Historical Black Press Newspapers and Technology Adoption:

The Weekly Challenger, Daytona Times, and *Florida Courier*

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Journalism and Media Studies
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Date of Approval:
March 24, 2017

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the Black press in the United States and hope that this study contributes to its survival and makes it stronger. I also dedicate this thesis to Cleveland Johnson and Charles W. Cherry, visionaries who helped to tell the stories of the African-American communities in Florida. I also dedicate this work to my grandfather, Tito Suero.

I would like to thank my parents, Tito Suero Portorreal and Teresa Acosta Luna, for being with me during this time, for supporting my dreams and for encouraging me to leave the Dominican Republic and study in a country different than mine. I also thank my friend, Shawn Fok, for being the best companion during this master's program and for reminding me of the importance of being ethical in everyday life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

According to the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), there are more than 200 local and regional publications directed to the African-American community in the United States. On its website, the NNPA lists a total of 157 members from 29 states. Currently, there exists no research on how these publications have adopted technology throughout time, or if the adoption of new media contributes to their growth and survival in the publishing industry. In Florida, *The Weekly Challenger*, *Daytona Times* and *Florida Courier*, 3 of 13 historical newspapers directed at the African-American population, are connected in history and structure and apply different types of survival methods and ways of adopting new technologies. How have these publications adopted technology through time? What are the types of trends that reflect these adopted technologies? What challenges are faced by the Black community weeklies? To answer these questions, the author conducted case studies employing participant observation, lengthy interviews, and historical research. The findings of this research indicate that in addition to traditional challenges, such as lack of advertisement, financial pressures and declining staffs, these newspapers have struggled with diminished workforces that lack professional and technological training and who also must perform multiple roles in the organization. Findings also show that the newspapers' pattern of adoption is not planned, but a consequence of availability and chance.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

According to the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), there are more than 200 local and regional publications directed to the African-American community in the United States. On its website, the NNPA enlists a total of 157 members from 29 states.[1]

Currently, no research exists on how these publications have adopted technology through time, or if the adoption of new media contributes to their growth and survival in the publishing industry. In a time when relevant and larger newspapers have disappeared or merged with bigger papers and as their intended audiences show changing patterns in the way that they consume the news, most of these Afro-newspapers continue as print community weeklies that they must adapt to maintain their readership. To survive and hopefully thrive, ethnic presses must change the ways that they gather information, produce articles, publish the newspaper and organize their staffs.

In Florida, 3 of 13 historical newspapers directed at the African-American population are connected in history and structure and show different types of survival methods and ways of adopting new technologies.[2]

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[1]   "Current members," National Newspapers Publishers Association (NNPA), accessed December 5, 2016
http://nnpa.org/current-members/

[2]   Ibid. The NNPA lists the following newspapers currently writing for the Black communities in the state of *Florida: Capital Outlook* (1976); *Daytona Times* (1969); *Florida Courier* (1989); *Florida Sentinel Bulletin* (1919); *Florida Star* (1951); *Florida Sun* (1931); *Jacksonville Free Press* (1986); *Miami Times* (1923); *Orlando Advocate* (1993); *Pensacola Voice* (1963); *South Florida Times* (1992); *The Weekly Challenger* (1967) and *Westside Gazette* (1971).

The Weekly Challenger, in St. Petersburg, was bought by the publisher Cleveland Johnson Jr. in 1967 and serves the African-American communities in South St. Petersburg. The *Daytona Times* (1969), was the first Afro-newspaper in Daytona Beach, and the *Florida Courier* (1989), was the first Black newspaper in Florida to go state-wide. Both were founded by the civil rights activist, Charles Cherry. These three publications also share characteristics: they were all small family businesses that faced new challenges following the death of their founders, and continue thanks to the families' matriarchs' decisions to remain in business.

How have these publications adopted technology through time? What types of trends are reflected in these newspapers? What challenges are faced by the Black community weeklies? This study addresses these questions.

CHAPTER TWO: RELATED STUDIES

History of the Black Press

As explained by Patrick S. Washburn, professor emeritus of Ohio University's Scripps J-

School, in *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom*, in order to determine the future

of Black media, as well as any other media in today's world, it is helpful to know where they

have been. Washburn described the origins:

> The publication of America's first (B)lack-owned newspaper, *Freedom's Journal,*
> in 1827 gave African Americans a voice of their own to 'plead our own cause' in
> the words of editors John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish. From then to now,
> (B)lack newspapers offered passionate advocacy for (B)lack rights, opportunities,
> and visibility against the community's common enemies.[3]

Agreeing with the importance of the African-American press for molding self-esteem,

opinion and setting the public agenda, Jannette L. Dates wrote that between the first emergence

of *Freedom's Journal* in 1827 and the Civil War, around 40 Black newspapers were published

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[3] Patrick S. Washburn, *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom (*Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), xi, 19. Despite its two and a half years of existence, The *Freedom's Journal* represented a continual, formidable foe of slavery. Nelson, Stanley, *"The Black Press Soldiers Without Swords,"* Kanopy Streaming, 87 minutes, 1998 https://usf.kanopystreaming.com/video/black-press-soldiers-without-swords In the first issue, John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish wrote that "useful knowledge of every kind, and everything that relates to Africa, shall find a ready admission into our columns, proving that the natives of it are neither so ignorant nor stupid as they have generally supposed to be."

with antislavery titles such as *Alienated American*, *Mirror of Liberty* and *Freeman's Advocate,* among others. The exact number of newspapers during that period is still a matter of discussion between historians.[4] According to Dates, "many of them had limited lives and would not be considered newspapers in the current sense of the word, but they served to create a print institution for the expression of views controlled by (B)lack people. All of these papers, because of their limited markets, were under extreme financial pressure." [5]

The glory days of the African-American press began during the 1920s and 1930s. According to retired journalist Larry Muhammad, Black publishers during those decades augmented their incomes and acquired power among other members of their society: "Robert S. Abbott started *The Defender* with $13.75 and became one of America's first (B)lack millionaires. By 1929, *The Defender's* circulation was 230,000 a week, but the *Pittsburgh Courier* was biggest, topping 300,000 with 15 editions across the country."[6]

During World War II, all African-American newspapers experienced an increase in circulation and actively supported the war effort. Following the war, newspapers like the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the [Baltimore] *Afro-American*, the *Chicago Defender*, and the *Amsterdam News* gained more popularity among their communities. Jannette Dates also noted that once the

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[4]   Washburn, *The African American Newspaper*, 24. Some, as Carter Bryan, listed New York as the state with most newspapers (21), followed by Pennsylvania (6), Ohio (4), Louisiana (3), California (2), Massachusetts and Kansas (1).

[5]   Jannette L. Dates, *Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media (*Washington: Howard University Press, 1990), 347. The terms African-American press, Black press, Black newspapers, Afro-American newspapers, and Black media are employed in this paper to define the publications directed mainly to the African-American population in the United States.

[6]   Larry Muhammad, "The Black Press: Past and Present." *Nieman Reports* 57, no.3 (2003): 14-15.

war ended; the Black press was stronger than it had ever been and questioned more vigorously

the domestic apartheid that existed. Dates asserted that:

> At the beginning of 1948, there was a total of 169 newspapers, 56 college campus publications of all types, and more than 100 religious, fraternal, general and other papers, bulletins and magazines. But in 1954 the first hint came that this situation would not last forever. The NAACP raised the issue of the legality of segregated schools in the case of *Brown v. the Board of Education.*[7]

The quest to end segregation was not the only factor that contributed to the dwindling

popularity of these types of newspapers beginning in the late 1940s and continuing to the mid-

1960s. The African-American press was no longer alone in the Black community's terrain, it

faced the uprising of other types of general media, such as the radio, television and magazines.[8]

Socio-political changes also added new challenges. For example, Muhammad wrote that

the glory days in Black media began to decline following the rise of the Black Power movement:

> The (B)lack press was considered, at best, a farm team for major dailies, which recruited top (B)lack journalists to cover the civil rights movement and eventually attracted readers and advertisers once considered the (B)lack press's captive market. Conventional wisdom by the 1980's was that the (B)lack press, by doing such a bang-up job promoting racial equality, had made itself obsolete.[9]

According to educator Clint C. Wilson II, despite the numerous challenges faced by the

Black papers in the second half of the 20th century and beyond, success stories can still be found

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[7]   Dates, *Split Image*, 358.

[8]   Ibid., 363.

[9]   Larry Muhammad, "Black Press," 15.

in some examples of African-American newspapers founded before 1935 that have survived into the second decade of the 21st century.[10]

The author also listed the publications currently operating. Among the titles Wilson mentioned were: *Atlanta Daily World* (1928), *Baltimore Afro-American* (1892), *Charlotte Post* (1878), *Chicago Defender* (1905), *Cleveland Call and Post* (1928), *Houston Defender* (1930), *Indianapolis Recorder* (1806), *Kansas City Call* (1919), *Los Angeles Sentinel* (1933), *Miami Times* (1923), *New York Amsterdam News* (1909), *Philadelphia Tribune* (1884), *Pittsburgh Courier* (1910) and the *St. Louis American* (1928). In addition, Wilson mentioned that the emerging new Afro-American newspapers struggled with six different factors: operating under a capitalistic environment; lack of investment from industries and corporations; White-owned media appropriating Black businesses; confusion in what constitutes the Black press; lack of reporting/editing staff; and difficulty in achieving in-depth reporting.

Determining the exact quantity of African-American newspapers across the United States represents another challenge. Nancy Vogt, a researcher at Pew Research Center, wrote that in 2015 the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) tracked the number of African-American publications at around 200. According to Vogt, only a handful of historically prominent Black papers have regularly audited circulation figures. This low percentage affects

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[10] Clint, C. Wilson II, *Whither the Black Press? Glorious Past, Uncertain Future* (Middletown: Xlibris, 2014), 114-119. The author mentioned as factors that altered the status of the Black press: "Old Guard" publishers transitioning from the editorial business; competition from White news media; rivalry from within the Black community; escalating costs and personnel losses.

the capability to obtain industry-wide measures. She also mentioned that those calculations showed some audience decline in 2015.[11]

Technology in the Black Press

Ronald E. Wolseley, a journalism professor who composed one of the first surveys of African American journalism in the country, also wrote about the future of Black newspapers and expressed his predictions during the 1990s. Wolseley's research, published in 1990, was confined exclusively to the print media and did not include electronic journalism: "They fall in three groups: the press will disappear, it will diminish but survive, or it will be a strong element in communication in this country." Wolseley also explained that, during that time, the American Black press confronted a public split as never before, with a large middle-class group on one side; a small group composed of militant Blacks who wanted change; and a third group, not part of its potential audience, representing the lower socio-economic populations with limited educations that generally refrained from reading newspapers at all.[12]

Anna Everett argued that the Black press was yet again at the forefront of a bold, different migration. Despite the integration of newsrooms that took talented writers away from Black newspapers; the apparent devastation of the historic African-American press, and the remaining reporters' refusal to be forced into oblivion by mainstream and new digital media

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[11]   Nancy Vogt. "African American News Media: Fact Sheet." *Pew Research Center*, June 15, 2016: 81, Retrieved from http://www.journalism.org/2016/06/15/african-american-media-fact-sheet/
Founded during World War II, the NNPA focuses on pre-professional training and offers programs such as the Black Press Archives and Hall of Fame at Howard University or the A. Philip Randolph Messenger Awards for Excellence in publishing and reporting.

[12]   Ronald E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1990), 388.

technologies, the Black papers adapted to their new environment. Everett also studied the transition from print to digital media for two established Black newspapers, *The Charlotte Post* and *Afro-Americ@n, "*one of the first established newspapers, Black or White, to go online."[13]

Clint C. Wilson, of Howard Media Group, wrote that by 2010 many of the more economically-stable Afro-American newspapers had transitioned to producing digital online versions to complement their print editions. The issue, back then, was that only a small percentage of Black weeklies had taken that transitional step and prospective advertisers did not believe that an economically viable African American demographic accessed the online sites.[14]

Regarding demographics, Nancy Vogt explained that from 2014-2015, there were virtually equal shares of profits and losses relating to the number of unique visitors and the minutes per visit that readers spent with a group of 14 outlets of African-American media. According to her research:

> When it came to mobile traffic, the majority of sites (10 of the 14) experienced an increase in unique visitors, and eight of these sites showed an increase of 10% or greater from the previous year. For 11 of 14 of the outlets, however, the number of unique visitors from desktops fell, with eight showing a drop of 10% or greater from the fourth quarter of 2014 to the fourth quarter of 2015.[15]

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[13] Anna Everett, "The Black Press in the Age of Digital Reproduction," in *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays,* ed. by Todd Vogel (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 248. For this author, *The Charlotte Pos*t constituted an example of Black press in cyberspace that remained close to its local print roots using new technologies. While the *Afro-Americ@n* presented a "more significant departure from print media" and added interactive participation.

