Access to Print, Digitized, and Born-Digital Newspapers from Africa: The North American / Global Conundrum

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Abstract:

Newspapers and news media from Africa are widely considered valuable primary source research materials for scholars. Research institutions in North America—such as the Center for Research Libraries (CRL), the Library of Congress, and major academic libraries—have built up over several decades of investment large collections of African newspapers in print and microform through subscription, microfilm preservation, and digitization. However, changing models of access, combined with the challenges and cost of acquiring and storing print newspapers from overseas, has resulted in drastic reductions in the amount of print newspapers currently collected in the U.S. and Canada for research purposes.

North American libraries have placed a premium on electronic access to content. However, a large share of news produced in countries in the global South continues to be disseminated in print. To highlight the challenges facing academic institutions in providing access to historical and current news content from Africa, the author examines the present state of digital accessibility, drawing from two recent CRL studies: a 2013 survey of African online newspapers and a 2015 study of the state of newspaper digitization worldwide.

The author highlights some of activities CRL and North American libraries have pursued towards broader availability of international news content. However, these measures are as yet not enough to sustain access to the wealth of current and historical news resources. The author argues that deeper, strategic cooperative investment is required by libraries in Africa as well as elsewhere in the world to pursue broader access to African news through such activities as digitization, licensing, and harvesting born-electronic material.

Keywords: newspapers, digitization, cooperation, Africa, North America.
Newspapers from Africa have long been of high value for scholars and researchers at North American academic institutions. Newspapers published in countries of Africa dating as far back as the 18th century contain a wealth of information and insight for scholars seeking to better understand and interpret the history, politics, and culture of the region.

Previous IFLA papers (Limb [2003], Woodson [2007], Howard-Reguindin [2007]) have covered various aspects of African news collecting efforts by libraries in the United States. This paper provides an update on current collection challenges facing North American libraries. It will highlight some of the activities the Center for Research Libraries (CRL) and the North American library community have pursued towards broader availability of international news content. However, the paper will argue these activities are not yet sufficient to address the growing need for solutions for access to African news, especially in light of the growing body of electronic news sources from Africa (both digitized and born-digital). Deeper, strategic cooperative investment is required to sustain access to African news resources through digitization, licensing, and harvesting born-electronic material. The paper will suggest areas in which African institutions might consider co-investing to bring collections to light for scholars in Africa as well as in North America.

1. Brief History of African news collecting in the United States

Despite the long history of news publications originating from Africa, newspaper collecting in the U.S. was initially slow to develop. Institutions such as the Library of Congress (LC), New York Public Library, and Boston Public Library were among early collectors of African newspapers, with selective acquisitions dating back to the early 20th century. However, even up through the 1920s title selections were quite limited, focusing only on a few countries of particular political or historical interest.¹

By the early 1940s, reflecting the growing interest in colonial and global affairs, academic institutions in the U.S. had begun to collect larger numbers of African newspapers. “African Studies” as a dedicated, interdisciplinary field began taking shape in the 1950s, as U.S. policymakers began funding Area Studies programs to provide expertise to inform U.S. global interests. As funding and support for African Studies grew in the academy, so too did support for Africana collections in libraries—including subscriptions to newspapers. By 1955, institutions with strong African Studies program began organizing information about their collecting efforts. A survey of “African newspapers currently received” produced a list of nearly 125 titles received by eight libraries in the U.S. (LC alone reported subscribing to 99 titles).² By 1965, 33 libraries reported current and retrospective holdings of more than 700 titles in print and microform (around 200 titles were listed as currently received).³

Newspaper collecting was greatly aided by the adoption of microfilm technologies, enabling libraries and other institutions to preserve and distribute (with permission) newspapers in multiple copies from a single source institution. In 1938, Harvard University began filming a selection of important newspapers from around the world, with libraries paying subscription fees to ensure the sustainability of the ongoing program. The internationalism of the 1950s and 1960s brought African newspaper collecting to scale, with significant expansion of microfilming efforts through LC, the Foreign Newspaper Microfilm Project, and individual library efforts. International institutions such as the British Library, National Library of South Africa, and other national libraries (such as in France and Portugal) began producing microfilm copies of historical holdings, and dedicated companies such as

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Microfile Ltd. (Johannesburg, South Africa) and the Association pour la conservation et la reproduction photographique de la presse (ACRPP) offered filming services for collections held in Africa and elsewhere.

