THE EFFECTS OF SUBURBANIZATION ON DETROIT'S METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS

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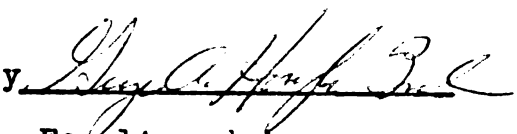
Approved by 

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF SUBURBANIZATION
ON DETROIT'S METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS

by Boyd L. Miller

The headlong move to the suburbs from the great cities has created serious problems for metropolitan daily newspapers. This thesis examines some of those problems as they have affected the Detroit area.

The metropolitan papers have found it more difficult to serve their readers in suburbia than when those readers lived nearer downtown.

New suburban papers have been started, and the existing suburban publications have flourished on this wave of residential growth. Thus a battle has erupted between the downtown dailies and the community press, which is made up of weeklies and smaller dailies.

The metropolitan papers have fought back with expanded suburban coverage and particularly with zoned editions, which are aimed at specific suburban areas. An inquiry by the author showed that thirty-one metropolitan papers publish zoned editions and that thirteen of these have started their zoning since 1960.

The thesis also compares the position of the Detroit metropolitan dailies with those of other cities. The figures show a disturbing decline in circulation for the Detroit papers. An earlier tendency to gain readers in the suburbs has been leveling off. And there's little to gain in the central city, which has lost population in recent years.

The suburban press, in contrast, is enjoying an era of expansion. For example, the Mount Clemens Monitor Leader, in suburban Detroit, recently began a daily edition for the fast growing Warren area.

The thesis also takes up a study of suburban reader tastes. It was found that local news is the most popular fare the suburban press can offer. The metropolitan papers find it hard to compete in local coverage.

The battle continues at a vigorous pace. This study is an effort to bring the reader up to date.

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By

Boyd L. Miller

A THESIS

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PREFACE

This thesis had its origin in frustration. As a suburbanite, the author observed that the grass roots news often was going unreported in the metropolitan press. And the community press, when it did the job, often did an inadequate job.

So the question arose--what are the metropolitan dailies doing about their suburban coverage?

The research was concentrated on three areas--the metropolitan papers, the suburban papers and suburbia itself. Access to the metropolitan papers was readily at hand, since at the time of the research the author was a copy editor for the Detroit News. The study is focused on the Detroit area, although conditions there probably are similar to conditions in cities of similar population.

Suburban newspaper executives were interviewed. Suburbia was investigated with the advantage of previous academic work in political science and sociology.

Research regarding the effects of suburbanization on the metropolitan dailies has been relatively scarce, even though the subject seems to stir quick interest in managing editors.

The author found his fifteen years' experience in newspaper work--ranging from a small daily to one of the

largest metropolitan papers--valuable in researching the subject and in writing the thesis.

He wishes to thank his adviser, George A. Hough III, and Detroit newspaper personnel for their assistance.

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"SCHOOLS, SEWERS AND TAXES"

The Suburban Exodus

The publisher of a leading metropolitan newspaper was speaking:

"Nobody has found the answer to suburbanization. Papers are meeting it in different ways, some of them with split editions, some with more extensive coverage of suburbs in the city editions. . . . People are still more interested in schools, sewers, local tax rates, juvenile delinquency and other community problems than Formosa."

These views were expressed in 1955 by Mark Ethridge, then publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal. (1) They reflect what has become a major worry for many metropolitan newspaper executives.

The population's move to the suburbs from the great cities has been going on for more than 50 years. The 1960 census showed an acceleration of the trend, which has been called "one of the great social revolutions of modern times." (2)

Suburbanization took root at least 100 years ago in the United States as New York, Philadelphia and Boston showed

Table 1.--Population Changes in selected metropolitan areas, 1950-1960

Area	Central City Population 1960	Per Cent Change Since 1950	Suburban Population 1960	Per Cent Increase Since 1950
Chicago	3,492,945	- 3.5	3,657,587	70.1
Cleveland	487,462	- 4.9	910,396	65.3
Detroit	1,672,574	- 9.6	2,088,646	79.0
Los Angeles- Long Beach	2,448,018 323,996	+24.2 +29.2	3,918,055	82.5
Philadelphia	1,959,966	- 5.4	2,121,861	32.7

Source: U. S. Census Bureau

sharp growth. By 1900 considerable numbers of middle class people lived on the fringes of the large cities.

The migration grew with the prosperity of the 1920's. Around the seventeen largest cities, the fringe population rose almost 40 per cent in the decade preceding 1930. In that same period, the rate of growth for the central cities slumped.

The growth of suburbia was slowed by the depression but spurted anew after World War II. By 1950 fewer than half of the inhabitants of forty metropolitan areas lived in the central city.

The 1960 census showed that the population of the present 189 metropolitan areas had increased from 89,579,138 in 1950 to 108,872,660, a rise of 24.3 per cent. The central cities of these metropolitan areas gained only 8.2 per cent, reaching a total of 55,617,613. The population of suburbia was 53,255,047, a gain of 47.2 per cent.

What effect has this had on newspapers?

The metropolitan daily depends on a lifeblood of advertising. Most of this is local retail advertising. The Detroit Free Press in 1961, for example, ran 19,371,904 lines of display advertising, and 13,035,979 lines of it was retail. (3) For the News, the other Detroit metropolitan daily, the figures were 31,386,563 and 23,261,514, respectively.

The advertisers use the newspapers to reach their customers. Implicit in this arrangement is that the papers serve their readers. This is where suburbanization has interfered. As Mr. Ethridge suggested, the big dailies are finding it difficult to serve the suburban reader as well as they served him when he was in the central city.

For one thing, the downtown papers don't have the space to print all the news affecting the suburbs. In the Detroit area there are eighty-six political subdivisions in Oakland and Macomb counties--comprising the northern suburbs--all brimming with news of "schools, sewers and local tax rates."

Between 1952 and 1957, nationwide, 170 new municipalities were created in metropolitan areas. (4) In 1957, there were 15,658 local units of government. The inability to carry all the news affecting suburbs has created a gap in the coverage provided by the downtown dailies. This gap has been filled, to some degree, by the community press--smaller dailies and weekly newspapers.

The late Frank Luther Mott, professor of journalism at the University of Missouri, asserted in a study that the suburban papers' circulation was 50,000,000 in 1960 and that a million readers a year were being added to these papers in a "new type of journalism." (5) "Clearly these papers constitute a threat to the metropolitan daily circulation," he said.

Mott called the rise of the suburban papers the outstanding development in journalism between 1945 and 1960. He attributed it in part to the effort by these smaller organs to give the new areas an identity lacking in the central city.

The Detroit area in 1964 was served by three suburban dailies and eighty-one general circulation weeklies. (See Appendix A.)

As the population left the central city, stores grew up in the fringe areas, many of them in clusters called shopping centers. The three-county Detroit region now had forty-nine of these centers and two more under construction. (6)

Many of the merchants in the fringe area whose trade had been confined to sleepy little neighborhoods suddenly discovered that the bustling world of suburbia had engulfed them. The downtown stores and the chains waded into the battle for suburbia's dollar by building branches.

Many merchants have found that they can profitably use the services of the suburban dailies and weeklies--competition for the metropolitan dailies. Shopping centers say they can't always benefit from the metropolitan papers' full circulation. (7)

Some suburban stores are too small to justify purchase of space in the downtown dailies--even if they could afford it. Their stores may draw only from a limited area.

Why pay for reaching people in a 400-square-mile area when they draw only from perhaps a twenty-five square mile area?

The chain stores--which have outlets all over the region--are another matter. They run multiple advertisements which appear over a list of addresses where the products may be purchased. They are happy to have area wide coverage.

The J. L. Hudson Company, Detroit's biggest store, for example, does 95 per cent of its advertising in the News and Free Press. (8) The downtown outlet transacts 42 per cent of the firm's business. The remainder is done at branches in Northland, Eastland and Westland shopping centers and in budget stores at Pontiac, Lincoln Park, Dearborn and Madison Heights.

Even for the big stores, however, there is a complication. They may want to slant a product to a particular area. A high priced item may sell well in Birmingham, where per capita income is high. But it might not sell so well in another neighborhood where the per capita income is lower. Hence, the ad that appeared throughout the metropolitan region would be reaching an audience that could hardly be expected to buy the product.

Another worry for the big dailies is the deterioration of downtown--where the big advertisers have been in the past. Officials of the Central Business District Association in 1964 told the Detroit Board of Assessors that downtown Detroit is being strangled by deteriorating property

values and declining business. (9)

Bruce Bliven, in an article in Reporter magazine, blamed downtown deterioration for the suspension of the Los Angeles Examiner and Mirror. (10) He remarked: "Downtown [Los Angeles] is dying because of the short sighted policy of scrapping public transit and replacing it with the strangulating system of freeways."

He said women shoppers particularly tend to avoid heavy traffic, preferring to do the family marketing in the suburbs. In fifteen years, Bliven said, downtown shopping in Los Angeles slipped from 45 per cent of retail sales in the area to less than 18 per cent.

Urban renewal, an attempt to restore the central city's dominance, has been pushed in Detroit. Many plans are afoot for new stores and luxury apartments--designed to attract the higher income people back downtown.

William Bond, advertising manager for Hudson's, is optimistic about downtown revival. (11) He said the recently-built Civic Center and Cobo Hall had stimulated central city activity and that 25,000 parking places were an attractive lure to the shopper.

Bond noted that Hudson's was showing its confidence in downtown revival by investing $5,000,000 in the Woodward Avenue store. But at the same time he acknowledged that the downtown monopoly over the consumer had ended.

While mergers have tended toward monopoly among the metropolitan newspapers over the nation, the suburban press promises a whole new era of competition for its larger rivals.

The downtown papers will ignore the happenings of the fringe areas only at the peril of losing influence to the suburban press. The larger organs will have to keep the needs of the suburban stores in mind or risk losing their business.

CHAPTER II

PAPERS MULTIPLY WITH POPULATION

Key Rival: The Small Daily

The number of papers in the Detroit metropolitan region--which includes Wayne, Oakland and Macomb counties--increased in the same proportion as the population between 1940 and 1960. Table 2 illustrates this.

Table 2.--Comparison of the Detroit area's population and the number of newspapers

	1940	1950	1960	Per Cent Increase Since 1940
Metro area population	2,367,329	3,016,197	4,062,360	72
Number of newspapers	51	77	88	72

Since 1960, the number of papers in the region actually has declined, however. There were eighty-eight in 1960. The 1964 edition of N. W. Ayer's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, however, listed only eighty-six for the region.

While the outlying counties of Macomb and Oakland have shown the greatest increase in population, most of the new papers have been started in Wayne County. Table 3 illustrates this.