[14] Wilson II, *Whiter the Black Press*, 160-161.

[15] Vogt. "*African American News Media: Fact Sheet*," 86.

As a side note, Vogt reported that in March 2016, the *Poynter Institute* and the *National Association of Black Journalists* announced that they would join to provide leadership training to journalists of color working in digital media.[16]

Citing Everett, the portrait of the migration to the Internet by the *Charlotte Post* and the *Afro-Americ@an* "clearly reveals their commitment to continue the struggle for (B)lack political, social, cultural and economic survival and prosperity into the digital age."[17]

Technology in the Newsroom and a New Type of Reader

The African-American press have not been alone in facing challenges brought about in the media landscape. According to journalist Penelope Muse Abernathy, in order for mainstream community newspapers to survive and thrive in the digital era, they need to concentrate investment on content creation and aggregation based in light of rapidly-changing expectations. Muse Abernathy studied the cases of community newspapers employing new technologies and multimedia platforms. Some of the presses she cited include: *The News Reporter (*one of the first, small, non-daily newspapers in North Carolina to establish a website in 1998 and later a Twitter feed), *La Raza* (a Spanish-language weekly), *Hampshire Review*, *The Pilot, The Polish Daily News,* and *Columbia Daily Herald*.[18]

Muse Abernathy wrote about the results of a 2009 survey conducted by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill that reflected changes in readers' use of new media. She stated, "like their city kinfolk, rural residents are addicted to texting, Facebook, and smartphones. They

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[16]   Ibid., 85.

[17]   Everett. "The Black Press in the Age of Digital Reproduction," 256.

[18]   Penelope Muse Abernathy, *Saving Community Journalism: The Path to Profitability.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 48.

estimated that they were spending two hours or more daily with new media, with cell phones and smart phones coming in first followed by social networking, searches, and e-commerce done on desktop computers."[19]

The increase of online audiences using mobile devices constituted a relevant aspect treated by the Pew Research Center *State of the Media Reports*, which indicates that for 39 of the 50 newspaper websites examined in 2015, "the number of unique visitors on desktop [sic] fell, with 28 showing a drop of at least 10%. Conversely, unique visitors on mobile rose for 43 of the 50, with 35 showing a 10% or greater increase."[20] Indeed, John Allen Hendricks wrote that for traditional media outlets, the implications of new media are far-reaching: "New media technologies are being integrated into existing industry operations through media convergence, but in some situations, new media are actually replacing traditional media operations both within organizations and consumers."[21] Furthermore, John V. Pavlik, citing Heather Scofield, wrote that early evidence suggests that "the digital innovation by traditional print news media is successful in not only building an audience but also generating online advertising revenue." [22]

By 2016, the situation remained similar to the trend perceived in previous years. For

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[19]   Ibid., 49.

[20]   Michael Barthel. *"*Newspapers: Fact Sheet*." Pew Research Center*, June 15, 2016: 20, Retrieved from http://www.journalism.org/2016/06/15/newspapers-fact-sheet/ Janet Kolodzy, et al., "The Convergence Years," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 69 No. 2 (2014): 201. According to the authors, "new presentation platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Storify), as well as new devices (smart phones and tablets), allowed information to move more quickly and anyone to deliver it."

[21]   John Allen Hendricks, ed., *The Twenty-First-Century Media Industry: Economic and Managerial Implications in the Age of New Media*. Studies in New Media Series (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010), 16.

[22]   John V. Pavlik, "Innovation and Future of Journalism," *Digital Journalism* 1, no. 2 (2013): 189.

example, as of early 2016, just 2 in 10 adults in the United States often obtained news from print

newspapers while in 2013 the percentage was 27%: "when compared with print, nearly twice as

many adults (38%) often get news online, either from news websites/apps (28%), on social

media (18%) or both. (81% of adults ever get news on these online platforms)." Age also

represents a determinant factor in the way that readers get their news on mobile devices instead

of desktop computers: "Fully seven-in-ten of those ages 18-29 either prefer or only use mobile

for getting their digital news, compared with 53% of those 30-49, 29% of those 50-64 and just

16% of those 65+."[23]

Regarding African-Americans, survey data from 2013 indicated that this population was

more likely than web users overall to access social media tools such as Twitter and Facebook.

> Two digital areas where the (B)lack news media may find a large audience are in
> social networks and in the tablet realm. While African Americans still access the
> (I)nternet at lower rates than the (W)hite population [70% of African Americans
> say they use the (I)nternet, compared to 81% of non-Hispanic (W)hites], those on
> the (I)nternet are more likely to use social networks like Facebook, Google+,
> Twitter and Instagram than whites and the population over all, according to 2012
> surveys from the Pew Research Center.[24]

Other studies indicate that during a time when digital is dominating news media

consumption, African-American consumers still trust print, with 52% of the Black audience

"more likely to be voracious readers of magazines, which is 30% higher than the general

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[23] Amy Mitchell, et al., "The Modern News Consumer: News Attitudes and Practices in
the Digital Era." *Pew Research Center*, July 7, 2016: 4,6,
 Retrieved from http://www.journalism.org/2016/07/07/the-modern-news-consumer/

[24] Emily Guskin, Amy Mitchell and Mark Jurkowitz, *"African American: A Year of
Turmoil and Opportunity,"* Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence Journalism,
(2013).
Retrieved from http://www.stateofthemedia.org/2013/african-american-2/

population." At the same time, the research indicates that African-American consumers have

embraced technology, are avid users in this space, and have become vocal mainstays in popular

social media and blogging channels.

> Smartphone penetration is 81%, slightly edging the total population by 7%. On a
> monthly basis, (B)lacks spend close to 56 hours using apps or mobile Internet
> browsers on their smartphones and about two and a half hours watching videos on
> their smartphones. Additionally, 81% of African-Americans are more likely to
> show support for a favorite company or brand using social media, and 76% are
> more likely to share opinions by posting reviews and ratings online.[25]

Case Studies

For Dawson R. Hancock and Bob Algozzine, the researcher's duty in conducting a case

study is to identify a topic or question, determine the appropriate unit to represent it and to define

what is known based on the analysis of multiple sources of information about the

demonstration.[26] Paula M. Poindexter and Maxwell E. McCombs wrote that the case study

researcher examines the subject in depth and conducts interviews and reviews contemporary and

historical records in "order to understand everything about the research topic."[27] In contrast,

Sharam B. Merriam notes the four properties that define qualitative case study as particularistic

(focused on a particular situation), descriptive (thick description of the phenomenon studied),

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[25]   *"Multifaceted Connections: African-American Media Usage Outpaces Across Platforms."* Nielsen, (2015).
Retrieved from http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2015/multifaceted-connections-african-american-media-usage-outpaces-across-platforms.html

[26]   Dawson R. Hancock and Bob Algozzine, *Doing Case Study Research: A Practical Guide for Beginning Researchers* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), 10.

[27]   Paula M. Poindexter and Maxwell E. McCombs, *Research in Mass Communication: A Practical Guide* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 289.

heuristic (illuminating the audience's understanding of the phenomenon under study), and inductive (case studies rely on inductive reasoning). [28]

Poindexter and McCombs explained that researchers employ the "snowball" method of identifying subjects (asking the interviewee who else would be relevant to talk to) in case studies. Based on Hancock and Algozzine's studies, it is possible to identify three characteristics that are particular to case study research. The first one focuses on an individual representative of a group, but more often addresses a phenomenon. The second, the phenomenon under analysis, is investigated in its natural context, bounded by space and time.

Participant Observation and Historical Analysis

Professor Arthur Berger described participant observation as a "qualitative research technique that provides the opportunity to study people in real-life situations."[29] In Klaus Bruhn Jensen's 2002 study, this type of data collection method avoids the controversial terminology of "ethnography," employed for media and communication analysis during the 1980s.[30] On the contrary, Thomas R. Lindlof proposed to consider research positions based on the degree of participation (complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and complete observer) and roles based on social function (such as an ardent activist role). Rebecca B. Rubin, Alan M. Rubin, Paul M. Haridakis and Linda Piele J. wrote that the historical research is

[28] Sharan B. Merriam, *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1988), 11-13.

[29] Arthur Asa Berger, *Media and Communication Research Methods: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, (San Francisco: SAGE, 2014), 216.

[30] Klaus Bruhn Jensen, *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*, (New York: Routledge, 2002).

concerned with finding and evaluating observations of past events with the objective to describe and clarify relationships among occurrences, human subjects, and others. [31]

Historiography of *The Defender*

In his classic 1938 study, Carl Becker asserted that the primary purpose of historiography, the history of historical writing about an institution, person or place, was to assess, regarding modern standards, the value of historical works. According to the researcher, this type of study also provided a statement of the "contributions" which each historian has made to the total of verified historical knowledge during a particular time.[32]

In writing *The Defender: How The Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America*, journalist Ethan Michaeli conducted interviews and performed archival research that included pictures and documents to reconstruct the road traveled by *The Chicago Defender* from the time that it was founded in 1905, by Robert S. Abbott, to 2009. Michaeli also employed different kinds of historical research such as biographical, institutional, regional movement and editorial studies.[33]

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[31]   Rebecca B. Rubin, Alan M. Rubin, Paul M. Haridakis and Linda Piele J., *Communication Research: Strategies and Sources,* (Boston: Wadsworth, 2010).

[32]   Carl Becker, "What is Historiography," *The American Historical Review* 44, No. 1 (1938).

[33]   See: Ethan Michaeli, *The Defender: How the Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America: From the Age of the Pullman Porters to the Age of Obama* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).

CHAPTER THREE: STATEMENT OF RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

Research Question

How have Black press newspapers *The Weekly Challenger*, *Daytona Times* and *Florida Courier* adopted technology throughout time?

Methodology

To answer the question raised above, the author selected *The Weekly Challenger* as the only newspaper directed to the African-American community in Pinellas County, a metropolitan county in the Tampa Bay region along the west coast of Florida. The *Daytona Times* shares a similar foundational history with *The Challenger* and also targets one county, Volusia, on Florida's east coast, while the *Florida Courier* changed into a statewide weekly publication, in 2006, this transition introduced the paper to new types of challenges.[34]

The first step of this research involved a lengthy interview with the editor of the *Daytona Times* and *Florida Courier,* Jenise Morgan, on February 23, followed by an observation of production day at *The Weekly Challenger*, on March 1. On March 2, the author conducted an extended interview with designer Lorrie Bellinger, followed by interviews with publisher Lyn

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[34] Eric Deggans. *"Black owned Florida Media Firm Plans Statewide Black Newspaper."* Target Market News, (2005) as published in the *St. Petersburg Times* targetmarketnews.com/storyid12190501
According to officials at the National Newspaper Publishers Association, a trade association for African-American focused newspapers, the 25,000-circulation *Arizona Informant* (1971) is the only other statewide, Black-focused paper in the country.

Johnson on March 3, and the web and social media manager, Kaye Brown, on March 6. On March 8, the *Daytona Times* and *Florida Courier* reporter, Andreas Butler, and photographer, Duane C. Fernandez, shared their insights. The observation and the conversations were conducted in 2017. In addition to the interviews, the author also reviewed oral history pieces and old newspaper articles of the three publications.

Semi-structured Questionnaire

A semi-structured questionnaire allowed the author to collect pertinent information.

1) Open-ended questions for a category: Describe how you (perform an action/activity in this category).

2) Probing questions about technology: What (technology: hardware/software) do you use to perform the action/activity? Describe how you use it.

3) Probing questions about history of an action/activity: How was this action/activity originally performed?

4) Probing questions about the history of the use of technologies: When did you first start using this (hardware/software) to perform this action/activity? How did that change the way you perform the action/activity?

5) Open-ended requests for further details: What else can you tell me about this (activity/technology)?

