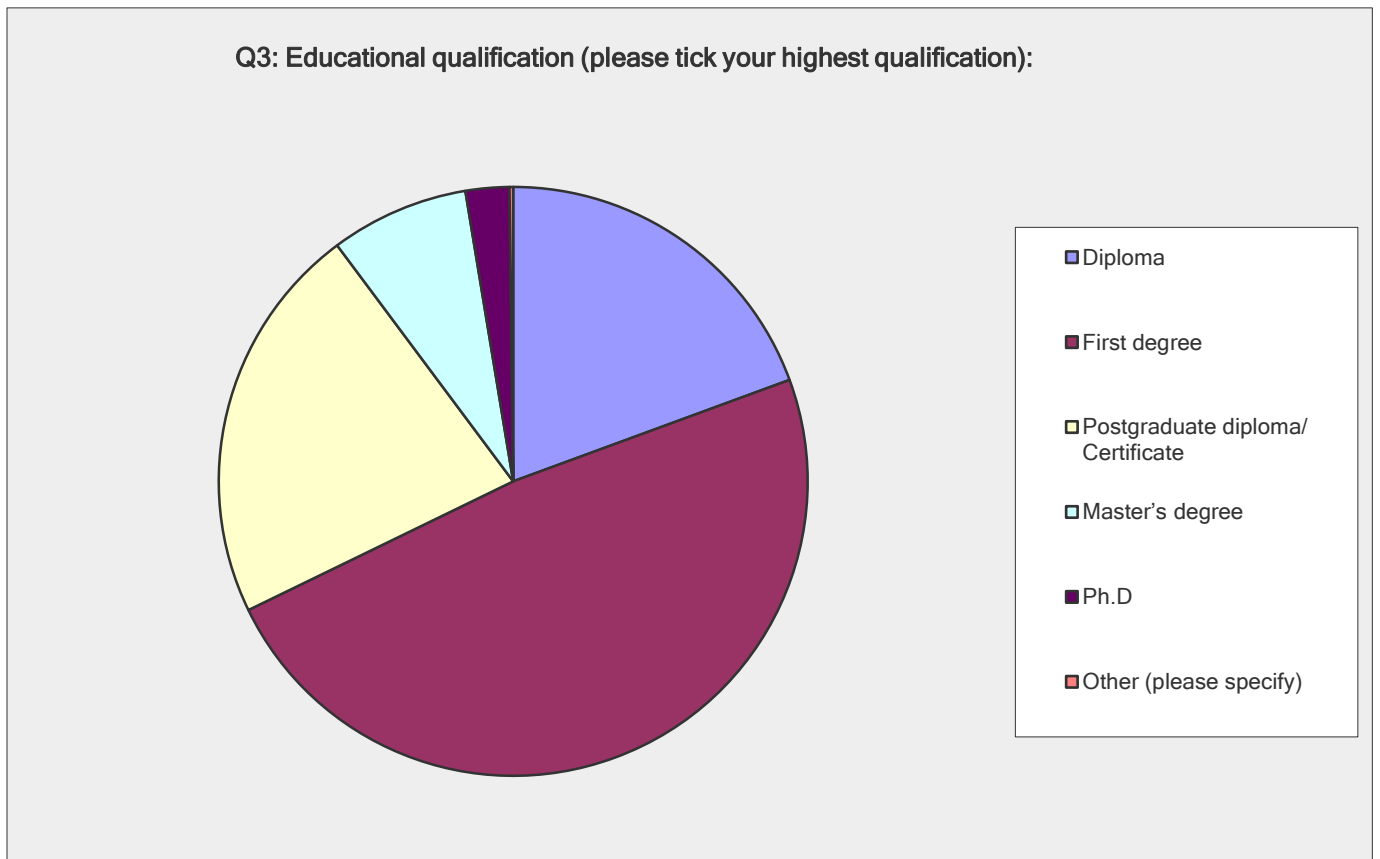
Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification):		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Diploma	19.4%	97
First degree	48.4%	242
Postgraduate diploma/ Certificate	22.0%	110
Master's degree	7.6%	38
Ph.D	2.4%	12
Other (please specify)	0.2%	1
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q4: Occupation

Answer Options	Response Count
	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

Respondents were involved in different occupations, from civil servants to students, to academics and professionals.

Q5: Country (South Africa)

Answer Options	Response Count
	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

Q6: Province: Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Free State

Answer Options	Response Count
	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

Q7: City: Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein

Q7: City: Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein

Answer Options	Response Count
	500
answered question	**500**
skipped question	**0**

Q8: Do you read newspapers?

Q8: Do you read newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	100.0%	500
No	0.0%	0
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q9: If yes, how often do you read newspapers?

If yes, how often do you read newspapers?

Legend:
- Every day
- Every other day
- Occasionally
- Other
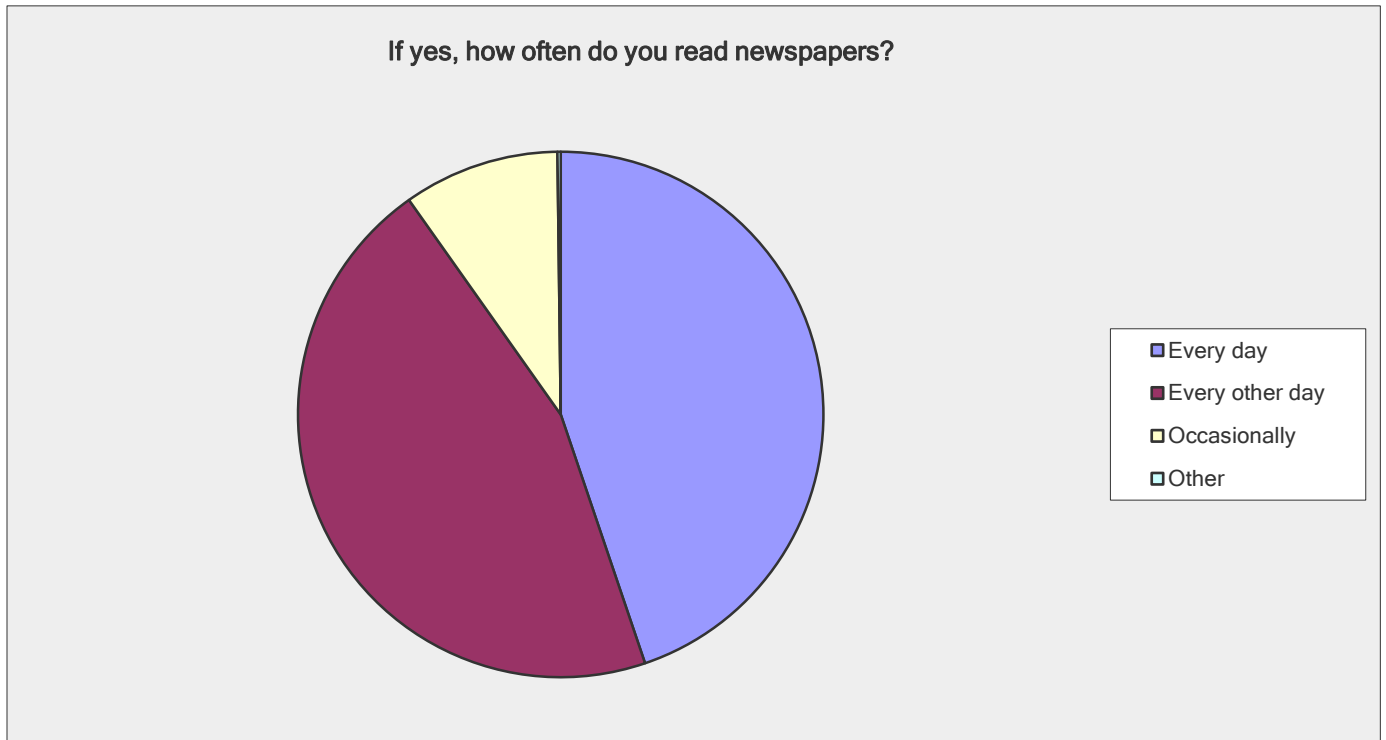
Q9: If yes, how often do you read newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Every day	44.8%	223
Every other day	45.4%	226
Occasionally	9.6%	48
Other	0.2%	1
answered question		**498**
skipped question		**2**

Q10: How many newspapers do you read?
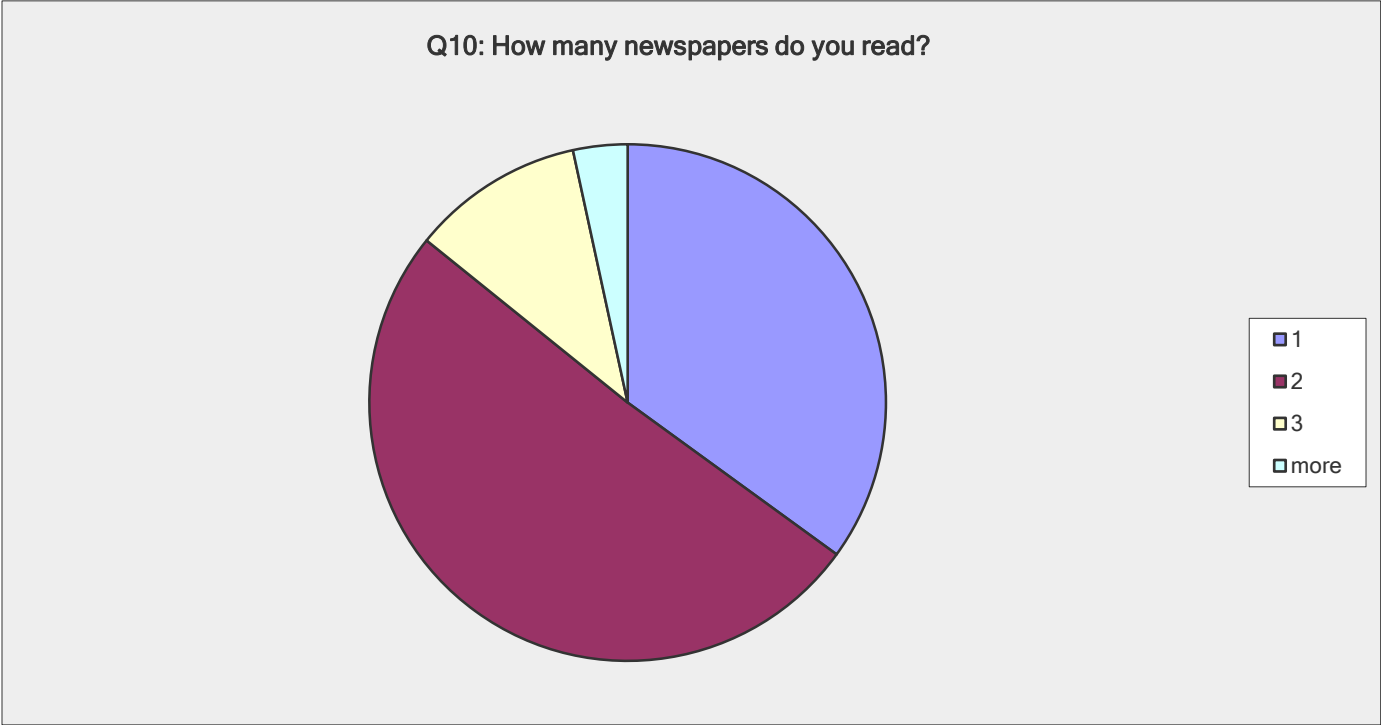
Q10: How many newspapers do you read?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
1	35.0%	175
2	50.8%	254
3	10.8%	54
more	3.4%	17
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q11: Do you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

Do you read newspapers online/online newspapers?
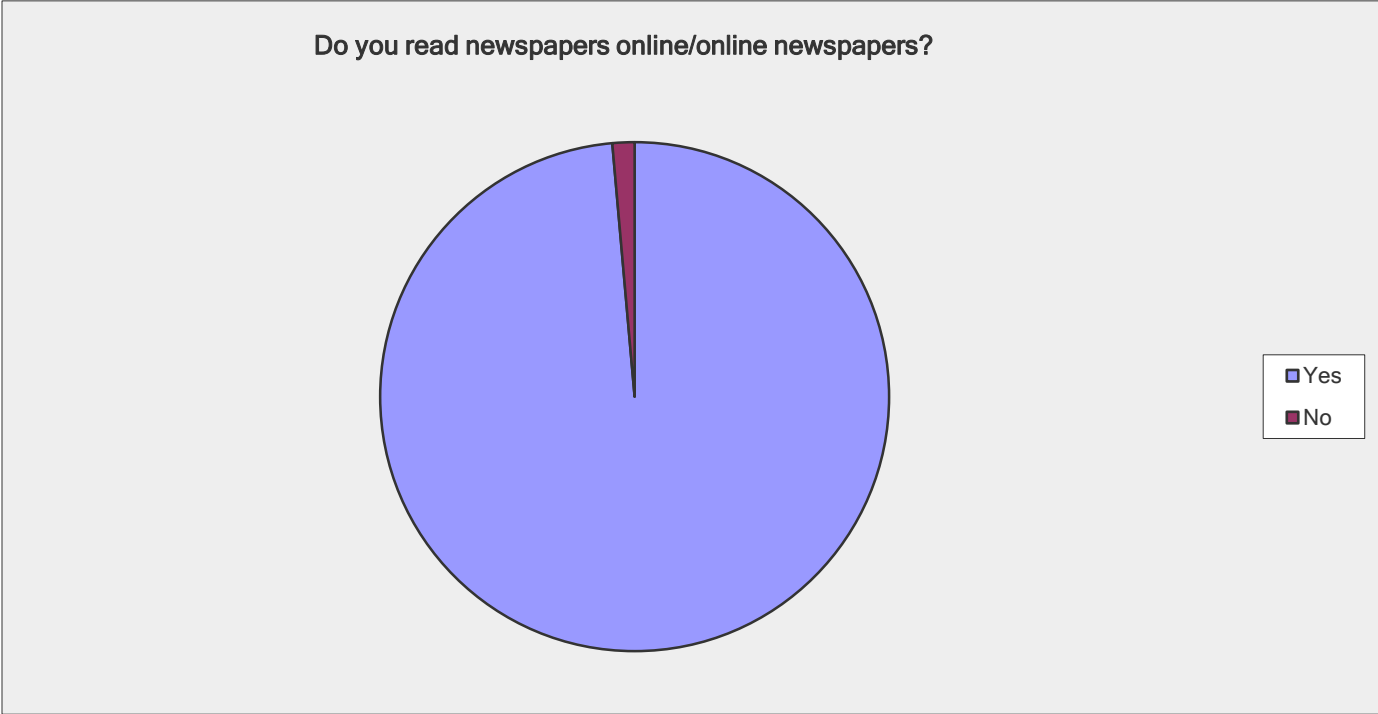
Q11: Do you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	98.6%	493
No	1.4%	7
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

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Q12: If yes, how often do you read newspaper online/online newspapers

Q12: If yes, how often do you read newspaper online/online newspapers?

| Everyday |
| Every other day |
| Occasionally |
| Other |
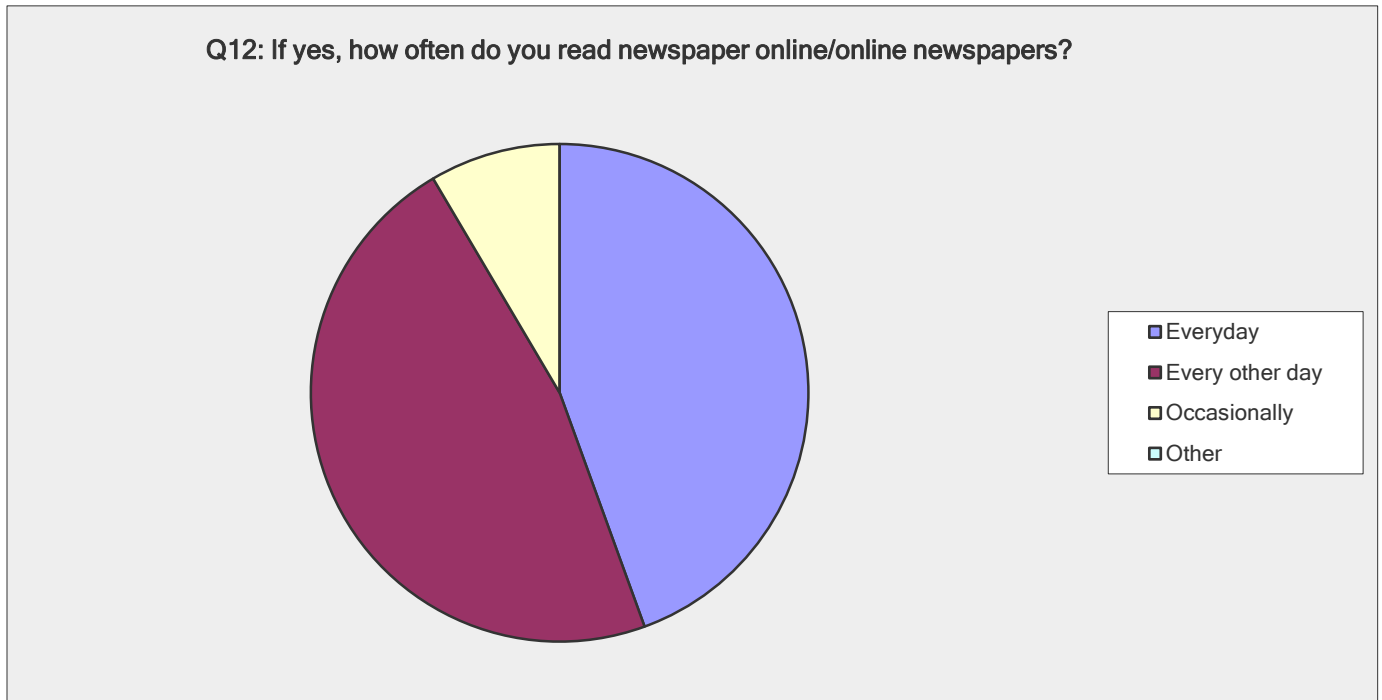
Q12: If yes, how often do you read newspaper online/online newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Everyday	44.5%	221
Every other day	47.1%	234
Occasionally	8.5%	42
Other	0.0%	0
	answered question	**497**
	skipped question	**3**

Q13: How many newspapers online/online newspapers do you read?
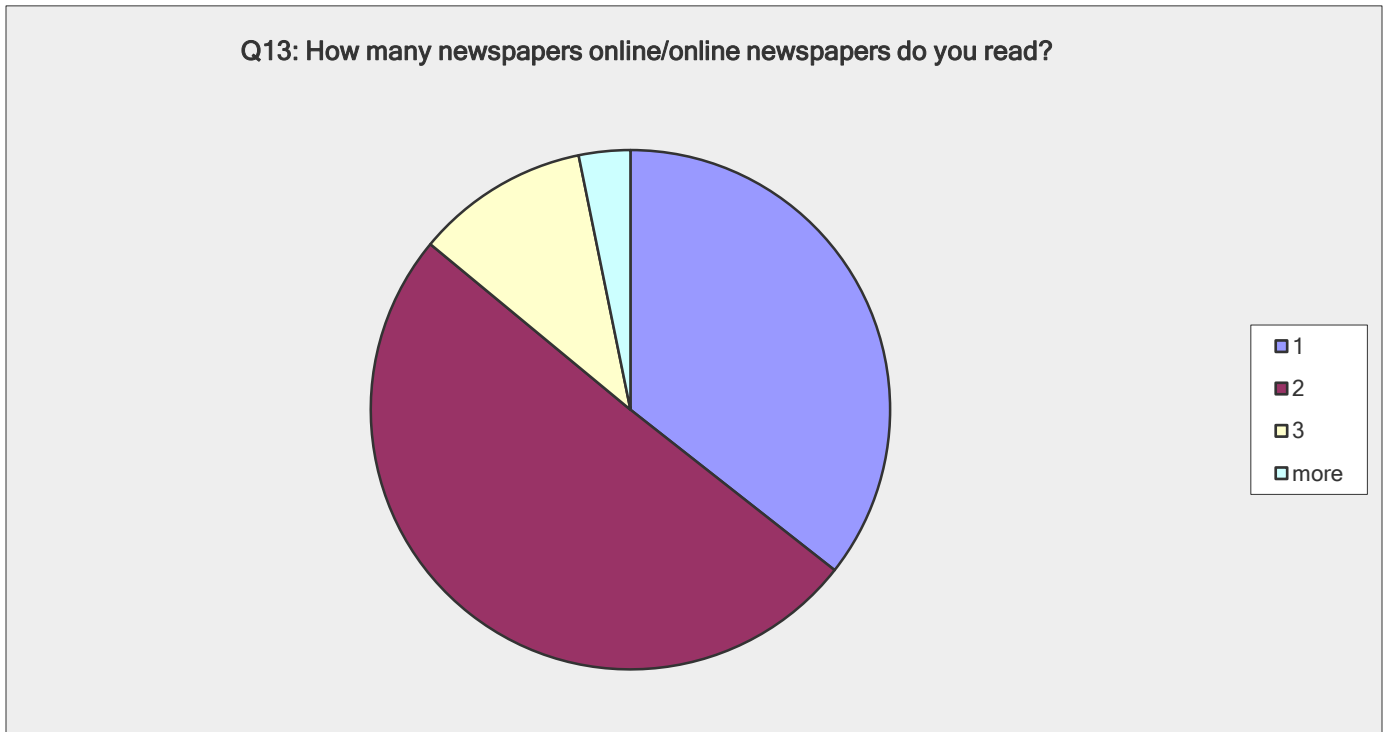
Q13: How many newspapers online/online newspapers do you read?

■	1
■	2
□	3
□	more

Q13: How many newspapers online/online newspapers do you read?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
1	35.6%	178
2	50.4%	252
3	10.8%	54
more	3.2%	16
	answered question	500
	skipped question	0

Q14: What kinds of stories/information are you looking for when you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

Q14: What kinds of stories/information are you looking for when you read newspapers online/online newspapers?
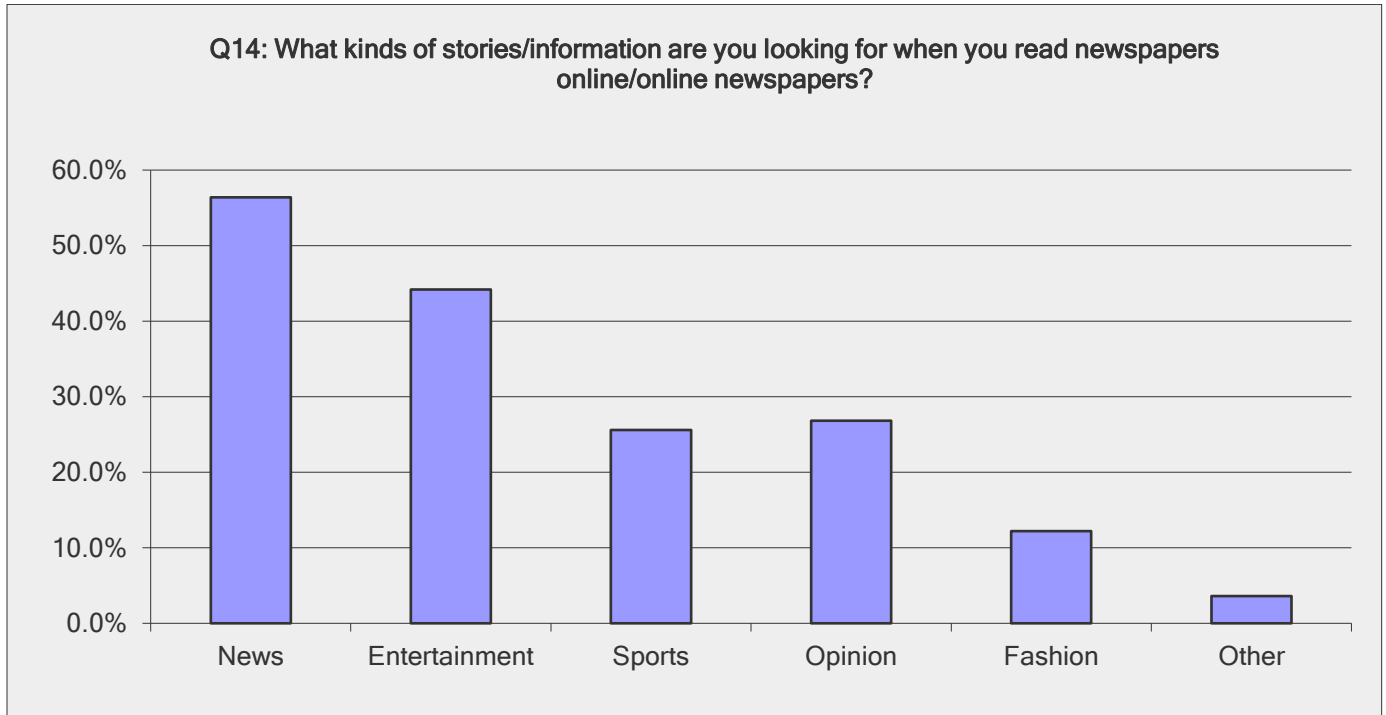
Q14: What kinds of stories/information are you looking for when you read newspapers online/online newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
News	56.4%	282
Entertainment	44.2%	221
Sports	25.6%	128
Opinion	26.8%	134
Fashion	12.2%	61
Other	3.6%	18
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q15: When was the last time you read a newspaper online/online newspaper?

Q15: When was the last time you read a newspaper online/online newspaper?
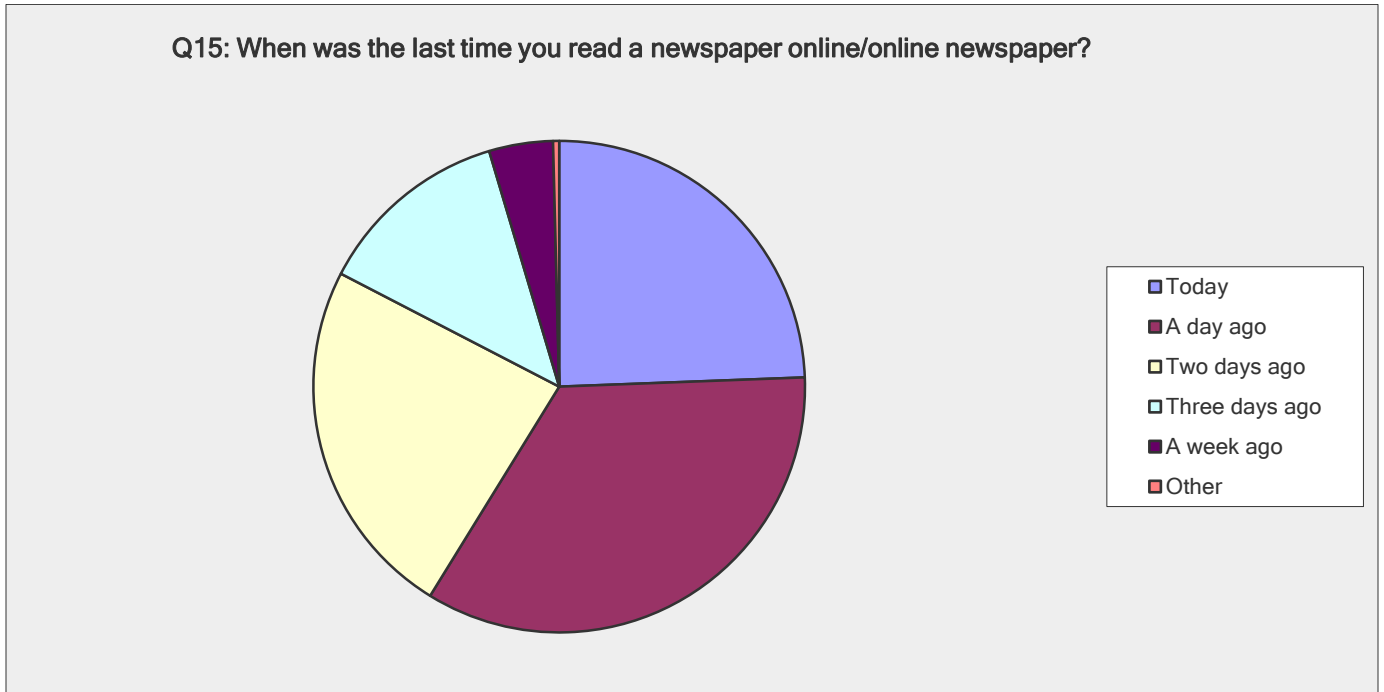
Q15: When was the last time you read a newspaper online/online newspaper?		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Today	24.4%	122
A day ago	34.4%	172
Two days ago	23.8%	119
Three days ago	12.8%	64
A week ago	4.2%	21
Other	0.4%	2
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q16: When you go online, how much time do you spend reading newspapers?
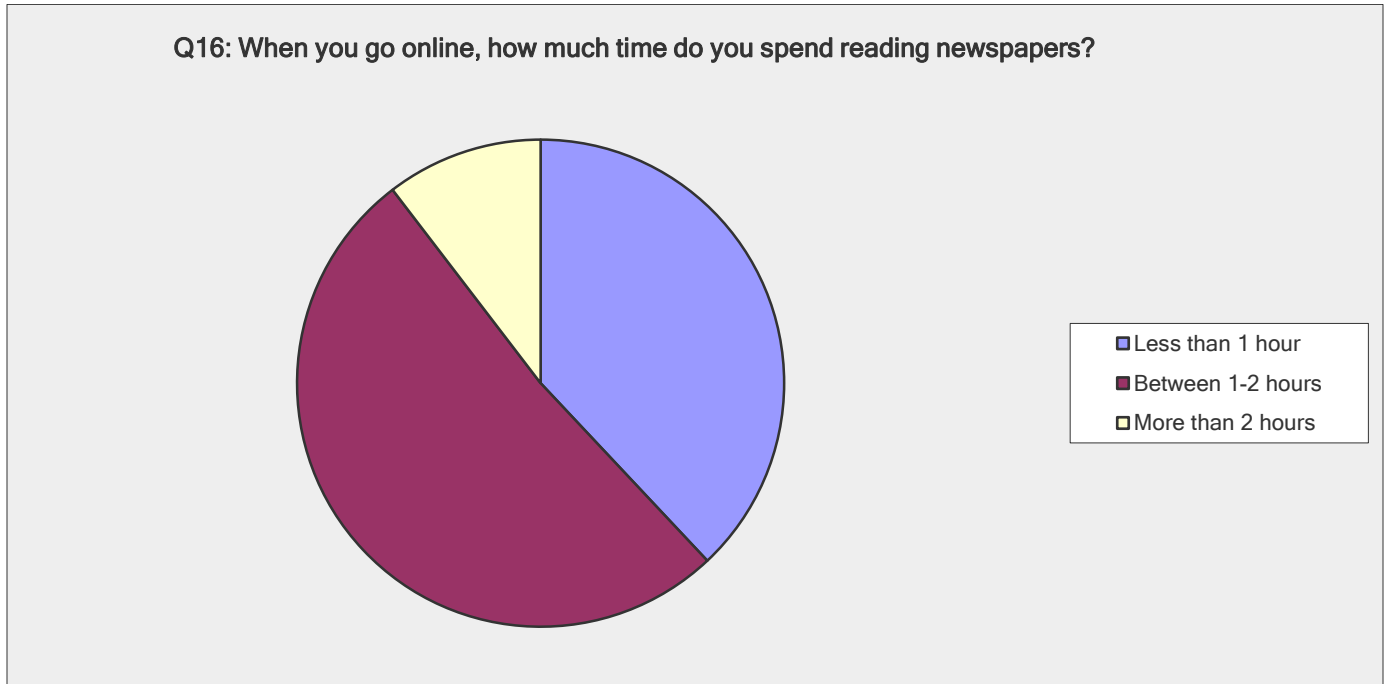
Q16: When you go online, how much time do you spend reading newspapers?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Less than 1 hour	38.0%	190
Between 1-2 hours	51.6%	258
More than 2 hours	10.4%	52
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q17: Which of the following papers do you read the printed edition?

Q17: Which of the following papers do you read the printed edition?
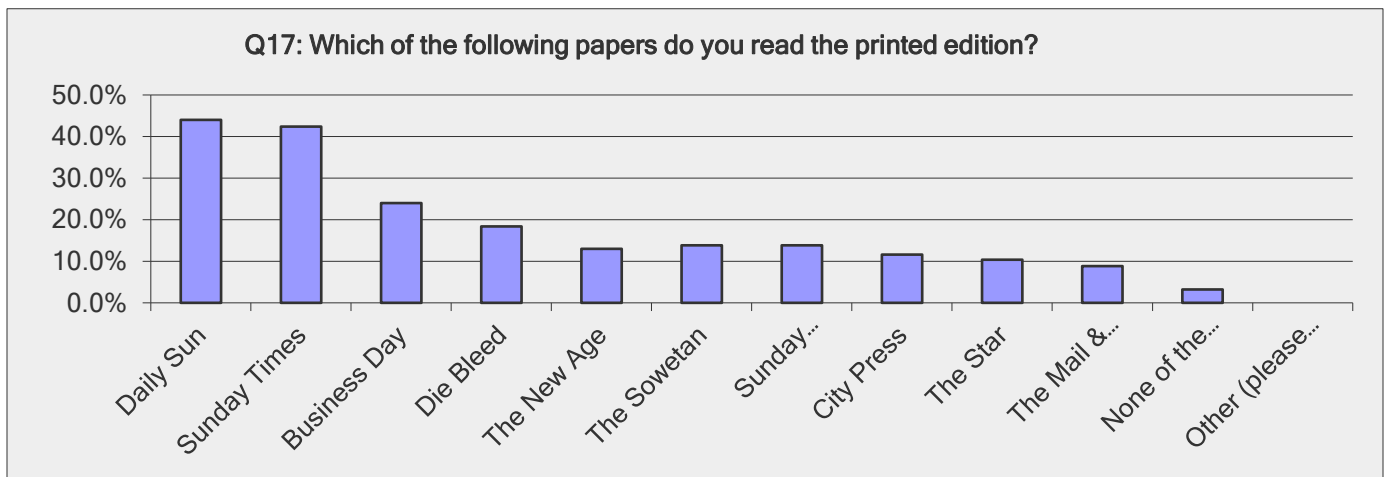
Q17: Which of the following papers do you read the printed edition?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Daily Sun	44.0%	220
Sunday Times	42.4%	212
Business Day	24.0%	120
Die Bleed	18.4%	92
The New Age	13.0%	65
The Sowetan	13.8%	69
Sunday Independent	13.8%	69
City Press	11.6%	58
The Star	10.4%	52
The Mail & Guardian	8.8%	44
None of the above	3.2%	16
Other (please specify)	0.0%	0
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q18: Which of the following papers do you read online?
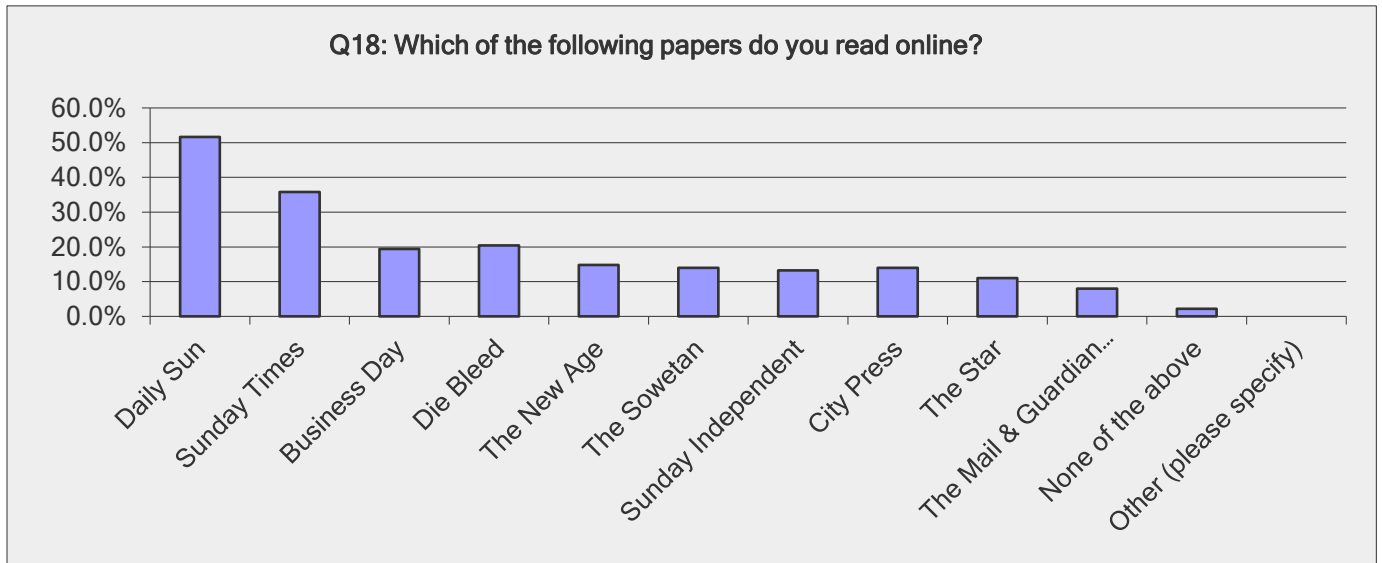
Q18: Which of the following papers do you read online?

Q18: Which of the following papers do you read online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Daily Sun	51.6%	258
Sunday Times	35.8%	179
Business Day	19.4%	97
Die Bleed	20.4%	102
The New Age	14.8%	74
The Sowetan	14.0%	70
Sunday Independent	13.2%	66
City Press	14.0%	70
The Star	11.0%	55
The Mail & Guardian Online	8.0%	40
None of the above	2.2%	11
Other (please specify)	0.0%	0
	answered question	500
	skipped question	0

Q19: Are you aware that there are wholly online newspapers in South Africa?

Q19: Are you aware that there are wholly online newspapers in South Africa?

Q19: Are you aware that there are wholly online newspapers in South Africa?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	94.8%	474
No	5.2%	26
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q20: If yes, which wholly online newspapers do you read?

Q20: If yes, which wholly online newspapers do you read?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Independent Online (IOL)	53.7%	259
The Daily Maverick	49.8%	240
Other (please specify)	0.0%	0
	answered question	482
	skipped question	18

Q21: Do you prefer online edition of newspapers/online newspapers to the printed editions?
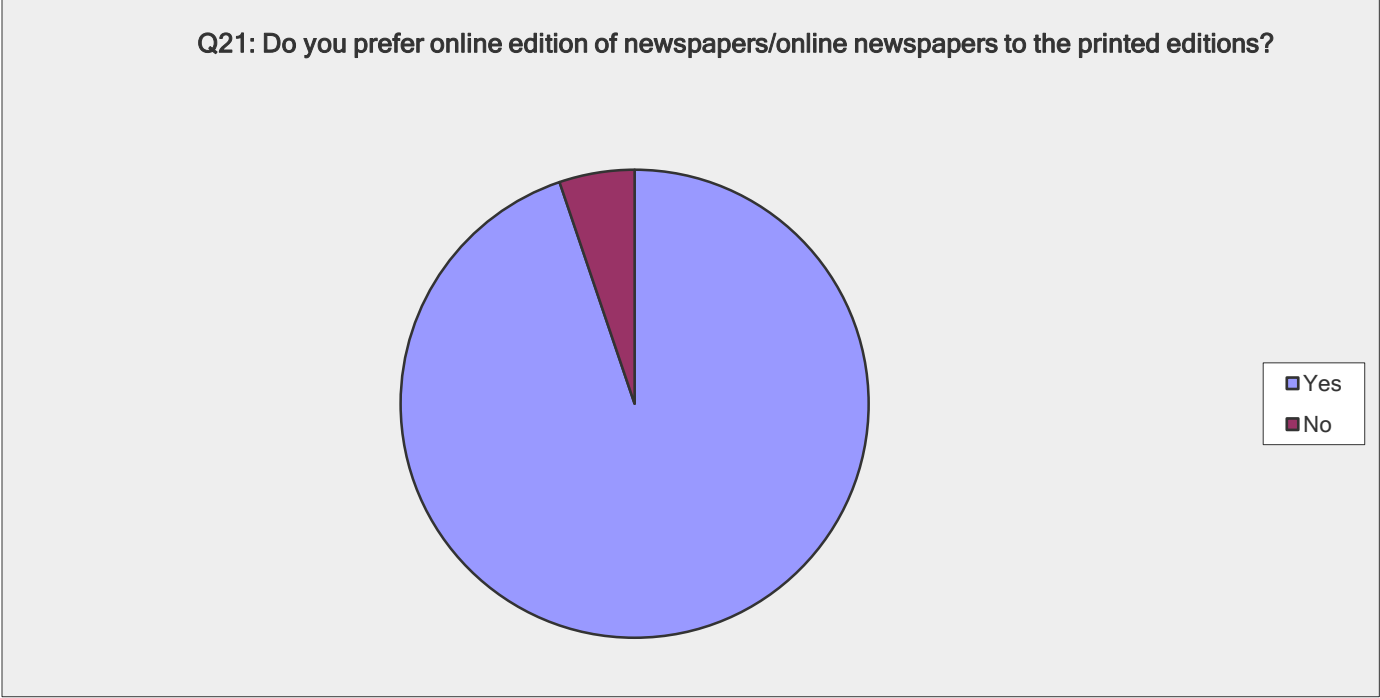
Q21: Do you prefer online edition of newspapers/online newspapers to the printed editions?

Q21: Do you prefer online edition of newspapers/online newspapers to the printed editions?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	94.8%	474
No	5.2%	26
answered question		500
skipped question		0

Q22: If yes, why?
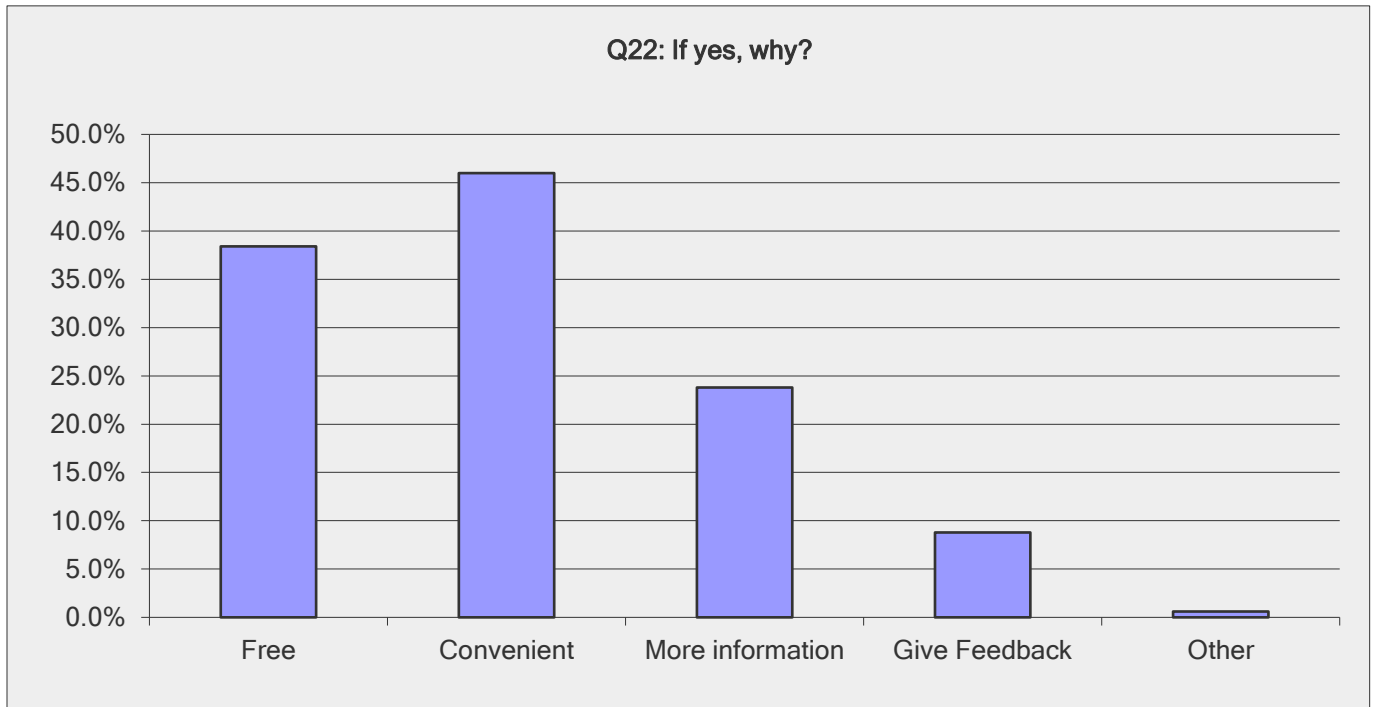
Q22: If yes, why?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Free	38.4%	187
Convenient	46.0%	224
More information	23.8%	116
Give Feedback	8.8%	43
Other	0.6%	3
answered question		**487**
skipped question		**13**

Q23: Do you think online edition of newspapers/online newspapers provide you the opportunity to be involved in sharing information?

Q23: Do you think online edition of newspapers/online newspapers provide you the opportunity to be involved in sharing information?

Q23: Do you think online edition of newspapers/online newspapers provide you the opportunity to be involved in sharing information?

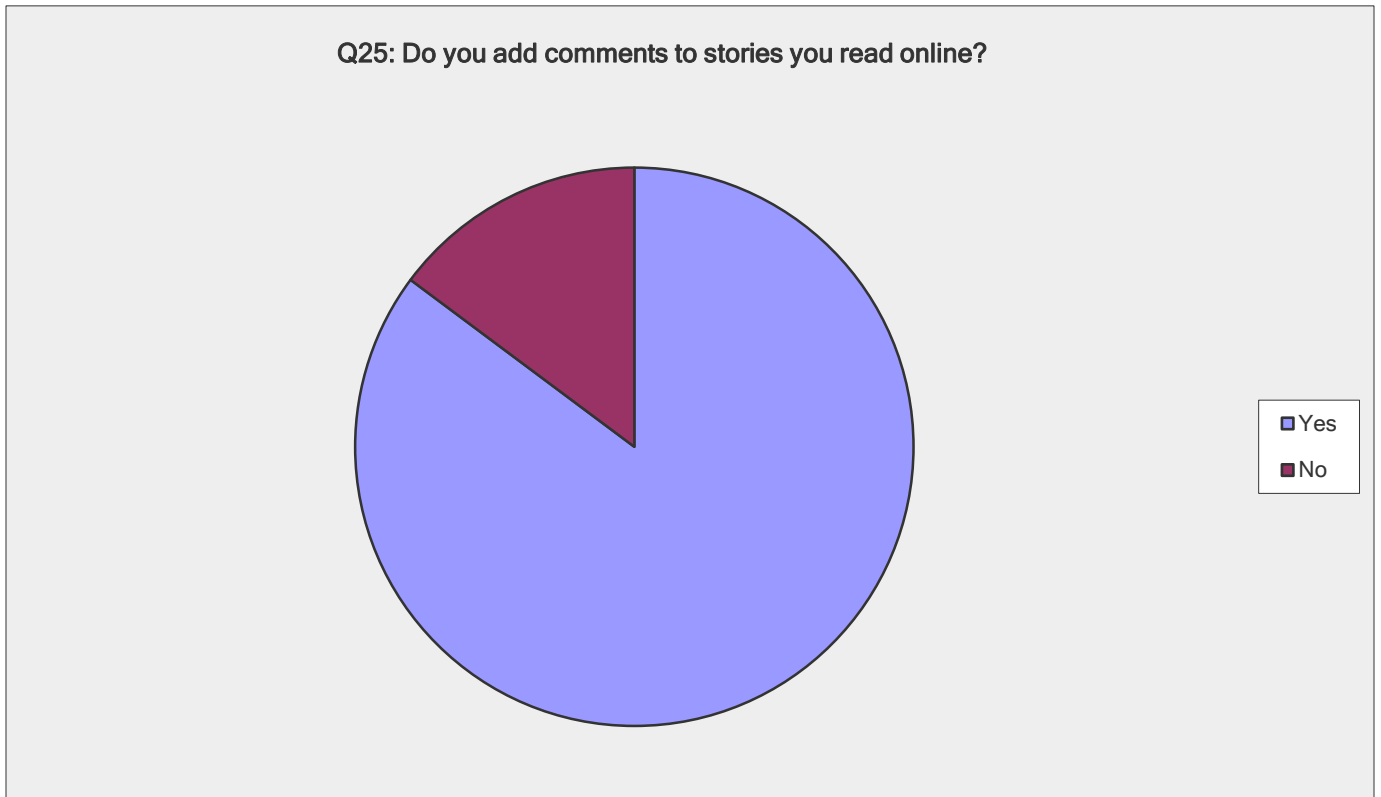| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	94.2%	471
No	5.8%	29
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

130

Q24: Do online edition of newspapers/online newspapers help you connect effectively with stories/reports and your community?

Q24: Do online edition of newspapers/online newspapers help you connect effectively with stories/reports and your community?

Q24: Do online edition of newspapers/online newspapers help you connect effectively with stories/reports and your community?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	91.8%	459
No	8.2%	41
answered question		500
skipped question		0

**Q25: Do you add comments to stories you read online?**

Q25: Do you add comments to stories you read online?

Q25: Do you add comments to stories you read online?

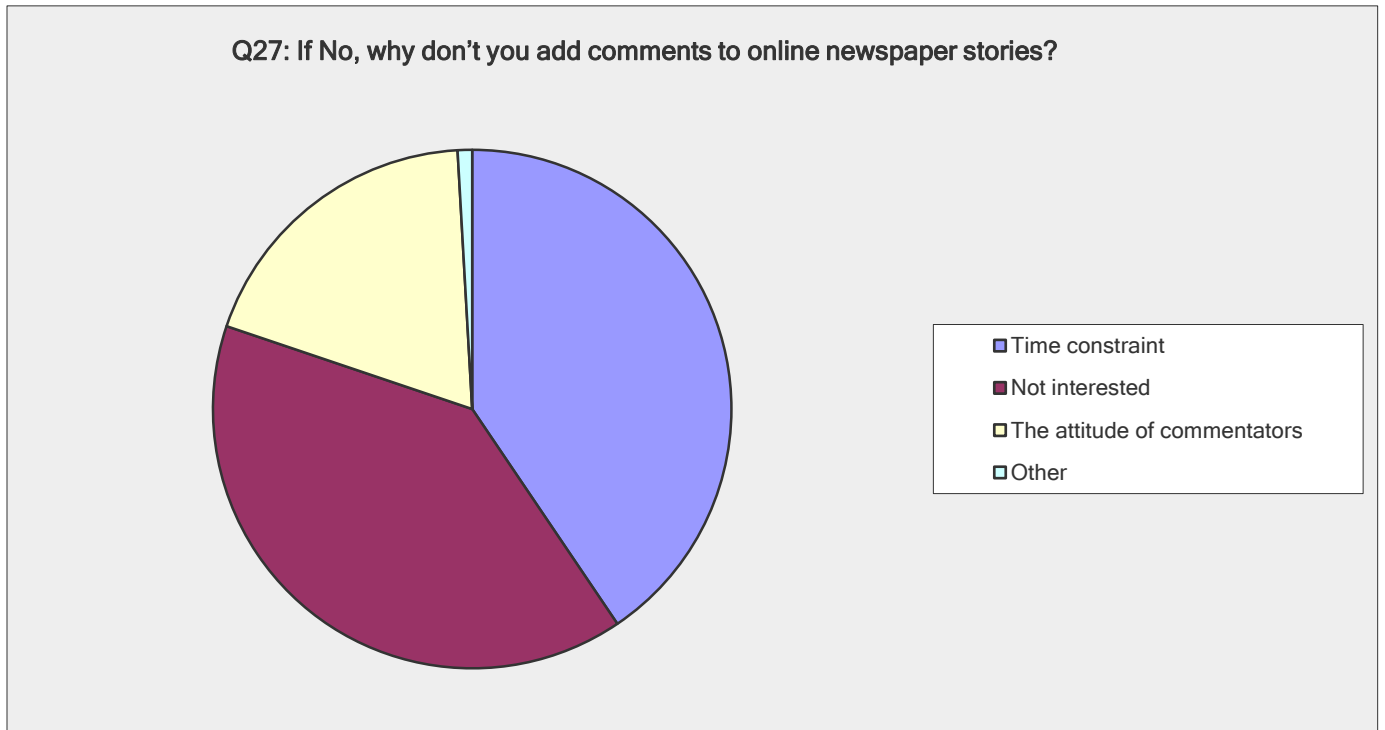| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	85.2%	426
No	14.8%	74
	answered question	500
	skipped question	0

Q26: If yes, when was the last time you commented on an online newspaper story?

Q26: If yes, when was the last time you commented on an online newspaper story?

Today
A day ago
Two days ago
Three days ago
Other
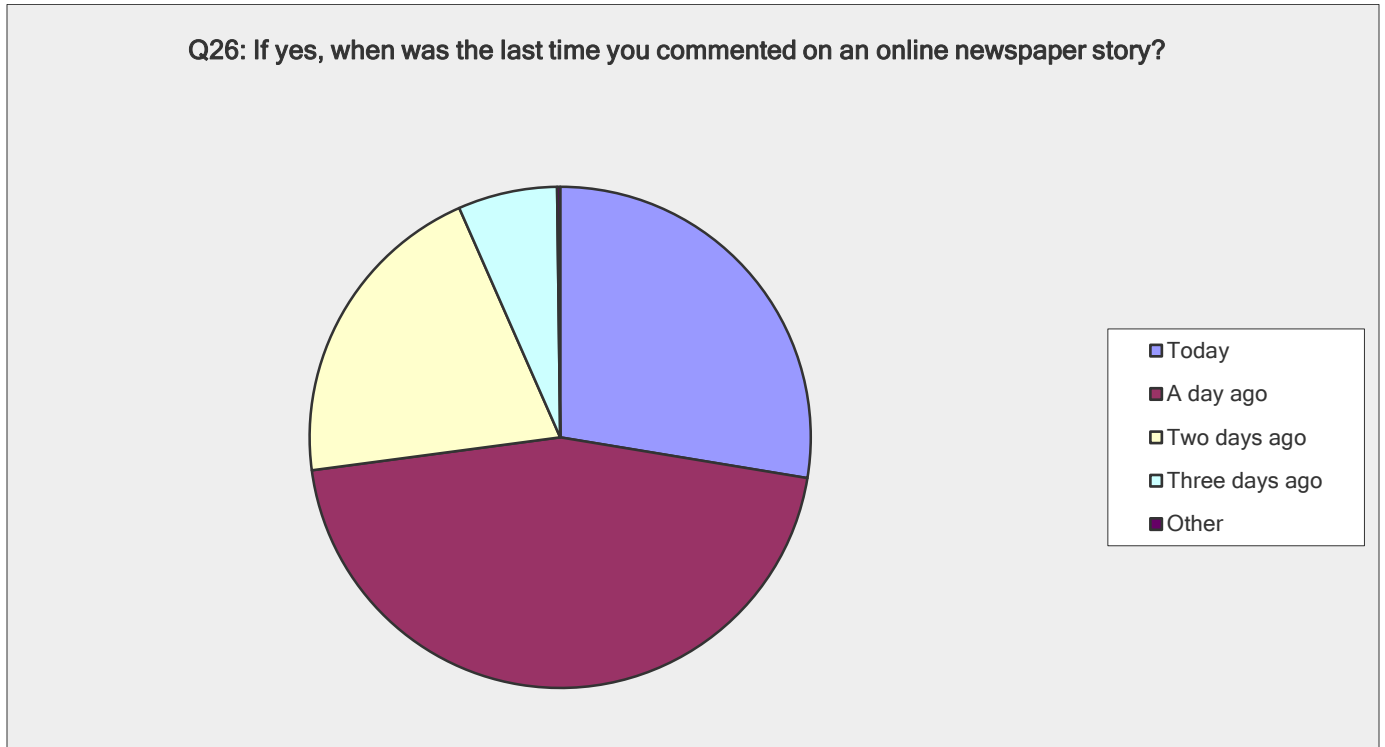
Q26: If yes, when was the last time you commented on an online newspaper story?

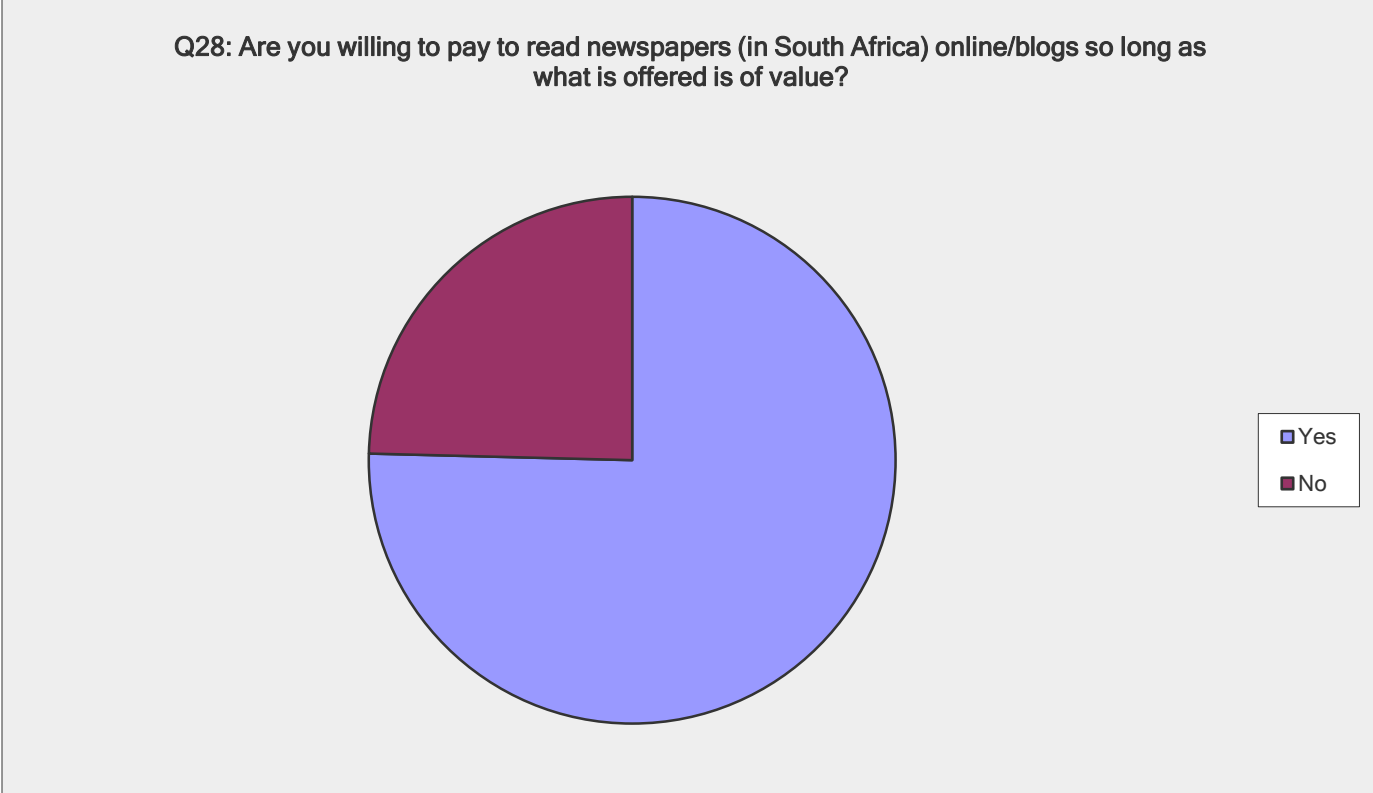| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Today	27.6%	129
A day ago	45.3%	212
Two days ago	20.5%	96
Three days ago	6.4%	30
Other	0.2%	1
	answered question	**468**
	skipped question	**32**

Q27: If No, why don't you add comments to online newspaper stories?

Q27: If No, why don't you add comments to online newspaper stories?

Legend:
- Time constraint
- Not interested
- The attitude of commentators
- Other

Q27: If No, why don't you add comments to online newspaper stories?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Time constraint	40.5%	92
Not interested	39.6%	90
The attitude of commentators	18.9%	43
Other	0.9%	2
answered question		227
skipped question		273

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Q28: Are you willing to pay to read newspapers (in South Africa) online/blogs so long as what is offered is of value?

Q28: Are you willing to pay to read newspapers (in South Africa) online/blogs so long as what is offered is of value?
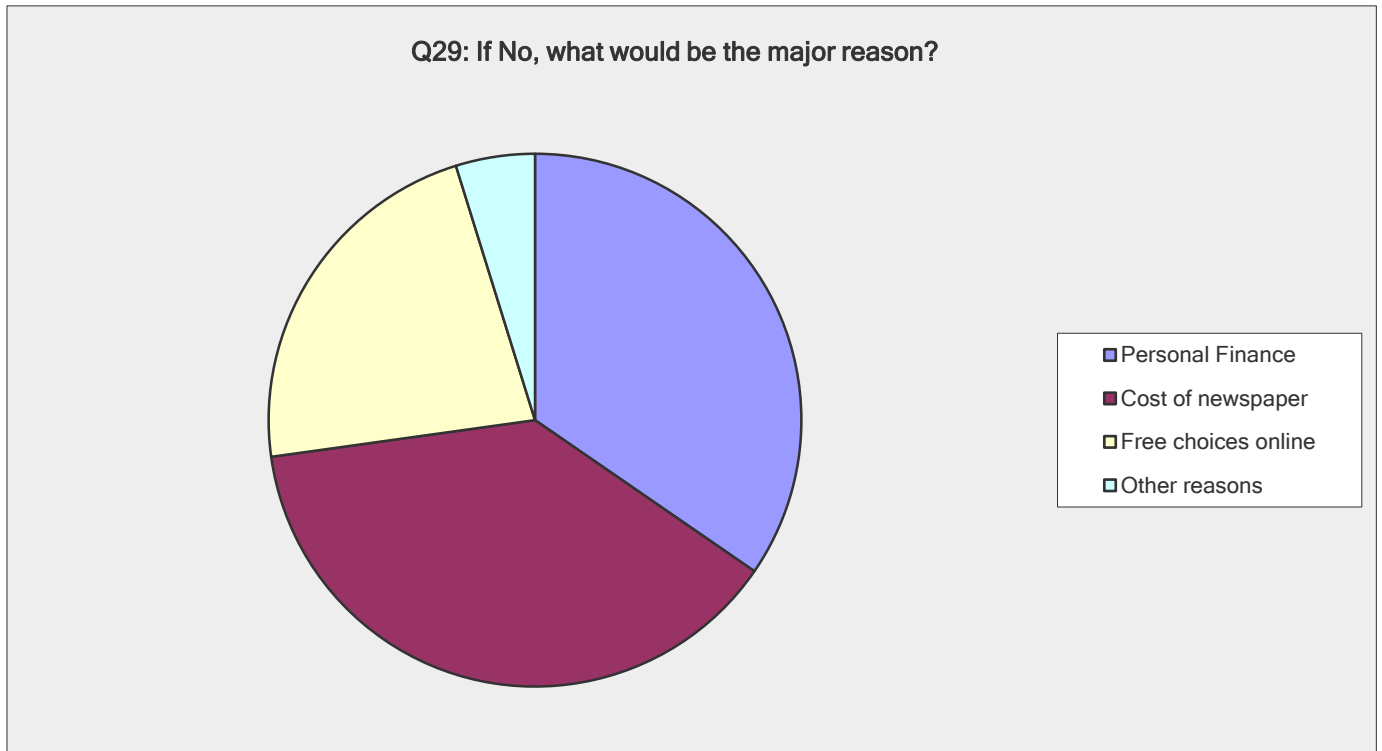
Q28: Are you willing to pay to read newspapers (in South Africa) online/blogs so long as what is offered is of value?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	75.4%	377
No	24.6%	123
answered question		500
skipped question		0

Q29: If No, what would be the major reason?

Q29: If No, what would be the major reason?

- Personal Finance
- Cost of newspaper
- Free choices online
- Other reasons

Q29: If No, what would be the major reason?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Personal Finance	34.6%	94
Cost of newspaper	38.2%	104
Free choices online	22.4%	61
Other reasons	4.8%	13
answered question		**272**
skipped question		**228**

**Q30: Which of the following poses a challenge for you in reading newspapers online?**
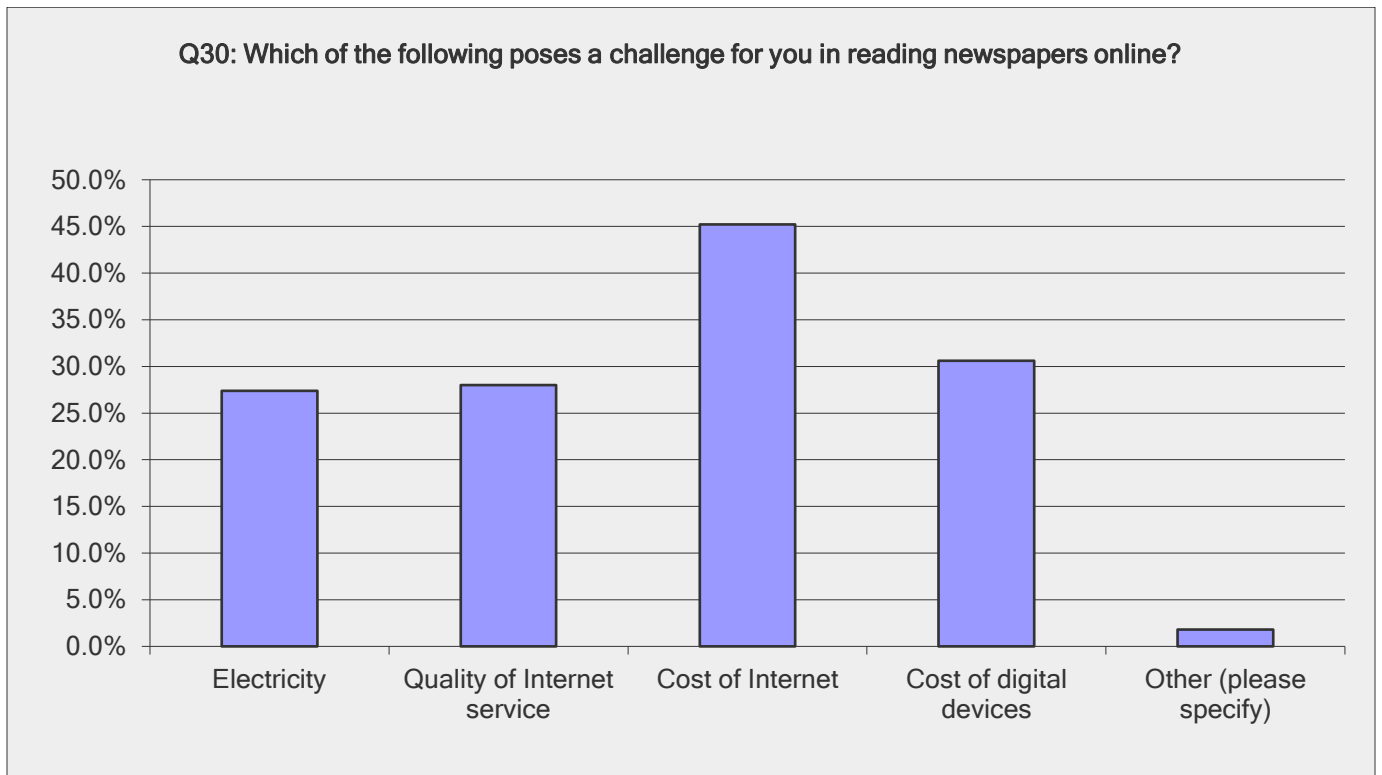
Q30: Which of the following poses a challenge for you in reading newspapers online?

Q30: Which of the following poses a challenge for you in reading newspapers online?