Table 3.--Comparison of population growth in Wayne, Macomb and Oakland Counties with the increase in newspapers

County	1940	1950	1960	Per Cent Increase Since 1940
Wayne	2,015,623	2,435,235	2,666,296	32
Papers	22	43	57	159
Oakland	254,068	396,001	390,259	171
Papers	15	24	20	33
Macomb	107,638	184,961	405,804	277
Papers	10	10	11	10

In 1940 there was one paper for every 46,418 residents. In 1960 this ratio was one per 46,163 residents. Researchers predict that the region's population in 1980 will be a minimum of 5,214,445. (12)

If the present paper-to-resident ratio were to hold, this would mean that there would be 112 papers in the area at that time, an increase between 1960 and 1980 of twenty-four.

However, Paul Averill, publisher of the weekly Birmingham Eccentric, predicted in 1964 that the population would increase out of proportion to the number of papers. (13) He believed that as the suburban press grew, there would be relatively few new publishers. He felt that most Detroit area publishers who would be quick to develop a new trade area when it was ripe.

Averill said that for the most part each new trade area would either get expanded coverage from an existing paper or that another organ would be started by an existing paper.

Table 4 shows that the greatest growth in the number of papers in Detroit since 1910 was between 1940 and 1950. Most of this was part of the postwar boom. Twenty-seven per cent of the region's papers were established between 1900 and 1910 or earlier.

Table 4.--Years of origin for newspapers in the Detroit area

Established	Number
1900's or earlier	25
1910 to 1920	10
1920 to 1930	3
1930 to 1940	16
1940 to 1950	18
1950 to 1960	13
1960 to 1964	3

Thirty-seven per cent have been established since 1940. Thirteen new papers were established in the 1950's, and three have been started since 1960. (14)

The suburban press includes both weeklies and dailies. The dailies, which compete more directly with the big downtown papers, are the Pontiac Press, the Royal Oak Tribune and the Mount Clemens Monitor Leader.

The evidence is strong that the suburban dailies pose the greatest threat to the metropolitan dailies in the Detroit region. Table 5 shows how the circulations of these small dailies grew between 1940 and 1960 while the combined circulation of the big dailies was just lumbering along. Furthermore, Table 6 indicates that this trend has continued since 1960 and that the circulation of the Detroit Free Press and News is declining.

It must be recalled that the combined circulation of the metropolitan papers reflects a merger that occurred November 7, 1960, when the News absorbed the Times. This reduced the total circulation of the bigger papers. Effects of the 131-day strike against the News and the Free Press in 1964 were not yet clear, pending circulation reports in March, 1965.

It should be noted also that the circulation figures for the News and Free Press refer only to the daily editions, not the Sunday papers.

Table 5.--Comparative circulation for metropolitan dailies and suburban dailies in Detroit area between 1940 and 1960

Newspaper	1940	1950	1960	Per Cent Gain Since 1940	Per Cent Gain Since 1950
Downtown Dailies	913,718	1,300,957	1,353,360	48	4
Royal Oak Tribune	10,133	20,595	44,421	338	~~67~~ 115
Pontiac Press	31,345	45,672	59,151	88	29
Mt. Clemens Monitor Leader	7,311	9,971	12,564	71	~~34~~ 26

Table 6.--Comparative circulation for metropolitan dailies and suburban dailies in Detroit area since 1960

Newspaper	1960	1964	Per Cent Gain or Loss
Downtown Dailies	1,353,360	1,214,194	- 7
Tribune	44,421	50,216	13
Press	59,151	63,035	6
Monitor Leader	12,564	14,572	15

The Pontiac and Royal Oak dailies publish six days a week, while the Mount Clemens paper publishes five days a week.

A graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, James Force, made an illuminating study of suburban daily circulation growth for the years between 1946 and 1961. (15)

He found that in all but two of fifteen standard metropolitan areas, the suburban dailies increased their circulation by 38 per cent or more.

In Detroit, his study showed, the suburban dailies boosted their circulation 110.9 per cent while the downtown dailies showed a circulation gain of only 4.1 per cent.

Mr. Force's study showed a net gain of eleven in the number of suburban dailies. In Boston three dailies went out of business in the time covered by the study. Overall, thirteen were lost from suspensions or mergers. But

twenty-four new dailies began publication across the nation.

The study showed that New York and Los Angeles had the largest number of small dailies with twenty-nine in each. Suburban New York's dailies serve a circulation of 1,516,352, while those in Los Angeles serve 706,239.

Outside New York and Los Angeles, the largest total of suburban dailies was in the San Francisco-Oakland region, seventeen.

Overall, Mr. Force found, the suburban dailies in fifteen years raised their circulation by 86.6 per cent while the big papers were losing 2.6 per cent of their circulation. Six of the dailies in his fifteen cities lost circulation since 1946.

A market survey published by the Detroit News suggests that metropolitan papers suffer less from the impact of suburban weeklies than from the suburban dailies. (16)

The News' Sixth Quinquennial Survey of the Detroit Market, published in 1962, shows that in ten larger communities outside Detroit, the News circulation was the least impressive in Royal Oak and Pontiac, which have their own dailies. No figures were given for Mount Clemens. The market figures are given in Table 7.

The News could be expected to take a greater battering from the small dailies than the Free Press, since the small dailies publish in the afternoon and the Free Press is the morning paper. This may account for the Free Press's

Table 7.--Per cent of population covered by circulation in suburban areas by News and Free Press

City	Per Cent of Circulation			
	Daily		Sunday	
	News	Free Press	News	Free Press
Birmingham	63	49	68	53
Grosse Pointes	81	43	81	41
Dearborn	80	36	84	34
Lincoln Park	62	39	68	44
Livonia	72	32	78	34
Royal Oak	53	37	73	41
Pontiac	11	24	26	48
St. Clair Shores	89	21	96	28
Roseville	68	27	81	33
Warren	77	20	84	24

relatively better showing in Pontiac.

Birmingham is farther from downtown than Royal Oak and has no daily paper. But the downtown papers do better in Birmingham than in Royal Oak, which has its own daily. However, the Royal Oak figures indicate no advantage for the Free Press, even though it has no morning competitor there.

Product is Similar

The small daily offers its readers a product somewhat patterned after its big competitors. It presents a blend

of world, national, state and local news--supplemented by features such as comics, the crossword puzzle and the columnists.

The big papers offer more of this. Usually they offer it in a more sophisticated manner--with better editing and more depth. And the large papers present their product with the prestige they often have nationally, lending a bit of snob appeal to the reader.

In local coverage, Watson Brown, general advertising manager and vice-president of the Royal Oak Daily Tribune, believes the suburban daily has no competition. (17)

He said that the News and Free Press did not staff the city's council meetings regularly. And he noted that local advertisers preferred the Tribune because they did not have to pay for waste circulation. Their ads reached readers who could be expected to shop in their stores, he said.

The Tribune gives its readers a front page wrap-up of world and national news, neatly capsuled in the two left hand columns of page one. Other wire news is sprinkled through the paper as space permits. But the main emphasis is on local coverage. The outsiders can't touch the Tribune there.

Another circulation drive is being waged in bustling Warren. The Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission calls Warren the state's fastest growing city. (18)

Warren led the state in home construction permits issued in 1963.

The Tribune has to compete with the Mount Clemens and Pontiac dailies in Warren, and now a new daily edition published in Mount Clemens. And as Table 7 showed, the News is very strong in Warren.

Birmingham is a battleground between the Tribune and the Pontiac Press, since it lies between Royal Oak and Pontiac. The News and Free Press are fairly strong here. And Birmingham has the prestige weekly, the Eccentric, to compete with, too.

Brown said the Tribune looked to a future of coexistence with the big dailies. He said the advertising rate in the Tribune was about $2 an inch compared with $15 an inch in the larger papers. Even with zoned editions, which we will discuss later, the larger papers only bring their ad rate down to about $4 an inch, Brown added. Brown admitted that zoned editions were a worry for the Tribune.

The Tribune was established as a daily after World War I. It traces its origin as a weekly to 1902. Today it is a symbol of the daily that has blossomed to prosperity on the wave of suburbanization.

Comeback for the Weeklies

The executive editor of the fourteen-paper Paddock chain of weeklies around Chicago, Charles E. Hayes, said

there were 2,000 suburban weeklies in the United States in 1962 and that the potential for growth in the suburban field was staggering. (19)

The Suburban Press Foundation noted that between 1950 and 1960 the suburban papers grew by 113 per cent while the nation's population increased only 60 per cent. The number of editorial workers on these papers more than doubled in this decade, and the papers also doubled their income.

Kenneth Byerly of the journalism faculty at the University of North Carolina has found that a long decline in the number of weekly newspapers has finally halted and that the reason for the halt is the rise of suburban papers. (20)

Byerly said there were 16,850 weeklies in 1910 but that by 1960 this number had shrunk to 9,343. He attributed this to the population shift from the farm areas to the larger cities.

Now the weekly press is taking root among the suburbanites. The people who left the villages of their youth are finding an old friend serving them again--the weekly. But it isn't entirely the same creature.

A former weekly publisher and a member of the faculty at Michigan State University, William Haight, in 1958 conducted a survey to determine the differences between the old rural weeklies and the new suburban weeklies. (21)

One of his conclusions was that "multiple ownership or chain operation of weeklies has become the dominant pattern in the suburban towns while the norm for country newspapers is individual ownership."

The chain tendency in Detroit is exemplified by four enterprises--the Mellus newspapers of Lincoln Park, which includes four papers; the Detroit Suburban Newspapers, six papers; the East Side Newspapers, which prints five editions for different areas; and Northwest Publications, which includes six papers.

Haight also found that "the use of associated free circulation advertising media, of carrier delivery and newsstand sales atypical to the traditional weekly newspaper industry as a whole appears to be a frequent, though deviant, practice among the suburban papers much more than among rural papers."

Those community papers that are distributed free to every home constitute "controlled circulation." The advertiser is lured by this 100 per cent distribution. (Nineteen weeklies in the Detroit area are delivered free either fully or partially. Six use free delivery entirely.)

Such throwaways have been so successful in Detroit that occasionally legal action has been taken against them. Lincoln Park has passed an ordinance forbidding "littering." The publisher's alternative is to send the papers through the mail.

Award Winning Weekly

One of the proudest weeklies on the periphery of Detroit is the Birmingham Eccentric. This paper, which has won numerous awards, has ridden the crest of the move to the suburbs. Table 8 shows its impressive growth.

Table 8.--Comparison of Birmingham's population growth with the increase in circulation of the Eccentric

	1940	1950	1960	Per Cent
Population	11,196	15,476	25,525	120
Eccentric	3,350	4,772	12,220	261

The Eccentric's background as an old time rural weekly is indicated by the fact that it operates an extensive printing business, quartered in the same modern brick building.