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NEWSPAPERS

The Weekly Challenger

Before the appearance of *The Weekly Challenger,* the *St. Petersburg Times* and the

Evening Independent ran an African-American page, not produced on a daily basis, under the

taglines "Local and National Negro News" and "News of the Negro Community," respectively.

Both were the only daily papers at the time when *The Challenger* came into existence.[35] On

September 13, 1967, under the blurb: "*The Weekly Challenge*, a new Negro-oriented newspaper,

will be published in Pinellas County beginning Thursday," the *St. Petersburg Times* announced

the early days of recorded African-American history in Pinellas County.[36]

The Weekly Challenger defined itself as an African-American, family- owned newspaper

in print. The late publisher, Cleveland Johnson, started working as a salesman in the early 1950s

for the *Weekly Advertiser* owned and published by M.C. Fountain, who also founded Fountain

Printers, the only two Black printing businesses in the county. In 1967, for only $40, Johnson

acquired the company, in partnership with William (Bill) Blackshear. Johnson changed the name

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[35]   Rodney Kite-Powell, "History & Heritage: Area newspapers slow to cover African-American communities," *Tampa Bay Times*, last modified June 30, 2016
http://www.tampabay.com/news/humaninterest/history--heritage-area-newspapers-slow-to-cover-african-american/228374

[36]   *St. Petersburg Times,* September 13, 1967; *Evening Independent.* September 13, 1967. The original staff included: M.C Fountain, Charlie Mann (community coordinator), Mamie Brown (reporter) and Cleveland Johnson. The Community Service Foundation, in Largo, Florida, made a "small interest-free loan to Fountain to start the newspaper." *The Weekly Advertiser*, who precede *The Weekly Challenge,* ceased its publication "after about 10 years of operation."

and rebranded it as a weekly newspaper directed to the African-American population in the

Tampa Bay area. [37]

For nearly four decades, Johnson filled the pages of the publication with positive news

about the African-American community. "You'll never see anything bad about the (B)lack

community in our newspaper. We show positive role models instead. Our mission is to uplift the

(B)lack community," Johnson said.[38]

After Johnson's death in 2001, the management of the paper transferred to his wife, Ethel

L. Johnson, who assumed the role of publisher. During that year, the University of South Florida

St. Petersburg's (USFSP), Neighborhood News Bureau (NNB) program partnered with the

Challenger to allow journalism students to publish articles in the newspaper's pages while

gaining working experience.[39] In 2012, the youngest daughter of Cleveland and Ethel, Lyn

Johnson, assumed the position of editor. As the family decided to move publication from a

building to home offices, Lyn Johnson agreed to donate historical paper issues and photographic

collections to the Nelson Poynter Memorial Library at USFSP in March 2013. Since 2016, this

publication has partnered with the Nelson Poynter Memorial Library at USFSP to digitize its

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[37]   "History+Legacy", *The Weekly Challenger*, accessed February 18, 2017, http://theweeklychallenger.com/about/

[38]   "Happy Birthday, Cleveland Johnson," *The Weekly Challenger* (St. Petersburg, FL), August 11, 2003.

[39]   "About," *NNB News*, accessed March 22, 2017, http://www.nnbnews.com/about-2/ According to its website, the Neighborhood News Bureau (NNB) is a newsroom covering the historic African-American neighborhoods of St. Petersburg's Midtown area in Tampa Bay, Florida. Undergraduate and graduate students from the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at the University of South Florida St. Petersburg's (USFSP) staff the newsroom under the supervision of a faculty member.

historical issues. The current editor "continues her plan to bring *The Challenger* into the 21st century."[40]

Daytona Times and Florida Courier

On the other side of the Florida peninsula, civil rights activist Charles W. Cherry, Sr., first launched the Daytona Beach's *Westside Rapper* in 1969. In August 1978, the *Daytona Times* succeeded *The Westside Rapper* and currently serves Daytona Beach's African-American community. In March 1989, Cherry, Sr. established the *Florida Courier*, directed to African-Americans living on Florida's Treasure Coast, including the Fort Pierce and Vero Beach areas; communities south of Daytona Beach. This newspaper became, in March 2006, Florida's first African-American owned and operated statewide weekly paper. [41]

Cherry, a real estate broker, and Johnson, *The Challenger*'s publisher, met before Cherry opened the *Daytona*. In the late 1960s, as the Interstate came into St. Petersburg, Cherry opened a real estate office in the city."[42]

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[40] "About Us," *The Weekly Challenger*, accessed December 8, 2016 http://theweeklychallenger.com/about/

[41] "About Us," *Florida Courier*, accessed February 18, 2017, http://flcourier.com/about-us/
    In 1989, Cherry and his sons Charles W. Cherry II, lawyer, and Glenn W. Cherry, veterinarian, also purchased WPUL-AM 1590, a Daytona Beach-area radio station. In 1997, the Cherry brothers bought WTMP. Glenn became general manager. In 2001 the Cherry family opened the *Tampa Broadcasting, Inc.*, Florida's largest privately owned African-American group, with a total of eight FM stations and three AM stations located among Tampa, Jacksonville, Daytona Beach, Savannah and Greenville, SC.

[42] "Black Publisher Dies At 73: Cleveland Johnson, Jr., 1927-2001," *The Weekly Challenger* (St. Petersburg, FL), August 2, 2001; Rosalie Peck and Jon Wilson. *St. Petersburg's Historic 22nd Street South* (Charleston: The History Press, 2006), 103. From

Cherry said: "I became a journalist by necessity, not by training. The saying 'if it bleeds it leads' it's not a recent phenomenon, especially whenever Black people are doing the bleeding or the blood-letting. With my family, I started the *Daytona Times* more than 25 years ago in the great tradition of *Freedom's Journal* and the *Chicago Defender* to tell our own story, to educate, and to advocate." [43]

Besides a friendship, these two newspapers share with *The Challenger* similar points in their structure and evolution: family-owned and small for-profit businesses. In November 2004, the patriarch, Cherry, died. Family matriarch, Julia Mae Troutman Cherry, and the remaining family members, decided to maintain and expand the family's media presence: "After Dad's 'homegoing' – after his burial – after everyone went home – we had the proverbial living room conversation that every family business has at this tragic juncture: 'What we gon' do now?' Mom's answer: 'We keep going.'"[44]

1978 to 1981, African-American families and businesses in southern St. Petersburg, Florida faced relocation as Interstate 275 was built through their neighborhoods.

[43] "The Mission Accomplished," *Daytona Times* (Daytona Beach, FL), Dec.1, 2005.

[44] Cherry II, Charles W. "Still Pleading Our Cause," *Florida Courier*, March 3, 2016, last modified March, 2016, http://flcourier.com/2016/03/still-pleading-our-cause/

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

The Weekly Challenger

In Spring 2017, *The Weekly Challenger* runs with a staff of two employees: Lyn Johnson, currently the publisher/editor/reporter/photographer and Lorrie Bellinger, a Caucasian art director who has worked with the paper since 2009. Other people involved in the newspaper are, Ethel L. Johnson as CEO/Publisher Emerita, and Irene Johnson-Pridgen who manages the advertisements. Kaye Brown, working as a contractor since 2013, provides web management, digital marketing, and social media services. The paper also relies on freelance reporters, USFSP journalism students, and, occasionally, on hired photographers.[45]

➢ Evolution

Interviews indicated two key moments in the newspaper's history that defined the development and technologies' adoption for *The Challenger*, apart from the efforts of its founder, Cleveland Johnson, to maintain the paper up-to-date. The first one occurred in 2001, with editor Barry A. McIntosh, after Johnson's death, and, the second in 2012 when the youngest daughter, Lyn Johnson, assumed the editorship. "He [McIntosh] started bringing it up to speed, up to the 21st century, because I think they were working with technology that had passed them by years before, so that's when he started, he got a Mac and had people training on how [to use it]. It just has grown from that from each general manager to each general manager," said Johnson.

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[45] Lyn Johnson writes on *The Weekly Challenger* under the anagram of Raven Joy Shonel.

The Challenger is distributed in St Petersburg, Clearwater, Largo, Tarpon Springs, Dunedin and Safety Harbor. Issues have a standard number of twelve pages. Sections like Beyond the Bay, Opinion, Sports, and Food, previously in print, now appear in the online site of the newspaper.

Table 1. The Weekly Challenger's staff demographics					
Name	**Gender**	**Race**	**Position**	**Experience**	**Full time or part time**
Lyn Johnson	Female	African-American	Publisher/editor/reporter/photographer (in the position since 2012)	Broadcast journalism	Full time
Lorrie Bellinger	Female	Caucasian	Graphic designer (2009)	Graphic design	Part time
Ethel L. Johnson	Female	African-American	CEO/Publisher Emerita (2001)	N/A	Non-active
Irene Johnson-Pridgen	Female	African-American	Advertisement (2012)	N/A	Part time
Kaye Brown	Female	African-American	Web-manager and social media (contractor since 2014)	Business administration	Part time

Note: *The Weekly Challenger* staff demographics by March, 2017.

The print version comes out every week on Thursdays, under a price of 50 cents per copy or an annual subscription of $50 (local only) or $80 yearly first class mail subscription. The newspaper enjoys a readership of 100,000 monthly (print version) and around 200,000 web visitors. According to the web manager, the majority of their web page visitors are mobile users. *The Challenger* has a stable, older, demographic and aims to engage a younger audience through its website and social media.

Table 2. *The Weekly Challenger*'s social media			
Type of social media	**Year of launching**	**Followers/Likes**	**How often is updated**
Facebook	2012	2,006	One or two posts every day in the early morning or night time.
Twitter	2011	567 followers	One or two posts every day during the week and weekends.
YouTube	2014	45 subscriptions	Every month.

Note: *The Weekly Challenger* social media presence by March, 2017.

Software

➢ Search Engines

Johnson reported that she uses Google to gather information and also does background research primarily on the *Tampa Bay Times* website. "I don't like doing just interviews, because, like I said, I don't know what I'm doing, so I do events, mainly, and that's easy you just hit record on the recorder, and then you come back, and you transcribe and write the story," Johnson said.

She also mentioned relying heavily on the other reporters to do one-on-one interviews. Bellinger, the art director, also reported using Google, but not extensively.

➢ Audio and Call Recording Apps

Johnson did not know any audio or call recording app but did mention that she used a digital recorder for her interviews.

➢ Note Taking App

Johnson did not use any note-taking app; rather she uses a notebook: "I write it; I don't type. I don't think that I can write fast enough."

➢ Scanning Method

There are no scanning methods employed by *The Challenger*. "We have a scanner, but basically, that's for old school people. They [the audience] would give us a picture, and we would scan it and make it visual," Johnson said.

➢ Data Gathering Apps or Websites

The Challenger does not employ any data-gathering app or engine. Instead, Johnson reported using *Google*, the *Tampa Bay Times* and other newspaper sites to guide her data research.

Figure 1. From left to right. Lorrie Bellinger, graphic designer, and Lyn Johnson, during *The Weekly Challenger'*s production day.

➢ News Services

The Challenger had a subscription to *apnews.com,* but due to its hyper-local nature, they do not use it anymore. When they need national news, they access the *Daily Mail* website and place a link in their article crediting that source.[46]

➢ Stock Photos

According to Johnson, all of the images that the newspaper employs are taken by staff or sent by other people (audience, public relations managers, etc.) Since everything is local, they do not see the need to go to a stock photos website. This differs from earlier days when the newspaper used stock photographs provided by other news services.

➢ Social Media and the Internet

Johnson explained that she uses social media to get an impression of events happening in the city, but not as a source for her stories. Both Johnson and Kaye Brown (the web, and social media manager) reported using wireless and cellular telephone networks to do their work, while Bellinger indicated that she works hard-wired. "I have a FireWire through the Internet for my connection because when I send the files to the printer. I prefer a nice solid, hardwired connection because you need it not to flip out in the middle of something," Bellinger said.

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[46] Natalie Jomini Stroud, "How Hyperlocal News Outlets are Taking across the U.S." *American Press Institute,* (2016). Last updated Feb, 16, 2016. https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/research-review/hyperlocal-news/ Hyperlocal was the term employed by Lyn Johnson to define her newspaper. According to assistant professor Monica Chadha, the term is defined as "digitally-native news sources that were started to cover a specific local geographic area in the United States. Those could be a town or neighborhood, but in far more cases the sites were designed to cover a whole city."