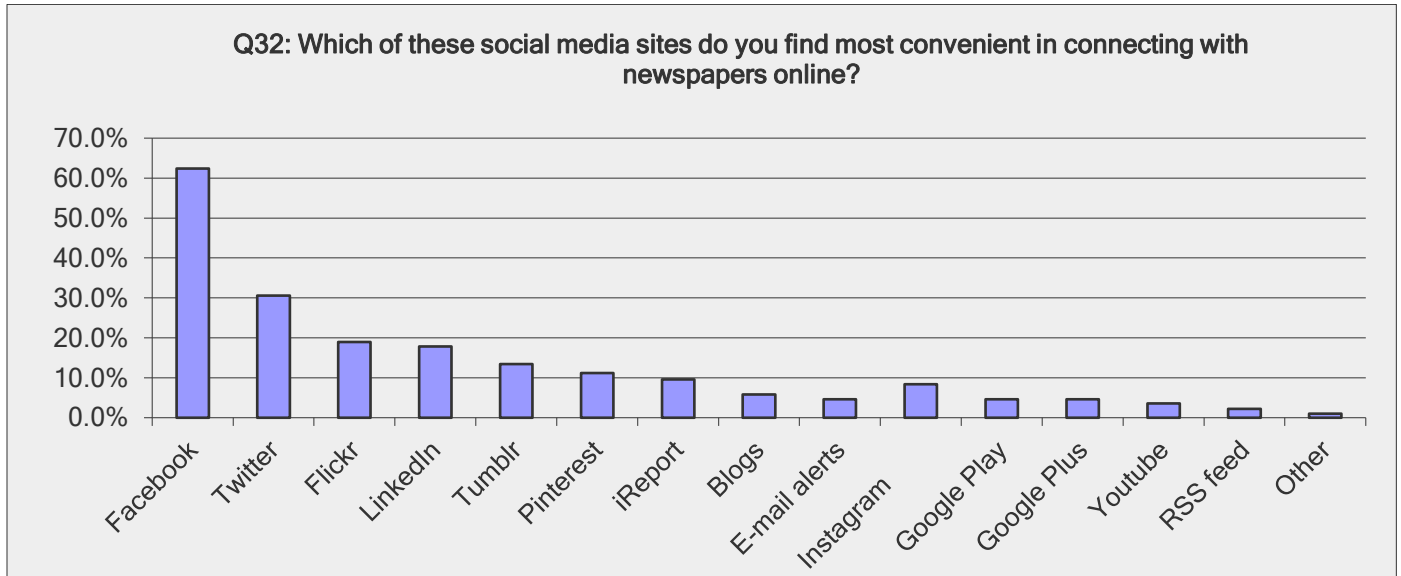| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Electricity	27.4%	137
Quality of Internet service	28.0%	140
Cost of Internet	45.2%	226
Cost of digital devices	30.6%	153
Other (please specify)	1.8%	9
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

Q31: Which of these social media sites do you use in connecting to newspaper websites/online newspapers?

Q31: Which of these social media sites do you use in connecting to newspaper websites/online newspapers?
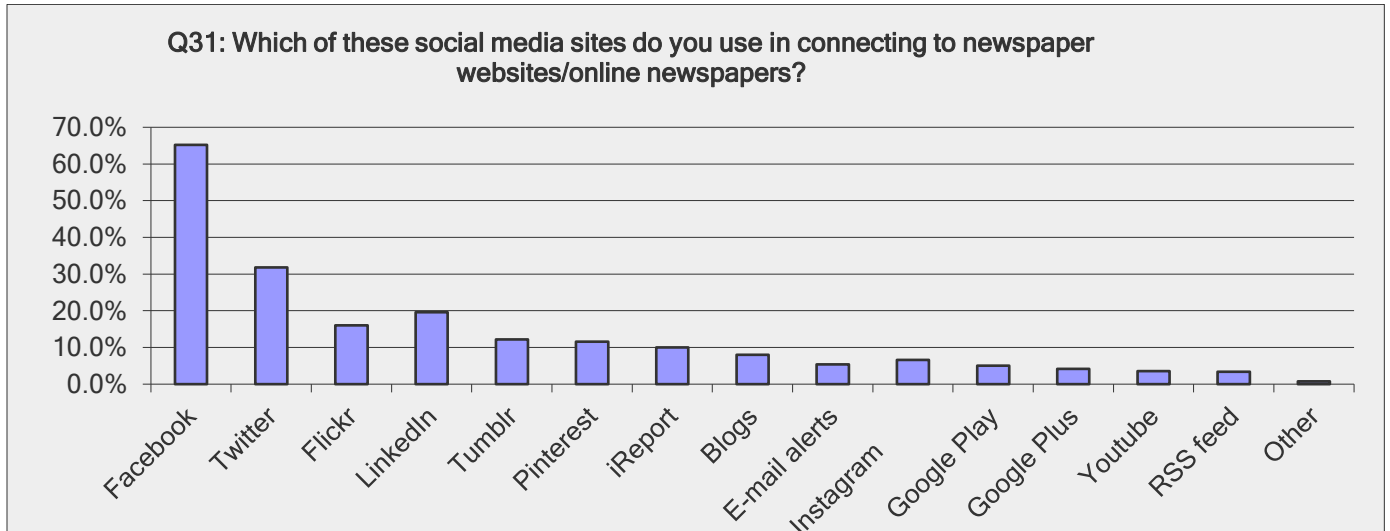
Q31: Which of these social media sites do you use in connecting to newspaper websites/online newspapers?

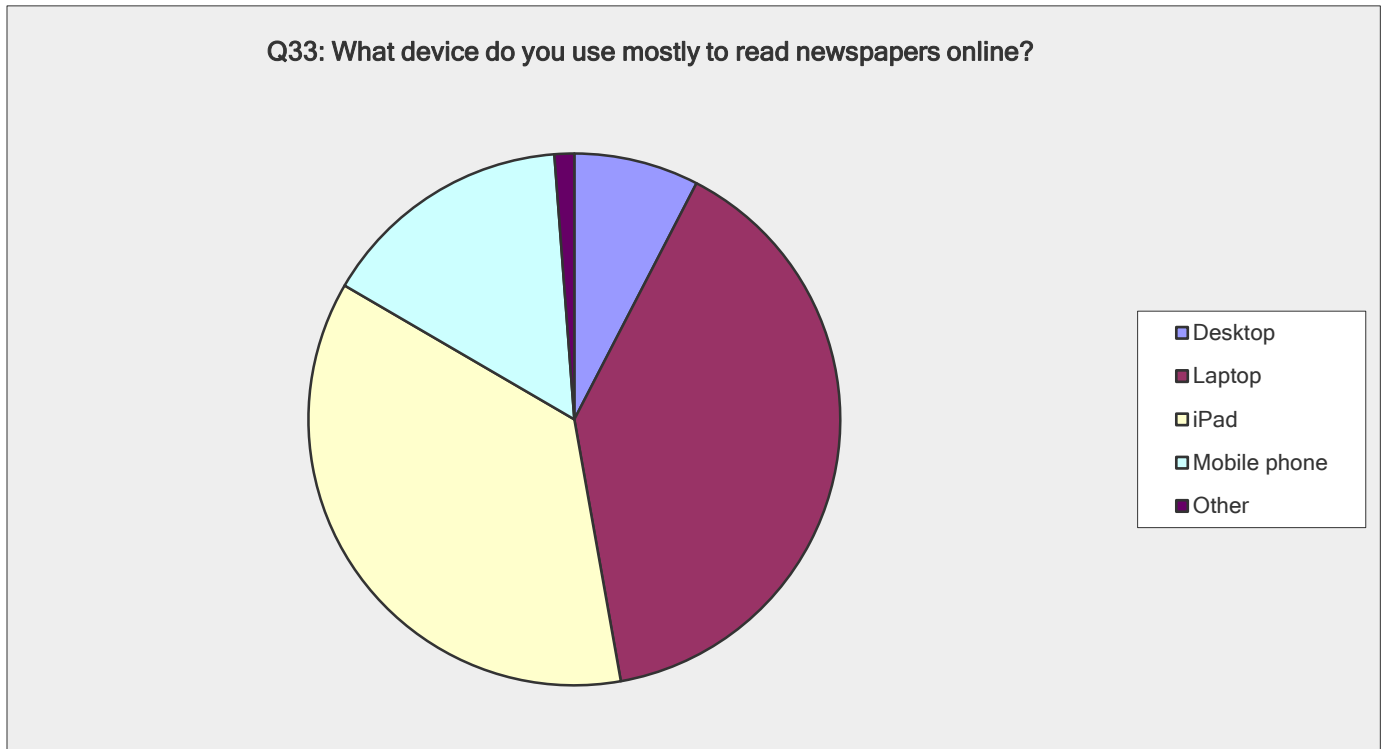| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Facebook	65.2%	326
Twitter	31.8%	159
Flickr	16.0%	80
LinkedIn	19.6%	98
Tumblr	12.2%	61
Pinterest	11.6%	58
iReport	10.0%	50
Blogs	8.0%	40
E-mail alerts	5.4%	27
Instagram	6.6%	33
Google Play	5.0%	25
Google Plus	4.2%	21
YouTube	3.6%	18
RSS feed	3.4%	17
Other	0.8%	4
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q32: Which of these social media sites do you find most convenient in connecting with newspapers online?

Q32: Which of these social media sites do you find most convenient in connecting with newspapers online?

Q32: Which of these social media sites do you find most convenient in connecting with newspapers online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Facebook	62.4%	312
Twitter	30.6%	153
Flickr	19.0%	95
LinkedIn	17.8%	89
Tumblr	13.4%	67
Pinterest	11.2%	56
iReport	9.6%	48
Blogs	5.8%	29
E-mail alerts	4.6%	23
Instagram	8.4%	42
Google Play	4.6%	23
Google Plus	4.6%	23
YouTube	3.6%	18
RSS feed	2.2%	11
Other	1.0%	5
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

**Q33: What device do you use mostly to read newspapers online?**

Q33: What device do you use mostly to read newspapers online?

Q33: What device do you use mostly to read newspapers online?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Desktop	7.6%	38
Laptop	39.6%	198
iPad	36.2%	181
Mobile phone	15.4%	77
Other	1.2%	6
answered question		**500**
skipped question		**0**

Q34: Specifically, which mobile apps do you use?

Q34: Specifically, which mobile apps do you use? Tick as applicable.
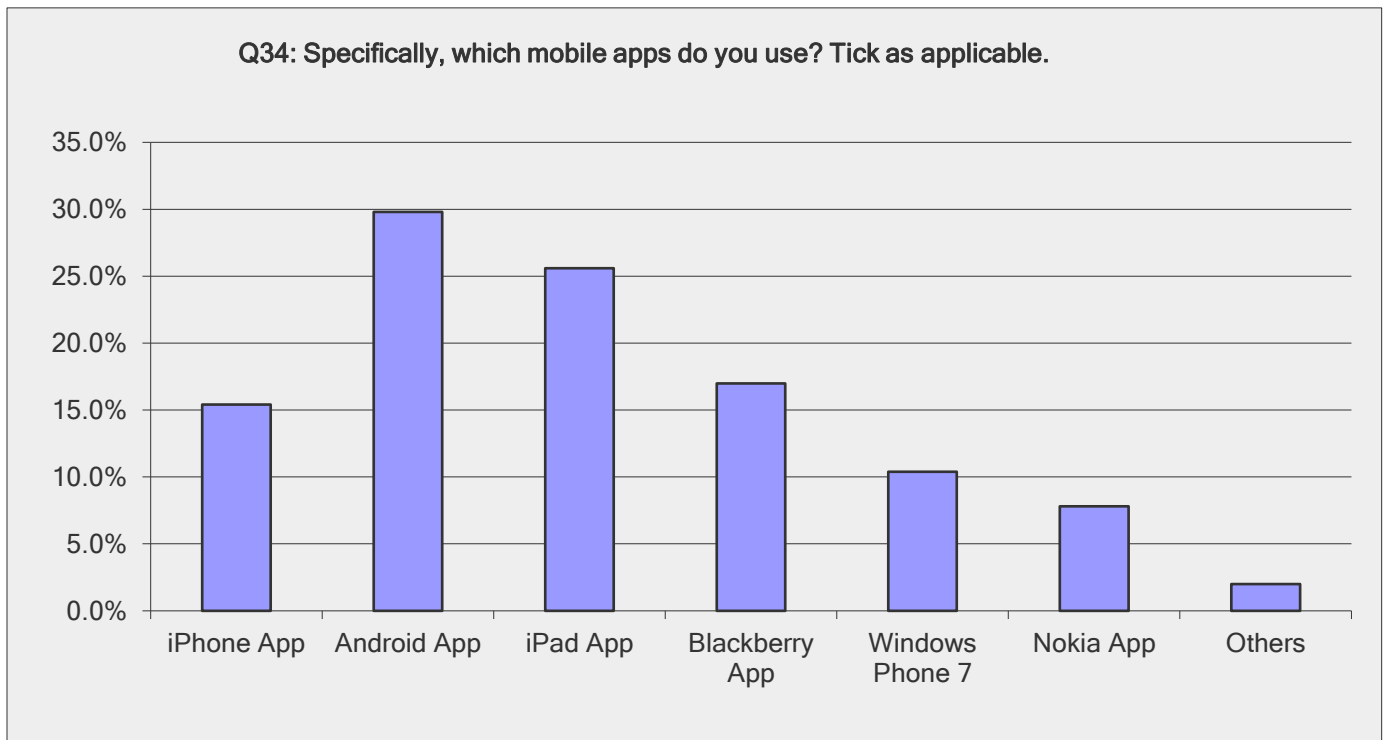
Q34: Specifically, which mobile apps do you use?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
iPhone App	15.4%	77
Android App	29.8%	149
iPad App	25.6%	128
Blackberry App	17.0%	85
Windows Phone 7	10.4%	52
Nokia App	7.8%	39
Others	2.0%	10
	answered question	**500**
	skipped question	**0**

5. CHAPTER FIVE: EXAMINING THE EFFECT OF DIGITALIZATION ON JOURNALISTS IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Just as it has affected newspaper houses and newspaper readers, digital media has revolutionized communication and affected journalists and the journalism profession like no other means of communication. Today, there is huge debate regarding who a journalist is, considering that anyone with something as ordinary as a cell phone—which combines all the tools of journalism: microphone, audio and video recorder, and camera—can play the role of a journalist. Citizen journalism and social media are blurring the lines of journalism, leaving many traditional and professional journalists scratching their heads and wondering how to cope.

With sales and advertising revenues plummeting mainly because of the effect of the Internet, many newspapers houses have had to retrench staff, and in some cases, journalists have been forced to take pay-cuts in place of layoffs. What it means is that professional journalists not only have to find ways to "distinguish" themselves from non-professional journalists, they have to contend with a very serious existential crisis.

In the era of digital media, being multi-media skilled has become an essential aspect of journalism. Adaptability and constant training are also key ingredients for the new media journalist. At the end of the day, the questions people—journalists and all those who understand the important role journalists play in any democracy— are asking are: will journalism as we have known it for decades survive? What will journalists have to do to "survive" in the digital age?

To answer these questions and others confronting journalists in the digital age, this research sampled the opinions of 200 journalists in Nigeria and South Africa—one hundred in each country—on sundry issues from what excites them most about digital media to how they relate with their audiences, to their fears and the future of the traditional newspaper as well as that of digital media.
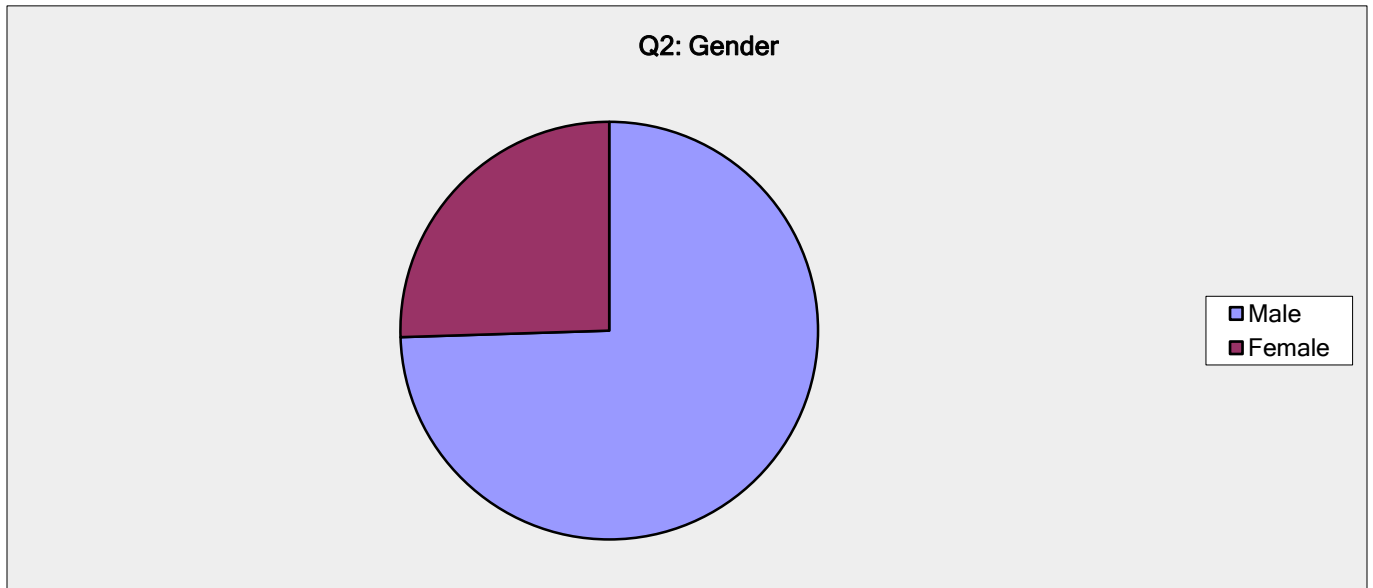
5.1 Survey of Journalists in Nigeria

Q1: Age
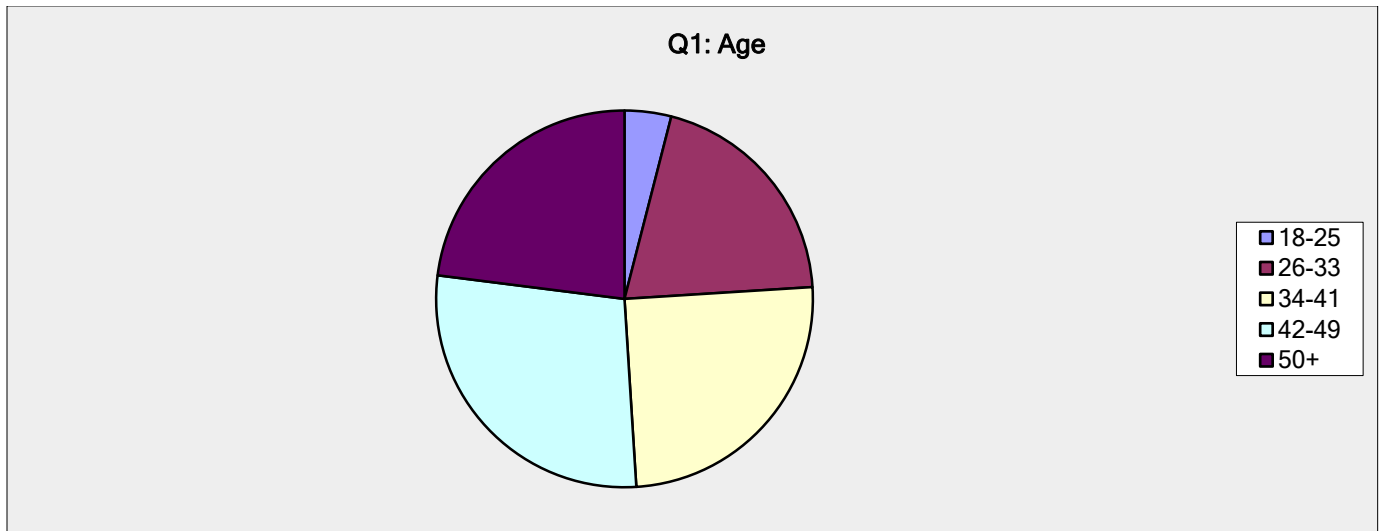
Q1: Age

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
18-25	4.0%	4
26-33	20.0%	20
34-41	25.0%	25
42-49	28.0%	28
50+	23.0%	23
	answered question	100
	skipped question	0

Q2: Gender

| Q2: Gender		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Male	74.5%	73
Female	25.5%	25
	answered question	**98**
	skipped question	**2**

Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification)

Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification)

Legend:
- Professional certificate
- Diploma
- First degree
- Postgraduate diploma
- Master's degree
- Ph.D
- Other (please specify)
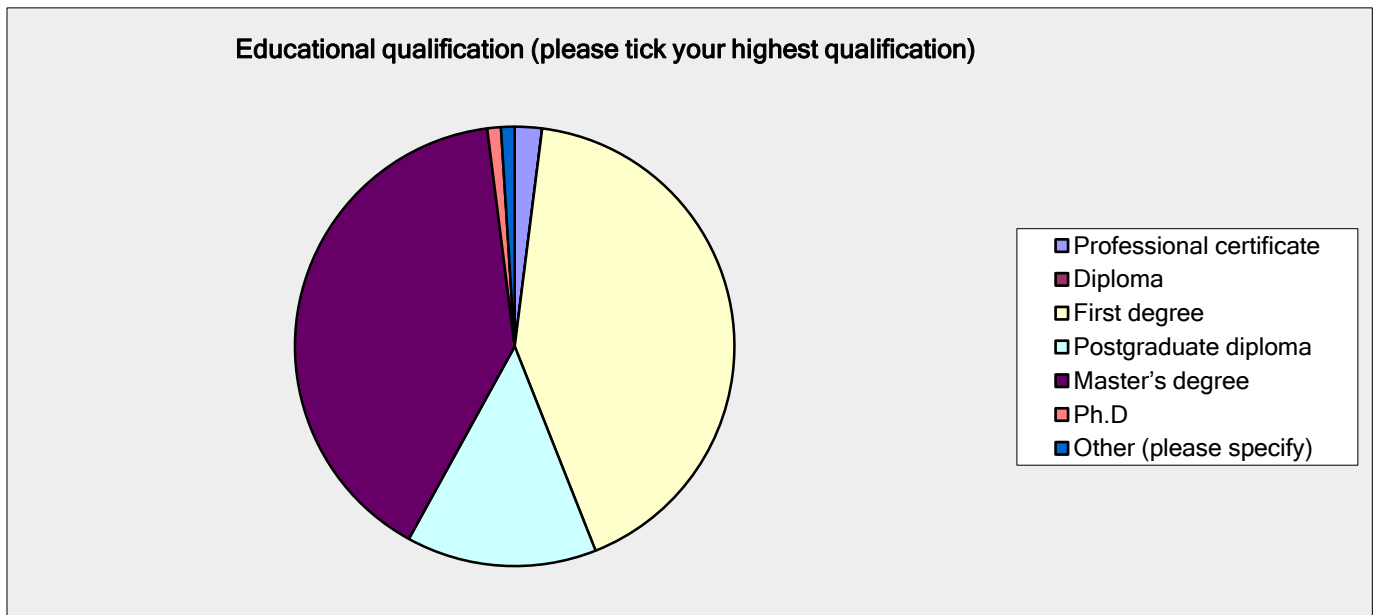
Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification)

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Professional certificate	2.0%	2
Diploma	0.0%	0
First degree	42.0%	42
Postgraduate diploma	14.0%	14
Master's degree	40.0%	40
Ph.D	1.0%	1
Other (please specify)	1.0%	1
	answered question	100
	skipped question	0

Q4: How long have you worked as a journalist?

Q4: How long have you worked as a journalist?

- 1-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- 16-20 years
- 21-24
- 25+
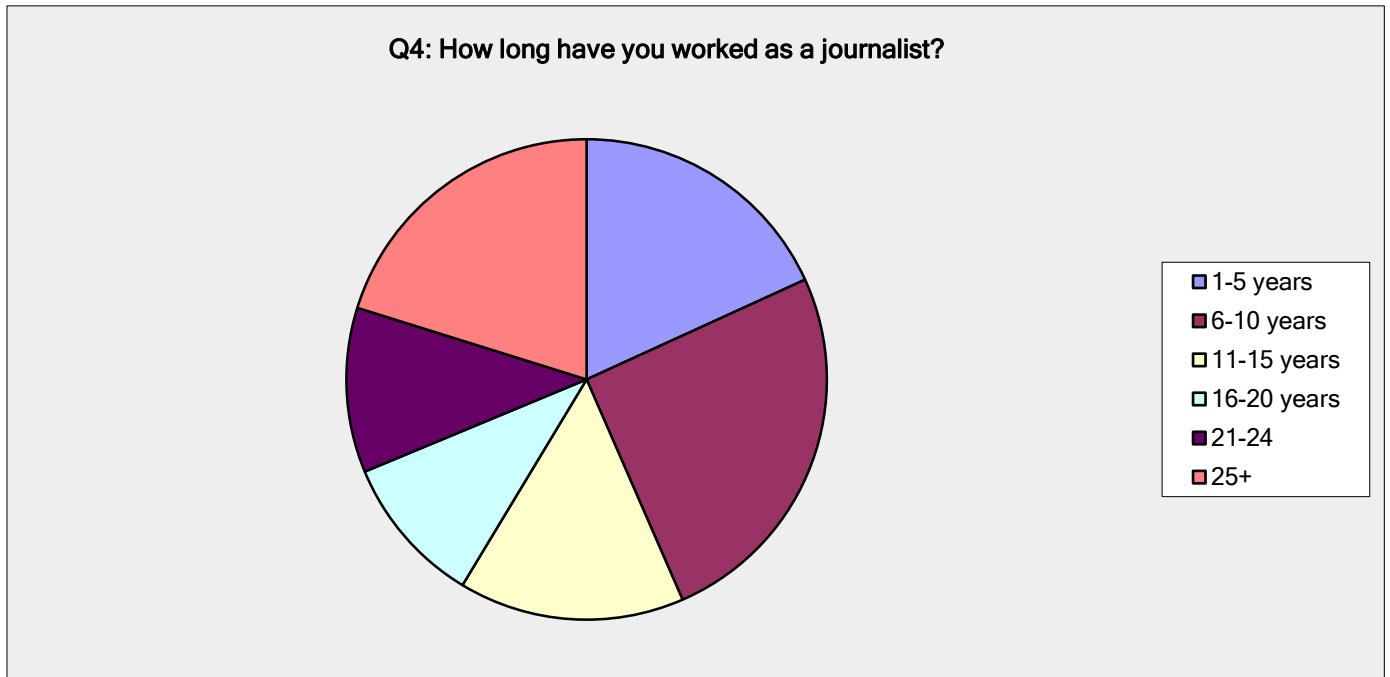
Q4 How long have you worked as a journalist?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
1-5 years	18.2%	18
6-10 years	25.3%	25
11-15 years	15.2%	15
16-20 years	10.1%	10
21-24	11.1%	11
25+	20.2%	20
answered question		99
skipped question		1

Q5: What is your principal position now?
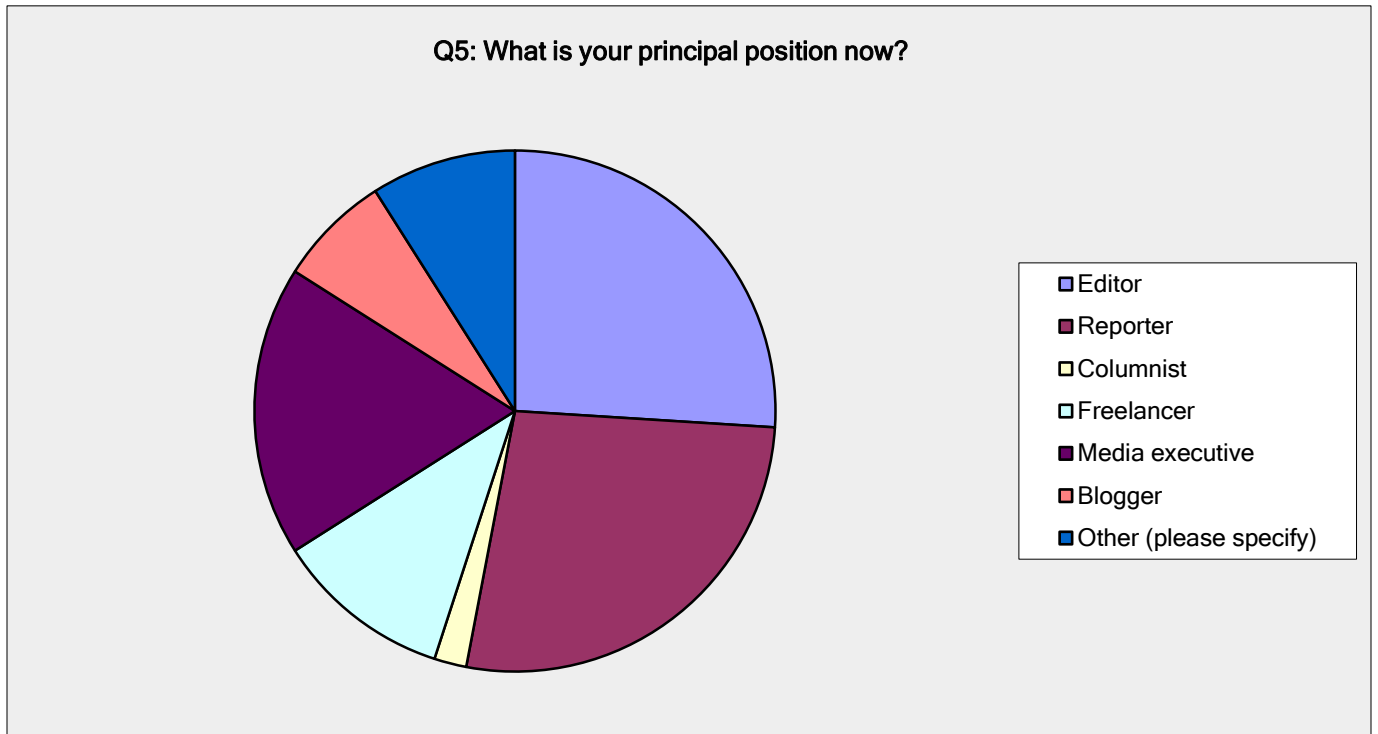
Q5: What is your principal position now?

Legend:
- Editor
- Reporter
- Columnist
- Freelancer
- Media executive
- Blogger
- Other (please specify)

Q5: What is your principal position now?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Editor	26.0%	26
Reporter	27.0%	27
Columnist	2.0%	2
Freelancer	11.0%	11
Media executive	18.0%	18
Blogger	7.0%	7
Other (please specify)	9.0%	9
answered question		100
skipped question		0
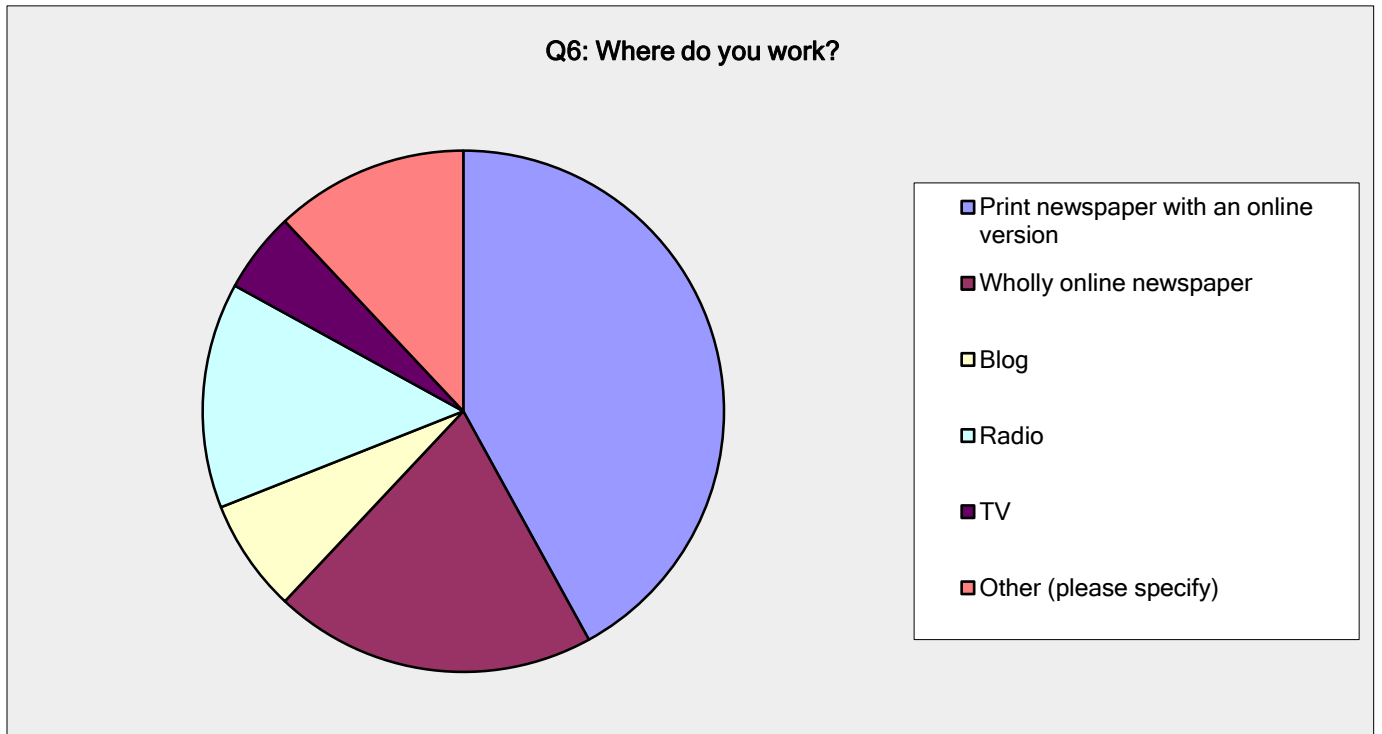
Q6: Where do you work?

Q6: Where do you work?		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Print newspaper with an online version	42.0%	42
Wholly online newspaper	20.0%	20
Blog	7.0%	7
Radio	14.0%	14
TV	5.0%	5
Other (please specify)	12.0%	12
	answered question	**100**
	skipped question	**0**

Q7: If you answered "Print newspaper with an online version" to question 6, are you required to contribute to both print and online versions?


Q7: If you answered "Print newspaper with an online version" to question 6, are you required to contribute to both print and online versions?
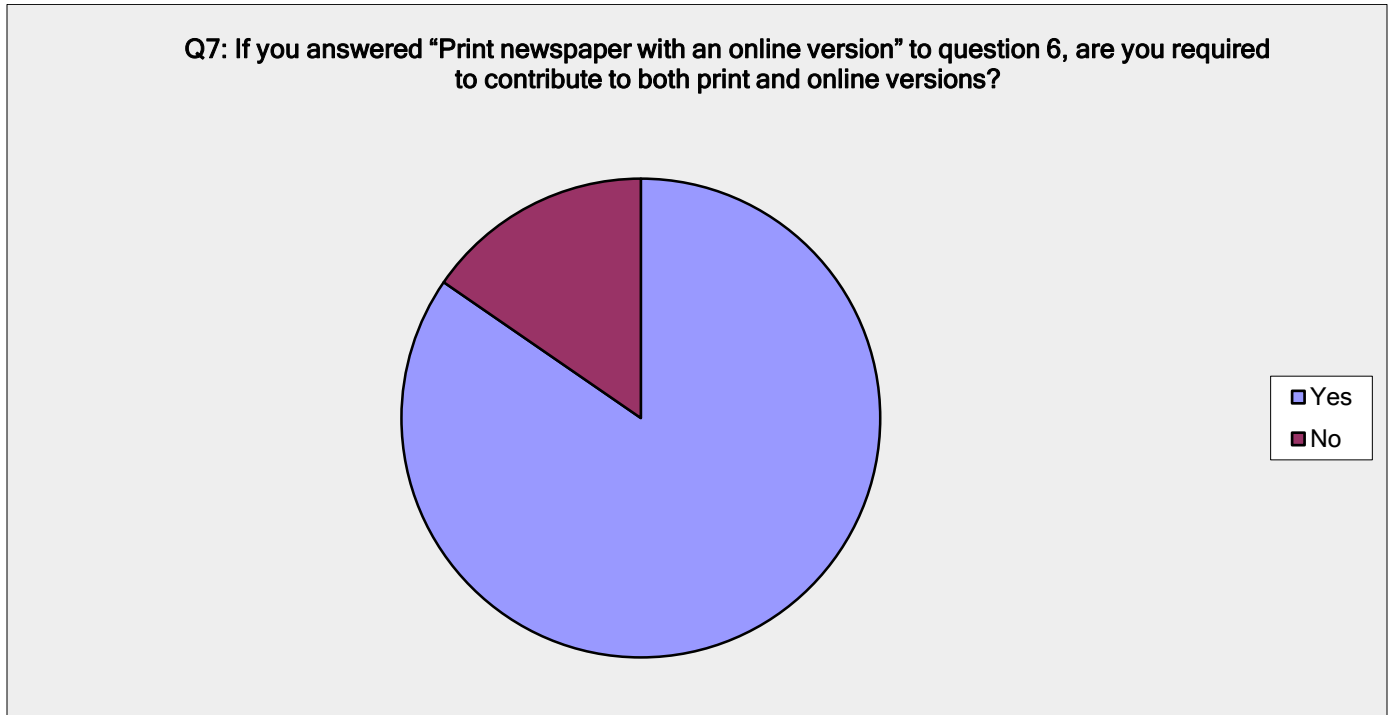
Q7: If you answered "Print newspaper with an online version" to question 6, are you required to contribute to both print and online versions?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	84.6%	44
No	15.4%	8
answered question		52
skipped question		48

Q8: How often do you use social media in your work?
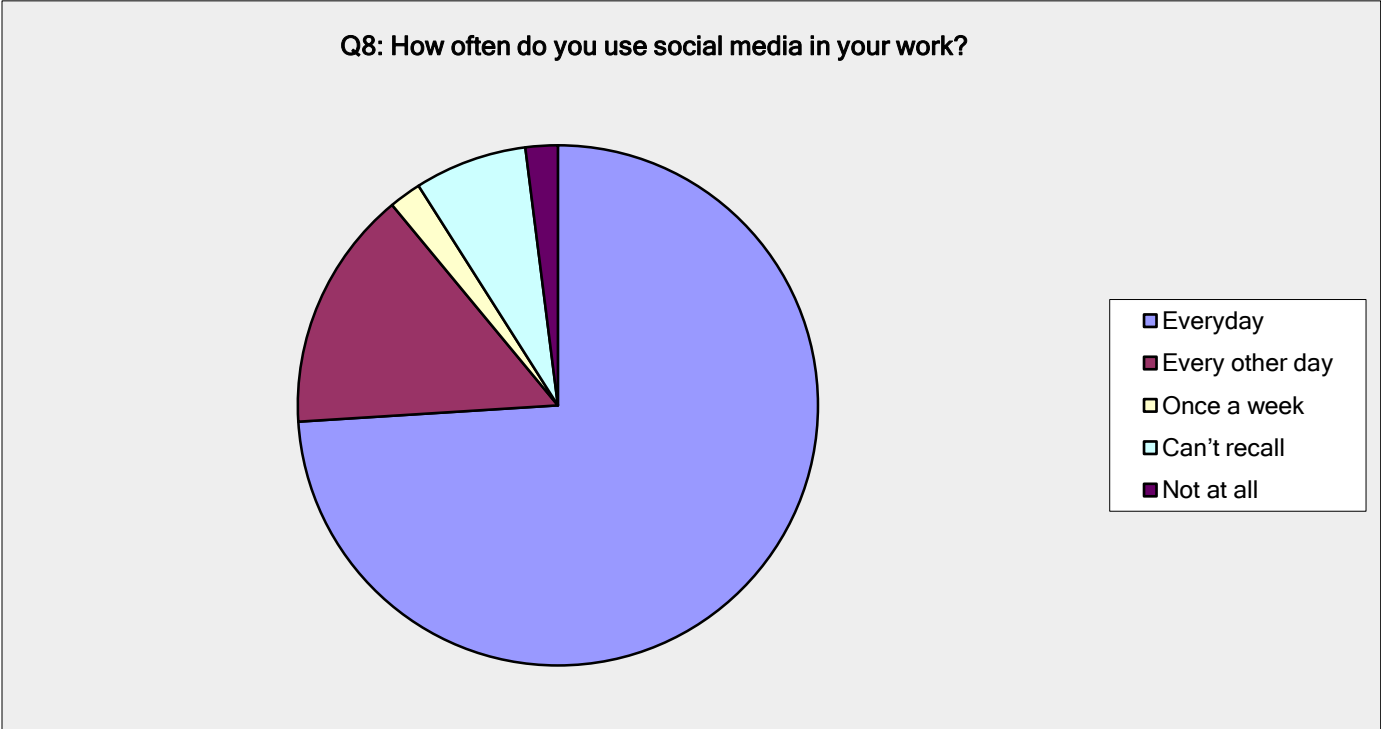
Q8: How often do you use social media in your work?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Everyday	74.0%	74
Every other day	15.0%	15
Once a week	2.0%	2
Can't recall	7.0%	7
Not at all	2.0%	2
	answered question	100
	skipped question	0

Q9: If you use social media in your work, which of the following do you use? Choose as many as applicable.
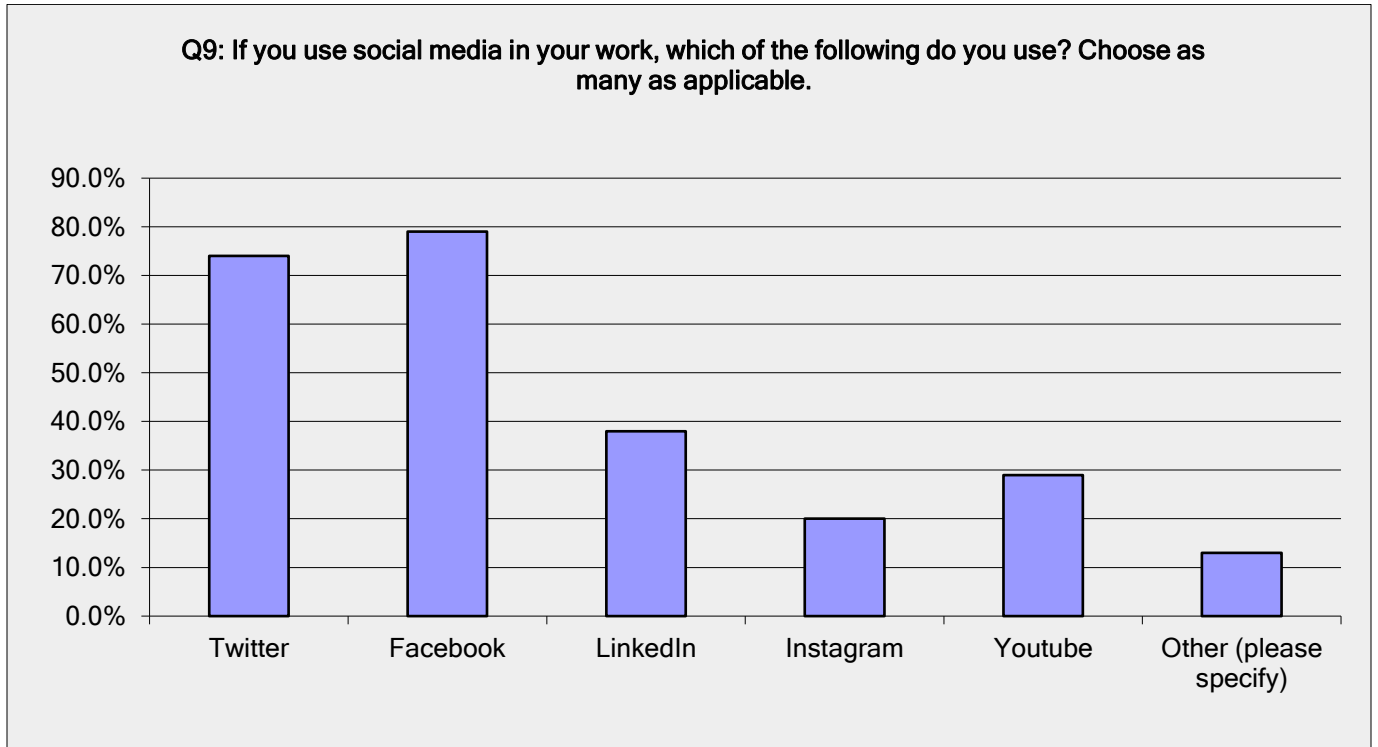
Q9: If you use social media in your work, which of the following do you use? Choose as many as applicable.

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Twitter	74.0%	74
Facebook	79.0%	79
LinkedIn	38.0%	38
Instagram	20.0%	20
Youtube	29.0%	29
Other (please specify)	13.0%	13
answered question		**100**
skipped question		**0**

**Q10: What are the challenges you face in using the Internet/social media? Choose as many as applicable.**

Q10: What are the challenges you face in using the Internet/social media? Choose as many as applicable.
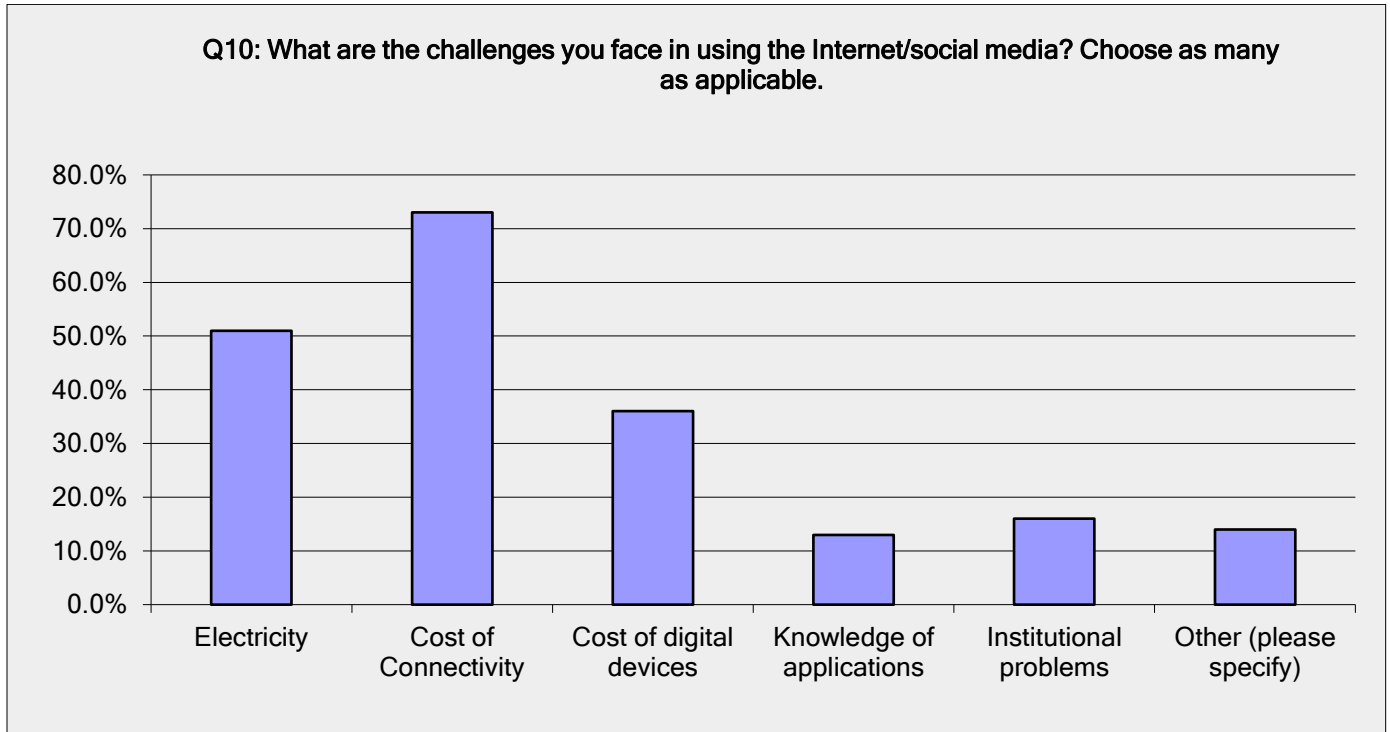
Q10: What are the challenges you face in using the Internet/social media? Choose as many as applicable.

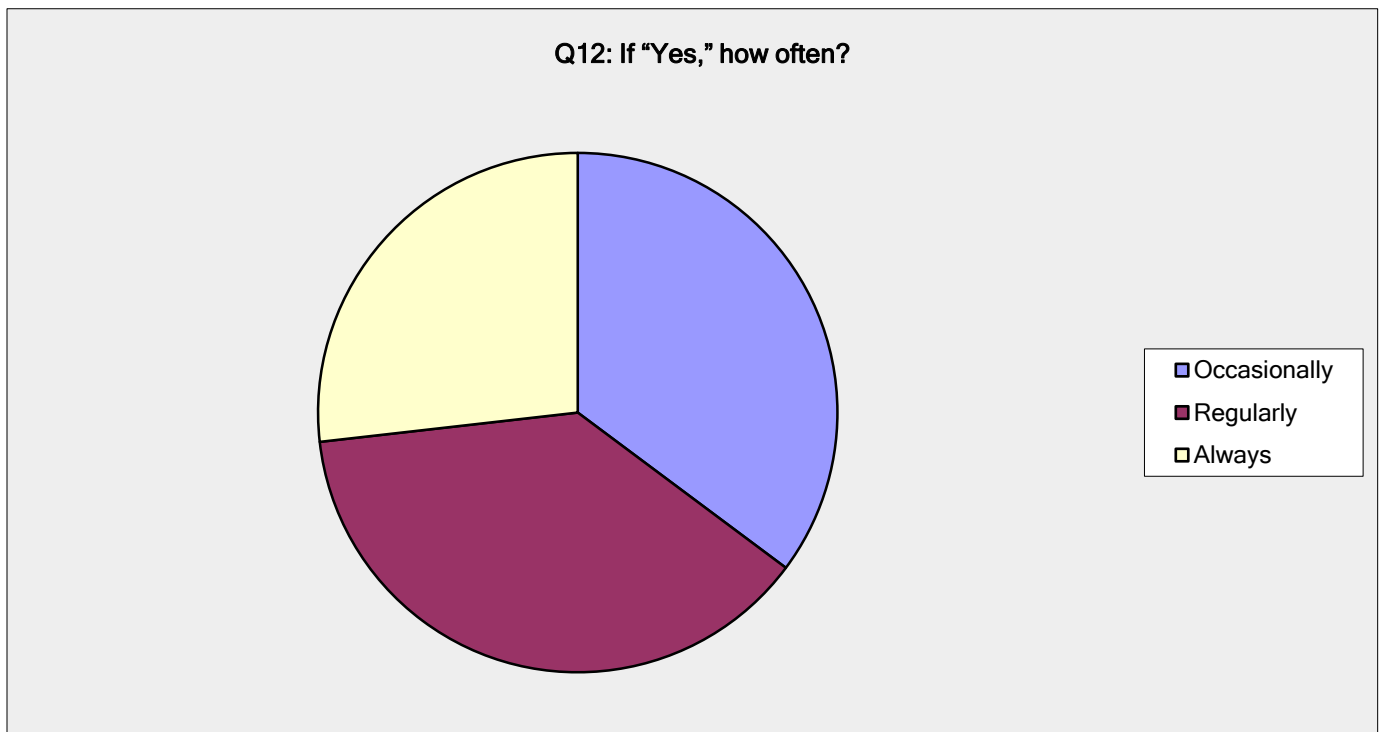| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Electricity	51.0%	51
Cost of Connectivity	73.0%	73
Cost of digital devices	36.0%	36
Knowledge of applications	13.0%	13
Institutional problems	16.0%	16
Other (please specify)	14.0%	14
	answered question	100
	skipped question	0

Q11: Do you operate a blog or a social media platform to complement the reports you publish in your newspaper?

Q11: Do you operate a blog or a social media platform to complement the reports you publish in your newspaper?
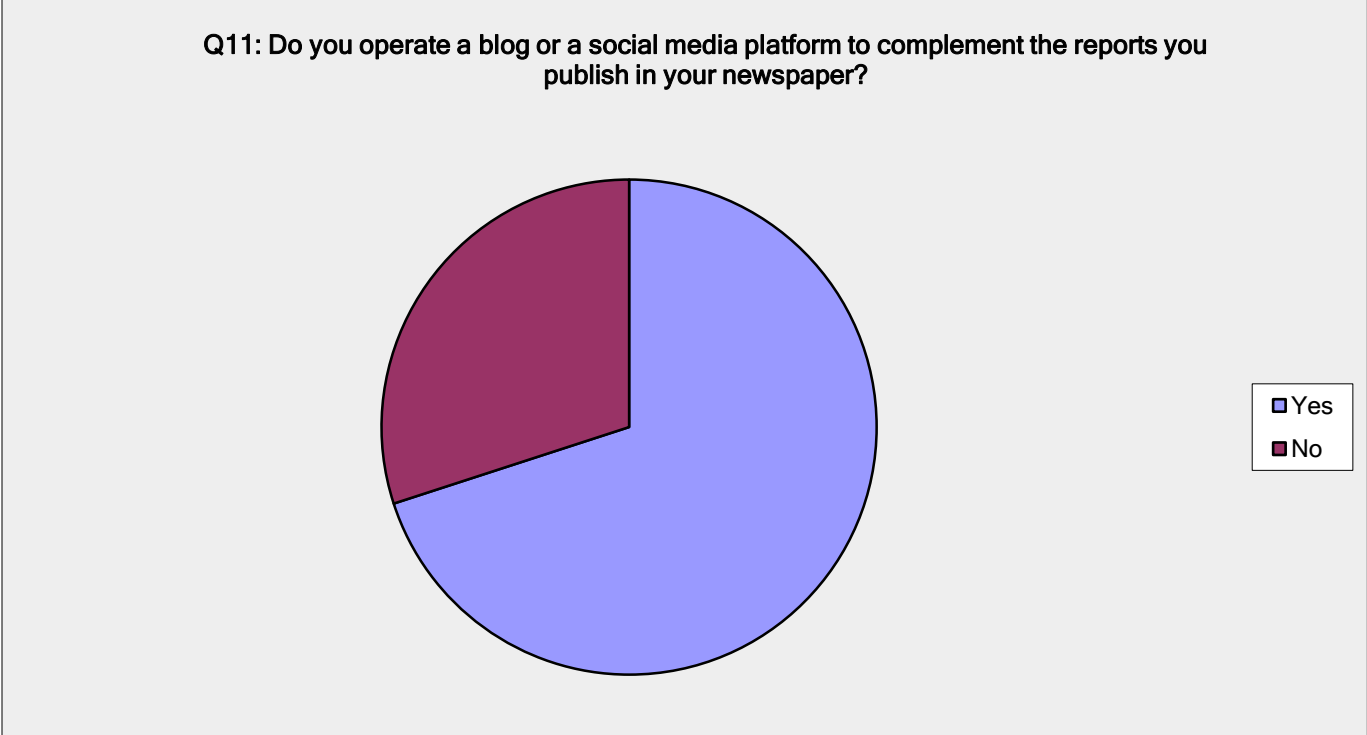
Q11: Do you operate a blog or a social media platform to complement the reports you publish in your newspaper?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	70.0%	70
No	30.0%	30
	answered question	**100**
	skipped question	**0**

Q12: If "Yes," how often?

Q12: If "Yes," how often?

| Q12: If "Yes," how often?		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Occasionally	35.2%	25
Regularly	38.0%	27
Always	26.8%	19
	answered question	**71**
	skipped question	**29**
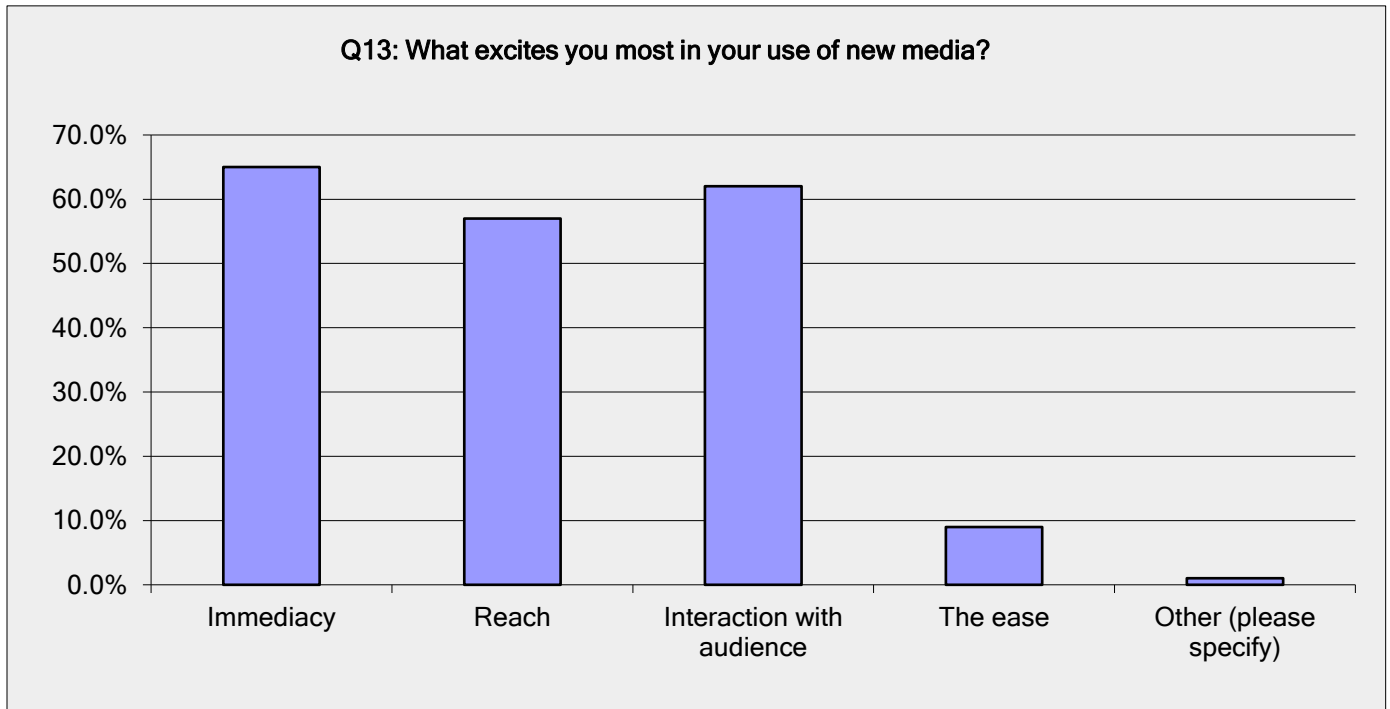
154

Q13: What excites you most in your use of new media?

Q13: What excites you most in your use of new media?

Q13: What excites you most in your use of new media?

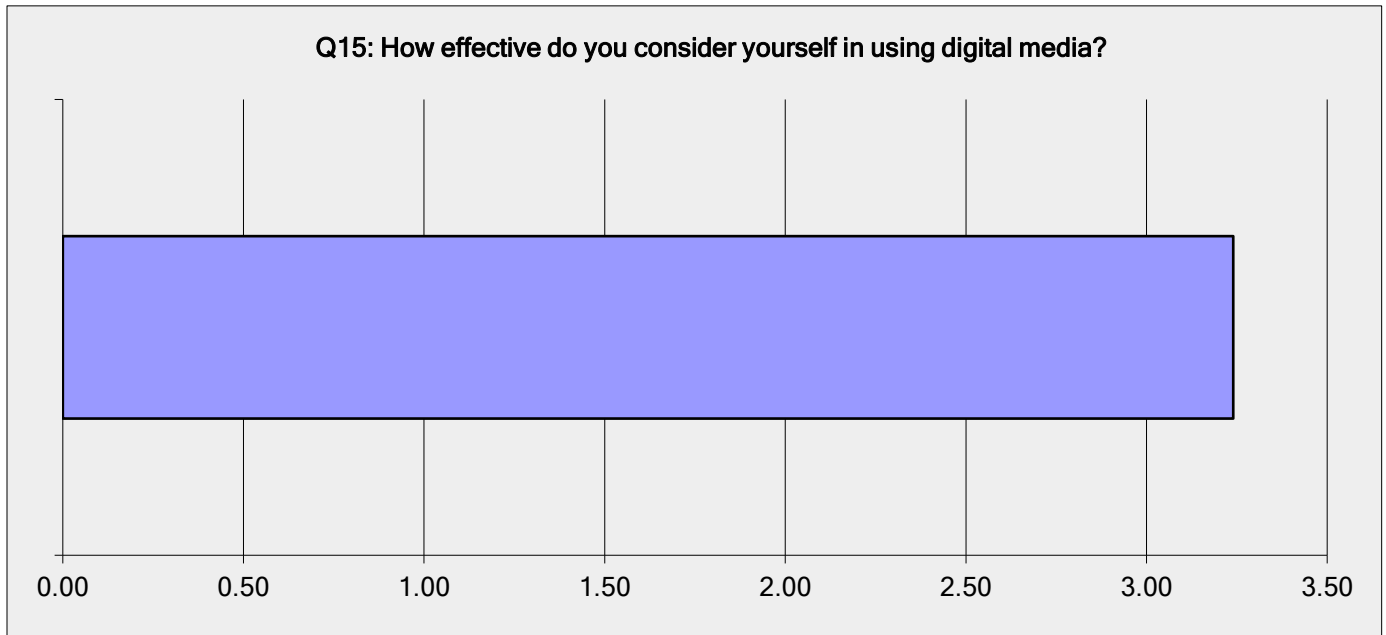| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Immediacy	65.0%	65
Reach	57.0%	57
Interaction with audience	62.0%	62
The ease	9.0%	9
Other (please specify)	1.0%	1
answered question		**100**
skipped question		**0**

Q14: What kind of impact has digital media had on your work experience as a journalist?

Q14: What kind of impact has digital media had on your work experience as a journalist?
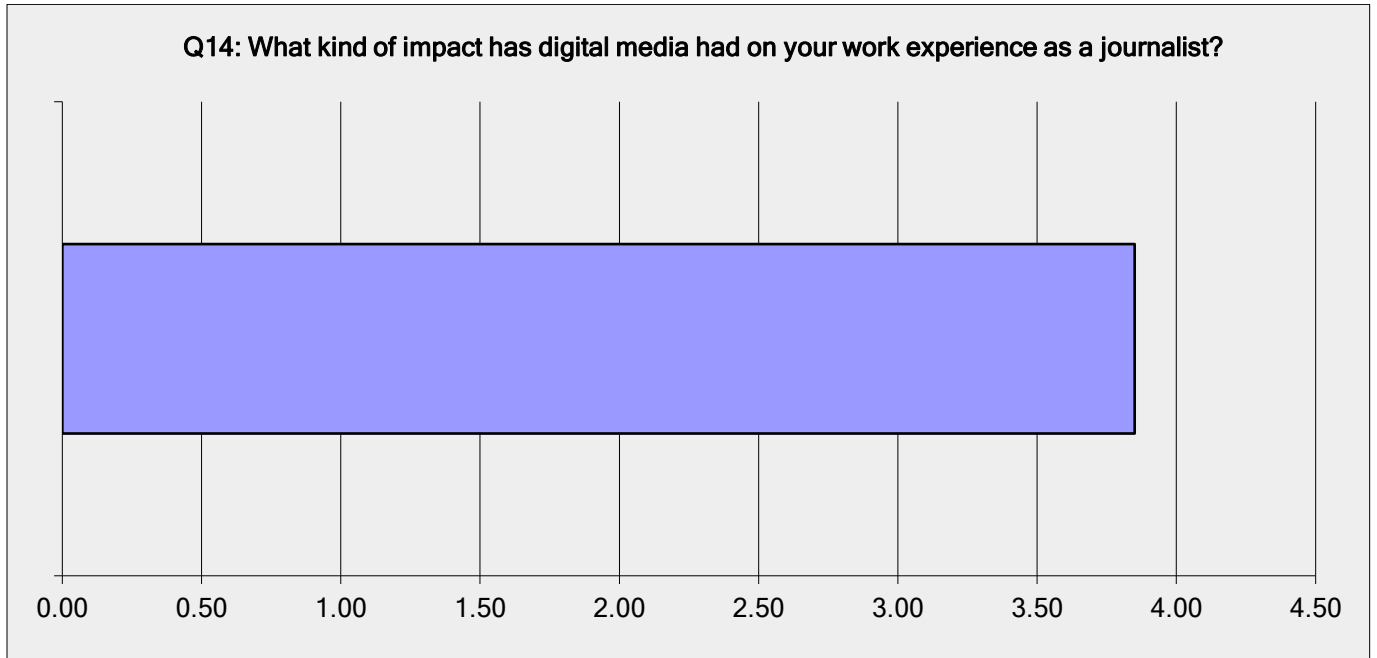
Q14: What kind of impact has digital media had on your work experience as a journalist?

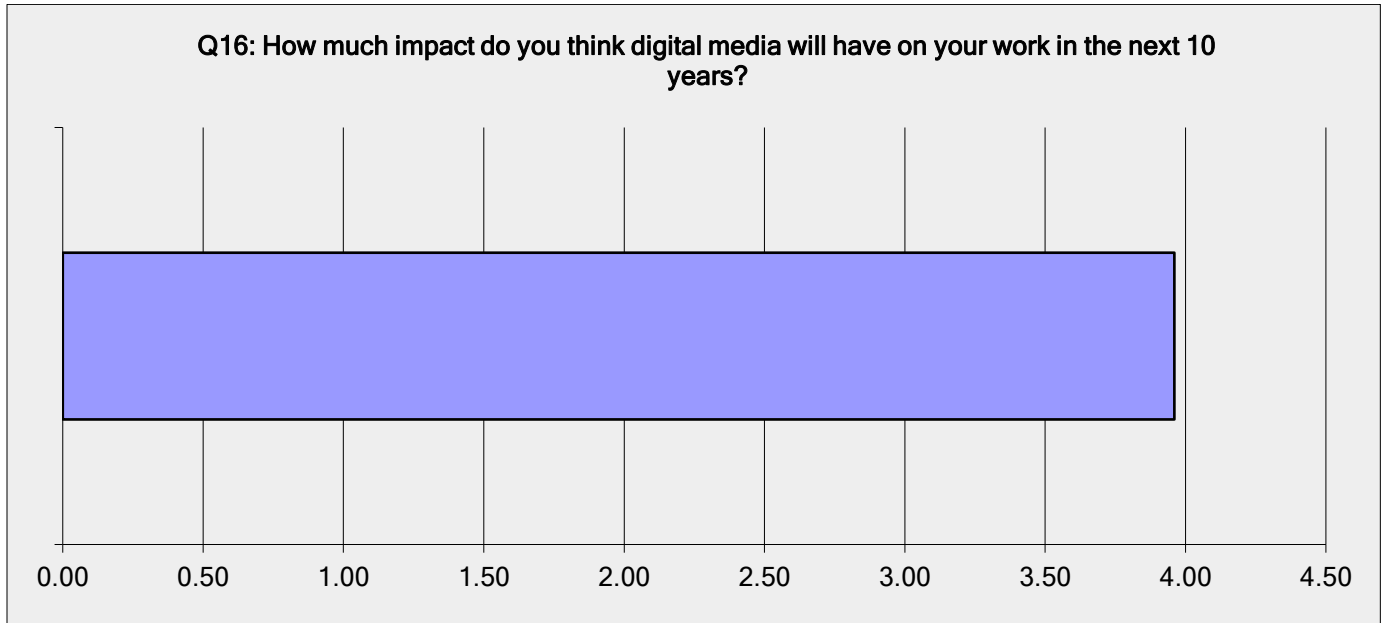| Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	0	12	85	2	3.85	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q15: How effective do you consider yourself in using digital media?

Q15: How effective do you consider yourself in using digital media?

| Answer Options	Not effective	Somewhat effective	Effective	Very effective	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	3	14	39	44	0	3.24	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q16: How much impact do you think digital media will have on your work in the next 10 years?

Q16: How much impact do you think digital media will have on your work in the next 10 years?

Q16: How much impact do you think digital media will have on your work in the next 10 years?