At the peak of collecting efforts, libraries in the U.S. reported collecting more than 500 newspaper titles from nearly every country in Africa. An effort in 2004 to create a more authoritative union list of African newspapers (AFRINUL) resulted in a title list of nearly 800 current newspapers (though information on actual currency of receipt was not verified in all cases). A sizable portion of those titles was held only by the Library of Congress, which microfilmed many of its current acquisitions for storage and preservation purposes. Among the other academic repositories of African newspapers in the U.S. with a focus on current collecting are Northwestern University; New York Public Library; Stanford University; University of California, Los Angeles; Harvard University; and Yale University.

The Center for Research Libraries (CRL), founded in 1949, has played a pivotal role in the cooperative collection and preservation of African newspapers. Since its inception, CRL has maintained collections of significant international news content. CRL was an early supporter of cooperative preservation of foreign news, and in 1956 was appointed the administrative home of the Foreign Newspaper Microfilm Project (FNMP). From the outset, FNMP sought to collect and preserve important African newspapers (among other world regions). Some of the early titles selected were France-équateur l’avenir (Congo-Brazzaville), le Courrier d’Afrique (Congo-Kinshasa), Ethiopian Herald (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia), Daily Graphic (Accra, Ghana), Daily Chronicle (Nairobi, Kenya), Liberian Age (Monrovia, Liberia), O Notícias (Maputo, Mozambique), Daily Times (Lagos, Nigeria), Cape Times (Cape Town, South Africa), and Rhodesia Herald (Harare, Zimbabwe).

CRL is also a champion of broader collaboration among area programs. As Africanist bibliographers began building their collections in the late 1950s, they quickly recognized the need for cooperation in obtaining hard-to-collect material. In 1963 representatives of the Foreign Acquisitions Committee, Africa Sub-Section, of the Association of Research Libraries approached CRL and requested that it begin acquiring microfilm of retrospective materials related to Africa. In May of that year, Africana librarians from 12 institutions formed a consortial arrangement dubbed the Cooperative Africana Microform Project (CAMP) to identify African newspapers, serials, and political ephemera and work towards their preservation. CRL’s Board of Directors supported the effort and made provisions to contribute financial assistance, to be matched by participating institutions.

Together, CAMP and CRL’s collections now span more than 1,500 newspaper titles published in Africa. Holdings date from the year 1800 through the present, with titles from virtually every country (strengths include South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal, Ethiopia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo). Newspapers are held primarily in microform, totaling more than 12,000 reels created by CRL/CAMP or acquired from other libraries and third-party providers. Increasingly CRL provides digital access to content from its collections.

2. Trends in collecting current news

North American libraries today, however, face increasing pressures to cut costs, space, and expertise required to sustain such rich collections. Increasing reliance on Web-based content—with little regard for the sustainability of such resources—has become the norm for many research institutions. The changing model of access, combined with the challenges and cost of acquiring and storing print newspapers from overseas, has resulted in drastic reductions in the number of print newspapers collected in the U.S. and Canada for research purposes.

This reduction has deeply affected African newspaper collections in North America. From its height in the early 2000s, the level of current collecting of current print news periodicals has dropped

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steadily. The CAMP Newspaper Subcommittee periodically tracks current subscriptions to newspapers by its members. Based on surveys conducted in 2006, 2009, and 2012 (CAMP’s 2015 survey forthcoming), subscriptions by libraries to titles offered through the LC Cooperative Acquisition Program (CAP) have faced a consistent decline in aggregate numbers. In 2012, of the 52 active titles offered through the LC-Nairobi office, 24 titles (46%) saw a reduction in numbers of subscribing institutions compared to the 2009 survey. 21 titles (40%) had fewer than three subscribing libraries. Five titles had only one subscribing library aside from LC.