The paper's owners are Paul N. Averill, whose brother George purchased the Eccentric in 1920, and Henry M. Hogan Jr. Paul Averill, the publisher, explained the philosophy that he felt had brought the firm's success. (22)

He said people who moved into Birmingham represented two basic types. The first wave of immigrants were from out-of-town places like Scarsdale, New York--who were used to suburban living. The stress on neighborhood activities such as the Parent-Teacher Association, garden clubs and

the like was not new to them.

The new immigrants are from Detroit and came, Averill said, with a background of frustration. He felt that this frustration was based on an unresponsiveness in city government. These people, he said, felt ignored in the welter of big city politics.

The Eccentric has alleviated this frustration by giving the community unity and a sense of participation, Averill said.

The Eccentric takes great pains to keep in touch with its readers' tastes and needs, and the product reflects this. The emphasis is on what sociologists say are the chief interests of suburbanites: Schools, churches, cultural activities and the city council.

Over and above this, the paper is a masterpiece of reader convenience, well indexed and well laid out. It reflects a greater effort to please the reader than many metropolitan papers.

Averill showed no fear of competition from the dailies, either from Detroit or neighboring Pontiac and Royal Oak. Like Brown, he foresaw a future of coexistence. As far as the Detroit dailies are concerned, Averill said: "They are more worried than we are."

The readers know, Averill said, that they have to depend on the Eccentric for their community news. The big dailies don't staff many events in Birmingham. Only a

murder, a big fire, or the like, would stand up against the daily grist of metropolitan news.

And even if the larger papers covered a particularly hot session of the Birmingham council, the reader would realize that it was not a sustained effort to serve the community.

Averill was asked whether he had considered going daily. He indicated that he had given this question some thought but noted that a new daily loses money for several years after it is started. He said the Eccentric, if it decided to leave the weekly field, would be more likely to go into twice a week publication and then daily if conditions warranted.

CHAPTER III

THE BIG DAILIES' STRUGGLE

Fierce Competition

The printing craft unions in Detroit complain when the News and Free Press--the city's two metropolitan papers--join forces to negotiate new contracts.

But such cooperation does not mean that the News and Free Press are fast friends. They compete fiercely in covering the news. They fight vigorously for advertising and circulation. But in suburbia they have a common enemy--the community press.

The metropolitan dailies had a three-way fight going before November 7, 1960, when the News absorbed the Times. The News made off with most of the Times's circulation and surged ahead of the Free Press.

The Free Press is the older of the two big dailies, tracing its origin to May 5, 1831. It went through a series of ownerships, political battles and fires before John S. Knight acquired it in 1940.

In 1946 the Free Press was the leader in daily circulation among Detroit's three downtown dailies. It fought a seesaw battle with the News until just before the merger

in 1960 it held the lead with 496,912 readers. The News had 468,540, and the Times trailed with 385,998.

After the merger the News filed an interim circulation report that showed it to be the largest evening paper in the country with a daily circulation of 737,415. (23) This represented a net gain of 285,893 in week day circulation. Its new Sunday circulation was 633,339. As Table 9 shows, the News and Free Press have lost circulation since the merger.

Table 9.--News and Free Press circulation since the News merger with the Times

Year	Daily		Sunday	
	News	Free Press	News	Free Press
1962	723,578	550,000	914,523	600,014
1963	710,775	509,256	913,648	557,573
1964	701,935	513,259	926,200	567,017

Looking at the daily press on a national scale, Professor Mott found that between 1950 and 1960 the dailies gained five million in circulation for a total of 59,000,000. (24)

This was less than half the gain in the 1940's and trailed the percentage increase in population. But there is an important qualification.

Mott commented: "Such a comparison [with population gain] is misleading, however, in view of the fact that the population growth was augmented by a sharp and sustained increase in the number of births." To put it another way, babies don't read.

Mott went on: "It is more valid to compare the increase of adult population with that of daily circulation, and such a study shows the latter maintaining a slight advantage in gains."

Professor Wilbur Peterson, writing in Journalism Quarterly, reported on a study he made on whether daily newspaper circulation was keeping up with the nation's growth. (25)

He compared the population-circulation ratio of the 1921 to 1929 period with the years between 1939 and 1957. In the former period, circulation went up 33.6 per cent while the population grew only 12.4 per cent. Peterson said 1929 marked the end of big circulation gains by the metropolitan press.

He found that between 1929 and 1957 the circulation did not keep pace with the total number of readers but did keep pace with the population twenty years and older.

Peterson studied the question also on the basis of households. Between 1930 and 1940, he found, households increased 16.9 per cent while circulation of the daily press rose only 0.6 per cent.

Between 1940 and 1950, he learned, the number of households increased 22.6 per cent as circulation grew by 33.2 per cent.

However, the period 1950 to 1957 showed circulation falling behind again, 17.4 per cent for households and 9.4 for circulation. Table 10 shows his findings.

Table 10.--Ratio of households to daily newspaper subscribers

Year	Newspapers per Household
1930	1.32
1940	1.17
1950	1.25
1957	1.16

Peterson also found that an increase in personal income nationally did not necessarily increase the purchase of newspapers, although a decline in income does coincide with a fall in circulation.

Peterson's conclusion was that circulation did not rise in proportion to the population. He added that the decline in the number of papers per household since 1950 indicates "that there may be a competing medium" at work or that there may be less vigorous selling. One competing medium is the community press.

We have already noted that the Detroit metropolitan dailies gained 48 per cent in circulation between 1940 and 1960. Table 11 shows that the News and Free Press--like the rest of the daily press--tapered off after big circulation gains in the forties.

Table 11.--Daily circulation of the News and Free Press between 1940 and 1960

Paper	1940	1950	Per Cent Gain	1960	Per Cent Gain	Total Gain
News	322,284	442,977	37	468,540	6	45
Free Press	296,329	436,408	47	498,912	15	68

The important thing to this study, however, is that the gains that the News and Free Press have made in circulation have been largely in the suburbs. Figure 1 shows how these two dailies have offset declines in city circulation with gains in the suburbs.

The suburban gains in the last two years have seemed to have been leveling off. This could be a danger sign for circulation as a whole.

The Grass Roots Reporter

What can a metropolitan paper do to expand its circulation in the suburbs--or at least hold what it has?

One answer is to expand coverage of local news.

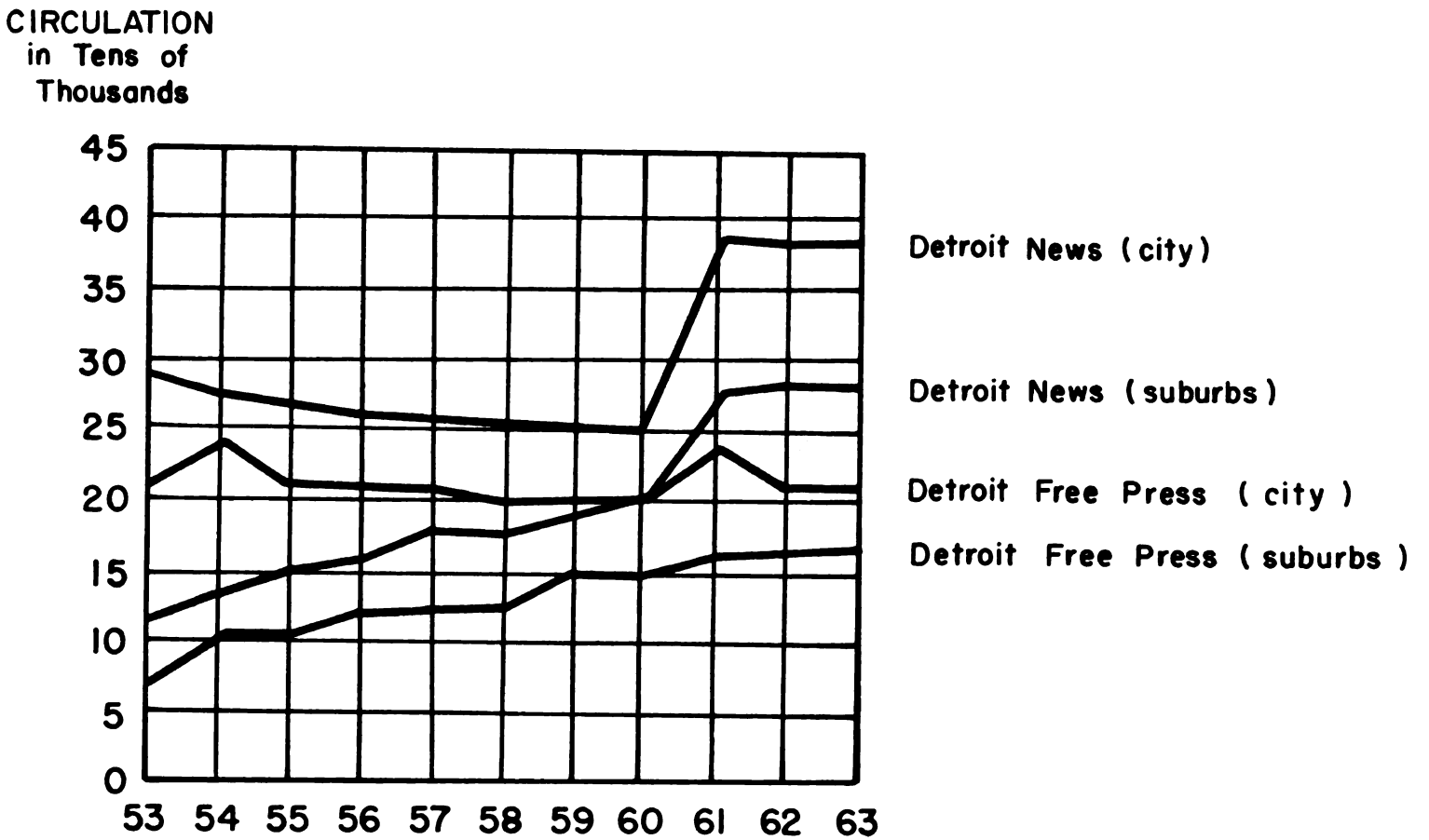

Fig. 1. -- Comparison of circulation figures for the Detroit News and Free Press from 1953 to 1963.

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation

Early efforts to do this in Detroit were reflected in various "suburban pages." In the News one of these ran on Saturdays. It was a roundup of informal doings in the suburbs--stories that might not be run in the normal course of affairs but which were printed with the express purpose of appealing to the suburbs.

Expanding coverage in the suburbs implies expanding the news staff in the fringe areas. So the term "suburban reporter" has come into being. Such a reporter spends full time in a specific suburban area, developing news contacts, running down leads for feature stories and covering a council meeting here and there.

Perhaps a typical suburban reporter is Doug Glazier of the News. (26) He is one of four suburban reporters employed by the News. He lives in St. Clair Shores. Like a salesman, he has a territory--in this case consisting of the St. Clair Shores area, the Grosse Pointes, Warren, Hamtramck and Harper Woods.