Hardware

The Weekly Challenger office maintains a fax machine and printer but do not currently use those items. According to Johnson, the first one is an outdated method of getting information and the second one represents an extra expense of ink and paper. She reported that she uses her laptop to write articles and uses her desktop computer to run an accounting program called Quickbooks.
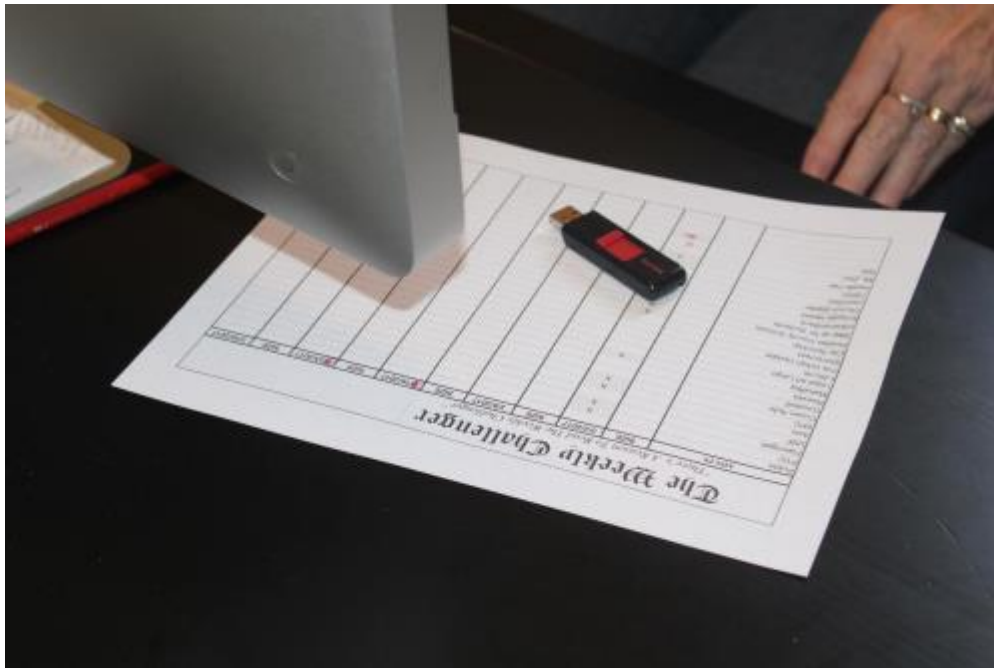
Figure 2. The editor Lyn Johnson prefers a flash drive, instead of a cloud storage site, to give the files to the graphic designer. According to her, it's more efficient.

History of Technology Adoption

Johnson remembered that when her dad was alive, people would bring hand-written stories, and a secretary had to sit down and type them. "Now, everybody emails me their files.

It's already done, I just have to edit it, I'm not typing on or anything, so with technology advancing you need less people, so while he had a huge staff, it's down to two here, and then some freelancers," Johnson stated. She added that the situation changed in 2001, when journalist Barry A. McIntosh bought the first Mac. Regarding photos, Johnson said that when they arrived at the newsroom, they came in physical form, not as a file. The staff had to cut around the pictures and paste them up. Then, they would drive the photos to the printing location.

When Johnson took direction of the newspaper in 2012, the staff used a fax, laptops, and one desktop computer. The technology used, and the physical office space that is required, has changed dramatically in the five years since she became editor.
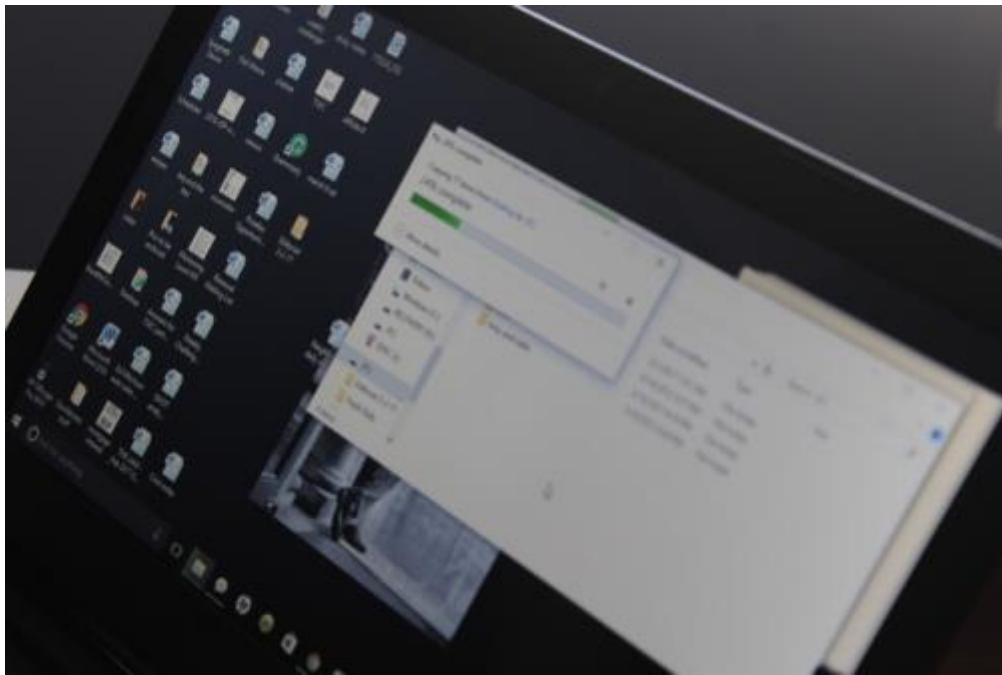
Figure 3. The files transferred from Lyn Johnson's HP laptop to the flash drive. The same process occurs every Wednesday, *The Challenger*'s production day.

Production

Software

➢ Word processors

Johnson reported that to write her articles, she presently uses Microsoft Word and Google

Documents

➢ Layout and design software

Bellinger explained that she uses QuarkXPress, defined by her as a basic layout program

that professionals use to produce multi-page publications: "I've been working with Quark since

the beginning [2009] because that's the program they had the paper already established in.

Laying out a paper used to be done by hand before computer. So once they started doing it

digitally, they used QuarkXPress, so when I came on the paper, I just continued doing that as

well," Bellinger said. Neither Johnson nor Bellinger employ any editing or video editing

applications.

➢ Photo Editing App

Bellinger uses Photoshop to prepare all the images before sending them to the printer. She

said she follows certain criteria such as the color bill, dots per inch, and the resolution.

According to her words, "you want to tone it so that it would print properly on newsprint because

if you say a photo was taken indoors and it's kind of dark and you can lighten it up in the

Photoshop." Brown, web and social media manager, has also employed Photoshop to make

additional adjustments to the photos sent by Bellinger.

Figure 4. Unlike the *Florida Courier* and *Daytona Times, The Weekly Challenger* uses QuarkXPress to layout its pages.

Hardware

For graphic design, Bellinger uses an iMac. For web management, social media, and email marketing, Brown employs different mobile devices, multiple desktop computers, and laptops, among them one that converts to a tablet.

History of Technology Adoption

Regarding production, Bellinger highlighted that she had not seen any substantial variation since joining the paper. The size of the paper is the only aspect that has varied according to her words.[47]

But Johnson mentioned changes in the way the printed news is produced: "They would cut pictures and cut the articles out, and them paste them up on this big boards, and it was just crazy, and it was about four people doing that as for just now, it's just me doing it. Just Lorie doing it, rather. If I gave her the work when she first comes in she would be done within like four or five hours as it would take them two, three or four days," Johnson said.

The team started to paste articles on Tuesday, and that part of the process would finish by Wednesday night. "The Publix ads, they would come in like a big tube, and it would have like a [red] gel over it. Now Publix has an FTP site, and we download that [the ads] from there," Johnson said.[48]

<div align="center">

Publication

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According to the web manager, *The Challenger's* online site updates every week along with the printed version of the newspaper. If a significant event occurs during that period, they upload the information and refresh the site. "Those [last minute news] are the types of things that, if is not a Thursday and you're in the news business, you probably want to be at the table publishing like other newspapers as well," Brown said. Their web page layout merges Brown's

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[47]   From the early 2000s the paper went from 20 pages to the current 12. In 1976 (14 pages), 1986 (24), 1988 (28) and 1997 (20), according to an examination of existing issues in Special Collections and University Archives, Poynter Library, USFSP.

[48]   FTP, acronym of File Transfer Protocol.

design concept with a user-friendly version of WordPress. Regarding online safety and the prevention of hackers, Brown said that, as a code developer, she continuously performs website backups.

As of March 2017, *The Challenger* uses Google Analytics to measure its online metrics. Brown monitors a full month or sometimes daily to get a more accurate depiction of the website's readership, most popular articles, and trends.

➢ Printing and Distribution

Johnson reported never having been to the printer and said that Suncoast Press, the company that prints the newspaper, is located in Venice, Florida. "Which is pretty far, so I've never actually gone to the printer to see how it works. We just upload it to their website, and then they deliver it to us," Johnson said.[49] *The Challenger* hires a courier service to deliver the papers each Thursday. Bellinger participates in the printing process by preparing full-color press quality PDFs that she uploads to the printer's online website.

➢ Newsletter

The web manager sends a collaboration of the stories that have taken place over a certain number of weeks and shares that "email blast," as Johnson defined it, within the community.

➢ Social Media and YouTube

The Weekly Challenger has a Facebook page (with 2,006 likes in March 2017) that uploads one or two posts every day in the mornings or at night; and a Twitter account (with 567 followers) that publishes one or two posts every day during the week and on weekends. "Right

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49   There are approximately 47.95 miles from St. Petersburg to Venice and 58.77 of driving distance. Both cities are 1 hour and 5 minutes far apart (by car).

now is all the basic ones because that's where they're getting most of their feedback," Brown said.[50]

The Weekly Challenger News, *The Challenger's* YouTube channel, has 45 subscriptions. "The YouTube actually has now has seen a transition from people saying 'it's there, but I'll wait for more.' I've seen that change, and now the interest has been which is a great thing while that was as an introduction [to] people," Brown said.[51]

Johnson, who majored in television production and worked for more than ten years for WTSP-Channel 10, and WFLA-Channel 8, television stations in the Tampa Bay region, expressed her desire for having a news program on *The Weekly Challenger's* website. "What I envisioned to do, is to do like, kind of a news program. I just have to learn how to edit, just video edit. It would be about the events that I go, or an interview or something like that, because you know people don't like to read, nobody wants to read," Johnson said. "Who wants to read when you can sit there and watch it for a minute and a half? Who wants to read the whole article?"

➢ Social Media Analytics and Management Tools

Brown reported using Facebook and Twitter for control purposes: "I like to see what my analytics are directly but I find it easier to utilize at the base, at the root. So Facebook is my root, and Twitter is my root. I utilize their scheduling tools to form them out because [in] that way I

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[50]   Both Johnson and Bellinger mentioned that *The Challenger* had an Instagram account, but I was not able to find it, and the web manager explained they do not have one.

[51]   The way that newspaper's channel works is that when one of the reporters takes a video, the web manager incorporates the video to the article on *The Challenger*'s website. The newspaper uploads videos to the channel with a time frame of one or four videos in a row every one to two months.

can see what's going on directly," Brown said. She also employs TweetDeck, primarily, and in other occasions, Hootsuite.

➢ Mobile Apps

According to Brown, she worked with Johnson in the launching of a new mobile device app oriented to a newer generation of readers. "We are generating some of the digital spaces to start promoting them on Facebook, but we're ready to go, we're ready to launch. So you actually can go to the Apple store or the Android store right now if you want to download it if you want to kind of play with it, or just using in general," Brown said.[52]

➢ Digital marketing

The Challenger also hired Brown for online marketing purposes. She described it as pitching ad space for different advertisers and examining the stories on the website that gain more digital input to display them on the email newsletter. "We use between two different platforms for email marketing services one is MailChimp, and one is Constant Contact," Brown said.

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[52] Retrieved from http://weekly-challenger.appstor.io/
The Challenger app promises users to "connect with the team as well as other community members," while accessing articles, news, developments and initiatives, and local events. The app also promises "breaking news in the community and beyond the bay via exclusive TWC Podcasts & social media updates." Their developers offer all-access to digital news, TWC Podcasts, photo albums, Facebook, Twitter, The TWC Website and opportunities to submit community news.
"Local meets legacy: The Weekly Challenger launches new app," The Weekly Challenger (St. Petersburg, FL), Mar. 16, 2017. On March 2017 the newspaper announced, on its print edition, the availability of the new technology promising "to connect remnants of our rich history past with our every present growing future." The app was launched after the author conducted the interviews.

History of Technology Adoption

During journalist Dianne Speights's management, *The Challenger* posted its articles on blackpressusa.com, a website owned by the National Newspapers Association. "Like a shell, where you just upload your stuff to it, and then they plug it in. She would just kind of upload the stories that were in the paper that week to this website, and it was like filling the blanks, so it was very basic, and it wasn't even the full paper," Johnson said. "I see a lot of (B)lack newspapers that they do that."

Cleveland Johnson's daughter remembered that in 2002 Barry McIntosh bought the domain and suggested that she change the domain name from weeklychallenger.com to theweeklychallenger.com. She created the first site in 2012 and the second in 2014. "I used to like the MSN website, their old website, and the way they had the categories, so I decided to add different things like Opinion, and Recipes and Money. We always had Sports and News, but National news, I just added more to it, so it looks the way it does today," Johnson said.

The first web manager used to live in Atlanta, Georgia, and the second one, Kaye Brown, resides in Lutz, Florida. When she and Brown see each other, they try to meet somewhere in between their cities, such as in Tampa. The newspaper used to post on Google Plus, but, according to Brown, that space did not prove beneficial for *The Challenger's* objectives. They started a Twitter account in August 2011; a Facebook page in 2012 and added YouTube in June 2014.

➢ Printing and Advertising

Johnson remembered that when her father was alive, the staff used to paste the newspaper pages on boards and drive them to the printer, M&M, founded in 1963, and located in Ruskin,

Florida. According to the editor, she changed to the current printer because when she started to work with the paper, she wanted *The Challenger* to go full color, but M&M could not accommodate that need. Johnson also mentioned that her father used to drive once a year to the Publix supermarket chain's headquarters in Lakeland to secure a contract. Now, she talks to Publix's ad agency, and the contracts are made through email.

Organizational

Software

➢ Team messaging apps or online meeting app

Johnson reported that she communicates with her staff primarily through email and phone calls. Brown mentioned that she gets together with Johnson at the beginning of each year, via phone or in a small meeting to talk about analytics and new initiatives.

➢ Cloud Storage Services

Each of the team's members employ Dropbox in a different way. Johnson prefers to use it only for web-related files that are sent to Brown. She described the "cloud" storage service as terrible, slow and temperamental: "I drop all in there for her and then I just have a some of my reporters, they have a lot of pictures or whatever, I'll send that to Dropbox. Or some people just do the Google Drive, but other than that I don't use Dropbox," the editor said.

Bellinger reported that she and Johnson use Dropbox as a transport type of utility; not for storage. "Well, Lyn does use it for storage, she does have a subscription to the paper, and we use Dropbox for sending files. Also to the folks over USFSP that are doing the archiving," the graphic designer said.

While Brown explained using it as a holding space for large photos and videos shared on the website and Facebook, it is only temporary. "Once in retrieved then I delete it so that we can maximize the space that we have and so that gives us the flexibility," the web manager mentioned.

➢ Communication with the Public

Johnson does not have a secretary to take the calls for the newspaper. She had *The Challenger's* phone forwarded to her personal Samsung mobile. She mentioned that sometimes "it can be overwhelming."

➢ Agreement

Despite working for the newspaper since 2009, the graphic designer, Bellinger, reported not having any written contract, nothing other than a verbal agreement. The web manager, Brown, does have a contract as a web publisher that puts her in charge of "anything that will fall under web development, social media marketing [and] even email marketing."

Meeting space

Lyn Johnson closed the old *Challenger's* office in 2013 and now works every Wednesday with Bellinger at her house, where she works from her bed and has an assigned office, next to her room, for Bellinger's work. "Back in the day there was a lot of people stopping by, but now people would email. We would get like two people daily, so I was like I'm not paying this money, for a couple people, and usually all they had to do was call, so I wasn't going to keep on paying rent for that," the editor said.

Johnson reported that she only meets twice a month at the Poynter Institute, but expressed her desire to have an editorial board. Bellinger explained that she meets with Johnson

only on Wednesdays, the production day, and the rest of the week through email and text, and rarely through phone calls.

Bellinger mentioned that even while she could build the paper physically on another computer without having to go to Johnson's house, she prefers to be face-to-face with her boss on the day that the newspaper goes to press. "If we were having to communicate over the phone or email on those many, many, tedious last minute things that would be kind of [a] pain," she said.
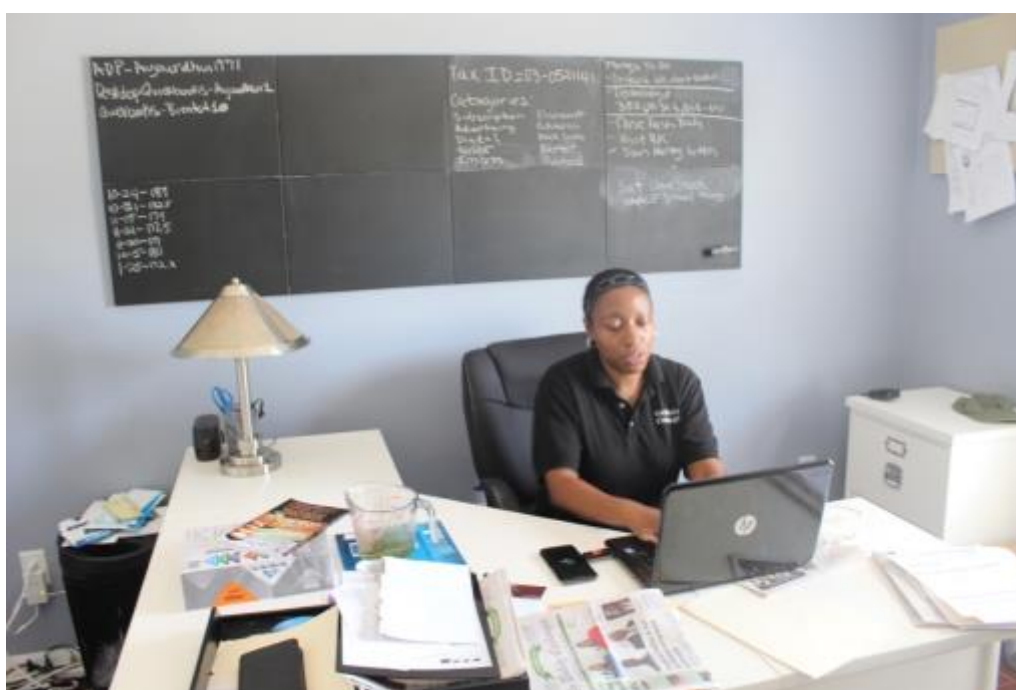
Figure 5. Lyn Johnson working from her home office on *The Weekly Challenger's* day of production.

History of Technology Adoption

Johnson did not recall her father ever having an editorial meeting with his team. "He was kind of like me; he did a lot of stuff on his own, I don't think he did that. But I do know that the guy [McIntosh] who took over after he died, he actually held a meeting at the time, asking people what they want to see in the paper," she said.

The editor highlighted that McIntosh had previous newspaper experience and did have an editorial board, but ever since his departure there has not been anything similar.

The Challenger's office used to be the same one where Johnson's father used to work: "He moved into the office I think it was the 70s. And it was [a] horrible place. It was terrible. The guy who owned hasn't done any improvement since the 70s. So it was pretty bad, it was bad," the editor said.[53]

Bellinger reported that the newspaper was not digitally archived in the years past. "That is another important way that Lyn has brought the newspaper into the current age. By utilizing Dropbox and utilizing digital archiving instead of just like years back when I first started [that] they archived the paper on CDs," she said.

Training and Challenges

Johnson remembered that when she took over directing the newspaper she did not receive any training and the previous editor only sat down with her for a couple of hours, one day. The rest she "had to figure out."

"I just copy other people. I see what I like, and I copy what they do. I said I don't know what I'm doing. I need to be trained; I need to take a class. I wasn't a reporter, so I'm not very good at that, and that's what I really need to do. I need to take a class and learn how to report, how to ask the right questions," Johnson said.

The editor also mentioned that she wants her reporters to attend classes for writing and reporting skills. She hopes to ask for help from the Poynter Institute. When asked about training

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[53]   The office was located at 2500 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr St S, in Saint Petersburg, FL.

her journalists with digital abilities she said: "I haven't thought of that. Yeah, I haven't thought of that. Anything that would make my life easier I'm up for it."

Bellinger also reported having little to no training when she started working with the newspaper, she did not have the previous designer there to train her and to tell her where the documents and the backup files were. Although she has not received any training since 2009 she mentioned that when she was hired, she already possessed the ability to do her work. Brown reported that most of her training comes from her educational background, business administration, with a concentration in marketing.

Johnson reported that the newspaper struggled with advertising. "I'm not good at that, I'm not a salesperson, and my aunt she does the bulk of the advertising, but I do what I can in that area, and that's the most important area because without advertising you don't have any money," she said. "So my weakest point is like the most important thing that there is."

For Brown, one of the biggest challenges consists of getting her audience more incorporated into social media. "I think that originally people didn't go to Facebook or Twitter or anywhere digitally to find *The Weekly Challenger*. They always expected print, always expected that kind of local, kind of touch, feeling connected to it and we can get a touchy feeling on social media too," she said.

Daytona Times and *Florida Courier*

The *Daytona Times* and, her younger sister, *Florida Courier*, share part of their staff. Both newspapers have the same senior managing member, Julia T. Cherry; managing members Dr. Glenn W. Cherry (Sales Manager), Cassandra Cherry-Kittles, and Charles W. Cherry (Publisher); Dr. Valerie Rawls-Cherry, Human Resources; Jenise Morgan, Senior Editor; and

Duane Fernandez Sr., photographer. However, there is only one full-time reporter in Daytona, Andreas Butler. "The *Florida Courier* really has none [full-time reporters]. They're freelancers, which is very tough and very unusual. But if I need a reporter in Miami I know who to call, if I need a reporter in Orlando I know who to call," Morgan said.

The graphic designer, Angela Van Emmerik, a Caucasian, works as a contractor for both newspapers. Journalist, Penny Dickerson, and photojournalist, Kim Gibson, work as freelancers for the *Courier* but are listed in the masthead of the paper as staff members. Casandra Cherry Kittles and Willie R. Kittles comprise the circulation team of the *Daytona* and Chicago Jones, Eugene Leach, Louis Muhamad and Lisa Rogers-Cherry, comprise the circulation team for the *Courier*. The *Daytona* usually has eight pages, with a subscription rate of $69 per year, and publishes on Thursdays.[54] The *Courier* has 2 sections with 16 pages, at the same price, but comes out on Fridays, and is delivered in areas of South Florida, the "Sun Coast," Central Florida, and the First Coast." [55]

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[54] The *Courier* was also distributed in Tallahassee at the time, but this was scaled back due to the distance of that city.

[55] These two newspapers have also received different recognitions, among them the Florida Press Associations' Associated Press, Florida Press Association Best Weekly Newspapers awards, National Association of Black Journalists awards, National Newspaper Publishers Association awards and Society of Professional Journalists Green Eyeshade award.

Name	Age/Gender	Race	Position	Experience	Full time or part time
			Table 3. *Daytona Times* **and** *Florida Courier's* **staff**		
Julia T. Cherry	Female	African-American	Senior managing member (in the position since 2004)	N/A	Non-active
Glenn W. Cherry	Male	African-American	Managing member and Sales Manager (2004)	Veterinarian	Part time
Cassandra Cherry-Kittles	Female	African-American	Managing member and Circulation (2004)	School worker	Part time
Charles W. Cherry	Male	African-American	Managing member and Publisher (2004)	Lawyer	Part time
Valerie Rawls-Cherry	Female	African-American	Human resources	Psychologist	Part time
Jenise Morgan	Female	African-American	Senior editor (2006)	Journalist	Full time
Duane Fernandez Sr.	Male	African-American	Photographer (2012)	Photography Business Television production	Part time
Andreas Butler	Male	African-American	Reporter (2006)	Broadcasting journalism	Part time
Angela Van Emmerik	Female	Caucasian	Graphic designer (contractor)[56]	N/A	Part time

Note: *Daytona Times* and *Florida Courier* staff demographics as of March, 2017.

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[56] According to Morgan, the graphic has worked for the newspapers "for at least five years, maybe more."

Information gathering

Software

➢ Search Engines

The editor reported using Google and Yahoo. The reporter mentioned getting most of his information from going out to places and events and calling people on the phone. Sometimes individuals in the city call him to let him know when a major event happens in Daytona. Other times, Butler explained, the editor or the publisher calls to assign him a story. "I'll go witness something and gather information. Or you can sit down and gather information online. That kind of stuff, but eventually I'll talk to somebody," the reporter said. He also uses Google, mainly, and Yahoo news. Butler also mentioned having a Yahoo email account, but instead uses Gmail.

The photographer gets information about events from the newspaper staff, but other times people in the city call or write to him. "They'll send me an email and say 'Duane people have this going on' or 'We have that going on,' so I'll go cover it," Fernandez said.

➢ Audio and Call Recording Apps

Morgan said that when she covers a story, she uses a digital voice recorder or records with her iPhone. Butler said that he has a digital voice recorder and, in occasions, uses the voice recorder on his phone, an Android Astro.

➢ Note Taking Apps

The reporter mentioned that even when he has a digital voice recorder, he prefers to use notepads and pens to take notes. "So I might be interviewing a person and just use my notebook, but a lot of newer reporters can't do it no more. They all use their voice recorders and that kind

of things, a phone or something. But I always use notebooks. I think notebook is priceless," Butler said.

➢ Document Scanning and Data Gathering App

Morgan reported that she does not use any scanning app or devices. Instead, the institutions or public relation employees send her scans. "For example, the Daytona Beach police department. If I need a police report, I can pretty much go online and grab that, but the reporters would send me stuff. I'll require for them to send me some documentation with their story," she said.

In Daytona, Butler's situation is different as he did report scaning documents if needed. "I go to one of the places around town, where I can scan it cheaply. I go to Office Depot, but some of these neighborhoods they have technology center, I mean the apartment complexes and some of the community centers they have [the] technology and you can go there, and they can probably scan," the reporter said. "They let you do it at a lower price, or some places do it for free because they have that provided, like in a low-income area."

➢ Photos

Morgan reported that most of the photos used by the Daytona are taken by staff and that the reporters send the photos by email. The editor also requires that if someone sends an article or a press release, that they also send a photo or a headshot. Both papers are subscribers of *Tribune News Services*, a provider of stock photos. "I wanted something on Donald Trump. I was really frustrated because I could not find a photo in our subscription of him at the African American Museum. And all the ones I saw were photos that we would have to pay for it," Morgan said.

Butler, who besides reporting also takes photos when needed, calls the places he attends to obtain pictures of the event. "Like the place where the high school sports [are held] and [if] they've finished the game, and I don't have a photo, I can call the students, or whatever, and they would have somebody that will give me photos," he said. The reporter also mentioned that, in other occasions, people give him photos that he later has to scan.

➢ Other Smartphone Apps

Morgan mentioned not using any smartphone applications to help her with her editing job. "I don't because I use my laptop, I don't necessarily need the apps. Maybe reporters do, I don't necessarily use a lot of those. And because I'm so stationary," she said.

Butler did not report using any mobile app to help him with his reporting duties.

➢ Online Databases

The way that the *Daytona* and *Courier* collect data for their stories varies from the editor to the reporter. Both Morgan and Butler mentioned that it depends on the type of data they require. "We had a graphic that needed updating, and I needed the numbers of Blacks in the military, the percentage of Blacks on active duty, so I looked online, and I make sure I went to a reputable site. I look online, but I make sure [it] is a military related publication. If I look for unemployment rates I will go to the Bureau of Labor," the editor said.

Butler gathers of information on crime by accessing the Daytona Beach website and the police department's website to acquire a report. Then he calls the police, for quotes. Finally, he follows up by finding somebody in the town to talk to him regarding the event. "Mostly they have a website you can find that way. Sometimes you get Google searches to see what's going on, and then other times we've done stories on these issues before and I can go back and use old the stories," the reporter said.

➤ Websites and Blogs

Besides getting information from major newspapers, such as the *New York Times, CNN, Washington Post*, *Orlando Sentinel and Miami Herald*, Morgan looks at eurweb.com, thegrio.com, and theroot.com. "I'll check those and then the *blackamericaweb.com* those sites, the ones we subscribed to, *News Services of Florida, Tribune News Services* [and] *Trice Edney News Wire*, she's a Black press person too. She has her own browser service," she said.[57]

"We pay for her stories, I'll go there every Monday and check all those, and I use whatever I can think of. And then some of the freelancers would suggest stories; I don't always assign stories," Morgan explained. "The publisher would say he wants this covered, not very often, and I get a lot of request for stories. Some from readers, and a lot from public relations people."

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[57] The way that this last aspect worked, according to the editor, is that Trice Edney News Wire has a partnership with Howards University, and she "lets the students write the stories."

Figure 5. Jenise Morgan, *Florida Courier* and *Daytona Times* editor.

➢ Social Media and YouTube

The editor did mention that she uses her personal Twitter feed to gather information for newspaper articles, "and then I would do the little thing on the left where they tell you what's trending." Morgan reported that if she has researched for news and wants to double-check her facts, she turns to YouTube. "That's kind of the only way I would do it," she said.

Butler, however, does not use social media for his articles. "Because being local, a small local paper, there's a lot of stuff that might be going on but a lot of times it kind of all laps. It kind of laps together all of the time, with the Internet and social media," the reporter said. The reporter does not use YouTube for his information-gathering.

➢ Wireless Internet and Cellular Telephone Networks

Both the editor and the photographer reported using wireless Internet. Only Morgan used a cell phone network, while Fernandez mentioned that if he is not in his house, he uses the Wi-Fi of the place that he is visiting.

The reporter mentioned that even when he works from home, he does not have Internet access. "So I have to go out and use some of these technologies centers. But I can take my laptop, well I had a laptop, mine broke and [I] have to get another one," Butler said. "I go to friends' houses or something like that. In the past, I had Internet at home, and it was wonderful then but I mean is probably harder not having Internet in the house. I've found ways; you go sit in McDonald's, Burger King, and that at the stores. And I go to some of those centers around town."

Hardware

Morgan mentioned that she has a camera but does not use it as actively as the reporters or photographers. The staff no longer uses fax machines in any appreciable way. "I use laptops, in the office. Back in the day, we had desktop, but I have another laptop that is larger [and] is an older one, so I use those. I have iPad and my iPhone. I'm always checking in. I just use basic tools. All of us use Macs, of course," she said.

When she mentioned that "all of us use Macs," she meant the people that worked on the production side, such as the publisher or the graphic designer. "I guess Macs have more layout capabilities; now I don't know about reporters or freelancers. I bought this Mac myself, the other one the paper bought it for me," she said. When asked if the papers bought digital devices or

software for the reporters and photographers she answered: "I don't know about now, but our old reporter, she left and then took another job last year. They provided her with a laptop. They don't pay for our phones. We're a different publication," Morgan explained.

The reporter mentioned having an old Gateway machine. "My own PC, because sometimes I can sit at home and do my interviews from my phone and a voice recorder and I start writing my stories here. I pull down my flash drive, and then I go to the computer centers with the Internet on it. I can update stuff, then I come back home and do more if I have to," Butler said.

History of Technology Adoption

The reporter mentioned that in previous years when he began working for the newspaper, he actively gathered information. He also pointed out that he did most of his writing in the Daytona office, in a building that also had a radio station and another company owned by the Cherry family. "Yes. I was using [the] Internet back then. As a matter of fact, we all had desks, they gave me an office, and my office was the old printing room when they use to do printing back in the day. But now we don't. You print out of here; they send down the paper down somewhere else to print," Butler said.

Production

Software

➢ Word Processors

The editor reports using Microsoft Word and Apple Pages to do her work, but that she preferred, and paid for, Word. She also mentioned that the other production staff members use Word. The reporter said that he writes his articles in a Word document.

➢ Layout and Design Software

The editor reported that the graphic designer uses InDesign to layout the newspaper pages. Regarding photo editing, Morgan indicated that she does not edit the photos. Rather she considers that as part of the graphic designer's job, but she does make suggestions, such as those related to photo illumination, and she "might crop a head shot" and send it by email to the designer.

The photographer considers editing photos as an aspect that threatens professionalism. "No, with media you can't really alter your photos. I use basic color correction. I've been shooting photography for awhile, and I pretty much learned that you shoot photography, so you really don't have to sit in front of the computer," Fernandez said.

He did report having Adobe Photoshop and Adobe Photoshop Lightroom, but he does not use them for editorial purposes. When he does edit pictures, he uses the basic photo correction options that come as standard integration PCs. "If you look at the paper and you look at my photos, what you see is what you get. If you have to get into Photoshop, then you're not taking a good photography," he said.

Hardware

The photographer reported having a Canon f270, and a Nikon as a backup. He also has two laptops and a desktop computer: **"**All PCs, I use Mac, and actually I'm still in school [and] they use Mac at school, but I don't like Macs. To me, [they're] not user-friendly," he said. Fernandez also purchased all of his own equipment.

History of Technology Adoption

Regarding her first period in the *Daytona* from 1981 to 1984, the editor remembered: "We did the old fashioned layout. We did everything, we still were on Wednesday nights, laying it out, pasting up, and we had this little machine that you would type your headlines on and then you would print that out and then you would paste it," Morgan said. "The difference is that we probably had more people, that we were relying on, on staff, whereas now if something is going on in Orlando, I'll call Loretta and see if she's available to do the story."

<div align="center">

Publishing

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Software

➢ Websites

Both newspapers' websites share similar graphic design by gabfirethemes.com, and both are hosted on a WordPress site. They also utilize an Issuu account which allows uploading of a PDF version of the print newspaper. Each website offers a section that links to other newspapers and radio stations owned by the family. One person is in charge of uploading articles to the Web and social media. The page is updated every week, but the publisher also uploads content. Morgan indicated that she used to upload stories but found it too much work on top of her other

responsibilities: "We do update [and] put things online when major things happen. We don't typically upload copy all the time, or tweet out, or put things on Facebook. We're trying to get there, and that's an issue with us. Trying to get more copy out there," Morgan said.[58]

Butler, the *Daytona* reporter, mentioned that he used to have access to the newspaper social media, such as the paper's Facebook page, and he did post on behalf of the paper. However, "everything that we write, all the stories, I'll publish it on our website."

➢ Web Analytics

The *Daytona* and *Courier* use Google Analytics for viewing online participation. A third party sends an analytics report monthly, and more frequently if warranted.

➢ Social Media Sites

Each newspaper uses social media accounts. The *Daytona* has a presence on Facebook, with 840 likes at the time of this research (opened in 2012); and a Twitter account with 230 followers (2012). The *Courier* has a Facebook account with 7,637 likes (2011); and a Twitter account (2011), with 613 followers. The way that their publishing works is that, every week, and on the same day, the contents of the web pages are automatically uploaded to the social media sites with three to five minutes between each post. "We try to put something online like the other publications are doing. Kind of the fun thing that we do, like festivals and concerts. We do live tweeting and live Facebook," the editor said.

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[58] The editor did not revealed information on how these decisions are made, and the factors on which they decide the frequency of updates and their online platform choice.

Table 4. *Daytona Times* (DT) and *Florida Courier* (FC) social media			
Type of social media	**Year of launching**	**Followers/Likes**	**How often is updated**
Facebook (DT)	2012	840 likes	The contents of both web pages are automatically uploaded to the sites with a timeframe difference of three to five minutes between each post.
Twitter (DT)	2012	230 followers	
Facebook (FC)	2011	7,637 likes	
Twitter (FC)	2011	613 followers	

Note: *Daytona Times* and *Florida Courier* social media presence as of March, 2017.

Morgan also reported that the staff tries to "get a student on board," and, in that way, attracts a younger generation: "We've given her all of our passwords, we've given her a go ahead, so we've been trying to get her starting for a while. So she's going to start uploading stories to the website, and if she does that then automatically it will go to our Facebook and Twitter," Morgan said. "We want her to start putting up more entertainment, to drive more young people to the *Courier*. We're just trying to get her going, and we'd like to get a couple more people working on social media."

➢ Newsletters and YouTube

The *Courier* has a newsletter which comes out every Friday when the printed newspapers goes out to the market. She was not sure if the *Daytona* has a newsletter. Morgan also expressed that she would like to get the stories online as soon as they come out in the printed version.

➢ Mobile Apps

When asked about a mobile app, the editor responded: "We had a *Florida Courier* app, I don't know what happened to that, I don't know if we still have it, I'll guess I'll have to find that out. We do have an app! From years ago! I'm not sure what it is, that's something I need to look into."[59]

➢ Printing and Distribution

Morgan described the printing and distribution process in the following way: "She [graphic designer] lays the page out, and she'll just send it to me. Or once she does everything, we [Morgan and the publisher] go back and I'll make corrections. I'll send her the corrections. When she gets everything ready she'll start sending."

The *Courier* and *Daytona* are printed by four o'clock in the morning, on Thursdays, at the Scripps Treasure Coast printing facility. The first printing location used to be in Miami, then in Ocala, and, in 2006, moved to its current place in Port St. Lucie, just south of Fort Pierce. According to the circulation manager, Lonnie "Chicago" Jones, who has delivered the *Courier* since 2006, the trip to distribute the newspaper includes 18 hours' driving time and 750 miles round-trip. Morgan reported that when the CEO is out of the country, she is in charge of specifying to the printers how many issues to print for each newspaper. She said that there are less than 100,000 papers printed for the *Florida Courier* and around 15,000 for the *Daytona Times*, although the quantities fluctuate.[60]

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[59]   The *Courier*, in fact, has an iTunes app released in April 2011.

[60]   Andreas Butler. "They Always Deliver." *Florida Courier*, December 29, 2016, Retrieved from http://flcourier.com/2016/12/they-always-deliver/

The editor reported that the papers do not promote through flyers. They only receive flyers from advertisers. "But as far as promoting the newspaper we don't do a lot of that, I think we might use to be on a radio station, but we don't do it anymore. We just try to get it out. We probably can do more of that. Or at least promote some of those good stories," Morgan said.

History of Technology Adoption

The editor reported that when it comes to working with the designer for the *Courier*, it is still done in the same way as the past. "So she has a lot of, she's White, she has a lot of experience," Morgan said.

The first graphic designer for the *Courier* was Edward Hashey who employed *USA Today* as a role model for the new statewide paper. The *Daytona* also changed to a similar format in that year. Regarding the *Daytona*, Morgan remembered that they used to print with an old-fashioned layout.

The first issues were printed in Miami. According to Butler, "initially, it was an all-hands-on-deck effort, mostly involving the Charles W. Cherry, Sr. family members, relatives, friends, and company employees." The circulation manager, Lonnie "Chicago" Jones, has delivered the *Courier* since it went statewide: "I picked up the first issue off the press. Back then, the route was Miami, Port St. Lucie, Tampa, Orlando, Daytona, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee," Jones said. "I would drive all the way to Tallahassee in a rental van. Then I rented a car and drove to Jacksonville; then I would take a flight home to Fort Lauderdale. Truck drivers don't do that. It was like that for the first four years." [61]

Initially, the couriers experienced some rejection when taking the newspaper to other African-American communities outside of Florida's Treasure Coast. In places like Jacksonville,

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[61]   Butler, "They Always Deliver."

with two established newspapers directed to the African-American communities, the *Florida Star* (founded in 1951) and *The Free Press of Jacksonville* (established in 1989) couriers needed permission to drop the paper off at various locations. The papers enjoyed a better reception with seniors and all the major Black churches. It was also delivered to community centers and libraries dropping anywhere from 25 to 125 copies at each location. As well, there have been boxes stolen, which, by the way, are expensive. [62]

According to Morgan, the publications were issued more broadly in previous years. "However now, we're doing it more online. They cut back some of the places where you drop boxes," she said.

Organizational

Software

➤ Team Messaging Apps

The editor reported working through conference calls and emails all day, especially on Wednesdays: "I send out, like tomorrow [Friday], an email that will include the CEO, the office manager, the layout person, the publisher, I think maybe five or six people, I send out the grid and let them know this is how the paper should be," she said.

The newspaper staff uses the phone, not Skype for their conference calls. "We don't need to because everybody is doing so many different things that I think that with us, we can do it effectively via email," Morgan said.

In Daytona, Butler and Fernandez reported not having any editorial meetings. They communicate via electronic mail or telephone: "[It] is a small paper, so I talk to Ms. Morgan just

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[62] Butler, "They Always Deliver."

about every day. Me and Andreas we collaborate. If he knows something he'll tell me if I don't know he'll call me and tell me, 'I'll be at this place at this time,' and if he can't make it, I'll go and shoot the event," the photographer said.

➢ Cloud Storage Services

Both newspapers maintain a Dropbox account. "We put everything in the Dropbox. I set up those folders, which I probably do in the morning, set up folders for everything. So when my boss is getting ready to put all up, I need to have those folders set up so he can draft and put all of his stories in there. We went to Dropbox almost two years ago," Morgan said.

The reporter mentioned having a Dropbox account, which he did not use because it takes extra effort and he likes "to keep everything simple." The same is true for Fernandez: "I send all my work [by] email and, I mean, we've talked about Dropbox and all that different things, but I'm comfortable with email, my Yahoo email, and I'm a little bit different than everyone else," the photographer said.

The staff used FTP, as the main storage software before changing to Dropbox in 2014, but they still use FTP as a backup site. According to Morgan, it comes handy when looking for some of their old publications.[63]

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[63] An acronym for File Transfer Protocol.

➤ Communication with the Public

To communicate with the newspaper, readers must send requests, by email. Morgan mentioned that she does not have the time to pick up the phone. She also indicated that the major newspapers have also turned to email as primary means. "We have a young lady who answers our phone sometimes. She checks the emails, I mean the voice mails rather, and she tells me 'can you call this person back?'" she said. The editor does not return phone calls back but did reported to replying to emails.

➤ Agreements

While the editor reported having a written contract with the newspaper, this was not true of all *Daytona* staff. Butler mentioned that his agreement consists of writing two stories each the week, however there are times when he writes more. "We had a written agreement but I think is an old agreement, and probably like the last couple [of] agreements, [they] have been verbal. And actually, this is my third time writing for the *Daytona Times*," he said.

Fernandez reported to having a written agreement with his bosses, although his contract started as a verbal agreement and later evolved into a written contract. "I cover three events locally, they don't request a lot from me, but I do a lot," the photographer said.

History of Technology Adoption

Both newspapers were previously run out of offices. Now, however, many work from home. Morgan reported working from her home, in Riverview, near Tampa. The publisher resides in Fort Lauderdale; the CEO resides in Tampa and the graphic designer lives in Indiana.

"Penny [Dickerson] is one of our main writers; I think I have seen her four times in five years. And the one who does the layouts, that works in Indiana, we've meet once, for breakfast when she was in Fort Myers. That was years ago," the editor said. "A lot of times the publisher is out of the country, because of the Internet he's able to say, 'hey don't worry about it. I can do this section. I'll be on Wednesday to help out.' You can be anywhere and get the job done."

Butler indicated that the new situation works for him, especially since he is a single father. "I'll be working Mondays, Tuesdays; I'll work during the day, I'll work during the night. I'm working out of [the] home, so I have my son. So it's a good thing I can work at home [because of] my child. I find time to cook. I'm attending [to] my child, make sure he is alright," he said.

All the staff used to hold editorial meetings in a conference room at the newspaper office. Butler explained, "when I first started we saw each other more. We used to have an actual staff, here in Daytona, a couple [of] writers. Mostly we'll have meetings with Chuck; we've never had meetings with the owners, the brothers. She [Jenise] probably, I think once a time we had this meeting, weekend, in-person meetings, but most time we had like phone conferences."

Fernandez also works from his home. He indicated that when he started at the paper there were other writers, but he was the only photographer.

Training

Morgan mentioned that the newspapers do not offer training to the staff. They have one freelancer [Penny Dickerson], living in Tallahassee, that they talk to when they need a major story. Penny receives funding from various fellowships, and that helps her to supplement her income while writing a better quality piece. "That's the problem. We do need more training, and

my belief is there needs to be more training of journalists. People working in this business they don't get the training that dailies, I think get," the editor said. "As far as professional development we don't offer those. The publisher was trying to do it, and I think it fell flat. We can attend to some of these conferences and get more training, but I don't know where that's going on. Because it's so expensive, to send the publisher and a writer to DC, for four or five days."[64]

Butler and Fernandez also reported that they do receive not any type of training from the newspapers. The reporter mentioned having received his education from college, a degree in broadcasting journalism and through his everyday experiences. "I don't need no (sic) training. I need to train probably the editing and video, that's the only thing I need to learn," Butler said.

Fernandez attended school for photography. He is currently completing a four-year program at Daytona State College to get a bachelor's degree in business, and is in his last semester to earn a certificate in television production. "I just decided to do it on my own. I'm actually disabled, so I have time to go to school, and the paper is part time for me. I also took the TV production program because I've been shooting video for about maybe two years but I didn't know how to edit," he said.

Challenges

The editor reported that she has written some of the articles for the *Courier*. "Our staff is so small that we actually hire freelancers for big stories as we need it. I have so many people that want to write for us, and they want to write columns, but I need reporters, none of them wants to report," she said.

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[64] Penny Dickerson earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Journalism from Temple University and a Master of Fine Arts degree in Creative Writing from Lesley University.

Morgan explained that the Black press differs from mainstream press in that the editors handle a number of small details that the average daily news editors do not. "What I noticed too, about some of the Black press reporters that we hire, is [that] they don't learn that [to write stories]. A lot of them don't go to journalism school. So that's kind of difficult, I feel like a teacher sometimes," the editor said.

In her opinion, to have pieces like the "Failure Factories" series, a 2016 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Local Reporting, they need a researcher to search for data. "We don't have the funds to do it, but the way we are able to do some of that is through fellowships, like the one Penny gets."[65]

Regarding social media and websites, Morgan thinks that some Black publications are evolving, but she believes that most of them are behind on updating their sites. "Things that are happening in real time, they're not live tweeting. We have to get to the point where we're competitive. And you got to be doing a lot of it, to be able to get those advertisers interested and we're not. We're just not there yet," she said. "And is kind of a hard thing, because you have to put money in." The editor expressed her desire to disseminate to the public in a more expedient way. She deals with this concern by including stories that people can read that are permanent and relevant. "I try to not run stories with time elements. So, I'm still working on trying to figure out the best way to get people on board reasonably and get that done," she said. "And I'd like to see us have more ways of getting feedback, just instead of people leaving notes, I want to have more interaction, we used to have more of that, not necessarily [a] contest, [but] figuring out a way of engaging people more."

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[65] The "Failure Factories" was a multi-part of articles released by the *Tampa Bay Times* during 2015, that examined challenges African-American students faced in a targeted number of Pinellas county public schools.

On a more negative side, Morgan lamented that the newspapers used to enjoy greater advertising in the past and the loss of advertising revenue threatens the sustainability of the newspapers.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

Most of the same issues that negatively impacted the Black press 20 to 30 years ago, are still present today: lack of training and in-depth reporting, few advertisements, lack of support from industries and corporations, financial pressures, and declining staffs. To these challenges, and based on findings from this study, the author adds the stress of multitasking, aging teams, declining readerships, and the digital divide created by not having access to newer software and hardware.

In previous years, and with the fighter spirit that defines them, Afro newspapers in the U.S. survived slavery, civil and World wars, domestic apartheid, violence, capitalism, and the rise of big industry. Nowadays their primary opponent is new technologies, the mobile phones and computers owned by a younger generation. The need to incorporate newer technologies does not mean that these newspapers need to abandon their loyal base, senior citizens, but rather they need to find a balance between their base and keeping up with a changing media landscape in order to be sustainable into the future.

Despite the tribulations confronted by the Black journalists, these African-American newspapers have managed to survive while some of the major, daily newspapers, have not. In Florida, despite being considered a small community paper; *The Weekly Challenger* still stands, while the *Tampa Tribune* has fallen. The *Daytona Times* continues as the only weekly in the Daytona area and the *Florida Courier*, despite being considered a "dead man walking when it

was launched as a statewide Black weekly" remains standing.[66] One possible factor may be that their readers may view these papers as something that represents and understands them when they receive little support elsewhere. An advantage for these newspapers is that their target audience is still not being fairly represented by the larger White-owned newspapers. The mainstream media does not readily dedicate prime news space to highlight a different face of the Black communities, and in fact, "community" is the key word.

Together with churches, the Black press has proven to be one of the oldest institutions of the African-American community. Both have survived numerous challenges while giving support and voice to those in need of one. The relationship between these two institutions is evidenced by the welcome reception of printed editions, "every Sunday morning in all of the major churches." To survive, however, the Afro-newspapers need more than a devoted audience; they need to attract young readers.

To attract younger readers, a desire expressed by all three newspapers, they will need to adopt new technologies, while at the same time hold true to the essence of the Black press. Both Cleveland Johnson and Charles Cherry became journalists as a result of life circumstances rather than through study, but they each managed to grow newspapers that reached significant readerships. They grew the businesses and staffing accordingly, and their predecessors have now scaled back. While the scaling back was necessary, without the incorporation of new technologies, the staff members are challenged to perform various duties.

The lack of funding presents challenges for growth in the online world. More advertisers are needed, and training is necessary to produce better articles. Fellowships offer newer

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[66] Cherry. "Still Pleading Our Cause."

possibilities and collaboration or partnerships among newspapers has proven somewhat useful

for maintaining content.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

The results of this study indicate that there is a significant gap in the research about the Black press and its use of technologies. More case studies and, in the future, generalizable research, might help researchers understand how, not only the Black press, but the African-American community as a whole, has managed constantly changing technologies and training related to those technological upgrades. The *Courier* case, with all of its staff working from different locations, could lead to new studies regarding the impact that new technologies not only on small weekly community newspapers, but also in the new organizational models in which many of these papers now operate within.

Other challenges to be addressed include the reliance on sources such as Google due to the cost of obtaining syndicated news; the comfort level that reporters have with working outside of the newsroom with limited resources (such as lack of Internet at home), for example, trying to verify and authenticate information from a source that may not located within arm's reach of the reporter but emanating instead on the other side of a Tweet.

There is also a considerable amount of historical work that could help to trace the road traveled by these press survivors and to figure out where their steps will lead them. Researchers need to go back in time and examine these papers' organizational work from the inside to understand and preserve their history while also paying attention to how they move into the 21st century.

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Appendix 1: *Tables and questionnaires*

Table 1. Used by the author to determine the types of software and hardware employed to obtain data on information gathering, production, publication and organizational purposes of the Black newspapers.

Technology Table

Category/technology	Software	Hardware	Training
Information gathering	Search engines (Google/Bing/Yahoo/Ask, etc.), audio and call recording apps (Audio Recorder, Easy Voice Recorder, High-Q, etc.), note taking apps (Evernote, Google Keep, 1Writer, etc.), document scanning apps (Scannable/ CamScanner, Google Drive, etc.), data gathering apps (Sqoop, etc.), stock photos apps (Twenty20, iStock, etc.) other smartphone apps, online databases, websites, blogs, Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, LinkedIn, etc.), YouTube, Wireless Internet, cellular telephone networks, etc.	Smartphone, laptops, desktop computers, IPad, notepads, tablets, fax machine, audio recorders, cameras, digital cameras, digital audio recorders, notebooks and pens, etc.	
Production	Word processors (Microsoft Word/ Apple Pages/	Laptop, desktop computer, smartphone, notepad,	

	Kingsoft Writer, etc.), layout and design software (Adobe Premiere/ Illustrator/ InDesign, etc.) editing app, video and video editing apps (MoviePro/ IMovie/ VideoShop/ etc.), photo editing app (SnapSeed/VSCO/Adobe Photo Editor, etc.).	iPad, tablet, scanners, copy/printing machines, etc.	
Publication	Websites, blogs, social media site (define each), social media app, social media management tools (Buffer/Hootsuite/ IFTTT, etc.), email (newsletters), YouTube, etc.	Printing press (newspapers, fliers, etc.), printers, smartphones, desktops, laptops, distribution racks, etc.	
Organizational	Team messaging apps (Slack, Voxer, Google apps, etc.), cloud storage services (Google Drive, Dropbox, OneDrive, Mega, etc.), online meeting app (Fuze, CiscoWebEx, etc.), Social Media, etc.	Whiteboard, desktop, laptop, smartphone, meeting space, etc.	
Notes: Reporter-owned vs. Newspaper-owned devices and software Training: reporter or newspaper (provided, paid, suggested, etc.)			

Table 2. Uses of technology by *The Weekly Challenger* for information gathering purposes.

Findings

Information gathering: *The Weekly Challenger*		
Software	**Hardware**	**Notes**
Google	Laptops	The newspaper has a scanner machine but does not use it.
Newspapers websites	Digital audio recorder	The newspaper has a subscription to AP news but does not use it.
Staff taken and sent photos	Digital Canon Camera	
Wireless and cellular networks	Notebooks and pens	
	Hard wire connection	

Table 3. Uses of technology by *The Weekly Challenger* for production purposes.

Production: *The Weekly Challenger*		
Software	**Hardware**	*Notes*
Microsoft Word	HP laptop	The newspaper has a printing machine but does not uses it.
Google Docs	iMac	
QuarckXPress	Laptops, tablets and desktop computers	
Adobe Photoshop		

Table 4. Uses of technology by *The Weekly Challenger* for publication purposes.

Publication: *The Weekly Challenger*		
Software	**Hardware**	*Notes*
Facebook, Twitter and YouTube	HP laptop	Newspaper has laptop, desktop, and iMac.
Facebook and Twitter scheduling	iMac	Apple and Android mobile app released on March 16, 2017
Hootsuite and TweetDeck		
MailChimp and Constant Contact		
Google analytics		
WordPress		

Table 5. Uses of technology by *The Weekly Challenger* for organizational purposes.

Organizational: *The Weekly Challenger*		
Software	**Hardware**	**Extra**
Dropbox	Laptops	Written contract with web manager
Google Drive	Mobile phones	Verbal contract with graphic designer
	House	Office phone forwarded to the editor's personal mobile
	Poynter Institute	

Table 6. Uses of technology by the *Florida Courier* and *Daytona Times* for information gathering purposes.

Information gathering: *Daytona Times (DT)* and *Florida Courier (FC)*		
Software	**Hardware**	**Notes**
Google (DT) (FC)	Digital voice recorder (FC) (DT)	The DT reporter does not have Internet in his house.
Yahoo (DT)	Android phones voice recorder (DT)	Fellowships help the FC freelance reporter to do more in-depth articles.
Tribune News Service (articles and stock photos) and News Services of Florida (FC)	iPhone voice recorder (FC)	
CNN	Notebooks and pens (DT)	
New York Times, Washington Post, Orlando Sentinel, Miami Herald	Cameras (DT) (FC)	
Trice Edney News Wire (FC)		
eurweb.com (FC) thegrio.com the root.com		
Twitter (FC)		

Table 7. Uses of technology by the *Florida Courier* and *Daytona Times* for production purposes.

Production: *Daytona Times (DT)* and *Florida Courier (FC)*		
Software	**Hardware**	*Notes*
Microsoft Word (DT) (FC)	Macs (FC)	None of the hardware or software is payed or provided by the newspapers.
Pages (FC)	iPad (FC)	
InDesign	Scanners (DT)	
Adobe Photoshop (FC)		
Integrated PC computer photo editing (DT)		

Table 8. Uses of technology by the *Florida Courier* and *Daytona Times* for publication purposes.

Publication: *Daytona Times (DT)* and *Florida Courier (FC)*		
Software	**Hardware**	*Notes*
Facebook and Twitter (DT) (FC)	Distribution boxes (FC)	The FC has a mobile app, but does not use it.
Website (DT) (FC)		Both websites are connected automatically to Facebook and Twitter.
Newsletters (FC)		

Table 9. Uses of technology by the *Florida Courier* and *Daytona Times* for organizational purposes.

Organizational: *Daytona Times (DT)* and *Florida Courier (FC)*		
Software	**Hardware**	*Notes*
Google emails (DT) (FC)	Phones, mobile phones (DT) (FC)	None of the newspapers has a meeting space.
Yahoo email (DT)	Laptop (DT) (FC)	Written contract with the editor and with the DT photographer.
Dropbox (DT) (FC)	Desktop (DT)	Verbal contract with DT reporter
Google Drive (DT)		The FC reporters are all freelance.
FTP (DT) (FC)		

Context Questionnaire

Editors

➔ Newspapers:

1- How did you learn about *The Weekly Challenger/ Daytona Times/ Florida Courier* before you came to work for/with it?

2- How did you start to work for *The Weekly Challenger/ Daytona Times/Florida Courier*?

3- Could you describe your role in the newspaper?

4- Do you have an agreement (formal or informal) that describes your responsibilities?

5- Are there any specific responsibilities about digital media in your job description? If not, do you still believe it is part of your job to do it anyway (e.g. post to *Facebook/Twitter*/other social media, upload videos to the website or *YouTube*)?

6- Could you explain how you plan the stories and how you keep track of them? Could you describe how that changed over time?

7- Do you have editorial meetings? Are the meetings in person or do you do it online/remotely (phone)? How were the meetings held in the past? When did that change and how? Why?

8- What else can you add that is important?

Publishers/Tech Manager

➔ Newspapers:

1- How did you learn about *The Weekly Challenger/ Daytona Times/ Florida Courier* before you came to work for/with it?

2- How did you start to work for *The Weekly Challenger/ Florida Courier*?

3- Could you describe your role in the newspaper?

4- Do you have an agreement (formal or informal) that describes your responsibilities?

5- Are there any specific responsibilities about digital media in your job description? If not, do you still believe it is part of your job to do it anyway (e.g. post to *Facebook/Twitter*/other social media, upload videos to the website or *YouTube*)?

6- Could you explain how you plan the stories and how you keep track of them? Could you describe how that changed over time?

7- Do you have editorial meetings? Are the meetings in person or do you do it online/remotely (phone)? How were the meetings held in the past? When did that change and how? Why?

8- What else can you add that is important?

Reporters/Photographers/Staff

➔ Newspapers:

1- How did you learn about *The Weekly Challenger/ Daytona Times/ Florida Courier* before you came to work for/with it?

2- How did you start to work for *The Weekly Challenger/ Daytona Times/ Florida Courier*?

3- Could you describe your role in the newspaper?

4- Do you have an agreement (formal or informal) that describes your responsibilities?

5- Are there any specific responsibilities about digital media in your job description? If not, do you still believe it is part of your job to do it anyway (e.g. post *to Facebook/Twitter*/other social media, upload videos to the website or *YouTube*)?

6- Could you explain how you plan the stories and how you keep track of them? Could you describe how that changed over time?

7- Do you have editorial meetings? Are the meetings in person or do you do it online/remotely (phone)? How were the meetings held in the past? When did that change and how? Why?

8- What else can you add that is important?

Appendix 2: *Pictures from The Weekly Challenger, Daytona Times and Florida Courier*

Picture 1. Publisher Cleveland Johnson, who, in 1992, expanded *The Weekly Challenger* to its subsidiary, the *Tri-County Challenger* distributing the newspaper in Ocala, Crystal River, Brooksville, Dunnellon, Inverness, Lecanto, Floral County and Gainesville.

Picture 2. William Blackshear, co-founder of *The Weekly Challenger*, was Safety Harbor First African-American commissioner in 1964. He would later found the Southeast Black Publishers' Association. He was the first president from 1978 to 1980. The original group also included Cleveland Johnson and Charles W. Cherry.


Picture 3. William Blackshear, and Cleveland Johnson at *The Weekly Challenger* office.

Picture 4. Charles W. Cherry II, Charles W. Cherry, Sr., and Dr. Glenn W. Cherry (1981).

Picture 5. The Southeast Black Publishers' Association, and Florida governor Lawton Childs (1987). From left to right. publisher Cleveland Johnson and Charles Cherry, forth in line.

Picture 6. *The Weekly Challenger* website.

Picture 7. *Daytona Times* website.

Picture 8. *Florida Courier* website.