The declining subscriptions, while not precipitous, point to a clear trend in reductions across the board. More troubling, however, are the anecdotal reports from libraries since 2012 that suggest deeper cuts in print subscriptions. Two significant events in particular have impacted the availability of current African news titles in the U.S.

First, the LC-Nairobi field office was informed in 2012 that the office may no longer use APO/FPO Mail to ship CAP participant subscription material. The loss of this heavily-subsidized service (offered to U.S. embassies and military bases) meant that field offices were required to ship materials via commercial freight on a cost-recovery basis. The increase in shipping costs, along with delays in material shipments caused by the need to amass sufficient content to fill a bulk shipping container, resulted in a number of libraries cancelling all but the most essential print newspapers.

Second, and more concerning to the library community at large, financial cutbacks in LC’s overseas operations budgets in 2012 resulted in reductions in the field office microfilming capacity. Since 2006, the LC field office in Nairobi has sent a number of its collected news titles to the Library’s office in New Delhi for preservation microfilming prior to intake in Washington. As a result of the budgetary cutbacks, 24 titles out of some 115 news publications sent from LC-Nairobi to Delhi for filming were cancelled. As no plans for reinstating filming were foreseeable, LC canceled print subscription to these titles entirely. Many of these titles were not offered via subscription to CAP participants, and absent acquisitions maintained via other means, these titles are no longer being collected—much less preserved—in North America.

LC-Nairobi has long collected more newspaper titles than it was able to film. The office has maintained backfiles of long-running titles that had not been prioritized for filming, as well as short-run titles published during historically significant periods (for example, during Liberia’s civil unrest in the 1990s). Since 2006, CAMP has supported proposals from LC-Nairobi to preserve contemporary newspapers—content ranges from the 1980s to the present—from countries including Botswana, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. This collaboration has resulted in the preservation of more than 300 titles that may otherwise have been lost to scholars.

3. Online availability of current news

What, then, of the availability of African news online? As mentioned above, many research institutions have all but abandoned collecting print newspapers in favor of online database subscriptions to news aggregators and “e-print” collections. In many cases, libraries simply direct scholars toward current content via the open Web. In 2012, CRL sought to assess how these alternate access measures compared to content formerly acquired in physical form. The report “African Newspapers Online — a survey of current coverage”, issued in 2013, examined from a regional perspective the challenges of electronic access to news. 5

Specifically, CRL sought to determine:
- the overall extent of online availability of African newspapers;
- whether the most significant African titles were represented online, and extent of coverage;

• whether the paper’s print format was replicated online through “e-print” offerings; and
• whether African news content was being harvested, aggregated, or otherwise included in commercial and non-commercial electronic news resources.

In total, the survey encompassed investigation of more than 900 newspaper titles from 48 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. CRL also examined title lists from three major commercial news providers to assess to what extent African news content was included in the databases. A brief summation of the full survey findings (available on the CRL website) follows:

**Subscription databases**

Large research libraries in North America subscribe to an average of 17 current full-text news products to ensure coverage of local, national, and international events. Most institutions subscribe to at least one major aggregation such as Dow Jones Factiva, LexisNexis Academic, or NewsBank’s Access World News. Such resources provide broad coverage of news from the U.S. and the world. CRL examined publicly available title lists from these providers to identify current sources of news produced by African news publishers. CRL also compared content sources listed from AllAfrica.com, an aggregator focused specifically on African news content.

The 2012 assessment showed that coverage for African newspapers within aggregated databases is relatively sparse, especially compared to the proportion of other news sources contained in each commercial news aggregation. At the time, Access World News contained a reported 97 newspapers. LexisNexis followed with 80 listed titles, and Factiva included only 28 titles (nearly four fifths coming from South Africa). AllAfrica.com, by comparison, claimed coverage of 127 African newspaper sources. A regional breakdown of daily newspapers included in the four products is shown below.