The News has another reporter assigned to a region that includes southern Oakland County and a part of north Wayne County, including Livonia. A third reporter is centered in Pontiac and northern Oakland County. The fourth covers the down river area and lives in Allen Park.

Glazier joined the suburban staff eleven years ago. At that time the suburban staff consisted of only one reporter. Eight years ago a third was assigned, and the fourth

was added five years ago, an indication of the growing recognition of suburbia's importance.

Glazier covers no meetings on a regular basis. If he knows a lively issue is coming up for discussion, he will often attend. If not, he will check on the meeting later by telephone. This is where the contacts help out.

In the spacious suburbs, the telephone is indeed a friend of the reporter. Even police and fire news can be covered in this way. Periodic checks of key points can be made quickly. Glazier phones most of his stories to the News. Two days a week he comes into the office to write.

Reporters like Glazier no doubt have done much to keep the metropolitan papers in the battle for suburban circulation. But publishers generally appear to have felt that merely assigning a few added reporters to the suburbs is not the answer.

The use of bureaus by newspapers has long been an established practice. All the larger papers in Michigan, for example, are represented in Lansing, the state capital. Some have bureaus in Washington.

Larger papers have used the same device in trying to improve their suburban coverage. The Times once had a bureau in Pontiac. It even went to the extent of replating one edition to appeal specifically to readers in the Pontiac area. But this, too, fell by the wayside.

Zoning: Hitting Where It Hurts

Professor Morris Janowitz, in a study of the community press, concluded that only a population center of over a million provided an effective environment for the community press. (27) So it is natural that cities bigger than Detroit pioneered in meeting the challenge of the suburbs--since these cities reached the million mark long before Detroit.

The most dramatic answer to suburbanization has been zoned editions. The pioneer in this field has been the Chicago Daily Tribune, which began zoning February 6, 1927. (28)

In zoning, the metropolitan region is divided into sections. Certain pages of the paper are printed for distribution only to specific sections, with advertising and news designed for those areas.

The Tribune started with Sunday zoned editions. It added Thursday editions February 24, 1949. Its zoning operation now covers seventy-five neighborhoods in the city and 200 suburban communities within forty miles of the Loop. The Tribune's sections range from twelve to sixteen pages. A staff of thirty-five produces them. The sections are called "neighborhood news."

The Tribune staff produces from sixty to eighty columns of editorial matter for the Thursday editions and

from 150 to 180 columns for Sunday. The editions go to three sections of the city area on Sunday and to five on Thursday.

In addition to serving the paper's readers, the operation serves as a training ground for young newspaper personnel.

Detroit Gets Zoning

The Free Press took the initiative in zoned editions in Detroit, starting in August, 1959. The News and Times quickly followed suit.

Derick Daniels, assistant managing editor of the Free Press, explained the operation. (29) The editions are distributed to three zones--cut like pieces of pie out of metropolitan Detroit. They include the southwest, northwest and east sections. The zones each cut through downtown, there being no specific section for downtown.

The Free Press has three suburban writers, but the zoning operation usually involves the services of twelve reporters. Some are assigned from the downtown office on an intermittent basis.

An assistant city editor coordinates material for the Free Press suburban editions. There is considerable flexibility here. Sports and women's news may be added to the general news on the zoned pages, which usually total from two to ten pages two days a week, Monday and Thursday.

Daniels discussed the Free Press zone operation in an address to the National Suburban Press Foundation, January 1, 1962, in Chicago. He called the zoned sections the metropolitan papers' "less friendly weapons" in the competition with suburban papers. He explained that the Free Press sections ran three times a week (at that time) and that the ad rate had been made competitive with the suburban papers. The zoned editions "have been profitable" for the Free Press, Daniels said.

The News started its zoned editions March 2, 1960. (30) Thus began a duel with the Free Press in which the Free Press gradually was overtaken and surpassed by the News in zoned advertising linage. Table 12 shows how the News overtook the Free Press in zone linage in mid-1961, then soared ahead. In 1963, the News ran 3,400,091 lines of zoned advertising while the Free Press ran 2,149,779 lines. This represented a gain for both papers over 1962.

Table 12.--Zoned editions linage for the News and Free Press

Year	Free Press	News
1959	643,289	--
1960	2,903,562	1,069,817
1961	2,118,869	1,832,574
1962	1,818,699	2,221,806
1963	2,149,779	3,400,091

The News zoned editions also are published twice a week--on Sunday and Wednesday. The metropolitan area is divided into seven zones for Wednesday and four for Sunday. The Sunday zone operation includes a state edition, but this circulates outside the retail trade area and, therefore, is not a part of this study.

Written matter for the News zoned sections comes from the editorial and women's departments. Aubrey Banks is chief of the zone desk for the News. He is assisted by Norman Howard. Both are seasoned copy editors.

The News zone editions usually run twelve pages on Wednesday and five on Sunday. The women's zoned pages total about fifteen on Wednesday and eight on Sunday. (31)

Banks estimated that his desk processes about twenty-three columns of copy for the Wednesday editions and twenty-two for Sunday. Women's handles thirty-nine for Wednesday and thirty for Sunday, as an average.

The women's zoned material consists mainly of bridal pictures and stories, a great deal of which is not solicited. This is supplemented by features of general interest to women and a few stories covered by the staff that will appeal to a specific geographical area.

For Banks's news, each zone has a correspondent, not a regular staff member. The material is sent in and edited on the zone desk and set in type. Pictures come in from staff photographers, or they may be taken by amateurs.

Another source of zone news is material that comes over the city desk and fails to measure up for the regular news sections. City Editor Ray Williams or his assistants send it to Banks.

Material also comes from the News's four full time suburban reporters. They have a special liking for the zoned operation because it permits them to expand on projects of special interest in their areas--stories that would be trimmed drastically or dropped into the wastebasket if they had to compete against news for the full circulation editions.

A cub reporter monitors the suburban press and uses stories from it as leads for additional stories for the News zoned sections.

For the Detroit Times, suburban zoning was short-lived. (32) It began in February, 1960, in a form different from that used by the Free Press.

The Free Press zoned pages are part of the regular paper, as are the News sections. The Times started with a tabloid for each of three zones but dropped the tabloid in October, 1960, and adopted its competitors' system. The Times sold out to the News in November, 1960.

Robert Gurvin, now a copy editor on the News financial desk, was zone editor of the Times. Assisting him was one of the assistant city editors, who funneled to the zone desk news that could not be used in the regular paper because

of insufficient space.

Zoning news also came from a staff of one reporter, three regular suburban reporters and a few stringers, who wrote on a part-time basis.

The Times tabloid started with a circulation of 40,000 but had dropped to 32,000 when it was discontinued.

About ten advertising salesmen sought revenue for the Times section. The advertiser paid one-third of what it would have cost him for his full circulation ad.

A Qualified Success

The Detroit dailies' zoned editions, in addition to bringing in more advertising revenue, seem to have been well received.

W. F. Crissman, advertising director of the Kresge store chain, provided testimony on this point:

"The new zoned circulation sections that some papers have initiated are an excellent first step. Now you might think that if a company like ours had five, ten, twenty, or even forty stores around a city, the problem would be solved by running one advertising program for all stores. (33)

"Naturally we generally do this, but more and more we are supplementing the all store city program with individual stores' advertising in whatever local media are available.

"All our stores are not of the same type. They don't

all carry exactly the same merchandise. The demands of one neighborhood are not the same as those of another.

"Even with sixty-five stores in the Detroit area and a strong all store advertising program that utilizes the entire circulation, we have found it advantageous on several occasions to use the zoned sections of both the Free Press and the Detroit News."

Some doubts have been voiced as to zoning's success, however. An editor who addressed the Suburban Press Foundation in Chicago February 27, 1964, cast doubt on the economic self-sufficiency of the zoned sections. (34)

Edward Lindsay, editor and director of Lindsay-Schaub Newspapers, Incorporated, said:

"Regional editions mean economic problems to the metropolitan dailies. The regionalized editions must be limited in number and therefore must cover groups of communities rather than single communities.

"This means that their regional editions are likely to offer more circulation over a wider geographical area than the suburban papers. Yet, to compete, they tend to price the advertising for the regional at or below the line or inch rates of the suburbans."

Table 13 indicates that the Free Press offers the advertiser a better rate in its northwest zone than competing suburban publications--from the standpoint of service to the whole zone. It should be remembered, however, that an

Table 13.--Circulation and retail advertising rates for suburban daily and weekly papers compared with rates for northwest zone section of Free Press

Newspaper	Circulation	Open Retail Rate	Cost of 40 Inch Ad	Cost Per 1,000 Circulation
Free Press (contract)	164,000	$4.97	$198.80	$1.21
Pontiac Press	59,529	3.50	140.00	2.35
Royal Oak Tribune	42,668	2.66	106.40	2.49
Birmingham Eccentric	12,489	1.98	79.20	6.34
Ferndale Gazette-Times	3,395	1.68	67.20	19.79
Plymouth Mail	6,050	1.40	56.00	9.26

Source: Free Press Promotion Department

advertiser may not care to pay for reaching the whole zone.

Lindsay contended that "in some cases, perhaps a good many of them," the regional editions produced income at or below the cost of producing them.

He claimed that where intense competition existed between metropolitan newspapers, regional editions were accepted as part of the cost of getting ahead and keeping ahead of the immediate competitors.

Lindsay added that "the long term trend is for metropolitans to become fewer in number and to eliminate competitive practices that are economically unsound."

There is no indication that the Detroit zoned editions are operating in the red. The Chicago Tribune's long use of zoning would scarcely confirm Lindsay's assertions. And, of course, Lindsay represents the thinking of the smaller dailies.

But the zoned editions have not exactly set off a panic among Detroit suburban publishers.

Watson Brown, general advertising manager and vice-president of the Royal Oak Daily Tribune, admitted some concern but still saw them falling short of meeting the small advertiser's needs. Averill showed little concern over them. Neither did the publisher of the Dearborn Guide, William A. Ross. (35)

Janowitz, in his study of the Chicago suburban press, said the Tribune zoned editions "do not seem to have seriously hindered growth of community newspapers." (36) He

found that the Tribune zoned sections affected the smallest papers least, since their advertising accounts came mostly from smaller stores.

Janowitz said the Tribune's zoning was based on geographical zones that were too broad. The Detroit News, in setting up its zoning program, seems to have taken this into account. It feels that its smaller zones, in comparison with those of the Free Press, give it greater advertising appeal, since a lower rate can be charged. Costs for this, of course, would tend to increase because of the added mechanical and circulation expense.

One obstacle faced by zoned editions, at least editorially, is that the operation tends to be treated like a stepchild around the newsroom.