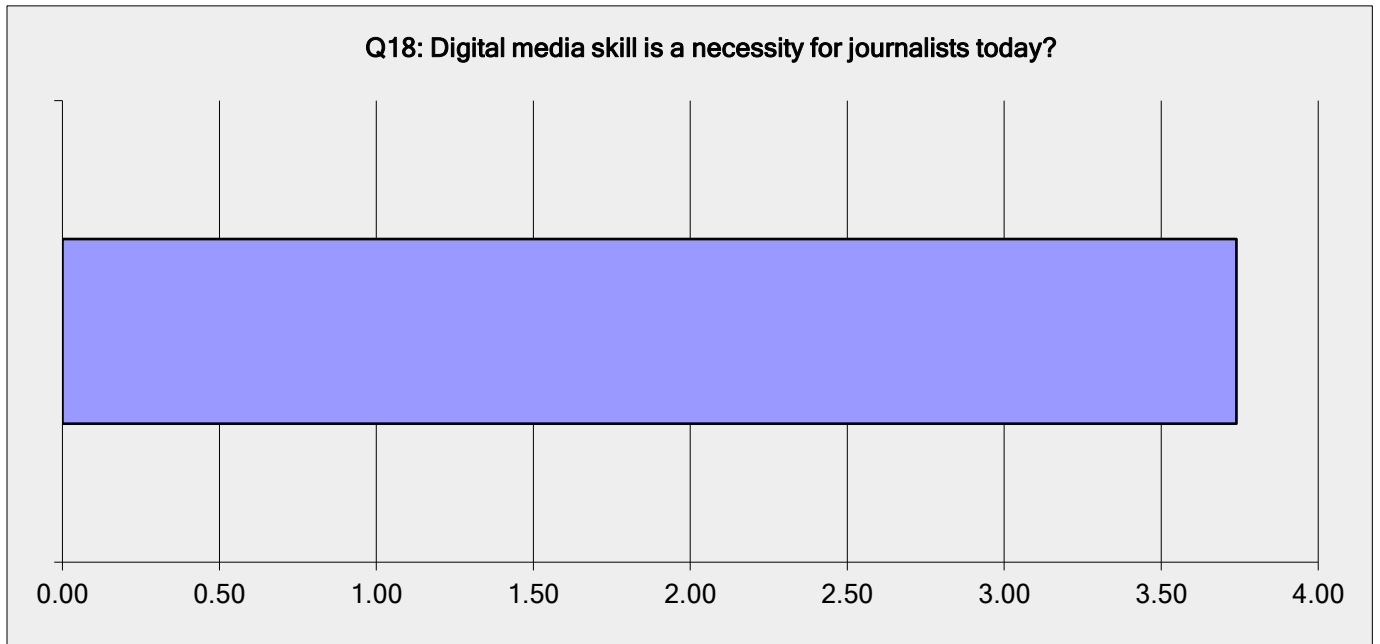| Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	0	1	97	1	3.96	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q17: Have you had any training in digital media in the last one year?
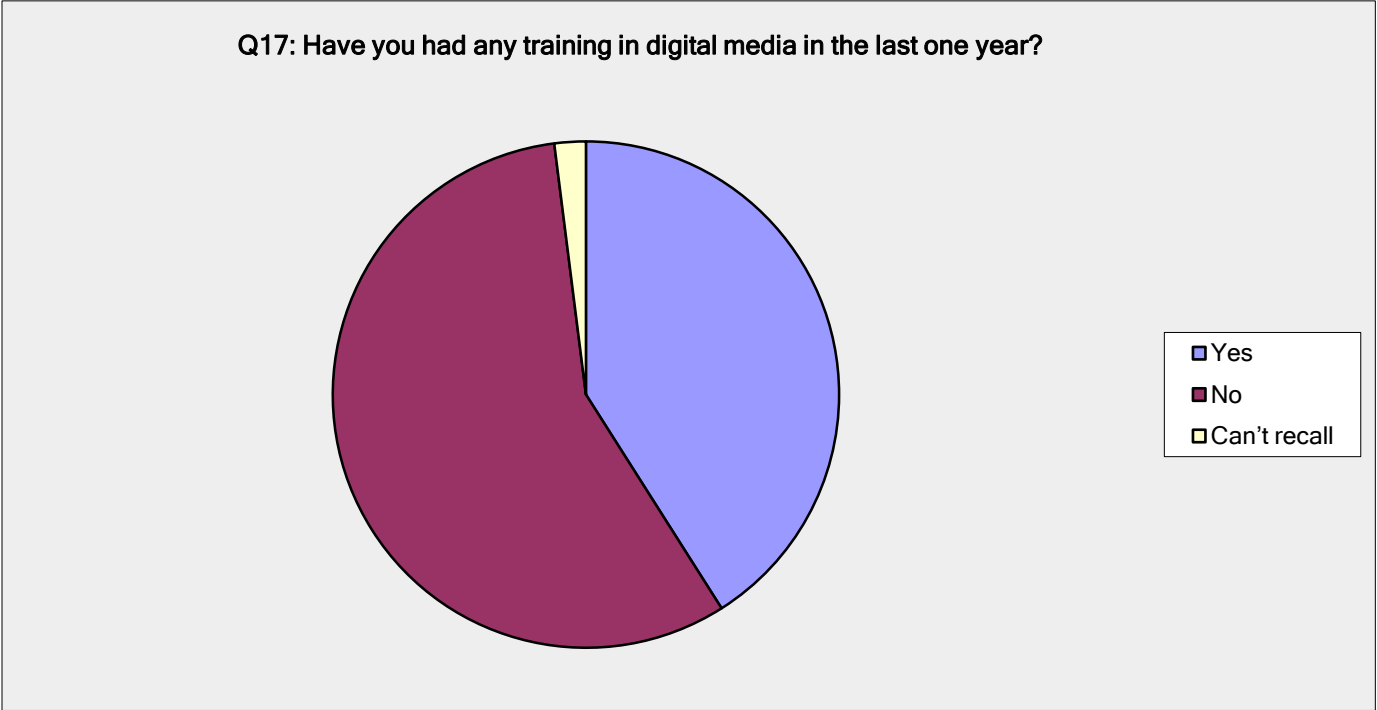
Q17: Have you had any training in digital media in the last one year?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	41.0%	41
No	57.0%	57
Can't recall	2.0%	2
answered question		100
skipped question		0

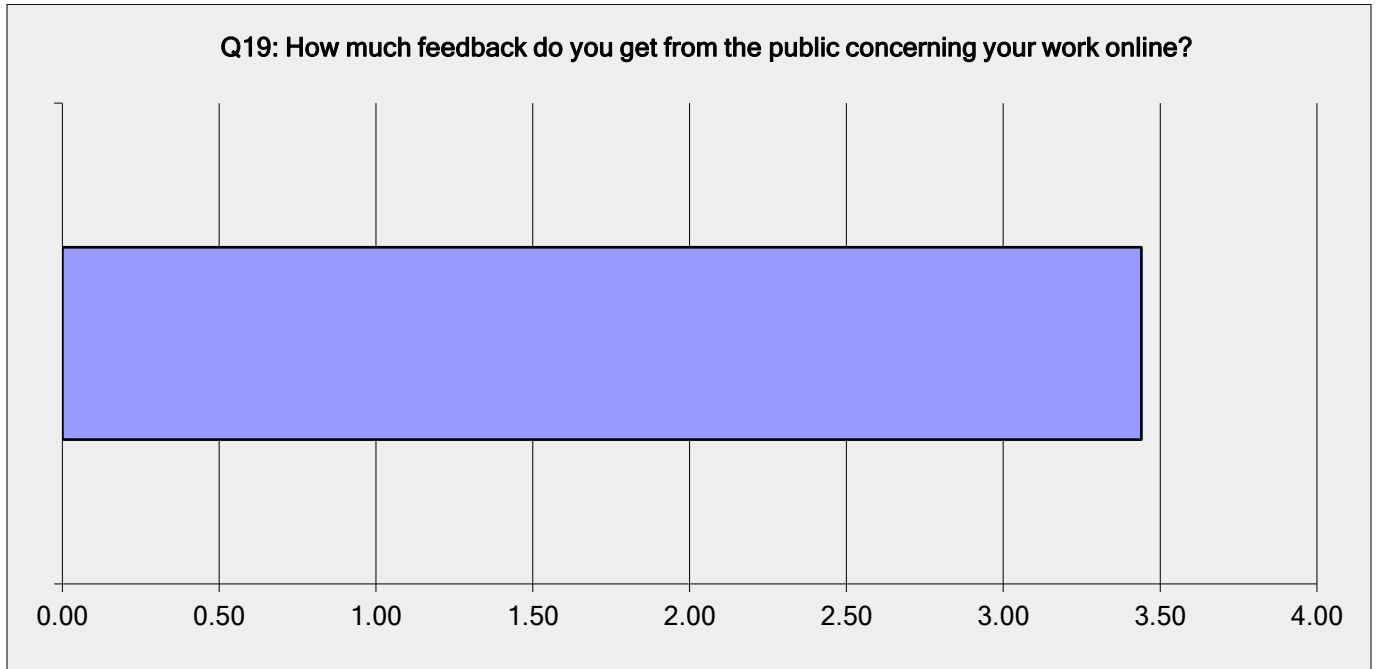**Q18: Digital media skill is a necessity for journalists today?**

Q18: Digital media skill is a necessity for journalists today?

Q18: Digital media skill is a necessity for journalists today?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	5	0	11	84	0	3.74	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q19: How much feedback do you get from the public concerning your work online?

Q19: How much feedback do you get from the public concerning your work online?

| | 0.00 | 0.50 | 1.00 | 1.50 | 2.00 | 2.50 | 3.00 | 3.50 | 4.00 |

Q19: Digital media skill is a necessity for journalists today?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	5	0	11	84	0	3.74	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q20: What impact do feedbacks have on your reports?

Q20: What impact do feedbacks have on your reports?

Q20: What impact do feedbacks have on your reports?

| Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	3	34	62	0	3.57	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q21: How often do you engage your audience about your stories using social media?

Q21: How often do you engage your audience about your stories using social media?
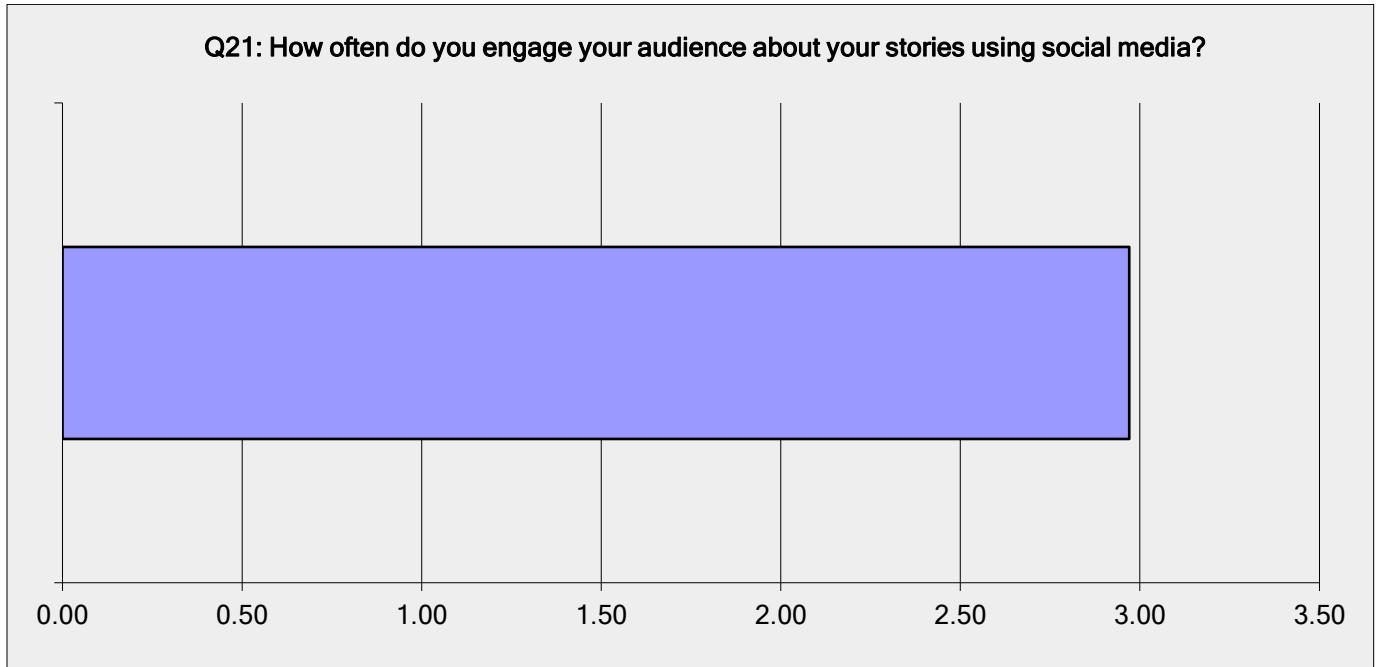
Q21: How often do you engage your audience about your stories using social media?

| Answer Options	Not at all	Occasionally	Regularly	Always	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	3	30	33	33	1	2.97	100
						answered question	**100**
						skipped question	**0**

Q22: Do you agree that readers should pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

Q22: Do you agree that readers should pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

0.00 0.50 1.00 1.50 2.00 2.50 3.00
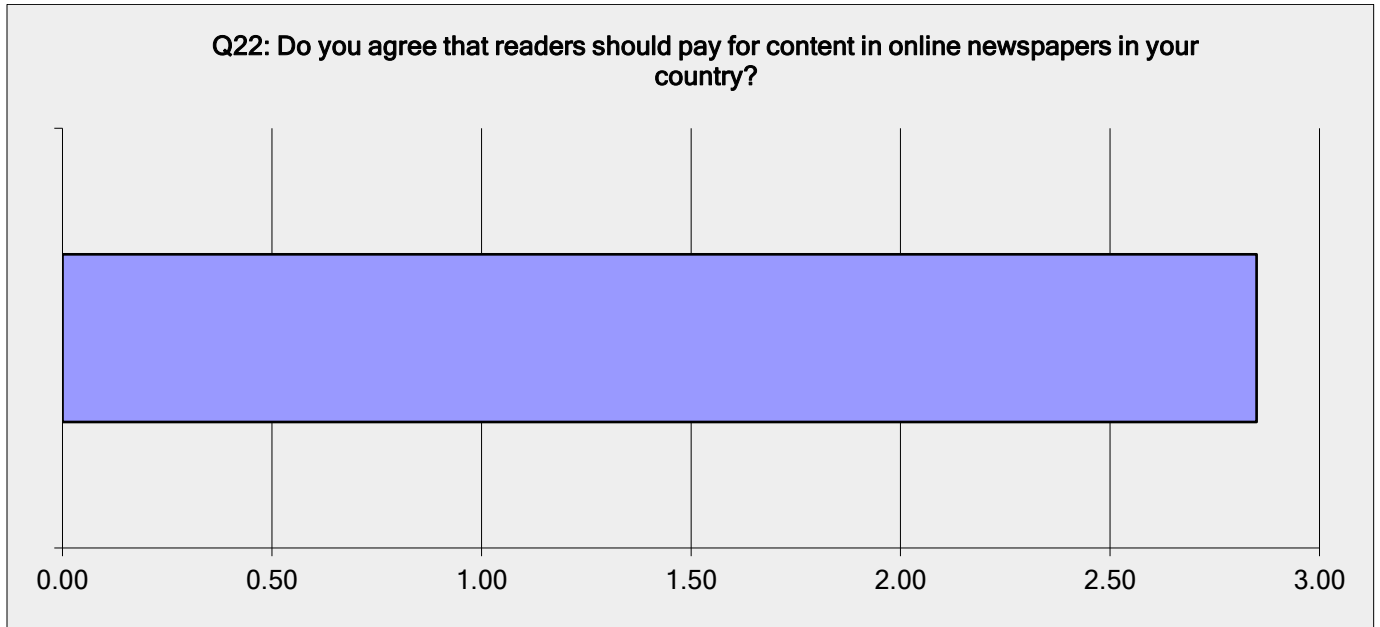
Q22: Do you agree that readers should pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	6	25	45	22	2	2.85	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

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Q23: How would you assess the willingness of readers to pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

Q23: How would you assess the willingness of readers to pay for content in online newspapers in your country?
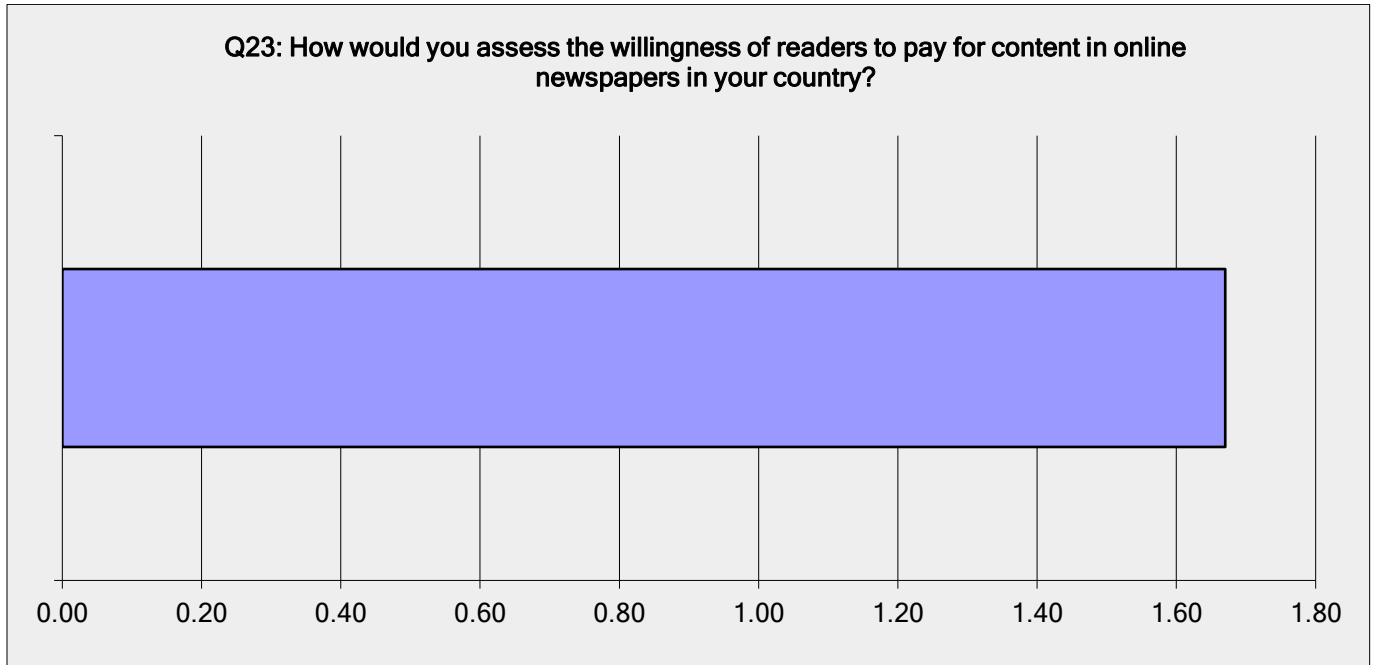
Q23: How would you assess the willingness of readers to pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

| Answer Options	Not willing	Somewhat willing	Willing	Very willing	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	48	28	7	6	11	1.67	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q24: Overall, how much impact do you think digital media has had on the journalism profession in your country?

Q24: Overall, how much impact do you think digital media has had on the journalism profession in your country?
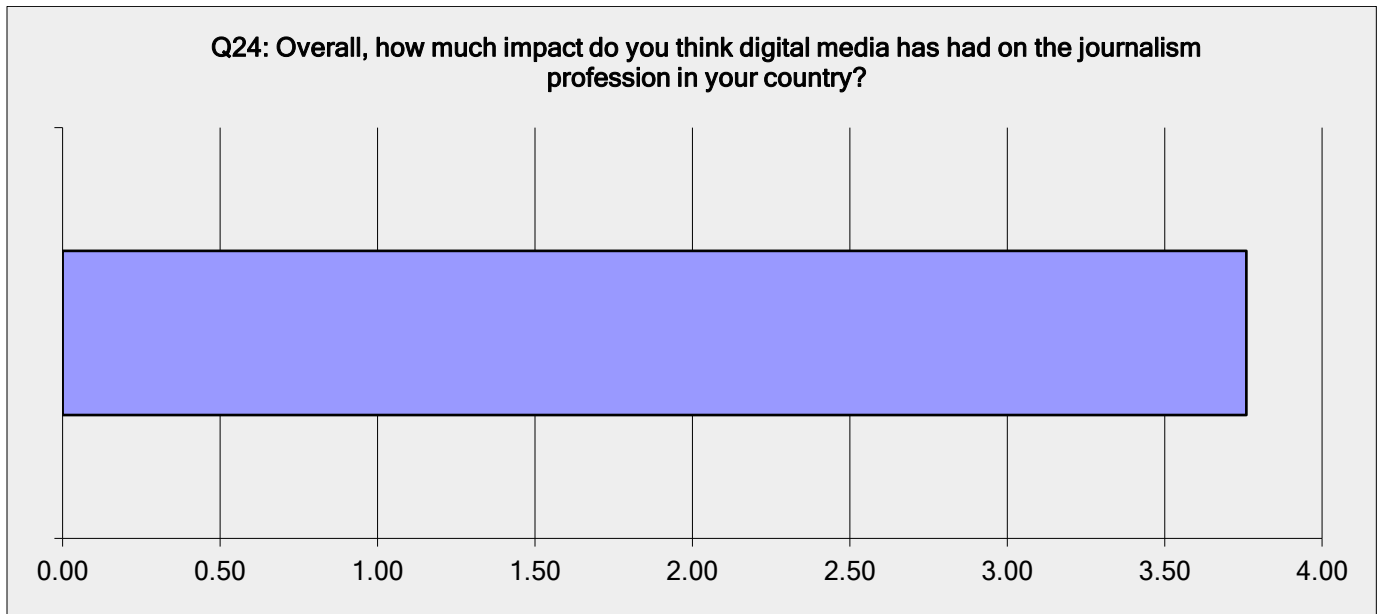
Q24: Overall, how much impact do you think digital media has had on the journalism profession in your country?

Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	2	1	16	80	1	3.76	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q25: How well do you think journalists in your country are adjusting to the transition to digital media?

Q25: How well do you think journalists in your country are adjusting to the transition to digital media?
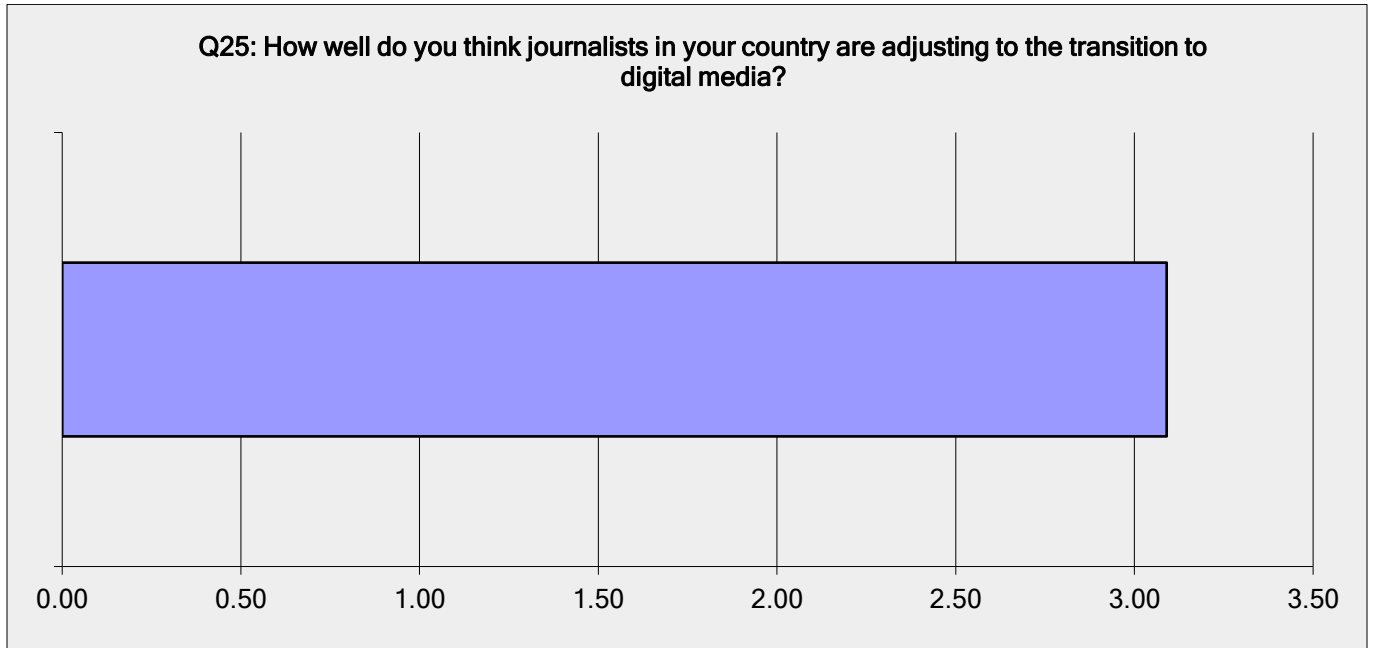
Q25: How well do you think journalists in your country are adjusting to the transition to digital media?

| Answer Options	Not at all	Somewhat	Well	Very well	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	2	24	37	37	0	3.09	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

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Q26: Which of these would be major obstacles to the growth of online newspapers in your country? Choose as many as applicable.

Q26: Which of these would be major obstacles to the growth of online newspapers in your country? Choose as many as applicable.
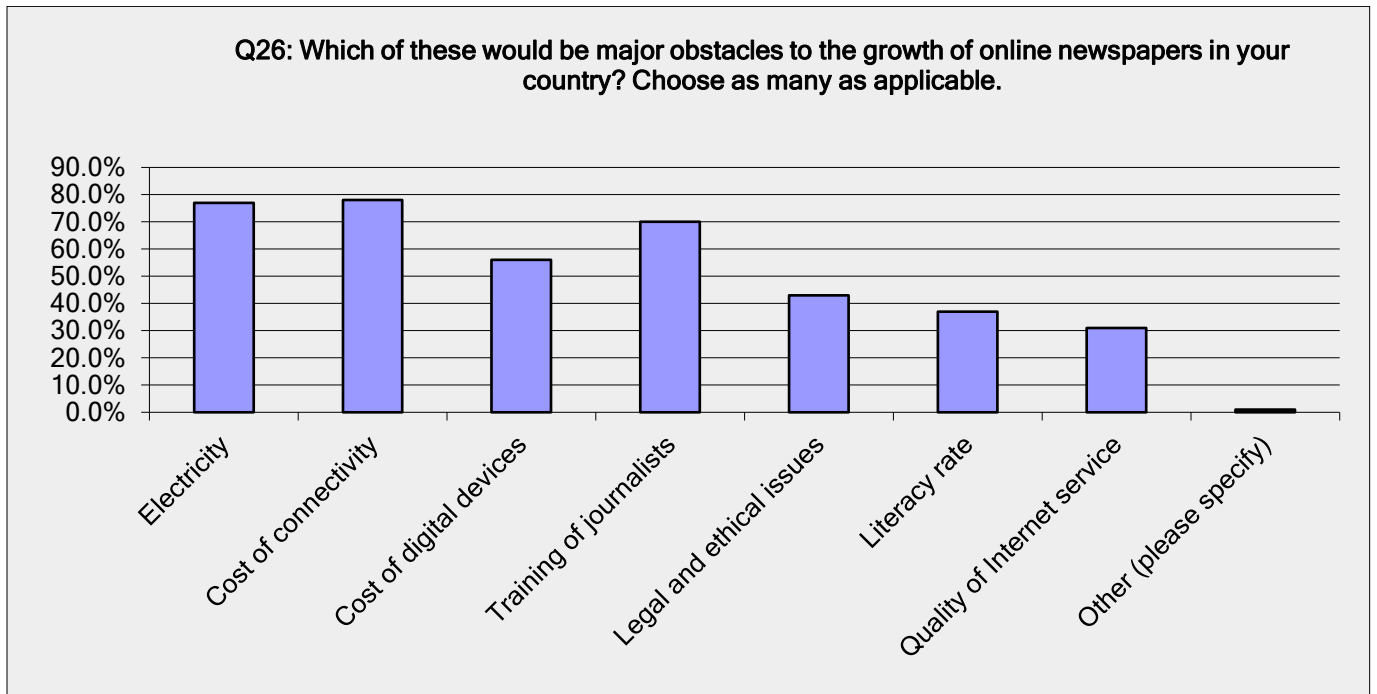
Q26: Which of these would be major obstacles to the growth of online newspapers in your country? Choose as many as applicable.

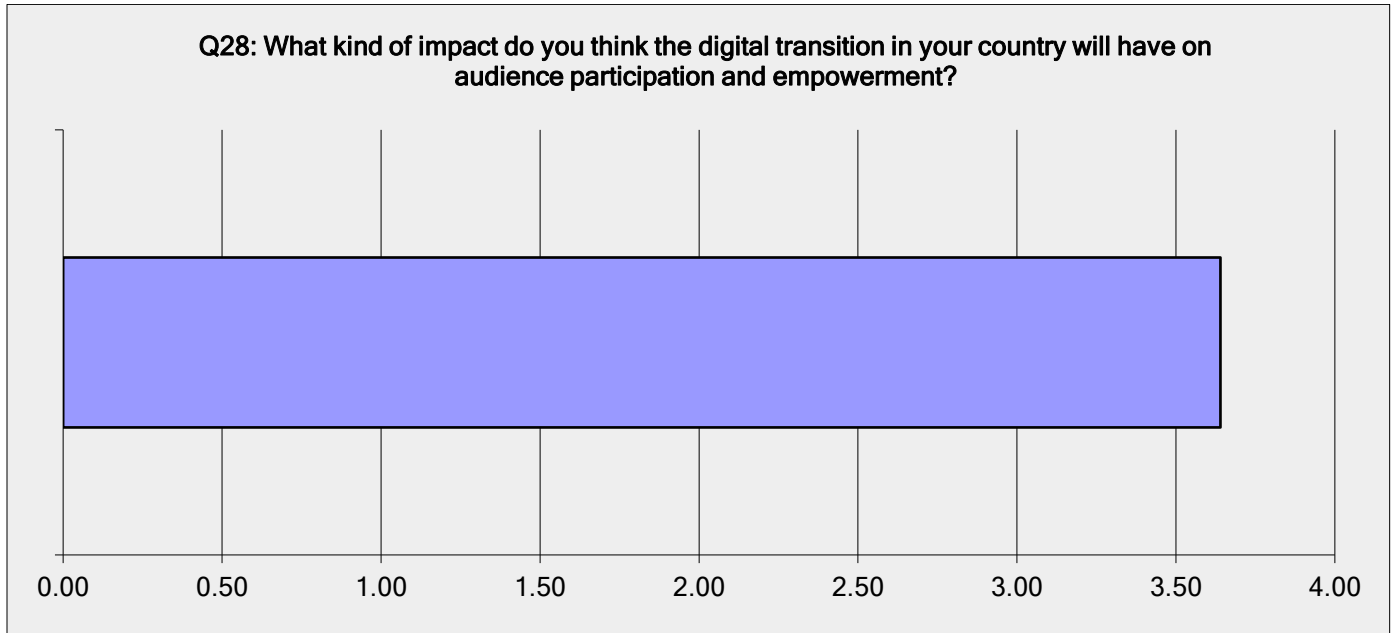| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Electricity	77.0%	77
Cost of connectivity	78.0%	78
Cost of digital devices	56.0%	56
Training of journalists	70.0%	70
Legal and ethical issues	43.0%	43
Literacy rate	37.0%	37
Quality of Internet service	31.0%	31
Other (please specify)	1.0%	1
	answered question	**100**
	skipped question	**0**

Q27: Do you agree that the print media in your country will not survive another decade in light of the emergence of digital media?

Q27: Do you agree that the print media in your country will not survive another decade in light of the emergence of digital media?
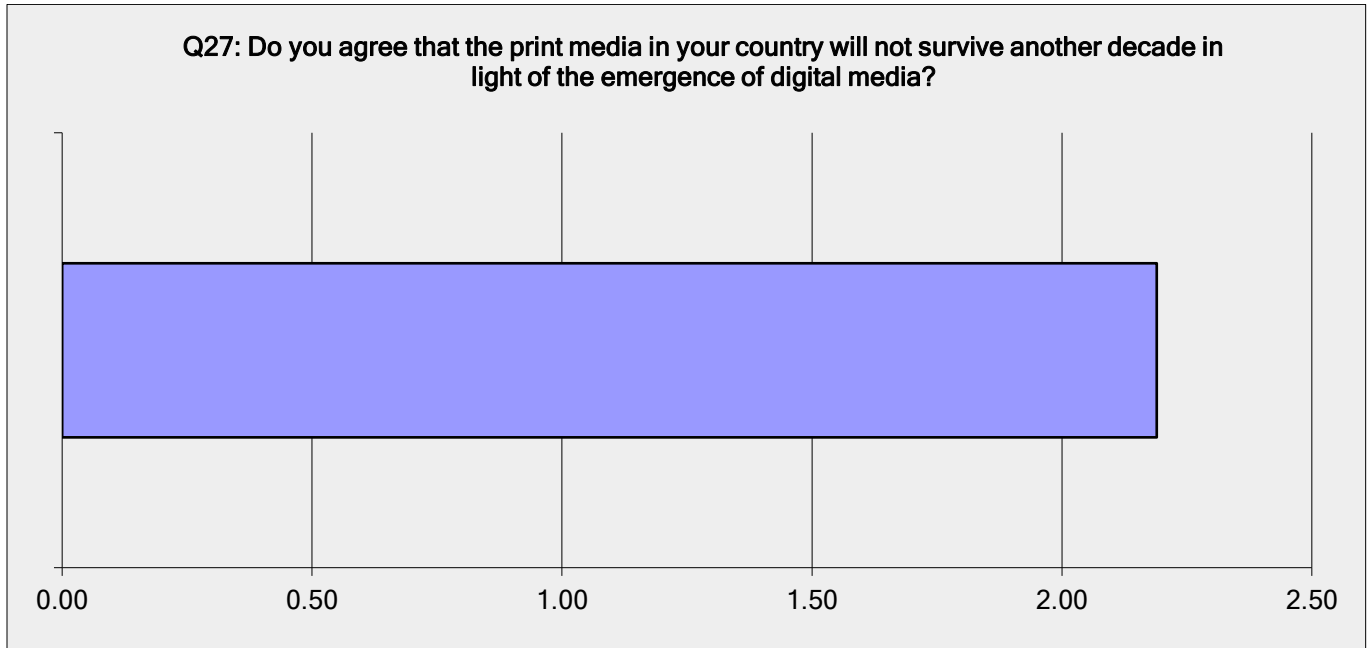
Q27: Do you agree that the print media in your country will not survive another decade in light of the emergence of digital media?

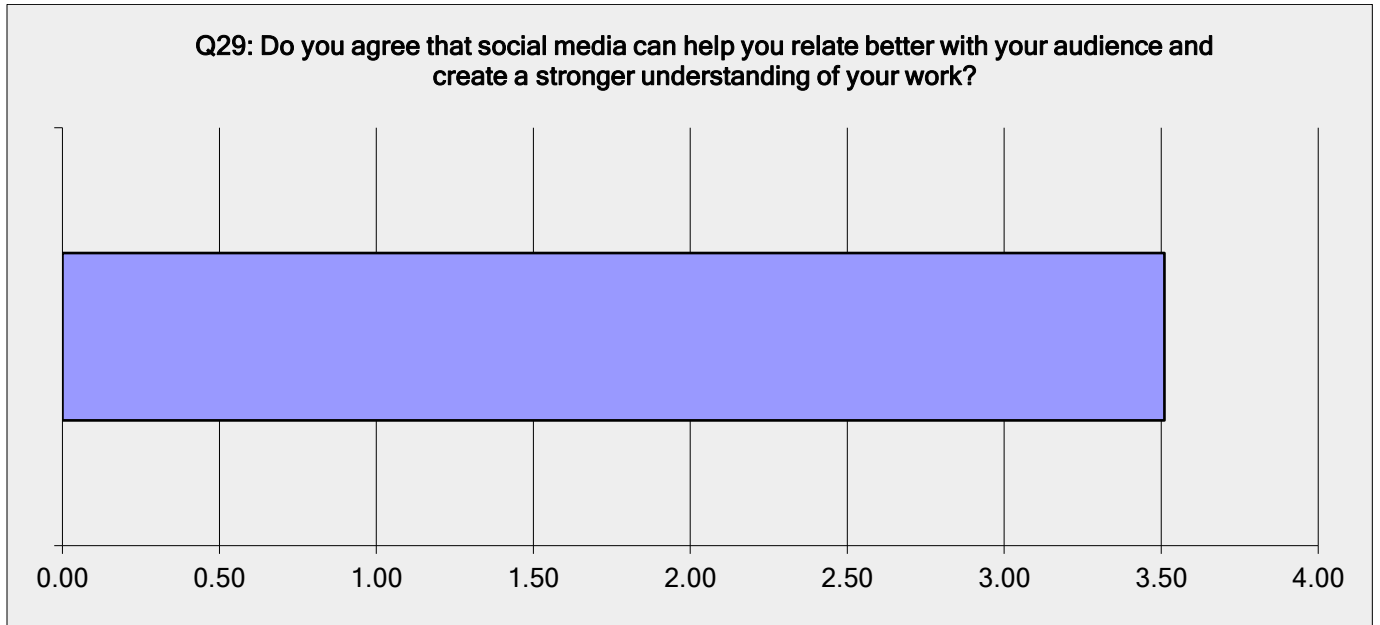| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	21	46	15	12	6	2.19	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q28: What kind of impact do you think the digital transition in your country will have on audience participation and empowerment?

Q28: What kind of impact do you think the digital transition in your country will have on audience participation and empowerment?

Q28: What kind of impact do you think the digital transition in your country will have on audience participation and empowerment?

| Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	4	25	70	0	3.64	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q29: Do you agree that social media can help you relate better with your audience and create a stronger understanding of your work?

Q29: Do you agree that social media can help you relate better with your audience and create a stronger understanding of your work?

Q29: Do you agree that social media can help you relate better with your audience and create a stronger understanding of your work?

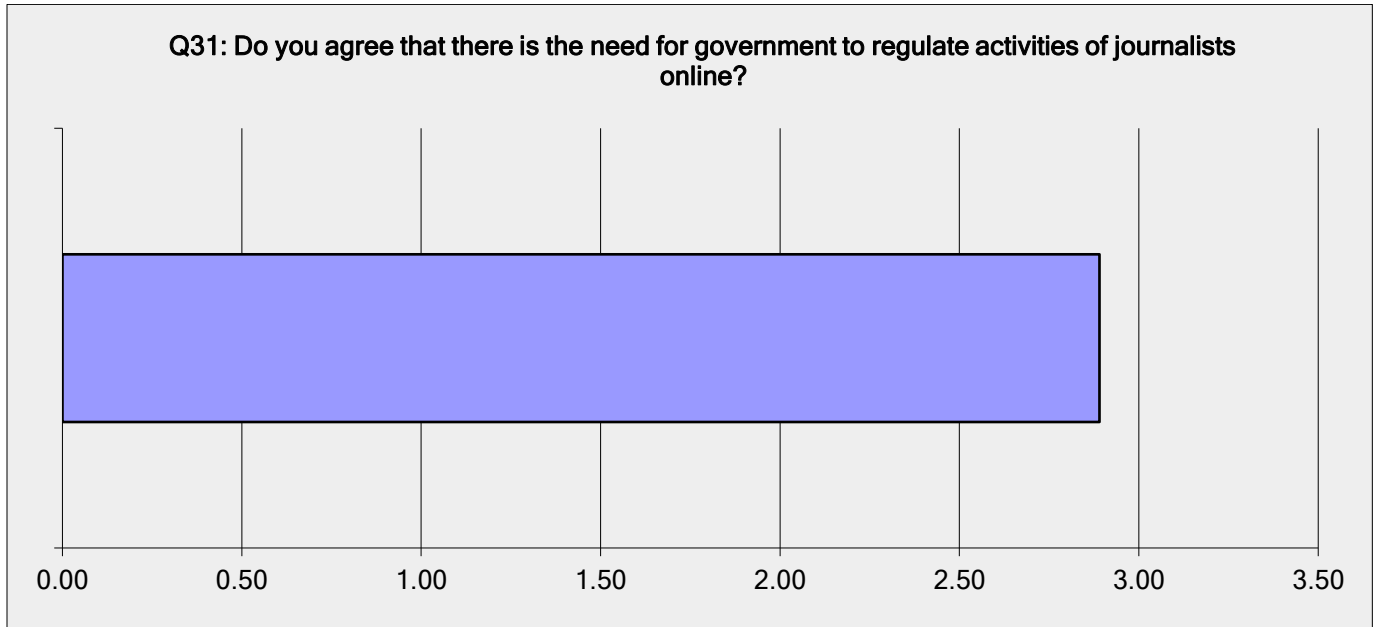| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	4	0	37	59	0	3.51	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q30: Do you agree that the interactive nature of digital media helps make journalists accountable to the public?

Q30: Do you agree that the interactive nature of digital media helps make journalists accountable to the public?
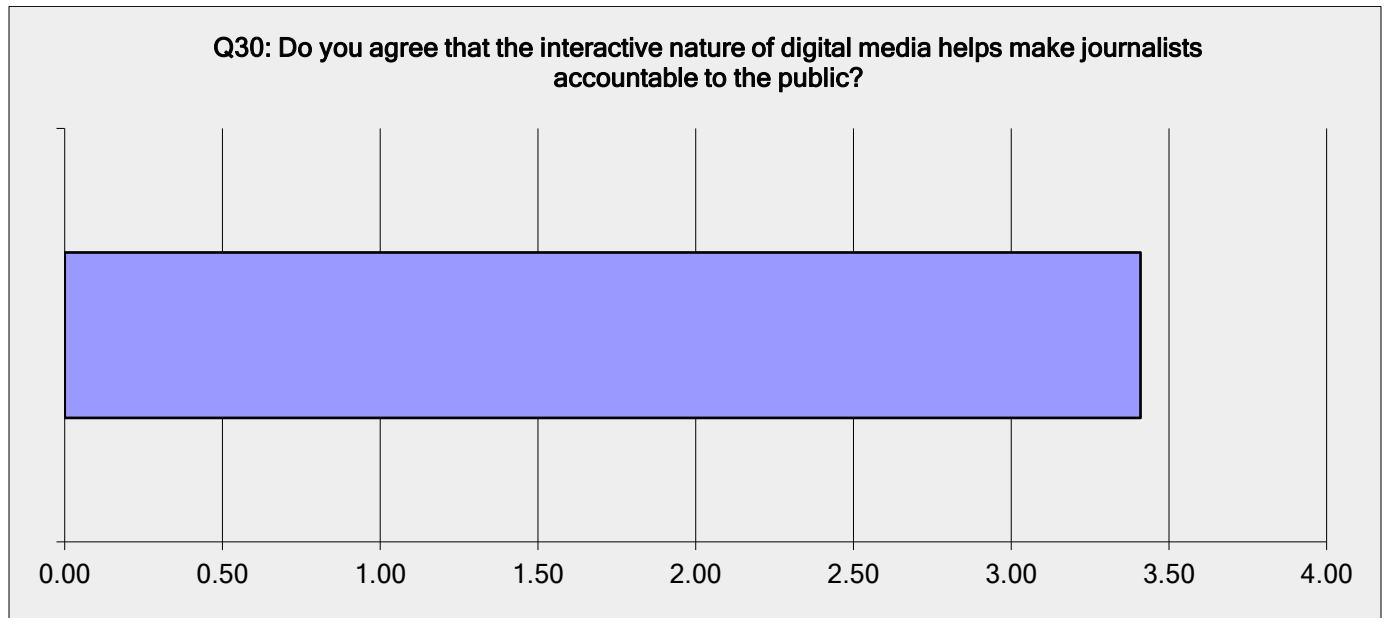
Q30: Do you agree that the interactive nature of digital media helps make journalists accountable to the public?

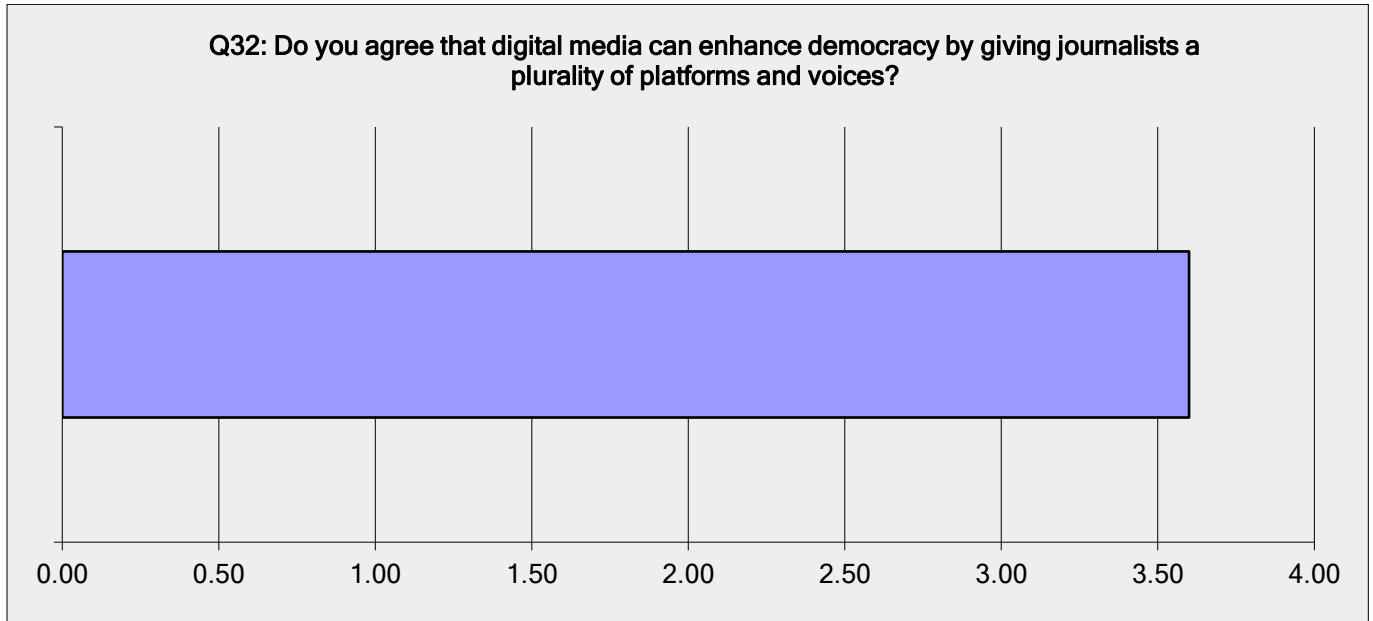| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	2	3	47	48	0	3.41	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q31: Do you agree that there is the need for government to regulate activities of journalists online?

Q31: Do you agree that there is the need for government to regulate activities of journalists online?

Q31: Do you agree that there is the need for government to regulate activities of journalists online?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	11	21	36	32	0	2.89	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

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Q32: Do you agree that digital media can enhance democracy by giving journalists a plurality of platforms and voices?

Q32: Do you agree that digital media can enhance democracy by giving journalists a plurality of platforms and voices?

| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	0	37	62	0	3.60	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q33: Do you agree that social media (citizen journalism) poses a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists in your country?

Q33: Do you agree that social media (citizen journalism) poses a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists in your country?
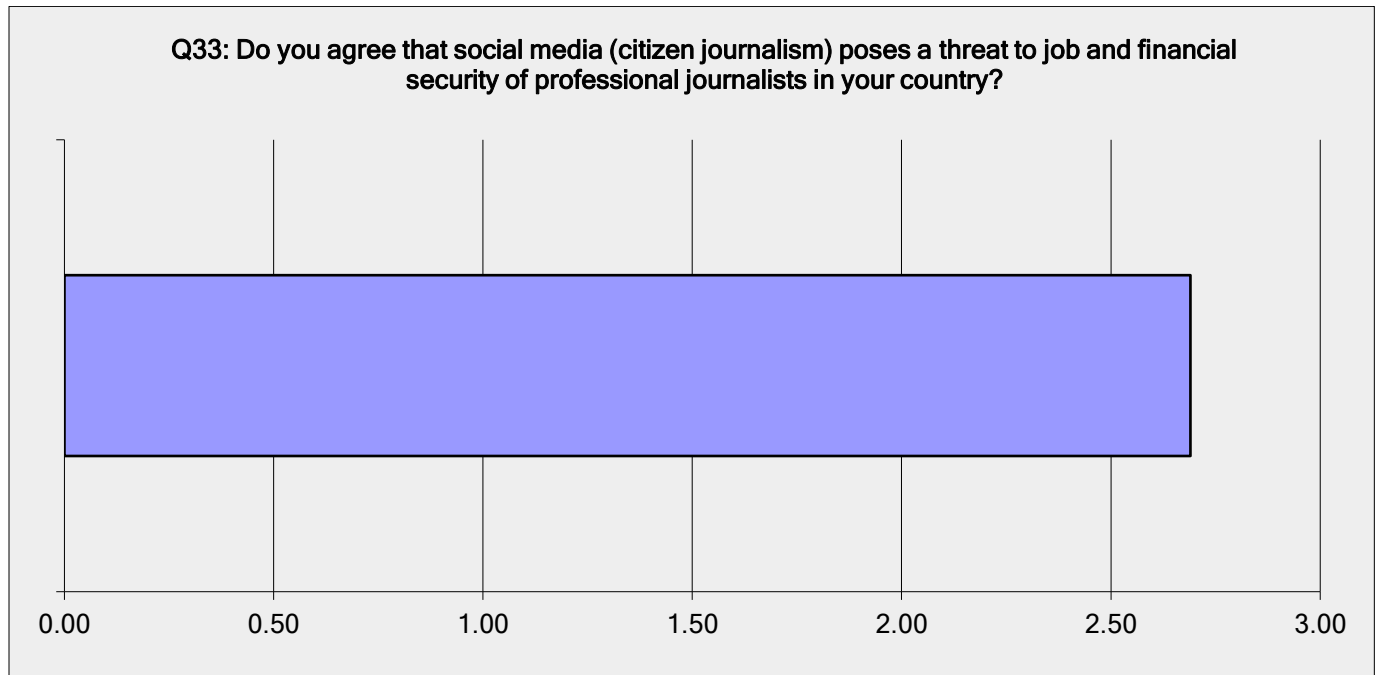
Q33: Do you agree that social media (citizen journalism) poses a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists in your country?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	12	31	33	24	0	2.69	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

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Q34: What do you think is the future of online newspapers in your country?

Q34: What do you think is the future of online newspapers in your country?
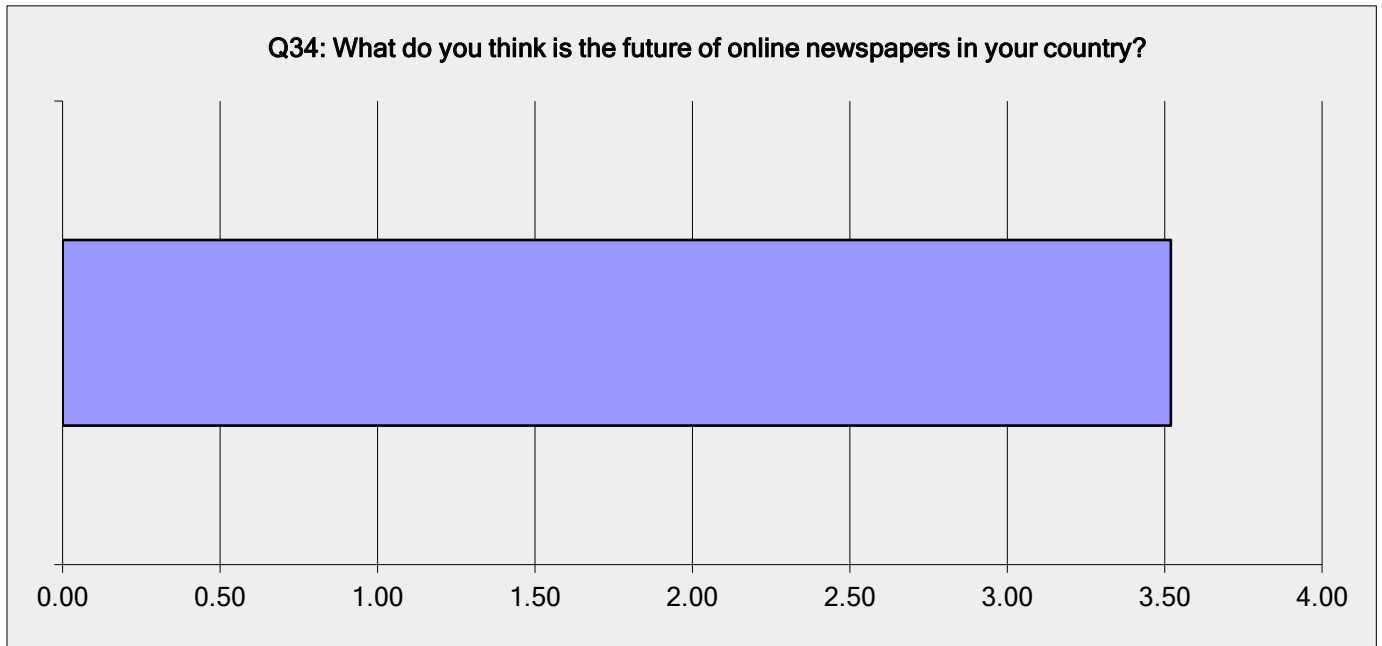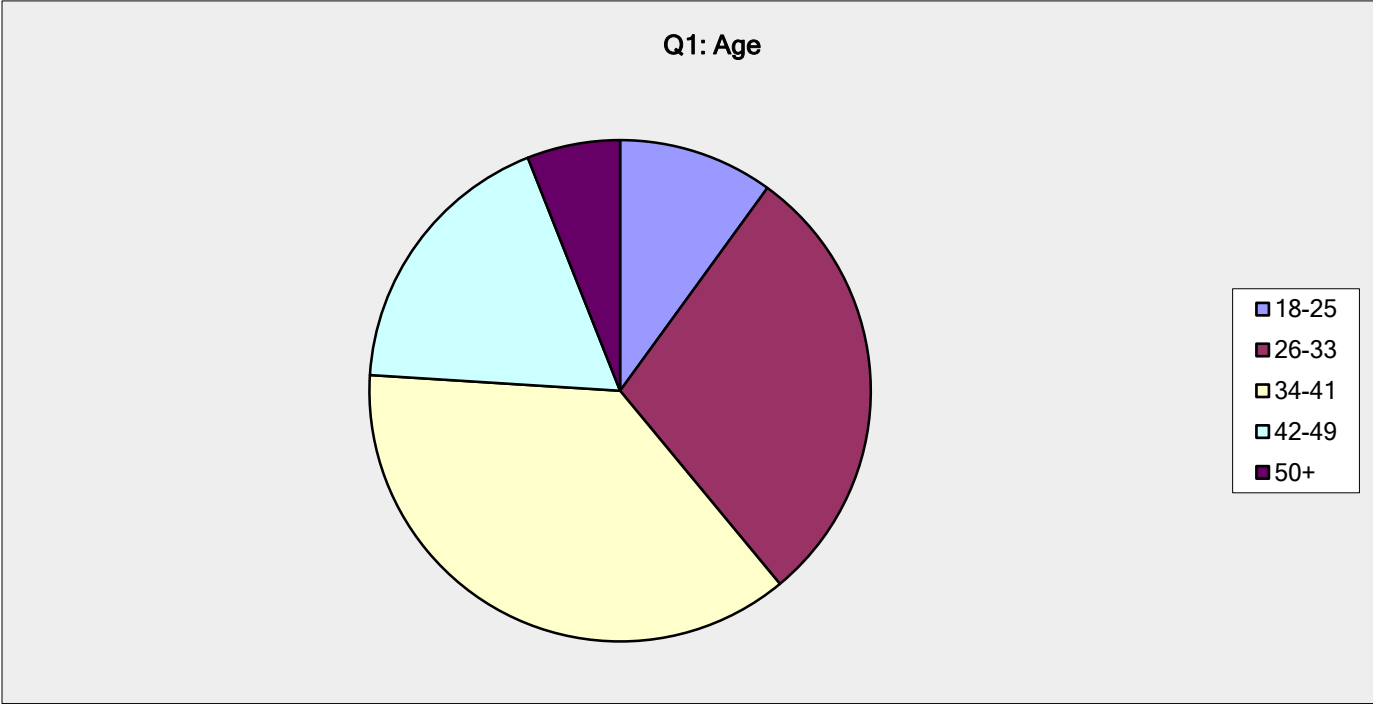
Q34: What do you think is the future of online newspapers in your country?

Answer Options	Not bright	Somewhat bright	Bright	Very bright	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	3	8	23	65	1	3.52	100
						answered question	**100**
						skipped question	**0**

5.2 Survey of journalists in South Africa

Q1: Age

Q1: Age

Q1: Age

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
18-25	10.0%	10
26-33	29.0%	29
34-41	37.0%	37
42-49	18.0%	18
50+	6.0%	6
answered question		**100**
skipped question		**0**
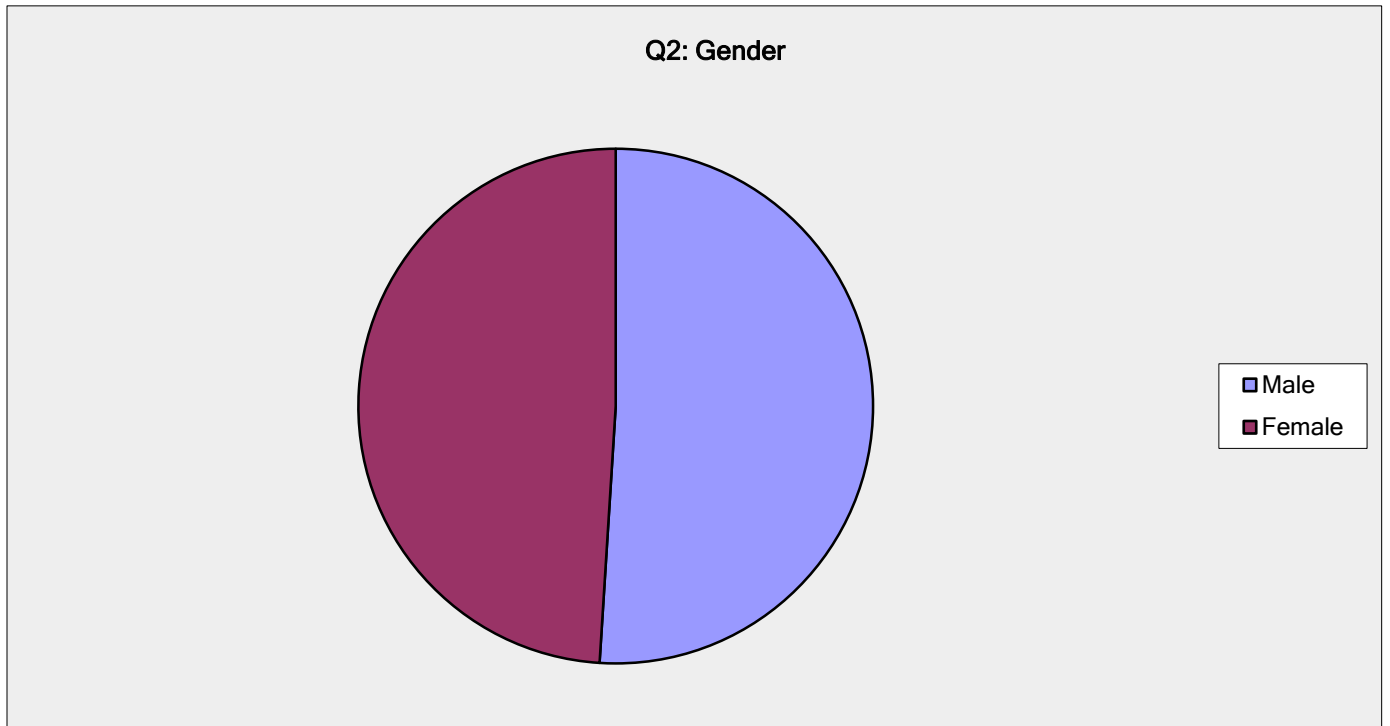
Q2: Gender

Q2: Gender		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Male	51.0%	50
Female	49.0%	48
	answered question	**98**
	skipped question	**2**
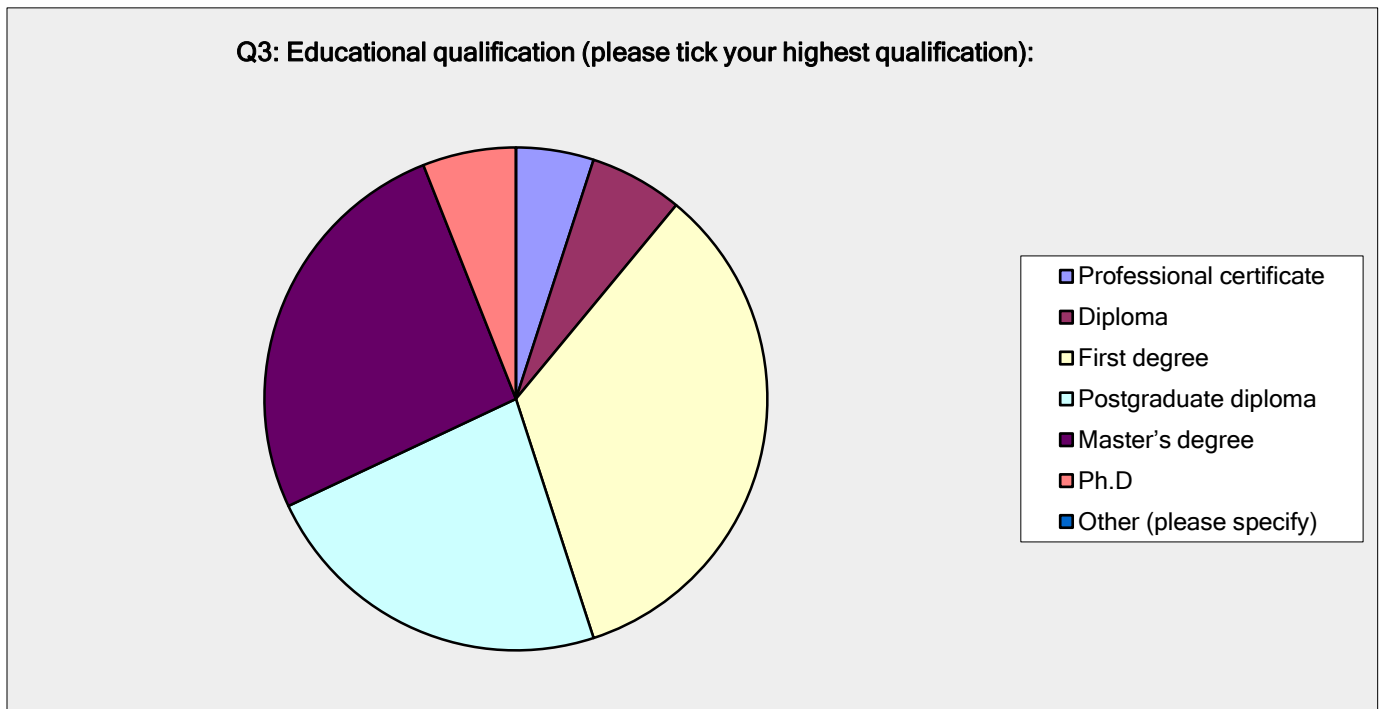
Q3: Educational qualification

Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification):

| Professional certificate |
| Diploma |
| First degree |
| Postgraduate diploma |
| Master's degree |
| Ph.D |
| Other (please specify) |

Q3: Educational qualification (please tick your highest qualification):

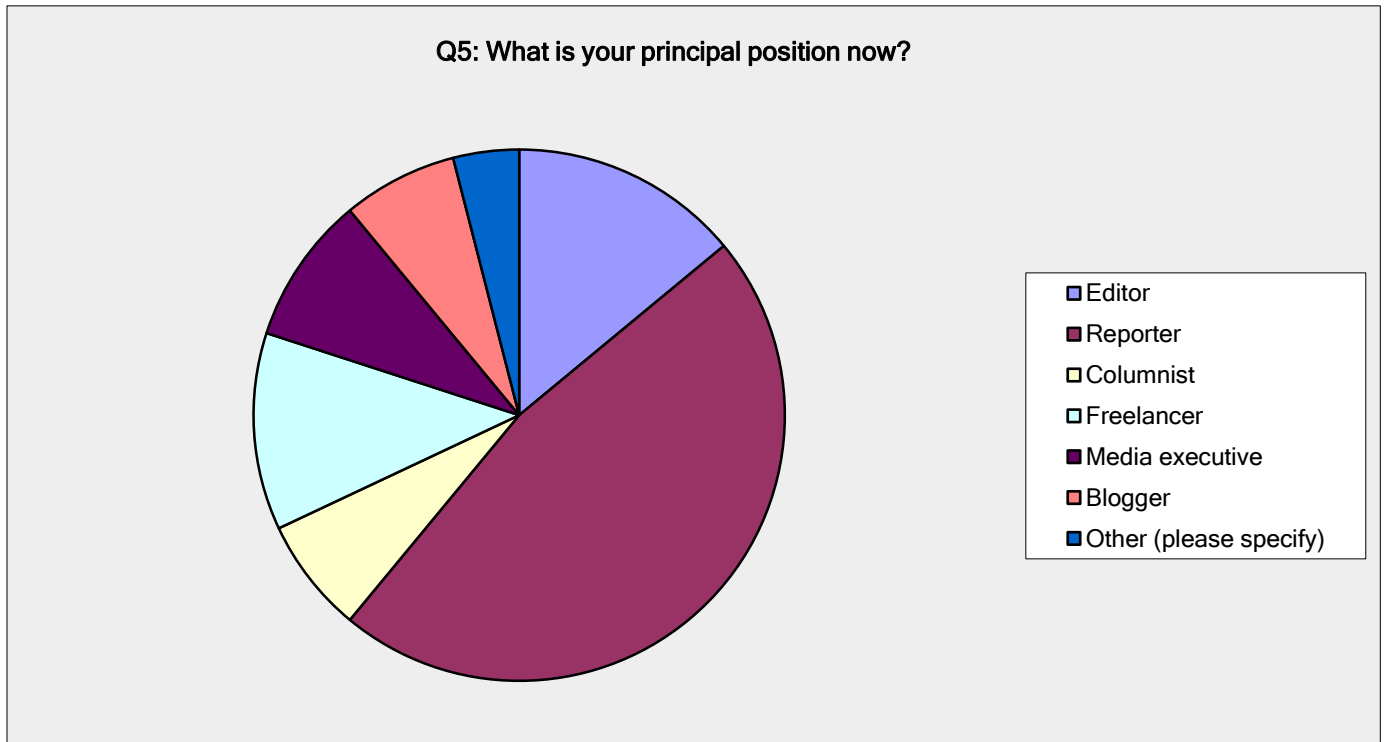| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Professional certificate	5.0%	5
Diploma	6.0%	6
First degree	34.0%	34
Postgraduate diploma	23.0%	23
Master's degree	26.0%	26
Ph.D	6.0%	6
Other (please specify)	0.0%	0
answered question		**100**
skipped question		**0**

Q4: How long have you worked as a journalist?
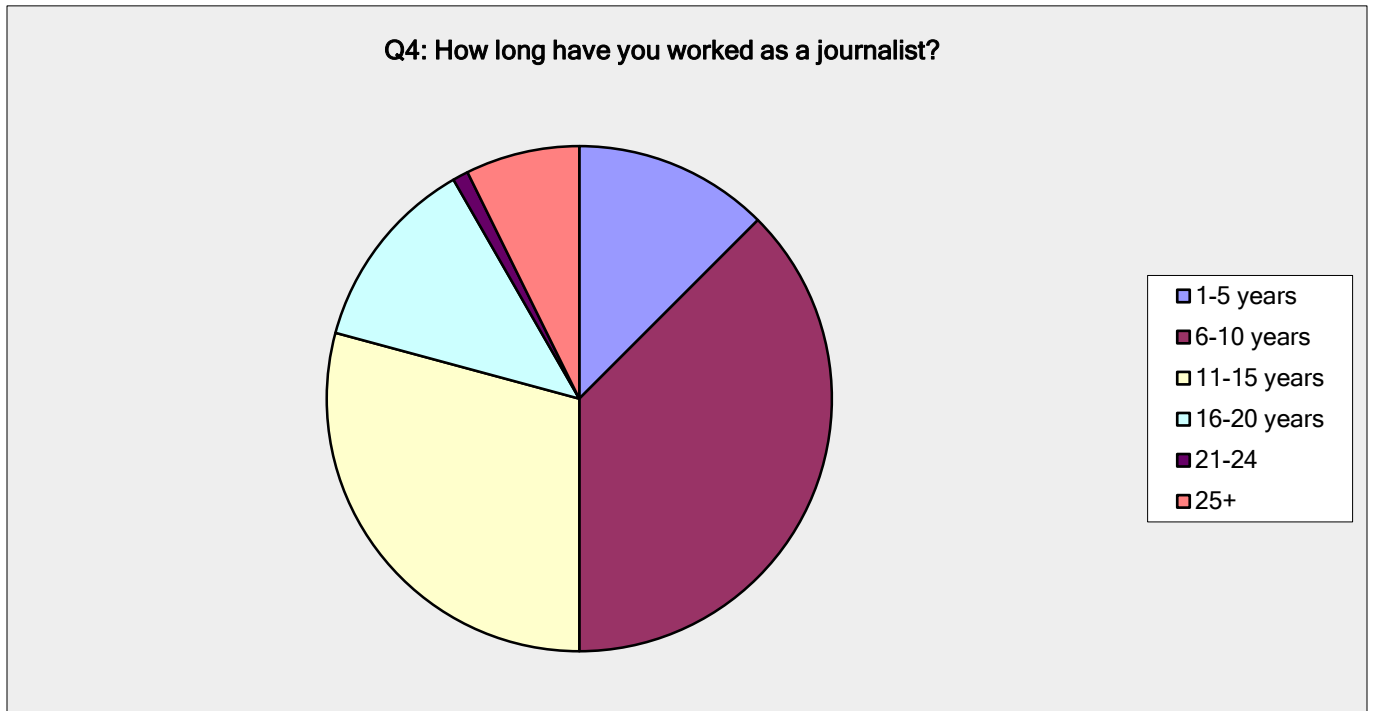
Q4: How long have you worked as a journalist?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
1-5 years	12.5%	12
6-10 years	37.5%	36
11-15 years	29.2%	28
16-20 years	12.5%	12
21-24	1.0%	1
25+	7.3%	7
	answered question	96
	skipped question	4

Q5: What is your principal position now?

Q5: What is your principal position now?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Editor	14.0%	14
Reporter	47.0%	47
Columnist	7.0%	7
Freelancer	12.0%	12
Media executive	9.0%	9
Blogger	7.0%	7
Other (please specify)	4.0%	4
	answered question	100
	skipped question	0
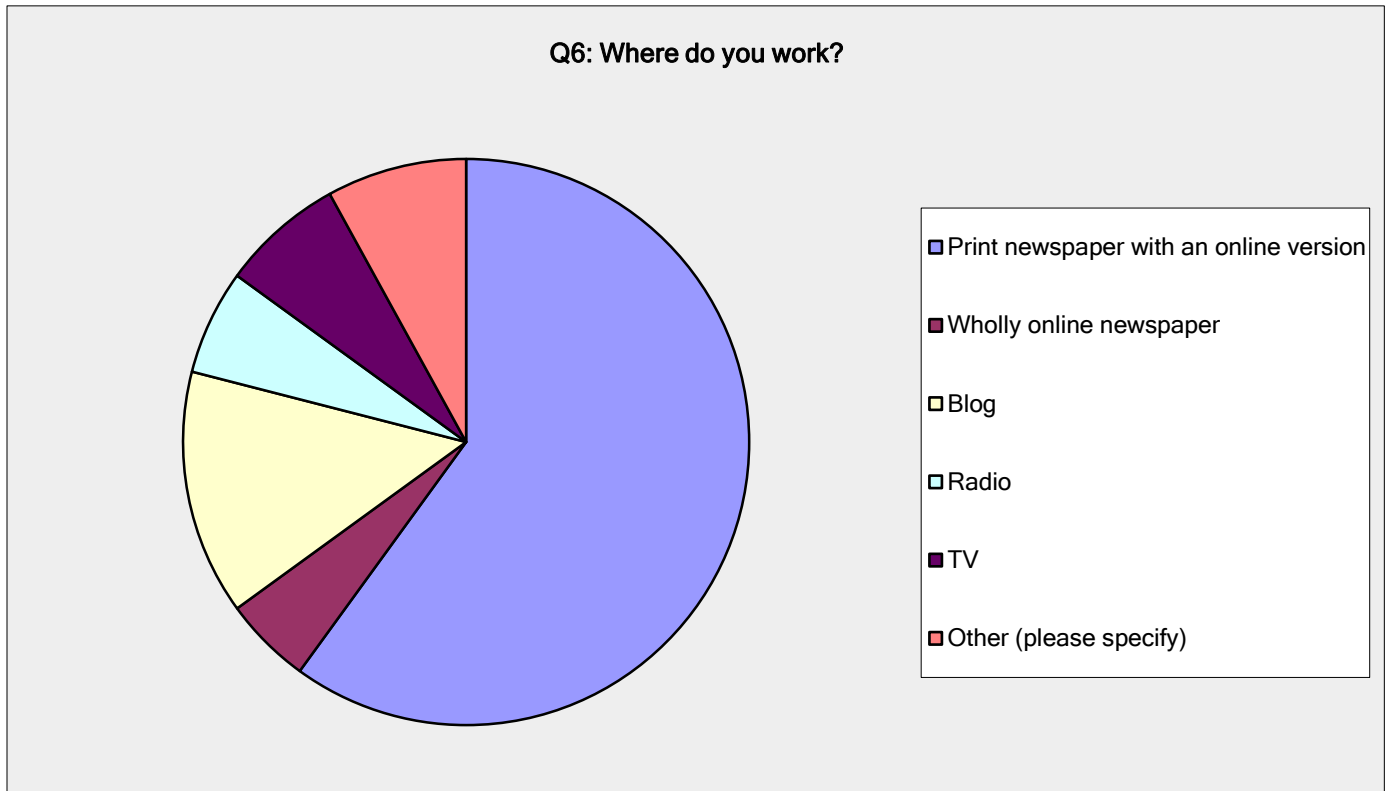
Q6: Where do you work?

Q6: Where do you work?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Print newspaper with an online version	60.0%	60
Wholly online newspaper	5.0%	5
Blog	14.0%	14
Radio	6.0%	6
TV	7.0%	7
Other (please specify)	8.0%	8
answered question		**100**
skipped question		**0**

Q7: If you answered "Print newspaper with an online version" to question 6, are you required to contribute to both print and online versions?

Q7: If you answered "Print newspaper with an online version" to question 6, are you required to contribute to both print and online versions?
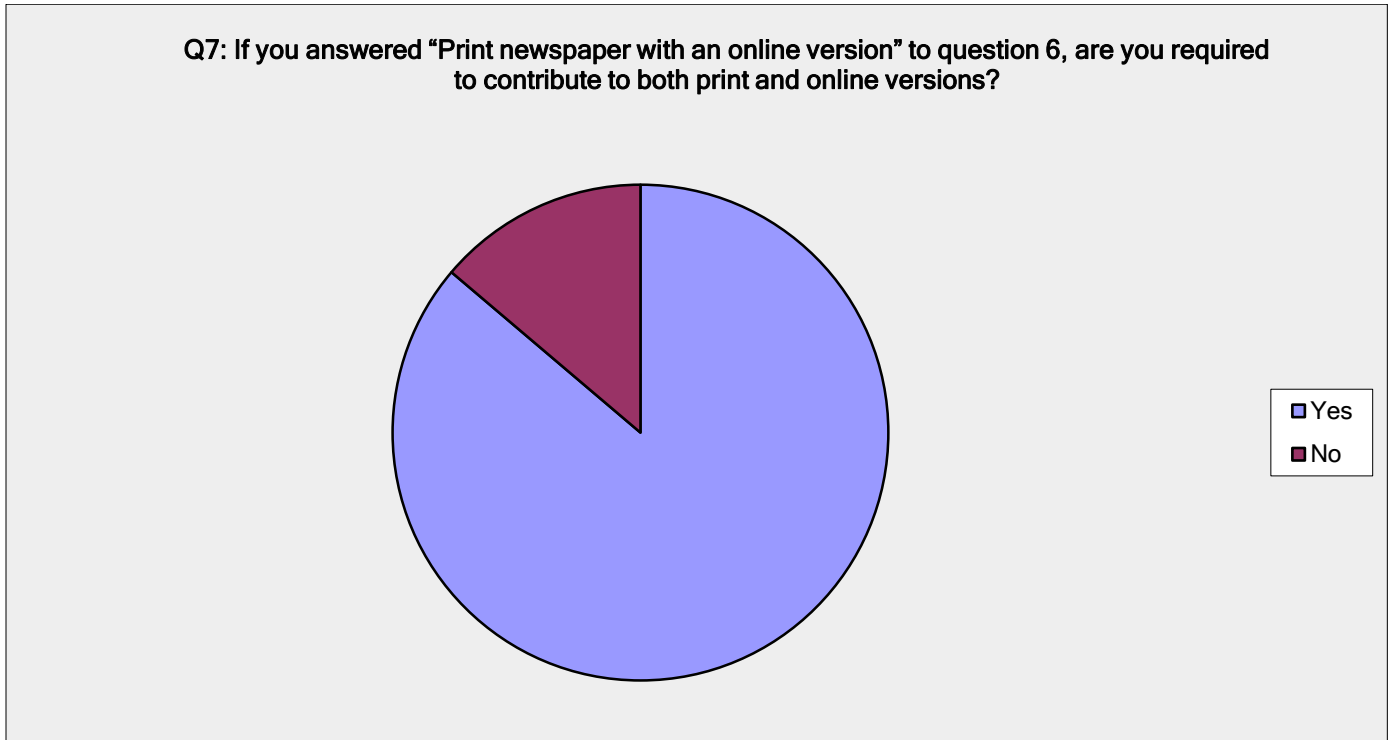
Q7: If you answered "Print newspaper with an online version" to question 6, are you required to contribute to both print and online versions?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	86.2%	50
No	13.8%	8
answered question		**58**
skipped question		**42**

Q8: How often do you use social media in your work?
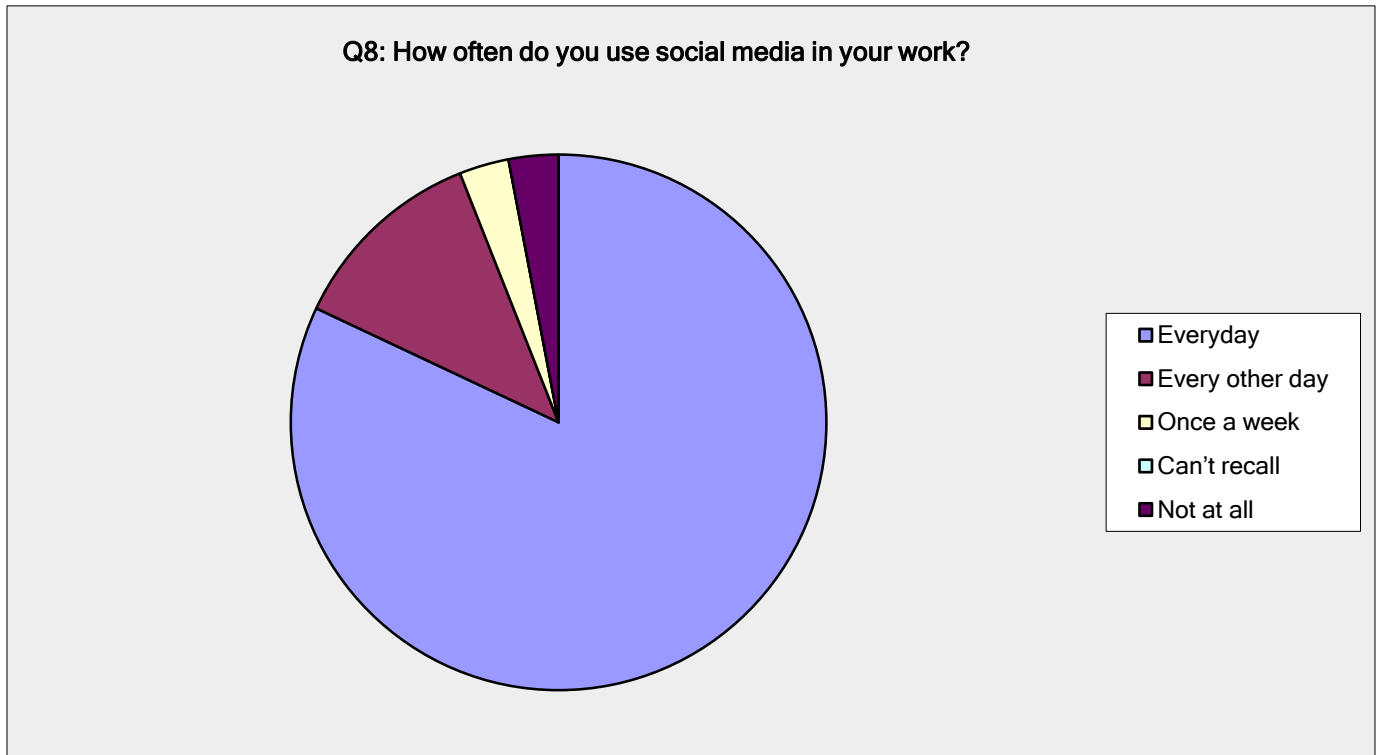
Q8: How often do you use social media in your work?

- Everyday
- Every other day
- Once a week
- Can't recall
- Not at all

Q8: How often do you use social media in your work?

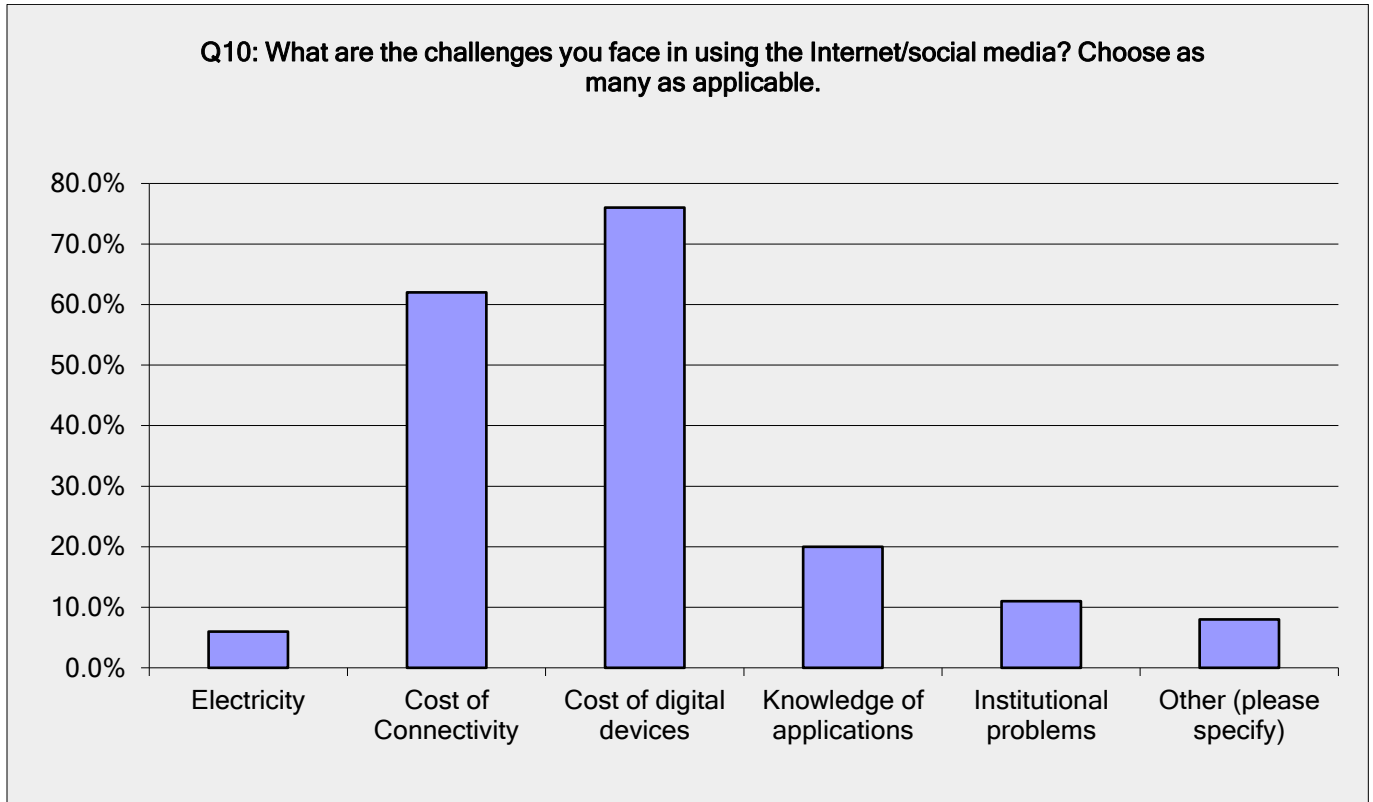| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Everyday	82.0%	82
Every other day	12.0%	12
Once a week	3.0%	3
Can't recall	0.0%	0
Not at all	3.0%	3
	answered question	100
	skipped question	0

Q9: If you use social media in your work, which of the following do you use? Choose as many as applicable.

Q9: If you use social media in your work, which of the following do you use? Choose as many as applicable.
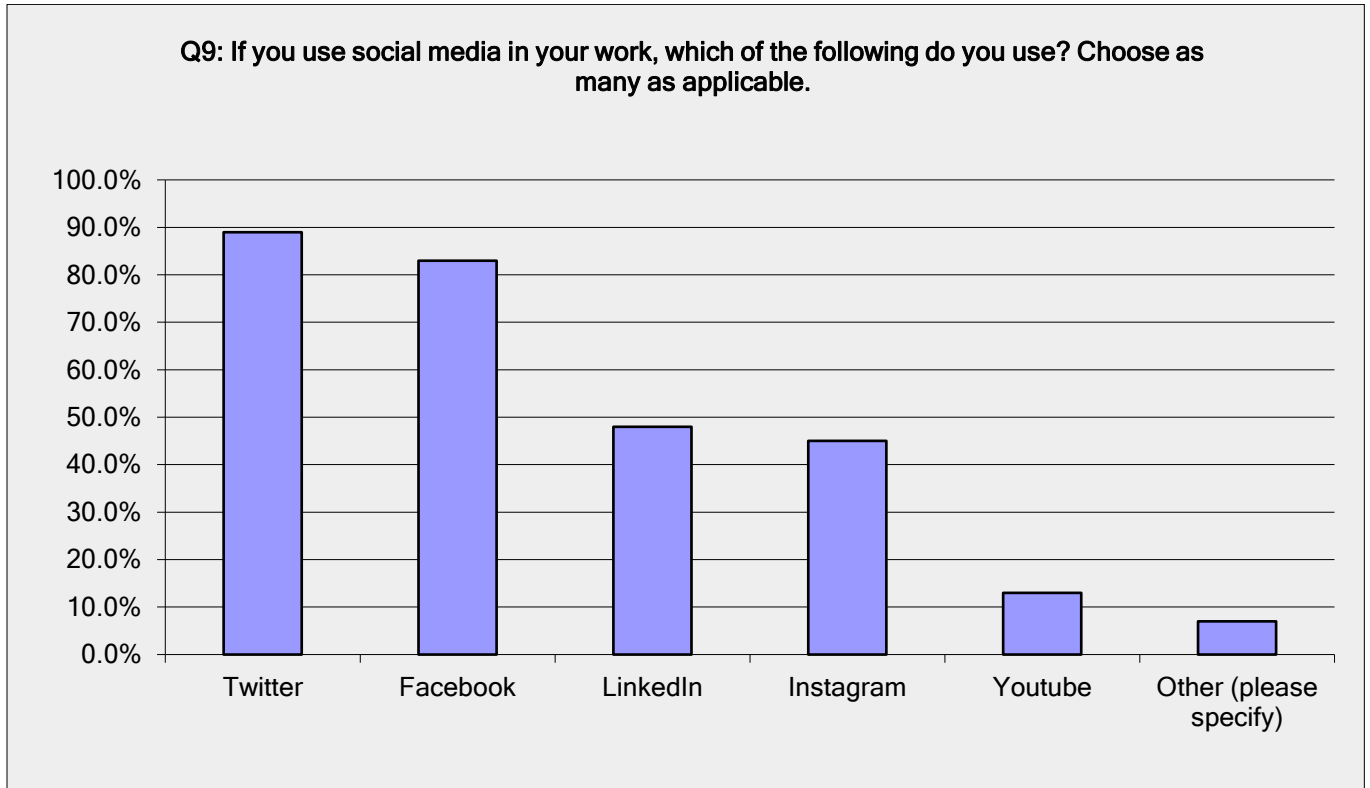
Q9: If you use social media in your work, which of the following do you use? Choose as many as applicable.

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Twitter	89.0%	89
Facebook	83.0%	83
LinkedIn	48.0%	48
Instagram	45.0%	45
Youtube	13.0%	13
Other (please specify)	7.0%	7
answered question		100
skipped question		0

**Q10: What are the challenges you face in using the Internet/social media? Choose as many as applicable.**

Q10: What are the challenges you face in using the Internet/social media? Choose as many as applicable.

Q10: What are the challenges you face in using the Internet/social media? Choose as many as applicable.

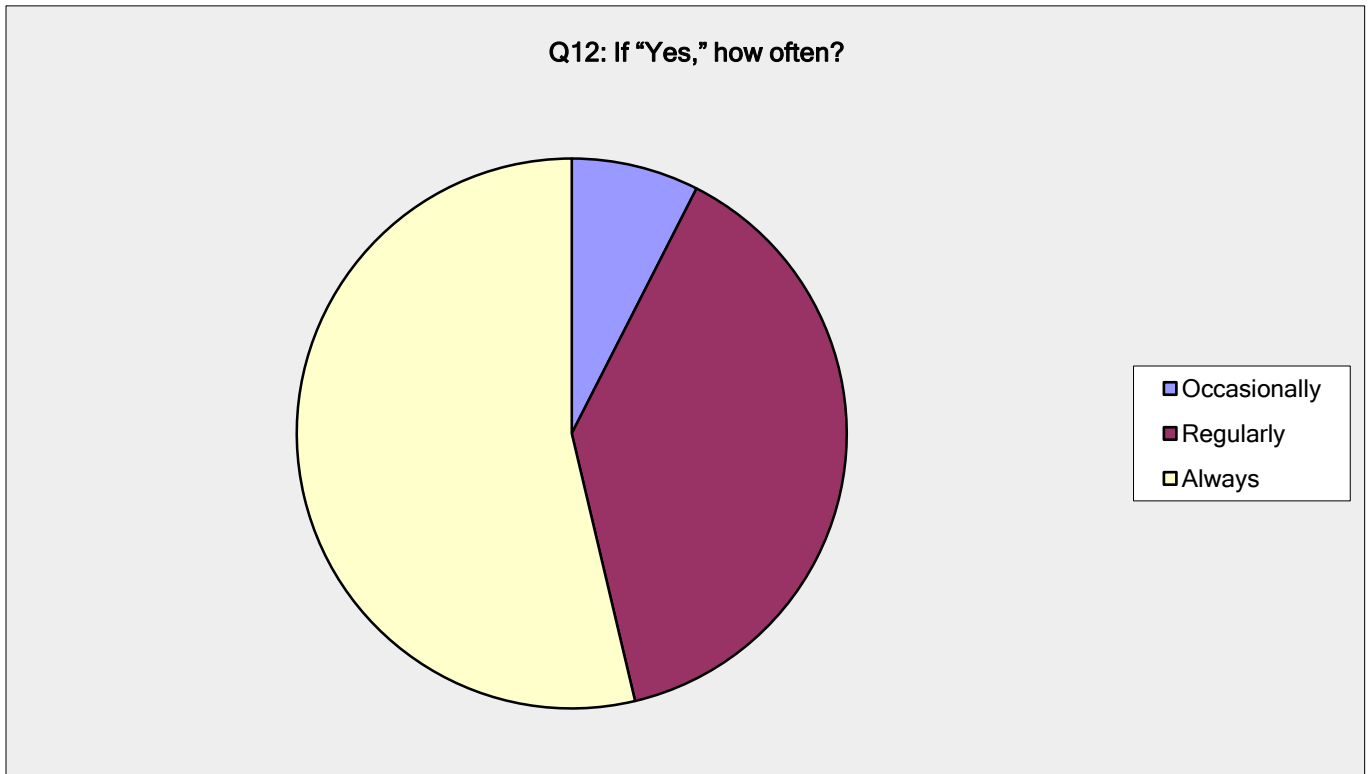| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Electricity	6.0%	6
Cost of Connectivity	62.0%	62
Cost of digital devices	76.0%	76
Knowledge of applications	20.0%	20
Institutional problems	11.0%	11
Other (please specify)	8.0%	8

Q11: Do you operate a blog or a social media platform to complement the reports you publish in your newspaper?

Q11: Do you operate a blog or a social media platform to complement the reports you publish in your newspaper?

Yes
No
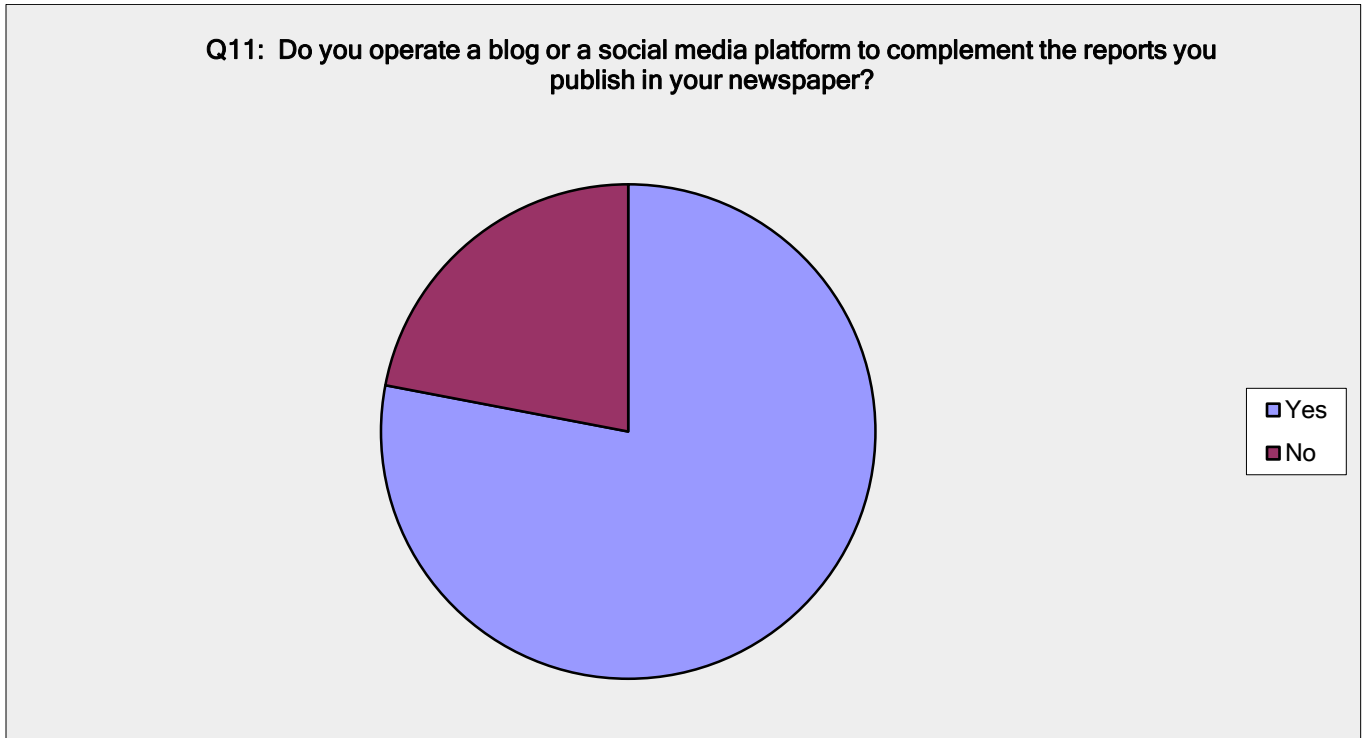
Q11: Do you operate a blog or a social media platform to complement the reports you publish in your newspaper?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	78.0%	78
No	22.0%	22
answered question		100
skipped question		0

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Q12: If "Yes," how often?

| Q12: If "Yes," how often?		
Answer Options	**Response Percent**	**Response Count**
Occasionally	7.5%	5
Regularly	38.8%	26
Always	53.7%	36
answered question		**67**
skipped question		**33**
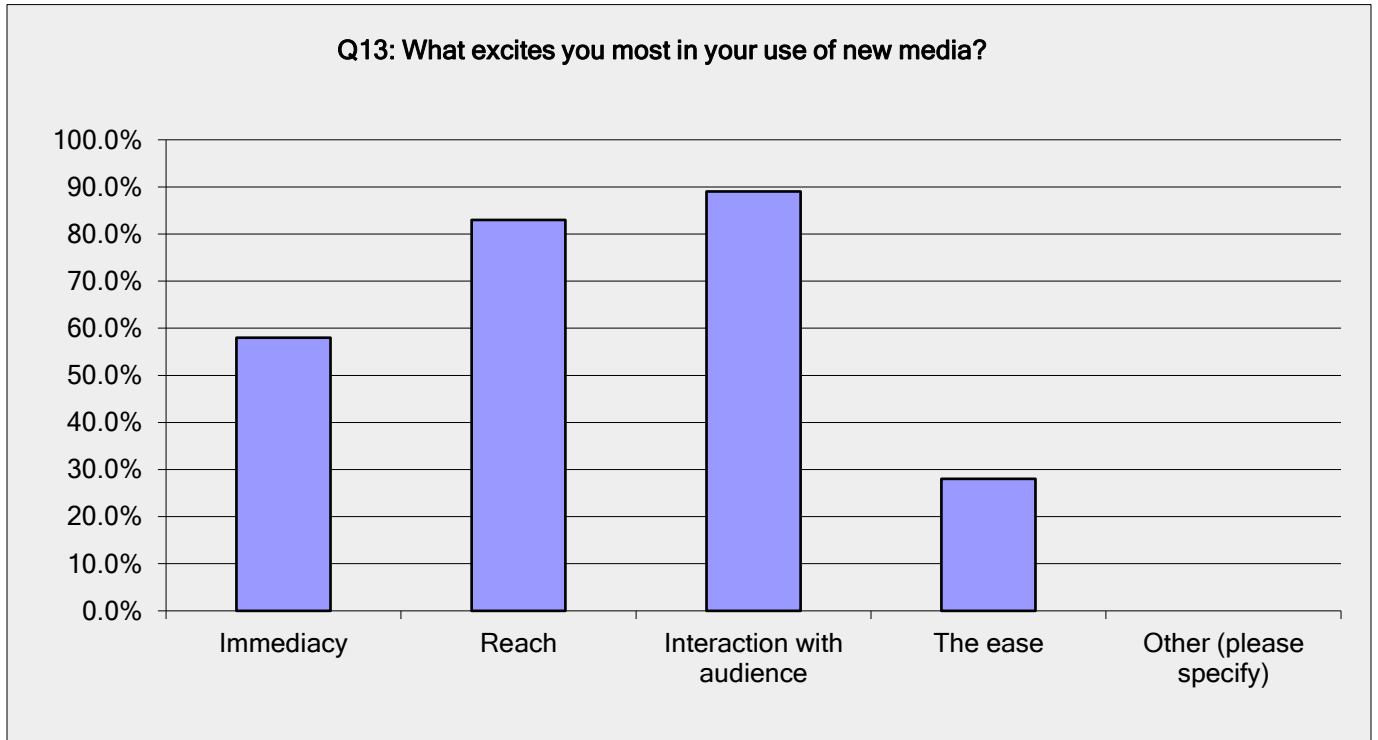
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Q13: What excites you most in your use of new media?

Q13: What excites you most in your use of new media?

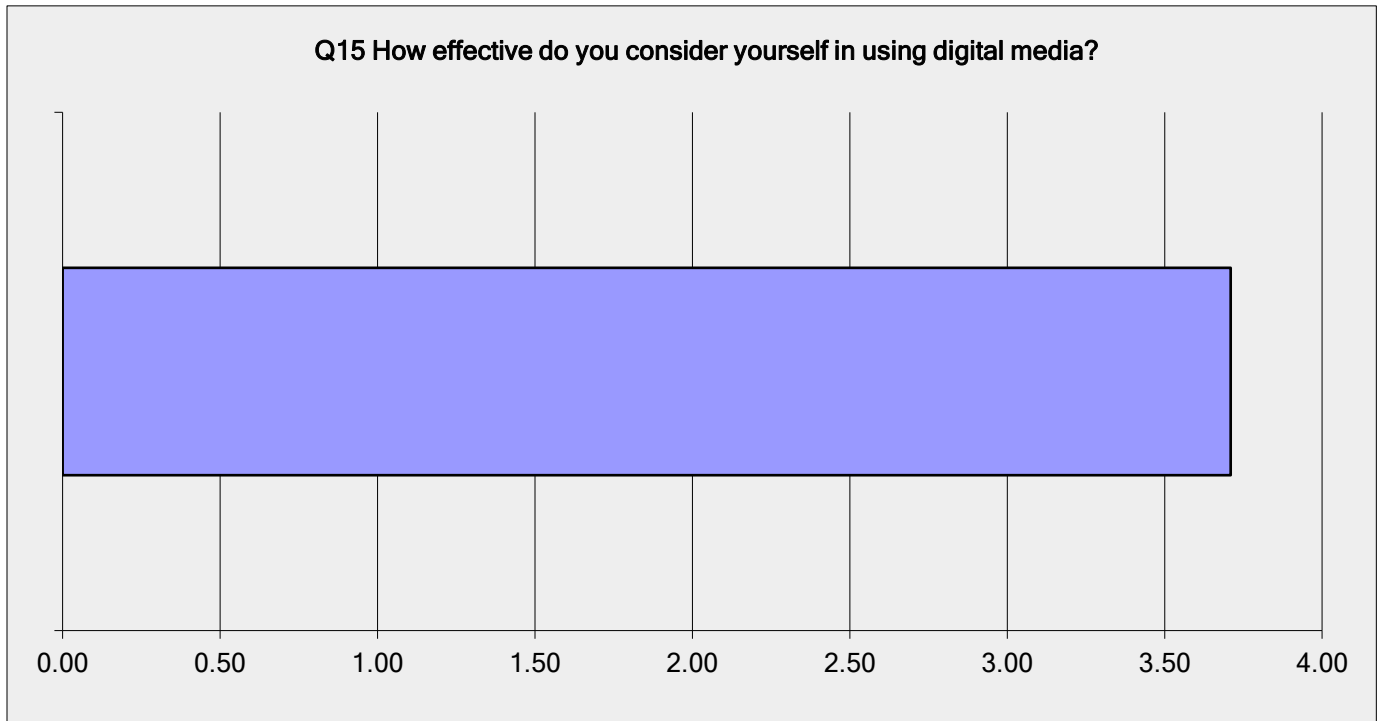| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Immediacy	58.0%	58
Reach	83.0%	83
Interaction with audience	89.0%	89
The ease	28.0%	28
Other (please specify)	0.0%	0
	answered question	**100**
	skipped question	**0**

Q14: What kind of impact has digital media had on your work experience as a journalist?

Q14: What kind of impact has digital media had on your work experience as a journalist?
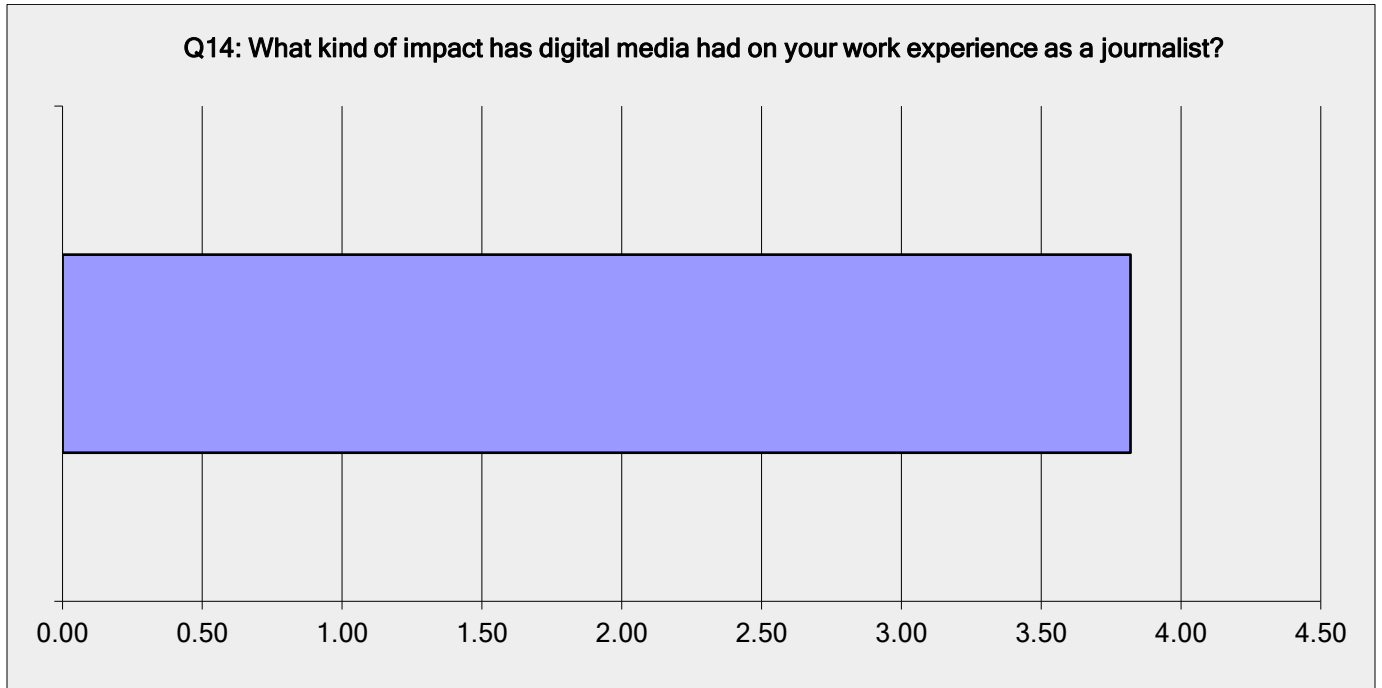
Q14: What kind of impact has digital media had on your work experience as a journalist?

Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	0	0	18	81	1	3.82	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q15: How effective do you consider yourself in using digital media?

Q15 How effective do you consider yourself in using digital media?

Q15: How effective do you consider yourself in using digital media?

| Answer Options	Not effective	Somewhat effective	Effective	Very effective	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	3	20	76	0	3.71	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q16: How much impact do you think digital media will have on your work in the next 10 years?

Q16: How much impact do you think digital media will have on your work in the next 10 years?
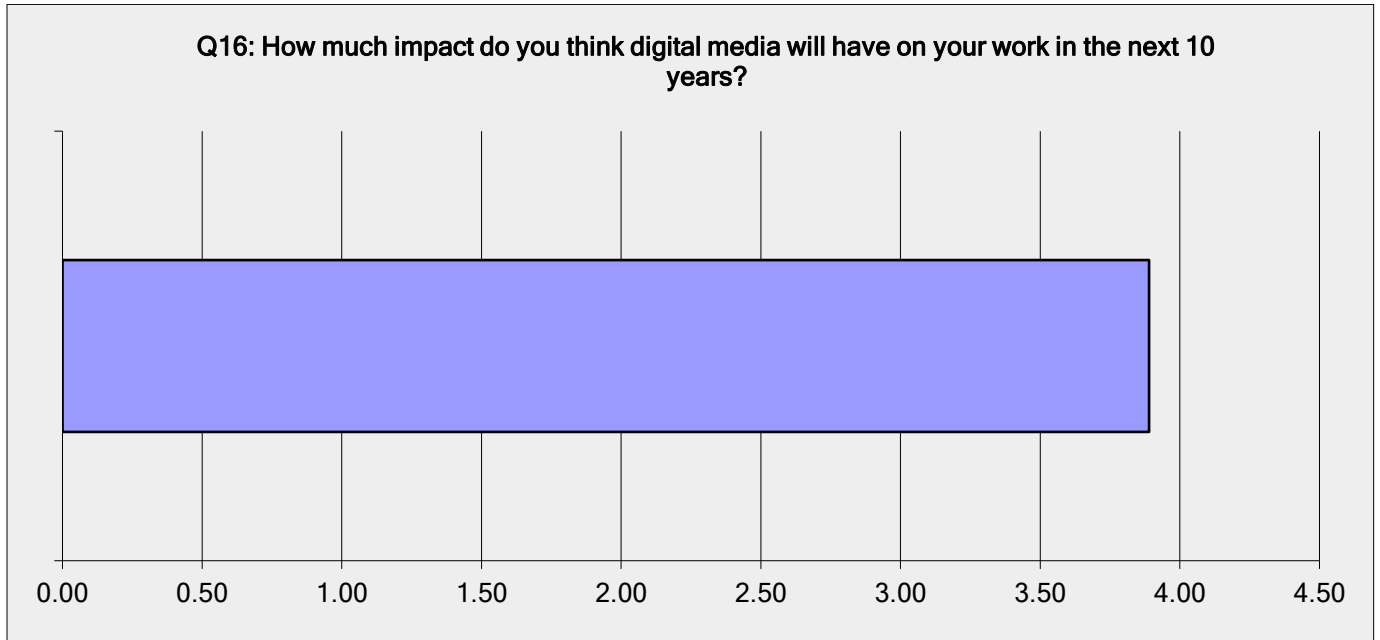
Q16: How much impact do you think digital media will have on your work in the next 10 years?

Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	0	0	11	89	0	3.89	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

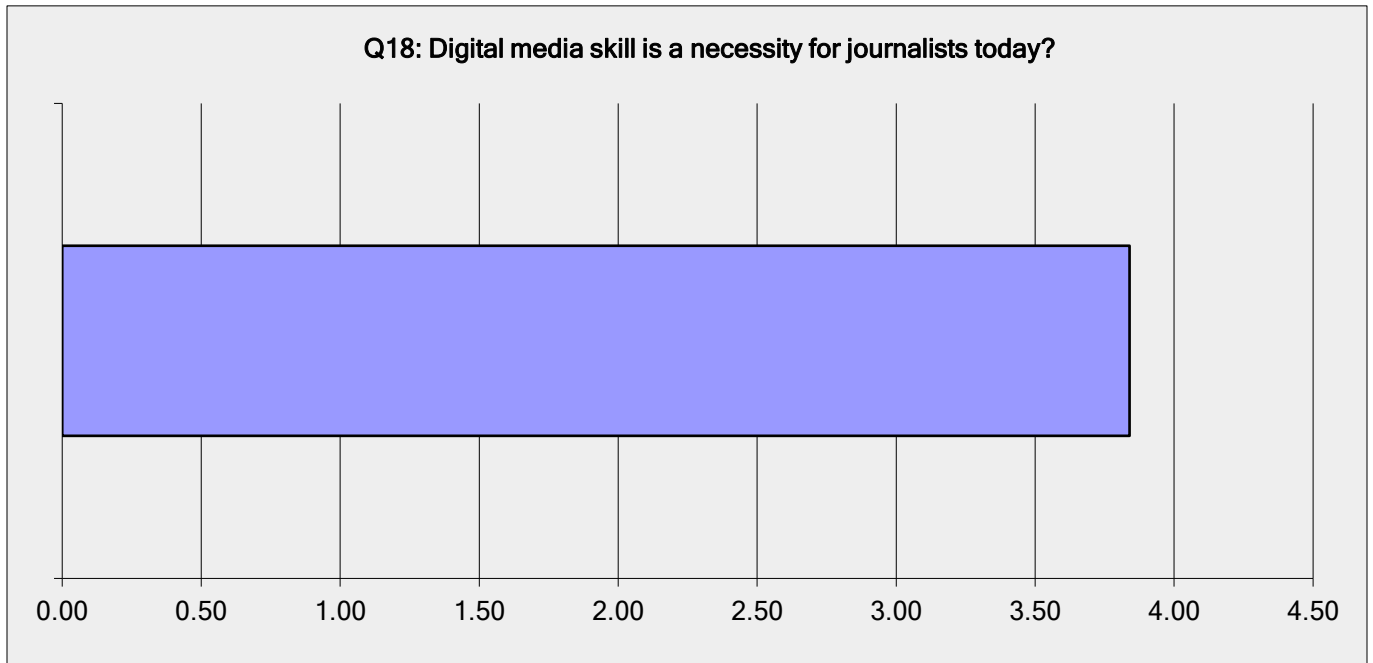**Q17: Have you had any training in digital media in the last one year?**

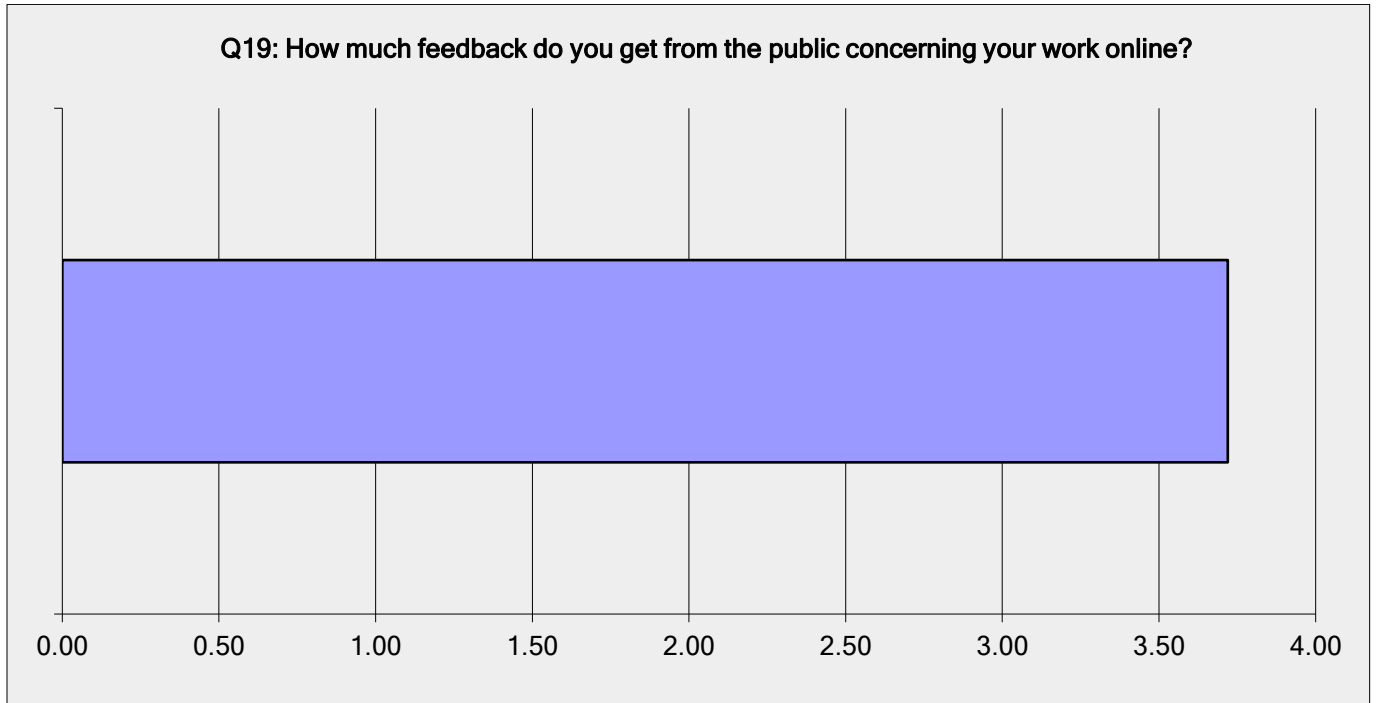Q17: Have you had any training in digital media in the last one year?
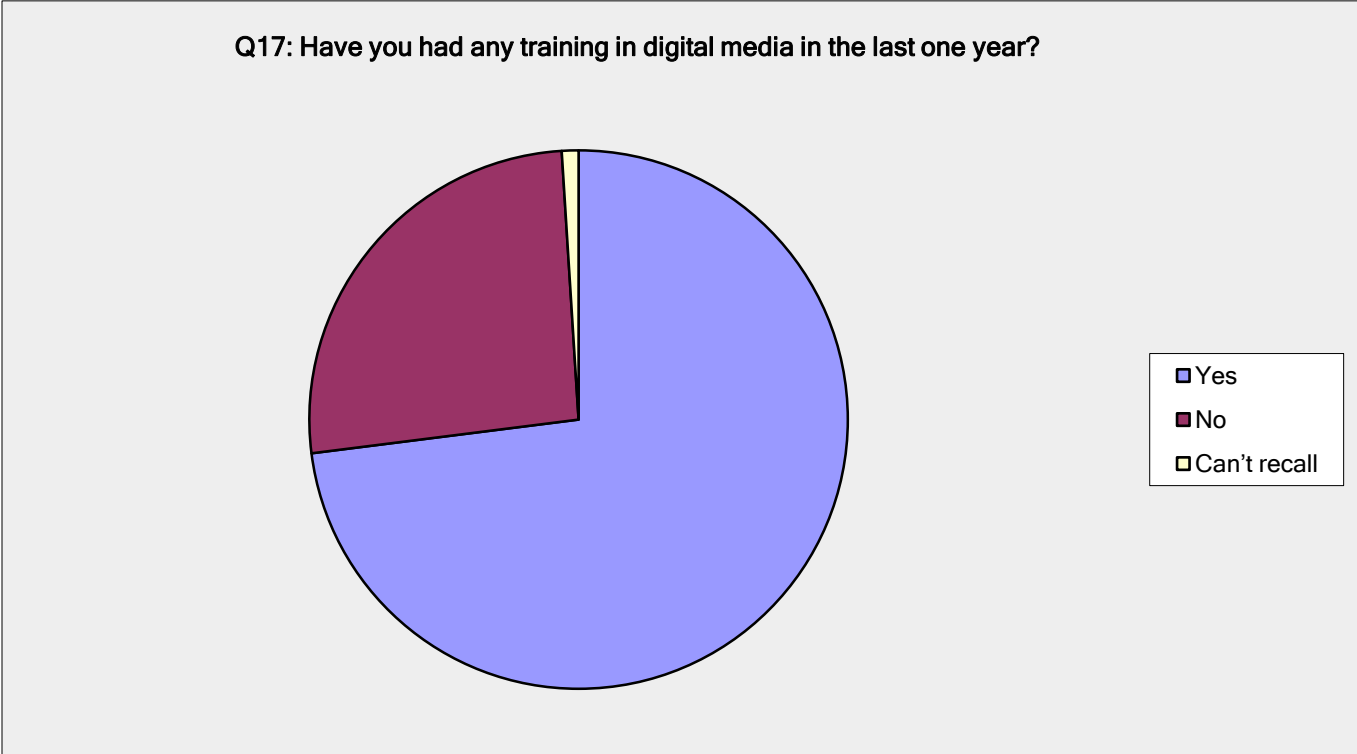
Q17: Have you had any training in digital media in the last one year?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	73.0%	73
No	26.0%	26
Can't recall	1.0%	1
	answered question	**100**
	skipped question	**0**

Q18: Digital media skill is a necessity for journalists today?

Q18: Digital media skill is a necessity for journalists today?

| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	0	0	16	84	0	3.84	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

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Q19: How much feedback do you get from the public concerning your work online?

Q19: How much feedback do you get from the public concerning your work online?

| Answer Options	No feedback	Very little feedback	Some feedback	A lot of feedback	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	0	23	69	7	3.72	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q20: What impact do feedbacks have on your reports?
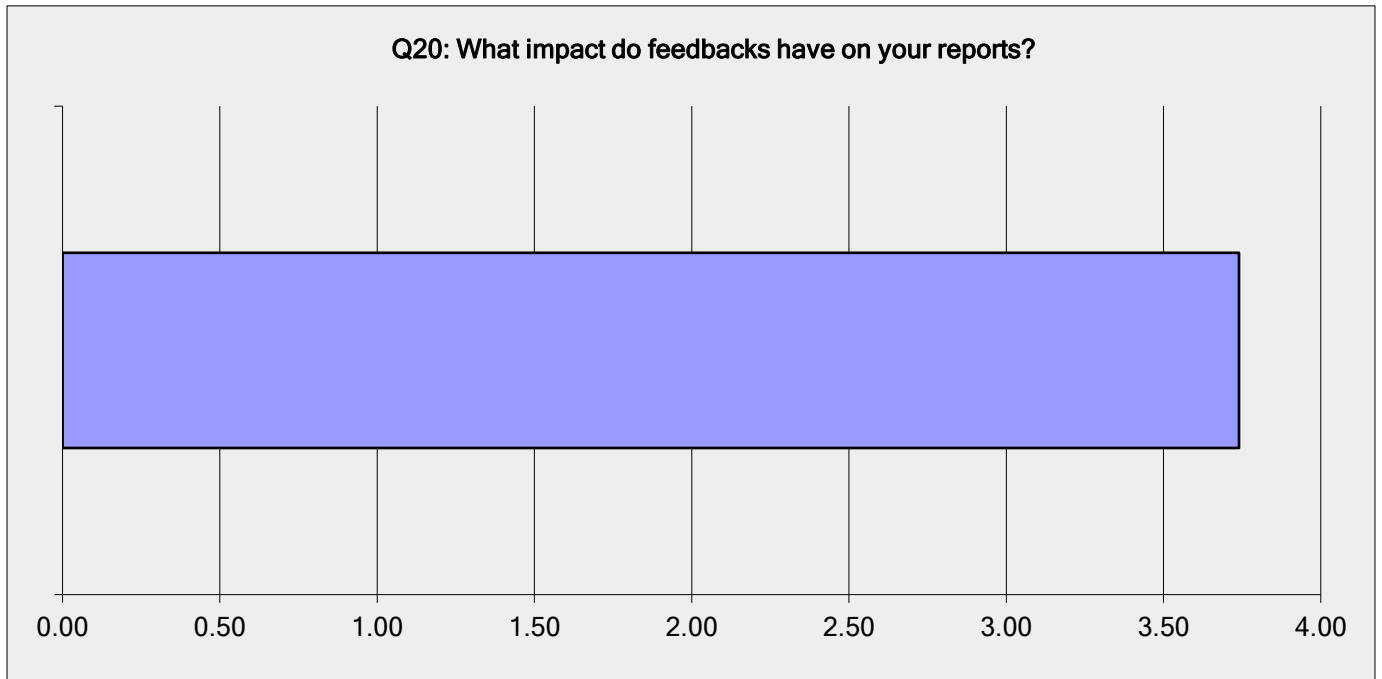
Q20: What impact do feedbacks have on your reports?

| Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	0	21	71	7	3.74	100
						answered question	**100**
						skipped question	**0**

Q21: How often do you engage your audience about your stories using social media?

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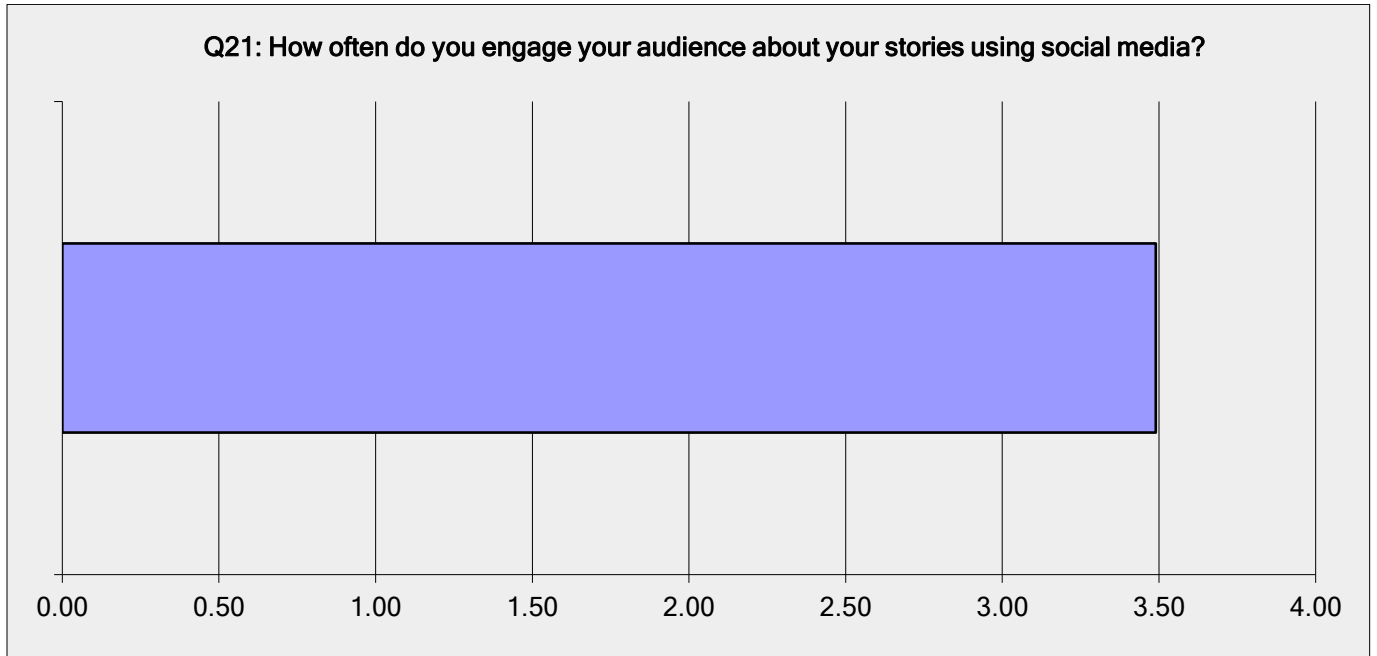
Q21: How often do you engage your audience about your stories using social media?

| Answer Options	Not at all	Occasionally	Regularly	Always	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	3	7	25	59	6	3.49	100
					answered question		**100**
					skipped question		**0**

Q22: Do you agree that readers should pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

Q22: Do you agree that readers should pay for content in online newspapers in your country?
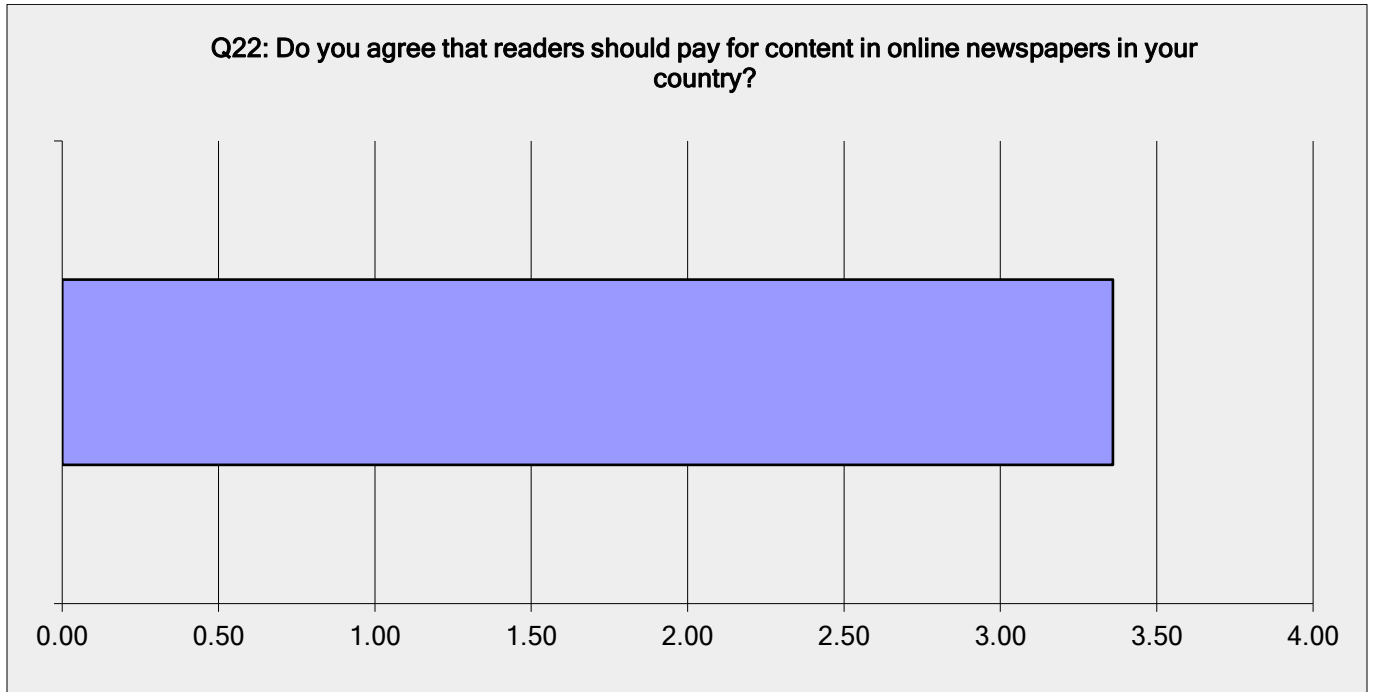
Q22: Do you agree that readers should pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	5	10	29	56	0	3.36	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q23: How would you assess the willingness of readers to pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

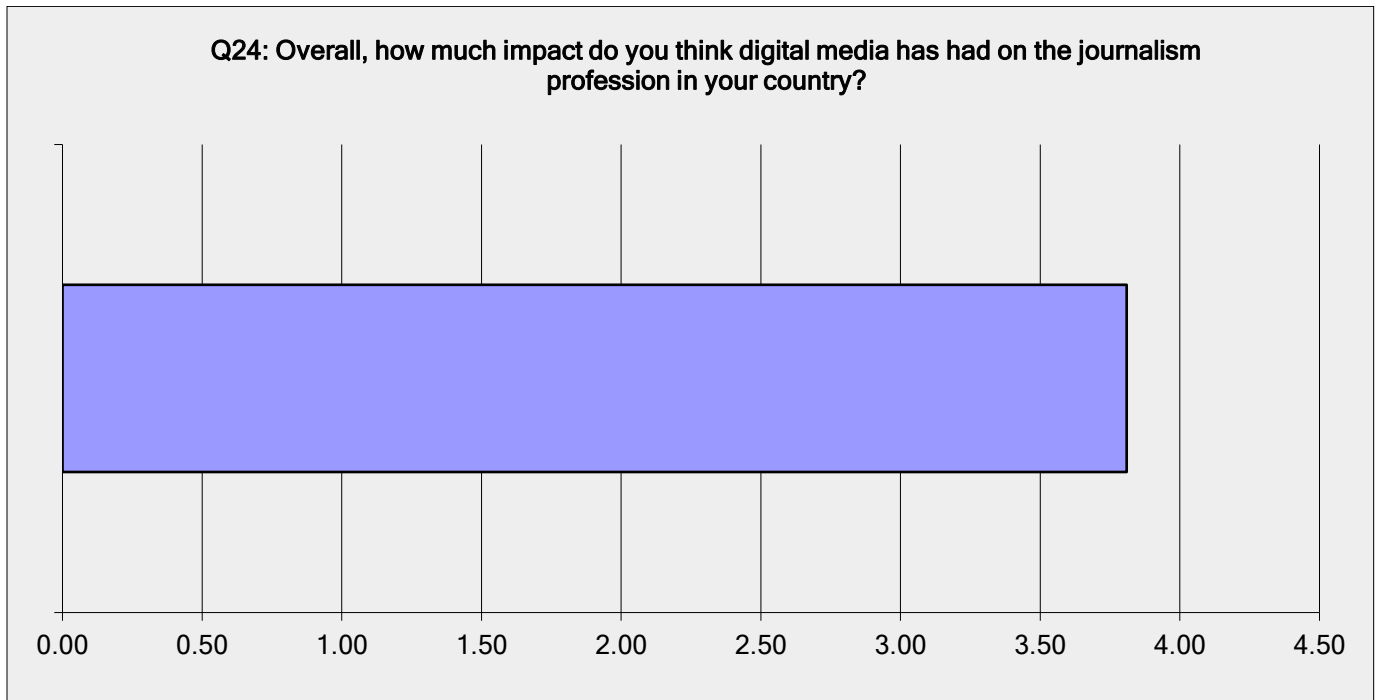Q23: How would you assess the willingness of readers to pay for content in online newspapers in your country?
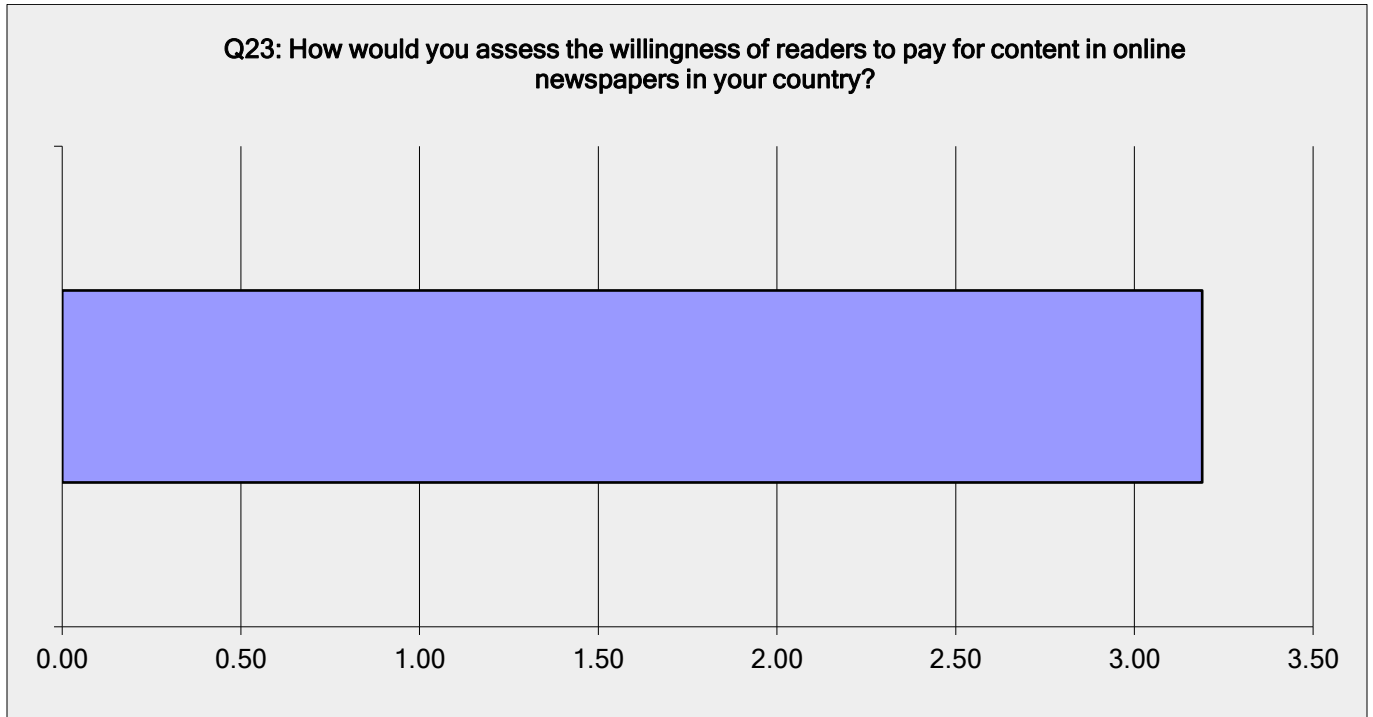
Q23: How would you assess the willingness of readers to pay for content in online newspapers in your country?

| Answer Options	Not willing	Somewhat willing	Willing	Very willing	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	11	7	33	48	1	3.19	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

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Q24: Overall, how much impact do you think digital media has had on the journalism profession in your country?

Q24: Overall, how much impact do you think digital media has had on the journalism profession in your country?

Q24: Overall, how much impact do you think digital media has had on the journalism profession in your country?

| Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	0	0	19	81	0	3.81	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q25: How well do you think journalists in your country are adjusting to the transition to digital media?
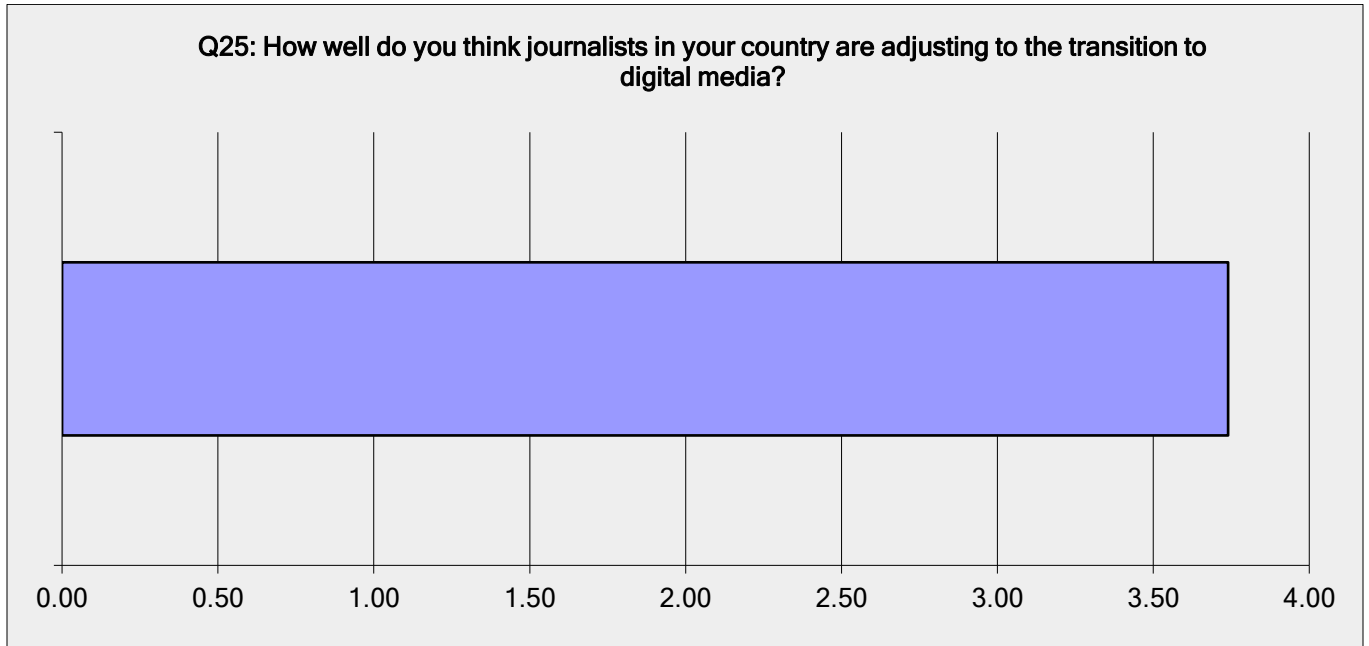
Q25: How well do you think journalists in your country are adjusting to the transition to digital media?

| Answer Options	Not at all	Somewhat	Well	Very well	Can't Say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	0	3	20	76	1	3.74	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q26: Which of these would be major obstacles to the growth of online newspapers in your country? Choose as many as applicable.

Q26: Which of these would be major obstacles to the growth of online newspapers in your country? Choose as many as applicable.
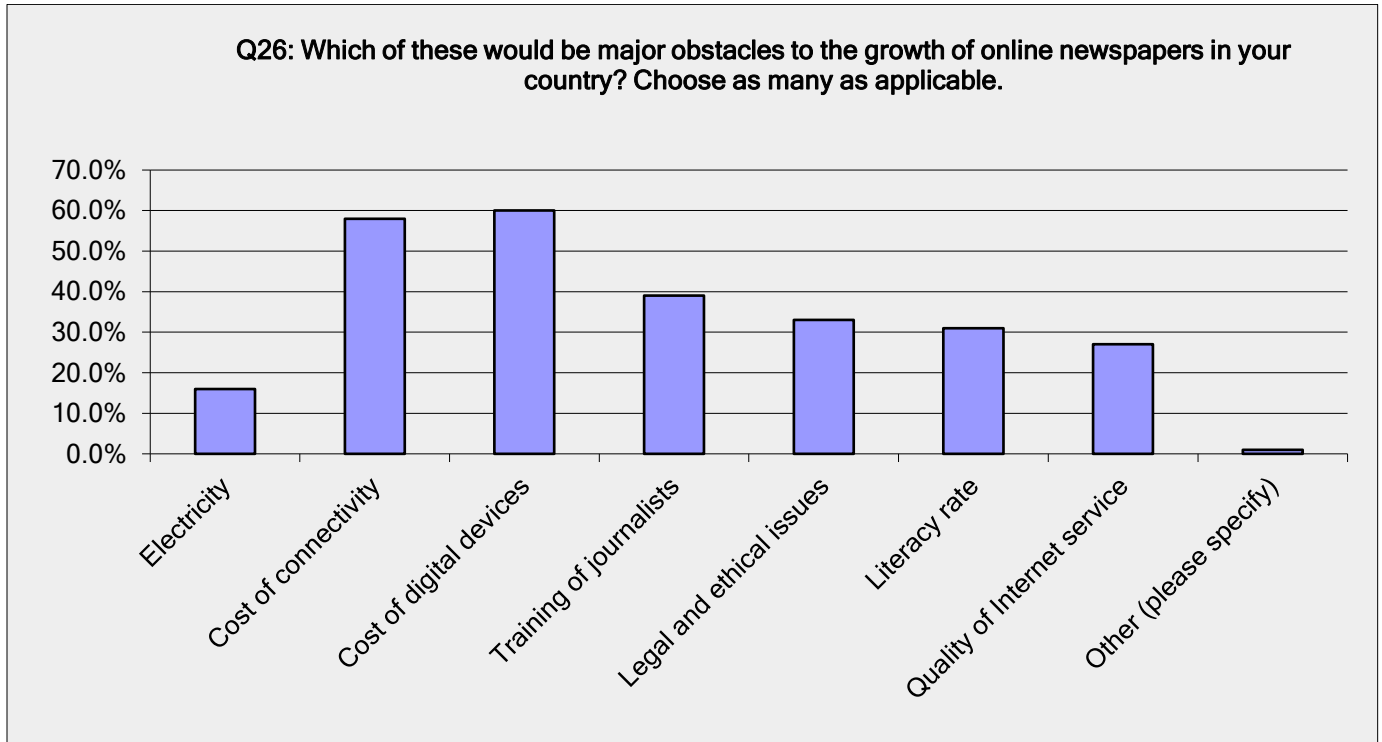
Q26: Which of these would be major obstacles to the growth of online newspapers in your country? Choose as many as applicable.

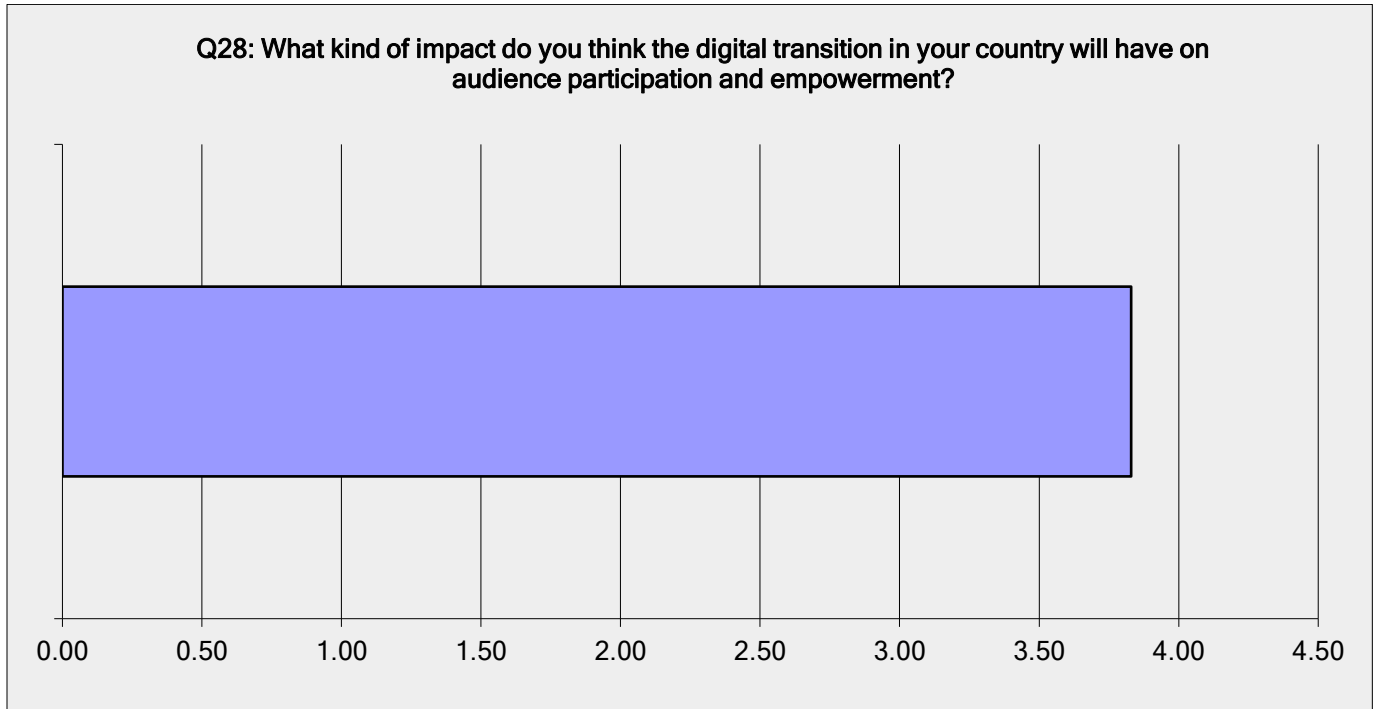| Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Electricity	16.0%	16
Cost of connectivity	58.0%	58
Cost of digital devices	60.0%	60
Training of journalists	39.0%	39
Legal and ethical issues	33.0%	33
Literacy rate	31.0%	31
Quality of Internet service	27.0%	27
Other (please specify)	1.0%	1
	answered question	100
	skipped question	0

Q27: Do you agree that the print media in your country will not survive another decade in light of the emergence of digital media?

Q27: Do you agree that the print media in your country will not survive another decade in light of the emergence of digital media?
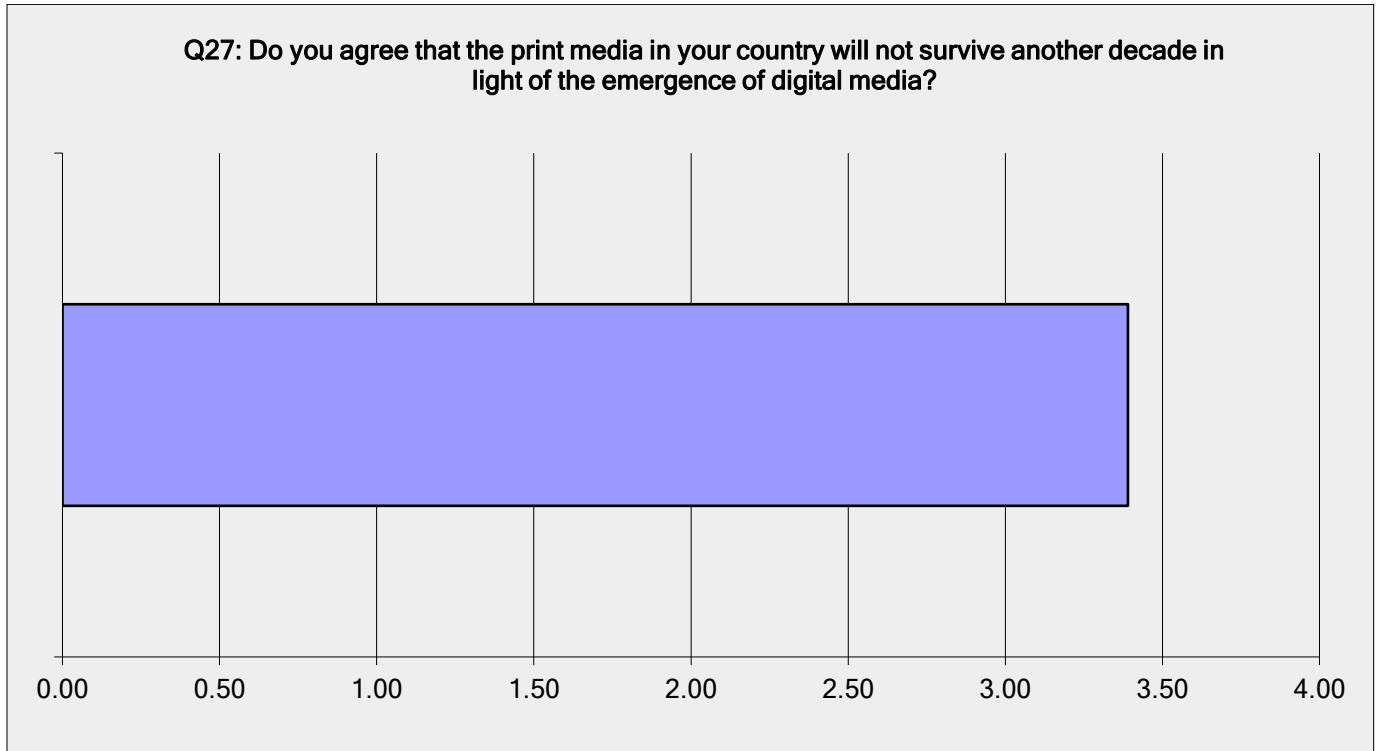
Q27: Do you agree that the print media in your country will not survive another decade in light of the emergence of digital media?

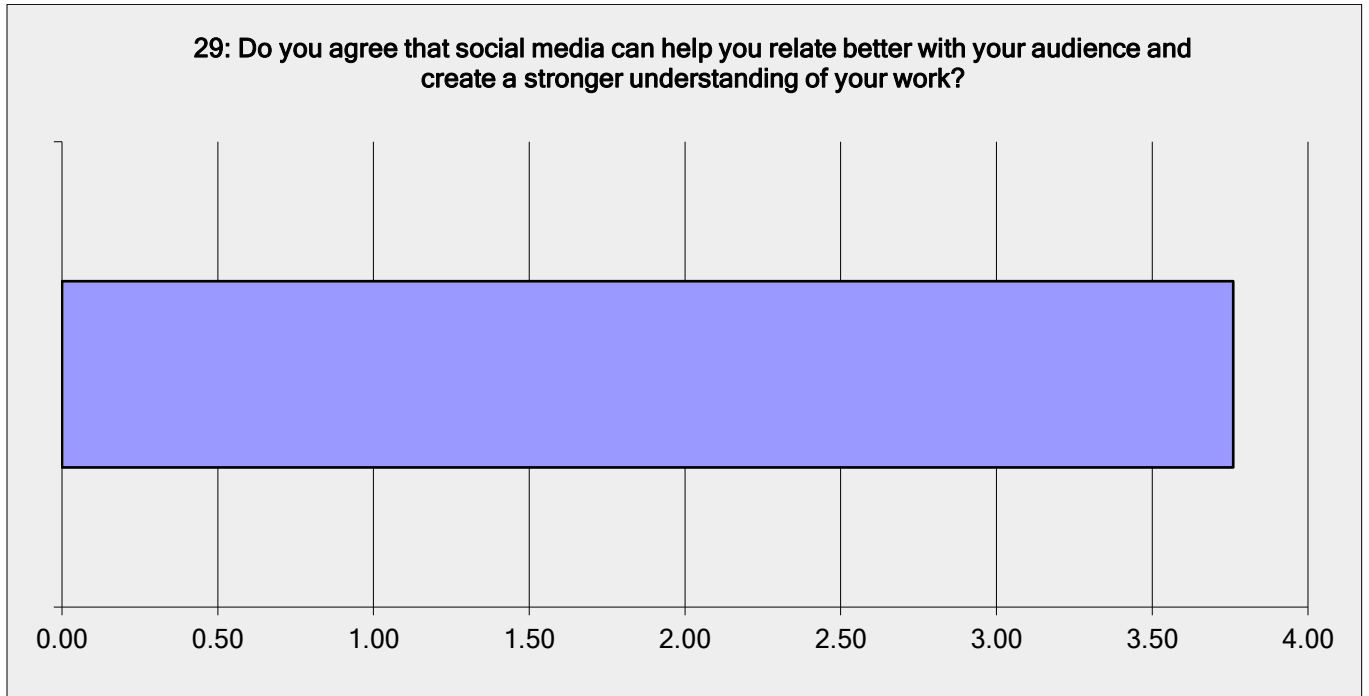| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	4	6	36	53	1	3.39	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q28: What kind of impact do you think the digital transition in your country will have on audience participation and empowerment?

Q28: What kind of impact do you think the digital transition in your country will have on audience participation and empowerment?

Q28: What kind of impact do you think the digital transition in your country will have on audience participation and empowerment?

| Answer Options	No impact	Little impact	Some impact	Great impact	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	0	1	15	84	0	3.83	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q29: Do you agree that social media can help you relate better with your audience and create a stronger understanding of your work?

29: Do you agree that social media can help you relate better with your audience and create a stronger understanding of your work?

Q29: Do you agree that social media can help you relate better with your audience and create a stronger understanding of your work?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	0	1	22	77	0	3.76	100
					answered question		100
					skipped question		0

Q30: Do you agree that the interactive nature of digital media helps make journalists accountable to the public?


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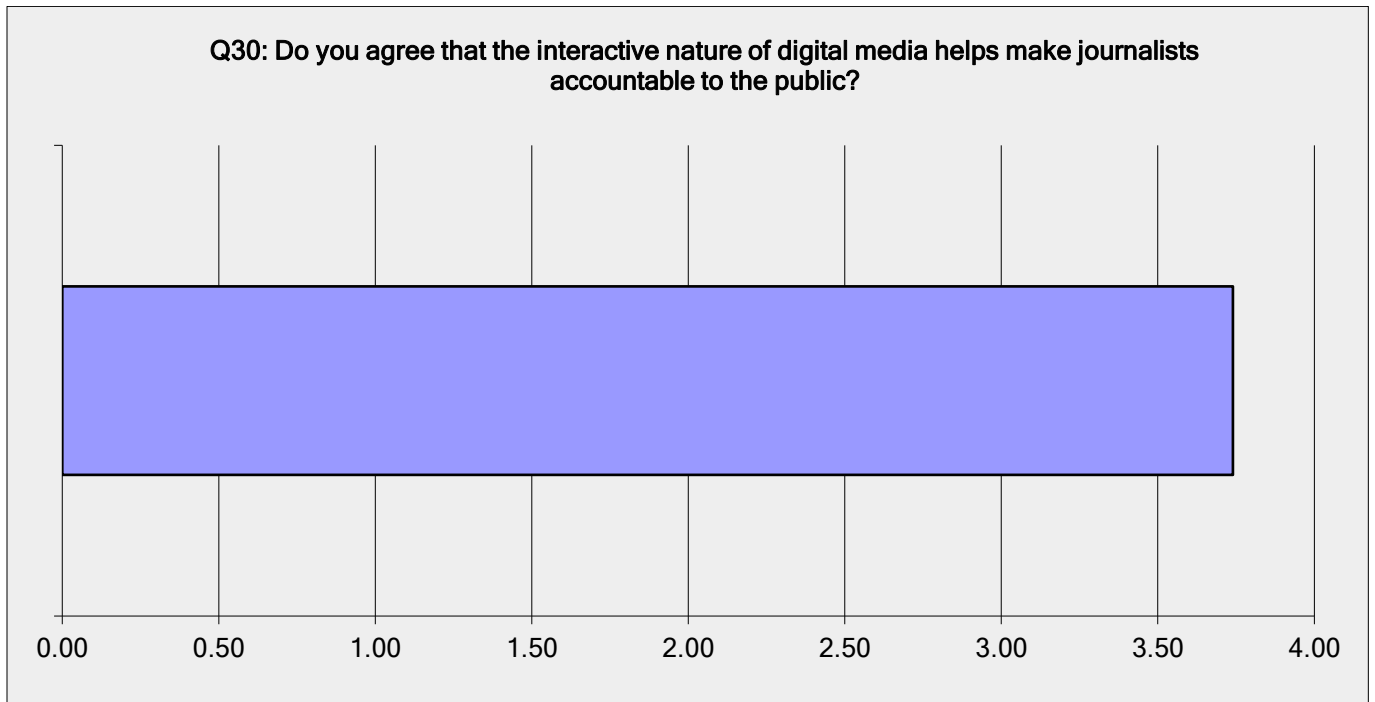
Q30: Do you agree that the interactive nature of digital media helps make journalists accountable to the public?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	2	19	78	0	3.74	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q31: Do you agree that there is the need for government to regulate activities of journalists online?

Q31: Do you agree that there is the need for government to regulate activities of journalists online?
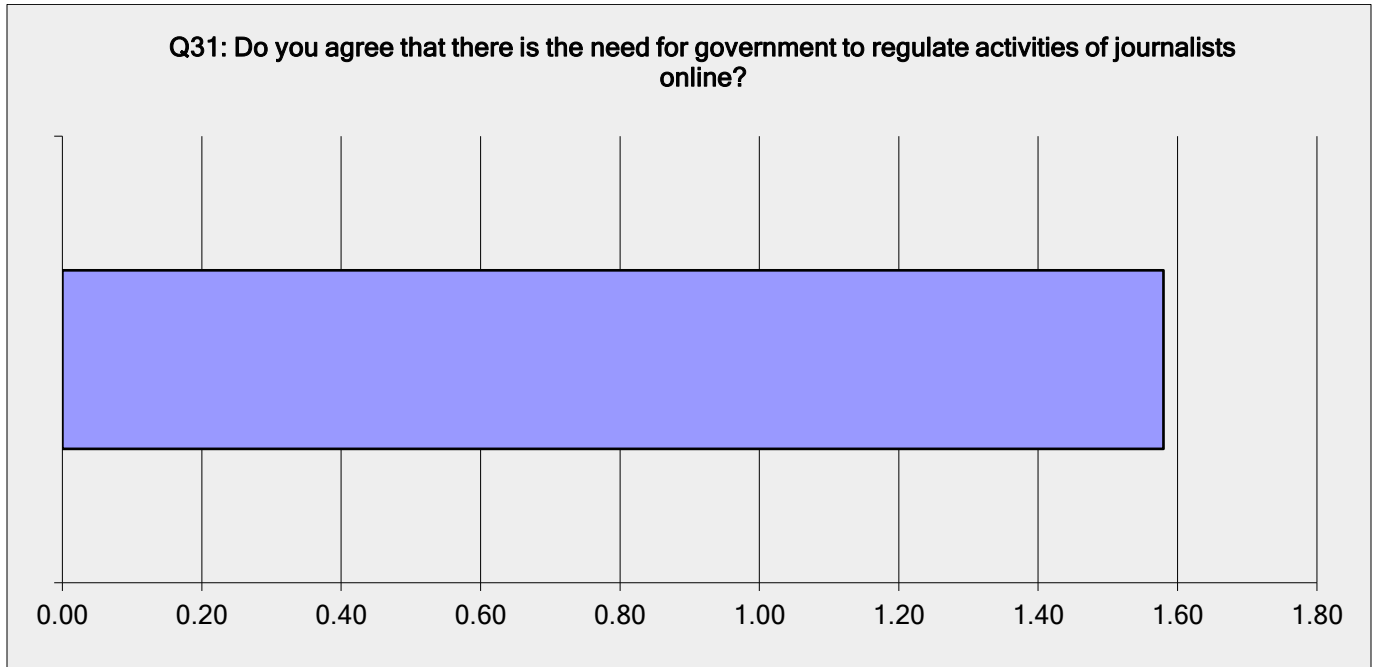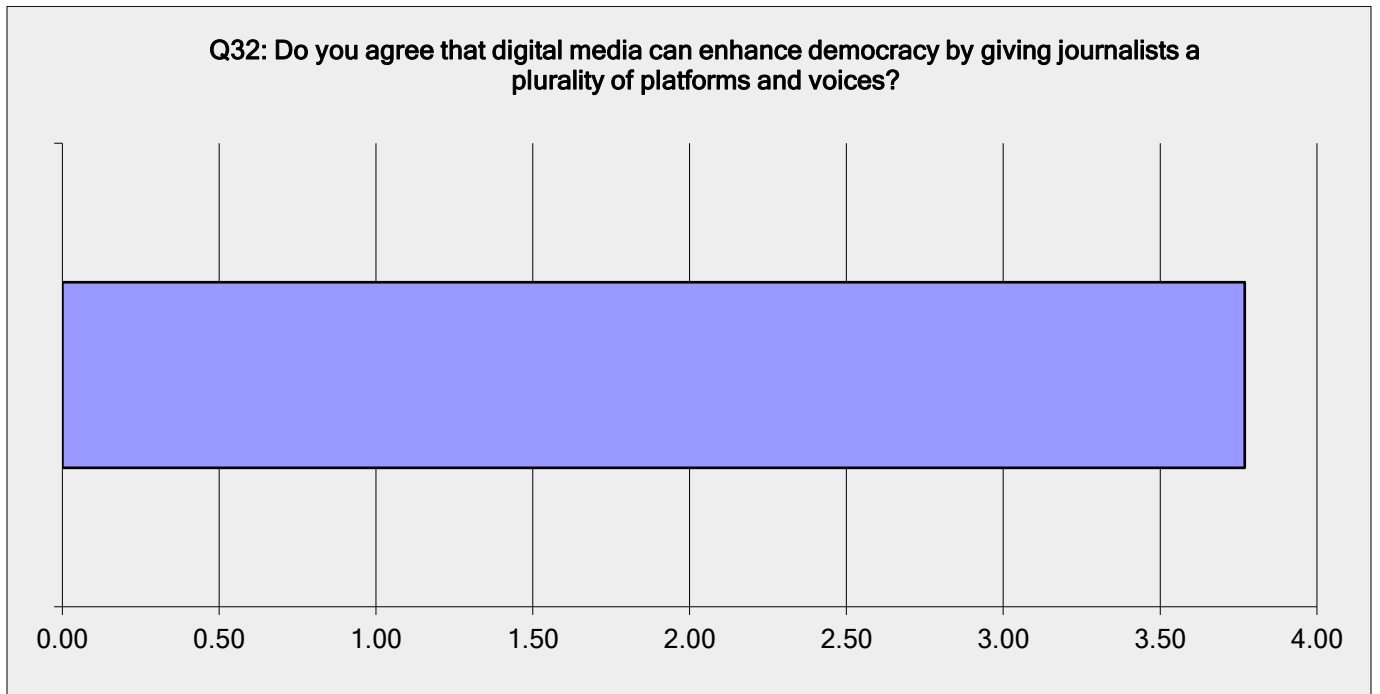
Q31: Do you agree that there is the need for government to regulate activities of journalists online?

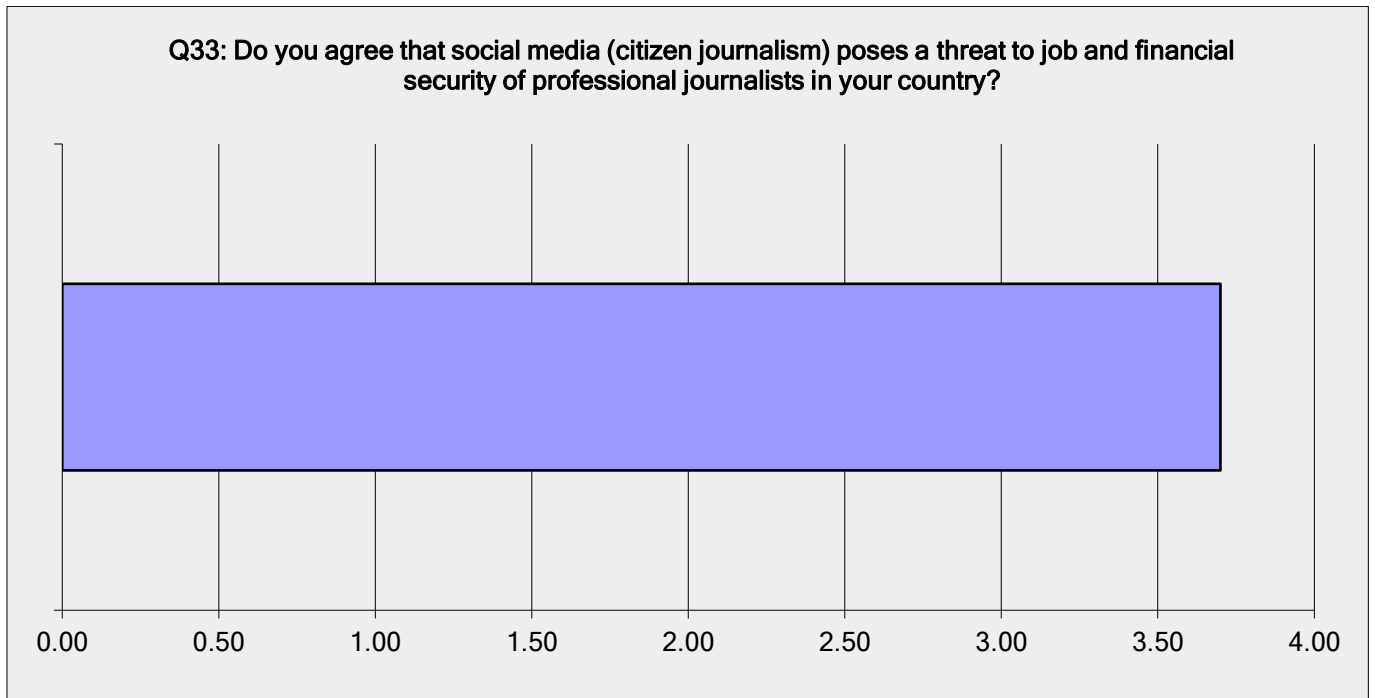| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	52	40	6	2	0	1.58	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q32: Do you agree that digital media can enhance democracy by giving journalists a plurality of platforms and voices?

Q32: Do you agree that digital media can enhance democracy by giving journalists a plurality of platforms and voices?

Q32: Do you agree that digital media can enhance democracy by giving journalists a plurality of platforms and voices?

| Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	0	20	79	0	3.77	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q33: Do you agree that social media (citizen journalism) poses a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists in your country?

Q33: Do you agree that social media (citizen journalism) poses a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists in your country?

Q33: Do you agree that social media (citizen journalism) poses a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists in your country?

Answer Options	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	6	15	77	1	3.70	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

Q34: What do you think is the future of online newspapers in your country?
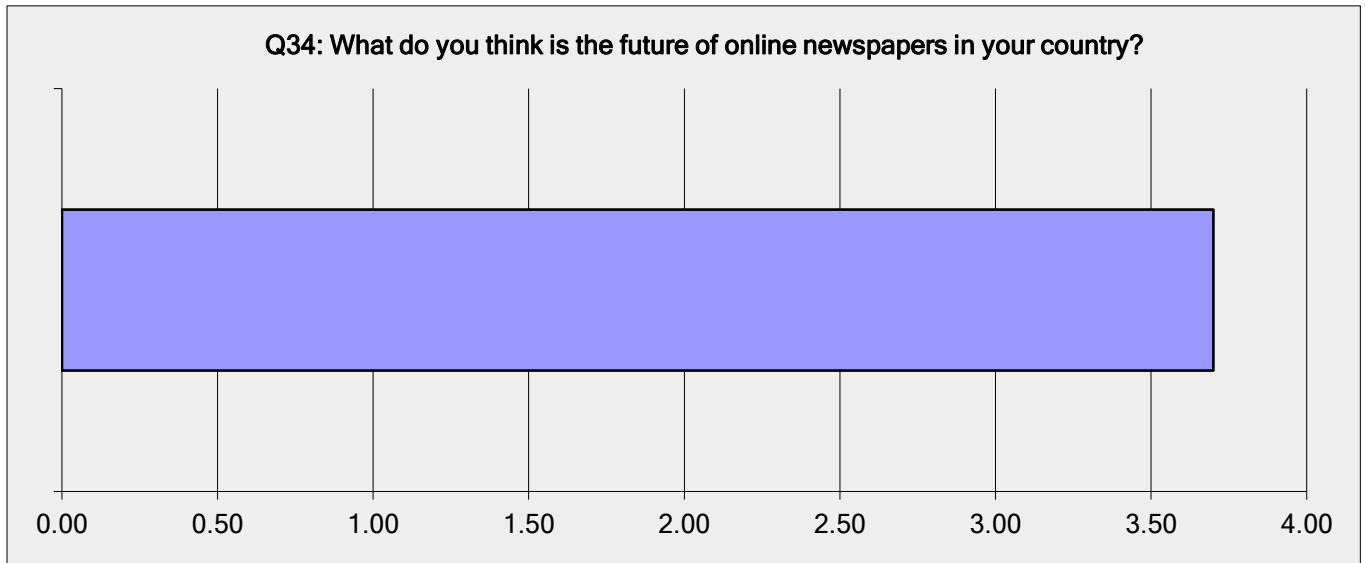
Q34: What do you think is the future of online newspapers in your country?

Q34: What do you think is the future of online newspapers in your country?

Answer Options	Not bright	Somewhat bright	Bright	Very bright	Can't say - N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
	1	3	21	75	0	3.70	100
						answered question	100
						skipped question	0

6. CHAPTER SIX: INTERPRETATION OF DATA

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of digitalization and audience response in Nigeria and South Africa. It also examines the effect of digitalization on journalists in Nigeria and South Africa, looking at the similarities and differences as well as the challenges.

6.1 Comparative analysis of digitalization and audience response in Nigeria and South Africa

Question 1: Age
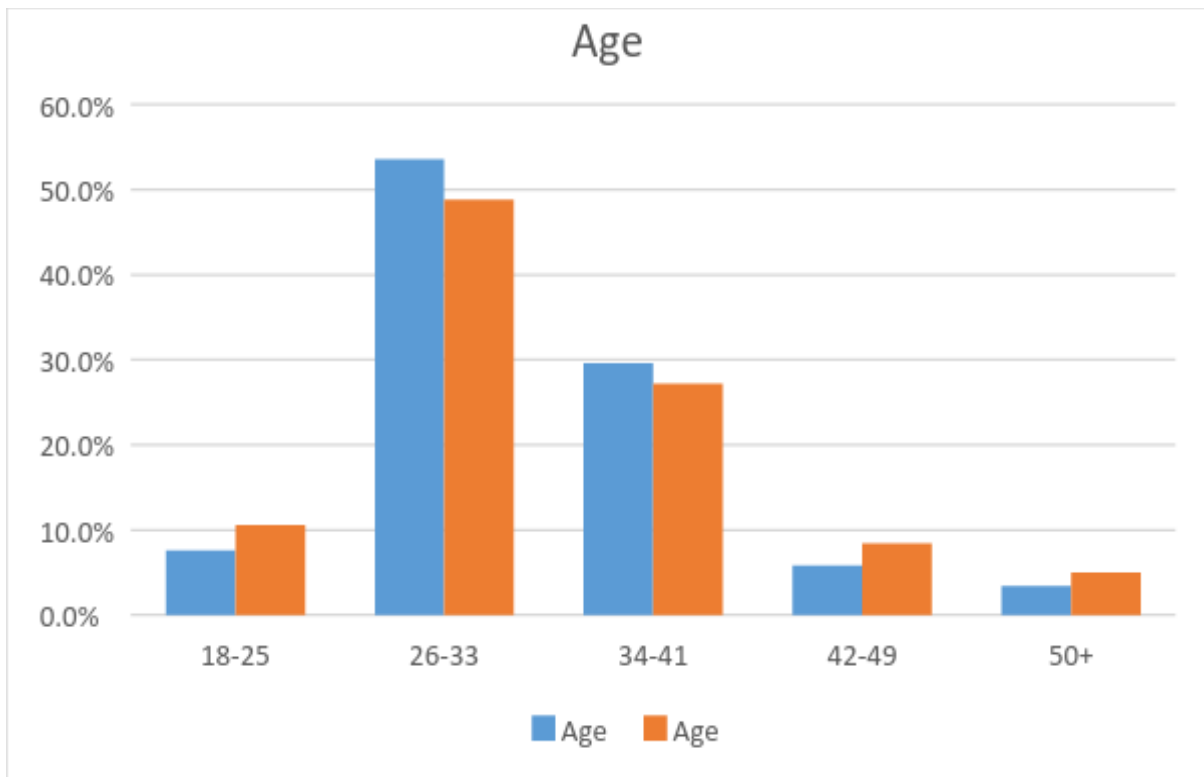
The public respondents were mostly young people in their prime with a lot of experience with digital media. This class of individuals can be said to be very mobile and are conversant with the latest technology. 53.6% and 48.8% of the respondents were between the age of 26-33, followed by the 34-41 age group which had 29.9% and 27.2%. The 18-25 age group had 7.6% and 10.6% while

the above 50 age group had 3.4% and 5.0% for South Africa and Nigerian respondents respectively.

Question 2: Gender
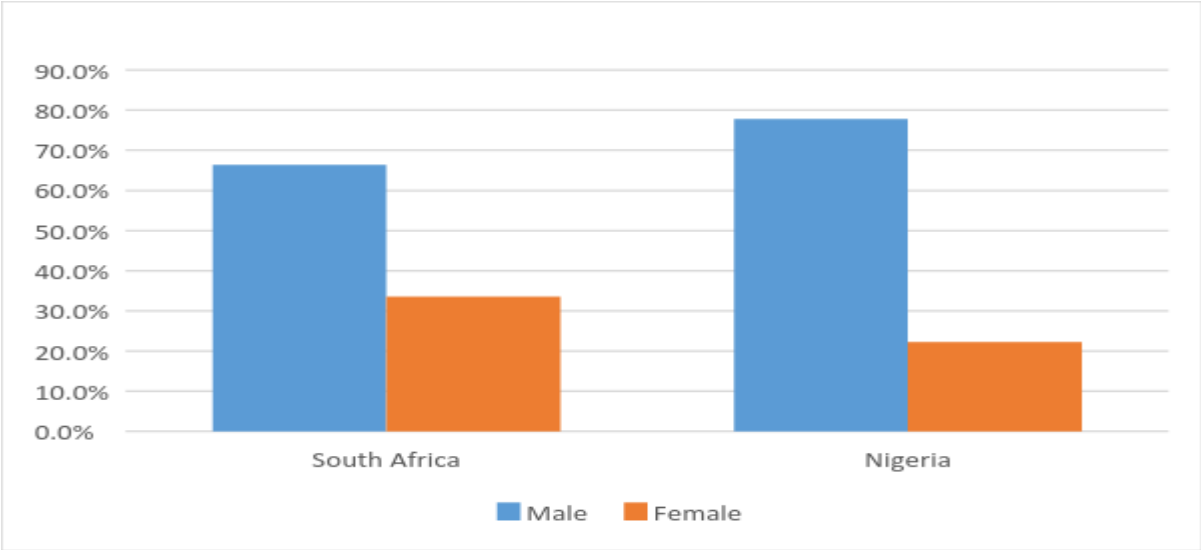
The gender of public respondents was mostly composed of the male gender as 66.4% and 77.8% were male and 33.6% and 22.2% female for South Africa and Nigeria respectively. South Africa however, had more female responders than Nigeria.

Question 3: Educational Qualification
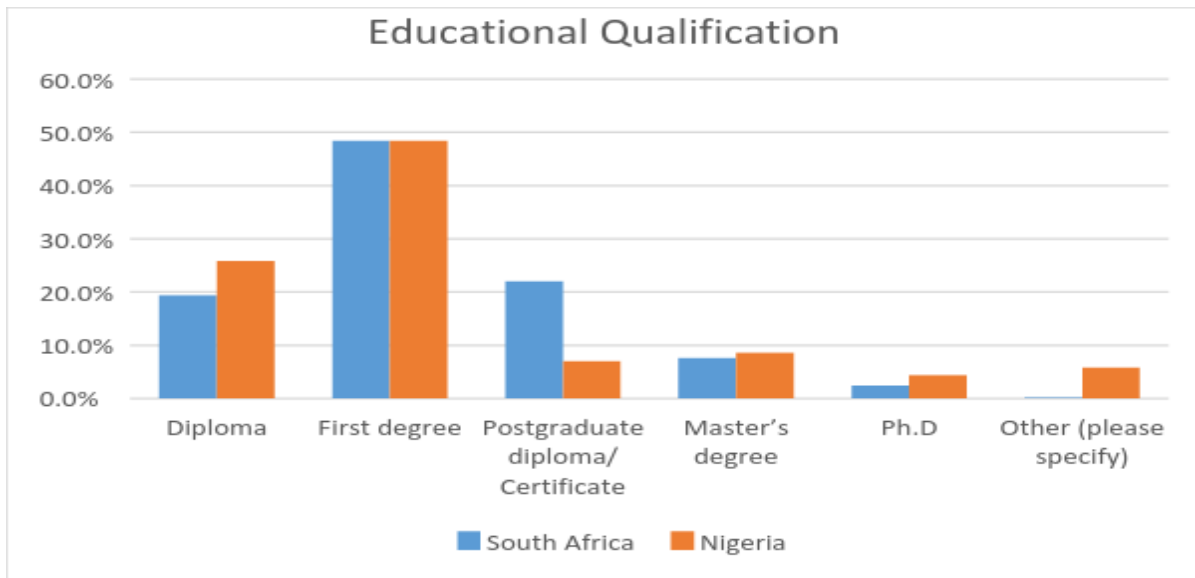
Equal number of respondents for both countries showed that 48.4% have first degree, 19.4% and 25.8% respondents respectively are diploma holders. Post graduate diploma holders recorded 22.0% and 7.0%. Master's degree accounted for 7.6% and 8.6% and PhD 2.4% and 4.4% while others accounted for 0.2% and 5.8% for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 4: Occupation

The occupation of the responders varied as the research did not particularly target any class of profession. The participants included students, doctors, civil servants, religious leaders, broadcasters, public relations officers, customer care agents, teachers, nurses, business owners, etc.

Question 5: Country

There were 1000 respondents across both countries making it 500 per country.

Question 6: State

Sample had a wide range of participation from different states/provinces in both countries. A fair representation from each state (Nigeria) and province (South Africa) responded to accommodate the sample number.
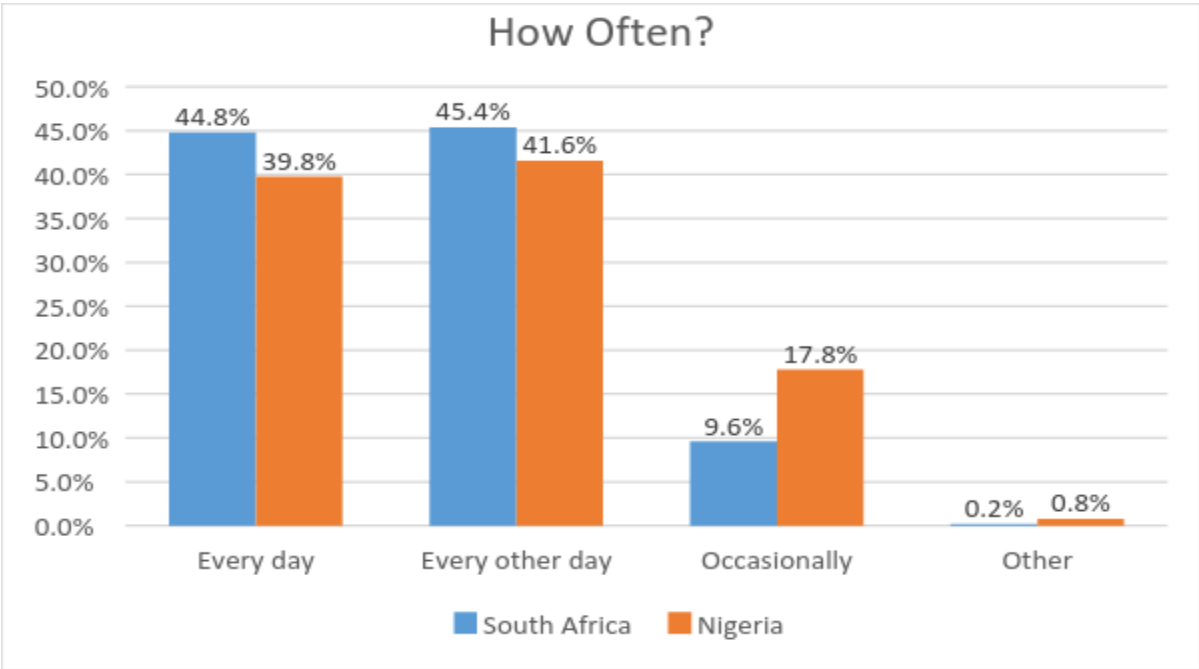
Question 7: Cities

Sample population took into cognizance the urban–rural divide as there were representation from both sides of the divide.

Question 8: Reading of newspaper
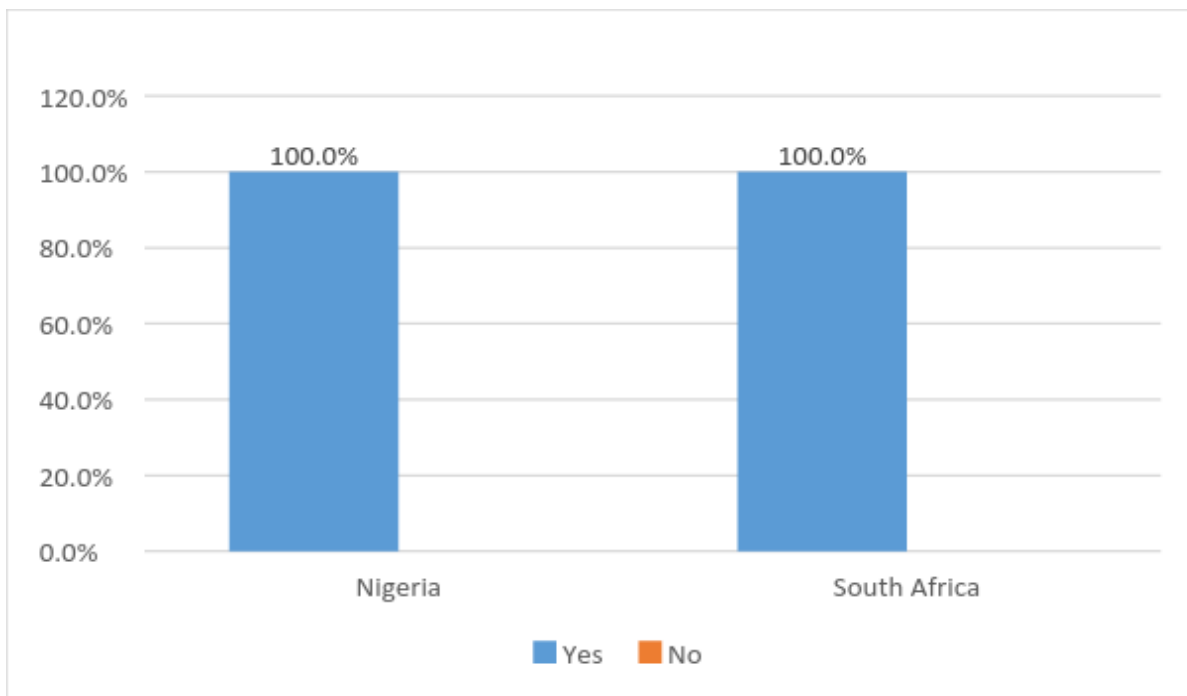
All respondents in both countries acknowledged that they read newspapers.

Question 9: How often did respondents read newspapers?

How Often?

44.8% and 39.8% of respondents acknowledged that they read newspaper every day, 45.4% and 41.6% agreed that they read every other day while occasional readers stood at 9.6% and 17.8% and others accumulated 0.2% and 0.8% for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.
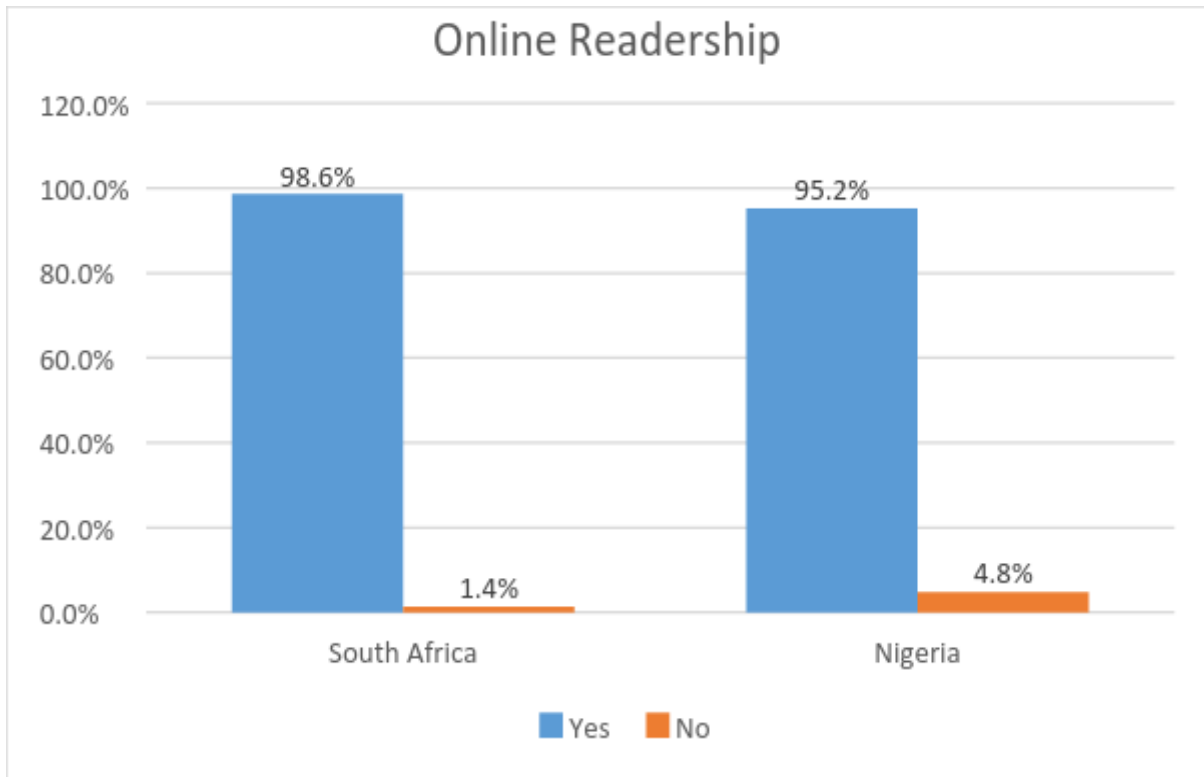
Question 10: Number of newspapers read?
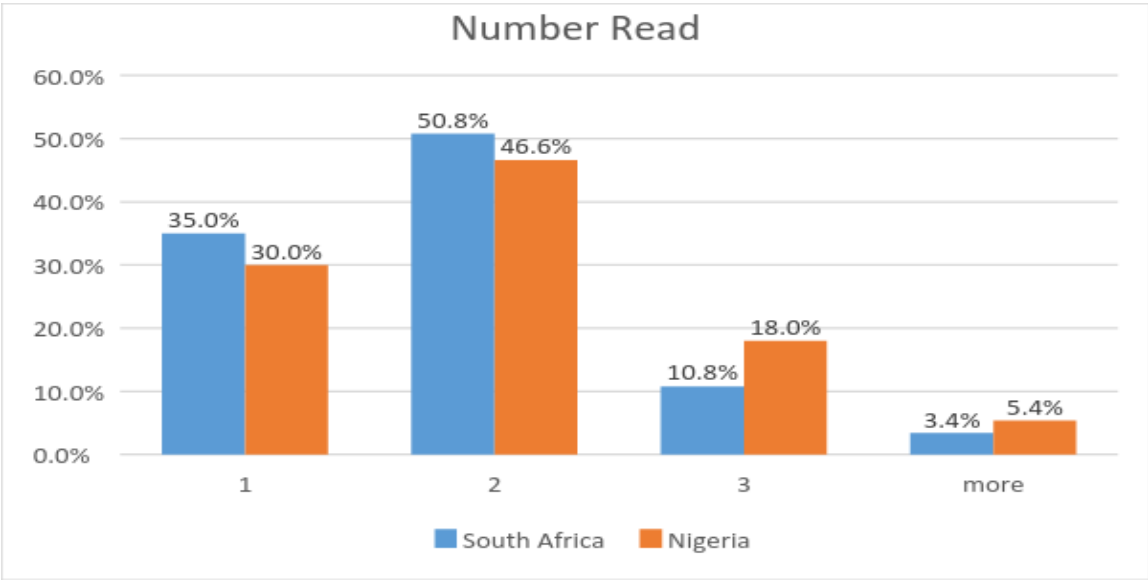
The question about the number of newspapers respondents read revealed that 35.0% and 30.0% read only one, 50.8% and 46.6% read two while 10.8% and 18.0% said they read three. More than three had 3.4% and 5.4% for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

**Question 11: Readership of online newspapers**

In terms of online newspaper readership, a greater majority claim to have access as 98.6% and 95.2% answered in the affirmative while 1.4% and 4.8% answered NO for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 12: Frequency of newspaper readership?
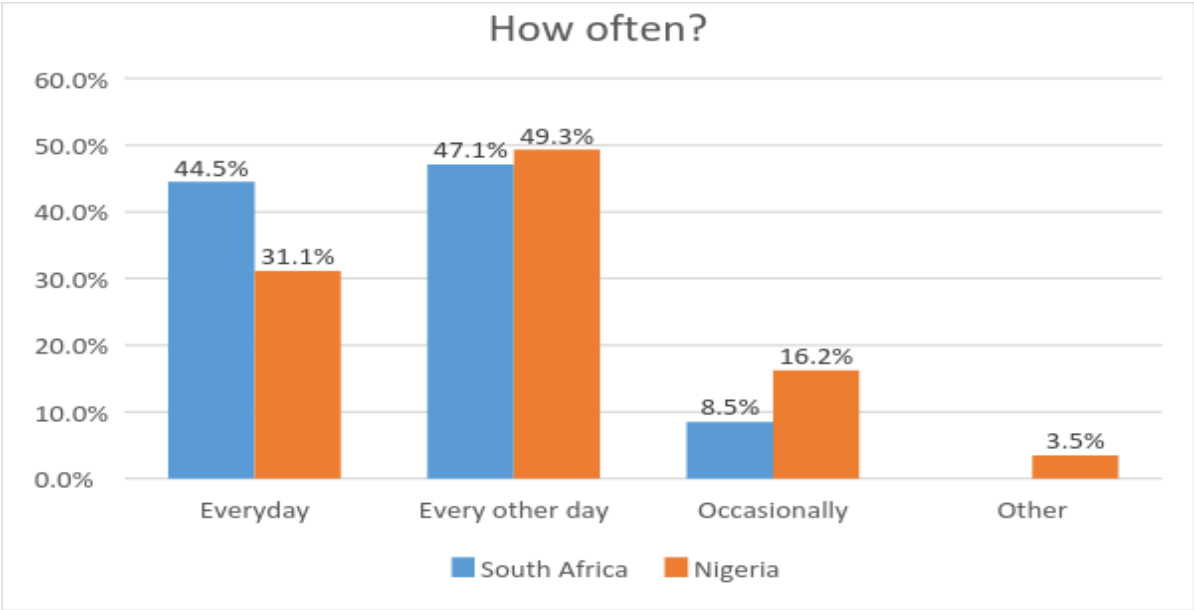

This section seeks to determine how often the respondents read newspapers. 47.1% and 49.3% of those that responded in the affirmative that they read newspapers said they read every other day. 44.5% and 31.1% went for the everyday readership while occasional readers were 8.5% and 16.2% for South Africa and Nigeria respectively. The option Other had a 3.5% score in Nigeria.

Question 13: Number of newspapers online/online newspapers respondents read
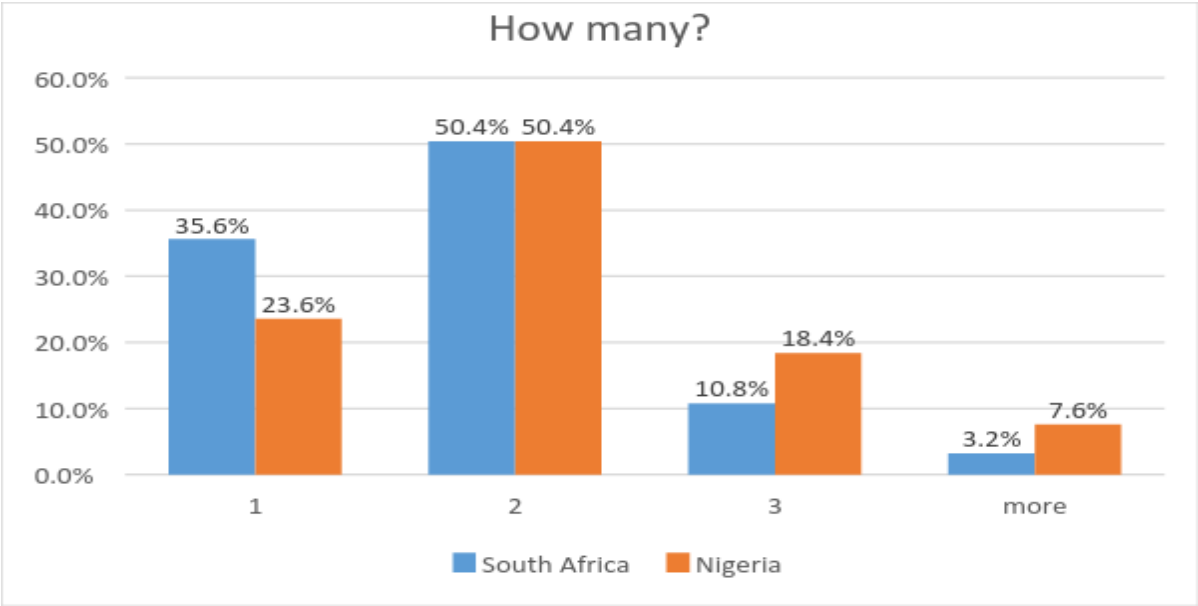
The question of number of newspapers respondents read showed that 50.4% for both countries said they read two while 35.6% and 23.6% went for one. Those who read three newspapers accounted for 10.8% and 18.4% and those that read more than three newspapers peaked at 3.2% and 7.6% respectively for South Africa and Nigeria.

Question 14: Information newspaper readers sought most

Information sought
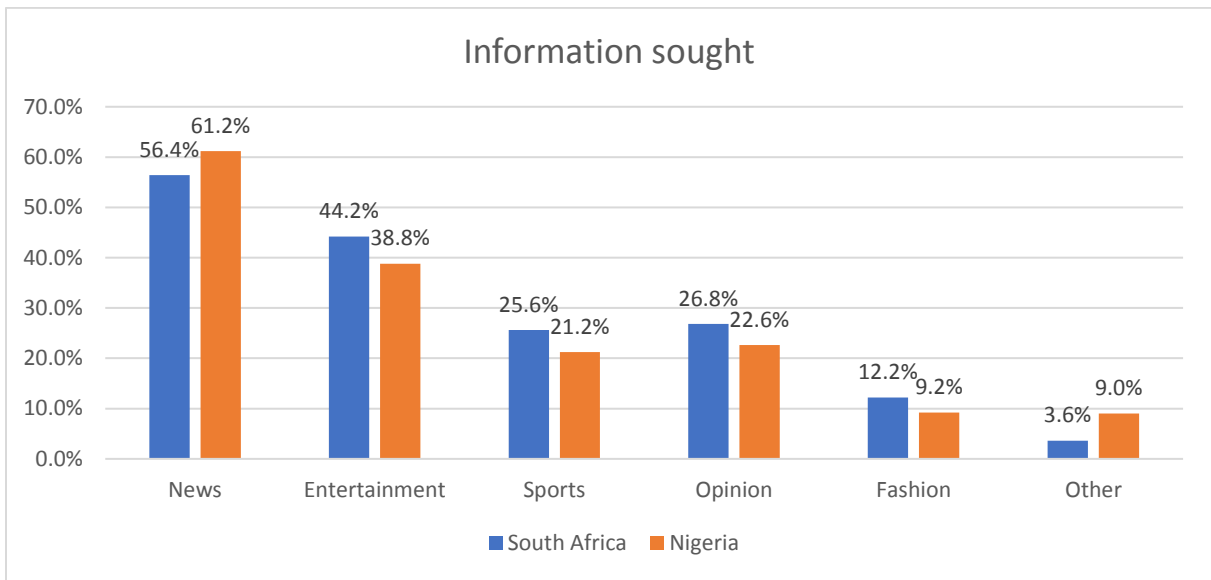
News had the highest traffic among respondents with a 56.4% and 61.2% score followed by entertainment with 44.2% and 38.8% then sports with 25.6% and 22.6%. Opinion, fashion and others had 26.8% and 22.6%, 12.2% and 9.2% and 3.6%, 9.0% respectively for South Africa and Nigeria.

Question 15: Last time respondents read newspapers online/online newspapers
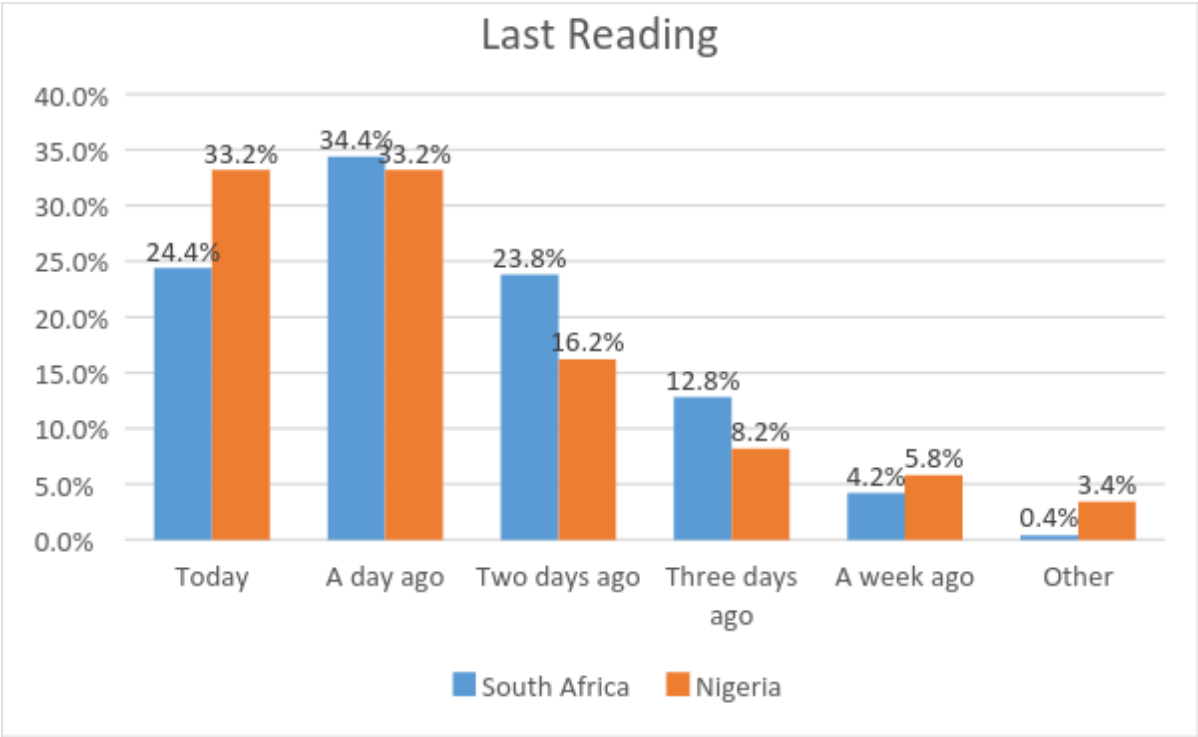
As at the time the questionnaire was filled, 34.4% and 33.2% said they last read newspapers online/online newspapers a day before, while those that read that day stood at 24.4% and 33.2%. Those that read two days earlier had 23.8% and 16.2% and three days earlier had 12.8% and 8.2% while a week earlier had 4.2% and 5.8% and the option Other had 0.4% and 3.4% scores for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 16: Time spent reading newspapers online

Time Spent Online
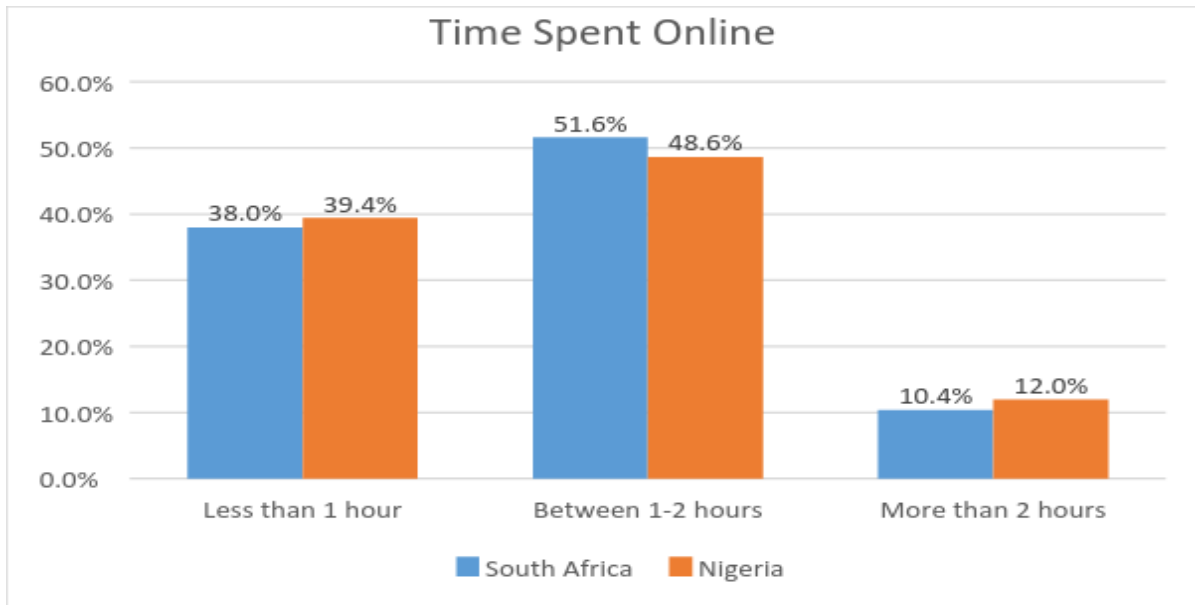
Those respondents that spent less than an hour online peaked at 38.0% and 39.4%, while between an hour and two was 51.6% and 48.6% for both countries. More than two hours had 10.4% and 12.0% for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 17: Newspapers respondents read

Table 1A (Nigeria)

Answer Options	Response Percent
The Punch	43.2%
Vanguard	42.6%
The Nation	17.8%
Daily Trust	13.0%
This Day	8.4%
The Guardian	10.2%
Sun	12.6%
Leadership	6.2%
Business Day	5.4%
None of the above	3.6%
Other	0.6%

Table 1A indicates the primary choices of respondents in Nigeria as to which newspapers they read more often. The top three newspapers are *The Punch* with 43.2% followed by *Vanguard* with 42.6% and *The Nation* with 17.8%.

Table 1B (South Africa)

Answer Options	Response Percent
Daily Sun	44.0%
Sunday Times	42.4%
Business Day	24.0%
Die Bleed	18.4%
The New Age	13.0%
The Sowetan	13.8%
Sunday Independent	13.8%
City Press	11.6%
The Star	10.4%
The Mail & Guardian	8.8%
None of the above	3.2%
Other (please specify)	0.0%

Table1B indicates the top South African newspapers read by respondents. The top three are *Daily Sun* with 44.0%, *Sunday Times* with 42.4% and *Business Day* with 24.0%.

Question 18: Newspapers respondents read online

Table 2A (Nigeria)

Answer Options	Response Percent
The Punch	50.2%
Vanguard	35.4%
The Nation	17.0%
Daily Trust	11.6%
This Day	12.0%
The Guardian	9.6%

|	
Sun	13.2%
Leadership	6.0%
Business Day	4.4%
None of the above	4.2%
Other	0.6%

Concerning newspapers respondents read online, the choices were similar with the top three choices of the hardcopy newspapers they read. *The Punch* in Nigeria led the pack with 50.2% followed by *Vanguard* with 35.4% and *The Nation* with 17.0%.

Table 2B (South Africa)

Answer Options	Response Percent
Daily Sun	51.6%
Sunday Times	35.8%
Business Day	19.4%
Die Bleed	20.4%
The New Age	14.8%
The Sowetan	14.0%
Sunday Independent	13.2%
City Press	14.0%
The Star	11.0%
The Mail & Guardian Online	8.0%
None of the above	2.2%
Other (please specify)	0.0%

Equally, South African respondents picked *Daily Sun* with 51.6%, *Sunday Times* 35.8% with the only change being *Die Bleed* 19.4% as the top three newspapers they read online.

Question 19: Awareness about wholly online newspapers
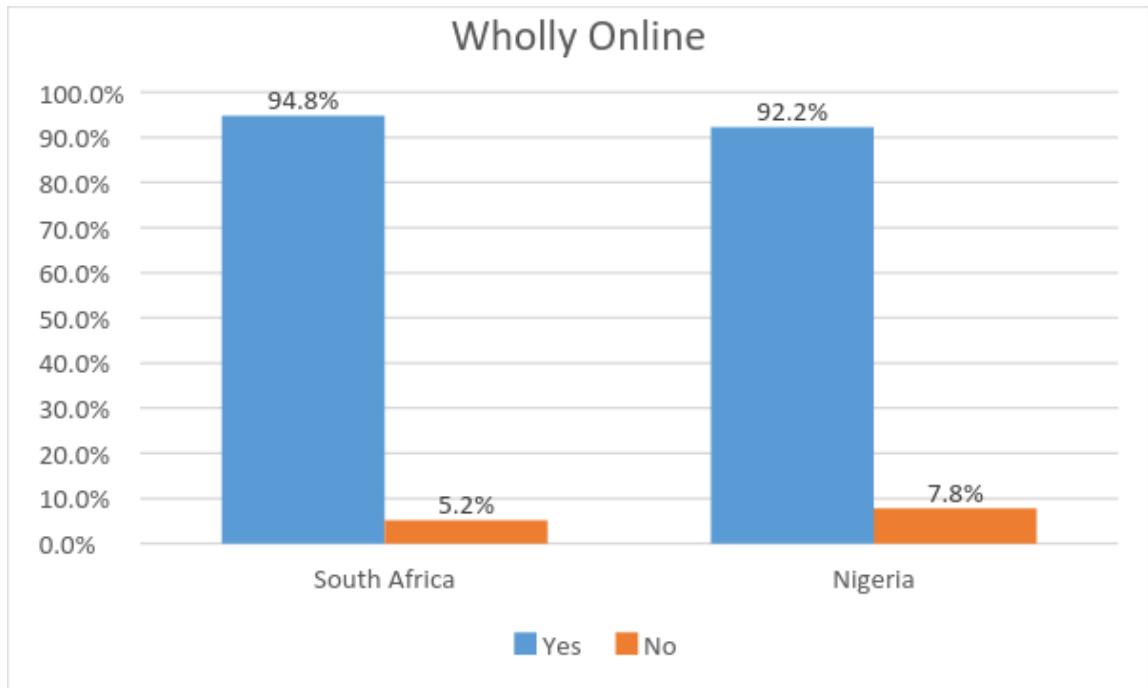
There is a high level of awareness amongst the public that there are wholly online newspapers as 94.8% and 92.2% said they knew about the existence of wholly online newspapers and just 5.2% and 7.8% were not aware. However, the number of those not aware is higher in Nigeria than South Africa.

Question 20: Wholly online newspapers respondents read

Table 3A (Nigeria)

| Answer Options	Response Percent
Premium Timesng.com	66.6%
The Cableng.com	46.9%
Other	6.4%

More respondents in Nigeria read *Premium Times* with 66.6% readership while *The Cable* was next with 46.9% and the option Other had 6.4%.

Table 2B (South Africa)

Answer Options	Response Percent
Independent Online (IOL)	53.7%
The Daily Maverick	49.8%
Other	0.0%

The situation was not much different in South Africa two major online newspapers were mentioned. Independent online had a 53.7% mention and The Daily Maverick had 49.8% mention.

Question 21: Preference for online newspapers vs printed newspapers
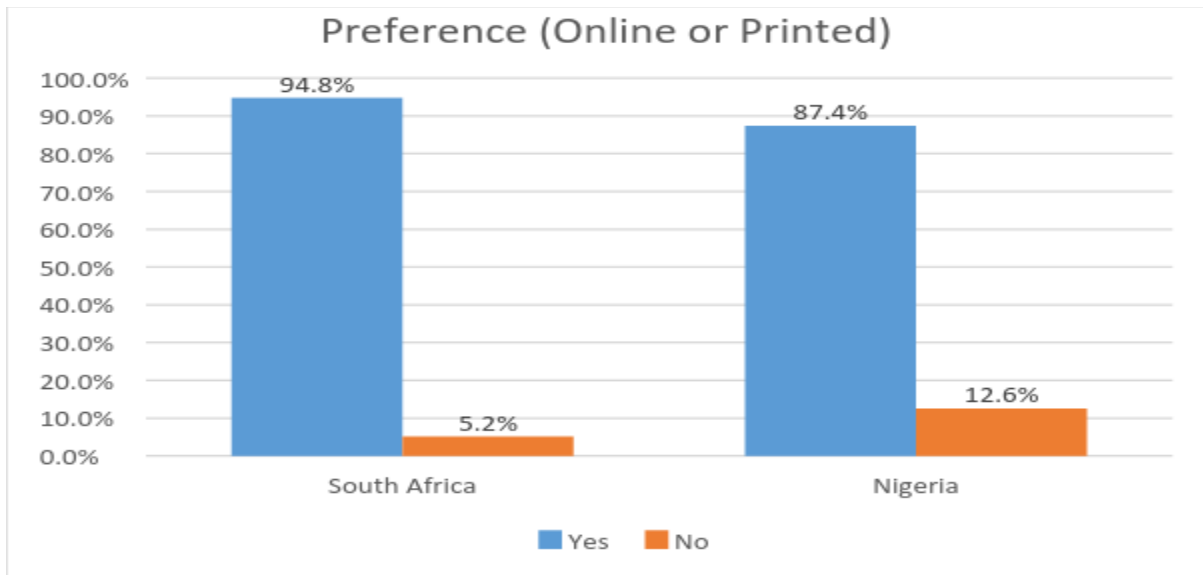
The preference for online newspaper is overwhelming as 94.8% respondents in South Africa and 87.4% respondents in Nigeria said Yes and 5.2% in South Africa and 12.6% in Nigeria said No.

Question 22: Reasons for preference of online newspapers
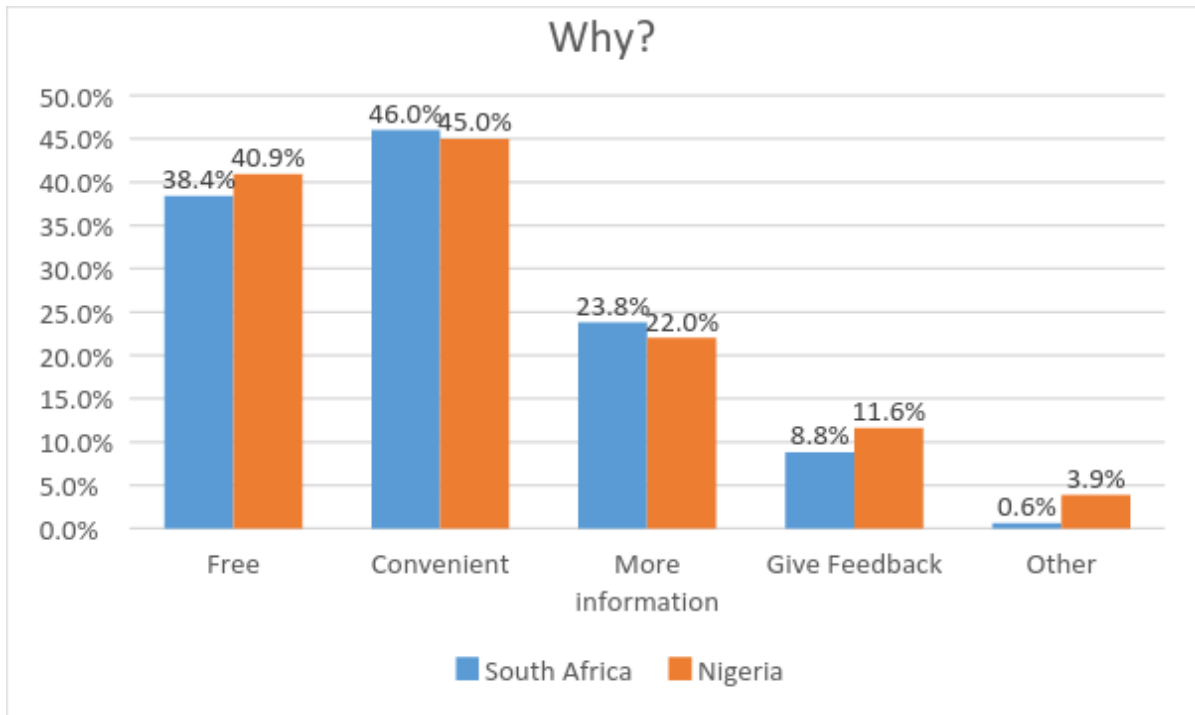
Convenience was the main reason for the preference of online newspapers in both countries. This option had 46.0% and 45.0% respondents in favour while the issue of cost (free) followed closely with 38.4% and 40.9%. The "more information" option polled 23.8% and 22.0% leaving opportunity to "give feedback" with 8.8% and 11.6%. Finally, the option "Other" had 0.6% and 3.9% respectively.

Question 23: Involvement and opportunity to share information
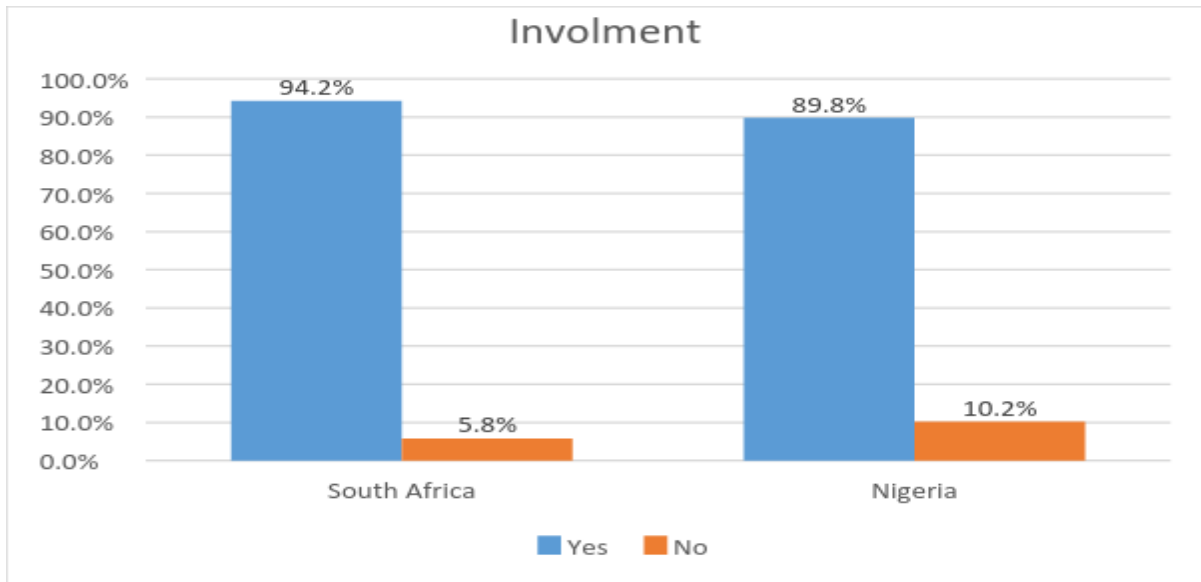
The respondents felt being involved in information sharing is key to their continuous stay on the online platform. The responses in the affirmative polled 94.2% and 89.8% while the "No" had 5.8% and 10.2% of the total responses from South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 24: Connecting with stories/reports and community members
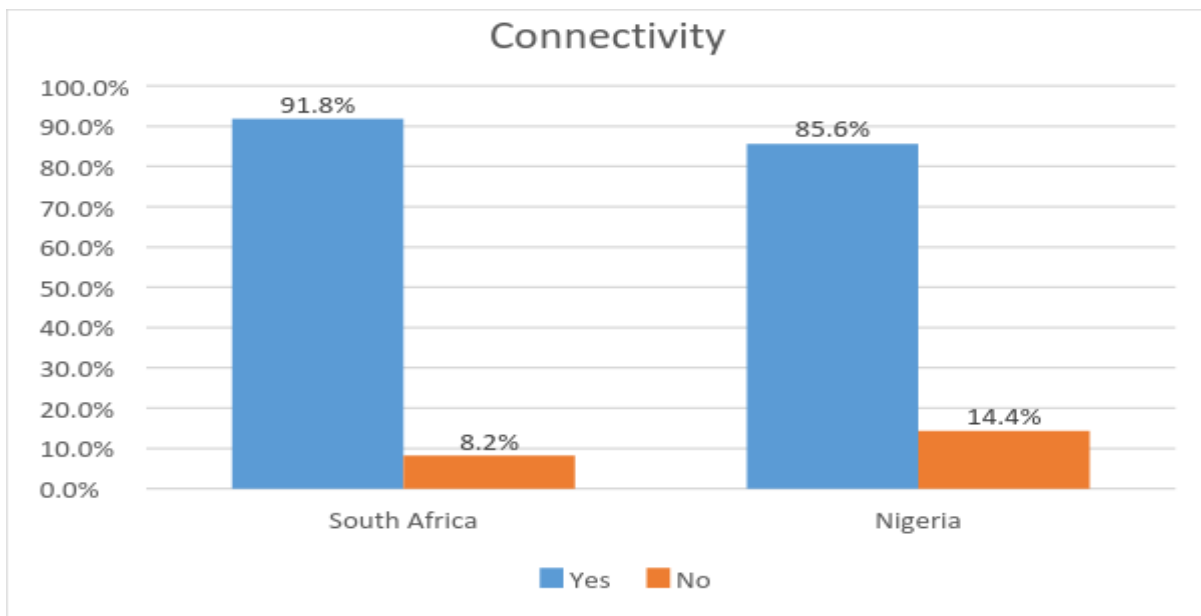
91.8% and 85.6% respectively believe online edition of newspapers/online newspapers help them connect effectively with stories/reports as well as with their communities, while 8.2% and 14.4% said it didn't have any effect.

Question 25: Comments on online stories
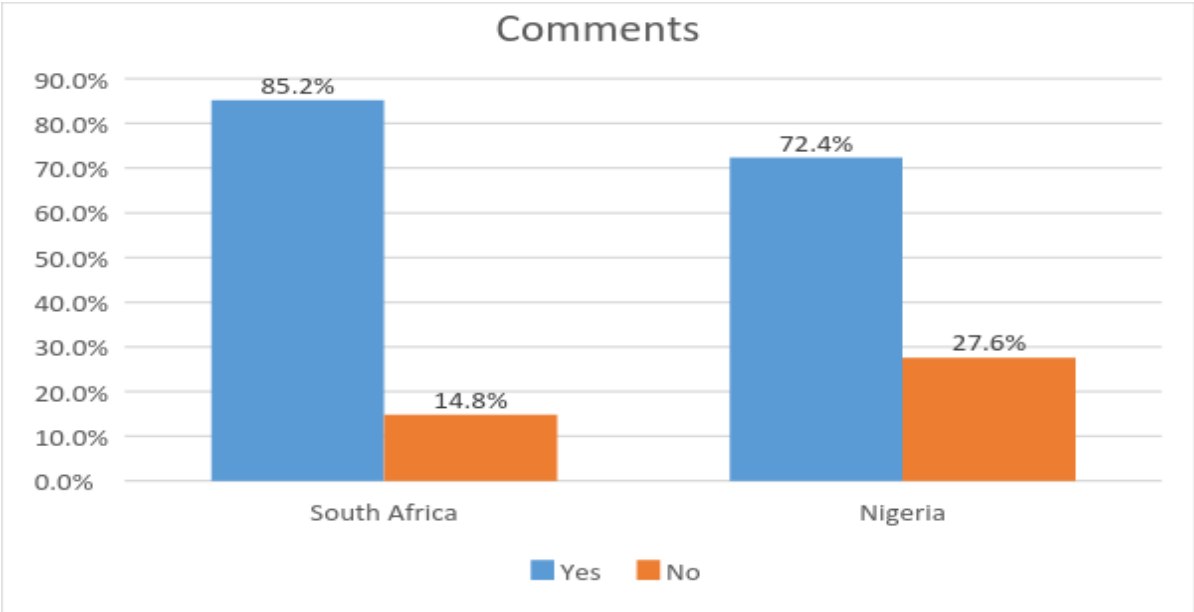
85.2% and 72.4% of those who read newspapers online/online newspapers said they always leave a comment in the comment section of each story they read while 14.8% and 27.6% answered "No" on the issue of adding comments to stories they read online.

Question 26: Last time respondents made comments

Last Comment
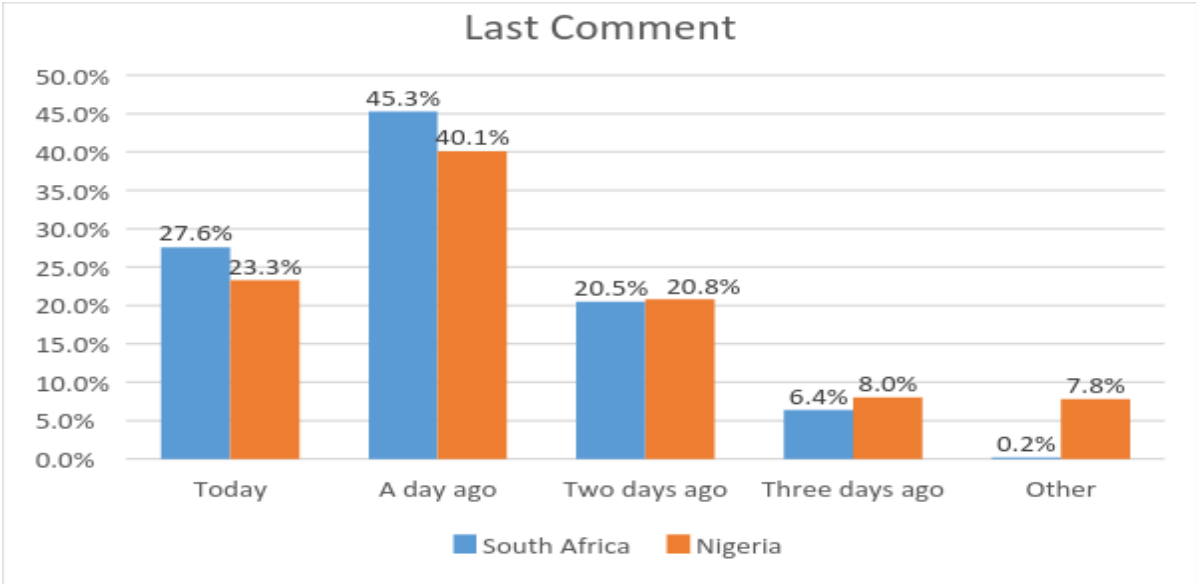
45.3% and 40.1% said they made a comment a day before the questionnaire was administered while 27.6% and 23.3% made a comment on the day they filled the questionnaire. 20.5% and 20.8% made a comment two days before the questionnaire, 6.4% and 8.0% said three days before the questionnaire while only 0.2% and 7.8% went for the "Other" category respectively for both countries.

Question 27: Why respondents didn't leave comments
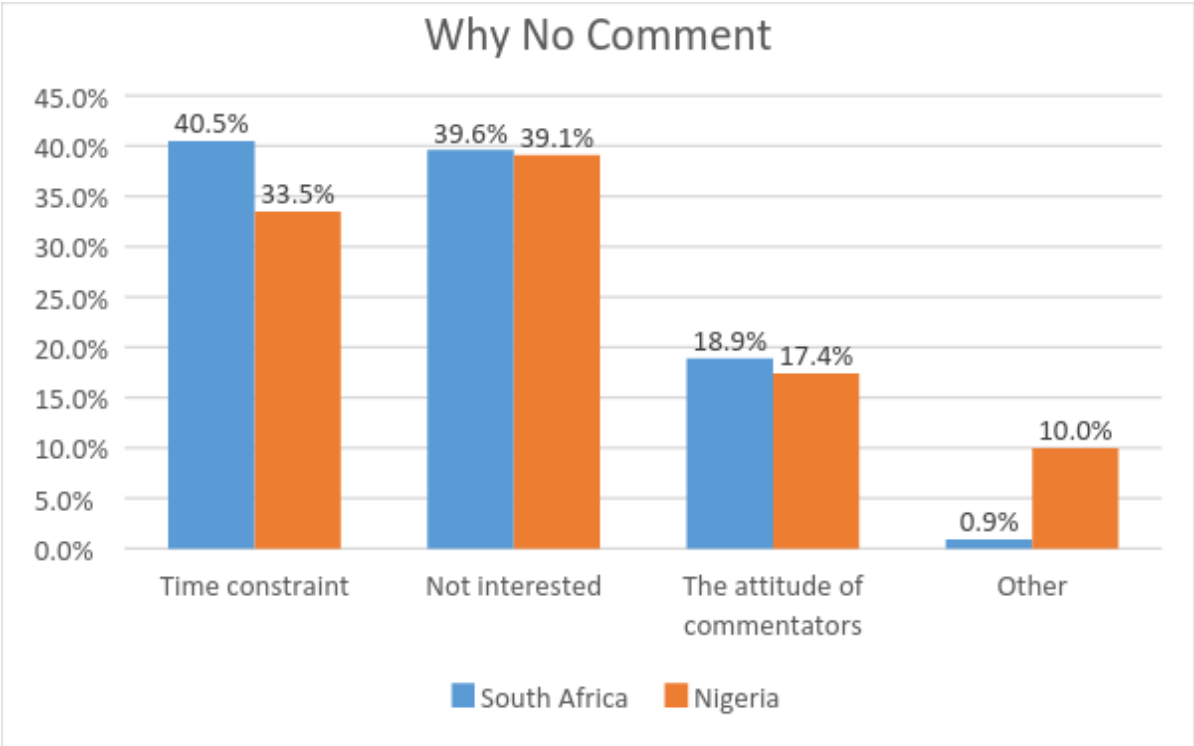
Percentage distribution of those that did not drop any comment went thus: Time constraint 40.5% and 33.5%, Not interested 39.6% and 39.1%, The attitude of the commentators accounted for 18.9% and 17.4% of respondents while Other reasons had 0.9% and 10.0% for both countries respectively.

Question 28: Willingness to pay to read newspapers online as long as what is offered is of value
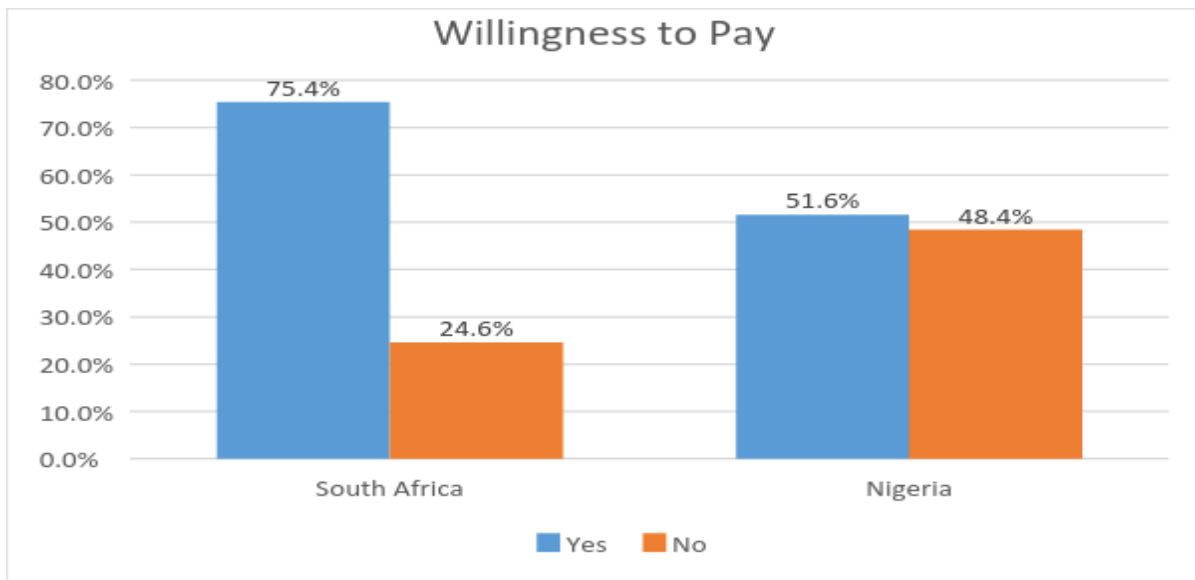
The general population in both South Africa and Nigeria appears willing to pay to read online newspaper as long as what is offered is of value as 75.4% and 51.6% of respondents said "Yes" while 24.6% and 48.4% said "No". From the responses, more newspaper readers in South African showed willingness to subscribe to read newspapers online.

Question 29: Reason(s) for not wanting to pay for online newspapers
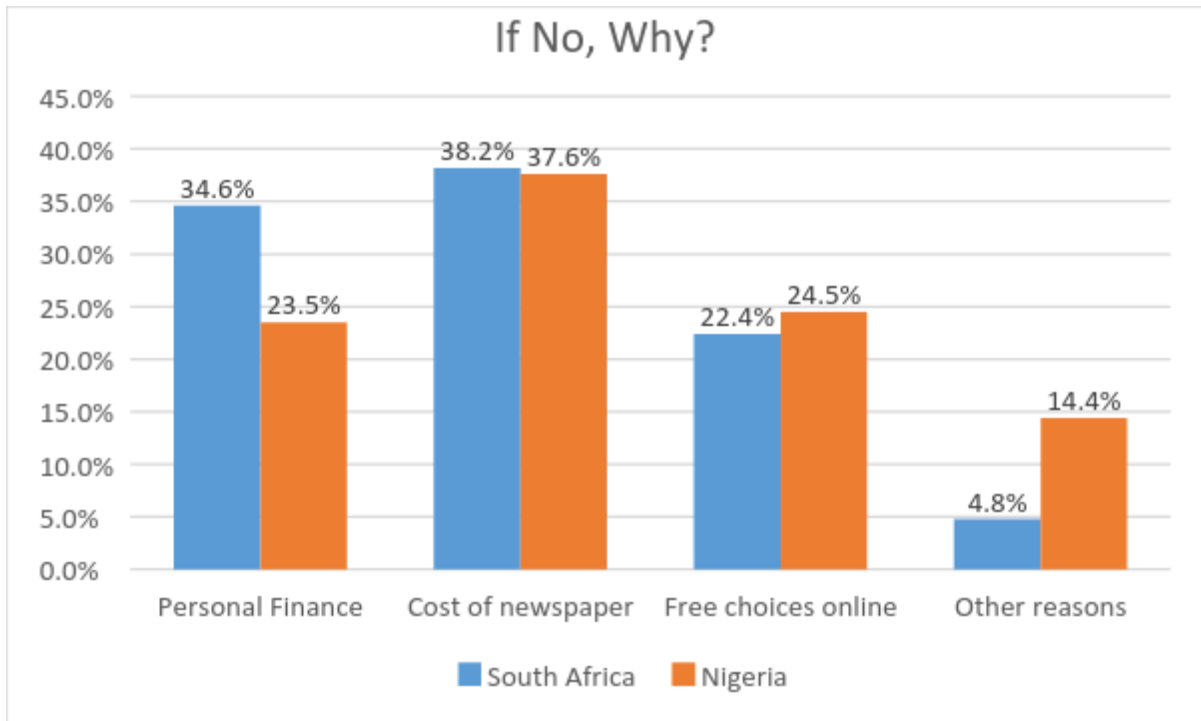
Personal finance attracted 34.6% and 23.5% of the reasons readers said would make them unwilling to pay to read newspapers online. Cost of newspaper got the highest response with 38.2% and 37.6% while Free choices online got 22.4% and 24.5% and finally, Other had 4.8% and 14.4% respectively.

Question 30: Challenges to reading online newspaper
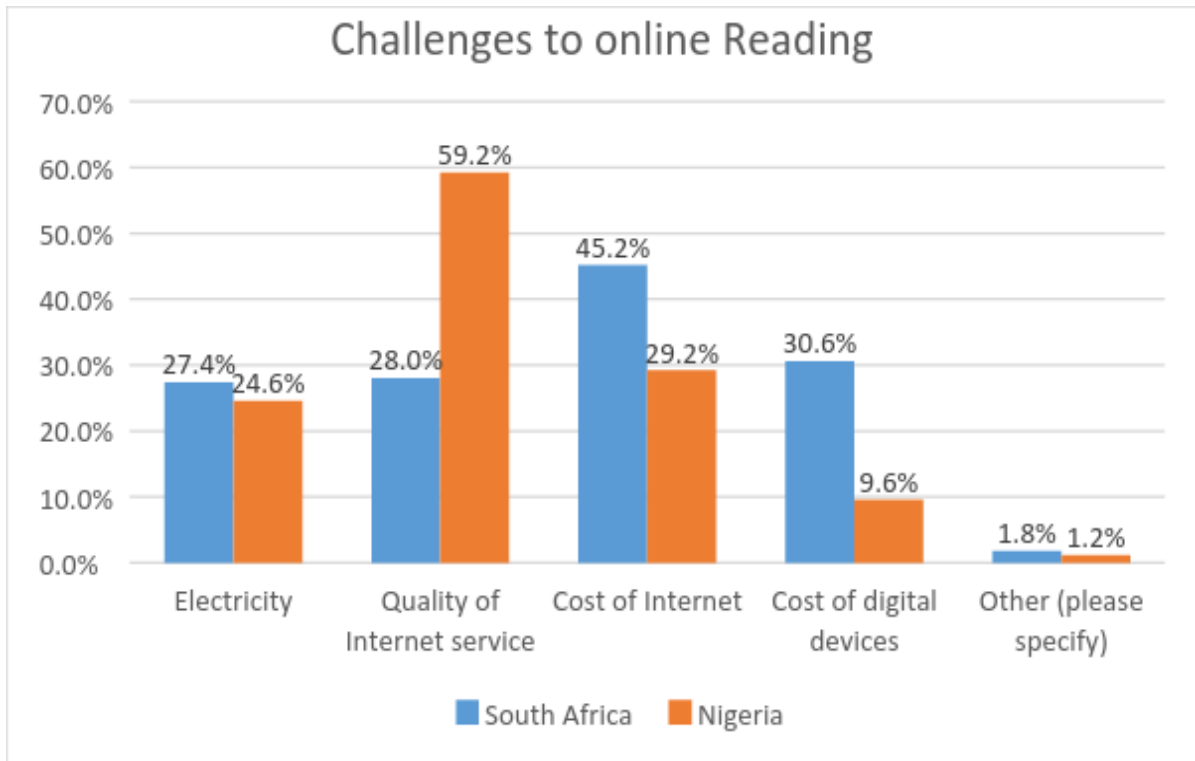
Respondents had various reasons that posed a challenge to their desire to read newspapers online. Nigeria led on the issue of the quality of Internet service with 59.2% choosing this reason while South Africa had 28.0% on the same issue. South Africa led with a score of 27.4% to Nigeria's 24.6% on the issue of electricity. Cost of Internet was a big concern in South Africa as 45.2% chose it as a challenge against Nigeria's 29.2%. Nigerians did not think cost of digital device was a challenge as it was for South Africans with a percentage of 9.6 and 30.6 respectively. Other reasons attracted 1.8% and 1.2% for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 31: Preferred social media platforms
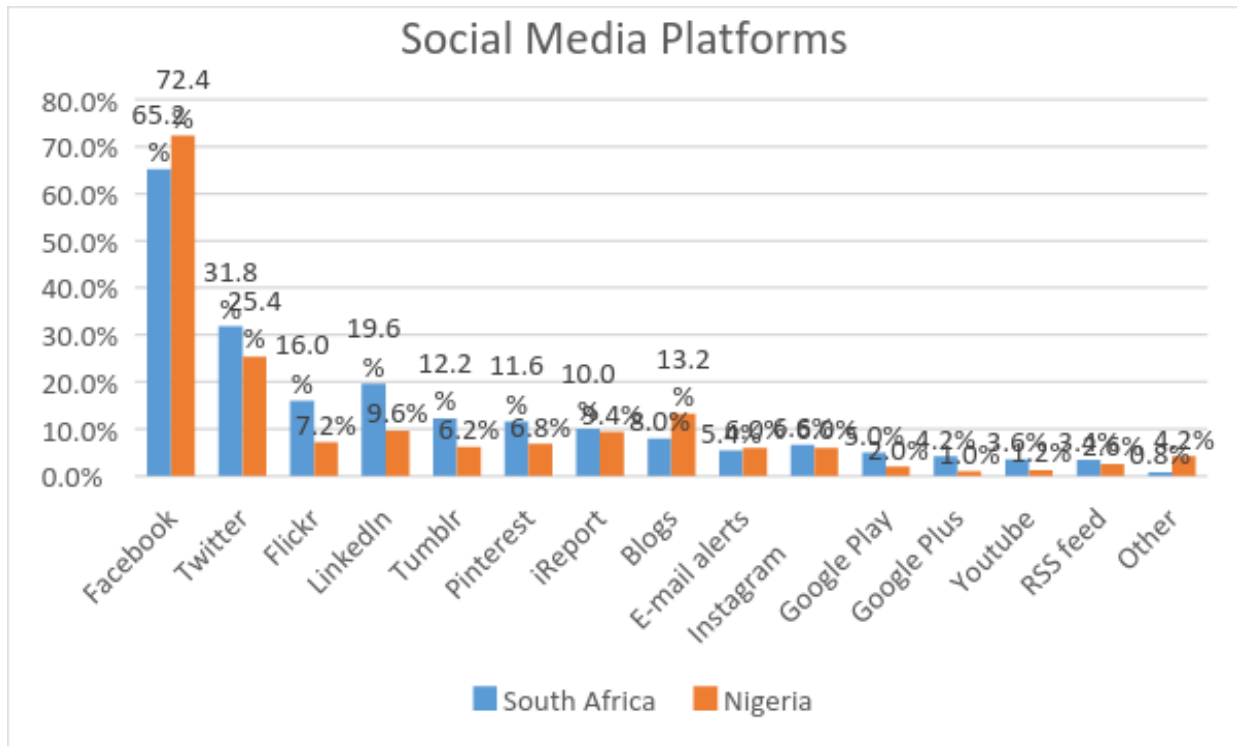
As expected, the popular social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Flickr and blogs led the pack as a means of accessing news. Facebook had the highest percentage of 65.2% and 72.4% for South Africa and Nigeria, followed by Twitter with 31.8% and 25.4%, Flickr 16.0% and 7.2% respectively. More people in Nigeria accessed blogs with 13.2% as against 8.0% for South Africa while the reverse was the case for Tumblr which had 12.2% for South Africa and 6.2% for Nigeria. Respondents also used other social media platforms like Instagram, Pinterest, iReport, E-mail alerts, newsletters, Google play, Google plus, YouTube and RSS feed to access online newspapers but not as much as the popular platforms.

Questions 32: Social media convenience
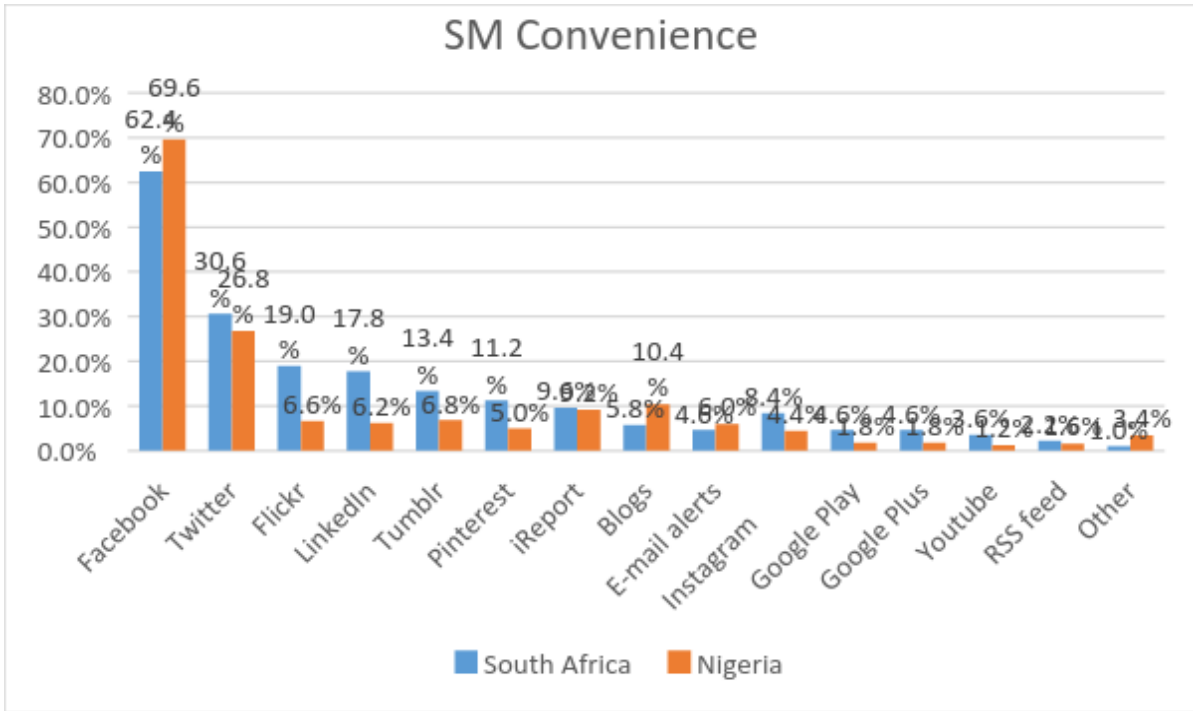
Just as in the previous question, respondents chose Facebook, Twitter, Flickr and LinkedIn as the most convenient platforms when accessing news. Facebook got 62.4% and 69.6% votes for South Africa and Nigeria, Twitter had 30.6% and 26.8%, Flickr, 19.0% and 6.6%, and LinkedIn, 17.8% and 6.2% respectively. Other social media platforms are convenient but not many respondents used them when accessing online newspapers.

Question 33: Preferred digital devices

Device Used

	Desktop	Laptop	iPad	Mobile phone	Other
South Africa	7.6%	39.6%	36.2%	15.4%	1.2%
Nigeria	9.0%	39.4%	22.8%	25.6%	3.2%
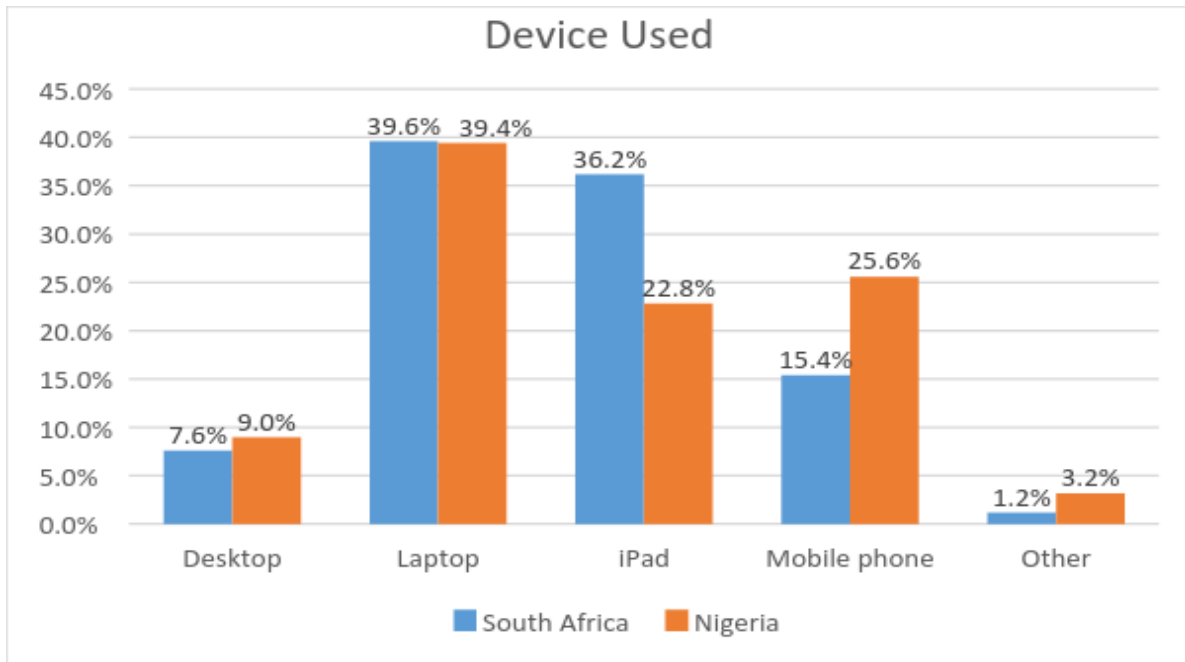
Laptop is the preferred means among respondents when accessing news online with a 39.6% and 39.4% rating, leaving desktop, iPad, mobile phones and other devices with 7.6% and 9.0%, 36.2% and 22.8%, 15.4% and 25.6% and 1.2% and 3.2% respectively for South Africa and Nigeria. It is worthy of note that more users in Nigeria access the news on their mobile phones than their South African counterparts while the reverse is the case for iPads.

Question 34: Preferred mobile Apps
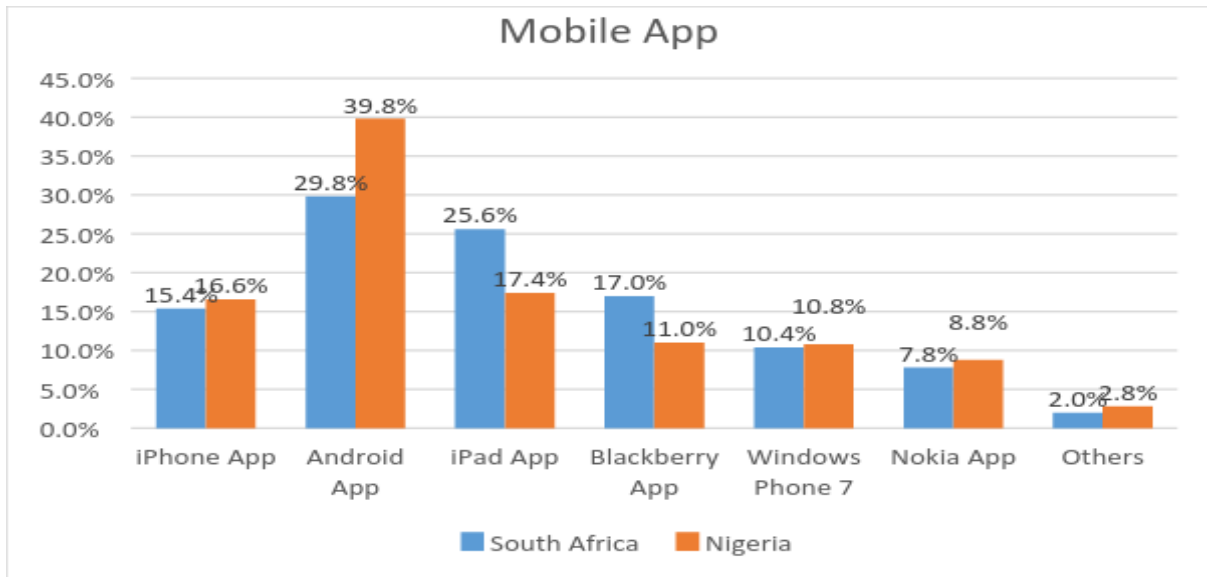
Android mobile app users had the highest ticks with 29.8% and 39.8% for South Africa and Nigeria while iPad App had 25.6% and 17.4%, iPhone App 15.4% and 16.6%, Blackberry app 17.0% and 11.0%, windows phone 7 app had 10.4% and 10.8%, Nokia app settled for 7.8% and 8.8% and finally other apps had 2.0% and 2.8%.

6.2 Comparative analysis of the effect of digitalization on journalists in Nigeria and South Africa

Question 1: Age
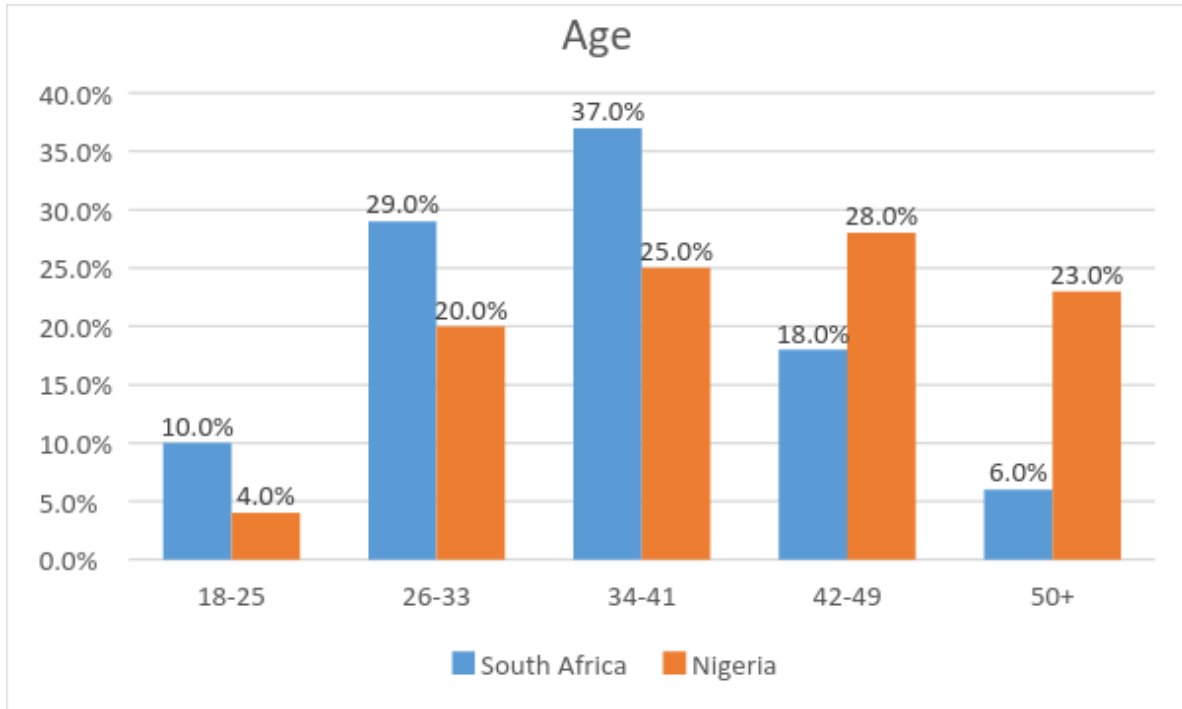
The population was generally of a young professional age bracket. However, from the choices of respondents, South Africa appears to have a younger population practicing journalism compared to Nigeria. In both countries, there are professionals within the age bracket of 36 and 49, making the profession a highly mobile one.

Question 2: Gender
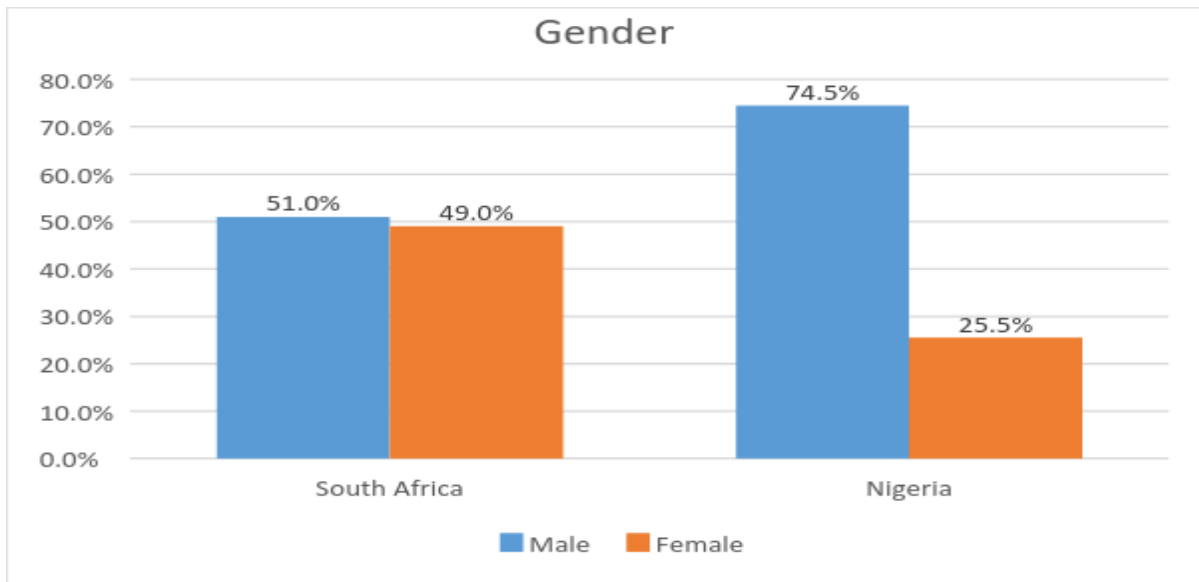
Based on the responses, there is almost no significant difference between the number of female and male journalists in South Africa which is markedly different from the situation in Nigeria. In the case of Nigeria, two-third of respondents are men which could also imply that there are more male journalists than females.

Even though there are also more male respondents from South Africa, the margin between male and female journalist is as low as 2% while the margin between male and female journalists for Nigeria is as wide as 49%.

Question 3: Educational qualification

Educational Qualification

South Africa | Nigeria

- Professional certificate: 5.0% / 2.0%
- Diploma: 6.0%
- First degree: 34.0% / 42.0%
- Postgraduate diploma: 23.0% / 14.0%
- Master's degree: 26.0% / 40.0%
- Ph.D: 6.0% / 1.0%
- Other (please specify): 1.0%
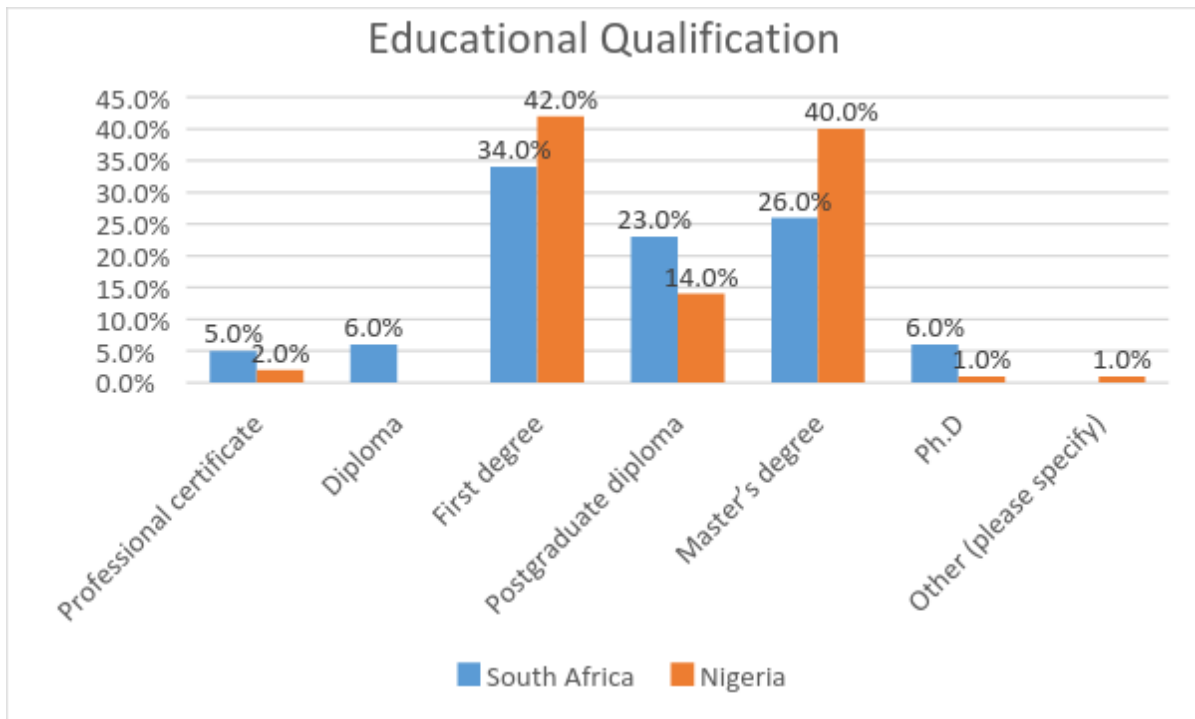
Formal education appears to be a critical consideration in the general practice of the profession in both countries, though Nigerian respondents appear to have more qualification when compared to their South African counterparts. A high percentage of respondents from both Nigeria and South Africa claim to have either a first degree, Master's or a Ph.D.

Question 4: How long have you worked as a journalist?

Years of Experience
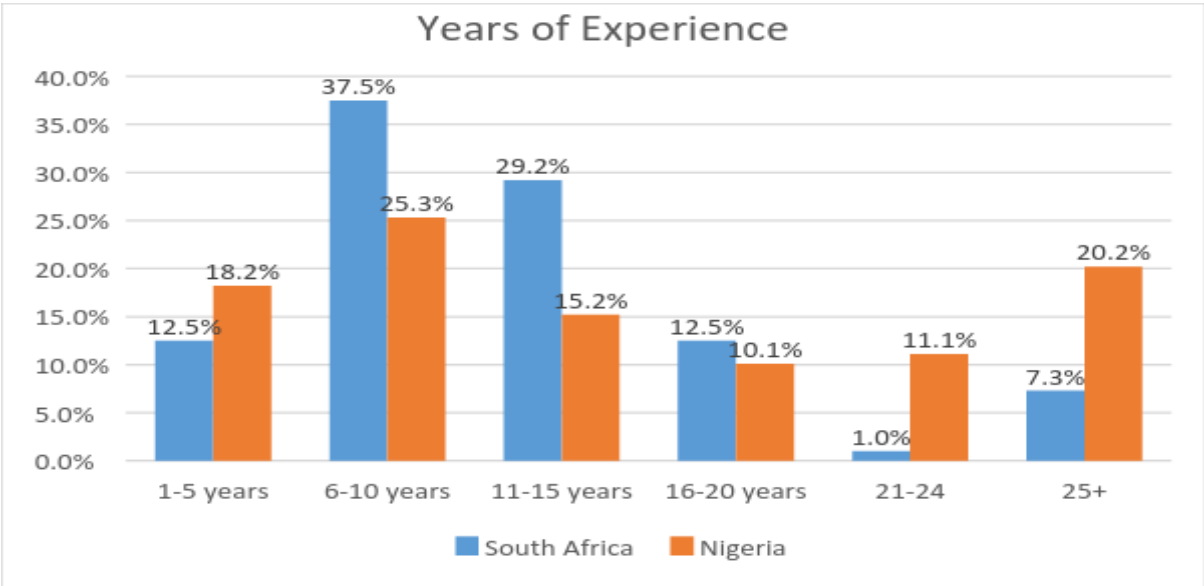
Respondents from both countries have professionals with long years of experience. However, Nigeria leads with the shortest and longest number of years of experience which is 1-5 years and 25+ respectively. South Africa, however, has a greater number of middle-aged professionals when compared to Nigeria, almost double the age of their Nigerian counterparts with a percentage of 29.2% and 15.2% respectively.

Question 5: Portfolio
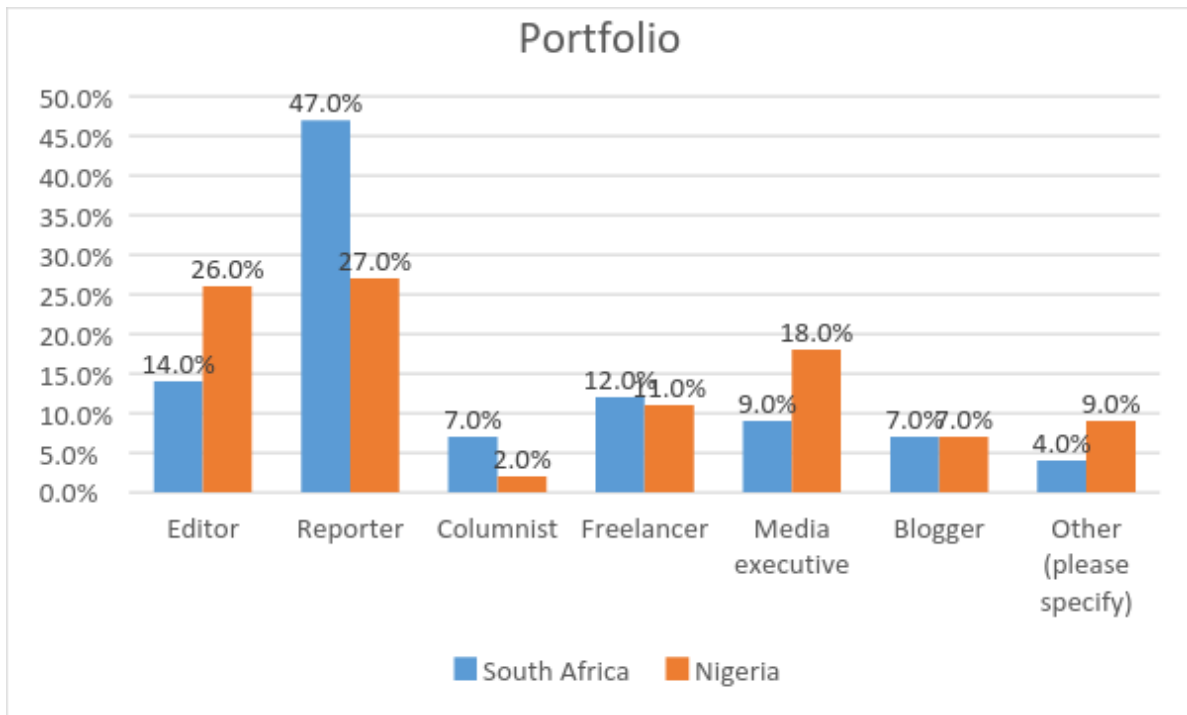
Respondents from Nigeria were more diverse as against South Africa's mostly skewed respondents who were mostly reporters. Respondents from Nigeria consisted mostly of editors and reporters, though in all the categories specified Nigeria performed significantly more when compared to South Africa.

Question 6: Where do you work?
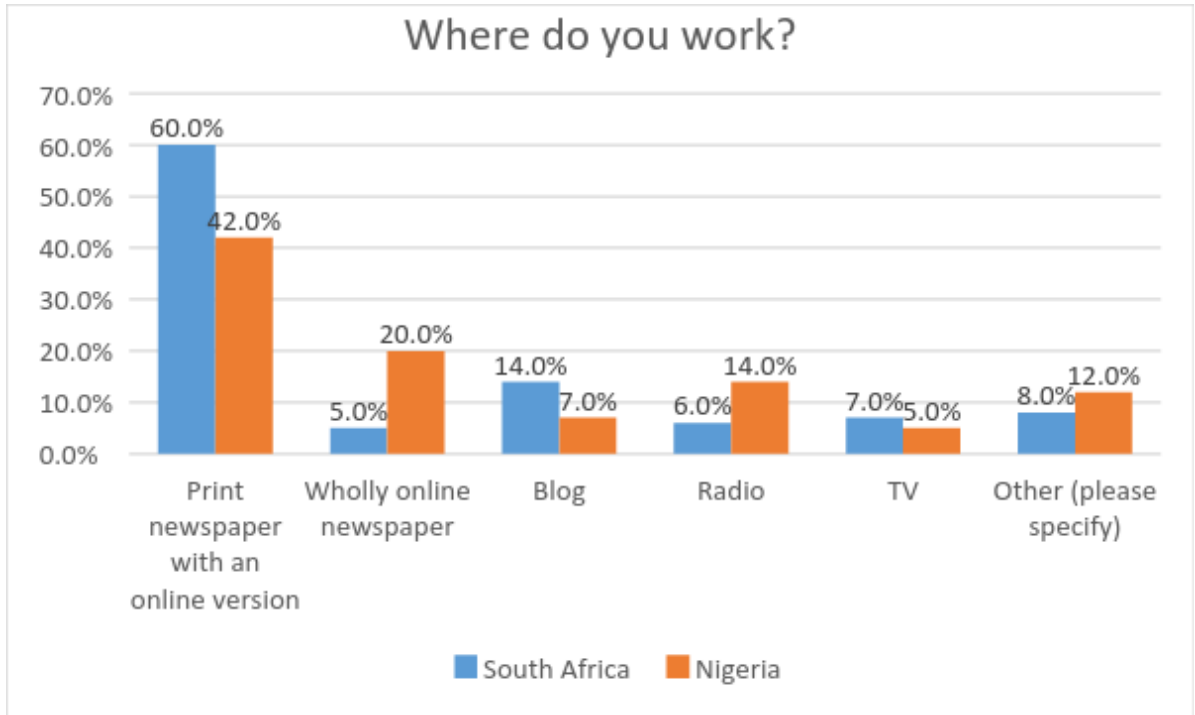
Print media in both countries had the highest respondents though 60% of South African respondents work in print newspapers as against Nigeria's 42%. The responses indicate that 20% and 7% of respondents work in wholly online newspapers and blogs respectively in Nigeria as against South Africans 5% and 14% for the same category.

Radio and television respondents constituted 6% and 7% for South Africa and 14% and 5% for Nigeria respectively. The category Other had 8% and 12% for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 7: Contributing to print and online versions?
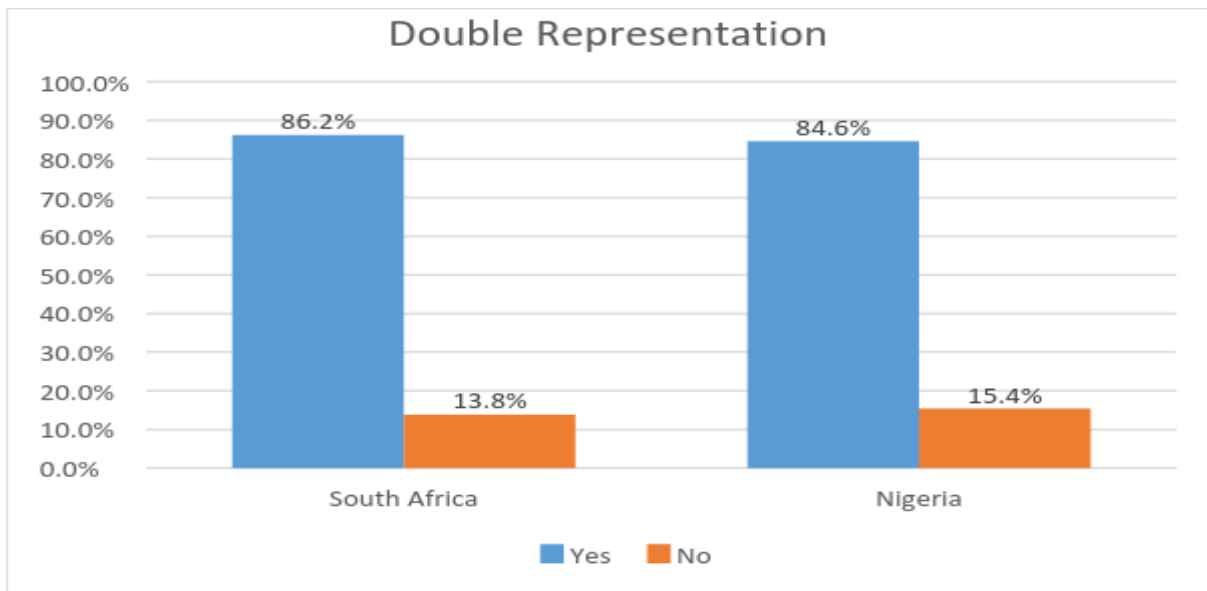
When asked if they are required to contribute to both online and hardcopy of their newspapers where they work, an overwhelming number answered in the affirmative with almost equal percentage. In terms of percentage, 86.2 and 84.6 from South African and Nigeria answered "Yes" while 13.8 and 15.4 answered "No" respectively.

Question 8: Social media use
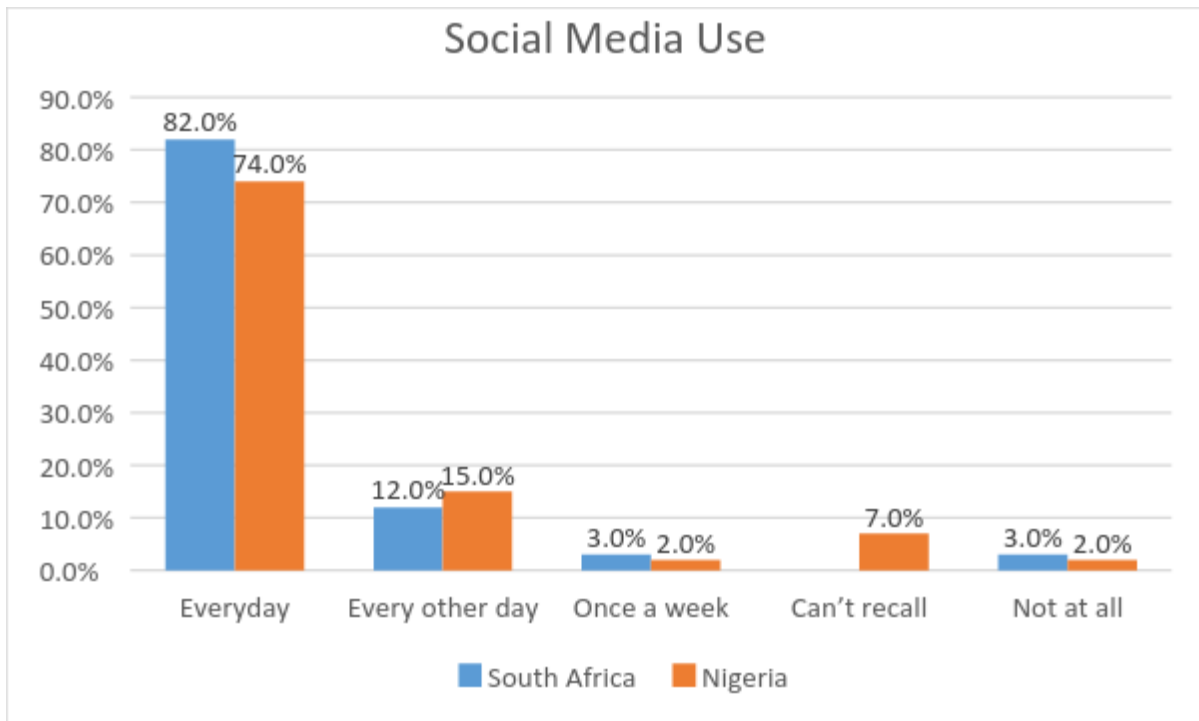
More respondents in South Africa said they use social media every day in the course of their work with an 82.0% response rate. The situation is the same for journalists in Nigeria though with a slightly lower percentage of 74.0%. 12.0% and 15.0% said they use every other day while 3.0% and 2.0% chose once a week for South Africa and Nigeria respectively. Responding to the same question, 3.0% and 2.0% said they don't use social media at all for South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Question 9: Social media preference
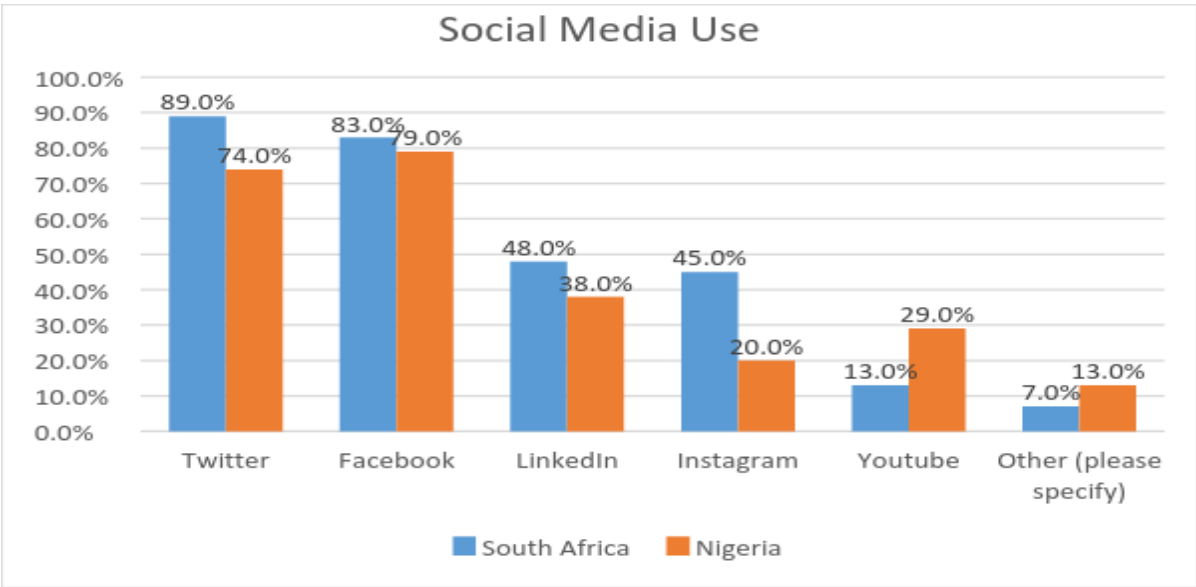
Facebook and Twitter were the most preferred platforms for respondents. These platforms accounted for 83.0% and 89.0% in South Africa and 79.0% and 74.0% in Nigeria. These are closely followed by the next tier, LinkedIn and Instagram, with 48.0% and 45.0% for South Africa and 38.0% and 20.0% in Nigeria. YouTube and the option Other had the least preference with 13.0% and 7.0% in South Africa and 29.0% and 13.0% in Nigeria.

Question 10: Challenges of Internet/social media use
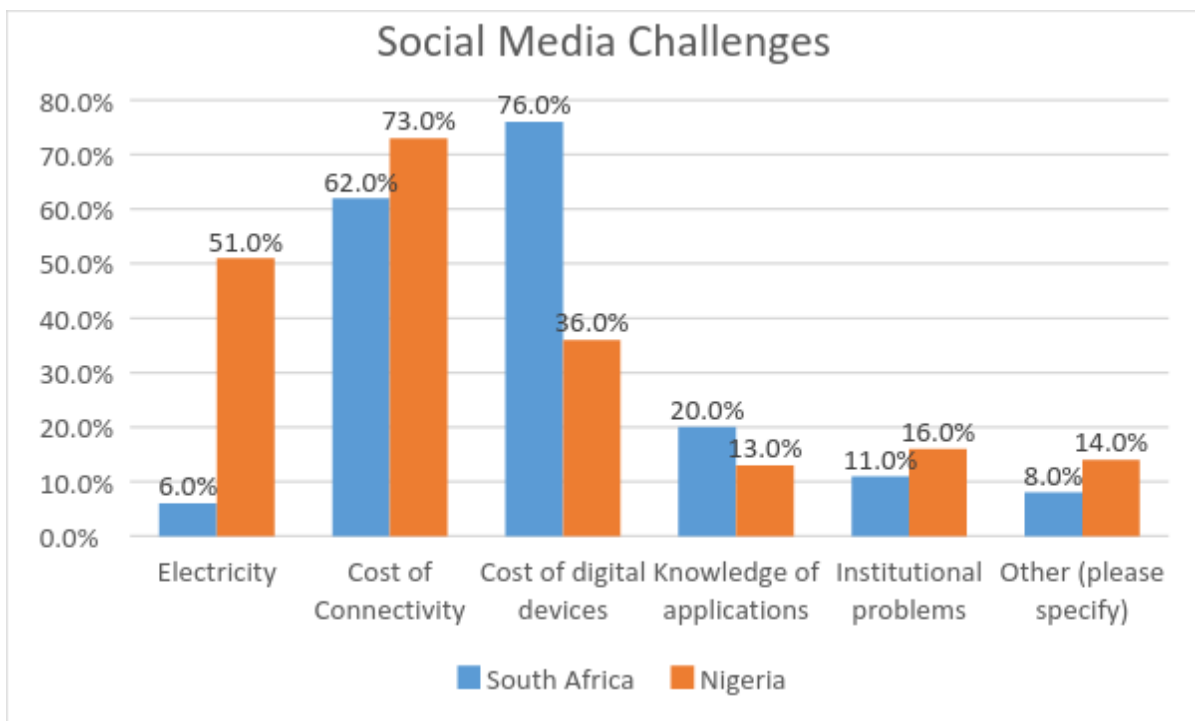
Cost of connectivity and digital devices were the major constraints to the use of Internet and social media by respondents in South Africa which accounted for 62.0% and 76.0%. Cost of connectivity at 73.0% was equally a major constraint in Nigeria while cost of digital device was obviously of less concern in Nigeria with 36.0%. At 51.0%, electricity was a major issue in Nigeria while for South Africa, electricity posed the least constraint with 6.0%. Knowledge of application, institutional problems and the option Other posed little problem for journalists in both countries as shown in the score for each at 20.0%, 11.0% and 8.0% for South Africa and 13.0%, 16.0% and 14.0% for Nigeria respectively.

Question 11: Operating blogs or social media platforms
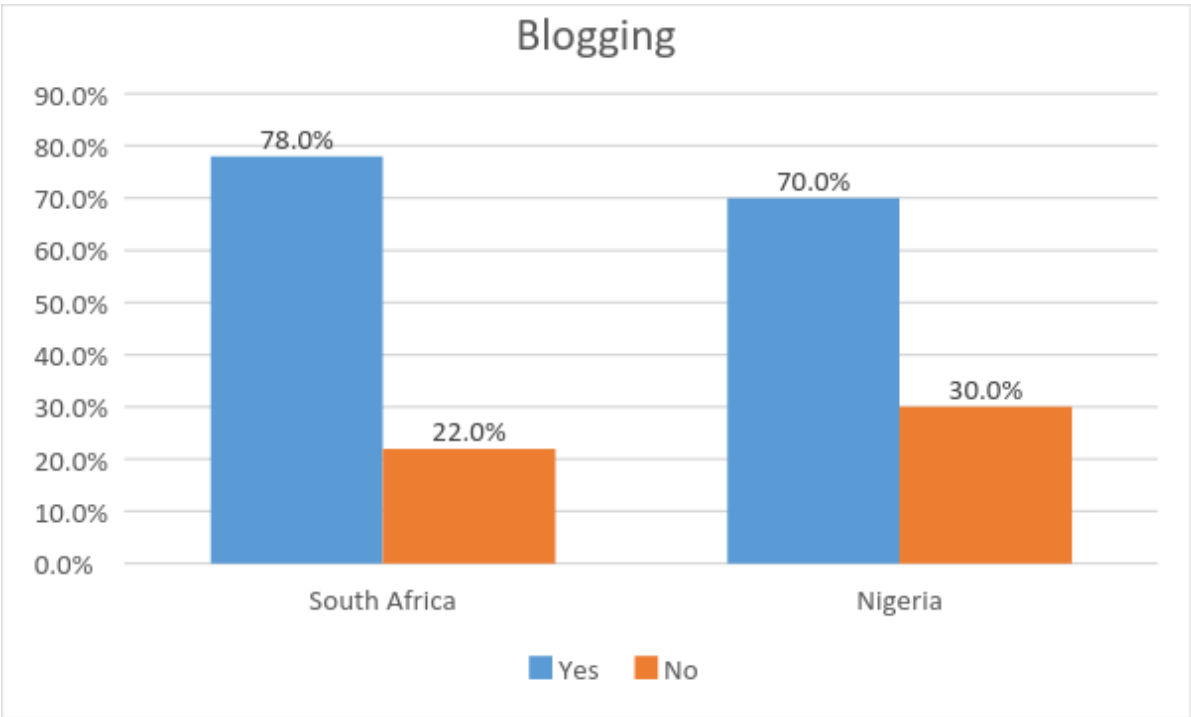
Significantly, respondents from both countries have their own independent platforms (blogs or social media) to complement their official jobs. 78.0% and 70.0% answered in the affirmative for South Africa and Nigeria respectively while 22.0% and 30% in both countries said they didn't.

Question 12: How often respondents used personal platforms to complement their official jobs

If yes, How?
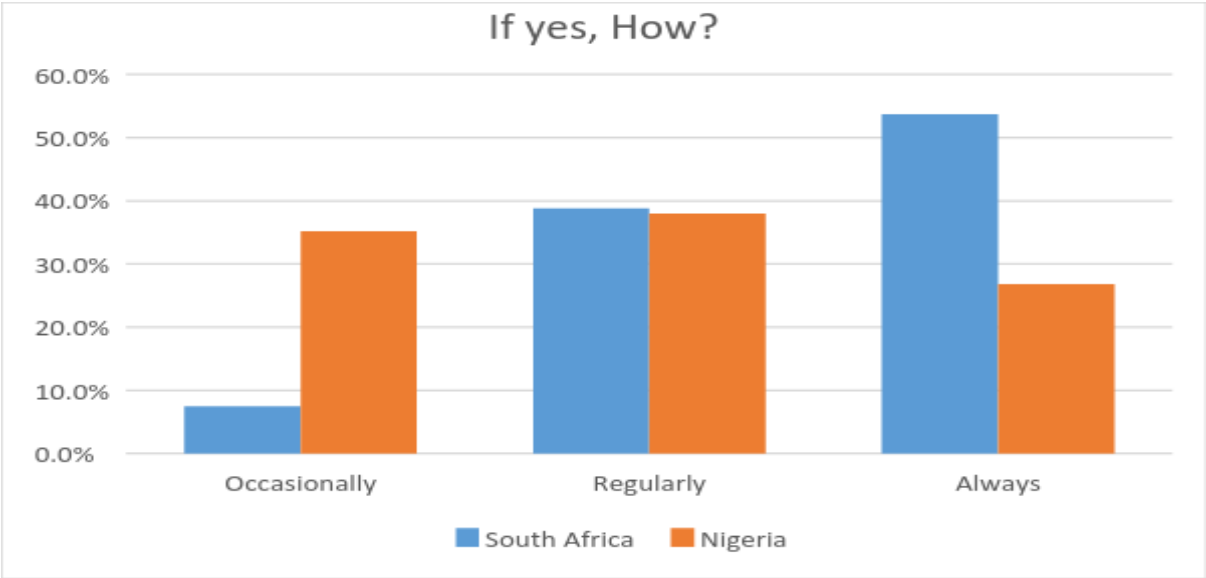
53.8% of respondents in South Africa said they always publish on their blog/social media platforms while the number for Nigeria was 26.8%. 38.8% said they published regularly in South Africa as against Nigeria's 38.0% for same category. 35.2% of Nigerians agreed that they published occasionally on their blogs/social media platforms as against South Africa's 7.5%.

Question 13: Major interest in use of new media

Excitement About Social Media
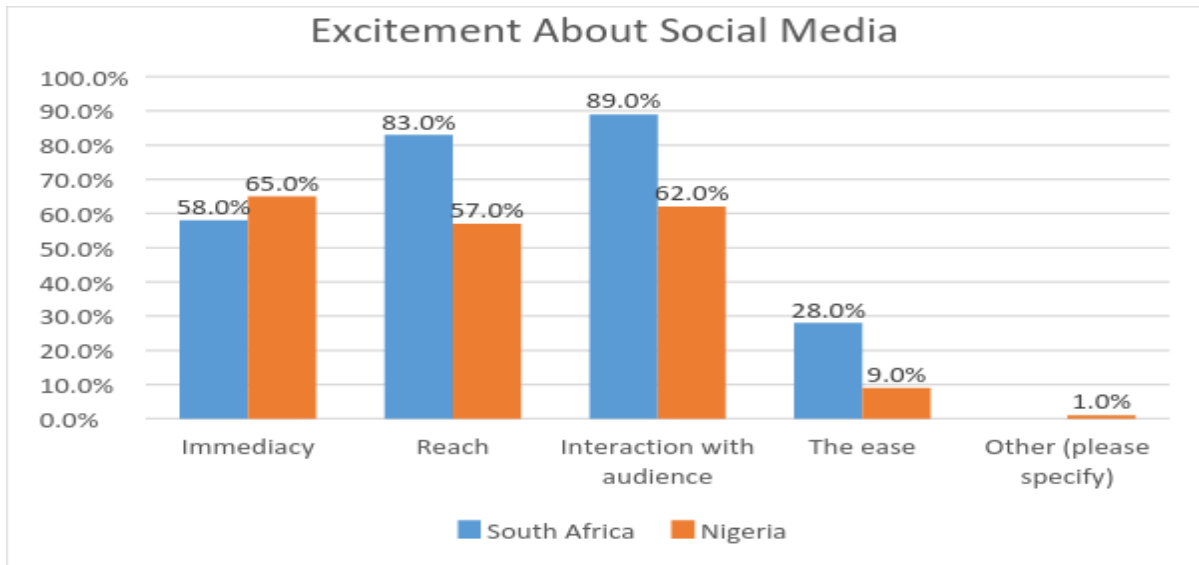
In the use of new media, interaction with audience was of major interest for journalists in South Africa with 89.0%, closely followed by reach with 83.0% before immediacy, then ease with 28.0%. The Nigerian respondents rated immediacy highest with 65.0%, closely followed by interaction with audience with 62.0%, before reach with 57.0%, then ease with 9.0% and the option Other had 1.0%.

Question 14: Impact of digital media
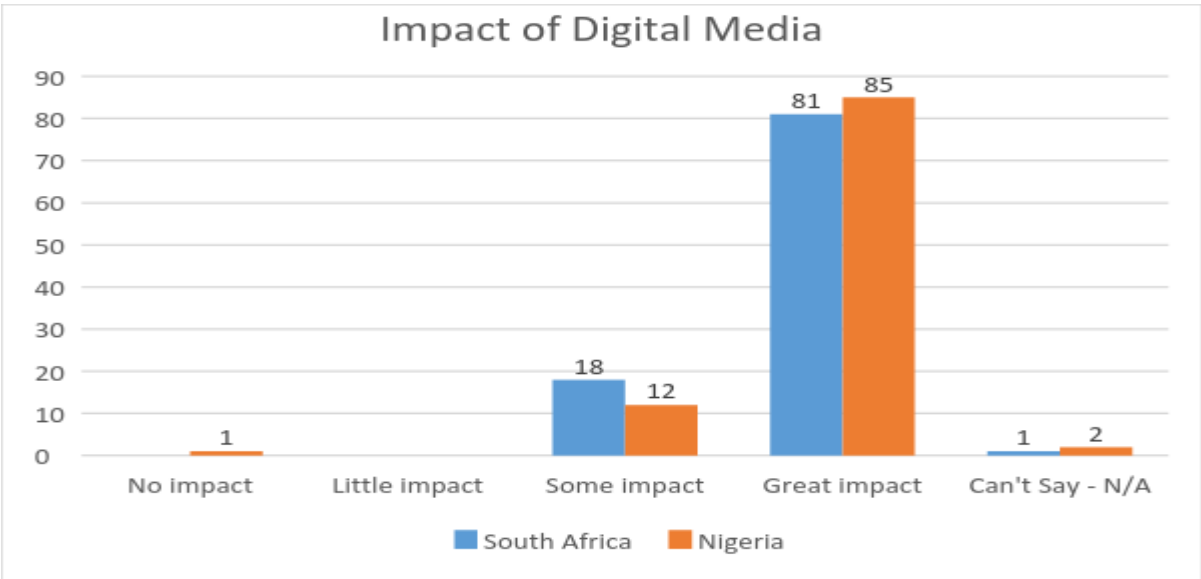
Majority of respondents agreed that digital media has had a great impact on the work. 85% and 81% of Nigerian and South African respondents respectively feel their job as journalists has been greatly impacted by digital media while 12% and 18% respectively believe that digital media has had some impact on their job.

Question 15: Effectiveness in use of digital media
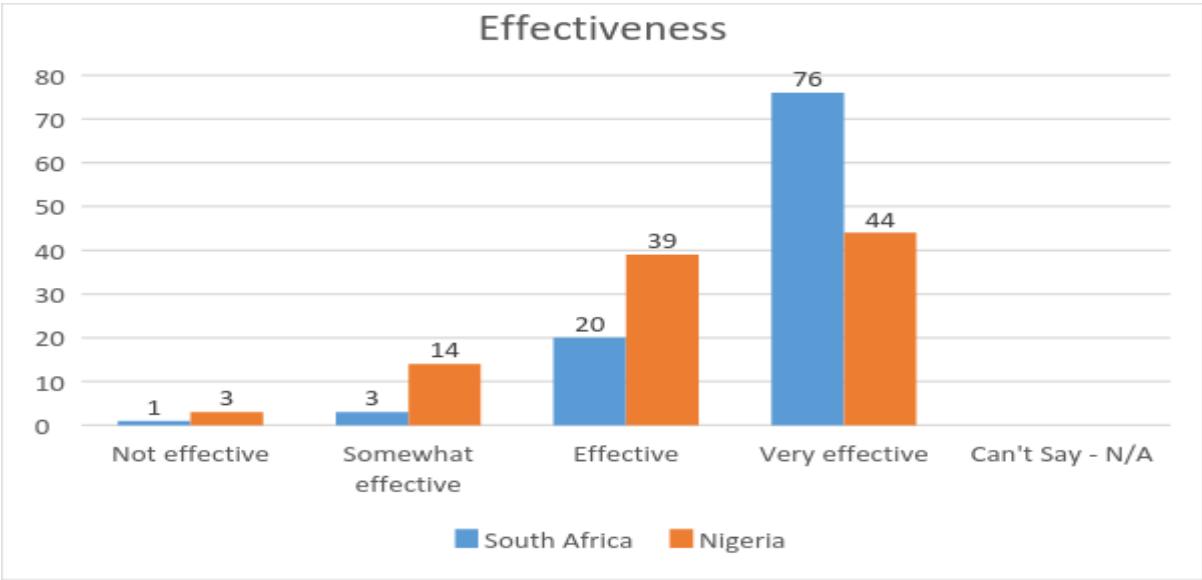
More respondents in South Africa felt more confident in the effective use of digital media. 76% respondents in South Africa said they are very effective in the use of social media, 20% said they are effective, 3% went for somewhat effective and 1% went for not effective. 44% of respondents from Nigerian chose very effective, 39% chose effective, 14% said they were somewhat effective while 3% said they were not effective. Interestingly, no respondent was indecisive as the can't say option had no score.

Question 16: The impact digital media will have on journalists in the next 10 years
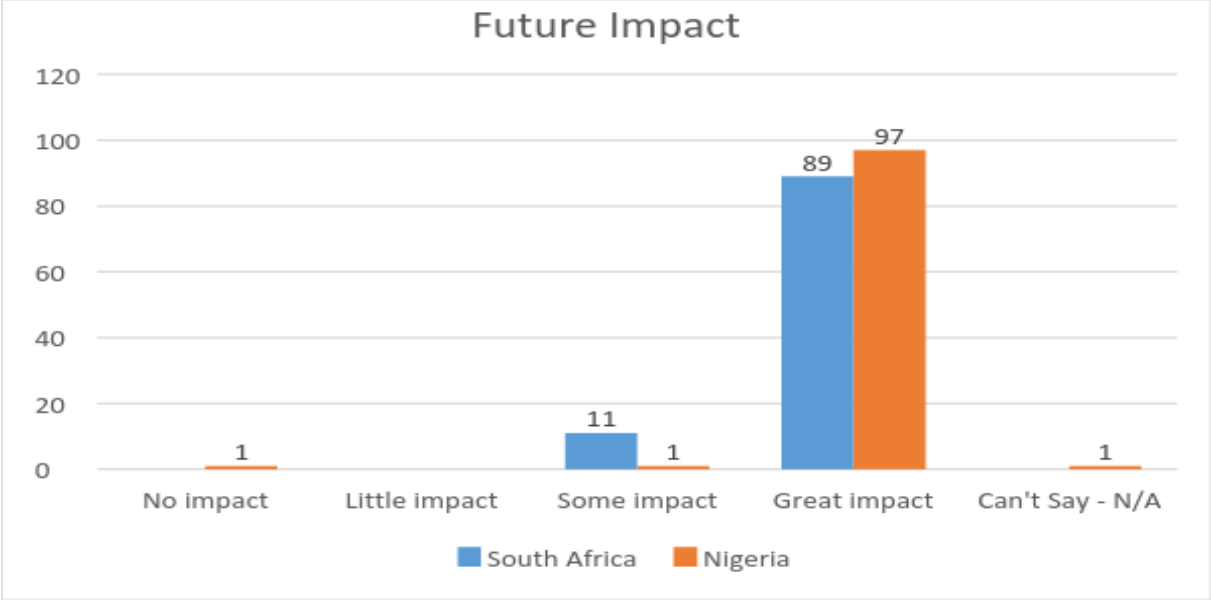
On the issue of the impact digital media will have on journalists in the next decade, the option "great impact" had a massive support as 89% and 97% of South African and Nigerian respondents respectively agreed that digital media will have a great impact on their work in the next ten years. 11% and 1% of respondents respectively think that digital media will have some impact. 1% of Nigerian respondents think there will be no impact at all with the same percentage being indecisive.

Question 17: Training in digital media in the last one year

Capacity development
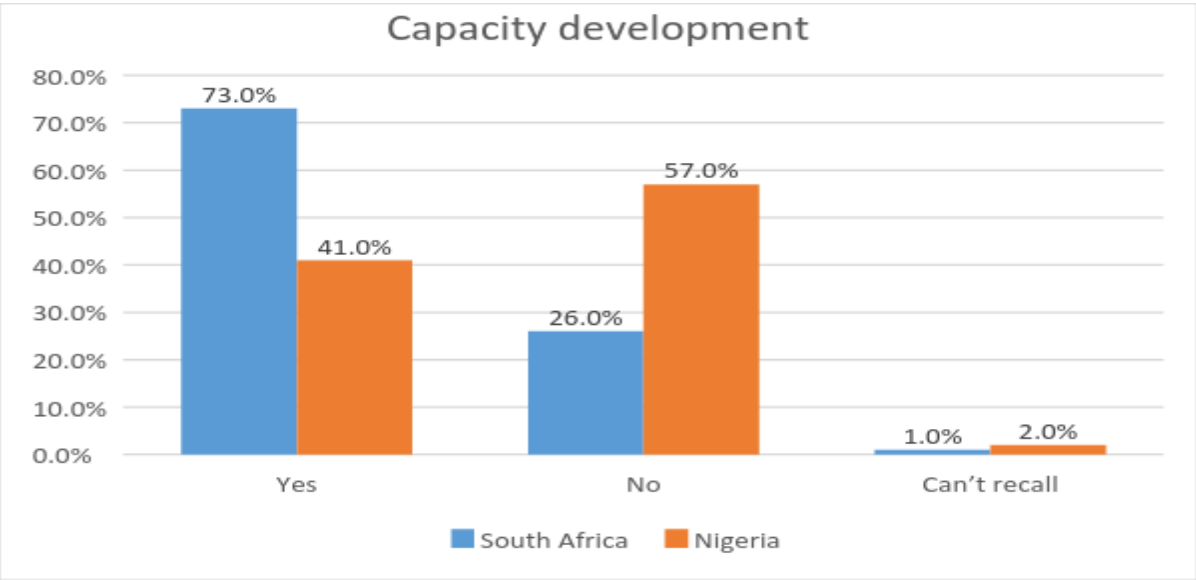
73% of respondents from South Africa said they had digital media training within the past one year while 26% said they didn't and 1% said they were unable to recall. 41% of Nigerian respondents said they had digital media training in the past one year while a large percentage, 57%, said they didn't and 2% chose can't recall.

Question 18: Importance of digital media skills for journalists today
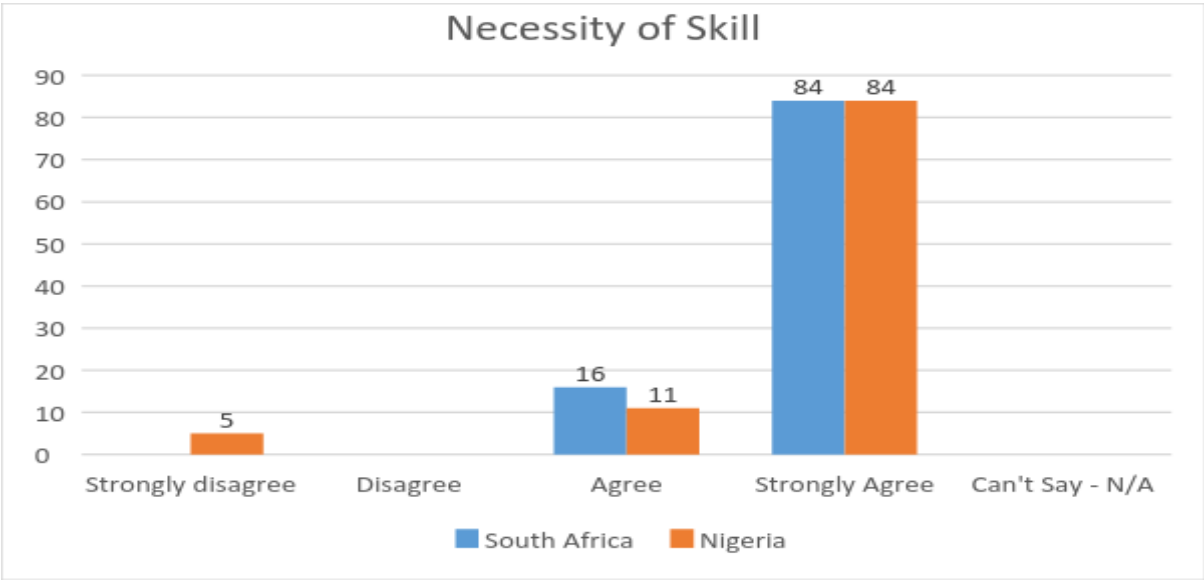
Necessity of Skill

On the issue of the importance of digital media for today's journalists, 84% of respondents in both countries "strongly agree" that digital skill is a necessity in today's journalism. 16% and 11% South African and Nigerian respondents chose "agree", while 5% of Nigerian respondents chose "strongly disagree".

Question 19: Public feedback
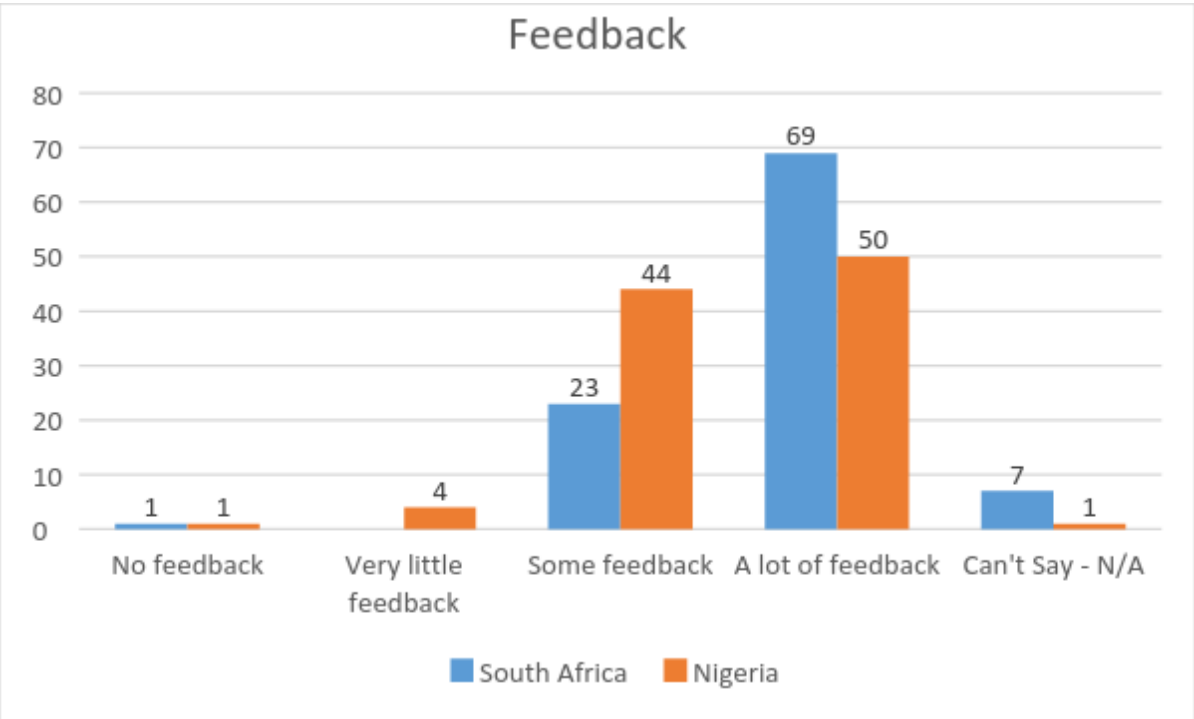
The public do obviously provide a lot of feedback to the journalists as 69% and 50% of respondents said they get a lot of feedback on their work from the public. 23% and 44% respondents respectively said they get some form of feedback. 4% of Nigerian respondents said they get little feedback as 1% each of both countries' respondents said they don't get any feedback at all. 7% and 1% respectively chose "can't say" on the issue of feedback.

Question 20: Impact of feedback
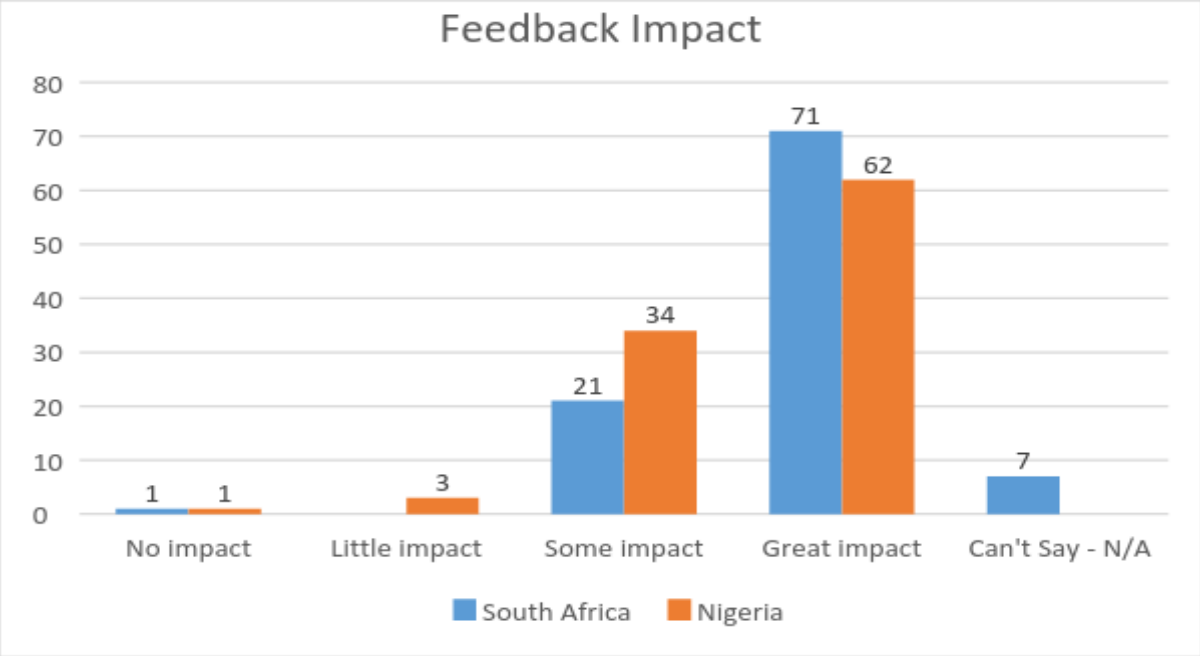
On the importance of feedback, 71% and 62% of respondents in South Africa and Nigeria respectively said the feedback from the audience impacts their work greatly. 21% and 34% feel it has some impact, 3% in Nigeria feel it has little impact and 1% each thinks it has no impact at all while 7% of South African respondents chose the option "can't tell."

Question 21: Audience engagement using social media

Audience engagement
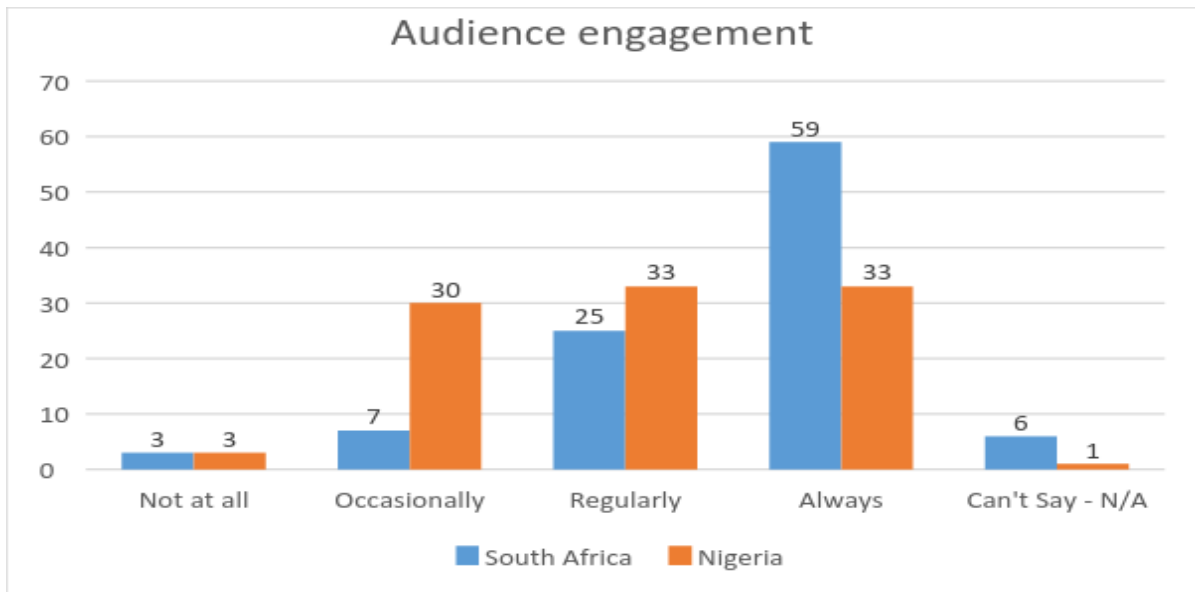
59% and 33% respondents were of the opinion that they always engage their audience on social media in South Africa and Nigeria respectively. Another 25% and 33% said they regularly did while occasional interaction was 7% and 30% of the respondents respectively. 3% each said they did not engage with the audience at all while 6% and 1% chose "can't say."

Question 22: Should readers pay for content in online newspapers?
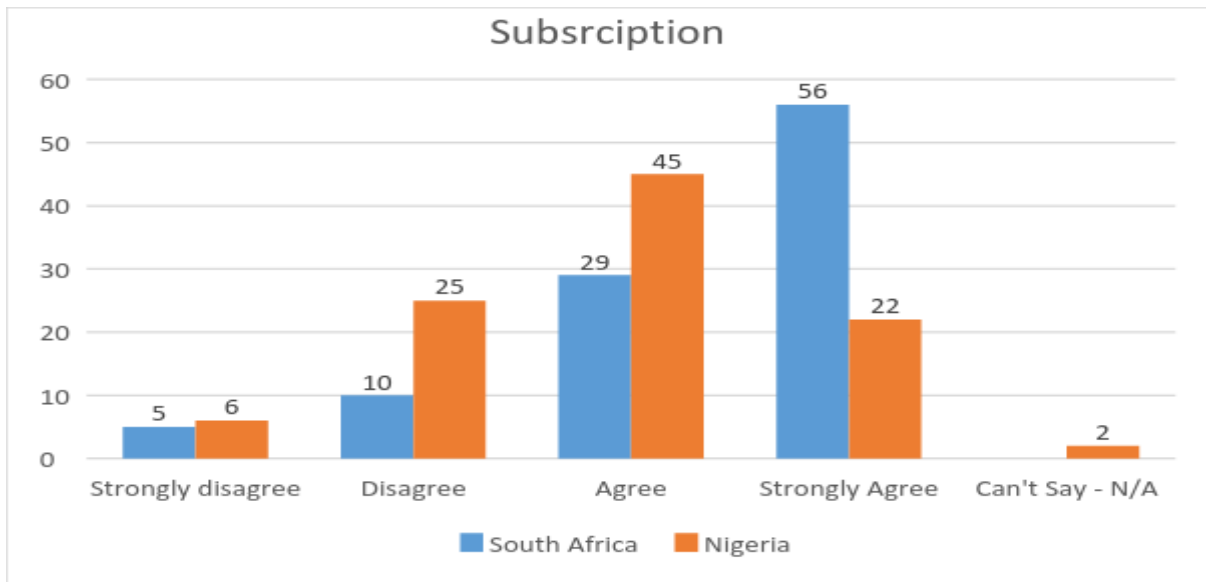
More journalists in South Africa than Nigeria chose "strongly agree" on the issue of readers paying for online contents with 56% as against Nigeria's 22%. More Nigerian journalists chose "agree" 45% while the number for South Africa on the same option was 29%. 10% and 25% respectively chose "disagree" on the payment option. 5% and 6% chose "strongly disagree" with payment while 2% Nigerians chose "can't say."

Question 23: Opinion about the willingness of readers to pay for online news
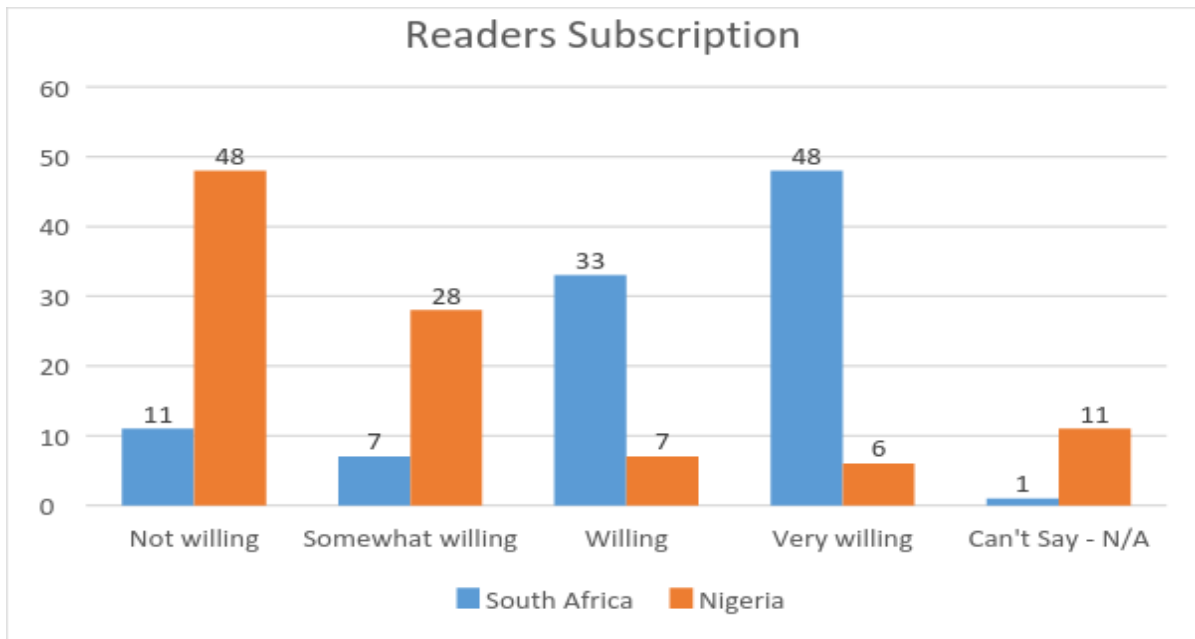
When asked if they thought the audience was willing to pay for online content, almost half, 48%, of respondents from South Africa said readers were "very willing" to pay for news online. That contrasts sharply with the 6% response from Nigeria. 33% of South African respondents and 7% respondents from Nigeria chose "willing" while 7% and 28% went for the "somewhat willing" option for South Africa and Nigeria respectively. Almost half of Nigerian journalists, 48%, said the audience in Nigeria was "not willing" to pay for online newspaper as against South Africa's 11%. 1% of respondents from South Africa and 11% from Nigeria chose the "can't say" option.

Question 24: Overall impact of digital media on the journalism profession
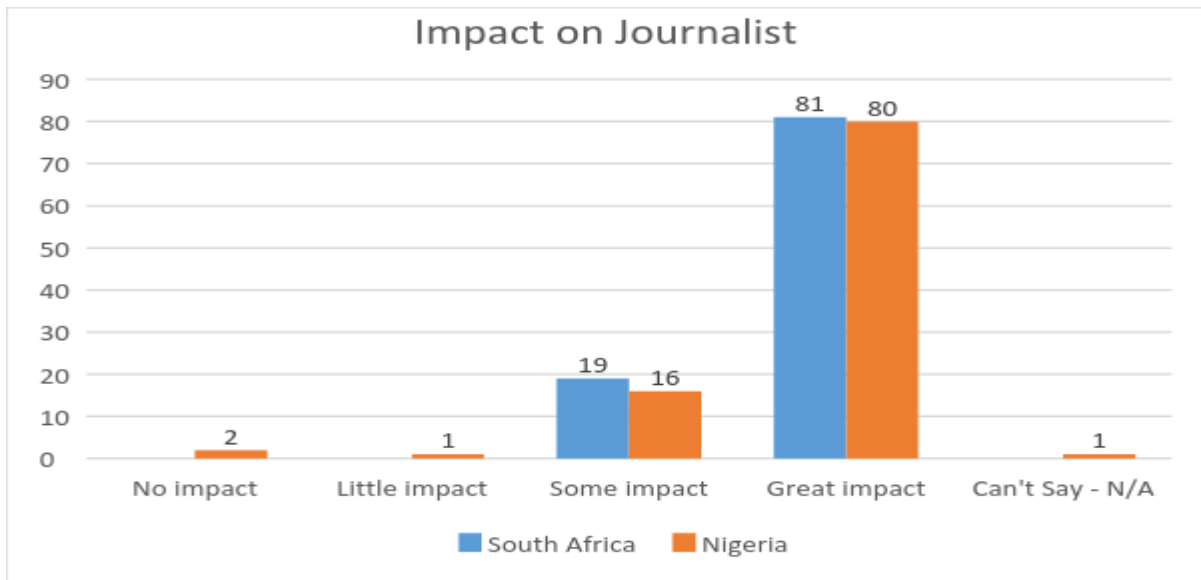
Clearly, digital media has greatly impacted the journalism profession in both Nigeria and South Africa as shown by the opinion of respondents. 81% and 80% of respondents believe the impact is great, 19% and 16% believe it has "some impact" in South Africa and Nigeria respectively. However, only 2% in Nigeria believe it has no impact and 1% chose the "can't say" option.

Question 25: Adjustment to digital transition
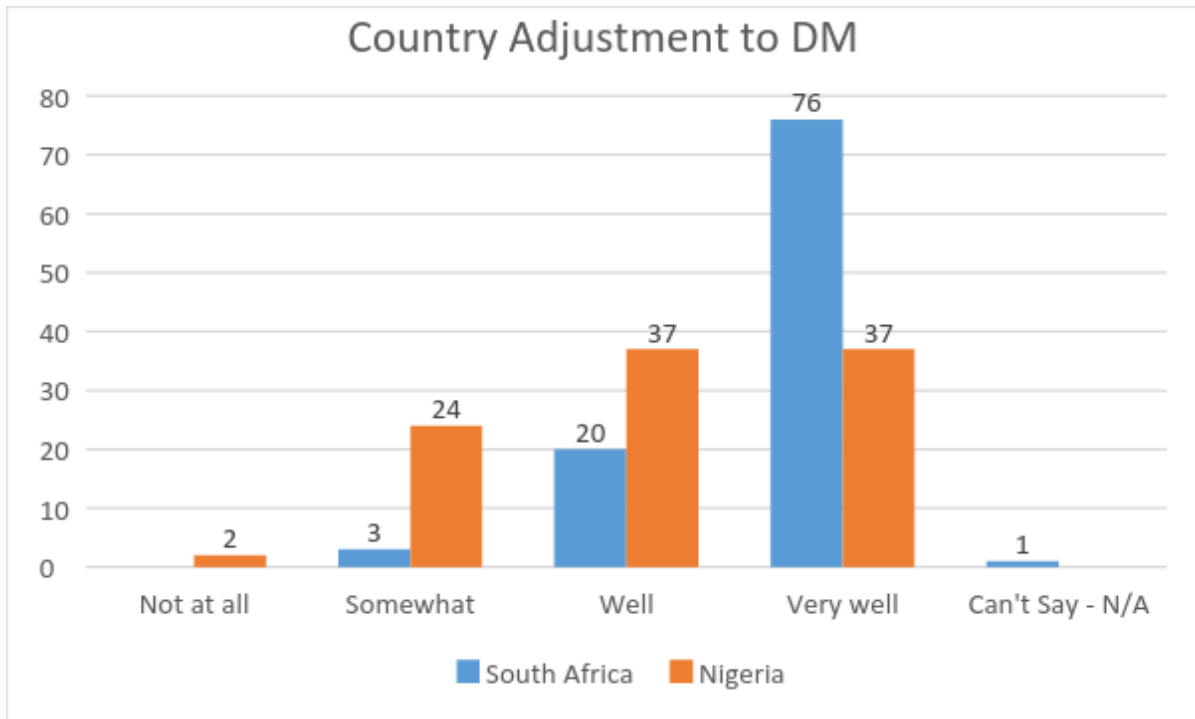
On the issue of how well journalists are adjusting to the transition to digital media, 76% of South Africans and 37% of Nigerians believe journalists in their country are readjusting "very well" to the new digital media trend while 20% and 37% respectively feel they are adjusting "well." 3% and 24% went for the option "somewhat". 2% of Nigerians chose the option "not at all" while 1% of South Africans opted for "can't say."

Question 26: Obstacle to online newspaper growth
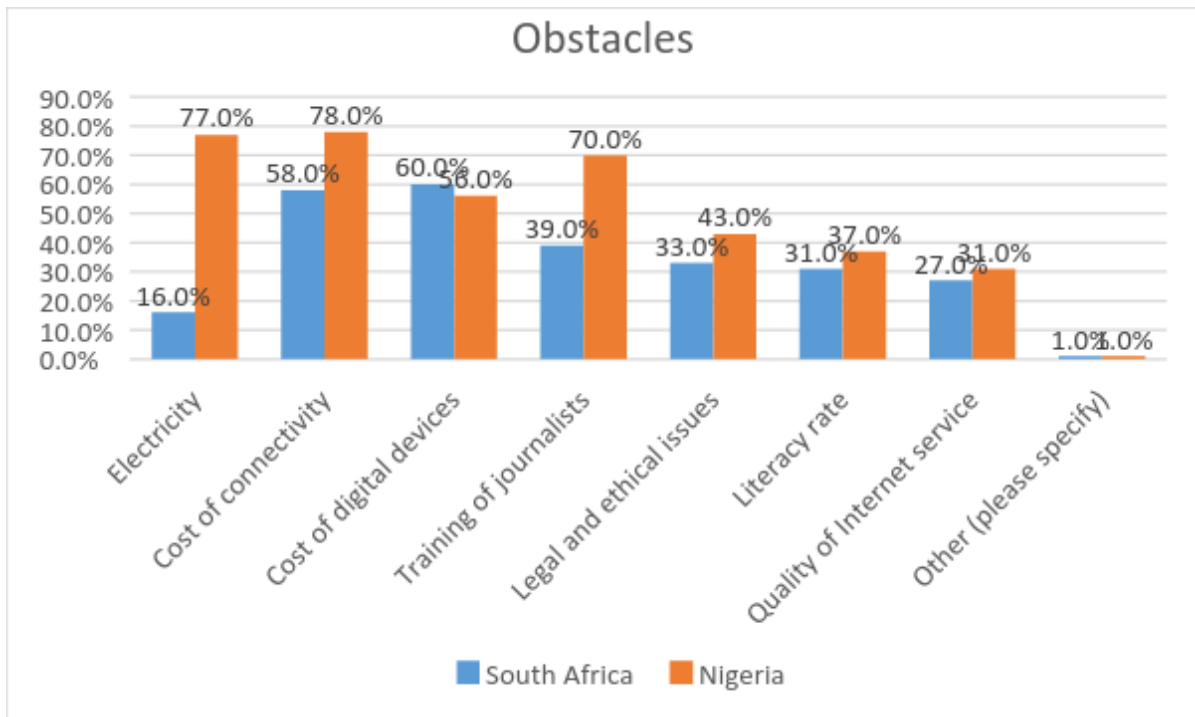
In terms of obstacles to the growth of online newspapers, the major concern of South Africans was the cost of digital devices with 60% choosing this, closely followed by cost of connectivity at 58%. Training of journalists came in next with 39%, 33% had to do with legal and ethical issues. Literacy rate had a fair mention with 31%, not forgetting the quality of Internet connectivity with 27% and finally the option "Other" with 1%. For their Nigerian counterpart, cost of connectivity was the primary obstacle with 78% closely followed by electricity with 77% and training of Journalists with 70%. Cost of digital device had a 56%, legal and ethical issue had a 43% level of concern with 37% for literacy rate. Quality of Internet service was not really a concern as that accounted for 31% and the option "Other" had 1%.

Question 27: Do you agree that print media in your country will not survive another decade in light of the emergence of digital media?
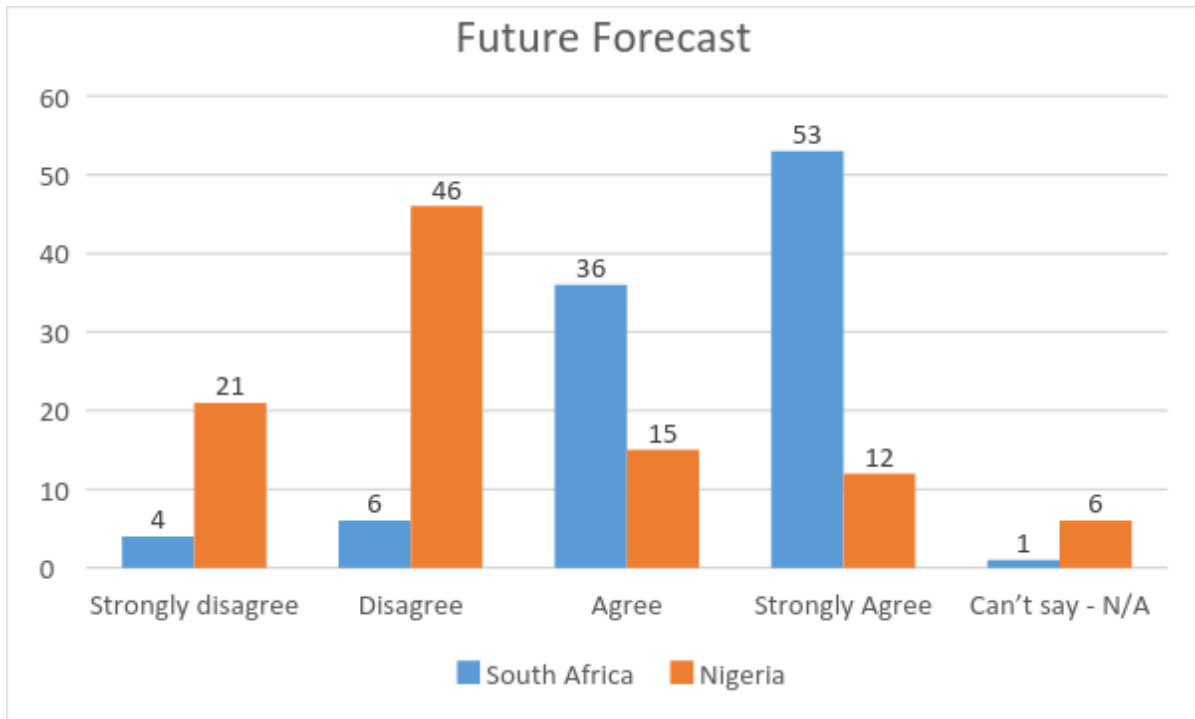
South African journalists think the end of print media is near. They are of the opinion that within the next decade it might be extinct with the strong emergence of digital media. 53% believe strongly it will not survive, 36% agree, 6% disagree believing it will not be extinct. 4% strongly disagree on the prospect of print newspaper dying completely while 1% had no opinion. Nigerian journalists on the other hand believe print newspaper won't die anytime soon as 46% chose the option "disagree," while 21% "strongly disagree" with the assertion. However, 15% agree it might while 12% say they strongly agree it may be extinct while 6% had no opinion.

Question 28: Impact of digital media on audience participation and empowerment
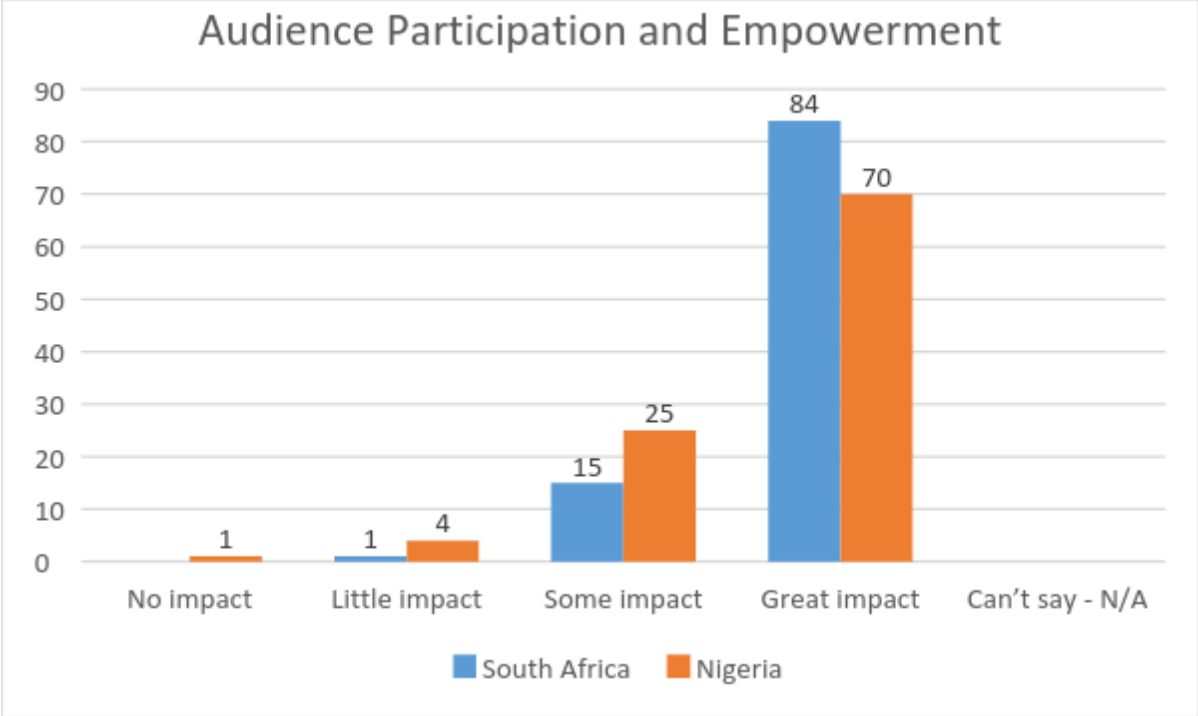
There is agreement that the transition to digital media will have great impact on empowerment and participation of citizens as 84% South Africans and 70% of Nigerians said it will have "great impact." 15% and 20% believe it will have some impact and 1% and 4% say it will have little impact respectively. Only 1% Nigerians said there will be no impact.

Question 29: Do you agree that social media can help you relate better with your audience and create a stronger understanding of your work?
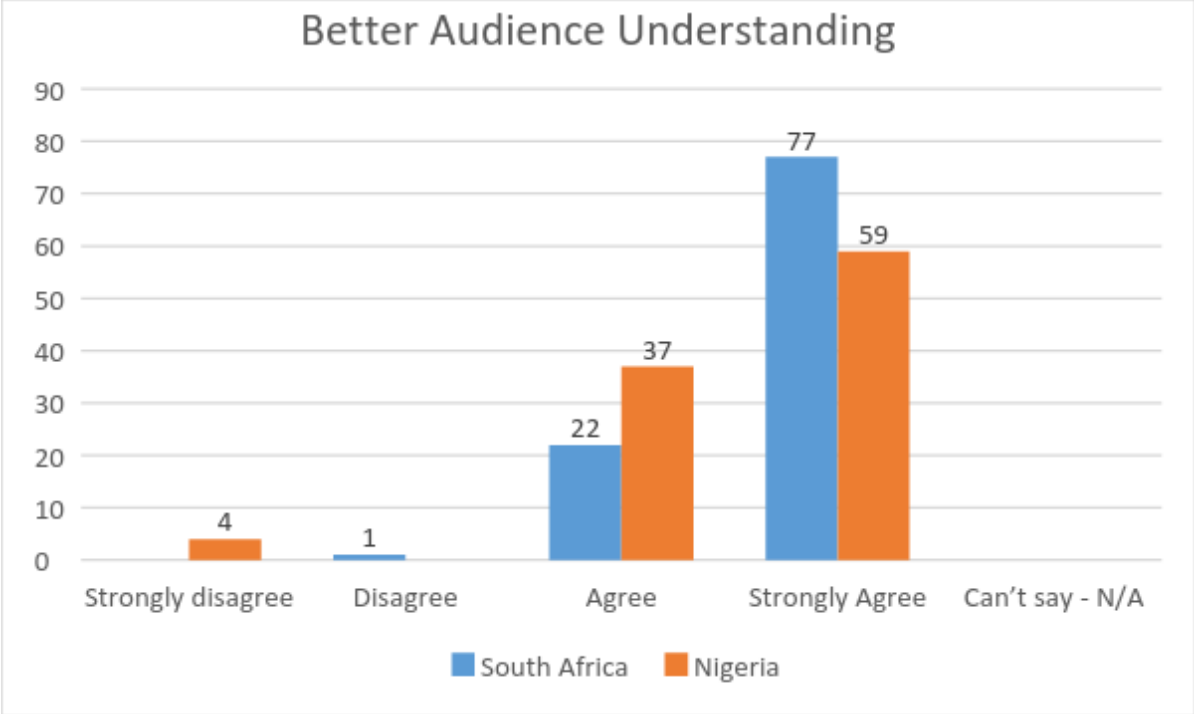
Better and enhanced relationship with readers was a great incentive for the use of digital media. Most respondents also agreed that the interaction which digital media encourages helps the audience have a better understanding of the profession as expressed by 77% and 59% of South African and Nigerian respondents respectively who chose "strongly agree" with the assertion while 22% and 37% agreed with the assertion. 1% of South Africans respondents disagreed while 4% Nigerians strongly disagreed.

Question 30: Do you agree that the interactive nature of digital media helps make journalists accountable to the public?
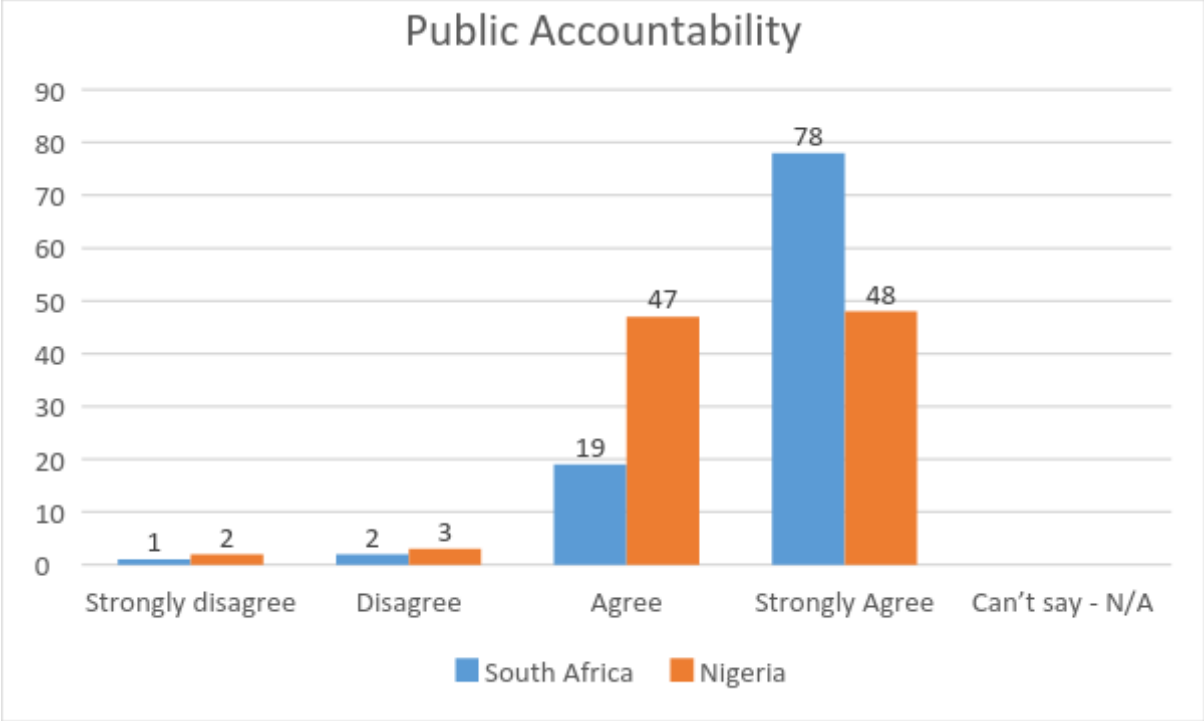
Accountability of journalists to the public has been enhanced with the interactive nature of the digital media as opined by 78% and 48% of South African and Nigerian respondents as they strongly agreed with the assertion while 19% and 47% agreed with the assertion. 2% and 3% of South African and Nigerian respondents disagreed while 1% and 2% of South Africans and Nigerians strongly disagreed.

Question 31: Do you agree that there is the need for government to regulate activities of journalists online?
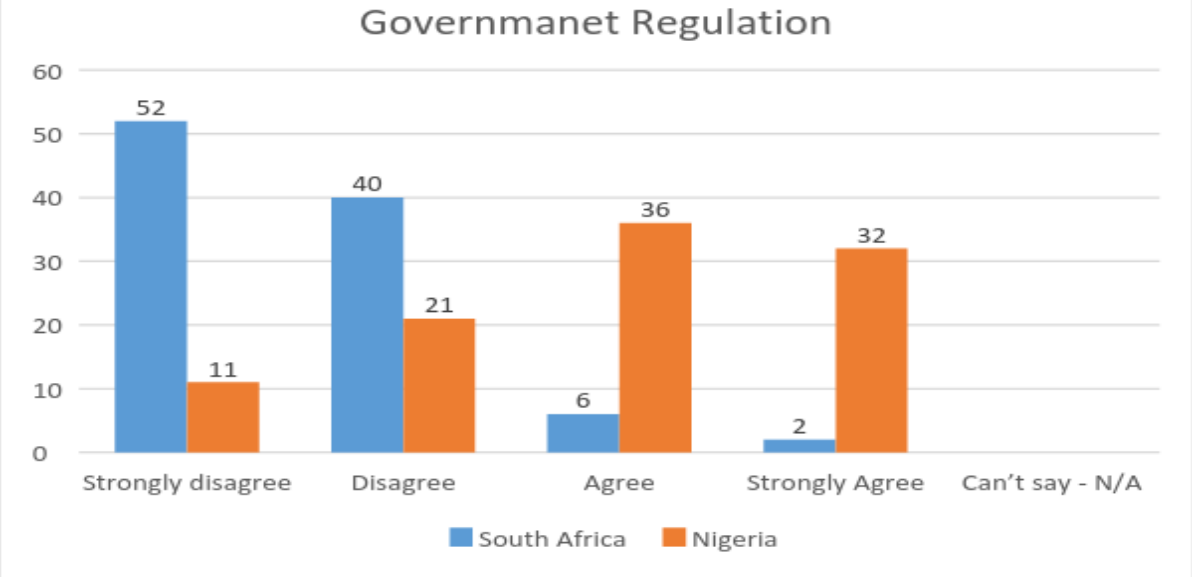
While South African respondents were of the opinion that government should not regulate the activities of journalists online, their Nigerian counterparts seem to agree on regulation. 52% strongly disagreed on government regulation, 40% disagreed, 6% agreed on government regulation, 2% strongly agreed that there should be government regulation according to the responses from South Africa. Nigerian respondents leaned more towards regulation as 36% agreed, 32% strongly agreed, 21% however, disagreed while 11% strongly disagreed.

Question 32: Do you agree that digital media can enhance democracy by giving journalists a plurality of platforms and voices?
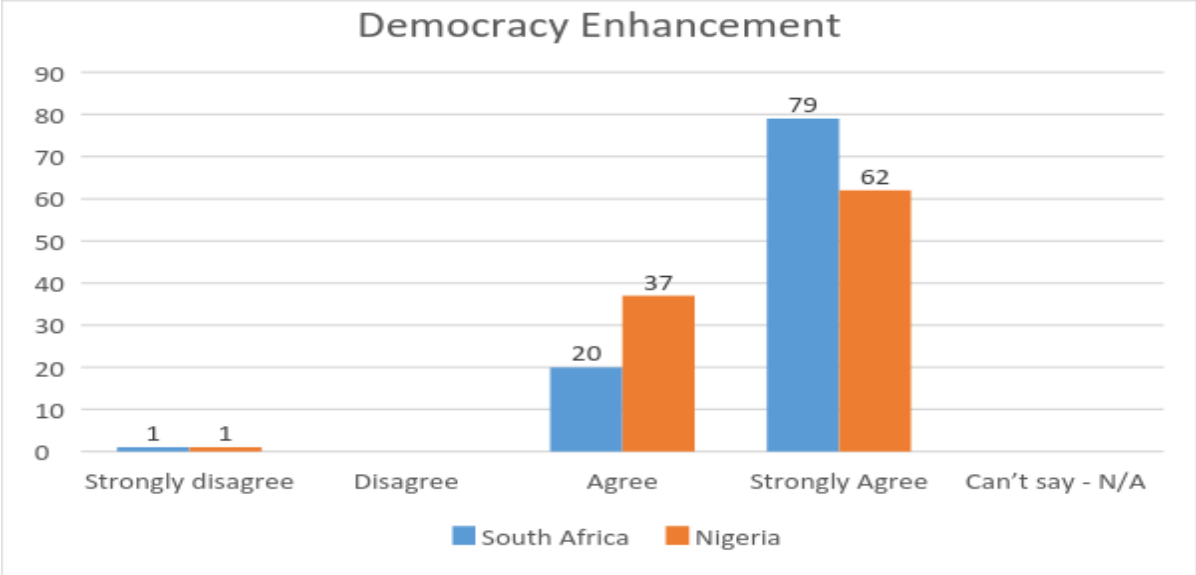
The role of the media in a democracy cannot be overemphasized. This is given further credence looking at the responses from journalists in both South Africa and Nigeria. 79% and 62% of respondents in both countries "strongly agree" that digital media provides a multiplicity of platforms and voices for journalists which promotes democracy. Similarly, 20% and 37% respectively agreed while only 1% each differed in their opinion by strongly disagreeing.

Question 33: Social media (citizen journalism) as a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists

Job Threat
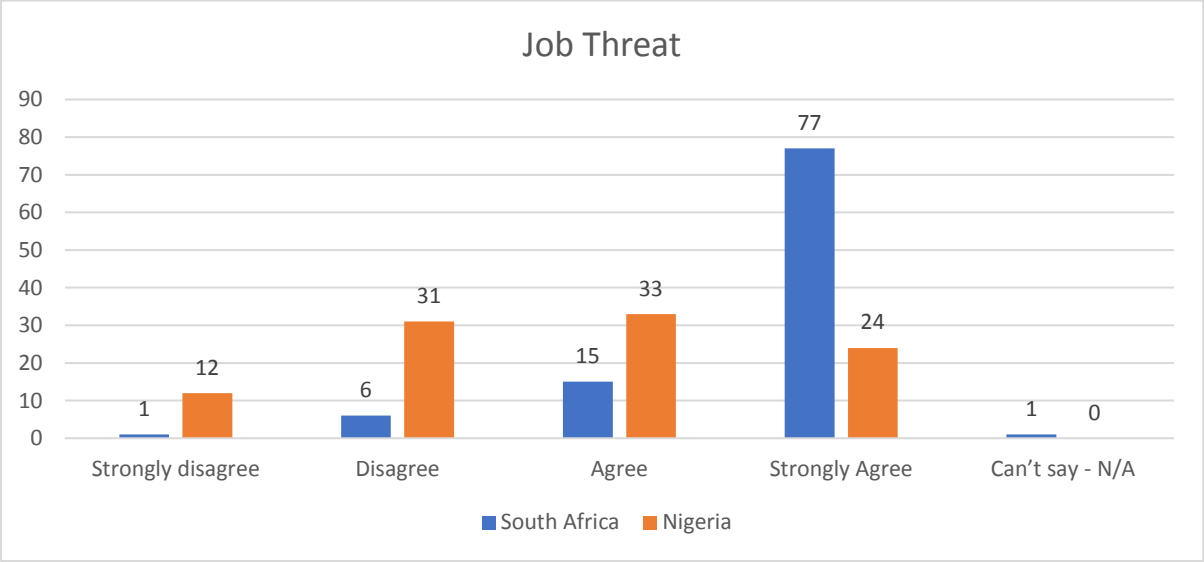
South African respondents felt more threatened when compared to their Nigerian counterparts. 77% respondents from South Africa as against 24% respondents from Nigeria strongly agreed that social media (citizen journalism) can pose a threat to job and financial security of professional journalists. 15% and 33% respectively agreed with the threat level and 6% and 31% disagreed, while 1% and 12% opted for "strongly disagree."

Question 34: Future of online newspaper
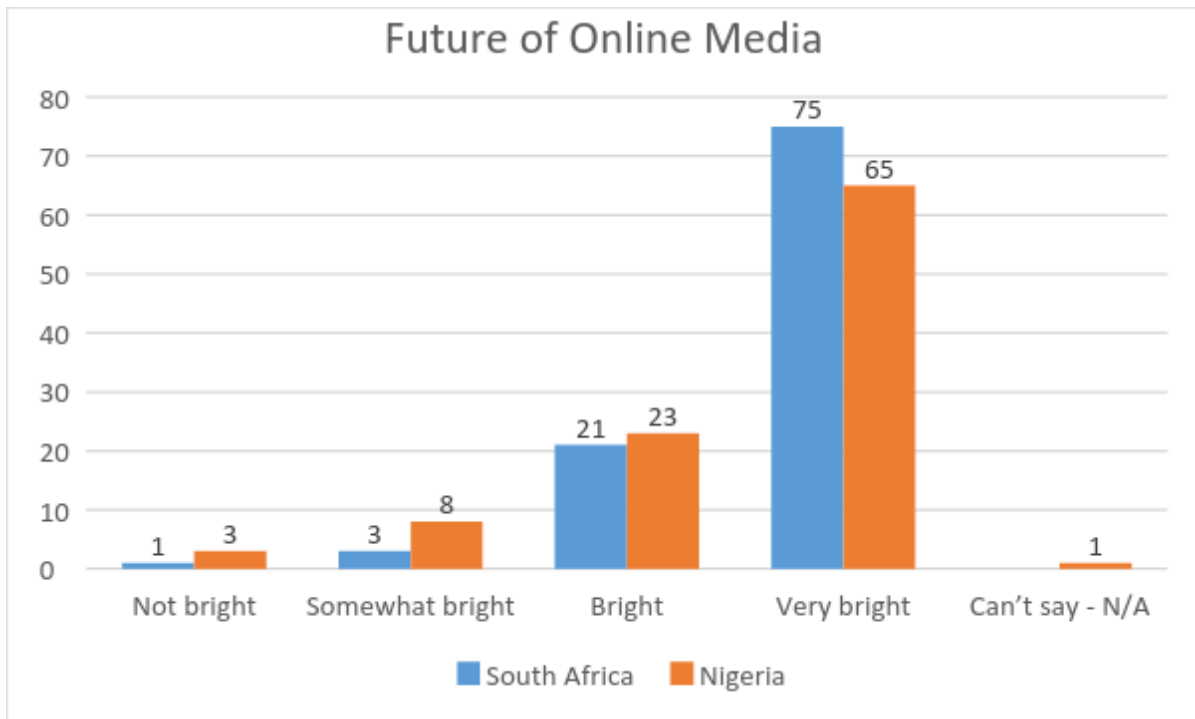
From the opinion of respondents, the future of print media in both South Africa and Nigeria looks very bleak as online media is gradually gaining popularity and acceptance. When comparing the responses about the future of online newspaper, 75% and 65% of respondents in South Africa and Nigeria respectively were of the opinion that the future is "very bright" for online newspaper. 21%" and 23% believe it is "bright" while 3% and 8% believe it is "somewhat bright". 1% and 3%, however, believe it is not bright. 1% of respondents from Nigeria opted for "can't say."