![Aggregator coverage - Dailies (2012)](chart)

The study is admittedly only a “snapshot,” as content sources are continually added to—and in some cases removed from—these products. And, it should be noted that all three aggregators claimed to include AllAfrica.com source content in their products. Of the 127 AllAfrica titles, 51 were listed by Access World News and LexisNexis. Only ten titles in common were included in the Factiva list.
African newspaper websites

CRL’s survey of 900 newspaper titles identified through multiple source lists yielded approximately 635 “active titles” for further study (“active” was defined as newspapers listed in current press summaries, found to have recently updated websites or otherwise known to be recently acquired by CRL member libraries). Of the 635 active titles identified, 484 titles (approximately 75%) were found to have some form of online presence. Daily newspapers tend to be more consistently represented online through publisher websites than semi-weeklies, weeklies, and less-frequently produced editions.

Content included on these sites range widely in terms of coverage of the articles present in the print edition. In many cases, only the top articles appeared to be present, while others featured numerous articles corresponding to the print edition, often broken out into different sections of the website. A random ten percent sampling of titles showed a range from seven current articles to more than 50 articles posted per day (the median being 18 articles). One-to-one comparison to the print versions was impractical due the limited availability of print supply in the U.S. However, from casual observation, it would appear that no sites included the full range of content that appeared in the comparable print edition (which may include classifieds, opinion, cartoons, advertisements, obituaries, etc).

The availability of “e-print” versions of the physical newspaper was at the time of study quite limited. In terms of “archives,” many news publishers presented some form of searchable or browseable text articles on their site, but the majority maintained only short archives (going back a few years) and were often limited to print subscribers.

In all, the online availability of African newspapers appears to be growing over time, though the content and functionality of these sites varies considerably across regions. Some world regions including Africa are seeing substantial growth in print markets, due to rising literacy, employment, and income levels. However, the development of electronic distribution mechanisms continues to fall short of trends in other world areas. Thus, it may be concluded that libraries’ heavy reliance on electronic access and large news packages may not be adequately serving the needs of Africanist scholars.

4. Digital availability of historical news content

Through a century of major, sustained investment in acquisition, documentation and preservation, libraries in North America, Europe, and Africa have amassed a large and valuable collection of newspapers. Yet, the tremendous potential of digitization of historical news content has yet to be realized on any meaningful scale for African newspapers.

A 2015 study by CRL entitled “The ‘State of the Art’: A Comparative Analysis of Newspaper Digitization to Date” sought to assess the outputs of the major newspaper digitization efforts, and to identify the comparative strengths and gaps in the corpus of newspapers digitized to date. The report estimates the number of newspaper titles digitized worldwide may presently exceed 45,000 titles (whether in long runs or single issues). However, the vast majority of digitized titles are published in the global North, with only a representational amount of content from Africa available online.

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6 However, as the report emphasizes, the high correlation of “active” titles and internet presence should not be interpreted to mean that most African newspapers have an internet presence. Rather, the study’s strong reliance on internet sources to identify titles has a biasing effect. Given that the World Press Trends suggests as many as 1,300 newspapers are published in Africa, it might be posited that as many as two out of three African newspapers have no identified internet presence. Better data on current newspapers is required in order to draw a reliable conclusion.

CRL and its member libraries have created the World Newspaper Archive (WNA) in partnership with Readex (a division of NewsBank) to preserve and provide access to historical newspapers from around the globe. To date, CRL and Readex have digitized more than 400,000 pages of content from 70 newspapers published in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1800 and 1922. A second WNA module of African Newspapers is in planning stages.

A handful of other projects outside of Africa provide access to single titles or small collections of content. The Bibliothèque nationale de France includes in its Gallica digital library selective news titles from Algeria, Madagascar, and other former French colonies. The Berlin State Library has included a selection of German-language papers published internationally, including the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung (1899-1916) and Südwest (1910-1914). Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo (1939-1958) appears courtesy of the Endangered Archives Programme in page image form.

Within Africa itself, however, the availability of digitized backfiles of newspapers remains elusive. A few press clipping services (e.g., SA Media, mozambiquehistory.net) offer selected articles arranged by topic. NewsBank recently announced an agreement to digitize the backfiles of Rand Daily Mail (1902-1985), and this year the National Library of South Africa (NLSA) signed an agreement to deliver images of Indian Opinion (1930-1949) to the Gandhi Heritage Portal. The NLSA’s 2013 commitment to the digitization of South African newspapers is a welcome signal of content to come. Beyond these, however, outside of a few library demonstration projects (most or all of which appear to be inaccessible), the availability of historical archives of digitized newsprint produced by institutions in Africa is as yet quite limited.