Daniels indicated recognition of this when he said the Free Press refused to downgrade suburban news. He said the "most promising" reporters were assigned to the suburbs. He recognized that personnel of a large daily are inclined to look with some disdain at the suburban press, at least for the grass roots type of neighborhood news that it covers.

It naturally is less appealing to many reporters and editors to deal with the township trustee meeting than the Detroit mayor's latest feud with council or the visit of a nationally known celebrity.

This can be countered by the influence of an editor like Daniels, who recognizes that the metropolitan daily's

future may be at stake in the suburbs. But even with top management support, it may be difficult to sell the staff on the prestige of suburban coverage.

Lee Hills, executive editor of the Knight Newspapers, comments:

"We refuse to assign old timers to semi-retirement in the suburbs. Or to use it as a training ground for raw cubs. We've picked our most promising reporters--men with writing ability and peculiar sympathy for people and the things people think about." (37)

W. Cameron Meyers, a professor of journalism at Michigan State University, said few journalism graduates want to start their careers on a suburban paper. (39) The lure of the big publications is considerably greater.

Selling zoned advertising, at least at the outset, can be a delicate matter. (39) A News advertising executive hinted at this. He said there was a danger that the zoned advertising could be oversold at the expense of regular accounts when approaching a customer who already was using the News columns.

The aim, he pointed out, was to sell the zoned advertising in addition to the advertising already being carried.

The advertiser could decide to cut down on his full circulation advertising in favor of the zoned. This "going hog wild" over the regional approach might be an economy

for the merchant, but it could be injurious to the paper.

There is no indication that suburban zoning will be discontinued in Detroit, even though for the Free Press there has been a loss of linage. In view of Daniels's statement that the metropolitan dailies must compete in the suburbs, there is little proclivity to quit from that quarter, at least.

Instead there is every sign that as the suburban press expands, the big dailies will grow more anxious about keeping whatever hold they have on suburbia. And zoning is one of their major weapons.

Zoning: A National Trend

Zoned editions in newspapers across the nation have been increasing at a fast clip.

A questionnaire survey taken by the author of this thesis in the fall of 1964 showed that thirty-one metropolitan dailies publish zoned sections. The survey covered thirty-five dailies, selected because they were listed in Editor & Publisher records as using split run advertising. This was on the theory that split run advertising, while not necessarily meaning that zoning was used, was at least an indicator.

Table 14 shows the sharp growth of zoned sections in the 1950's and 1960's. Of the thirty-one papers now using zoning, only four published such sections prior to

1950. The number tripled during the 1950's and has risen 72 per cent so far in the 1960's.

Table 14.--The growth of papers using zoned sections

Period	Number of Papers that Started Zoning
Before 1930	1
In the 30's	2
In the 40's	1
In the 50's	14
In the 60's	13

Source: Author's personal survey

Pioneers besides the Chicago Tribune, which started zoning in 1927, were the San Bernardino, California, Sun-Telegram in 1935, the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot in 1939 and the Oakland [California] Tribune in 1949.

In the 1950's, the zoning ranks were joined by the Jersey Journal, 1951; Los Angeles Times, Miami Herald and New York Daily News, 1952; Houston Chronicle, 1953; Orlando [Florida] Star-Sentinel, 1954; Norfolk Ledger Star, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Hackensack, New Jersey, Record and New York World Telegram, all 1955; St. Paul [Minnesota] Dispatch, 1958; and the Detroit Free Press, the Dallas Times-Herald and Cleveland Press, 1959.

In the 1960's so far, these papers have added zoning: Houston Post and Detroit News, 1960; Denver Post, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Chicago Sun Times (advertising only) and Minneapolis Star, 1961; St. Petersburg Times, 1962; New York Herald-Tribune, Portland Oregonian, and Philadelphia Inquirer, 1963; and Memphis Press-Scimitar and Palm Beach [Florida] Post, 1964.

The size of staff for these operations ranges from one to sixty-seven, the Los Angeles Times having the largest. The larger staffs include Orlando Star-Sentinal, fifty; the Miami Herald, forty-nine; the Chicago Tribune, thirty-five; New York Daily News, thirty-two; and the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin with thirty staff members and forty correspondents.

The survey revealed that as many as seven zones were covered by the sections.

Spokesmen for six of the papers surveyed gave an unqualified "yes" to the question of whether they planned expansion of their zoning operations. Eight others indicated that expansion was likely, while seven said "no."

The question of how many staff members work on the zoned pages cannot always be answered precisely. One editor commented: "The entire editorial staff works on all of these editions."

The same editor noted: "There is no way of anticipating any change in zoned editions. If we were to go into

new circulation areas, they would be considered, I suppose. On the other hand, the zone system may be getting so complex for the mechanical department it might be better to consolidate them."

Another editor who said his paper did not publish zoned sections added: "This has been under consideration for many years, but mechanical and other complexities have discouraged adoption." He noted that his paper published a weekly in a neighborhood community and distributed it with the daily.

Another editor said: "We have gone in the other direction, assigning our local space to 'metro' coverage on the assumption--perhaps false--that it will have general interest throughout the area."

The Milwaukee Journal followed this theory in 1963, when it revised its edition system to give outlying counties more city news. It felt that as the suburbanites moved farther out, they retained a hunger for news from their old home areas.

CHAPTER IV

DYNAMIC COMPETITION

New Journalistic Creatures

The competition faced by the metropolitan dailies in Detroit is not of a static nature. This was evident when the Mount Clemens Monitor Leader on September 1, 1964, began publication of an edition called the Macomb Daily Monitor Progress, designed to serve the Warren area.

This paper supplanted the weekly Tri-City Progress, also owned by the Mount Clemens Monitor Leader. The Progress began publication in 1954. The new paper took over the circulation list of the weekly, which totaled 32,000.

Mark McKee, publisher of the Monitor Leader, said studies had indicated that the new daily might encounter circulation losses of up to 50 per cent but that even with such a loss the project would be considered a success. (40)

The new edition goes to press at 11 a.m. The Monitor Leader's press time is 2 p.m. Both publish five days a week.

Plans initially called for up to seven pages of the Progress to be made over for the Monitor Leader. The first day, for example, the front page, the jump page, the editorial page and four women's pages were made over.

The new paper is served by bureaus in East Detroit, Warren and Utica. These bureaus are manned by personnel from all departments. For liaison purposes, some personnel of the old weekly operation were transferred to the home office in Mount Clemens.

McKee said one factor that had raised some doubt about the project was whether the retail trade base in Warren was big enough to support the new paper. He said, however, that the general growth of the area led to the decision to start the new paper.

This new paper indicates the vitality and competitiveness that are part of the Detroit region's new frontier in the suburbs to the north.

The Mount Clemens paper also operates the weekly South Macomb News. This serves St. Clair Shores and East Detroit and has a circulation of 40,000. It has competition from the St. Clair Shores Community News, a free circulation weekly.

New editions like the Progress are not without their problems. For example, the author recalls an experiment undertaken by the Painesville, Ohio, Telegraph, a daily near Cleveland.

The Telegraph was losing circulation to a new daily which had started in Willoughby, some fifteen miles away. To counter this new paper, the News Herald, the Telegraph used a bureau it had maintained for years in Willoughby as

a base for a new edition--called the West Lake County edition of the Telegraph.

The operation severely taxed the production facilities of the Painesville office. The front page was made up to stress the west Lake County area, headlining such matters as council meetings and local politics in a manner to make it appear to be a home town newspaper for the Willoughby area.

A page or two inside had been regularly used for such west Lake County news, and this was continued but devoted mainly to social events. Ultimately the practice of making over page one was limited to the few occasions when some relatively spectacular news was phoned in from the Willoughby bureau. Finally the project, insofar as the page One edition was concerned, was scrapped.

The difficulties of the bureau were many. It appeared that no one in Willoughby was convinced that the new edition was really a home town paper. The News Herald had more people on its Willoughby staff. It had better contacts and consequently better coverage.

The Telegraph did fairly well in the outlying areas of Willoughby, but there seemed to be little impact on the city itself. Seemingly, the Painesville paper had a certain optimum orbit in which it could serve its readers effectively, and Willoughby was not within this orbit.

So the base had been laid for a completely new local

newspaper, and the News Herald had taken root. In retrospect, it appears that the only way the Telegraph could have handled the situation was to have set up a brand new paper in Willoughby before the News Herald started daily publication. (It started as a weekly.)

This is not to say that the Warren edition of the Mount Clemens paper will fail, because conditions are different. Especially different is the fact that there now is no daily serving Warren other than the new one on a more or less exclusive basis. Then, too--to repeat--Warren is the fastest growing area in Michigan.

Another innovation in the world of suburban newspapering has taken place in the northwestern corner of Indiana.

The leading daily in this heavily populated industrial section--earmarked by the smoke and prosperity of the great steel companies--is the Gary Post-Tribune. (41) The Post-Tribune, an afternoon paper, feeling that the time was ripe for an expansion, started a morning daily.

The paper, the Sentinel, began publication December 10, 1963. James E. Rasmusen, managing editor of the Gary Post-Tribune, publisher of the Sentinel, said the Sentinel was discontinued April 10, 1964, because expected advertising volume failed to materialize.

The Chicago Tribune, which already served the Gary-Hammond region as a morning paper, decided to commit itself

more heavily. On January 23, 1964, it established a special section of the Tribune, apart from its regular neighborhood news.

The section, serving three counties of northwestern Indiana and the Calumet (Illinois) area, is delivered with the Thursday Tribune. Its avowed aim is to give the area "more hard news."

The section originates in offices in Gary, thirty-five miles from the downtown Tribune building. The office is manned by editorial, advertising and business personnel.

The 35,000 regular subscribers of the Tribune get the new section. Another 35,000 copies are delivered free on a controlled circulation basis. Advertisers get a special rate. The first issue contained sixteen pages.

The new section stresses depth reporting, done in the Tribune metropolitan manner. The copy is relayed to the downtown offices by telephone transcription equipment.

So suburbia is resulting in the creation of a variety of new journalistic creatures. It is a time for innovation. And the metropolitan papers that cling to tradition--and perhaps vain hopes--may be left behind.

Forebodings for Big Dailies

A dark future for metropolitan dailies was forecast in Business Week magazine May 24, 1961. The director of Triangle Publications in Philadelphia, Walter H. Annenberg, was quoted as saying:

"Only a few great newspapers will survive, chiefly as chroniclers to supplement radio and television." (42)

The move from the cities to the suburbs was blamed for the plight of the metropolitan papers. The comeback of radio and the growth of regional editions among magazines was noted.

Radio advertising volume, it was pointed out, leaped from $273,000,000 to $700,000,000 between 1950 and 1960.

Business Week said local advertisers had spent $800,000,000 for television time in 1960.