Summary

From the research, we can conveniently say the impact of the "digital transition" in Nigeria and South Africa is far-reaching. While certain trends can be gleaned based on the outcome of the research, the general outcome is that of cautious optimism both on the part of the media and consumers of news and information. As far as the media is concerned, the situation is still that of self-discovery. A rather interesting scenario is that citizens seem keener to transit than the media practitioners themselves many of whom have yet to undergo any form of training in preparation for this new phase in global communication.

A more critical review of responses by journalists in Nigeria revealed that they were more inclined to government regulation of online media than their South African counterparts.

Other notable revelations by the research are:

- Citizens in both countries are impressively embracing this new form of journalism mainly because it allows them to participate in information sharing, interaction, including feedback to journalists and other readers. Secondly, because it is very convenient and cheap for them to access, there is greater interest and engagement with new media and, therefore, with their communities and issues of governance.

- Another revelation is that journalists in both countries were inclined to charging readers for premium content online. This is in sharp contrast

with what the audience in both countries wants. More South African newspaper readers expressed willingness to pay for online content. Only about half of the respondents from Nigeria said they were willing to do the same.

- Interestingly, as part of this research, a survey of different newspapers in both South Africa and Nigeria revealed that they weren't ready to charge readers for online content. Many feared that the readers would migrate to other platforms once they set up a paywall while others worried that because readers have become used to "free" news it would be difficult to get them to change that culture.

- From the research is clear that newspaper readers in both countries get much of their news from social media. For online newspapers to make any impact, therefore, there is need for heavy presence on social media if the digital transition is to succeed in both countries.

- In terms of content, newspaper readers in both countries appeared to be more interested in news and entertainment. This is very informative considering that there is the concern that in the era of social media, entertainment has overtaken "hard news". Based on the responses from South Africa and Nigeria, it is clear that newspaper readers in both countries are still interested "hard news". This helps journalists know what their audiences want and how to serve them better.

- Journalists in both countries believe the future of digital media is very bright. They are of the view that the way the audience has embraced digital

media it will help in deepening democracy and create a better understanding of their work, help journalists relate better with their readers and help in making the media accountable.

- In relation to job security, journalists in both countries do not feel threatened by the advent of digital media. For them what the changes mean is that journalists have to be creative in the way they report news and the kinds of stories they report.

- In conclusion, we can say the future is very bright for digital media in both countries and journalists as well as citizens appear to be adapting very well though there are still a number of things to worry about.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides an overall assessment of the nature and effect of digitalization on journalists in Nigeria and South Africa. It looks at the various factors that have shaped the digital transition in both countries and what newspapers and journalists are doing to deal the phenomenon. While examining the role of newspapers—both print and online—and extrapolating from interviews and discussions with journalists, editors, media managers and media scholars, it examines the current state of the digital transition in Nigeria and South Africa and makes recommendations on the way forward.

7.1 General discussion on the nature and impact of digitalization on newspapers and journalists in Nigeria and South Africa

As McChesney (2013) notes, it is difficult to write the history of the world in the last three decades without giving a prominent place to the role of the Internet and the digital revolution which is reflected, not just in the amount of information, but also in the nature of information flow. With the advances in global communication, it was inevitable that the African continent would experience the wind of change.

Over the last two decades, information and communication technologies have expanded like never before and that expansion has brought unimaginable upheavals in information flow. The Internet, smartphones as well as social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram are redefining how we receive

news and information. All of this has impacted the traditional news medium—newspapers—and journalists, whose job is to report news and provide information to the public.

The consequence of the digital expansion is that today, more and more people have access to computers and a lot of things, including financial transactions, have been simplified and are being done online. The news media is not left out of this digital migration. Radio and television stations now broadcast or stream live via the Internet. Almost every traditional newspaper has a website and, in some cases, wholly online newspapers have emerged.

Just as newspapers competed for readership in terms of sales for many decades ago, today they are competing for "eyeballs", "clicks," "likes," and "shares". But that is just part of the problem. Newspapers have had to contend with an advertisement environment they have no control over. Above all, they have to deal with not just audiences with an insatiable appetite for news and information but very mobile and young readers who, for the most part, have become used to "free" information on the Internet.

That is the dilemma of journalism today: Readers generally don't want to pay to read newspapers online, newspapers online/online newspapers don't want to charge for fear of losing their readers and also because the competition is overwhelmingly "free". Caught in the middle are journalists who believe that readers should pay for online content because their career and survival depend on it. For them, it is also a way of showing the worth of their profession.

The onset of the digital revolution was also happening at a time when many countries in Africa were reeling from the global economic situation which meant the print media in the traditional sense faced the challenge of dwindling sales and low advertisement revenue. Newspapers had to try other ways of remaining relevant, if not financially, at least structurally. So, the digital migration for the newspaper press in Africa, as in other parts of the world, was forced, partly by the technological reality and partly by the economic circumstances.

The digital transition or online journalism has changed the face of print journalism in Nigeria and South Africa in many ways. Depending on their audience, newspapers are establishing digital or online units and, in some cases, social media units to meet the expectations of readers. To meet the challenges of the digital era, many newspapers now employ journalists with new media skills or conduct regular in-house training on online journalism. People thinking of going into journalism now have to consider learning new skills in digital journalism while those who are in the profession are upgrading their skills.

As part of the digital transition, we have also seen the emergence of wholly online newspapers in both South Africa and Nigeria. These newspapers have sought to bypass the many challenges—printing, distribution, and sales—associated with print media. The models are different in both countries though. Unlike in South Africa, wholly online newspapers are common in Nigeria. While the *Daily Maverick* founded in 2009 by chartered accountant and media entrepreneur, Styli Charalambous, can be described as the only truly wholly

online newspaper in South Africa, Nigeria has a few, including *Premium Times,* published by Dapo Olorunyomi and *The Cable* published by Simon Kolawole, both journalists.

In South Africa, alongside the *Daily Maverick* which prides itself on offering "a unique blend of news, information, analysis and opinion" are quasi online newspapers like the *Mail & Guardian online* and *Independent Online*, popularly known as *IOL* and *News 24.* Founded in 1994 as a service to readers outside South Africa, the *Mail & Guardian online* is the first online newspaper in Africa. From a separate product run by a separate company, the platform—described as first cousin, once removed, to the *Mail & Guardian*—enjoys a closer relationship as a division of the newspaper and is among the top news platforms in Africa.[65]

Daily Maverick is run by an independently owned, private company. The paper says it has no affiliation to any other media group (or political party or religious organisation). It is funded mainly through advertising. As part of its business strategy, the newspaper provides a host of advertising options ranging from banners on its website and newsletter, to sponsored content features and events.[66] *IOL* (iol.co.za) on the other hand is a platform that aggregates news and information. One of the largest news and information websites in South Africa, the news on *IOL* comes primarily from the print newspapers run by the

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[65] About Us: https://mg.co.za/page/about-us/, accessed July 10, 2018
[66] Advertising with Daily Mverick: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/about/advertising/, accessed July 10, 2018

Independent Media group in South Africa as well as from news wires like the African News Agency while a small portion of its content is generated by *IOL* staff. *IOL* does not process all the news and information in every of its hard copy newspaper so readers looking for certain information in some cases would have to contact the specific publication involved.[67]

The Independent Media group publishes 20 of South Africa's most prominent newspapers, including *Business Report*, South Africa's largest business newspaper, *The Star* and *Pretoria News* in Gauteng, *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus* and several community newspapers in Cape Town, *The Mercury* and *Daily News* in Durban as well as *African Independent* which serves the African continent and *I'solezwe* and *I'solezwe lesiXhosa* which provide daily news in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape respectively.[68]

News24 (https://www.news24.com/) is part of the *24.com* brand run by Media24, regarded as Africa's largest newspaper publisher. *News24* is South Africa's biggest online news source and it complements other *24.com* specialized and niche sites such as *Channel24, Wheels24, Food24, Property24*, and *Careers24,* one of the leading job portals in South Africa, bringing job seekers and recruiters together. The site provides job seekers with thousands of vacancies that are posted by hundreds of registered recruiters and employers.[69]

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[67] "About IOL": https://www.iol.co.za/about-iol, accessed July 10, 2018
[68] Ibid.
[69] "About 24.com": https://www.careers24.com/now-hiring/3898-24com/home/, accessed July 10, 2018.

Launched in October 1998 as part of Naspers' (owners of Media24) new Internet strategy, *News24* aggregates stories from different newspapers and magazines owned by the Media24 group. Looking to the future and the potentials of media convergence, News24 created a multimedia section in 2009 which offers "visual storytelling through video, slideshows and galleries." "We have a deal to get news from others which we give to our readers online for free," says Ahmed Areff, national news editor of News24. "This is to sustain our newspapers. It doesn't make people not to buy the papers because a lot of people who read newspapers don't' have smart phones." Though most of its content is free, *News24* has a pay wall for some premium content which Adam says has been well-received.[70]

Just like *News24* in South Africa, *Daily Trust* in Nigeria recently started experimenting with paywall. Mahmud Jega, associate director editorial and deputy editor-in-chief, says the paper joined the digital transition because it "looked fashionable." According to him, the paper had to hire an IT manager, invested in digital equipment, and launched a "fancy" website. But income didn't grow because of the online presence. So, in May 2018, the paper started experimenting with a partial paywall. Readers are expected to pay for "exclusive" stories and also read the paper's dedicated columnists. While the interest is growing, Jega says the system has not been perfected because of payment

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[70] Interview conducted on November 21, 2016

problem. According to Jega, "Even the best newspapers have not found ways to make money online as made with the print editions."[71]

Jega says most of the journalists in the paper are young and tech savvy and the paper invests hugely in training. In 2016, the publishers of *Daily Trust* launched the Daily Trust Foundation (DTF) among other things "to provide scholarships to promising young journalists. The DTF is currently implementing a project funded by the MacArthur Foundation that seeks "to build the capacity of journalists, media professionals, and students to conduct high-quality investigative work and to use technology to present the results in compelling ways."[72]

In Nigeria, apart from *Premium Times* and *The Cable,* the two well-established wholly online newspapers, there are "smaller" papers that are pushing the frontiers of online publishing, including *Newsdiaryonline* (https://newsdiaryonline.com/), *The Eagle Online* (https://theeagleonline.com.ng/), *Sundiatapost* (https://sundiatapost.com/) and NAIJ.com (https://www.naija.ng/) which describes itself "a technology company with a strong belief that the future belongs to digital media and a clear understanding how online media is different from off-line."[73] Our editorial team works to constantly improve our reader's experience by analyzing their content preferences, while our engineers implement the cutting-edge technology to build

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[71] Interview conducted on June 27, 2018.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "About NAIJ.com": https://www.naija.ng, accessed July 10, 2018.

the most convenient digital platform in Nigeria," the paper notes on its website.[74]

These platforms have devised different methods to keep afloat and their activities have made traditional newspapers more vulnerable in terms of exclusive and breaking stories as well as sharing of content.

NAIJ.com describes itself as a digital news site of the new generation and an independent source of information. "It embodies the era in which it has been created: dynamic, informative, controversial, entertaining. It exists on money from advertising and it is not being financed or influenced by government, parties, or by private individuals."[75] *NAIJ.com* placed 5th among the top websites in Nigeria in the Alexa.com 2017 ranking for all websites in Nigeria behind such websites as Google, Yahoo, YouTube, Google Nigeria, all of the major players in the online industry.[76]

Newsdiaryonline describes its business strategy as multipronged. The paper says when it began, it tried to avoid unnecessary overhead in terms of staff until its income grew. The paper has also used social networks (Twitter, Facebook, Linkedin) and *NewsdiaryOnline* newsletters to reach out to readers. The idea behind this approach is to build brand recognition. This brand recognition helps the newspaper to draw online advertisers. The paper says it has embarked on "serious advert drive to ensure stability of the business."[77]

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[74] "About NAIJ.com": https://www.naija.ng, accessed July 10, 2018.
[75] Ibid.
[76] "Alexa releases new rankings, see top 5 websites in Nigeria 2017": https://www.naija.ng/1082803-alexa-releases-rankings-top-5-websites-nigeria-2017.html#1082803, accessed August 18, 2018
[77] Interview with Danlami Nmodu, publisher/editor-in-chief of *Newsdiaryonline.com*. This interview was conducted in April 2014.

Before *Premium Times* and *The Cable,* there was *234Next. 234Next* set out to transform multi-media journalism in Nigeria. Olatunji Dare, veteran Nigerian newspaperman and media scholar, writing in 2012 about *234Next* whose emergence as an online newspaper in December 2008 signaled a major shift in the quest of the Nigerian newspaper press to catch up digitally with its counterparts in Europe and America noted: "The boldest and most ambitious experiment in Nigerian journalism since the founding of *The Guardian* in 1983 ended three weeks ago after a run of almost three years."[78]

Before the coming of *234Next*, most Nigerian newspapers had online presence. But none was as committed and succeeded in using the Internet to change the way Nigerians received news and information as did *234Next.* According to Dare,

> When it made its debut in December 2008, *NEXT* was only as an electronic newspaper. A paper edition would be introduced in August 2009. Audio and video would come later. But even as an electronic newspaper, its entry into Nigerian journalism was electrifying. The web design was clean, tidy and well-structured. Colour and space and type meshed to produce a visual delight. The site was fully navigable. The reporting was sharp. You did not come away from reading a story only to ask: "Where is the story?" or "What is the story?" And, as befitted a locale where there is never a dull moment, the stories were constantly updated.[79]

In July 2011, *234Next* abandoned the daily (broadsheet) publication for a weekend (tabloid) edition, and by October of the same year, the paper stopped publishing completely. Its web edition would last a few more months. The

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[78] "One after the other, the writers left…" – Olatunji Dare grieves for NEXT Newspapers
https://ynaija.com/the-nation-newspapers-looks-at-the-234next-journey/, accessed August 18, 2018.
[79] Ibid.

collapse of *234Next* has become a topical issue in the annals of the newspaper business in Nigeria. What went wrong with 234Next is the subject of a book published in 2012 titled, *Future Tense: Travails of Next and Nigerian Journalism in the Digital Age.*

Both *Premium Times* and *The Cable* in Nigeria have gone beyond the traditional advertising model—the failure of which some people say led to the collapse of 234Next—to explore new business models for online publishing. The two newspapers are currently engaged in what looks like the model proposed by Cagé (2016): the nonprofit media organization (NMO) which reorganizes media companies as foundations. Cagé, however, has some reservation about the NMO model. "Despite the many merits of foundations," writes Cagé (Ibid., p 108), "they do not provide answers to all the challenges facing the media." For Cagé, the "ideal" nonprofit media organization is one that "enjoys the advantages of a foundation (stability of financing and ability to focus on information as a public good rather than on profit maximization at the expense of quality) and those of a joint-stock company (diversified ownership, replenishment of leadership ranks, and democratic decision making provided that the power of the largest shareholders is appropriately limited)" (Ibid.: pp109-110).

In addition to its online newspaper, the owners of *The Cable*, Cable Newspaper Ltd, have a "partner organization", the Cable Newspaper Journalism Foundation (CNJF) which was set up in 2016. Cable Newspaper Journalism Foundation is a not-for-profit organization which "uses the vehicle of journalism

to advance transparency and accountability in government. It also seeks to build an active citizenry 'to promote democracy and development.' The Foundation is a subscriber to 'solutions journalism'—school that believes in rigorous reporting of positive response to problems and challenges.[80] CNJF seeks grants from foundations and some of the investigative reports carried out by the *The Cable* online newspaper are funded by CNJF.

Established in mid-2011 and managed by Premium Times Services Limited, *Premium Times* also has a sister organization, Premium Times Centre for Investigative Journalism [PTCIJ], that supports its work, particularly in the area of investigative journalism. Premium Times Centre for Investigative Journalism is a non-governmental organization, founded in 2014, "to promote a truly independent media landscape that advances fundamental human rights, good governance and accountability in West Africa through investigative journalism, open data and civic technology."[81]

The mandate of the Premium Times Centre for Investigative Journalism includes supporting journalists and "building the capacity of the media to become more informed, innovative and competitive institution well positioned as a central player in today's knowledge societies and economies, and able to provide appropriate interface for civil society and governance institutions" as well

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[80] "Who We Are": http://www.cablefoundation.org/who-we-are/, accessed July 10, 2018.
[81] "Who We Are": https://ptcij.org/about/, accessed July 12, 2018.

as "conducting groundbreaking investigations on corruption, human rights abuses, abuse of power and due process among others."[82]

In addition to grant seeking, *Premium Times*, says Olorunyomi, is also engaged in "specialized reporting" which focuses on revenue generating agencies of government, the oil and gas industry as well as the extractive industry.[83] According to Olorunyomi,

> In doing that, it was clear to us that somebody needs this information and if it is well done, they will want to pay for it. Absolutely, it's going to be very high-quality production and I think readers will be grateful and be happy about the kinds of things we are going to do. We are seeking support to be able to build massive data that connect institutions of power to business, the legislature, the judiciary, etc., and how they interface so that you can see the consequences of actions and policies.[84]

"The future of the media is data," says Olorunyomi.

> Data is the next direction for the media because you must provide readers with knowledge and information and that is only possible in the environment where there is data. It helps you to open new markets. Internationally, a lot of institutions are asking questions. They want to come and invest in Nigeria. They want to know about local institutions, local activities, etc.[85]

To expand its revenue base, *Premium Times* has also ventured into book publishing through its subsidiary, PT Books. The company also does a lot of online streaming for different institutions that rely on it because of its streaming capabilities. "If you look at us and call us a newspaper, you are wrong," notes

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[82] Who We Are: https://ptcij.org/about/, accessed July 12, 2018.
[83] Dapo Olorunyomi is publisher and CEO of *Premium Times*. He was interviewed on December 10, 2015.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

Olorunyomi. "We are basically a media content production enterprise and we publish online as a platform."[86] This is part of the dilemma of journalism in the digital age. It appears technology is reengineering journalism. With major tech companies, Google, Facebook, and others, venturing in the production of news, the question media observers are raising is: what is the primary place of journalism today? Are media organizations publishers of news who use the technology platform or are they now technology companies in the business of news production?

This distinction is important because it goes to the heart of the profession: the issue of responsibility. As Sir Martin Sorrell, chairman of the advertising agency, WPP, put it: "We have always said Google, Facebook and others are media companies and have the same responsibilities as any other media company...They cannot masquerade as technology companies, particularly when they place advertisements."[87]

According to Emily Bell:

> By acting like technology companies, while in fact taking on the role of publishers, Google, Facebook and others, have accidentally designed a system that elevates the cheapest and 'most engaging' content at the expense of more expensive but less 'spreadable' material. Anyone who wants to reach a million people with a poorly produced conspiracy theory video is in luck. If, however, you want to run a well-resourced

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[86] Dapo Olorunyomi is publisher and CEO of *Premium Times*. He was interviewed on December 10, 2015.
[87] "Technology company? Publisher? The lines can no longer be blurred" by Emily Bell, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/apr/02/facebook-google-youtube-inappropriate-advertising-fake-news, accessed July 14, 2018.

newsroom covering a town of 200,000 people, that is not going to be sustainable.[88]

Advertisement revenue remains a big issue for journalism today. "The problem isn't that the Internet is killing journalism, per se," writes Brian O'Kelley, "but rather, that it's killing print advertising. New gains in digital revenue aren't enough to offset losses associated with the production and delivery of print editions, and many outlets haven't figured out how to reorganize their business models quickly enough."[89] For Cagé (2016: 48), "Like the crisis of the media, the end of advertising did not begin with the advent of the Internet. Newspapers felt the shock first from competition with radio and second from competition with television."

Olorunyomi believes that the new digital environment in Nigeria—particularly for an online newspaper like *Premium Times*—can't depend on the traditional advert revenue from government and its agencies. According to him:

> The private sector generally looks at the direction of who is a friend or who is an enemy of the government. That's their perception. If they think you are an enemy of the government they want to minimize their own risk and they don't want to work with you. The character of the paper makes advertising the least. I mean we will be doomed if we ever thought that advertising is the model of revenue that will sustain us.[90]

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[88] "Technology company? Publisher? The lines can no longer be blurred" by Emily Bell, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/apr/02/facebook-google-youtube-inappropriate-advertising-fake-news, accessed July 14, 2018.

[89] "Can Technology Save Journalism?" https://www.forbes.com/sites/valleyvoices/2016/02/23/can-technology-save-journalism/#172d9583278b, accessed July 14, 2018.

[90] Dapo Olorunyomi is publisher and CEO of *Premium Times*. He was interviewed on December 10, 2015.

How newspapers are going to deal with the question of revenue in the digital age remains a major concern. Perhaps, to address this, on December 5, 2013, the Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN) inaugurated a committee on "Monetization of online content of newspapers" "to further examine the challenge of content monetization in the face of current developments in the industry."[91] The Committee comprising Messers Azubuike Ishiekwene, Gbenga Adefaye, Ademola Osinubi, Taiwo Obe and Dr. Dele Sobowale, was given the following tasks:

1. To dig deeper into Audience Research & Development.

2. Advise on how best to protect intellectual property of members.

3. Determine what content to monetize, the schedule & pricing.

4. Suggest how to build capacity for the transition from a free content to monetized content regime.

On January 24, 2014, the committee came up with the following recommendations:

1. **Need for a think tank/active partners**

- The Committee is of the view that NPAN needs to set up a think tank to fashion a road map for publishers on the fast-changing media ecosystem, especially with respect to monetization of content.

- The think tank, as times go on, would be saddled with the responsibility of monitoring trends in the online space and advise the NPAN, on how to

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[91] Summary of the report of the Committee on Monetization of Online Content of Newspapers set up by the Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN). The report was submitted on 24, 2014.

respond to same. This could even be modelled after Sticky Content, a U.K based company, which provides content for UK newspaper publishers.

- TaijoWonukabe and any other competent companies in this area, could be invited to make presentations.

- NPAN should be ready to fund the process as appropriate.

2. What to monetize: Premium vs generic content?

In North America 400 newspapers are already charging for content.

- The committee is of the view that consumers will be willing to pay, so long as what they are offered is of value.

- The consultants should be saddled with looking at the products of each and every member of the Association, to identify premium content or contents that could be so developed as premium.

3. Proprietary content that could be monetized:

- Columns

- Cartoons

- Videos

- Special Reports

- Special Publications (Online or Print)

- Books and Archives

- Contents from regional or global partners

- Research and Data

- Curated content

- The Committee expressed the view that members have content that can be developed for a fee.

4. Demography/who is reading what?

- The Internet is replete with data on who is reading what.

- A quick dash to Google Analytics or Alexa.com provides insights.

5. Pricing/commencement date

- This can be worked out by the Association. Press + is helping a number of newspapers and newspaper associations develop and implement charging/metering tools.

6. How to protect members' intellectual property

- NPAN should work with the National Assembly on necessary law to protect the intellectual property of members from the predators. A case in point is the ongoing move by the German legislature to ensure that news aggregators pay newspapers for their intellectual property.

- Deriving from this, there is also the need for a special relationship between the leadership of the Association and the National Assembly.

7. Redefining brand equity of newspapers

- It is the committee's view that Dr. Dele Sobowale, an economist of repute, circulation expert and newspaper columnist, should be commissioned on a limited survey on how to redefine the brand equity of newspapers, by the NPAN.

- The outcome of his survey will no doubt enhance the position of the NPAN, in its current conversation with other partners.

Looking at the Nigerian landscape, a working document prepared for the Committee argued that:

> Nigeria and indeed most of sub-Sahara African countries are recording Internet and mobile phone penetration rates at a fast, unprecedented speed. Nigeria with a population of over 160 million has an internet penetration of over 28% and mobile penetration of over 69% which makes the country the fastest growing mobile market in Africa with over 113 million mobile subscribers (Internet World Stats & NCC). With this figure, Nigeria has more Internet users than people living in Tanzania (based on data from Internet worldstats, and the Tanzania 2012 population census). This is a big market for newspaper proprietors if the opportunities and potential can be harnessed and harvested with the right strategy.

It recommended the following deployment approach:

1. All publishers to agree to a pay wall for ALL news websites in Nigeria for NPAN members.

2. One-month free trial. All visitors from cutoff date to register and a one-month countdown starts. Intermittent reminders to be sent every week within the trial period.

3. Paywall to go live on the same day for all participating portals.

4. Each medium can determine price and subscription model based on products available.

5. Payment to be made easy through a complement of major debit/credit cards on web, mobile and tablets, mobile money operators, short code with Telcos, bank payment, PayPal, scratch cards, ATM etc.

6. Agree on money back guarantee for service failures.

7. Harmonize terms and conditions for all members to be uniform and consistent.

8. Technology to prevent multiple login on NPAN member sites. Better to contract one technology provider to provide the platform to manage content monetization technologies for all members. This is consistent with what Nigeria Stock Exchange did for the technological trading platform.

The document also considered business models of some successfully monetized online newspapers:

Option 1: Gradual conversion: Example is the *Boston Globe*

The *Boston Globe* ran the free and paid service side-by-side over some time, but gradually migrate loyal subscribers to the paid service by providing valuable and exclusive content on the paid service. The newspaper charges $0.99 for a 4-weeks access.

1.1 Benefits and opportunities of this model for Nigerian media

1. Makes newspapers do exclusive and in-depth journalism in order to produce contents that are worth paying for.

2.   Provides a gradual transition to enable newspapers profile readers and serve contents that are of interest and worth paying for.

3.   Provides opportunities for Nigerian media to explore different revenue models like bundling print and online subscription just like the Boston Globe did.

1.2   Challenges for Nigerian Media using the *Boston Globe* approach

1.   Most readers will deflect to other newspaper website once paywall is mounted since they can get the same news for free. This approach can only work if all major news websites decide to charge for online news access.

2.   Need for more investments in data analytics to enable media profile readers and serve contents that are of interest and worth paying for.

3.   Not all media websites are optimized for mobile devices which forms the majority of platform for accessing contents online in Nigeria

Option 2: Direct conversion: Example is *The Times* of London and *Financial Times*

The Times of London suddenly mounted a paywall on its news website. Traffic went down by 90% and yet the newspaper did not budge. Today, using a number of promotional incentives, *The Times* has gradually built a community of 140,000 digital subscribers within 3.5 years of asking for money to read news online. Certainly, *The Times* was not interested in their unpaying readers.

2.1   Benefits of the Direct Cut-over model for Nigerian media

Bundling digital access with mobile devices (tablets and phones) may be an idea to try. Subscribers may decide to pay for the subscription because of the device. Further helps mobile penetration in Nigeria.[92] Since this report was presented in 2014, not much has happened in terms of implementing its recommendations. Considering the vagaries of the market and the changing nature of the digital environment, it is not certain if newspapers will agree on unified and common approaches to meeting the challenges of digitalization.

While the challenges remain, the print media industry in Nigeria is gradually being overtaken by digital publishing, including social media and countless free online news providers. One feature of the new online media in Nigeria is that many of them were established either by active journalists or former journalists, including those who left their job or were retrenched. This trend can partly be explained by the low cost and ease—in terms of finance and infrastructure—associated with starting online newspapers. But there is also the other issue: traditional newspapers in the country are becoming increasingly weaker. With dwindling advert and sales, newspapers are closing down and migrating online. A reflection of the influence of online publishing can be felt not just in numbers but the fact that today, there are two rival organisations that manage the activities of online newspapers in the country: Guild of Corporate Online Publishers (GOCOP) and Online Publishers Association of Nigeria (OPAN).

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[92] Extracts from a working document prepared by the Committee on Monetization of Online Content of Newspapers set up by the Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN). The report was submitted on January 24, 2014.

Another distinguishing factor which has also determined the nature of the digital transition in Nigeria and South Africa is the ownership structure of newspapers. Unlike in South Africa where most of the newspapers are owned by four big players: Media24, Independent Newspapers, the Times Media Group, and CaxtonCTP, though there are independently owned newspapers, most notably *Mail & Guardian* and *The New Age* (later *Afro Voice*) which ceased publication on June 29, 2018, in Nigeria newspapers are generally owned by individual businessmen, and in some cases, by politicians or politically exposed persons, and the fortunes of these newspapers are usually tied to the political fortunes of their owners who in most cases use it to further their political interests.

What this means is that there is still heavy investment in print newspapers in South Africa unlike in Nigeria. Journalists in South Africa in contrast to their counterparts in Nigeria are relatively well paid and there is job security while the problem of non-payment of salaries which has become the norm in the media industry in Nigeria is not an issue. Because of how diversified the South African economy is, there still exists a middle class that can afford to buy new newspapers regularly.

South Africa has a population of 55 million. Newspapers in the country sell more than a million copies every day. The *Daily Sun*, South Africa's largest daily, a tabloid—offering local news and gossip—aimed at the working class, and its sister publication, the *Sunday Sun* described as the fastest growing

newspaper South Africa sell about 300,000 copies daily and 200,000 copies weekly respectively, according to figures by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC). in the country.[93] In Nigeria, with a population of more than 180 million people, more than three times the population of South Africa, though official figures are hard to come by, there is hardly any national newspaper that breaks the 50,000 mark in terms of sales. While sales are dwindling, some of the more established and politically connected papers rely on patronage from the state and its institutions in terms of advert revenues.

Odia Ofeimun, veteran newspaperman, polemicist and poet, says in trying to understand the present and future of the newspaper in Nigeria, we must look at the political economy and history of the press in the country. "Creating jobs was what made newspapering a serious business here," he notes. "I have said consistently, that Nnamdi Azikiwe—foremost nationalist, journalist, and first President of Nigeria from 1963 to 1966) created the spirit of newspaper in Nigeria, but the man who built it into an establishment was Obafemi Awolowo—journalist, lawyer, politician, and first premier of the Western Region of Nigeria from 1954 to 1959 and he did it by doing just one little thing: increasing minimum wage from 2.9 pence to 5 shillings."[94]

According to Ofeimun,

> The day they increased the minimum wage and newspapers remained 1 kobo a copy, a basis was created for newspaper to fly into the sky. Suddenly papers started selling almost

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[93] "A guide to South African newspapers": https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/south-africa-fast-facts/media-facts/a-guide-to-south-african-newspapers, accessed July 14, 2018.
[94] Interview conducted March 6, 2015.

600,000 copies on Sundays. We are talking 600,000 copies in those days, whereas today, all Nigerian newspapers joined together do not sell up to 600,000 copies. The question that one needs to answer is how that happened. How did it happen that one paper could sell up to 600,000 copies? How is it that now, we have more educated people scattered all over the country, I mean you could say that the educated population in Nigeria is about 50 million yet we don't sell enough newspapers. So, if you want to explain whether newspapers will live or die, it may not be enough simply to look at the incursion of technology. No! There is something that happened to Nigeria that the rest of us need to look at. Is it that people get so much information out of television? The answer is no. Is it that people are getting so much from the Free Readers Association? The answer is no because there is something you also derive from reading newspaper, a certain self-awareness that made you to want to be a participant in the culture of your environment. That spirit was what started dying in Nigeria gradually from the early sixties and it reached its height in the military era of soldiers who did not want the people to acquire any information. They just wanted you to be a yes person. With that we entered the new era.[95]

"If you really want to explain what is going to happen in the future," says

Ofeimun:

It will be about the kind of government we manage to have. Government has a responsibility to create an environment that will force people to want to know. Now, we don't have educational systems that operate the way other educational systems operate. Children do not reach out for knowledge the way people reached out for knowledge in the 50s and 60s. Why were they doing it in the 60s and not doing it now? It is important to look at it, in my view from the standpoint of the killing of jobs.[96]

With the free fall of print newspaper sales in Nigeria, the Internet seems the logical option. The media industry in Nigeria was a late entrant into the

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[95] Interview conducted March 6, 2015.
[96] Ibid.

digital sphere due to many years of repression by military dictators. By the mid-90s, with the expansion of mobile telephony across Africa, even smaller countries like Ghana had started experimenting with online media and digital broadcasting while South Africa's *Mail & Guardian* launched its website in 1994. The late arrival on the digital sphere notwithstanding, online publishing in Nigeria has exploded in the last five years. There are many local and online Diaspora publications, some set up by citizen journalists, that target Nigerians, the most prominent being *SaharaReporters* (http://saharareporters.com/).

Of course, online publishing has come with its challenges, including ethical and credibility issues. Some online newspapers specialize in lifting materials from local and international sources without proper attribution. Many stories have no depth because the newspapers have no reporters and for those who have reporters, they have no time or are simply not interested in following up when they are handed press releases. Some newspapers, in the quest to beat the competition, publish without crosschecking facts or ensuring balance in their stories and reports. Other are simply reckless in their choice of stories, pictures and even language just to attract audience. Some journalists use their platforms to extort people; for some it has become an easy and veritable platform to spread rumour and fake news.

"It is a very confusing situation," notes Jenkins Alumona.

> Now anyone can be a journalist. But there is also the danger that comes from lack of training and proper understanding of what a journalist ought to do or the responsibility that comes

with it. In this era of citizen journalism, the line between activism and proper journalism is getting thinner. I do think that there is a danger; there must be a way of formalizing online publication. Perhaps registering before you can have an online newspaper. If not, there will be a situation where anybody can start an online newspaper and type anything. False news has political and other implications.[97]

What then is the future of journalism or more specifically the future of the print media in the digital age? Alumona thinks the newspaper industry will not die, but the paper news may eventually disappear. "Most of our young people don't read the hard copy newspaper anymore; they read online news with their tabs and laptops. So, certainly, the hardcopy newspaper will disappear," he says.[98]

Taiwo Obe, founder of Journalism Clinic, a new enterprise whose mission is to help raise the next generation of first-rate journalist in Nigeria, thinks the way forward for journalism to be treated as a product that offer benefit. According to him:

> A man who has N100 (0.28USD), has to decide whether to buy a bottle of water or coke which gives him benefit, or a newspaper that is a clone of the rest of the newspapers. If you take one (print) newspaper, you have read all. So, there is no advantage that is tempting. My own understanding is that most of these newspapers have no benefits. The ones which offer benefits are doing better. So, you must have a magic formula to be able to win over your audiences. Products have to be researched and developed. In our own case the man has gone to collect some money from one money bag, and has seen *Thisday* and thinks that he can write so he gathers some few people together, and they call their own *Nextday*. And that is

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[97] Jenkins Alumona, former editor of *The News* magazine in Nigeria, is now C.E.O at Strategic outcomes ltd, Nigeria, a marketing and advertising. Interview conducted on March 13, 2015.
[98] Ibid.

it. No research and he doesn't know what the consumers want. They don't even have a business plan, to know what the consumers are looking for. What gap are you filling?[99]

Gbile Oshadipe, journalist, historian, and lecturer at the Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ), ascribes the decline of newspapers in Nigeria partly to "the poor purchasing power of the masses, the lack of interesting reporting, and poorly written news stories. The most important reason it appears is the generational shift from a literate, newspaper reading people to iPad, pinging generation with no interest in print."[100]

However, Oshadipe says:

> It will be a great mistake to write off the traditional newspaper in Nigeria. For a fact, the majority are illiterate while access to the Internet is still very limited to the affluent, educated class, while the poor are mostly interested in the access to Facebook and Flickr, and the ready access to 'Ping.' Depending on what innovation that is brought to bear, the market for the traditional newspaper in Nigeria is yet to be truly explored. In percentage terms, we have not even tapped it up to 49 out of 100 percent. Understanding the key sectors of the society will go a long way to unlocking these potentials. One ready example is in the sports category where the publishers are making a killing with very affordable prices. Moreover, these sports publications do not pretend to be national in circulation. There are opportunities to grow community newspapers and special interest ones.[101]

One thing that digital media has done is to provide variety and hold the legacy newspapers to account so that there is no monopoly of information and

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[99] Interview conducted on March 3, 2015.
[100] Interview conducted on July 4, 2014.
[101] Ibid.

gatekeepers, says Azubuike Ishiekwene, former executive director of *The Punch*

newspaper in Nigeria. According to him,

> The concept of gatekeeping is becoming obsolete. There is no gatekeeper anywhere in the age of crowdsourcing. I don't know what the future holds. But, what I know is that we are at the age of destruction and adaptability. We are going to face continually, destruction and how we adapt to this destruction, will define our survival or we die. We are living in the modern age of destruction and adaptation. That is what defines the modern age. We are not living in the age of newspaper or TV as we know it; we are living in the age of content. And so, that defines everything. It not only defines the direction that the business is headed, but it also defines what the practitioners must do to respond. I do not see myself as a journalist because I am producing news for tomorrow, it doesn't make sense. I see myself as someone who is in the business of providing relevant content. A platform is just an extension of the work that I do, it doesn't define my work.[102]

"I think newspaper will survive, but it will not be as wide as before," says

Ahmed Areff, national news editor for South Africa's *News24*. "Only a small

quantity will be sold to small group of people. It will not generate as much

revenue as before. Eventually, there will come a time when people will stop

reading print newspaper. But it will take time, because not everyone will like to

read books, like the Bible on a kindle."[103] According to Areff, for newspapers to

survive in the digital age, "There is need to innovative on the way we produce

newspaper. In the future, not everyone will want to pay for news. By the way, it

is our fault because we have already started giving it away for free."[104]

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[102] Interview conducted on February 26, 2015.
[103] Interview conducted on November 21, 2016.
[104] Ibid.

Simon Nare, senior political writer for the *Daily Sun* newspaper in South Africa who contributes to the print as well as online editions of the newspaper says journalism and journalists are at a crossroads. He thinks adaptation is key because of the instantaneous nature of digital media and the demands of the audience. "It is an era that demands that what you get now must go out now," he says. "I do digital news a lot. I tweet from my personal account and connect to the official page. I have not had any digital media training in the last one year. I am used to the speed of the digital transition and can adapt anytime. In digital media, you have to report what is going on now. I use Twitter and Facebook to check potential sources.[105]

Nare believes that in the digital age, professional journalists need to go deeper and that readers will pay to read news online if they think they can get value for their money. "I am sure people will pay online," he says. "We have a lot of online newspapers and some people pay to read but print newspaper will always be there, because there are people who like reading the news in print. But the generation that is coming may not really like to read hard copy newspaper, unless there is a unique reason."[106]

Gugulethu Mhlungu, a reporter in the lifestyle and entertainment department of South Africa's *City Press* newspaper, says part of the challenge of digitalization is that, "There has been unwillingness to improve the way we write. Lack of improvement is a challenge. We tend to use the pattern we use in print

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[105] Interview conducted on November 21, 2016.
[106] Ibid.

news for online news. Most of the times, what works on print news may not work for online news." She uses social media effectively but cautions journalists who rely on it solely. "I have my own Twitter account. I also use Facebook. But I use Twitter more than Facebook," she notes. "Social media is great for finding people easily. It has been useful in connecting to different kinds of people. But I don't think it is usually good to use social media as a primary platform. You can't confirm most news on social media and people can twist stories for others to believe. People use fake Twitter and Facebook accounts to spread fake news. And most users don't have the time to check if the news is correct."[107]

Mhlungu argues that journalists and media houses have to learn and adjust as they move along, and that survival depends on finding their niche and the business model that works. According to her,

> Audiences are changing. The way people consume media is also powerful. People's interests are different. I am more interested in the content. More people are going online to read content. Print newspapers may die someday, but there has to be a place for content. Readers will not pay for news online. For newspapers to charge for news, they must provide vital information that cannot be found anywhere, and the readers need badly that they are willing to pay for it.[108]

Mhlungu sees convergence journalism as the future of digital journalism. "I think we are heading somewhere," she notes. "You need to be able to work across media. You can't just be a print journalist anymore, but you need to be involved in audio, editing, social media, etc. There are trainings on digital media

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[107] Interview conducted on November 21, 2016.
[108] Ibid.

available to people because that is the future. Video is also a component of journalism."[109]

Gabi Mbele, senior entertainment reporter for the *Sunday Times,* part of the Times Media Group in South Africa, is of the view that newspapers are declining every year and digital media is growing. Even though she works mainly on the print aspect of her newspaper, during live coverage of events, she interacts with readers using social media. For her, journalists have to make room for the digital transition by updating their skill and taking courses on social media and digital media training. Such trainings have come in handy as she combines her job as a print reporter with operating a blog. She believes social media makes her job easier. "I use social media to check on people I want to interview, she notes. "I use it more on other people I don't have contact with. You can connect to people on social media."[110]

Mbele believes that the future of digital media in South Africa is bright. "There is hope," she says, "but more work needs to be done. I don't think the print media will survive the next 10 years. But there is also a generation of people that will stick to print. They want to see the news on paper. You know people can easily lie on digital media. You can easily hold somebody accountable in print newspaper than on digital media."[111] For Mbele, one of the biggest challenges of digitalization is the cost of data. "Data is very expensive," she says.

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[109] Interview conducted on November 21, 2016.
[110] Interview conducted on November 23, 2016.
[111] Ibid.

"The network companies need to collaborate with digital media to reduce the cost of data."[112]

The Sunday Times—part of the Times Media Group—is South Africa's biggest Sunday newspaper.[113] Established in 1906, "the paper is distributed all over South Africa and in neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland." *TimesLIVE, SowetanLive*, and *BusinessLive* are some of the digital offering of the Time Media Group. The digital presence of *Sunday Times* is managed under *TimesLIVE,* South Africa's second-biggest news website. All *TimesLIVE* content is free to read, except for most articles in the *Sunday Times* website housed within *TimesLIVE*, which is reserved for subscribers.[114] In November 2016, the Times Media Group was planning to introduce paywall for premium content on *BusinessLive*.[115]

Digital Editor of Times Media Group (TMG), Andrew Trench, who is responsible for managing the digital content strategy across TMG titles: *TimesLIVE, SowetanLive*, and *BusinessLive* believes that there will always be people that will like to read print newspapers. So, it might be very difficult to get rid of newspapers. "It is hard to say but in the next ten years, definitely some of the print newspaper that exist in our market now will not exist anymore," he notes. "Some will become fully digitalized if they exist at all. The market will be

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[112] Interview conducted on November 23, 2016.
[113] In mid-2017, Time Media Group changed its name to Tiso Blackstar Group. "Times Media changes its name to become Tiso Blackstar Group": https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2017-06-12-times-media-changes-its-name-to-become-tiso-blackstar-group/ accessed August 18, 2018.
[114] "About *TimesLIVE, Times Select* and the *Sunday Times*": https://www.timeslive.co.za/about-us/ accessed August 18, 2018.
[115] Interview conducted on November 23, 2016.

a lot smaller in terms of number of titles from a print point of view. The ones that are left standing will probably be quite good business. Without a doubt the future is digital and broadcasting. Print publications that remain will serve a niche market.[116]

On the issue of sustainability of online newspapers, Trench says new digital platforms would have distinguish themselves. "People are not going to pay for information what is available elsewhere," he notes. "You have to add value that is worth paying for." He believes that the number of people willing to pay for online news would be much smaller than those who pay to read print newspapers but if it is done well, the revenue stream from a dedicated audience can sustain online newspapers.[117]

According to Trench, the media is migrating online because that is where the audience is.

> Circulation is declining not because publishers are putting print journalism online. I think circulation is falling because of news consumer behaviour and expectation. Mobile penetration has increased, and the cost has reduced. There is an expectation that consumers need information and they demand it on their devices wherever they might be. The habit in getting that information in print paper is lost. There might be older readers that have that habit. For the new generation of consumers, consuming news in a print form is not a habit, not the reality. We have been forced to accelerate to digital because that is where the audience has gone. But we haven't moved the audience as a policy of publishing.[118]

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[116] Interview conducted on November 23, 2016.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.

For Mapula Nkosi, deputy editor of South Africa's *The Sowetan* newspaper, today's journalists, many of whom are used to the print media tradition, need reorientation to get used to digital media. "I guess we need to get used to doing story regularly and hourly," she says. "We need more of breaking news journalists. Training is key. I do feel that print journalists that have been well-entrenched and are used to print deadlines and print filing need to be put through some sort of crash course to get them up to speed in terms of filing for digital."[119]

While *The Sowetan* focuses more on print news, it has a mandate to produce for its digital audience. *SowetanLive* is the digital news platform of *The Sowetan.* "It is about meeting deadlines that has been the hardest," says Nkosi. "We have a digital team that feeds exclusively for digital, but they have to be complemented with stories so that readers know that they are actually reading *The Sowetan* online."[120] As a print journalist, Nkosi feels uncomfortable talking about the death of print but says we must prepare for it if does happen eventually. "I don't know how long print media will stay but If you look at how young people are consuming information, you can see that print will go into a different form. Am not sure if it will be in newspaper form," she says. "Young people now consume news on mobile platforms like iPads or laptops. It does tell you that when you capture them now, it is going to be very hard to get them to

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[119] Interview conducted on November 23, 2016.
[120] Ibid.

be loyal to print edition. If the future is going to be exclusively digital, my job is to ensure that quality remains."[121]

Dayo Aiyetan worked as a reporter and editor before setting up the International Centre for Investigative Journalism (ICIR), an "independent, nonprofit news agency that seeks to promote transparency and accountability through robust and objective investigative reporting," in Abuja, Nigeria. He says that apart from "the devastating and game changing realities of dwindling sales and advert revenue and ravaging effect of the Internet on the newspaper as a means of news dissemination," there is the problem of "shoddy and lazy journalism that permeates the Nigerian press today. Standards have fallen drastically—in turn contributing in loss of confidence and patronage—and the media as an institution is increasingly corrupt."[122]

According to Aiyetan,

> Today's journalism is driven by data and technology, but the reality has not yet dawned on newsroom managers. They cannot afford new technology, or they just do not care. Most newspapers have moved on to digital platforms in a wholesale manner without understanding the dynamics. Many never offered training to staff to transform to digital platforms. So, many are not deriving maximum benefits from their digital platforms. I would say the newspaper in Nigeria rushed to the digital platforms blindly. Conversely, in other places, newspapers employed a gradual transition, understanding the platform which is the Internet. *Washington Post, New York Times* and other newspapers retain and are strengthening their print edition even as they consolidate their digital experience.[123]

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[121] Interview conducted on November 23, 2016.
[122] Interview conducted on April 22, 2014
[123] Ibid.

Aiyetan thinks that,

> Digitization has had little effect on sales and profitability in newsrooms in Nigeria basically because we have not taken time to study the Internet as a means of news dissemination and how other newspaper traditions transited to the web. Truth is that Nigerian newspapers have not been able to get advertisers to patronize their online platforms. And this is not peculiar to us. It is a worldwide phenomenon. Only difference is that the Western media has concertedly devised strategies to add value to their news websites to make the reader want to pay. *New York Times,* for example, has turned many of its Life pages—health, restaurants, transport, property, and so on, into apps that either give tips or offer real time service. Others are curating data or turning them into useable information which they offer for sale. But Nigerian newspapers are not wise to these opportunities yet.[124]

The challenge of digitalization in Nigeria, says Aiyetan, is that, "Newspapers just transferred their pages online wholesale and expect them to run like newspapers. But they are different. The digital experience is more fleeting but also more intimate and the online newspaper must offer more than the text that we are used to in newspapers—video, voice, graphics, visualization, data, apps, etc. The Nigerian newspaper is not doing this yet."[125]

> Like elsewhere, new and social media platforms have come with a lot of abuse so much so that confidence in all kinds of news is dwindling. But man must have news and so he will turn to more credible sources. That is one of the few things still working well for the Nigerian newspaper. Social media is so unreliable that many will still wait for their newspaper the next morning. On the other hand, in other respect, the traditional newsroom has shown a lack of capacity to undertake critical reporting in some areas, partly due to media corruption, and this is also eroding public confidence in it and readers are moving on to rely on new online media that have shown consistency in doing critical, watchdog

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[124] Interview conducted on April 22, 2014.
[125] Ibid.

reporting. The coming of the Internet has necessitated the move from print to digital. I think the major issue for digital news platforms is sustainability in an environment where adverts still do not drive business online.[126]

While digitalization and social media have helped newsroom workflows and created more efficiency in the gathering of news, it has affected the quality of news and the practice of journalism in Nigeria, notes Aiyetan. He believes journalists and newspapers are "not prepared at all and they are not investing in the training that is necessary."[127]

Aiyetan says:

> The skills deficiency is frightening. Most Nigerian journalists still know nothing about Computer Assisted Reporting, use of data and spreadsheets and other tools and apps that drive today's reporting on the field. Digitalization has thrown up new training needs but newspapers are not meeting these new needs. I know of only a few media houses that have invested in digital training for their reporters.[128]

Aiyetan agrees that digitalization and social media have led to greater and wider audience and citizens' participation and audiences are relying more on social media for news and information, particularly for breaking news, than from the traditional newspapers. "New and social media platforms have created more opportunities for readers and citizens to participate in the shaping, production and dissemination of news," says Aiyetan. "Every citizen with a mobile device

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[126] Dayo Aiyetan. Interview conducted on April 22, 2014.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

can practically, at the click of a button or icon, play the role of a reporter, contributing to reportage of news as it breaks, offering opinion or perspective."[129]

Kunle Ajibade, author, editor, and one the founders of *The News* magazine in Nigeria, who alongside three other journalists was sentenced to life-imprisonment in 1995 by then maximum ruler of Nigeria, Gen. Sani Abacha, believes journalism isn't going to change because of technology. "You will never have any group of people who will say that digital journalism is not the future," he says. "But the point I have always made is that, essentially, journalism will continue to be what it has always been. People shouldn't make it look like it's a new thing. It is the form that is new; the content is not new. The basic rules of journalism have not changed, what have changed are the tools, the forms. What is good journalism will continue to be good journalism and what is bad journalism will continue to be bad journalism."[130]

Ajibade urges journalists to brace up to the phenomenon rather than mystifying it.

> It is the form that we need to really interrogate constantly and say to ourselves, how is this form that am using going to lead to the continuation of the job that I do, because it is a profession now. Is it going to put food on my table? This digital form is taking away the business from people because it is breaking the monopoly. You just raised the issue of blogs now; you raised the issue of citizen journalism and all the associated areas. I am saying that in the transition now, we are moving gradually towards the digital height where it will be of no use running your journalism through a hard copy. That moment is coming and people had better be prepared for it. Why it is slow here is because of the connectivity, the

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[129] Interview conducted on April 22, 2014.
[130] Interview conducted March 3, 2015.

energy crisis that we have and the disposable income of our people.[131]

David Alandete, Managing Editor of *El País*, Spain's largest newspaper based in Madrid, says under the new media environment, journalists have gone through a lot of painful experience—unemployment, layoffs, being overstretched, etc.—and they have to constantly learn new things. On the future of the print newspaper, he believes there are still people who love the experience of reading hard copy newspapers and because of that newspapers will soon become a luxury item, more expensive with fewer pages and a weekend—Saturday or Sunday—affair. While he agrees that online media will keep growing, he says distribution will be on multiple platforms—Snapchat, Facebook, Twitter— platforms that newspapers don't control. According to Alandete, "In the past, media houses controlled everything, from writing to selling. Today, we don't control the process."[132]

Alandete says a lot of digital outlets are coming because the Internet provides a level playing field for anyone interested in publishing online. The challenge, of course, is sustainability. The response to the former is for journalists to do "proper reporting," says Alandete. To deal with the challenge of financial solvency, online newspapers would need the support of the major tech giants who control the online advert market to help promote their content and also to ensure they receive a fair share of advert revenue. "If Google and Facebook

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[131] Kunle Ajibade. Interview conducted March 3, 2015.
[132] Interview conducted on November 16, 2016.

behave properly, they can help sustain online publications," says Alandete. "If these companies don't do anything, then newspapers are in trouble."[133]

Describing the situation at his newspaper, *El Mundo,* where he served as editor-in-chief, David Jiménez notes,

> In Spain, the resistance to change put newspapers like *El Mundo*, in which I was the editor-in-chief, at the border of a very steep cliff. The refusal of traditional media to adapt to the times not only hit our numbers and forced the layoffs of hundreds of journalists but put us in a weak position that made it easier for those in power to erode our editorial freedom. For the last six years, Spain has suffered the biggest retreat in freedom of expression since the death of General Franco in 1975. Journalists have been fired for just doing their jobs. Propaganda has made inroads and public relations has been presented as journalism way too often. In our desperation, we were willing to sell the information we produced to the highest bidder. Our credibility was eroded. Instead of being the guardians of the system, we became part of the system. And our readers noticed.[134]

On the future of journalism, Jiménez says,

> We are in the middle of the largest information offer journalism has ever seen, with millions of webs sharing news, videos, photos...But we all know a good percentage of it is just crap, if you excuse my language. Those who dared to make early bets on quality are starting to thrive and have showed the way forward. We are also seeing media outlets reverse one of the great mistakes made when Internet came along: giving their journalism for free on the Internet. Today the *New York Times* has over 2.5 million paid digital subscribers. *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Financial Times* and others are all improving the monetization of their content. Of course, they had the resources to push forward with their plans. Money can take away a lot of

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[133] Interview conducted on November 16, 2016.
[134] Extracts from a presentation on "Journalism Today" by David Jiménez at MILID Doctoral Summer Scholl, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, on July 9, 2018.

the fear in us. But they have also being rewarded by daring to push their ideas forward.[135]

Jiménez believes people are willing to pay for good journalism:

> In Europe, in countries like France and Germany, people are showing that they are willing to pay for journalism, but only if it is trustworthy and good. In Holland, *The Correspondent* (a Dutch news website based in Amsterdam) has 70,000 subscribers and recently added funding for its international expansion. In Spain, *Eldiario* (an online newspaper) has over 30,000 paid subscribers and counting. For too long people said that Spanish readers will never pay for journalism. They were wrong. All the major newspapers in the country now have plans to charge for their digital content in the next two years. For me, that is the light at the end of the tunnel I was referring to: the point in which journalists' jobs and freedom depend once again on our readers. It's the only way, because we know the alternative: dependence of those who don't appreciate what we do and would be happy if we stop doing it.[136]

Clearly, digitalization is here to stay and there is no going back. How well media houses and journalists navigate the labyrinth will be determined by a number of factors, many of which they have no control over.

6.2 Conclusion

This research looked at the nature and impact of digitalization on the print media in Africa using Nigeria and South Africa as case studies. Through interviews, surveys, documentation, participant observation and analysis of views and opinions of journalists, publishers, media managers and media scholars as well

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[135] Extracts from a presentation on "Journalism Today" by David Jiménez at MILID Doctoral Summer Scholl, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, on July 9, 2018.
[136] Ibid.

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as newspaper readers, I was able to draw certain conclusions about the current state and future of digitalization in the countries under review.

The research has some limitations which can provide the basis for further study in different areas intersecting the phenomenon of digitalization. Because of the changing patterns of digital technology as well as social and political changes—some newspapers like *The New Age* in South Africa folded up in mid-2018 after eight years and civil society in Nigeria succeeded in repelling an obnoxious Social Media Bill that was meant to circumscribe online publishing— understanding the trajectory of digitalization will continue to be a work in progress. Such changes will continue to shape the transition to digital media.

The sample size of the surveys, 100 journalists each in both countries and 500 newspaper readers in each country may not be representative enough considering the population of both countries. Newspapers were also not forthcoming when giving information about their business models, circulation figures, and internal technology-related challenges.

There seems to be a general understanding and agreement that we are in a new, even if uncertain, era of digital takeover of the media, not just the newspaper. The question is no longer if but when the print media, the way we have known it for decades, will disappear. In the long term, journalism will be all encompassing. The compartmentalization of journalism—print, radio, TV, online—will soon became a thing of the past. It seems convergence journalism— new media journalism as opposed to print, radio, or TV journalism—is the future.

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While many journalists realize this and are preparing for it, the resource to cope with the demands of technology appears to be a major hindrance.

On the issue of sustainability, there is not to be a one-size-fits-all answer. Even though there are a few generic things online newspapers must do, including having an interactive, easy to navigate and aesthetically appealing platform, every newspaper would have to figure out what works for it depending on certain factors: its audience, interest, orientation, and regulatory environment. In all of this, the audience, of course, is key. The last two decades have witnessed a generation whose tastes and choices keep changing. With audiences unwilling to pay, partly because they have enjoyed "free" news for too long and also because of the glut of websites and information, online news providers are reluctant to put a price on their services. For many sites, therefore, "democratizing" their stories and making sure it reaches as many people as possible seems to be the major concern. The long-term goal, of course, is the belief and hope that all the "eyeballs" will translate to cash.

Digital media has a lot of potentials. It has redefined communication and created opportunities for journalists and citizens. But it has come with its challenges and to survive in the digital age, journalists must be willing to experiment. As a service, journalism must understand its market. Some media houses are experimenting with the dual system whereby paywalls are running side by side with free service; others are considering foundation journalism; yet, others, like *The Correspondent*, a Dutch news website based in Amsterdam, Netherlands and *The Guardian* published in the UK, have resorted to seeking

donations and contributions from the public to, as the paper puts it, "Help us deliver the independent journalism the world needs."[137] *The Correspondent* launched on 30 September 2013 after raising more than €1 million in a crowd-funding campaign in eight days.[138]

To be relevant, journalists must go back to the essence of journalism which is reconnecting with the audience. There is a serious lack of quality online content. Much of what is available is quick, not well researched, and entertainment focused. In the midst of the digital chaos, the question remains how do we make news and information interesting and useful. David Jiménez, Spanish journalist and author, who worked as long-term correspondent in Asia for the newspaper *El Mundo* says the problem confronting journalism today is fear. According to him, "Fear is still dominating journalism, newsrooms, radios stations and TV networks. It has prevented journalists, from taking risks."

> Fear of what audiences will do if we don't please them with our content. Fear of the competition from the tech companies that seem to be taking over our traditional territory. Fear of the next layoffs after so many journalists have lost their jobs. Only in Spain, around 15.000 had to leave their newsrooms in the last decade. And of course, fear of those who have taken advantage of our difficulties to undermine freedom of the press with a determination not seen in decades. Don't get me wrong. Some of these fears are fact based and justified. But even as we face them, I strongly believe that it is time to put them behind and accept that it is in our hands, the hands of journalists, to transform them into opportunities. But in most cases, fear has been an enemy and not a friend for journalists. We have lived thought a great crisis, the birth of new business

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[137] "Help us deliver the independent journalism the world needs": https://goo.gl/G8Lwbt accessed August 18, 2018.

[138] "A Dutch crowdfunded news site has raised $1.3 million and hopes for a digital-native journalism": http://www.niemanlab.org/2013/04/a-dutch-crowdfunded-news-site-has-raised-1-3-million-and-hopes-for-a-digital-native-journalism/, accessed August 18, 2018.

models and the disruption of technology, but it was our fear to confront all those things that made things worse.[139]

"What happened over the last years shows that decisions based on fear don't work," observes Jiménez.

> As we feared being abandoned by our audiences, we lower the standards of our journalism to bring new readers. It did not work. As we feared to lose advertisers money, we stuck to old models based in our print editions. It did not work either. As we feared technology, we decided to defend a past that did not exist anymore, instead of embracing the future. It did not work. In a sense, we acted against our nature, because journalism is about discovering, going places, leaving the comfort zone in search of the new. Journalism is about daring and for too long we did not dare to do what we know best. In Spain, that meant journalists not getting the skills needed for today's journalism, newsrooms not being modernized, resources put in the wrong places and management, well, don't get me started with management…I believe it is time we journalists dare again to go beyond our comfort zone and embrace risk, and discovery. Because it's there, in the unknown, where the next opportunities will be found.[140]

There is, of course, the challenge of big media corporations for whom the bottom line is profit. Writing about the massive layoffs at the "once-magnificent and still exceptionally necessary New York *Daily News,"* John Nichols noted:

> People who care about the future of journalism need to recognize that the clock is ticking rapidly toward midnight. But the journalism that matters most, journalism that tells the stories of where we live and who we are, and which might arm us to be the governors of our own cities and states (and the nation that extends from them), is dying. While digital utopians imagine that online journalism will fill the void caused by newspaper layoffs, that has never been the case. In fact, as the Pew Research Center notes, 'Newspaper layoffs have far from abated in the past year, and digital-native news

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[139] Extracts from a presentation on "Journalism Today" by David Jiménez at MILID Doctoral Summer Scholl, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, on July 9, 2018.
[140] Ibid.

outlets are also suffering losses.' It's a national pattern. It's got something to do with the rise of the Internet and the digital age. But it's got something more to do with profitable media conglomerates seeking to secure bigger profits by kicking journalism to the curb.[141]

The question everyone is asking today is: will the print media (or newspapers) survive? I think the question is rather simplistic. The question we should be asking is: will journalism—in this era of "free news" and social media—survive the digital age? I think journalism will survive. As Chris Ahearn, President, Media at Thomson Reuters, notes, "First, journalism is not synonymous with newspapers and today the discussion has focused too much on newspapers alone. Second, journalism will do more than survive the Internet Age, it will thrive. It will thrive as creators and publishers embrace the collaborative power of new technologies, retool production and distribution strategies and we stop trying to do everything ourselves."[142]

Journalism will survive and thrive in the Internet age not just because technology has eased the work of journalists and promoted the engagement of readers and citizens, but because journalism is indispensable to building an egalitarian and democratic society. We need journalists in a democracy. Good journalism matters; it not only holds power to account, but it can make the difference between the survival and collapse of all the institutions of a modern

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[141] "These Are the Worst of Times for American Journalism" by John Nichols: https://www.thenation.com/article/worst-times-american-journalism/, accessed August 18, 2018.
[142] "How will journalism survive the Internet Age?" http://blogs.reuters.com/from-reuterscom/2009/12/11/how-will-journalism-survive-the-internet-age/, accessed August 18, 2018.

democracy. There is a relationship between a free, independent and robust media and the growth of democracy. If the media is not free and independent, it can't fulfill that role.

If there is an agreement on the indispensability of journalism, the question, therefore, is: what will be the nature of journalism in the digital age? Will it be dominated and controlled by private media and large corporations? Will we witness the growth and expansion of independent, non-profit media? Will we see a resurgence of public media? I see journalism—more so in the digital age—as a public good and whatever happens, that role will continue to define journalism. "For the African media to be truly independent and serve its social model, we must respond creatively through innovation to reimage the whole value chain of our journalism, from our storytelling, through our distribution, to our revenue strategies," says Olorunyomi.[143]

That revenue strategy must be one that insulates the media from the influence of big business. The future of the media in Africa as it grapples with the destruction occasioned by technology lies, as Olorunyomi notes, in the "awareness that the key challenge of an independent media is revenue."[144] He argues that:

> The central business model that underpins an independent media, therefore, must be one that frees itself of the procrustean grip of advertising, subscription, and government funding. The rise of non-profit investigative journalism is an important leap forward to recuperating the media system that

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[143] From 'Renewing Nigerian Journalism: The Challenge of the Online Media,' paper presented at the conference of the Association of Communications Scholars of Nigeria, Abuja, Nigeria, November 2017.
[144] Ibid.

has been destroyed by the power of crass monopoly, and has stymied the growth of an accountability media.[145]

Citing the corporate takeover of the New York-based *Daily News* and the massive layoffs that followed, John Nichols, author and *The Nation*'s national-affairs correspondent argues that:

> The CEOs do not care. But we should. The shredding of the *Daily News* should serve as a wake-up call. There really are things that can be done to rebuild newsrooms and renew journalism. Bob McChesney and I have written at length about the necessary steps—investing in public and community media, realizing the potential of the Internet with full net neutrality, establishing programs to fund the positions and projects of young reporters, and creating new tax policies to sustain and encourage not-for-profit newsgathering. But the first requirement is one of recognition. It begins with the understanding that 'the market' is not working. Journalism's fate remains in the grips of the hedge-fund profiteers and bumbling corporatists who had been killing the craft by slow cuts—and are now killing it by fast cuts.[146]

While there are other intervening factors, the challenge of journalism today is the challenge of the Internet and technology. Beyond the Internet which has distorted the platforms we have known for decades, there is the fear of the possibility that in the not too distant future, with Artificial intelligence (AI) flourishing, robots will take over the newsrooms and replace journalists—a phenomenon that has come to known as "automated journalism"—to produce news stories.[147]

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[145] From 'Renewing Nigerian Journalism: The Challenge of the Online Media,' paper presented at the conference of the Association of Communications Scholars of Nigeria, Abuja, Nigeria, November 2017.
[146] "These Are the Worst of Times for American Journalism" by John Nichols: https://www.thenation.com/article/worst-times-american-journalism/, accessed August 18, 2018.
[147] "'Automated Journalism', Robots in the Newsroom: The Future of Corporate Media" by Timothy Alexander Guzman: https://www.globalresearch.ca/automated-journalism-robots-in-the-newsroom-the-future-of-corporate-media/5522522, accessed August 18, 2018.

"More than ever, corporate media conglomerates are slowly replacing traditional journalists with robots that can produce twice the amount of stories at a faster rate to beat out their competition," notes Timothy Alexander Guzman.[148] While this is one of the reasons for the change, Guzman says there is a bigger picture to this new advanced technology:

> Robots as we know, have replaced humans in several industries especially in the automobile industry where robots are already replacing humans on production lines. The media is no exception. Recently the *New York Post* (a tabloid propaganda newspaper) reported that Bilderberg attendee and Bloomberg's Editor-in-Chief, John Micklethwait, told Bloomberg's 2,400 journalists in an internal office memo that he was creating a 10-person team that will study how to 'use more automation in writing and reporting.' 'Why do we need you, if the basic idea is to get computers to do more of the work?" Micklethwait asked in the memo, obviously addressing an unspoken concern among his staff.[149]

For now, while the disruption goes on, newspapers in Nigeria and South Africa are still trying to access the situation and figure out a sustainable formula. But we shouldn't look too much into the future. One thing is certain: There will be room for quality journalism. How it will be delivered is the issue. Clearly, the future belongs to media houses and journalists that are ready to innovate. Journalists have to come together to save journalism in the digital age. Modern society can't survive without good journalism.

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[148] "'Automated Journalism', Robots in the Newsroom: The Future of Corporate Media" by Timothy Alexander Guzman: https://www.globalresearch.ca/automated-journalism-robots-in-the-newsroom-the-future-of-corporate-media/5522522, accessed August 18, 2018.
[149] Ibid.

6.3 Recommendations

As technology continues to redefine communication and journalism, media organizations in Africa, particularly newspapers, must invest in technology. The Internet and digital platforms—laptops, iPad, tablets, and smarts phones—are the new tabloids and broadsheets. Media houses can do the following to remain relevant:

- They must understand the competition and create a niche platform that is not only interactive but aesthetically appealing.

- They must understand the consumption habit of readers. Using various tools at their disposal like Google Analytics' bounce rate and recirculation—"the percentage of users who visit another page of your website after they finish reading their first article. It's the inverse of Google Analytics' bounce rate, the percentage of readers who left your website without loading a second page or engaging with anything"—they can know who is visiting their sites and reading their news.[150] "With recirculation you can not only examine whether or not an article is performing well on average, but you can also begin to understand which pages your readers are likely to visit next, allowing you to choose—manually or algorithmically —the best links to include on each article page. This can do wonders for your core Key Performance Indicator (KPI)," says Andrew Sweeney.[151]

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[150] "Why Recirculation is a Key Metric for News Publishers in 2018" by Andrew Sweeney: http://mediashift.org/2017/12/recirculation-key-metric-news-publishers-2018/, accessed August 18, 2918.
[151] Ibid.

- Independence is key. Whatever survival model newspapers adopt, they must ensure they are not beholden to any interest group. That is the only way they can maintain their objectivity and integrity and the loyalty of their readers.

- New media journalists will have to equip themselves professionally and intellectually to further entrench themselves as major players in the profession.

- Newspapers would have to invest in their reporters, including in such areas as computer assisted reporting and data journalism.

- While the debate about pay walls rages, newspapers would have to try other things in the short-term, like crowdfunding or seeking the support of foundations, to remain in business.

- Media houses shouldn't be afraid of embracing digitalization as it is clearly the future of journalism. They must be willing to adapt and understand that in the new digital environment, they may be the creators of content but the distribution may be beyond their control.

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