5. The North American conundrum

The conundrum facing libraries today is how to address the widening gap of persistent access to news content. Libraries in North America have placed a premium on electronic access to content. However, a large share of news produced in countries in the global South continues to be disseminated in print. Neither libraries in the U.S. nor in the regions appear to have the wherewithal (capacity, funds, space, will) to continue to collect the print record at levels previously seen. The scale has tipped.

Meanwhile, the infrastructure to support persistent electronic access to news is still weak. Many news producers lack robust content management systems to store and preserve electronic content. The limited archives maintained by publishers, often removed or inaccessible after a specified period, result in a short “shelf life” of news content. Libraries and archives have not sufficiently responded to the changing patterns of news creation and dissemination—the “lifecycle” of news content—to adopt models for collection and preservation of born-digital news. News in the electronic age is becoming ever more ephemeral.

Finally, too much of the cultural and historical record of news is still “at risk.” While digitization of late-19th/early-20th century news from Europe, the U.S., and other developed areas has grown in recent years, much of the significant content produced in the latter half of the 20th century up through the present is still inaccessible. Digitization projects are driven by local interests (in the case of national or local funding support) or by market imperatives (in the case of commercial digitization of high-value content). With scare funding and limited “market opportunity” driving digitization agendas, newspapers published in developing regions, and in languages other than English, are at considerable risk.

6. A cooperative (global) agenda for news

While the conundrum above is framed in terms of the North American context, it would be a mistake to characterize this as (just) a North American problem. Libraries and archives in Africa are key stakeholders in—even the frontline defenders of—the collection and persistence of news resources produced in the region. Many national and academic libraries in countries of Africa manage current and historical newspaper collections at varying scales. Unfortunately, public funding is in decline in many economies, which may result in the loss or permanent inaccessibility of a great deal of historical material in regions that do not have well-developed archive infrastructure. Deeper, strategic investment is required to sustain access to news resources in print and electronic formats. This is a global challenge, requiring action from libraries in the region as well as investment from libraries elsewhere.

The cooperative action agenda below proposes areas in which African institutions might consider co-investing with libraries in North America and elsewhere to bring collections to light for scholars.

Collection and sharing of news information – a “Meta-Preservation” strategy

Academic and national libraries invest considerable sums to collect newspapers to make them accessible to historians and other researchers. However, there is still scant reliable information on newspapers produced in many regions; on newspapers collected and preserved by libraries; and on digitization activities underway or completed. Libraries must engage cooperatively to provide and maintain accurate and up-to-date information on newspapers—both in print and online—published in their region or country.

CRL, through the International Coalition on Newspapers (ICON) strives to collect such information on behalf of research libraries worldwide. The ICON database (http://icon.crl.edu) is a registry of holdings information on the hard copy, microform and digitized holdings of U.S. and foreign newspapers. Its purpose is to provide reliable information for libraries, publishers and others engaged in preserving, collecting, and digitizing newspapers, about holdings of interest in major research collections and about the contents of “trustworthy” repositories and databases of digitized newspapers.

ICON enlists the cooperation of libraries, archives, and third-party providers to share bibliographic and holdings information on news titles held and preserved. The ICON database is geared towards increasing the granularity of information—down to the issue level, where possible—to provide libraries with information to help manage their own collections (retention, preservation, digitization decisions, etc.).

ICON also maintains a directory of newspaper digitization projects, directing users to reliable, full-text and page-image databases of historical newspapers. The directory was used, in part, as the basis for the recent “State of the Art” survey of digitization initiatives. ICON welcomes suggestions for projects not yet included.