What could the metropolitan papers do to meet this great challenge? The article suggested these possible answers: Print more color; woo the national advertiser more adroitly; establish stronger ties with suburbia and promote faster technological improvement.

The question of appealing to the national advertiser seems to have caused a split in the thinking of some metropolitan papers' executives. For if the major effort is to be in this direction, the drive for advertising in the suburbs will be subordinated. Which should have priority?

The Free Press announced in August, 1964, that it would for the first time offer discounts to national advertisers.

The Business Week article had pointed out:

"The main source of revenue to make up for local advertising lost to other media is national advertising,

so recently scorned by newspapers."

The papers do not offer discounts to national advertisers, the article said, while local advertisers are given discounts ranging from 50 to 60 per cent. The Free Press, it appears, is about to try a new answer to its problems.

Business Week went on to cite the limitations of zoned editions. It said they "cost the papers dearly."

Otis Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, was asked how the Times was faring in its fight for suburban circulation. (43)

"We don't have the answer to the suburbs," he replied, "but generally we are gaining ground." In its fight against twenty-eight dailies in the Los Angeles region, Chandler said, zoned editions were a key weapon.

He added, however: "It is barely profitable to us, but I think it is a circulation holder. I don't believe it is a circulation getter."

J. H. Butler, executive vice-president of the Houston Chronicle, said that paper's zoning operation was "almost in the black." (44) He said: "We are getting ads we ordinarily wouldn't get and get protests if the tabloid [zoned section] is left out."

Martin Hayden, editor of the Detroit News, saw a morale problem in suburban coverage. (45) He noted that a large staff was needed for adequate coverage. But this staff, he said, must find its job satisfaction in the grass

roots level of reporting. There are no glamorous jobs to go to on the suburban level.

The reporters in the downtown newsroom can hope for assignment to important beats and to specialties.

Hayden agrees that the metropolitan papers' future lies in the suburbs. It's a question of how to serve these burgeoning areas.

He feels that the well rounded metropolitan paper, such as the News, has a natural appeal to those who want large quantities of information about world, national and regional events.

But here, too, there is competition. He told of a survey the News made in Ann Arbor, site of the University of Michigan, where there is a known concentration of cosmopolitan readers, particularly among faculty and students.

The survey showed that a large proportion of these people bought the local paper, the Ann Arbor News, a daily, for local news and the New York Times, with its vast coverage, to satisfy their appetite for world and national news.

Ann Arbor is forty miles from Detroit and naturally would not be considered a suburb on a par with Birmingham or Royal Oak. But still it seems that the Detroit News could hope to have a powerful appeal in its offering of state, national and world coverage instead of being out-flanked by a paper published on the East Coast.

The Detroit News here finds itself in a pincers--the

Ann Arbor paper preempting the local field and the New York Times supplying the big picture. Where does the Detroit metropolitan paper fit in?

Statewide news might be a partial answer. The New York Times can't fill this need. And the Ann Arbor News isn't likely to do it on the scale that the Detroit News and Free Press can.

Or have papers like the Detroit News reached their optimum development and must they be satisfied to see their circulation slowly erode? Will such erosion necessitate a cutback in the service offered by these giants? Only the future can tell.

Both Hayden and Daniels said the numerous newspaper strikes in Detroit had been a severe handicap to operations in the suburbs. Hayden said the News lost 18,000 readers after a strike in 1962. But a price increase after the strike made it difficult to determine whether the strike or the price boost had been the chief cause of the circulation loss.

Daniels ruefully noted that in each strike a certain number of readers found that it could get along without the metropolitan paper.

On the other hand, things are not all rosy for the suburban publisher either. Ben Reddick, a publisher at Newport Beach, in the Los Angeles region, said the newcomer brings his metropolitan paper with him when he moves to the

suburbs and does not read local papers. (46) Furthermore, he said, the larger papers and other media steal away the editorial talent from the community press.

Professor John Cameron Sims, of the journalism faculty at the University of Minnesota, notes: "The conviction that there should be a marked differential between pay in the big city and a small town is being weakened rapidly. Living costs do not differ markedly except in some forms of housing and foods." (47)

He said the small papers were reluctant to raise advertising rates enough to enable them to attract top talent. But the weeklies, he added, could not afford not to get the best personnel.

On the other hand, he noted, a weekly could overcome its weakness in pay scale by offering a key editor part of the ownership in the operation--something a metropolitan publisher seldom does.

Technological improvements in newspaper production could make it easier for the individual newsman to become a publisher. Offset printing is one of these improvements. William B. Brown, president of Photonews Incorporated, of Bethpage, Long Island, New York, said offset can cut the costs of production in half for a newspaper with less than 20,000 circulation, both in original investment and in cost of operation. (49)

Overall, however, the community press has something going for it that can mean the difference between defeat and victory in many fields, be it business or war: The high morale provided by circulation figures that show persistent increases instead of alarming decreases.

CHAPTER V

THE SUBURBAN SOCIETY

What They Read on the Periphery of the City

Sociologists, psychologists and political scientists have had a field day putting the suburbanite under their microscopes.

He has been portrayed as a snob. His domain has been denounced as a child centered, matriarchal and phony world and has been praised as the center of a renaissance of grass roots democracy.

Whatever the suburbanite is, the newspaper cannot ignore him. For he's here to stay. And the newspaper must appeal to his tastes and needs if it is to survive.

One mistake often made is the tendency to classify all suburbanites alike. Sociologist William Dobriner explains that there are consumer based suburbs and production based suburbs. (49)

In a more popular vernacular, there are bedroom suburbs, where the father makes his living downtown or perhaps in a neighboring suburb, and the working class suburb, where the father may work a short distance from home.

Birmingham, for example, is a bedroom suburb. Thirty-seven per cent of the workers there commute to Detroit to their jobs. The average income is $11,800. Fifteen per cent of the residents earn $15,000 or more a year.

In Lincoln Park, on the other hand, the average income is $7,000. Only 1.5 per cent earn $15,000 a year or better.

Nonetheless, certain common suburban characteristics are evident. There is more of a tendency toward home ownership in the suburbs than in the central city. When one owns a home, there is an inevitable interest in property taxes. The owner wants to know why the school board or city council must seek increased taxes.

One of the common reasons for moving to the suburbs, sociologists find, is to provide a better environment for children. Therefore, there is a great interest in schools and in child recreation.

Political scientist Robert Wood notes that suburbia is a hotbed of participation. (50) Suburbanites tend to be joiners. Therefore, there is an interest in club activities.

How is this reflected in reader tastes?

Birmingham publisher Paul Averill had a survey conducted to determine reader reaction to the Eccentric. Among the findings:

--80 per cent thought that the Eccentric was a "good community newspaper."

--70 per cent believed that the paper promoted community progress.

--20 per cent thought that the Eccentric sometimes slanted the news.

When it came to what they liked or disliked about the content of the Eccentric, 30 per cent felt that too much space was devoted to social news. But the report states:

"Social news is not the culprit, however. Many people like it. It is frankly a key element in the paper. . . . There probably is not as much social news in the Eccentric as dissatisfied readers suppose. . . ."

"It was evident during the interviews that people do read the social news. Repeatedly a woman would voice her displeasure over 'so many social items,' then say that she was upset because the Eccentric had not printed a social item of which she had been a part."

Considerable difference was encountered between new residents and those who had lived in Birmingham for some time. The report said:

"In many cases the new subscriber has not yet identified himself with the local community. He may still take two daily papers (50 per cent take two daily papers), yet finds little of personal interest in the Eccentric."

It was noted that 12 per cent of the families have moved to Birmingham within a year. Sixty-six per cent had

lived there from one to five years.

The report recommended "good background information in order to fully understand and appreciate local news."

One might conclude from this that time is on the side of the Eccentric. The longer the residents stay in Birmingham, the more interest they are likely to have in Birmingham affairs. And the greater will be the appeal of local news--the trump card held by the community press in its fight for circulation.

However, the paper also seems obligated to see that the local news is written with proper dimension so that the new reader can understand it. Each event must have proper background information. This requires experienced writers and editors.

The importance of local coverage was underscored in the report by the statement: "By far the strongest interest is in local government, tax money expenditures, school administration and editorials."

Thirty-five per cent of those interviewed mentioned local news as the first item they looked for. The report said:

"Readers thus want and need a community paper to give them information not readily obtainable in the larger dailies."

Some insight into suburban reader interest was provided by quotes from those interviewed:

"In the last election [on the state constitution] I was unsure of my voting because I hadn't taken the Eccentric."

"Being new here . . . nothing of interest. We'll probably subscribe when we're here longer."

"The way the Eccentric is written doesn't hold your attention. . . . It's awful shallow, superficial . . . no depth."

". . . couldn't be bothered about wading through such a mountain of trivia."

"I'm interested in local news, but all I could find were parties."

Janowitz cites reader reaction in a similar survey in suburban Chicago:

--It lacks local news.

--It keeps me in touch with the community.

--It lacks influence in solving community problems.

--It keeps me in touch with my parishioners. (A pastor)

--I can keep track of my friends.

--The news of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is too often on the last page. (51)

Social news, whether it bores large portions of readers or not, is the stock in trade of community weeklies. This is illustrated by Table 15, which shows results of a study of several Detroit suburban weeklies taken at random for a single issue.

Table 15.--Prominent subjects of interest in suburban weeklies and number of stories on such subjects in one issue

Newspaper	Government, Politics	Social	Schools	Sports
Grosse Pointe News	6	55	9	2
Dearborn Guide	13	17	7	15
Guardian Review (Garden City)	14	16	6	18
Northwest Record	10	13	11	0

Victor J. Danilov, manager of public relations for the Illinois Institute of Technology and the Armour Research Foundation in Chicago, offered these recommendations to improve the community press: Good local coverage; complete backgrounding of stories; more promotion; and a revamped format. (52)

He argued in favor of the tabloid format and more stress on photographs. The survey for the Eccentric found criticism of the Birmingham paper's layout, although much of this might be attributed to the Eccentric's very size. The old time weekly was simple in its organization but also small, often only eight pages.

Many suburban papers have news holes as big or bigger than the metropolitan publications and no doubt sooner or later will have to find new ways of making their product more easily read. This is not to argue that the metropolitan

papers are well organized.

What implications does the survey of suburban readers have for the downtown papers?

The popularity of local news can only remind the metropolitan publishers of their weakness. But it might also suggest that the zoned editions, while not permitting direct competition, do provide a vehicle by which the suburban problem can be attacked effectively.

The Detroit News fills a large portion of its zoned sections with bridal pictures that otherwise would not be published. Judging from the interest in social affairs in the suburbs, these no doubt are well received.

The need for well backgrounded local news might suggest that an occasional in depth report on certain suburban community issues might be in order for the zoned editions.

One of the metropolitan paper's biggest assets is a staff that can offer top flight reporting and editing. The demand for local news may be better met by the community press, but that doesn't mean that the reader wouldn't like additional local coverage in the metropolitan manner to supplement the product offered by the smaller papers.

"The Price of Liberty is High"

Local government floundered between 1870 and 1900 in the United States. Scandal and corruption flourished in the metropolitan centers. The political boss ran rampant. (53)

Population growth complicated the tawdry picture. Detroit, for example, more than doubled its population between 1880 and 1890. Nationwide in 1890 more than 30 per cent of the population lived in urban areas. In the villages and small towns, the court house gang long ago had established absolute control.

In desperation, state legislatures assumed a tight rein over the urban areas, a rein that destroyed local autonomy. But reforms such as civil service and the short ballot were instituted in many cities. And eventually the grass roots doctrine of government reasserted itself.

But technology--in the form of transportation--had provided the means for an escape to the suburbs before the cities could make the new forms of government effective.

The flight to the suburbs was in full swing. Grosse Pointe Park, for example, gained 725 per cent in population between 1920 and 1930.

Prior to 1918, the big cities were able to expand their borders and keep up with suburbanization by annexing neighboring areas. Then political opposition to annexation arose, and this attempt of the cities to grow with suburbia collapsed. Those fleeing the cities wanted no further part of them.

In the 1940's and 1950's the cities tried a new approach. They suggested merging functions that affected the whole metropolitan area. This resulted in various

authorities for water service, regional planning and other purposes. New York City has an abundance of them--for example its port authority. But suburbia still resisted. The reformers argued that such authorities were the most economical approach to common problems.

The suburbs defended their reluctance by replying: "The price of liberty is always high." They still wanted their independence from the city.

Although some inroads have been made, reformers still have failed to make an appreciable dent in this grass roots concept of suburbia.

Sparks Fly Over Income Tax

The reverberations of this conflict between the central city and suburbia have been felt in the newspaper world.

In Detroit this conflict was reflected in the battle over the city income tax in 1962. Detroit needed the revenue. It passed the tax, which is levied on the income of anyone who makes his living in Detroit, including the commuters from the suburbs.

This tax affects 33 per cent of the workers in the suburbs, including 124,316 from Wayne County, 58,389 from Oakland and 48,569 from Macomb. (54)

The issue could only sharpen any feelings of local identity that suburbanites might have felt at the start of the struggle. And the Detroit metropolitan papers were

drawn into the battle. It seems probable that they suffered in the process because they were identified with the resented tax.

George Kuhn, mayor of Berkley, a northern suburb, has headed the Vigilance Tax Committee, dedicated to fighting the Detroit tax. The committee fought the tax through the courts. In 1964 it lost its case in the State Supreme Court. But the Legislature passed a bill cutting the tax for suburbanites in half.

Kuhn said he was gratified by the support the tax foes had received from the suburban press. (55) He denounced the opposition he had encountered from the metropolitan papers.

Kuhn lauded the support his committee received from the Tri-County Press and the Mellus chain. He also praised the papers in Dearborn, Redford Township and Livonia.

The clash over the income tax is reflected in a Free Press editorial published after the lower house of the Michigan legislature passed the proposal to limit the Detroit tax on nonresidents to a half of one per cent. The proposal also required that all city income taxes be approved in a public election. The editorial read:

"If each tax had to be referred back to a referendum, we never would have effective government. . . . Another invalid argument used is that there's something fair about the suburbanite paying half as much as the resident.

"This argument says he uses the city's services about half as much as the resident--so half the tax is about his equitable share. What this argument misses is that the income tax pays just part of the city's budget. . . ." (56)

The News, on the same day, took a milder approach in its editorial. (57) In a resigned tone, it said:

"It's asking too much to expect Detroit officials to cheer. But they can console themselves with the thought that they would lose some part of that money anyway, each time another suburb adopts an income tax under present ground rules. . . ."

"They can take more comfort in the likelihood that this partial restriction and loss will, if the bill becomes law, put an end to the threat of losing nonresident revenue altogether, as the Vigilance Tax Committee would have it."

Derick Daniels of the Free Press admitted that the city versus suburbia issue hurts the metropolitan papers in the suburbs. He said the Free Press tried to stress the need for an area wide approach to the Detroit region's problems. But he said he could understand the community press's efforts on behalf of the divided approach.

Glazier, News reporter, said the income tax fight had generated much ill will toward the downtown papers on his beat.

It would be tempting to overstate the importance of the local identity factor. After all, hostility toward a paper does not mean that it is not read. The Chicago Tribune has done quite well in an area where possibly a considerable majority disagrees with its editorial policies.

But the degree of warmth the suburbanites have toward the metropolitan papers might count--perhaps when they are deciding whether to try substituting a local paper for the Detroit papers and to rely on television and the New York Times for their other news.

Detroit's Comparative Position

Have the Detroit metropolitan dailies fared better than those in the other metropolitan regions? Table 15 indicates that they have.

Table 16.--Detroit newspaper circulation and population growth compared with average of metropolitan areas surveyed by Force

	Average	Detroit
Suburban	(Per Cent)	(Per Cent)
Circulation	+ 86.6	+110.9
Population	+105.3	+177.5
Central City		
Dailies' Circulation	- 2.6	+ 4.1
Population	+ 9.7	+ 2.9
Total area population	+ 46.5	+ 58.3

Source: Force's study, 1961

The Detroit paper's combined circulation, according to the 1961 figure, was up 4.1 per cent. Force's study of the fifteen biggest metropolitan areas showed that the large papers had lost 2.6 per cent of their circulation.

But at the same time, the Detroit suburban dailies, while relatively few in number, gained 110.9 per cent in circulation while the average for the other regions was only 86.6 per cent.

Table 16 reveals that while Detroit city's population gain is below average, the total area's gain is above average, possibly accounting for the suburban dailies' greater circulation gains.

Technology may enable the News to strike a new blow at the suburban problem. Hayden pointed out that the News owns a site near Eight Mile Road that is a possible location for a subsidiary publishing plant. Such a plant could serve the vast suburbs to the north.

News executives have envisioned sending mats from the downtown plant to such a subsidiary plant. Printing in this fashion would be aimed at faster delivery of fresher news to the northern region. However, the plan still is in the talking stage.

The Los Angeles Herald-Examiner already has implemented this approach. A subsidiary printing plant has been completed in Buena Park, twenty-two miles southeast of Los Angeles in Orange County. (58) George R. Hearst Jr.,

publisher, said the plant was the initial step in a long range program to ease problems in the downtown plant.

The Los Angeles building is near the center of a suburban area of more than a million residents. It was pointed out that the downtown plant has been plagued by heavy afternoon traffic that bottles up freeways at the hour the afternoon editions are ready to be delivered. Page mats are rolled in the downtown plant for both printing facilities.

While technical improvements--in the form of subsidiary plants--offer one hope for the metropolitan dailies, there are other hopeful signs.

One is that downtown may get back some of its population. Paul M. Reid, executive director of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, has predicted that Detroit's population will spurt upward after its decade of decline. (59)

He said on November 10, 1963, that the reversal of population losses will begin in the next year or two, barring a recession. Reid said the exodus from the city had ebbed.

"Detroit will lose about 9,000 persons in 1964, where it was losing as high as 60,000 a year in the years 1957 to 1960," he explained.

"We've about wrung out the surplus population that poured into Detroit during and right after World War II,"

he said. "Now we can expect the middle classes to begin to migrate back to the city."

Reid said suburbanites whose children were out of high school were the best prospects for a return to the central city. "Detroit is still the heart of the metropolitan area," he asserted. "It is a magnet for population."

Such a return of the population, of course, would be good news for the downtown papers' circulation departments.

A report on suburban housewives' shopping habits compiled by the Chicago Tribune also might be a bright spot for the larger papers. The report found that the housewife has become far more mobile in her search for bargains than she used to be.

Pierre Martineau, director of consumer research for the Tribune, said: "This mobility has turned the shopper into a person ready and willing to be wooed by retailers 25 or even 50 miles away." (60)

The survey indicates that this is a recent phenomenon. As recently as 1957, Martineau said, the average woman spent shopping money at two and a half centers. "Today she regularly visits seven centers, and the most mobile turn up at as many as twelve."

If such mobility is a fact in the Detroit area, it would seem that advertisements published in the News and Free Press would be the best way for retailers to capitalize on such business.

Such a shopper would prefer to take the regional rather than the local look at advertisements. She might read the local paper for news about her neighborhood, but she would need the metropolitan publication for her shopping.

Furthermore, suburban life is not all gravy. A story in the Free Press tells of how Detroit suburbs are unable to keep up with the expanding need for fire protection.

The story said: "The National Board of Fire Underwriters has reported serious manpower shortages in fire departments across the country--a report confirmed by the Detroit area fire chiefs themselves."

Sure there's an answer. Just as there is an answer to the burgeoning need for more schools and municipal services. The answer is taxes--higher ones.

Commuting can be a burden, too, in spite of the best freeways. Years of traffic jams and extra traveling expense may make a return to the downtown dwelling close to work quite appealing for many, if the proper housing is available.

But before we leave the subject of bright spots for the metropolitan dailies, we should take note of another threat. This is the danger of further circulation losses to suburban dailies that publish Sunday papers.

Byerly found in 1964 that the Sunday circulation of community dailies in ten metropolitan areas is increasing

at a faster pace than it is on week days. (61) He said circulation jumped 80.5 per cent weekdays from 1945 to 1962 but soared 203.4 per cent on Sundays.

The total Sunday circulation gain for the community dailies was 1,410,201. The bigger papers lost 805,310.

Detroit at this time has no suburban dailies that publish on Sundays. But the threat cannot be ignored.

The role of the Sunday paper seems more important than ever. William I. Nicholas, editor and publisher of This Week magazine, told the Detroit Adcraft Club:

"In effect, they [the Sunday papers] are an enormous bulletin board that gathers together the entire population once a week. (62)

"Just because so many other elements of the community and of communications are being splintered away, the Sunday newspaper is destined to grow as the single, central, galvanizing force of communication in modern times."

CHAPTER VI

SUBURBAN OPPORTUNITIES AHEAD

Conclusions

In a line of inquiry, one eventually gets to the point where it must be asked: What are the conclusions? Such conclusions, it is hoped, will point the way to the future.

There is little question that the metropolitan papers, in Detroit as elsewhere, are engaged in a new era of competition. There's much new business to be pursued in suburbia, the new frontier of American life, and as in every contest, the people marshalling the most brains and courage are apt to win.

It seems evident that suburbia will go on expanding. And with this expansion there will be more opportunity to sell news and advertising.

It appears that while the weekly community press is a factor to be reckoned with, the community daily is a more serious threat to the metropolitan paper because its product comes closer to meeting the newspaper needs of the suburbanite.

Hayden acknowledged that the suburban daily is the greatest threat. He particularly noted that their operating

costs tended to be smaller.

But the suburban weekly, no less than the suburban daily, is a big factor in building the feeling of local identity, which also hurts the large papers.

The circulation figures to date seem to indicate no sizable gain in circulation for the metropolitan papers. In fact, many are losing. It seems that many of them would be willing to settle for holding their own in the suburbs, perhaps making up any advertising deficit in the national accounts.

The metropolitan papers seem likely to assign more and more reporters and editors to suburban news. This has been more or less a grass roots type of reporting, but as suburbs grow more complex, this reporting, too, is likely to become more specialized.

For example, reapportionment may make the suburbs the key political force in the land, and this will require reporters who can write political news with insight.

Chances are that the plight of the metropolitan dailies, in the light of suburbanization, has been sometimes overstated. Many suburbanites still want the high quality coverage of the metropolitan news staffs. But there no doubt are many changes coming for the larger publications.

Zoned editions, even with their shortcomings, probably will go on expanding. The New York Daily News, for example, on September 13, 1964, started two new suburban sections,

bringing to eleven the number of such editions. (63)

The New York paper's suburban staff of thirty-two has its own reporters, rewritemen, its own copy desk and photographers, all working under a single editor.

An average of 300 columns of news matter is handled each week. The suburban sections circulate as far away as 120 miles to Montauk on the tip of Long Island.

Detroit's zoned papers have shown that such sections mean new business. Although the profit margins of such sections may be questioned, technological refinements may provide a more secure economic base for them.

Although journalism graduates may shun the suburban papers in favor of the metropolitan organs at present, chances are that many of them still will find themselves working in the suburbs. This grass roots reporting, as the Chicago Tribune has found, offers a good training ground.

The suburban papers are likely to improve their wage scales--and the editoral departments of some will be unionized. The American Newspaper Guild, for example, recently organized the editorial staff at the Pontiac Press. The suburban publishers are apt to realize that the reader demands a high quality news product when conditions are competitive. And this requires higher pay for the practitioners.

The threat from the suburban daily is likely to grow. The establishment of the Warren daily edition indicates

that more may follow in the Detroit region. It shows that the suburban publishers are not timid.

Apparently the national news media--including the New York Times--will offer competition on another level. Will this force the metropolitan dailies to provide more state news--the one area that is not fully serviced by either the national or community press?

In Detroit it seems that an answer must be found to prevent the frequent strikes that disrupt publication. Readers no doubt have missed the papers during these lapses of publication, but their habits can be set, too. Many may decide that they can do without the metropolitan papers. Then too, can the larger papers' health survive prolonged periods of economic loss?

Finally, the metropolitan papers are likely to pay increasing attention to the tastes of the suburbanite. The suburban dweller may not be a greatly different person than when he lived closer to downtown. But in an era of tight competition, any differences in his reading tastes can be significant.

A few suburban supplements have popped up. Suburbia Today, for example, now is distributed to 235 papers. More and better supplements may be started in the future, keyed to this new way of living.

Philosophically the metropolitan papers can hardly afford to allow the suburban papers to drive a larger wedge

between them and their readers.

The fact that they are published in the central cities may tempt the downtown papers to take a sharply provincial viewpoint. But it seems that their interests--and the interests of the metropolitan area--would be better served if each editorial issue were viewed from all angles--and with some sensitivity to the suburbanites' feelings.

This study has tried to approach the suburban problem from the standpoint of the downtown dailies. Various side questions arose that might be explored in further research.

A detailed look might be taken at the suburban publisher. He is at the center of this burgeoning area--a great opportunity but also a great strain. How is he meeting his problems?

How well are the suburban dailies--saddled with the burden of not only local but also national and world news--doing their job?

Are the suburban publishers merely selling news and advertising, or are they becoming effective influences in the social and political sphere, too?

Detroit is only one city. Every metropolitan area will present different problems. While zoning has grown more and more popular as a way of handling suburban coverage, papers in many major cities have not adopted it. Have they found better ways?

The press--hotly engaged in an era of change--finds its role changing. A definition of this new role was offered by Judith Jamison, former public administration analyst for the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California:

"The characteristic sprawl of a megalopolis of the 20th century has destroyed the cohesive municipal corporate entity envisioned by our forefathers, in which discussion of issues and joint decisions could be made. (64)

"The contemporary metropolitan daily cannot have the same personal impact as the paper representing one well recognized community. The metropolitan daily can and does give a common background to area wide issues and subjects of greater than metropolitan interest, such as state, national and international news, features and advertising.

"The suburban dailies can support the national news services, syndicates features and advertising, but they are best suited to give full treatment to local issues, to be further supplemented by the community weeklies which can give space to personalities within neighborhoods."

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Newspapers in the Detroit Area

Detroit City

Detroit Suburban Papers
- Brightmoor Journal
- Home Gazette
- Livonia News
- Redford Record
- Southfield Sun
- Township News

East Side Newspapers

Detroit Free Press

Grand River Record

Grosse Pointe News

Hamtramck-North Detroit Citizen

Highland Parker

New Center News

Detroit News

Northeast Detroiter

North End News

Redford Observer

Shopping News

Warrendale Courier

West Detroit Guide

West Side Courier

Wayne County

Belleville Enterprise Roman

Dearborn Guide

Dearborn Press

Ecorse Advertiser

Flat Rock Guardian

Garden City Guardian-Review

Grosse Ile Camera

Grosse Pointe Press

Harper Woods Community News

Harper Woods Herald

Inkster Guide-Herald

Inkster Ledger-Star

Mellus papers:
- Allen Parker
- Ecorse Enterprise
- Lincoln Parker
- Melvindale Messenger
- Southgate Sentinel
- Southwest Detroiter
- Township Tribune

Livonia Observer

Northville Record

Wayne County (continued)

Plymouth Mail

Plymouth Observer

River Rouge-Ecorse Herald

Romulus Dispatch

Trenton Times

Wayne Dispatch

Wayne Eagle

Wyandotte News Herald

Oakland County

Berkley Advance

Birmingham Eccentric

Clarkston News

Clawson Times

Farmington Enterprise

Ferndale Gazette-Times

Lakeland Tribune

Hazel Park News

Madison News

Holly Herald Advertiser

Lake Orion Review

Milford Times

Novi News

Oakland County (continued)

Oak Park Northwest Publications:

Huntington News

Northland Press

Northwest Detroiter

Northwest Record

Oak Park News

Westown News

Oxford Leader

Pontiac Press

Rochester Clarion

Rochester News

Royal Oak Daily Tribune

Southfield News

South Lyon Herald

Troy Times

Tri-City Messenger

Macomb County

Armada Times

East Detroit South Macomb News

Mount Clemens Monitor Leader

Richmond Review

Romeo Observer

St. Clair Shores Clinton Herald

Utica Sentinel

Macomb Daily Monitor Progress

APPENDIX B

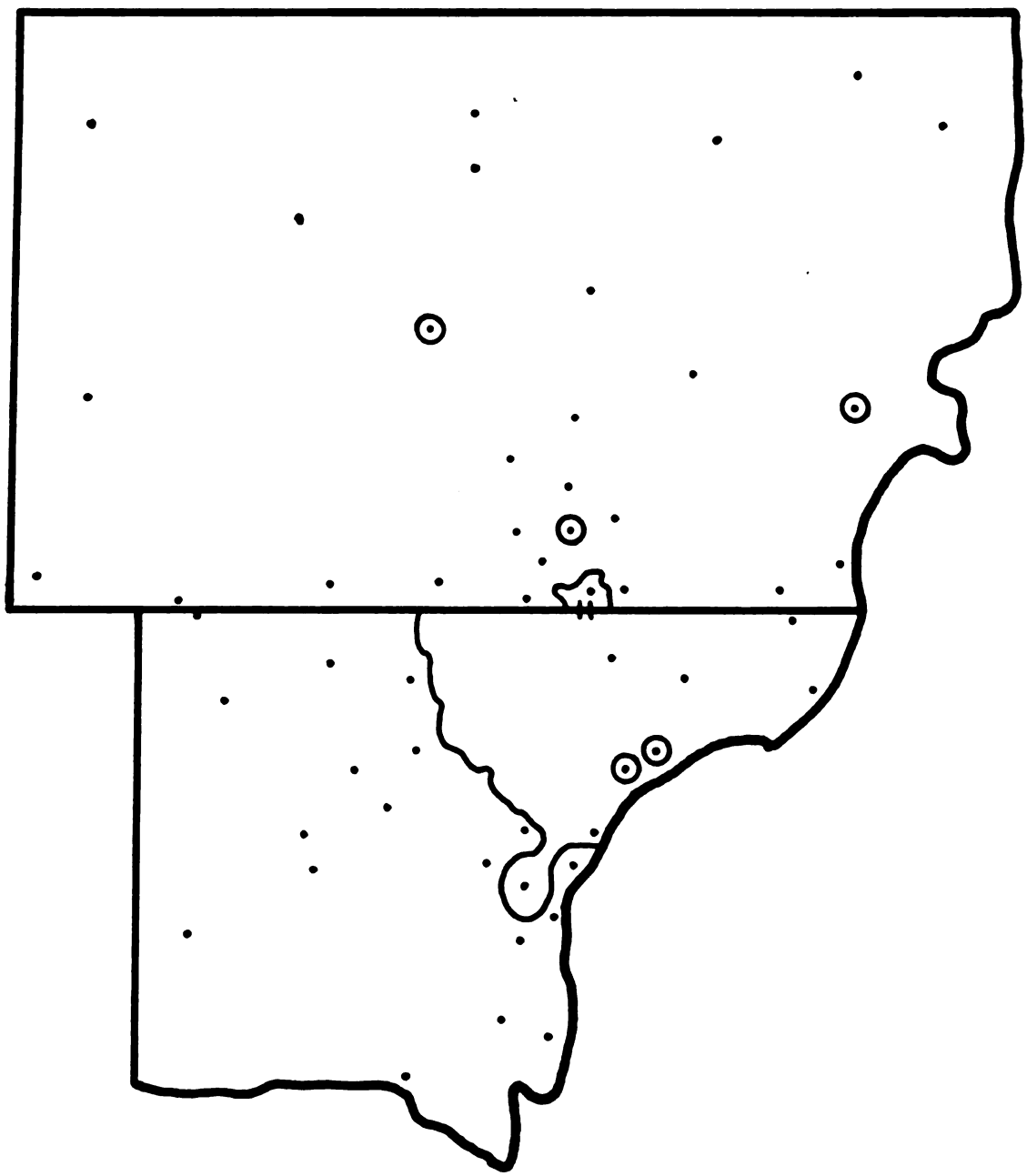

Fig. 2--Map of three-county Detroit area. Dots indicate communities served by newspapers. Circled dots indicate daily papers. The remainder are weeklies.