Even where full, detailed information on news collections is not available, understanding the changing landscape of news production is of immense value to libraries and scholars. CRL’s assessment of the online availability of African newspapers found that most websites and online portals with links to African newspapers were incomplete and significantly out of date. This hampers online discoverability and thwarts efforts to direct researchers to resources with any measure of comprehensiveness. Anecdotal reports from librarians in Sierra Leone and Liberia, for example, suggest many local newspapers are being produced that cover political issues and events such as the recent Ebola outbreak, but have yet to receive international attention (in many cases, these titles do not have a web presence). As academic and internet entrepreneur Kalev Leetaru recently suggested,

“what we truly need is better, more local data (and expanded tools that can translate and process that material) to allow us to more closely listen to and understand local communities.”

Information cooperatively gathered might usefully be shared with like-minded communities such as ICON, the IFLA News Media Section, and the CAMP Newspaper Subcommittee, to help identify valuable news collections “at risk,” and inform current collecting priorities.

Cooperative preservation and digitization

Where collections have been identified and the capacity to support preservation and digitization of content is available, libraries must more closely collaborate on priorities for digitization. Newspaper collections in Pretoria, Nairobi, Dakar, and Ibadan contain unique resources available in few other locations. ICON data contributed by institutions can be used to confirm the existence of original and reformatted copies, indicating not only the completeness of a library’s holdings but also the conditions under which those holdings are maintained. Armed with such information, libraries engaged in a coordinated international strategy could make rational decisions on investments to support preservation of materials considered most at risk and of value to the research community.

The World Newspaper Archive, discussed above, may be a resource for contribution of content by libraries in Africa. Controlled by CRL and its community of libraries, the WNA offers an opportunity for libraries to incorporate material into a growing body of historical news content. CRL has, in select cases, worked with regional libraries to contribute digitized collections to WNA modules in exchange for access to the database. CRL has also arranged to make digital files available to the libraries that contribute those collections to the effort. Those libraries may, at their discretion, make the digital files available locally for non-commercial, educational purposes. Finally, CRL may underwrite the cost of digital access to WNA modules focusing on particular world regions for partner libraries in the region.

Libraries may also consider working within international cooperative structures like the Cooperative Africana Materials Project. CAMP works with African partners (most recently in Uganda, Liberia, and Mali) to identify, preserve and make available newspapers, archival collections, and other primary sources held regionally. CRL provides enabling infrastructure to host content (including newspapers) digitized by its community programs. CAMP has recently invited African institutions to join CAMP as Affiliate Members at no cost based on the institution’s history of library collaboration and commitment to the ongoing work of CAMP. African Affiliate Members gain access to CAMP's digitized collection, which is available through the CRL online catalog.

A new preservation template for electronic news

In 2013, at a two-day forum on “Access to News in the Digital Era,” CRL convened collection development and subject specialists from CRL libraries to explore current publishing practices and new scholarly uses of news content, and to help formulate cooperative library strategies to support those uses. The outline of a “new preservation template” was presented by Bernard Reilly (President, CRL) at the 2014 IFLA Newspaper Section Satellite Conference in Geneva. In his paper, Reilly suggests that national-level action is required to form a coherent strategy for the systematic preservation of web-based news. Among the strategies libraries should collectively undertake are to:

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1) Monitor and document electronic news production and distribution, to better understand how these processes can be exploited for preservation and future access.
2) Identify the needs of our consumers, to better align our preservation goals and practices.
3) Reframe the relationship between libraries and news organizations, to work more closely to implement measures that support persistence and other protections within systems managed by those organizations.

These actions, undertaken in concert with emerging technologies and strategies for preservation, will best position libraries to respond to the rapidly changing landscape of born-digital news. Limits on library resources demand that we concentrate on measures that are most likely to produce tangible benefits. Libraries will need to work strategically and at scale to surmount these challenges.

Cooperation among libraries and archives to address the global news “conundrum” can enable our institutions to open a vast pool of global resources to researchers. It is an ambitious and complex challenge, not least because a significant amount of news material was produced in the twentieth century and therefore much of it may be still be under copyright. However, by working within established structures and engaging stakeholders such as publishers, aggregators of news content, policy makers, funding and cultural organizations, libraries may better align our goals with the needs of the research community to collectively facilitate access to these critical resources.

References

Previous IFLA papers mentioned:


